Towards the 10th World Trade Union Congress

(Havana, 10-15 February 1982)

STATEMENT

ADOPTED BY THE
32nd SESSION OF THE WFTU GENERAL COUNCIL
(BUDAPEST, 1-3 JULY 1981)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

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After an extensive discussion of the international situation, the scope and content of present workers' struggles, the possibilities for new progress towards unity, the state of the world trade union movement and, in particular, the situation of the WFTU, the General Council, turning to account all the experience of recent years, has decided to undertake a profound adaptation of the WFTU to the new, present-day realities, so as to bring it fully into line with the needs of workers and trade unions the world over.

The world has profoundly changed in recent decades and is still changing.

In the worldwide confrontation that brings imperialism face to face with the forces of progress and peace, the latter have the odds in their favour and have forced imperialism on to a historical defensive. This assessment is confirmed by all the events of the most recent period. Imperialism, of course, reacts — and often violently — putting international detente into difficulties. It defends its positions, step by step, and tries to win them back whenever possible. This confrontation, though fiercer than ever before, is by no means new. What is new, is the size of the stake.

Change is in the air. Changes in favour of peace, detente, disarmament and social progress; democratic changes inside the capitalist countries; changes in relations between countries to break the relations of imperialist domination; the aspirations of the peoples to live in freedom and independence; deep and lasting changes to bring about a new international economic order.

Under the circumstances, to perpetuate capitalism, to put it in a

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position in which it can overcome the crisis — as it strives to do by making the workers and peoples pay for it — to maintain imperialist domination and to settle problems by war, as capitalism used to do in the past, is a highly arduous, if not impossible undertaking.

This explains the content and forms of imperialist reactions today.

First of all, there is the arms race, which imposes heavy sacrifices on the peoples and provides the monopolies with substantial profits, and which is being driven on at a gallop in the mad hope that war could still be the last resort.

Then there is merciless repression, wherever workers and peoples are fighting for their liberation and emancipation.

Another reaction is the fierce ideological aggression intended to discredit socialism, those countries wishing to build their independence and the labour movement.

FInally, there are large-scale attempts to direct the trade union movement towards class collaboration. This is done in various forms, depending on the countries, yet always as part of a general strategy formulated in bodies which bring together the leaders of the big capitalist countries, the transnationals, reformist ideologists and, unfortunately, trade unionists too.

In this changing world the trade union movement is also developing and changing.

We are witnessing a general growth of the trade union movement in all its diversity. Today, there is practically no country without some form of trade union activity.

The role, as well as the social and political influence of trade unions have increased everywhere, sometimes substantially. The fields covered by their activities have increased and become more complex.

In the countries recently liberated from the colonial yoke, the role played and the place assumed by the trade unions in society and in international trade union life are noted as being of increasing importance.

Today, the trade unions in these countries and the rest of the so-called Third World, allowing for the differences resulting from varying historical development, see their responsibility for uniting the fight for workers' rights with the national struggle for independence and development as decisive. They are called upon to solve numerous problems connected with the total liquidation of the heritage of colonialism, with the strengthening of economic independence, with sovereignty over their

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natural resources and with the elimination of famine, poverty and illiteracy. In countries with progressive regimes the trade unions participate in their own specific way in the development of the economy, in society and in the country as a whole on an anti-imperialist basis.

This action of the trade unions of the developing countries is a contribution to the general fight of the workers and people for their emancipation. It is the duty of the trade union movement as a whole, of all trends, to foster constant and effective solidarity with the workers and trade unions of these countries.

In the advanced capitalist countries, the burden of the crisis and armaments, as well as the policies of austerity and social regression pursued by the employers and most governments are reducing the purchasing power of wages and the workers' living standards, bringing about an ever-increasing and constant rise in unemployment and are attacking the collective rights and guarantees won by trade union struggle over decades.

These same policies bring about inflation and an unprecedented rise in profits, scandalously enriching the capitalists and causing intolerable social inequality. But the significant feature is the considerable growth of struggle to stem these attacks. Through this struggle the class-based trade union movement is working to unite broad sections of the working people to obtain immediate improvements. It also contributes to the fight for a democratic solution to the crisis, for reforms in the structure of society and for changes in line with the workers' interests, against the grip of the transnational corporations and anti-working class and trade union policies. Wherever trade union movements based on the class struggle undertake dynamic action to boost and lead these struggles, such action is more effective and helps to advance unity. This fact is a source of experience and reflection on the present conditions of the fight for the workers' interests, unity and the conquest of anti-monopoly democratic changes in society.

In the socialist countries, where the means of production are public property and where the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, the trade unions are acquiring a new kind of function and carrying out new tasks. They are constantly seeking to solve their problems, achieving undeniable success, but also having to face up to difficulties which arise during the development of socialist society. As a result of greatly varied experience, the WFTU believes trade unions to be one of the most important elements in the expression of socialist democracy, as the sover-

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eign and effective defenders of the workers' interests at the workplace, in the economy and society and as a force which contributes to the development of the economy and of the country as a whole.

The WFTU and the entire trade union movement should be able to reap the benefit of the discussions and ideas of the trade unions of the socialist countries themselves, especially those connected with the role and activities of trade unions in a socialist society. The WFTU does this with an open mind, with respect for the sovereignty of individual trade union centres and bearing in mind all the discussions, efforts and solutions going on or taking place in different ways in each socialist country.

The situation which has developed in socialist Poland in the specific conditions of that country, causes anxiety to its friends. The democratic approach to this situation demonstrates that socialism is capable of solving the problems connected with its development in a positive way. The WFTU hopes that the Polish workers, who bear the responsibility for the country's destiny, will successfully overcome all difficulties.

The existence of the basic foundations of socialism permits the correction of errors and provides for progress in line with the needs of each people and the comprehensive development of society with due respect for the independence and specific nature of each country. Capitalism, on the contrary, is by its very nature the main obstacle to the advance of workers' interests, progress and democracy.

The increasing role of the trade unions in the contemporary world is the outcome of the consciousness of large sections of workers and their desire to participate fully in the development and management of society. It therefore introduces, more strongly than ever before, the notions of liberation, independence, freedom and democracy into modern life.

The trade union movement could play an even greater role if it were united. The fact that some forces in the trade union movement promote the abandoning of the class struggle is most certainly an obstacle, but this does not mean that the situation is irreversible.

There exists a wide field of convergence on many crucial issues of our time such as:

— the satisfaction of economic and social demands;
— peace and disarmament;
— the establishment of a new international economic order;
— the elimination of colonialism, fascism and racism;
— the growth of democracy and expansion of workers' rights.

ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΟ ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΙΑΣ ΙΔΡΥΜΑ ΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ ΣΥΓΧΡΟΝΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΙΝΗΣΗΣ

In addition, forms of cooperation, relations, actions and various other effective initiatives should be found in order to advance towards the achievement of these aims.

The WFTU is ready to be associated with the initiatives of all its trade union partners without distinction as long as such initiatives are in line with the workers' interests. It is ready to examine and discuss all possibilities and to seek new, more flexible and effective ways of organising cooperation, action and unity with all organisations so desiring it, without discrimination.

Such cooperation could also be fruitful within the international bodies in which trade unions are represented.

The General Council once more expresses its strong support for such a course.

This new and still developing situation gives rise to new possibilities in the field of trade union action and new forms of solidarity.

This is true of the struggle against the absolute power of the transnational corporations. To achieve their hegemony and make their monstrous profits they try to make workers from different countries and systems compete against each other. This is an old game of the monopolies on a national scale — and it has been checked by the struggle of the workers in individual countries.

Today, such tactics are being used on an international scale. Once more, the workers can rebuff them by adequate and effective forms of solidarity based on a very close international community of interests in the face of a common exploiter.

In this context it would be desirable to extend the field of activity as well as the autonomy of the Trade Unions Internationals which have a particularly important role to play.

This is also true of action in favour of the establishment of a new international economic order and to overcome under-development. In this field, the interests of the workers in under-developed countries, advanced capitalist countries and socialist countries are not contradictory. They represent a broad platform of mutual interest, cooperation and support. The new order can only be conceived in a way as to satisfy the needs of the workers and peoples. All workers and all peoples. This is why its establishment meets such fierce resistance on the part of monopoly forces. This community of interests of the workers and peoples from all countries brings with it new kinds of solidarity.

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The duration and depth of the crisis clearly demonstrates the absurdity and harmfulness of erecting barriers against the free development of trade and cooperation, on the basis of independence and mutual benefit among all countries and, above all, with the socialist countries.

The growth of economic cooperation and trade would serve to create new jobs. This is a new and vast field that should be examined from the point of view of trade union activities and participation by the workers; moreover, this is an original field for a contribution by the trade union movement to a rapprochement among peoples. It is an active contribution to the struggle for detente and peace, under threat from the arms race, and calls for a greater commitment on the part of workers and their unions.

As the most representative movement in society, the trade union movement is called upon to make a vigorous contribution to the fight to maintain and strengthen world peace, prevent war and cut back the arms race. Spending on war represents a heavy burden for the working people, even in peacetime.

The diversion of military budgets for peaceful purposes would go a long way towards helping the social development of peoples. Mass action for peace and against the arms race is a necessary part of the responsibilities of the trade union movement.

In our time the fight for freedom, human rights and democracy is a significant dimension of the worldwide class struggle. The trade union movement can and must play an essential role in this field and make use of far more effective forms of solidarity and cooperation than it has so far.

International working class solidarity is a concrete manifestation of the identity of interests of all workers of the world without distinction, and the need for mutual aid which was the very origin of the trade union movement as such, the need to react unitedly to attacks or difficulties experienced by any of its components.

Trade unions operating in more favourable conditions — as well as the WFTU itself — can make an effective contribution in many ways to the development of trade unionism in those countries where unions are encountering difficulties. In our time this, too, is a necessary expression of solidarity.

It is to this changed world that the WFTU must adapt itself, to the new possibilities, but also new demands which are involved.

This calls for a far-reaching renewal of the WFTU, its concepts,

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methods and style of activities.

What we need, and what the trade union movement needs, is a more flexible, more active, more effective WFTU, closer to present-day realities and trade union struggles.

A WFTU able to take into account the diversity of all the components of the militant world trade union movement, in order to help advance, in a fighting spirit, the whole community of interests that exists among the workers and trade unions of the world.

A WFTU capable of assessing and analysing, without delay, the new economic, social and political phenomena arising all over the world, as well as those in the trade union movement.

A WFTU which is constantly improving the definition of its policies, responsibilities and aims from a trade union point of view in line with its specific, original role.

A WFTU which would be a forum for debate, in a spirit of open-mindedness, tolerance and mutual respect, formulating its policies and activities completely autonomously and respecting the full responsibility of individual national centres.

A WFTU which makes a dynamic contribution to seeking and encouraging any progress towards unity and all forms of trade union cooperation.

A WFTU as a centre for initiating, inspiring and supporting workers' struggles, constantly organising all forms of solidarity.

The 35 years of the WFTU's existence present a historical balance-sheet of undeniable significance. It has the strength, experience and ability to tackle the conditions in which the workers' trade union struggles are taking place today.

New tasks are facing the entire international trade union movement as a result of the complexities and changes present in the world today. The WFTU General Council resolutely reiterates its firm intention to foster unity and a far-reaching renewal of the international trade union movement.

Following the line traced by the 9th World Trade Union Congress in the decisions it took and the spirit of open-mindedness it showed, the present statement puts forward some important points for discussion with the 10th World Trade Union Congress in view. This Congress will be required to make an original contribution to the quest for ways and means to achieve the aims common to all workers the world over.

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The General Council is aware that these imperatively necessary changes will require considerable effort by all trade union organisations. Such a renewal can only be a collective effort to which everyone will contribute.

It urges all member organisations to discuss these crucial issues.

It hopes that this discussion will spread beyond the confines of the WFTU to the entire world trade union movement.

It hopes for and will welcome the active contribution of all trade union organisations without distinction — be they members of other international organisations or autonomous — which have the unity of the world's trade unions and a greater effectiveness of international workers' solidarity at heart.

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religious or philosophical opinions to actively contribute to the success of the debates at the Tenth Congress.

A Congress for all, for all the workers, for all the trade unions.

A Congress of unity that will welcome the contribution of all trade union organisations, irrespective of international trade union affiliation, and autonomous ones, under the banner of international solidarity.

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The Tenth World Trade Union Congress — It's Your Congress, Workers of the World!

Towards the 10th World Trade Union Congress - Havana, 10-15 February, 1982 -

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APPEAL

adopted by the 32nd session of the WFTU General Council

on Tenth Congress and challenges of 'eighties

Havana, the capital of the first free territory in America, will host from 10 to 15 February 1982, the Tenth World Trade Union Congress, the supreme body of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

A Congress which will face up to the big challenges of our time.

For almost a decade, a deep crisis is ravaging the capitalist world and exercising its harmful influence on all aspects of social, economic, political, cultural and international life. A crisis which has thrown out of jobs 400 to 500 million human beings, condemning them often to absolute poverty. **What an enormous and inhuman waste of the human resources of our planet!**

Is this crisis inevitable and universal?

The Tenth Congress will give coherent and constructive answers to such questions.

A crisis that carries with it the grave danger of war.

War or Peace?

This is the central challenge before the peoples of the world today and for years to come.

Have the workers and the peoples the strength and the means to oppose the arms race, to stop the hands of the warmongers, to impose peace on our earth?

The Tenth Congress will give a positive answer to these crucial questions and will seek ways and means to achieve this.

Hundreds of millions of men and women in the underdeveloped countries live on the threshold of the Middle Ages. Infant mortality has reached a frightening rate. Half the population of the globe suffer from malnutrition, and among them, a large proportion suffer from hunger. Almost a billion people are illiterate. Yet, at the same time, other people, a minority, is getting fabulously rich and is living at the expense of those millions who are exploited.

Is this a situation to be perpetuated?

Solutions and means exist for an equitable and harmonious development of mankind, for the elimination of inequality, and an advance towards a new international economic order.

The Tenth Congress will contribute to define them.

Colonialism, neocolonialism, racism and fascism have not yet completely disappeared from the face of our planet.

It is a challenge to the spirit of our time.

To eliminate completely and once for all these scourges of another age — this will be at the centre of attention of the Tenth Congress.

Mankind is asking what the impetuous progress of science and technology means.

Will it bring happiness or unhappiness to man?

Will it be the means of a better and effective economy or will it breed unemployment?

Will it help the natural environment or will it destroy the ecological balance?

Will it serve the peaceful development of society or the work of death?

These and many other questions will be considered by the Tenth Congress in order to find answers in line with the interests of the workers.

And it will also strive to show up those who are really responsible for the difficult situation in which the workers are living today.

Imperialism and the transnational corporations are powerful adversaries, but they are not invincible.

The workers fight; they are a great force capable of thwarting modern feudalism.

The Tenth Congress will be a great occasion for rallying these forces.

Fully aware of the need for unity and action in order to advance towards a better world, the WFTU calls upon the workers and their trade unions of all social systems, irrespective of affiliation, political,

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FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ

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Prague, le 13 juillet 1981

A toutes les organisations affiliées et amies

SG/Circ. No.35/81

Objet: CAMPAGNE CONTRE LA REPRESSION EN TURQUIE

Chers camarades,

Depuis le coup d'Etat militaire du 12 septembre 1980, la Turquie vit sous un régime où les libertés syndicales sont bafouées d'une façon systématique.

La Confédération des Syndicats Ouvriers Progressistes de Turquie DISK constitue depuis la prise du pouvoir par la junte, une des cibles de la répression.

Des centaines de dirigeants et militants de la DISK et ses syndicats affiliés souffrent dans les prisons militaires depuis déja dix mois.

Plusieurs procès ont été intentés contre ces syndicalistes. Ces procès témoignent de la violation sans égale des libertés syndicales et des droits fondamentaux de l'homme, en contradiction flagrante avec les conventions de l'OIT et les chartes de l'ONU.

Il est à souligner qu'un nouveau procès a été annoncé contre 52 dirigeants de la DISK et ses syndicats affiliés devant un tribunal militaire d'Istanbul, qui serait la base d'autres poursuites contre quelques 2 000 dirigeants et militants syndicaux. Le procureur militaire a requis la peine de mort contre Abdullah Bastürk, président de la DISK, et ses 51 camarades.

Les 52 syndicalistes sont accusés de vouloir "supprimer" la Constitution de la République, alors que ce sont les généraux eux-mêmes qui ont suspendu celle-ci à la suite du coup d'Etat.

Ce procès constitue un acte profondément anti-syndical et anti-ouvrier qui ne favorise que les milieux les plus agressifs de la réaction locale et internationale, un défi lancé contre les travailleurs du monde entier.

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La FSM élève une vive protestation contre cette tentative d'abattre les dirigeants de la DISK. Seule une protestation active et massive des travailleurs de tous les pays peut faire reculer cette tentative.

La FSM n'a jamais cessé de soutenir les travailleurs de la Turquie, la DISK, ses syndicats affiliés dans leurs luttes courageuses. Elle a toujours mené des actions et démarches juridiques sous différentes formes pour la défense de nos camarades emprisonnés en Turquie et de leurs familles.

Dans cet esprit la FSM appelle toutes les organisations syndicales affiliées et amies:

- à mobiliser toutes leurs forces dans un large mouvement de protestation et de solidarité en organisant des pétitions de masse, des motions, des délégations aux ambassades de la Turquie, faisant notamment des journées d'audiences de ce procès des véritables journées de lutte, etc...

- à s'adresser notamment à Monsieur Kurt Waldheim, Secrétaire Général de l'ONU, et à Monsieur Francis Blanchard, Directeur Général du BIT, en leur demandant d'intervenir auprès des autorités turques, pour sauver les dirigeants et militants de la DISK de la mort, de la torture et de la prison.

Fraternellement,

FEDERATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE * F.S.M.

Ibrahim Zakaria

Secrétaire Général par intérim

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TO GENERAL KENAN EUREN, PRESIDENT OF THE STATE AND NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL OF TURKEY

The undersigned lawyers, assembled at the Eleventh Congress of Democratic Lawyers, have received reports that since September 12, your government has embarked upon a course of widespread violations of the basic democratic and political rights of the Turkish people, including the banning of all political parties, progressive trade unions, democratic organizations, and newspapers. We have also learned of massive arrests, the torture of political detainees, and systematic attacks upon the democratic lawyers of your country.

As lawyers who are deeply concerned about the protection of fundamental human rights, we call upon your government to take the following action:

1. Stop the violations of fundamental democratic and human rights.
2. Stop the anti-democratic modification of Turkish laws.
3. Stop the torture of political detainees.
4. Free all political detainees.
5. Restore the rights of political parties, progressive trade unions, and all other democratic organizations which have been banned.
6. End the repression of Turkey's democratic lawyers.

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"TOWARD A LIBERATED AND SOCIALIST MEDITERRANEAN"

POSITION PAPER OF ANDREAS G. PAPANDREOU,
President, Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK)

Malta Conference of the Socialist Parties of the Mediterranean

June, 1977

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This first conference of the socialist parties of the Mediterranean constitutes an historical event of major significance. For all of us, and certainly for PASOK, it represents the realization of a vision for which we have struggled for a long time.

We are present here in two capacities. First, as representatives of the peoples of the Mediterranean Sea. By our presence, in this context, we affirm our determination to strenghten our bonds that have deep historical roots-bonds that have become looser in recent times as a result of polarities that have been introduced by forces alien to the region in which we live. In this capacity we do not forget that reason and creativity spread throughout the world from this corner of the earth, from the Mediterranean basin. In these difficult times for humanity we joim our forces and our invaluable historical experience to forge a creative alternative, a development path for our peoples that will guarantee peace instead of war, self-determination and independence instead of subjugation to alien centers of power, and cooperation instead of competitive strife. Second, we are present here as socialists, as spokesmen for the progressive forces of our countries. In this capacity we intend to formulate and elaborate a strategy for economic and social development of the region which will ensure: a) that our regional economic resources will be used in the interest of the peoples that inhabit the Mediterranean basin, b) that technologiacal development will become the servant and not the master of our lives,c) that development for each nation-state will be both balnced and autocentered rather than unbalanced and extroverted, d) that economic development will take form and shape by social planning which gives proper weight to social, political and cultural values which include among other things the preservation of our cultural heritage and our natural environment, e) that exploitation of man by man and class by class will come to and end.

Our conference is not a seminar or a colloquium. We have come to Malta in order to forge a common instrument of political and economic struggle for the peoples of our region. This struggle has at least four aims.

First, the achievement for all our nation-states of nationa independence-at the political and military level- from the metropolitan centers of the world, whether they are West or East.

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Second, the achievement of economic independence without which political and military independence is both superficial and short-lived.

Third, the achievement of a radical change in the International Economic Order, through our active participation in the broader world-wide struggle between "North" and "South", which is euphemistically called the "North-South debate".

Fourth, the achievement of popular sovereignty and social justice at home- within our Mediterranean societies, which can be achieved only by their socialist transformation.

I used the term "struggle" advisedly. For the "struggle of classes" in our era is increasingly a struggle between the Metropolitan centers of world capitalism and the peripheral societies that operate in its global orbit. Thus the proper juxtaposition is that between the forces of imperialism and those that strive for national liberation. For it is not an accident that since the end of the second world war all socialist experiments sprang our of national liberation struggles. As it is not an accident that wherever there has taken place a retrogression of the forces of national liberation, a return to dependency, the consequence inveriably has been a retrogression on the social front- a revival of the counter-revolutionary social forces.

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With the exception of France -especially northern France- and northern Italy, the societies of all non-socialist countries of the Mediterranean are peripheral capitalist formations. Their development since the end of the colonial era bears this stamp.

In a peripheral capitalist formation the capitalist mode of production does not tend to become dominant and is not capable of eradicating precapitalist modes of production. Exactly the opposite is the case for metropolitan capitalist formations where the capitalist mode of production is or tends to become the dominant mode of production at the expense of all other modes.

Nor is this an accident. For during the imperialist phase of capitalism-which dates from the end of the 19th century- the capitalist

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nations of the world literally robbed their colonies of valuable resources in a spurt of primitive accumulation that surpasses all acts of pillage that had taken place in the past. But the transfer of resources from the "underdeveloped" to the "developed" nations of the world has taken, in addition, much more subtle forms that dominate the international scene even today. Today, there are two basic mechanisms of resource transfer. One is the terms of trade. The international price system has systematically operated in the interest of the advanced capitalist nations. They have been selling "dear" to the "developing" nations and buying "cheap" from them ever since the beginning of the imperialist era. (The first real reversal of this trend came in the seventies with the foint action of the oil producing countries). The other is the direct transfer of social surplus from the "developing" to the "advanced" capitalist nations throuth interest payments and the repatriation of capital and profits from their overseas investments.

Since the end of the second world war, that is to say, in the post-colonial era, the investment by capitalist nations in the "developing" countries has increasingly taken the form of direct investment through the new and awesome instrumentality of the multinational corporation. The transfer of social surplus has been greatly facilitated by the multinational corporation which may be able, through a system of royalties, fees and intra-company pricing techniques, to transfer significant resources to its metropolitan home-base without the mediation of the terms of trade mechanism or the official mechanism of profit and capital repatriation. An example will suffice to indicate the magnitude involved in the transfer of social surplus. In the fifteen year period from 1950 to 1965, the total investment outflow from the United States was equal to $24 billion, while the corresponding inflow was $37 billion. But the regional breakdown of these flows on capital account is more revealisng. "A regional breakdown reveals the fact that the "Ddevelpment Decade" of the 1960's has witnessed a substantial transfer of income from poorer to richer areas through the system of multinational corporations. In the period 1960-1967, U.S. subsidiaries took $8.8 billion out of Latin America in remitted profits while investing only $1.7 billion; from the Middle East, Africa, Asia and the Far East, they extracted $11,3 billion while investing $3.9 billion. The funds

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extracted from the poorest areas of the world were, in effect, transferred to the rich and growing markets of Europe, where U.S. direct investment inflows of $9.6 billion exceeded the remittance of profits of $7.3 billion". (Kari Levitt, Silent Surrender, Toronto, Macmillan Company of Canada, 1970).

But the adverse impact of direct investment and the multinational corporation on "developing" countries is not limited to the transfer of surplus. Since the decision horizon of the multinational corporation extends far beyond the shores of the host country, while the corporate decision center remains located in the metropolis, the allocation and development of the host country's resources is twisted to serve the values and norms of the giant corporate guest. The larger the presence of the multinational corportion in some host country, the more likely it is that the country's overall development will be made to conform to the developmental requirements of the corporate system -as these requirements are interpreted and formulated by the ruling class of the metropolis. Thus it should not be at all surprising that the peripheral capitalist nations have not beнn capable to achieve balanced development of their strategic economic sectors or to lay the foundations for an autocentered economy. For the strategic decisions concerning the use of their resources are made by centers beyond their shores.

To repeat and stress: The heart of the dependency broblem lies in the fact that the growth pattern, the structure of growth of the dependent economy is channeled in paths that reflect the requirements of the metropolis rather than its own requirements. Furthermore, the process is cumulative. Every option for a particular use of resources at a particular time, once lost, may never appear again. The history of dependent economies is thus the history of cumulatively lost options.

Generally speaking, peripheral capitalist economies are dependent economies. The peripheral character of the economy has been produced by dependence and therefore it implies it. But the opposite is not always true. Dependency has not always prevented the development of an economy in accordance to the laws of motion of metropolitan capitalist formations. The outstanding example is Canada. It is a dependent economy without being peripheral. In a sense it is "the expeption that proves the rule". Generally speaking dependency leads to a peripheral

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This is not the place to discuss the characteristics of exgroverted and unbilanced economic development which is experienced by peripheral and therefore dependent nations. Suffice it to say that the imperialism of the postwar era has qualitatively distinctive features from prewar imperialism. The earlier rorm promoted the growth of the primary sector in dependent, peripheral economies. In return, the imperialist nations exported manufactures to their colonies. It was based, furthermore, on capital flows which predominantly took the form of portfolio envestment. In the postwar era (the posto-colonial era) the investment is primarily direct -it involves on- site productive activities which increasingly include manufacturing. This implies, among other things, the development of a domestic market in the dependent nations for the gadgetry produced by the multinationals. And this development is necessarily linked to the formation of a new foreign-dependent bourgeoisie that is granted a "junior" partnership with imperial capital in the dependencey. The development of western gadget-consuming middle classes in low income neo-colonies requires a sharp increase in the inequality of income and wealth distribution. This, in turn, implies the relative, if not absolute, impoverishment of a large segment of the population and the perpetration of a large marginal, shock-absorbing sector in the economy of the dependent nation. +As a result, in countries like Argentina, Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, India, etc, there is an internal structural fragmentation connecting the most "advanced" parts of their economies to the international capitalist system. Separate although subordinated to these advanced sectore, the backeward economic and social sectors of the dependent countries then play the role of "internal colonies". (F. H. Cordoso, "Dependency and Development in Latin America", New Left Review, 1974).

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The metropolis-periphery polarity is deeply imbedded in and is but a facet of imperialism. In order to fully understand it, it has to be linked therefore with the other -the political and military aspects of imperialism.

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The two global powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, have in fact been engaged in war since the deathe of President Roosevelt. It has been called the Cold War, but "cold" it actually never was. Armed confrontations directly or indirectly involving the the two superpaowers have studded the last quarter century and have taken a spectacular toll of life and property. The only sense in which the cold war could be called cold is that the recourse to arms has been intentionally localized.

There are two clearly distinguishable periods in the relations between the two giants: the period from Roosevelt's death to August 5, 1963 (the date of the signing of the Moscow treaty on nuclear tests) and the period that follows the signing of this treaty. The first period, which André Fontaine believes may be characterized as the Third World War, was a period of confrontation. The second period is called euphemistically, the period of peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence includes many years of bitter and costly war in Indochina, as it includes many years of war or worlike situations in the Middle East, where the struggle of the Palestinian people against American imperialism and Israeli sub-imperialism continues unabated and at a high cost in human lives.

Peaceful co-existence for the United States and the Soviet Union has meant no more than that the deadly chess game has been played by relatively well-observed rules. They include mutual respect for the other's supremacy within a well-defined sphere of influence; prevention, to the extent possible, of the rise of another superpower; elimination of neutralism; and, finaly, mutual restraint in regions where they challenge each other for definition of new equilibrium.

During the period of peaceful co-existence it is possible to interpret the behavior of the two superpowers in terms of action and response. But caution is required in extending to the period of confrontation (the first period) an interpretive scheme that seems to fit so well the behavior pattern of the two superpowers in the era of peaceful co-existance. For it would be an error to imagine that in the period of confrontation, action and response were "randomly" distributed. It seems clear to us on the basis of available evidence that in the era of confrontation the action was American and the response was Russian. To put it bluntly: During the era of confrontation the Soviet Union did

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not act as an expansionist power - it merely strove to maintain its hegemony over a clearly defined region of the world.

But we must go deeper for a fuller understanding of the global scene. For the dominant dynamic on a global scale - a dynamic that springs directly from the laws of motion of monopoly capitalism and transcends the relations between the two superpowers - is one of counter-revolutionary dynamic is America. Not that the Soviet Union identifies itself with the forces of insurgency and national liberation. It deals with governments and forms its alliances with them, independently of their ideological positions or internal social structure. Propaganda apart, its attitude toward Third World insurgence and revolution is reserved and may occasionally even be hostile. But the Soviet Union neither identifies itself with counter-insurgence, nor does it take the initiative to suppress revolution - unless it takes place in a nation or region under its own control.

The nationalist and socialist revolutionaries of the peripheral, dependent countries have emerged as the greatest problem of the national security manager of both superpowers. The revolutionaries of the Third World in their struggle to shake off imperialist domination over their countries confront directly the counter-revolutionary forces of the United States. But they also represent a threat to the global equilibrium which the Soviet Union has tried to preserve during the era of peaceful co-existence. For the national liberation struggles in the Third World express forces which are by definition contradictory with the present global balance of power. They express the centrifugal, nationalistic quest of the peoples of the Third World in their drive for self-determination.

Wherever U.S. and western imperialism is successful, it does not impose a colonial structure. Colonialism, as we have known it before the second World War seems to be dead and buried. Neo-colonialism or post-colonialism takes subtle forms of political and military control and goes hand in hand with economic penetration and domination. Basically, the imperialist powers attempt to infiltrate the state machinery - especially the secret services and the armed forces of the dependent, peripheral nations, to develop linds with the political and trade union funtionaries of their client states, and to form an alliance with the local capitalists who are accorded a status of "junior partnership". In

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addition, they develop a dependence of the peripheral country on war material, they establish military bases that serve their global military and counter-revolutionary strategy, and they form defense alliances and pacts that guarantee the stability of the overall dependency structure.

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There are clear signs that the relations between the two superpowers are entering a new third phase. I shall call it the period of combative co-existence. For the second period, the period of peaceful co-existence culminated in the Helsinki agreement and, oddly enough, terminated with the rekindling of the cold war - confrontation style. The signs were clear during the last few months of the Ford-Kissinger administration. They are all too obvious in the early months of the Carter administration.

What are the signs that this new phase of superpower relations is underway? First, the widespread campaign in the United States that the detente has worked against the interests of the United States, which has "lost ground" in the armaments race to the benefit of the Soviet Union. Second, the Carter rhetoric for "self-determination" of nations, a rhetoric that is clearly addressed to the East European Soviet bloc countries. Third, the Carter rhetoric on "human rights" which strikes directly at the heart of the Soviet regimes. Fourth, the provocative proposals of Cyrus Vance on nuclear arms control and reduction which could be accepted by the Soviet Union only if it were forced to accept a second place in the global military structure of power.

But the question, of course, is why? And the answer has to be found in the dynamics, the laws of contemporary monopoly capitalism or imperialism. In the quarter century that followed the second world war the rebuilding and the modernizing of Western Europe offered gigantic opportunities to expanding American capital and is undoubtedly at the root of the spectacular dynamics of capitalism during this period. Surplus extracted from the peripheral societies of the Third World has been transferred by the U.S. multinationals to Europe, to develop its technology, to capture its markets and to subjugate its governments in the context of NATO. not surprisingly, this period is characterized in

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Western Europe by relative peace in the relations between capital and labor. There is talk of a "social contract" in the division of national income, or of an "ubcine's oikuct". This is linked both with the relative absence of serious recessions and with the characteristic capability of the capitalist center to engege in the production of worker-oriented mass consumption goods. But a serious crisis is already upon us. Evidence that capitalism had entered a phase of serious crisis was already ample bofore the advent of the "oil crisis". On the surface, it exhibited itself in the world monetary crisis and the breakdown of the Bretton Woods agreement among the capitalist nations of the world. On a deeper level, it displays itself in the increasingly antagonistic relations between the United States, Western Europe and Japan. The end of the "European frontier" for the United States was inevitable - indeed, it was the price of its success. The European "zone" of global capitalism managed, under the auspices of American-based multinationals, to produce the "discoveries" made in the U.S. Thus, the Europeans finally got themselves in a position to challenge the U.S. in the arena where they developed a "comparative advantage". And this could not fail but have a profound influence on the patterns of international trade, the balance of payments, and, indirectly, on domestic employment in the U.S.

The pyramidal structure that is evolving on a world scale (within the capitalisc orbit), and in which America has achieved dominance, cannot help but bring about serious structural dislocations which affect the dominant power side-by-side with its satellitic partners. The pattern of antagonism and conflict actually extends beyond the relations between the U.S. and Western European nations to the relations among the members of the European Common Market. Furthermore, the global capitalist crisis is felt in the area of industrial relations and of incomes' policy. The end of the "social contract" is around the corner. With it will go the social-democratic position with its faith in transformation of capitalism through gradual marginal reforms.

The end of the "European frontier" implies the drying up (for the time being in any case) of investment outlets which are bothe massive in scale and sufficiently profitable. When this happens the expansionist dynamic of capitalism-capital accumulation - is dampened, and the crisis is on. Predictions on the outcome of the resulting antagonisms

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between the U.S. and its capitalist allies are difficult. In attempting to guess the pattern of the unfolding scenario of confrontation, we should keep in mind not only the extent of domination of the Western European economy by the U.S. industrial and financial multinationals - which is spectacular by any standards, but the bargaining advantages that accrue to the U.S. as a result of its capacity to provide the nuclear umbrella for Western capitalism and its significantly better position in respect to access to oil resources.

No matter what the outcome of this internal conflict may be, Western capitalism will face an impasse unless it can open new "frontiers". The possibilities that may derive from new technologies - including those that may arise from the switch to new forms of energy support of the industrial structure - should not be discounted. And this, in part, may be the long-run meaning of the "energy crisis". But capitalism will inevitably search for extensive investment outlets as well. If it discovers these outlets in Soviet-controlled territory, a major global confrontation is a distinct and awesome possibility. As an alternative, it may turn to the Third World - especially to recource-rich Africa - and be forced to proceed toward a further transformation of the structural characteristics of the metropolis-periphery polarity, by facilitating the industrialization of some of the peripheral nations. Were this to happen, the peripheral nations involved would experience development oi their industrial base, but dependency would be perpetuated moving on to more advanced and elaborate forms, such as are characteristic of Mexico or Brazil, for instance.

The combative co-existence which has been initiated by Carter and his team is a reflection of the internal dynamics of western capitalism. "Trilateralism" - which relates to the restructuring of the relations among the U.S., Western Europe and Japan on a basis that guarantees U.S. supremacy - is also a Carter policy and goes hand in hand with his new style of brinkmanship.

One aspect of the new phase in U.S. - Soviet relationa should not be neglected. It has to do with the efforts of the U.S. administration to develop an anti-Soviet coalition with China, efforts which may also effect the internal struggle for power within the Chinese ruling socia" layer. This in some respects is the more lethal aspect of U.S. global strategy. But the game is complex and it is hard to make predictions.

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In Europe, with the demise of Helsinki, NATO will once again come to play a more active and visible role. NATO as the "enforcer" of Pax Americana will attempt to bring a sense of militant unity among the Western partners, who will otherwise be increasingly beset by economic antagonisms and by a tendency to retyrn to protectionist policies.

In the Eastern Mediterranean a complex scenario is evolving. It is dominated by the Arab-Israeli conflict, by the struggle of the Palestinian people against American imperialism and Israeli sub-imperialism; by the fate of Cyprus which was invaded by Turkish troops under American guidance in order to destroy the non-aligned character of the island and to transform it into a U.S. and NATO military base; by Turkish expansionism in the Aegean which is carefully managed behind the scenes by the U.S.; by the determination of the Soviet Union to guarantee free passage for its fleet through the straits; by the increasing difficulties that Yogoslavia is facing -in relation to both superpowers- in maintaining its non-aligned status. Undoubtedly this is a critical area for U.S. and Western imperialism, for it is linked with the oil-rich Middle East. Despite the spectacular growth of the naval presence of the Soviet Union in the area, the U.S. has struck many successes, mostly by developing temporary "alliances" with some Arab regimes that have "split" the Arab front and set back the Palestinian cause. Indeed, the behavior of the Soviet Union in the area has been so weak as to suggest that there may be some tacit bargaining between it and the U.S. for the Balkan peninsula and the eastern Mediterranean basin. (And this despite the return of the "cold war").

But resource-rich Africa is becoming day by day the most coveted target of the U.S. and the West. Of course the other two superpowers are also actively present on the continent. It is a region in which no clear rules of behavior have been developed to limit the actions of the superpowers -a sort of "free for all" confrontation with only on restraint present- the fear of major involvements that could easily get out of hand. The national liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa have met heretofore with spectacular success. But great dangers lie ahead. Not so much the danger of military intervention -a danger which, of course, is clear and present- but primarily the danger of

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economic infiltration by Western capital which would lead to a new form of subtle by tenacious dependence.

The economic strategy of some of the oil-rich Arab nations are enhancing this danger. Petrodollars invested in the metropolitan centers of capitalism increase the dependence of the investing nations on these centers, for the profitability of these investments may well become an element of their long-term concerns. Similarly, the purchase of war materiel from the West on a grand scale may well act as a conduit of political-military infiltration and dependence.

The problem in Africa and the Middle East is disunity -a disunity which is fomented by the forces of imperialism and superpower conflicts- and dependence on capitalist technology and know-how. These very same problems are faced by the nations of Southern Europe, despite the fact that they find themselves in a somewhat different stage of industrial development.

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It must have been noted that I have been making a distinction between Western Europe. Furtermore, that I consider Southern Europe as sharing some of the magor problems that confront the countries of North Africa and the Middle East. The countries of Southern Europe are peripheral to and dependent on the metropolitan centers of Northern Europe and the U.S. While, in fact, most of the countries of North Africa and the Middle East are more or less liberated politically and militarily from the hold of Western imperialism, they are building, in the process of their economic and social development, links with western metropolitan centers that may eventually lead to their integration into the global capitalist system as dependent and peripheral nations. (The same danger exists, of course, for many African non-Mediterranean countries).

It is clear that the non-socialist world has developed a more or less sharply defined pyramidal structure. The apex is occupied by the United States which controls the most advanced technologies and is capable of mobilizing capital resources on a massive scale. The second tier is occupied by the non-socialist countries of Northern

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Europe, Japan and Canada. They are the direct users of these technologies. The third tier is reserved for Southern Europe and other countries that find themselves in a similar stage of development. The role assigned to them is to provide raw materials and industrial products using more or less traditional methods. Some of the countries of North Africa and the Middle East, were they be integrated into the world capitalist system, would fall into this category, while others might constitute a fourth, less developed tier.

The countries of Southern Europe are peripheral, dependent, marginal areas of global capitalism. A part of their social supplus is extrated for use in the metropolitan centers of the North. Their economic development is both unbalanced and extroverted. The countries of North African and the Middle East have broken the political and military ties with dependence, but are facing a continuing danger of returning to this status in newer and more subtle forms, if they do not achieve economic independence, that is to say, if they do not enter a self-propelled process of balanced and autocentered economic development.

For this reason, it is my basic thesis that the nations of the Mediterranean basin share common fate, and that they have both the opportunity and the obligation to coordinate the use of their productive resources in order to face it effectively in the framework of jointly worked out collective strategies.

What does this mean exactly -or what doesn't it mean? First, it means that the countries of Southern Europe would do well not to enter the European Common Market -to prepare themselves for getting out of it, if they are already members. For the EEC is the common market of monopoly capital, and their participation in it would ensure in the long-run that they remain dependent, peripheral, marginal areas of world capitalism- unless or until Western Europe itself undergoes a socialist transformation. It does not mean that either the countries of Southern Europe or the countries of North Africa and the Middle East should not maintain or develop their economic relations with the EEC. The should, but they should do so in a framework that guarantee their capability to pursue a course of balanced and autocentered development. Without national economic planning it is impossible to

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persue such a course. But without the capability to regulate foreign commerce and capital movements it is impossible to have national economic planning. Thus whaterver agreements are struck between the Mediterranean countries and the EEC, they should preserve in full the right for the Mediterranean countries to control foreign trade and capital movements. Second, it means that our Mediterranean countries should bring together their forces in confronting an international price system which robs them of their social surplus. As they should bring together their forces in confronting the actions of international institutions that support the domination of Western monopoly capital, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and many others. This does not mean that they should abstain from the "North-South debate". What it does mean is that their strategy should be based on the principle that the only language Western capitalism unterstands is the language of power. Third, it means that the Mediterranean countries should coordinate their investment plans and commercial policies to the benefit of the region as a whole. In the long-run this could well lead to the development of an effective Mediterranean Common Market, or even of a Mediterranean Economic Community. Fourth, it means that they should establish a large and up to-date research center for the development of technologies that serve the needs of the peoples of the Mediterranean. In the end, this is the only effective way to confront the infiltration of western capital through its technology.

But all this has one basic presupposition. That we choose to follow the road that leads to the socialist transformation of our societies. In the context of capitalism it is impossible for us to seek and achieve a balanced, autocentered development that will serve the needs of our peoples. Socialism is the necessary coddition for success. But socialism, the socialist tranformation of our societies, cannot be achieved without political and military independence by those countries in the Mediterranean basin that are still entangled in the network of politiacal and military domination by the U.S. and NATO. This is a necessary political condition for any serious attempt to enter the road that leads to socialist transformation and the establishment of a Mediterranean economic community. This task will become easier to the extent that the superpowers choose not to confront each other

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in our region. Thus the struggle for a Mediterranean that is free of foreign military bases and foreign fleets, a Mediterranean that belongs to the Mediterraneans, is an integral part of our struggle for national liberation, popular sovereignty and socialist transformation in our part of the world.

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In this historical phase the task of opening the road that leads to national self-determination and socialism in the Mediterranean falls less upon governments and more upon the socialist parties and the progressive political movements of the Mediterranean region. In this Mediterranean sommunity, a special responsibility falls upon the shoulders of the socialist parties of Southern Europe. They should play the role of a bridge between the socialist, progressive and liberationist forces of North Africa and the Middle East and the progressive political forces of Northern Europe. A bridge that will not become the conduit of monopoly capital, but that will provide instead the kindling wood for a general European transformation, a transformation that may lead one day to a federated socialist Europe. They must maintain and develop contacts with all the progressive forces of the Europe of the North. They must at the same time undertake an active debate with the social democracy of the North, which, instead of offering a socialist alternative, offers a framework for the preservation of monopoly capitalism; which, instead of attempting to loosen the power of the U.S. and NATO over Western Europe, has become the most ardent spokesman for it; which instead of working for a New International Order that would limit the exploitation of the "South" by the "North", works for the preservation and extension of the existing international structure of power. This debate will bear fruit. It will do so because the margins for social reform in the North have narrowed significantly as a result of the deep crisis of global capitalism.

This is the task before us. We of PASOK believe that this first Conference of the Socialist Parties of the Mediterranean lays the foundation for a joint, coordinated struggle that will open the road for a liberated, socialist Mediterranean.

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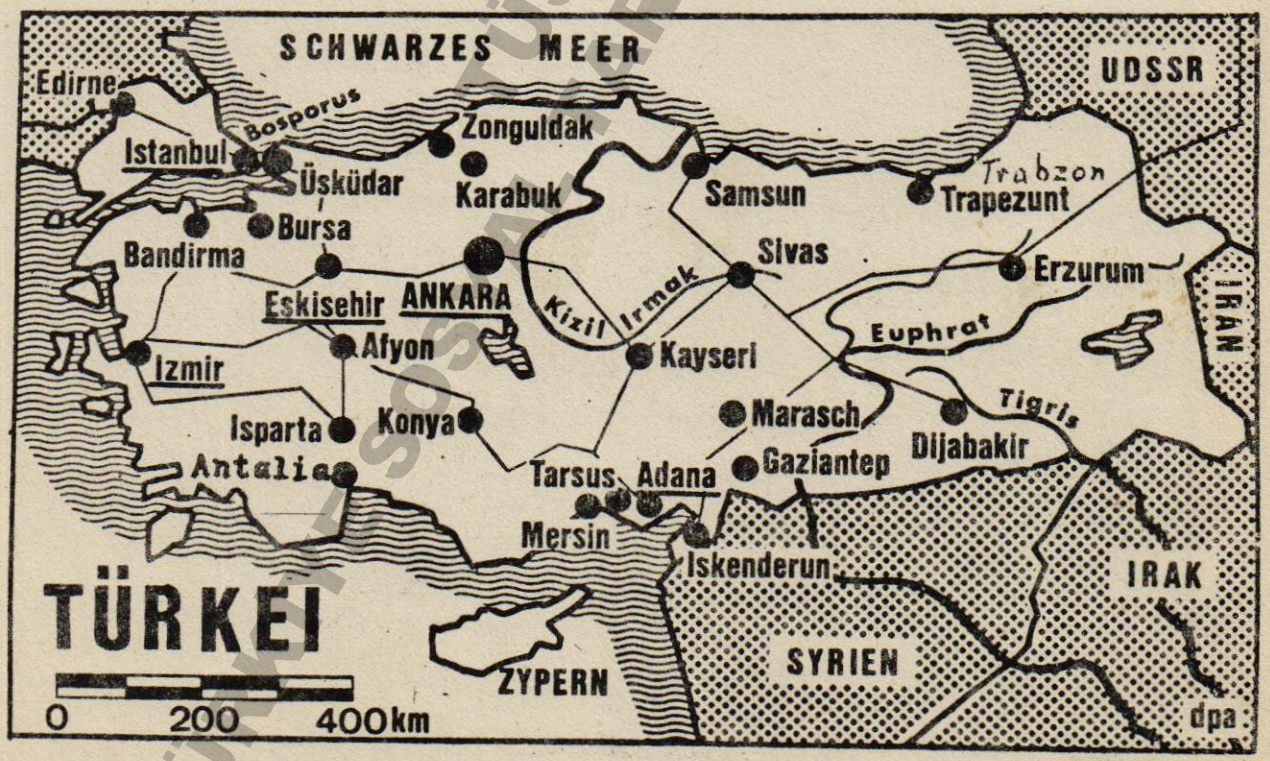
Arbeitskreis der GEW Berlin und des Evangelischen Bildungswerks Berlin

F R I E D E N S E R Z I E H U N G I N D E R S C H U L E

Teil III

Materialien zu dem Thema
Nord-Süd-Beziehungen
Hier: Beispiel Türkei



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ERZIEHUNG ZUM FRIEDEN

Teil III : Nord-Süd-Beziehungen
Hier: Das Beispiel Türkei

Ein aktuelles Ereignis:

Am 12.9.80 hat in der Türkei - wieder einmal - ein Militärputsch stattgefunden.
Dieses Ereignis wurde von der westlichen politischen Öffentlichkeit mit auffallender Zurückhaltung, ja teilweise sogar mit Wohlwollen kommentiert.
Mit dem vorliegenden Material soll dargelegt werden, daß dieser Militärputsch weder historisch noch geographisch als ein isoliert türkisches Ereignis angesehen werden kann.
Vielmehr läßt sich nachweisen, daß die Innen- wie Außenpolitik dieses Entwicklungslandes wesentlich von dem (im Teil I dargestellten) Ost-West-Gegensatz bestimmt wird.
Anders ausgedrückt: Die Nord-Süd-Beziehungen und -Konflikte sind wesentlicher Bestandteil des Ost-West-Gegensatzes.
Die Türkei ist seit 1952 Mitglied der NATO.
Dieser dritte Militärputsch (innerhalb von 20 Jahren) ist die wiederum notwendig gewordene (militärische) Reaktion auf eine sich ständig verschärfende wirtschaftliche - und damit auch politische - Krise.
Diese Krise - wie auch die beiden vorangegangenen - ist auf zwei Ursachen zurückzuführen:
1) auf die seit drei Jahrzehnten anhaltenden enormen Rüstungsanstrengungen, zu denen die Türkei gegenüber seinen Bündnispartnern verpflichtet ist, durch die sie aber an den Rand des wirtschaftlichen Ruins gebracht worden ist
2) auf die Tatsache, daß es der Türkei unter den bestehenden Abhängigkeiten unmöglich ist, eine eigenständige, nationale Politik zu machen.

Dieser Militärputsch hat in einem Entwicklungsland stattgefunden, das sich wegen seiner strategisch wichtigen Lage zur SU und als NATO-Mitglied in einer besonders krassen Abhängigkeit von seinen westlichen Verbündeten befindet.

Einige historische Daten und Fakten, die den Weg der Türkei in seine Abhängigkeit markieren:
1) Nach 25-jähriger Unabhängigkeit begibt sich die Türkei 1947 in die Abhängigkeit der USA, indem sie sich der sog."Truman-Doktrin" unterwirft. Dies hat für das Land die völlige militärische und politi-

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sche Einbindung in die amerikanische Militär- und Außenpolitik zur Folge.
Amerikanische Militärberater kommen ins Land; 1947 gewährt die USA der Türkei 5 Millionen Dollar, die der Rüstungsindustrie und der Entwicklung der strategischen Infrastruktur dienen sollen.
Diese 5 Millionen bilden den Anfang der amerikanischen Militärhilfe für die Türkei.
2) Die Türkei erhält Marshall-Plan-Hilfe.
Die Gegenleistungen der Türkei:
2) Köder für die militärische und politische Einbindung der Türkei ist die sog. "Marshall-Plan-Hilfe", die aber ihrerseits mit speziellen wirtschaftlichen Gegenleistungen verbunden war:
a. Amerikanische Wirtschaftsberater und in den USA ausgebildete Türken überwachen die an die "Hilfe" geknüpften Bedingungen:
- Beseitigung der Handelshindernisse
- Abkehr von staatlicher Wirtschaftsplanung
- Liberalisierung des privaten in- und ausländischen Unternehmertums
b. Verbot der sozialistischen "Türkischen Arbeiter -und Bauernpartei"
c. Amerikanische Militärberater kommen ins Land (s.o.).

3) Das Kern-Interesse aller amerikanischen Aktivitäten dieser Zeit in der Türkei faßt am 1.4.47 der Kolumnist Walter Lippmann in der New York Herald Tribune zusammen:

> " Wir haben die Türkei und Griechenland nicht als Hilfsobjekte gewählt, weil sie Hilfe brauchen oder weil sie Demokratien sind, sondern wir haben sie gewählt, weil sie das Tor zum Herzen der Sowjetunion und zum Schwarzen Meer eröffnen."

4) Wie weit die Verzahnung der amerikanischen mit den (angeblich) türkischen Interessen geht, zeigt sich darin, daß 1950 türkische Soldaten am Korea-Krieg teilnehmen.

5) 1952 wird die Türkei NATO-Mitglied.

6) Eine ähnliche Politik wird in Griechenland, Portugal und Spanien durchgeführt.
Mit dem Marshall-Plan werden die Weichen für ein kapitalistisches Wirtschaftssystem gestellt.
Gleichzeitig werden überall starke Armeen mit amerikanischer Hilfe aufgebaut.

7) Diese Armeen sollten den "inneren und äußeren Feind" (Truman) bekämpfen, d.h. doch wohl sie sollten verhindern, daß die aus diesem Wirt-

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schaftssystem sich ergebenden Krisen, von denen immer breiteste Bevölkerungsschichten getroffen werden, nicht zu politischen Krisen oder gar zu revolutionären Umsturzversuchen führen.
Im der Türkei mußte das Heer bisher dreimal eingreifen: 1960, 1971 und 1980.

8) Um das Ausmaß der militärischen und politischen Integration der Türkei in die amerikanischen Interessen zu verdeutlichen, seien im Folgenden noch einige Passagen aus dem Buch "Partner Türkei oder Foltern für die Freiheit des Westens" von Brigitte Heinrich u. Jürgen Roth (roro-aktuell) zitiert:

S.53: "1956/57...erlaubte die Regierung schließlich, daß

> das türkische Territorium zu einem der wichtigsten Stützpunkte des Kalten Krieges wurde. Über hundert amerikanische Militärstützpunkte und militärische Einrichtungen und Nuklearwaffenlager wurden im ganzen Land installiert, die türkischen Streitkräfte zu 99 % der Kontrolle und dem Oberbefehl des Pentagon unterstellt. Der Aufbau einer eigenen Rüstungsindustrie wurde verhindert und per Vertrag vom 8. 5. 1966 den USA das Interventionsrecht zugestanden.[92] Von den strategischen Flugplätzen um Adana starteten die U2-Aufklärer zu ihren Flügen über die UdSSR. Bei Iskenderun und Adana entstanden Raketen- und Bomberbasen der USA. Ein Drittel des türkischen Staatshaushaltes wurde durchschnittlich für militärische Zwecke verwendet: 1950 30 %, 1955 35 %. Gemessen an der Bevölkerungszahl unterhält die Türkei 1970 mit 650 000 Soldaten, deren Zahl bis 1980 auf eine Million erhöht werden soll, die vergleichsweise größte Armee der NATO-Staaten. Und die Verteidigungsausgaben sind bezogen auf das Volkseinkommen immerhin höher als die Frankreichs und der BRD.[93]

S.54

> [100] Aber nach wie vor gehört die Türkei „zu den als nicht aufgebbar bezeichneten ‚Essentials' des Nixon-Rapports von Guam über das amerikanische Engagement in der Welt. NATO-Strategen sehen in der Türkei noch immer (trotz der damals eingeleiteten Politik der friedlichen Koexistenz, d. V.) eine in den ‚weichen Bauch' der Sowjetunion geschobene Riesenstartbahn für die gemischt amerikanisch-türkische, im sogenannten ‚Double-Key-System' mit taktischen Atomwaffen gerüstete ‚Strike-Force' und eine ideale Plattform für Radar- und Abhörstationen. Das anatolische Hochland . . . gilt, ergänzt durch die 6. Flotte, als Gegenstück zu den im Mittelmeer anwesenden sowjetischen Kräften sowie als politisch-militärischer Keil zwischen der Sowjetunion und deren Brückenkopf im arabischen Mittelosten. Griechenland kann diese Funktion nicht ersetzen."[101]

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> Mit der Zusicherung einer erneuten Militärhilfe über 100 Millionen Dollar[102] leitete der amerikanische Verteidigungsminister die erneute Verstärkung des amerikanischen Engagements in der Türkei ein. Die Militärhilfe war abhängig gemacht worden vom politischen Wohlverhalten Ankaras. Die Zusage erfolgte genau ein Jahr vor der Machtergreifung der Militärs in der Türkei. (1970)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH VAKFI

Im Folgenden sollen die angefügten Materialien kurz erläutert werden, sofern dies notwendig scheint.

Zu 1: "Zahlen und Daten" und Wirtschaftsinformationen

Zu 2 und 3: Die wichtigsten türkischen Parteien und ihre Führer
Diese beiden Seiten sollten in Verbindung mit den beiden folgenden S. gelesen werden, soweit es sich um die beiden Politiker Erbakan und Türkeş handelt.

Zu 4 und 5: Zwei Artikel aus dem Tagesspiegel vom 14.9.80
Die entscheidende Aussage dieser Artikel: Es besteht eine enge Verbindung zwischen den beiden türkischen Parteiführern Erbakan und Türkeş und dem Heroin-Handel aus der Türkei nach Deutschland!

Zu 6: "Wenn es sein muß, sterben"
Ein Artikel über die Aktivitäten und Verbindungen der türkischen (politischen) Vereine in Berlin

Zu 7 und 8: "Entwicklung seit Anfang 1976"
Ein kurze Übersicht, aus der die Auseinandersetzungen der wichtigsten türkischen Parteien hervorgeht.
Die Politiker Ecevit (Sozialdemokrat), Demirel (bis vor kurzem Führer einer Rechts-Koalition), Türkeş (Führer der faschistischen "Nationalen Bewegung") und Erbakan (Führer der"Nationalen Heilspartei", Wortführer der islamisch-nationalistischen Tendenz) werden kurz vorgestellt.

Zu 9: Rüstung und Unterentwicklung / Die sozialen Kosten der Aufrüstung

Die hier aufgezeigte Beziehung zwischen Rüstung und Unterentwicklung muß im Zusammenhang der in der Einleitung dargelegten Hintergründe gesehen werden: Sowohl für das nicht funktionierende (kapitalistische) Wirtschaftssystem als auch für die sehr gut funktionierende Aufrüstung sind die NATO-Partner, an ihrer Spitze die USA, die eigentlich Verantwortlichen.

Zu 10: Auf Bogen 9 steht unter Ausgabenstruktur des Haushalts 1975 u.a.: Dorfentwicklung 4,7%; landwirtsch. Reformprogramme 1,8% ; Militärausgaben über 25%; die Bögen
(Zu)10 und 11 sollen die unmittelbaren Folgen dieser Haushaltsstruktur in der Landwirtschaft (10) und besonders für die Kinder (11) darstellen.
Der Bogen 10 scheint mir auch besonders gut für die Hand des Schülers geeignet.

Zu 12, 13, 14 und 15: Der Militärputsch 1971
Die Darstellung dieses Putsches soll die Internationalität dieser oft nur als türkisches Ereignis hingestellte NATO-Aktion klar machen. Dadurch soll gleichzeitig auch ein besseres Verständnis des Putsches von 1980 vermittelt werden.

Zu 16, [redacted] und 17: Der Putsch am 11.9.1980 fordert zum Verleich mit dem Putsch vor neun Jahren heraus. Wer hat ein Interesse daran, dies zu verschleiern oder zu bestreiten?

zusammengestellt von Hartmut Schmidthals

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

ZAHLEN UND DATEN :

Aus: Amnesty international

Fläche : 767 119 qkm, davon 3 o/o in Europa (mit über 8 o/o der Bevölkerung).

Einwohner : 38,6 Millionen im Jahre 1974 und 31,4 im Jahre 1965. Die jährliche Zuwachsrate beträgt ca. 3 o/o. Am dichtesten sind die Küsten des Marmara, Schwarzen und Ägäischen Meeres besiedelt, die geringste Bevölkerungsdichte findet sich im SO der Türkei mit 6 Einw. / qkm.

Städte: Hauptstadt ANKARA (1,3 Mill. Einw.), Istanbul (2,25 Mill. Einw.) Izmir (0,4 Mill. Einw.), Adana (0,3 Mill. Einw.).

Provinzen : Die Türkei gliedert sich in 69 Provinzen. In 11 davon, in denen 74 o/o der Bevölkerung leben, herrschte nach dem Regierungssturz vom 12. 3. 1971 längere Zeit der Ausnahmezustand mit eingeschränkter ziviler Gerichtsbarkeit.

Bevölkerung : 74o/o Türken, ca. 23 o/o Kurden, ca. 1 o/o Griechen, Armenier und Juden. Außerdem 30 000 Araber, Lasen Tscherkessen, Bulgaren. 98 o/o sind Moslems sunnitischer Glaubensrichtung.

Sprache : Amtssprache ist Türkisch und wird von 80 o/o der Bevölkerung gesprochen. Andere Sprachen: Kurdisch, Arabisch, Griechisch u. a.

Bildung: Fast 2/3 der Bevölkerung sind Analphabeten, bei dem Bevölkerungsteil über 40 Jahren ca. 80 o/o. Nur 74 o/o aller Kinder in schulpflichtigem Alter können eine Volksschule besuchen, da in 1/3 aller Dörfer (ca. 13 000) eine solche fehlt.

Wirtschaft: Das Nationaleinkommen wuchs von 1945 bis 1965 jährlich um ca. 4 o/o, seit 1965 - 1969 um 6 - 7 o/o p. a. und 1970 um 5,6 o/o. Nach dem Regierungssturz 1971 stagnierte die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung allgemein und erlitt partiell Rückschläge. Zwar belebte sich der Außenhandel, doch die Importe stiegen stärker als die Ausfuhren. Am 14. 6. 72 verabschiedete die Nationalversammlung eine Landreform, die Grundbesitz je nach Bodenqualität auf ca. 30 - 200 ha beschränkt. Am 1. 1. 1973 trat die erste Phase des Assoziierungsabkommens mit der EG in Kraft.

Bodenschätze : Die T. verfügt über reiche Vorkommen an Chromerz (Vorräte ca. 60 Mill. t), Mangan, Kupfer, Borax, Schwefel, Wolfram, Zink, Kobalt, Steinkohle, Braunkohle, Erdöl, Eisenerz. Die geförderten Bodenschätze, die zum großen Teil von ausländischen Gesellschaften ausgebeutet werden, werden zu 90 o/o exportiert.

Landwirtschaft : Sie liefert 33 o/o des Bruttoeinkommens der T., von 77 Mill. ha Gesamtfläche waren 1968 24,2 Mill. ha landwirtschaftlich genutzt, davon 75 o/o für Getreide. 13,5 o/o der Bevölkerung (Großgrundbesitzer, Agas und Großbauern) verfügen über 72 o/o des bebauten Bodens, 16,7 o/o aller Bauern sind landlos. 90 o/o der Landwirte erzielten insgesamt 42 o/o des landwirtschaftlichen Einkommens, die 10 o/o (Großgrundbesitzer, Agas und Großbauern) erwirtschafteten 58 o/o des landwirtschaftlichen Gesamteinkommens.

Außenpolitik: Die T. ist Mitglied der NATO (1952) und des CENTO-Paktes, ist der EG assoziiert und Mitglied der UNO, des Balkan-Paktes, ECE, Europarat, FAO, GATT, OECD etc.

Weitere Informationen zur wirtschaftlichen Situation der Türkei:

Die vorherrschende Form der Industrie ist die Montage- Industrie.
Aus dem Ausland importierte Fertigteile werden in der Türkei zusammengesetzt; die türkische Industrie ist damit in hohem Maße von den westlichen Industrien abhängig.
Durch diese Art der Industrie können auch keine Devisen-Überschüsse erwirtschaftet werde, da die hier gewonnenen Devisen ständig für den Einkauf der Fertigteile gebraucht werden.
Eine weitere Folge: Die meisten Industrieanlagen in der Türkei sind nur zu 50% ausgelastet, was wiederum eine Steigerung der Arbeitslosigkeit bewirkt.

Die Technisierung der Landwirtschaft brachte eine Steigerung der Produktion mit sich. Gewinner waren (und sind) die Großgrundbesitzer, während die Landarbeiter z.T. arbeitslos wurden.

Der Anwerbestop türkischer Gastarbeiter in der BRD 1973 verschärfte die wirtschaftliche Situation in der Türkei.
Die zweitwichtigste Devisenquelle neben dem Export stellen die Überweisungen der türk. Gastarbeiter in Westeuropa dar.

Die jährliche Inflationsrate in der Türkei beträgt 90%!!

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Die wichtigsten türkischen Parteien und ihre Führer.

Darstellung

- *Gerechtigkeitspartei* (AP, Adalet Partısı), Vorsitzender S. DEMİREL, konservative Partei, 1961 als Nachfolgerin der aufgelösten D.P. (s.o.) gegründet, legt besonderes Gewicht auf die Zusammenarbeit mit den USA, Förderung ausländischer Investitionen, Überstützung der türkischen Privatindustrie, gilt als Interessenvertretung der Großgrundbesitzer.

- *Republikanische Volkspartei* (CHP, Cumhuriet Halk Partısı), Vorsitzender B. ECEVIT, älteste türkische Partei (s.o.), seit Anfang der sechziger Jahre mit sozialdemokratischer Ausrichtung. Das ökonomische Konzept basiert auf dem "Volkssektor" (vgl. dazu ŞEN, Politische Entwicklung u.a.). Ziel ist die staatliche Unterstützung und Förderung von Investitionen von Arbeitern, Bauern and Angestellten, die normalerweise keine Möglichkeiten haben zu investieren; Förderung von Zusammenschlüssen von Bauern, Ladenbesitzern, Arbeitnehmern im Ausland; größere soziale Gerechtigkeit; stärkere Partizipation; Einrichtung von Zentraldörfern, die die umliegenden Dörfer mit Dienstleistungen und Infrastruktur versorgen.

- *Partei der nationalistischen Bewegung* (MHP, Milliyeci Haraket Partısı), Vorsitzender A. TÜRKEŞ, neo-faschistische Partei, die in erster Linie nach der Befreiung aller Turkvölker in Asien, speziell in der Sowjetunion, und nach der Gründung einer Großtürkei strebt. Die Zielsetzung wird "Nationale Doktrin der Neun Lichter" genannt. Die "Neun Lichter" sind: Nationalismus, Idealismus, Ehrgefühl, Wissenschaft, Einheit, Bauernschaft, Freiheit und Selbständigkeit, Fortschritt, Industrie. Die bewaffneten Jugendorganisationen der MHP, die sich "Idealisten" (Ülkücüler) oder "Graue Wölfe" nennen und die "Ausrottung der roten Anarchie", die Verfolgung von "Kommunisten, Freimaurern, Zionisten" auf ihre Fahnen geschrieben haben, haben nicht nur das Gros der politischen Morde in der Türkei zu verantworten, sondern werden zunehmend auch in der Bundesrepublik aktiv, nachdem TÜRKEŞ dazu aufgerufen hat, den Kampf nach Deutschland zu tragen.

„Graue Wölfe"

Der Graue Wolf ist das Symbol der türkischen Faschisten. In der türkischen Frühzeit soll ein grauer Wolf den türkischen Kriegern den Weg nach Kleinasien gewiesen haben. Heute ist der Graue Wolf das Symbol für alle rechtsterroristischen Organisationen, die mit der MHP zusammenarbeiten oder ihr nahestehen. Gemeint sind in der Regel die Jugendorganisationen, die „Idealistischen Jugendvereine", ÜGD, deren Mitglieder militärisch ausgebildet bzw. so fanatisiert worden sind, daß sie jeden Befehl ihres „Führers" ausführen. So wie das Hakenkreuz in der indogermanischen Geschichte ein religiöses Symbol war und unter Hitler zum Schreckenssymbol wurde, ist es in der Türkei mit dem „Symbol des Grauen Wolfes".

Aus dem Artikel: Die "Grauen Wölfe" und ihr "heiliger Krieg". In: Metall (Zeitung der IG Metall), Nr. 2/23.1. 1980, S. 11.

Im Verfassungsschutzbericht 1978 wird die MHP als extrem nationalistisch und militant antikommunistisch bezeichnet. Auf einer Veranstaltung in Dortmund hätten Redner angekündigt: „Wir werden alle Türken niedriger Abstammung ausschalten" und: „Wir werden ganz bestimmt Blut vergießen." Die in der Bundesrepublik bestehenden 100 türkischen „Idealisten-Vereinigungen" seien entweder von der MHP gegründet worden oder stünden ganz unter ihrem Einfluß, heißt es in dem Bericht.

(Türkenprotest gegen Türkeş, in: Frankfurter Rundschau vom 18. 8. 1979)

- *Nationale Heilspartei* (MSP, Milli Selamet Partısı), Vorsitzender N. ERBAKAN, baut ihr Programm auf der Reislamisierung der Türkei und der Rückkehr des Kalifats auf. Sie lehnt alle vertraglichen Bindungen der Türkei mit der westlichen Welt ab und will stattdessen "einen gemeinsamen Wirtschaftsmarkt mit den arabischen Ländern aufbauen und die Industrialisierung der Türkei vorantreiben. Die Lösungsvorschläge der Partei für Probleme zwischen Arbeitnehmern und Arbeitgebern und für andere gesellschaftliche Konflikte basieren letztlich auf dem Gedanken der islamischen Bruderschaft" (ŞEN, Politische Entwicklung, S. 157). Die Jugend soll nach islamischen Gesetzen und islamischer Philosophie zu einer neuen Moral erzogen werden. Zu diesem Zweck wurden lt. ŞEN über 300 islamische Mittelschulen und auch Koranschulen für 4- bis 9jährige Kinder gegründet, was nach türkischem Recht nicht zugelassen ist. In der Bundesrepublik ist ein Großteil der islamischen Organisationen unter dem Einfluß der MHP (vgl. dazu S.97f).

Gewerkschaften in der Türkei

Die Aufgabe von Gewerkschaften in einem wenig entwickelten Land wie der Türkei sind von denen in einem hochindustrialisierten Land sehr verschieden. Sie müssen sich dort Ziele setzen, die in mitteleuropäischen Ländern bereits vor 50 bis 100 Jahren verwirklicht worden sind, z.B. geregelte Arbeitszeit, gesetzliche Sozial- und Rentenversicherung etc. Es ging und geht also noch nicht um die Absicherung, sondern zunächst um den Aufbau einer Existenz.

1952 Türk-Is 1,6 Mill.

Gewerkschaften wurden in der Türkei erst nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg gegründet. Man orientierte sich dabei stark an amerikanischen Vorbildern.

Die Dachgewerkschaft Türk-Is (Konföderation der Arbeitergewerkschaften in der Türkei) wurde 1952 gegründet. Sie ist bis heute mit 34 Mitgliedsgewerkschaften und schätzungsweise 1,6 Mio. Mitgliedern der größte Dachverband.

Disk 8.000 1967

1967 entstand die Dachgewerkschaft DISK in Opposition zur

DEMOKRASİ TARİHİ MERKEZİ VAKFI

Türkisches Brauchtum

-1-

Am häufigsten gerieten während der letzten Jahre in Verbindung mit Heroin Türken in die Schlagzeilen. Sie erfüllen auch alle Vorstellungen, die gemeinhin beim Bild des Rauschgifthandels aufkommen: eine unverstandene Minderheit in Deutschland, nur als Arbeitskräfte geduldet, unbegreiflich in ihren sozialen Formen, stets in Zusammenhang mit Drogen genannt.

Mohn ist seit fast zwei Jahrtausenden eine Hauptkulturpflanze in dem breiten anatolischen Hinterlandstreifen parallel zur Mittelmeerküste. Zur Zeit der Sultane war Opium der wichtigste Exportartikel, ohne daß der Handel staatlich organisiert war. Kemal Atatürk, der seinem Volk ziemlich gewalttätig europäisches Denken aufstülpte, bestimmte den Zwangsverkauf an staatliche Kontore, doch diese Vorschrift wurde wie die meisten Gesetze nur in sehr beschränktem Maß eingehalten. Interessant ist allerdings, daß Opiumucht in Anatolien während der letzten 50 ahre kaum eine Rolle spielte. Opium war nd ist fast ausschließlich „cash crop", Handelsware.

Türkisches Opium gilt als das beste der Welt mit einem Morphingehalt bis zu 15 Prozent und ist für die legale und die illegale Produktion von Opiaten stets gleichermaßen gefragt. Daher wurde Opium zwangsläufig zu einem politischen Faktor, der die Beziehungen hauptsächlich zu den USA während der letzten zwei Jahrzehnte entscheidend beeinflußte.

Die immer noch geltende amerikanische These beim Kampf gegen das Gift ist, daß man das Drogenproblem nur in den Anbauländern lösen könne. D. h.: man propagiere andere, „ebenfalls lukrative" Kulturpflanzen und zahle für eine gewisse Zeit „Überbrückungshilfe". Doch bis auf Gebiete des Goldenen Dreiecks sind alle Opiumanbaugebiete Großgrundbesitz. Könnte auch ein Wechsel der Bewirtschaftung den finanziellen Verlust des Landbesitzers ausgleichen, die Situation der Pächter würde sich immer verschlechtern. Zudem herrscht in all diesen Ländern ein traditionelles System der Korruption, das derartige Lösungen schon in ihren Anfängen unterläuft.

H.G. Behr Tgs. 14.9.80

Die Türkei ist dafür ein schönes Beispiel. Als 1966 Suleiman Demirel an die Regierung des NATO-Landes kam, begann die neue Opium-Diplomatie der USA, die dazu führte, daß bis 1971 die Zahl der zum Mohnanbau berechtigten Provinzen von sieben auf vier sank. Dort lebten immer noch rund 90 000 Familien vom Mohnanbau, und bezeichnend war auch ihre Auswahl: Dort waren die wichtigsten Regierungsmitglieder beheimatet, wie z. B. Demirel, der in Isparta als Sohn eines dieser Großgrundbesitzer aufgewachsen war.

Am 12. März 1971 zwang das Militär Demirel zum Rücktritt und setzte die Regierung Erim ein, unbestritten unter Mitwirkung des CIA. In den USA kämpfte Nixon gerade um seine Wiederwahl, und dabei war das Heroinproblem durchaus ein Thema. Um die Verflechtung von Politik und Heroin in Vietnam nicht zu erwähnen, behalf sich der Präsident mit einer abenteuerlichen Theorie: 90 Prozent allen Heroins in den USA stamme aus der Türkei-Marseille-Verbindung, desgleichen „nahezu alles" in Vietnam. Und Nixon versprach „spektakuläre Erfolge auf dem Gebiet der Rauschgiftbekämpfung". Die amerikanische Botschaft in Ankara erhielt Anweisung, die Regierung Erim unter Druck zu setzen, und am 29. Juni 1971 verkündete der Ministerpräsident, die Mohnernte des Jahres 1972 werde die letzte der Türkei sein.

Hinter den Kulissen begannen nun hektische Verhandlungen. Die Türken hatten ausgerechnet, daß der Verlust durch diesen Beschluß 432 Millionen Dollar betrage, während die Amerikaner auf nur 35 Millionen kamen. Schließlich einigte man sich auf einen Kredit von 80 Millionen, von dem allerdings nur 36 überwiesen wurden, und das Ganze war eines der vielen Manöver, mit denen Nixon seine Wiederwahl im November 1972 sicherte.

Wie zu erwarten, bekamen die Bauern von dem Geld nichts zu sehen, und 1975 zog Demirel mit dem Versprechen in den Wahlkampf, den Mohnanbau wieder einzuführen, natürlich unter strenger Kontrolle. Allerdings hatten weder er noch die Berater von der USAID (United States Agency for International Development) ein System gefunden, wie man mehr als 90 000 Produktionseinheiten drei Wochen lang überwachen will. Die Patentlösung hieß schließlich „Mohnstroh" und bestand aus ungeritzten, vorzeitig geernteten Kapseln, denen das Morphin nur durch eine komplizierte chemische Prozedur entzogen werden kann. Dieses Verfahren hat sich mittlerweile für die legale chemische Industrie eingebürgert, andere Formen der Ernte aber konnte es auch nicht verhindern.

Die politischen Sitten der Türkei sind mit mitteleuropäischen insofern nicht zu vergleichen, da „Bakschisch" dort als anständiges Wort gilt und in der Politik offen ausgesprochen und manchmal auch ausgehandelt wird. Dementsprechend groß ist der Geldbedarf der Parteien, und für kleinere Gruppen ergeben sich daraus immer wieder Finanzierungsprobleme. Abgeordnete zu „kaufen" ist nicht unanständig, aber teuer. Die Regierung ist bei diesem Spiel im Vorteil, da sie gewisse Pfründe überlassen kann, der Opposition stehen aber nur finanzielle Mittel zur Verfügung, da Versprechen für den Fall künftiger Siege nicht ernst genommen werden.

Demirels Regierung von 1975 war eine Koalition von rechts bis ganz rechts. Zwei Parteien gewannen dabei eine immer größere Bedeutung: die „Nationale Heilspartei" Necmettin Erbakans und die „Nationale Bewegungspartei" unter Arparslan Türkes. Erbakan war bis 1977 stellvertretender Premier, Türkes Innenminister; beide stammen aus den klassischen Opiumgebieten, und beide nutzten ihr Amt, ihre Organisationen über die ganze Türkei und auch unter den Türken in der Bundesrepublik zu verbreiten.

In Deutschland sind die offiziellen Zentren der beiden Parteien Koranschulen, Kulturvereine, „Brauchtumsgruppen" und Jugendverbände. Es war immer schon bekannt, daß sich Heilsparteiler und vor allem die „Grauen Wölfe" der Bewegungspartei aller Methoden bedienten, die einst die SA einführte, aber die rechten Prügler waren manchen deutschen Stellen ganz willkommen: Sie schlugen ja „linke" Gewerkschafter unter ihren Landsleuten, sorgten unaufgefordert in den Betrieben für ein harsches Klima strenger Arbeitsmoral, und das Wohlgefallen ging so weit, daß beispielsweise in Hamburg die kommunale Wohnungsbaugesellschaft den Grauen Wölfen ein Geschäftslokal vermietete. Weniger freundlich denken Rauschgiftfahnder über diese beiden Organisationen, denn nach allgemeiner Ansicht lenken sie auch den Heroinschmuggel aus der Türkei nach Deutschland und beherrschen einen großen Teil des Marktes.

Auch hier erfolgte wieder einmal die Diplomatie des Warnschusses. Im Oktober 1978 verhaftete Düsseldorfs Kriminalpolizei ein türkisches Duo mit 3,5 Kilogramm Heroin bester Qualität. Am 1. Juni 1979 kam es zum Prozeß, der gleich spektakulär anhob: Aus Angst vor vier streng blickenden Landsleuten, die eigens zu diesem Prozeß angereist kamen, schnitt sich einer der Angeklagten mit einer Rasierklinge den Hals auf. Der andere war dafür um so geständiger und erzählte, daß ihm Parteichef Erbakan persönlich das Heroin zum Verkauf in Deutschland gegeben habe.

Der Richter verzichtete auf die Frage, ob Erbakan dafür nicht einen Angestellten habe aufbringen können, zumal es für Politiker auch in der Türkei ungewöhnlich ist, Heroin direkt in die Hand zu nehmen. Das Geständnis sollte ja nur betonen, was ohnedies bekannt war: daß sich Heils- und Bewegungspartei überwiegend mit Heroin finanzieren und daß jede auch den Stoff herstellt.

TÜRKİYE GENÇLİK ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Hans-Georg Behr Tagesspiegel 14.9.80

Als Diplomatengepäck

Mit etwas grimmigem Humor kann man es als einen Prestigepunkt des neuen Nationalbewußtseins sehen, wie es zum Programm beider Parteien gehört, daß die Türkei auch in der Heroinproduktion autark wurde. Erbakans und seiner Partei Aufstieg begann in den Fünfzigern als Zulieferer der Guerinis in Marseille. Als es im Getriebe der French Connection zu knirschen begann, hatte er einen voll ausgebildeten Chemiker, Izzet Sariyar, in einschlägigen Kreisen „Dr. Izzet" genannt. 1967 lief die Produktion der Nationalen Heilspartei an. Lieferungen nach Frankreich erfolgten weiterhin, wie 1972 die Verhaftung des Senators Bayhan mit Diplomatenpaß und 146 Kilo Opium in Frankreich bewies.

1977 schien Dr. Izzet genügend fachkundigen Nachwuchs eingearbeitet zu haben, denn er zog sich aus der Produktion zurück und siedelte in die Bundesrepublik über, wo er ausgerechnet als Koch „ein neues Leben beginnen" wollte. Im Februar 1978 wurde er in Frankfurt verhaftet. Seine Vernehmung verlief sehr diskret, was verständlich ist, bedenkt man ein weiteres Detail aus seinem Lebenslauf: der gute Mann war viele Jahre lang der beste V-Mann der US-Drogenfahndung DEA. Ein hoher BKA-Beamter: „Die arbeiten immer mit den Größten zusammen." Geradezu gigantisch war auch Izzets Mitteilungsdrang bei seiner Vernehmung: er nannte zwei konkurrierende Gangs der BRD und gab die Adressen etlicher Heroinlabors in Kurdistan. Über sein weiteres Schicksal ist nichts zu erfahren.

Auch die Bewegungspartei bekam einen Warnschuß ab, als in Berlin der Nachtklubbesitzer Ismael Cakir samt seiner Leibgarde von Grauen Wölfen verhaftet wurde. Er galt als größter Heroinhändler dieser Stadt.

Die Methoden des Schmuggels und des Vertriebssystems sind mittlerweile gut bekannt, aber auch so raffiniert, daß es schwer ist, sie abzustellen. Es ist das alte System der Ameisenstraße, von Parteimitgliedern durchgeführt. Als Vertriebszentren dienen Reisebüros, manchmal auch Nachtklubs. Auf den Markt geworfen werden auf einmal höchstens Mengen bis zu fünf Kilogramm, und der Bedarf ist so groß, daß sie innerhalb eines Tages abgesetzt sind.

Es ist auch keine kriminelle Organisation für dieses System nötig — die politische ist straff genug. Es bleiben dennoch viele Fragen:

Es mußte bundesrepublikanischen Stellen spätestens 1972 bekannt gewesen sein, daß Heils- und Bewegungspartei, die manchmal auch Vertriebszentren waren, ihre Aktivitäten mit Opium und Heroin finanzieren. Dazu gab es nicht nur genügend Erkenntnisse der Interpol und ähnlicher Organisationen, sondern immer wieder auch Hinweise durch deutsche und türkische Journalisten.

In den letzten beiden Jahren gab es in der Türkei durch Terrorüberfälle hauptsächlich dieser beiden Organisationen mehr als 2500 Tote, in Berlin den ersten Anfang Januar 1980. Es war auch kein Geheimnis, daß die Grauen Wölfe eine Terrororganisation sind — dennoch konnte Türkes im Oktober 1978 in der Dortmunder Westfalenhalle eine üble Hetzrede vor 12 000 Anhänger halten. Es ist bekannt, daß die Grauen Wölfe in Deutschland als „Föderation Demokratischer Türkischer Idealistenvereinigungen in Europa" auftreten und daß 1972 ein politischer Mord in Norderstedt bei Hamburg auf ihr Konto geht.

Dennoch wurde von bundesrepublikanischen Stellen bisher nichts Ernsthaftes gegen diese beiden Organisationen unternommen. Sie wurden auch — von den beiden oben erwähnten Ausnahmen abgesehen — nie in Zusammenhang mit Heroinhandel genannt. Die bislang in Deutschland wegen Heroin verhafteten Türken waren fast ausnahmslos Mitglieder eines der Parteiverbände, aber für die Öffentlichkeit hieß es immer nur — bewußt? — vage: „Türken".

Hängt es damit zusammen, daß beispielsweise der Verfassungsschutz bis zumindest 1979 seine V-Leute unter den Türken ausnahmslos aus diesen Kreisen rekrutierte? Hängt es damit zusammen, daß es Versuche gab, die Grauen Wölfe beim Metallarbeiterstreik als Streikbrecher gegen Türken einzusetzen?

Deutsche Behörden machen eine seltsame Figur, wenn es um innenpolitische Fragen bei Türken in Deutschland geht. Bekannte Heroinhändler aus Kreisen dieser Partei können ungehindert ihren Geschäften nachgehen. Keine der deutschen Städte bildet da eine Ausnahme.

Hat dieses seltsame Spiel Hintergründe, die in dem Zusammenhang von Wirtschafts- und politischen Interessen liegen?

„Der Kampf gegen Rauschgift war bisher keine vorrangige Aufgabe des Staates", sagt dazu ein hochrangiger Verfassungsschützer. „Das kam erst 1979. Bislang hatten die beiden Parteien auch gewisse Annehmlichkeiten, da sie unter ihren Landsleuten für Ordnung sorgten. Aber Schonung bei ihren illegalen Aktivitäten können sie künftig nicht erwarten."

Fortsetzung
am nächsten Sonntag

TÜRKİYE BİLİMLER KÜTÜPHANESİ

Berliner Stimme
Nr. 2 □ 12. Januar 1980

„Wenn es sein muß, sterben"

Abc der Türken-Vereine

Auf der äußersten Rechten des türkischen Parteienspektrums steht die MHP des „Führers" Türkesch. Als deren Kampforganisation gelten die „Grauen Wölfe", die in der Vergangenheit in Militärlagern ausgebildet wurden: ihnen wird eine große Anzahl politischer Morde in der Türkei zugeschrieben. Die Organisation ist im Zuge der Verhängung des Kriegsrechts von der ehemaligen Regierung Ecevit verboten worden.

In West-Berlin gibt es drei türkische Vereine, die die MHP unterstützen:

- Türk ocagi (gesprochen: oschaa)
- Türk Genc (Gensch)
- Büyük Ülkü („Großer Ideal-Verein").

Alle drei sind straff nach dem Führer-Prinzip organisiert, in ihren Reihen befinden sich viele „Graue Wölfe", insbesondere bei „Türk Genc". Etwa zehn Berliner Moscheen unterstützen die MHP, dazu kommen noch etliche sogenannte Koran-Schulen und Kurse.

Eine weitere militant-rechte Gruppierung steht der türkischen „Nationalen Heilspartei" (MSP) nahe, einer fanatisch-religiösen Partei, deren Führer Erbakan die Abschaffung der „europäischen" Gesetze und statt dessen die Einführung der „Scheria", der auf den Koran gegründeten islamischen Rechtsprechung, verlangt; dazu gehört z. B. auch das Abhacken der Hände als Strafe für Diebe. Etwa zehn Moscheen in Berlin unterstützen diese Richtung, darunter auch die Mevlana-Moschee am Kottbusser Tor, deren Mitglieder für den blutigen Überfall am 5. Januar verantwortlich zu machen sind.

In der Mevlana-Moschee lehren besonders fanatisierte Hodschas, die sich in jüngster Zeit an Khomeinis islamischer Revolution in Persien berauschen. In Flugblättern, die sie am vergangenen Sonnabend verteilten, formulierten sie Grundsätze wie: „Dein Recht: Sofort zum Schweigen bringen, wer deine Religion angreift!" und „Deine Pflicht: Wenn es sein muß, sofort sterben!". In der Moschee werden auch Karate-Kurse abgehalten.

Die politische Polizei schätzt die Mitgliederzahlen dieser rechtsradikalen bzw. fanatisch-religiösen Vereinigungen auf ca. 1400 (in West-Berlin leben insgesamt rund 100 000 Bürger türkischer Nationalität), die Zahl der islamischen Moscheen gibt sie mit 14 an. Über die Anzahl der dort und in Koran-Schulen unterrichteten türkischen Kinder hat die Polizei keine Erkenntnisse. Nach einer Untersuchung der Arbeiterwohlfahrt von 1977 sind es mehr als 1400, die dort ständig unterrichtet werden, die Dunkelziffer wird auf 4000 geschätzt.

Auf der äußersten Linken gibt es eine Vielzahl kleiner Gruppen, von denen die meisten weniger als 20 Mitglieder zählen. Sie orientieren sich an der Sowjetunion, an China oder Albanien und sind untereinander heillos zerstritten. Bei Demonstrationen bringen sie nicht mehr als 200 Landsleute auf die Beine, während die MHP-Vereine bis zu 5000 mobilisieren können.

Der „Türkische Arbeiterverein", dessen Sekretär Celalettin Kesim am vergangenen Sonnabend erstochen wurde, hat etwa 60 Mitglieder, zwei Drittel davon sind Arbeiter, die fast alle in DGB-Gewerkschaften organisiert sind. Kesim war, bevor er im vergangenen Dezember Gewerbelehrer in Neukölln wurde, Vertrauensmann der IG Metall bei Borsig. Der Verein ist linkssozialistisch orientiert, von sozialdemokratischen Türken werden ihm Kontakte zur in der Türkei verbotenen Kommunistischen Partei nachgesagt. Eng mit dem Verein verbunden ist das Türken-Zentrum in der Neuköllner Schinkestraße, das von etwa 200 Stammgästen frequentiert wird. Neben politischen Diskussionen finden dort auch Kurse statt, z. B. Sprachunterricht und Nachhilfe für Schüler.

Unter den Vereinen, die der sozialdemokratisch orientierten „Republikanischen Volkspartei" (CHP) Ecevits nahestehen, ist der größte die „Progressive Volkseinheit". Für die erzkonservative „Gerechtigkeitspartei", die derzeit in der Türkei die Minderheitsregierung stellt, werben zwei Vereine, die bis Mitte vergangenen Jahres auch Kontakte zur hiesigen CDU hatten.

P. G.

TÜRK SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ GÜSTAV

Entwicklung seit Anfang 1976

Die Bilder, welche die Türkei Anfangs 1976 sah, glichen Szenen aus einem Bürgerkrieg: Auf den Straßen von Ankara, Izmir und Istanbul rollten Panzer, explodierten Molotow -Cocktails und Tränengasgranaten, lieferten sich Polizisten Gefechte mit bewaffneten Studententrupps, rannten Zivilisten in Panik davon. Es gab Überfälle und Mordanschläge. Polizeirazzien in Restaurants, Nightclubs und Privatwohnungen fördern Waffenarsenale zu Tage.

In Istanbul versuchte eine Studentin durch Hammerschläge auf den Kopf, Selbstmord zu verüben, weil ihr Bruder gestorben war- "an den Folgen der Folterungen bei der Polizei", wie seine politischen Freunde behaupten. In Ankara zogen linke Studenten mit dem Ruf "Mörder-Regierung" durch die Innenstadt - vorbei an Militärposten mit aufgepflanztem Bajonett. Mehrere Mütter getöteter Studenten beteiligten sich an einer Protestaktion einer Frauenorganisation gegen "faschistische Totschläger". Die Veranstaltung fand im Saal statt, denn Straßendemonstrationen werden seit Ende Januar von der Regierung nicht mehr erlaubt. Bis März waren die Universitäten, an denen zuletzt der Lehrbetrieb ohnehin gelähmt war, geschlossen. Vorübergehend haben diese Notmaßnahmen die Gewalttätigkeit gedämpft, wenn gleich es immer noch zu vereinzelten Bomben-und Pistolenanschlägen kommt. Die hektische Spannung ist nicht gewichen.

Süleyman Demirel, seit Anfang 1975 an der Spitze einer mit knapper Mehrheit regierenden Rechtskoalition, wird von der oppositionellen Republikanischen Volkspartei des, von der Bevölkerung als Cypernhelden angesehenen, Bülent Ecevit verdächtigt, durch das Hineinziehen der Generäle in die politische Mitverantwortung sein eigenes Überleben als Regierungschef sichern zu wollen. Schon zweimal seit Ausbruch der neuen Studentenunruhen drohte der 51-jährige Demirel mit der Verhängung des Kriegsrechts. Ganz offenbar waren die Militärführer indessen nicht bereit mitzuspielen.

Für die Gewaltakte an den Universitäten machte Süleyman Demirel "extremistische Linkselemente" verantwortlich. "Die Akteure und Provokateure von heute seien die gleichen wie die von gestern. Sie würden aus ausländischen, vornehmlich kommunistische Quellen finanziert und verfügten über modernste tschechische und chinesische Waffen."

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARASTIRMA VAKFI TÜSTAV

X

Die Amnestie im Jahre 1974, bei der alle von amnesty international betreuten Gefangenen entlassen wurden, versucht die in arge innenpolitische Bedrängnis geratene Regierung Demirel jetzt als die Ursache für das erneute Ausbrechen von Studentenunruhen hinzustellen, weil durch sie 540 linksradikalen Wortführern die Rückkehr an die Hochschulen und die Fortsetzung subversiver Tätigkeit ermöglicht worden sei. Allerdings waren durch die Amnestie auch Rechtsextremisten entlassen worden. Vorsichtshalber verliert der konservative Politiker Demirel kein Wort darüber, daß die sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Probleme der Türkei sowie vor allem Mißstände im Ausbildungswesen, einen äußerst fruchtbaren Boden für Agitatoren bilden.

Bülent Ecevit hat die Attacken der Regierung zurückgewiesen und seinerseits versucht, Demirel die Hauptschuld an den blutigen Geschehnissen aufzubürden, weil dieser mit "Mördern" kooperiere. Gemeint ist Demirels Koalitionsbündnis mit den drei Abgeordneten der ultrarechten Partei der Nationalen Bewegung. Deren Führer, der 57 - jährige Alparslan Türkes, unter Demirel immerhin derzeit im Rang eines Vizepremiers, unterhält seit Mitte der sechziger Jahre mit der schlagkräftigen Jugendorganisation Ulkuculer ("Idealisten") in der Türkei eine Art Privatarmee. Auf das Konto dieser schwerbewaffneten "Kommandos", die sich mit dem Ruf "Hier kommen Türkes graue Wölfe" in die Schlacht mit dem politischen Gegner zu stürzen pflegen, kann nachweislich ein Großteil der Gewalttaten und Morde geschrieben werden.

"Ich bin nicht der Hitler der Türkei, kein Faschist und kein Nazi, sondern ein kemalistisch und nationalistisch denkender Türke, der sein Land davor bewahren will, vom internationalen Kommunismus, der blutigsten Form des Imperialismus, in den Selbstmord getrieben zu werden." Mit diesen Worten skizziert Türkes bei einem Gespräch im Basbakanlik, dem Amtssitz des Vizepremiers, sein politisches Glaubensbrevier.

Für Türkes ist der sozialdemokratische Oppositionsführer Ecevit "ein ausgemachter Lügner und verkappter Kommunist", welcher der " roten Anarchie" Vorschub leistet und im Auftrage Moskaus helfen soll, die NATO - Südostflanke zu zerbrechen. Demirels Stellvertreter - einer von dreien - gibt sich als fanatischer Verteidiger " der demokratischen Freiheiten und humanen Werte des Westens". In Ankara kursieren Gerüchte, Türkes werde für seine nationalistische Mission von amerikanischer Seite finanziert.

Als Rekrutierungsfeld der "Idealisten" - Türkes selbst spricht gerne von "meinen Kindern" - gilt in erster Linie die bäuerliche Landbevölkerung, sowie der kleingewerbliche Mittelstand in den Städten. 1150 Gruppen mit 300 000 Mitgliedern reklamiert Türkes als seine "jugendliche Anhängerschaft".

Das mag alles ein wenig großsprecherisch klingen, denn bei den letzten Parlamentswahlen brachte es die Nationale Bewegung lediglich auf 3,2 Prozent. Aber Alparslan Türkes, der mit seinen Schlägertrupps für die Koalitionsregierung Demirel nicht nur kompromittierend ist, sondern nun auch eine ernstliche Belastung zu werden droht, hofft, schon im nächsten Jahr "auf neun Prozent" klettern zu können. Und was die gesamte Linke zu erwarten hätte, daran läßt Türkes in aller Offenheit keinerlei Zweifel:" Wir werden mit all denen fertig werden."

Die Entwicklung seit Herbst 1975 hat Süleyman Demirel nervös gemacht. Auf die scharfen Angriffe seiner Gegner reagierte der Premier zusehends gereizter, unkontrollierter. Er nannte Ecevit eine "Castro-Imitation", die in ihrer Machtgier "nur noch Gift um sich herum verspritzt." Es sei unmöglich geworden, mit der Opposition einen Dialog über die Probleme des Landes zu führen. Die Regierung befinde sich "in einer Position der Selbstverteidigung". Charakteristisch für die von außergewöhnlichem Haß geprägte augenblickliche innenpolitische Atmosphäre der Türkei ist auch jener "psychologische Kriegsplan", den nach Angaben der Zeitung Cumhuriyet die Regierung mehreren Ministerien als internes Schulungsmaterial zugesandt hat. Er enthält Anleitungen zur Abwehr einer von subversiven kommunistischen Kräften ausgehenden "indirekten Aggression" und stempelt jeden zum Staatsfeind, der sich nicht zum militanten Antikommunismus bekennt.

Die oppositionellen Volksrepublikaner, mit 190 Abgeordneten stärkste Gruppierung im Parlament, lassen unter Bülent Ecevit, der als Nachfolger Kemal Atatürks und Ismet Inönüs die Partei nach links auf eine sozialistische Linie führte, keine Gelgenheit ungenützt, Demirel persönlich zu attackieren. Wegen seines Koalitionsbündnisses mit dem ultrarechten Alparslan Türkes, dessen Parteijugend auf der Straße und in den Hörsälen SA-Rollkommando-Methoden kopiert, bezichtigt Ecevit den Regierungschef der "Kooperation mit Mördern" und warf ihm warnend vor, diese Allianz könne das "demokratische Regime" in Frage stellen. Der aus Zypern stammende Ex-Armeeoberst und heutige Vizepremier Türkes, einst als Panturanist gerichtlich verfolgt und im Herbst 1960 wegen des Verdachtes, die Errichtung einer nationalsozialistischen Diktatur vorbereitet zu haben, zum vorübergehenden Verlassen des Landes gezwungen, erscheint vielen oppositionellen Politikern in der Türkei als Putschkandidat.

Als Kitt der regierenden Rechtskoalition wirken folgende Aspekte: Die Parlamentsteil- und Senatswahlen im Oktober 1975 hatten den Zug zum Zwei-Parteien-System verstärkt und die regierende Gerechtigkeitspartei insbesondere von Verlusten ihrer drei Koalitionspartner profitieren lassen. Hält dieser Trend an, dann müßten bei vorgezogenen

Gesamtwahlen inabesondere Erbakans religiöse Heilspartei und Feyzioglus Vertrauenspartei befürchten, zur Bedeutungslosigkeit zusammenzuschrumpfen.

Außerdem steht der "Cypern-Sieger" Ecevit gegenwärtig noch so hoch in der Volksgunst, daß sein Sprung von 44 Prozent zur absoluten Mehrheit im Bereich des Möglichen liegt. Gemeinsames Bestreben von Demirels Koalitionspartnern dürfte demnach sein, solange wie möglich durchzuhalten, sich um Profilierung zu bemühen und auf eine Abschwächung des Ecevit-Booms zu hoffen.

Ein wirkungsvolles Regieren ist von dem Kabinett unter diesen Umständen schwerlich zu erwarten. Hinzu kommt, daß der Einfluß des religiösen Mystikers Erbakan auf vielen Gebieten Reformen bereits erfolgreichblockierthat. Erbakan sorgte für eine Zunahme der Koran-kurse in Ostanatolien, er ließ eine besondere Loge für weibliche Parlamentsbesucher einrichten und verweigerte neun türkischen Botschaftern die Ernennung für neue Auslandsposten, weil sie ihm nicht moslemisch genug eingestellt sind.

Aus:
amnesty international
Türkei

TÜRK SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI TÜSTAV

Die sich ab Ende März 1974 verschärfenden Auseinandersetzungen um die Aufteilung der östlichen Ägäis beschleunigen die Entscheidungsfindung erheblich. Es zeichnet sich ab, daß das Konzept einer Koproduktion der F-104S zusammen mit Aeritalia an Bedeutung gewinnt.[185]

Die beiden Zyperninvasionen im Juli und August machen deutlich, daß die türkische Luftwaffe nur wenig schlagkräftig und ohne ausländische Hilfe nur begrenzt einsatzbereit ist.[186] Das türkische Offizierskorps nimmt diese Erfahrungen zum Anlaß, erneut und offener als je zuvor die beschleunigte Errichtung einer nationalen Flugzeugindustrie als Teil einer integrierten nationalen Kriegsindustrie zu fordern.[187]

Im Oktober 1974 wird in Ankara offiziell die Errichtung der «Turkish Aircraft Company TUSAS» bestätigt.[188] Über die ursprünglich genannte Fabrikation und Montage der 200 Kampfflugzeuge hinaus soll TUSAS auch Hubschrauber und Elektronik für militärisches Fluggerät fertigen und die bestehenden Fertigungsaktivitäten von Lenkwaffen koordinieren. Auch wird mit einer teilweisen lokalen Fertigung von Ersatzteilen gerechnet. Die Projektkosten werden nunmehr mit umgerechnet 1,4 Mrd. DM angegeben.

Bis Herbst 1975 werden verbindliche Absprachen darüber, welcher der konkurrierenden Rüstungskonzerne den Zuschlag erhält, nicht bekannt. Jedoch zeichnet sich immer deutlicher eine Entwicklung zugunsten des F-104S-Projektes ab.[189] Ende Oktober wird in Ankara gemeldet, daß die Türkei mit Aeritalia einen Vertrag über die Lieferung von 50 solcher Kampfflugzeuge abgeschlossen hat. 18 Maschinen sollen sofort, weitere 18 Maschinen 1975 und die restlichen 14 Exemplare 1976 geliefert werden.[190] Die Verhandlungen über eine Kooperation von TUSAS und Aeritalia im Rahmen einer nationalen türkischen Kampfflugzeugfertigung sollen zu einem Abkommen geführt haben, «. . . das den Lockheed-Interessen dient, ohne die außenpolitischen Ziele der US-Regierung zu stören»[191].

5. Die sozialen Kosten der Aufrüstung

Bereits wenige Jahre nach dem Beginn des griechisch-türkischen Wettrüstens lassen sich die eingangs thesenartig angegebenen Folgen konkret belegen. Für beide Länder ist die durch Aufrüstung bewirkte Verschärfung der Unterentwicklung zur bitteren Realität geworden.

Die Türkei steht Ende 1975, also knapp drei Jahre nach dem Beginn des Programms zur Modernisierung und Reorganisation der türkischen Armee und anderthalb Jahre nach dem Zypernkrieg, vor dem finanziellen und wirtschaftlichen Zusammenbruch.[192] Die folgenden Kennziffern verdeutlichen die ausweglose Situation, in der sich die türkische Volkswirtschaft befindet. Ende Juni 1975 erreicht das Außenhandelsdefizit die Rekordsumme von 7,7 Mrd. DM. Die in diesem Wirtschaftsjahr getätigten Importe überstiegen die Exporte der Türkei um einen Betrag von über 10 % des 1974 erwirtschafteten Bruttosozialprodukts.

Importe, die nicht durch entsprechende Exporteinnahmen gedeckt sind, führen dazu, daß die Auslandsverschuldung spiralenförmig anwächst. Während die türkischen Devisenreserven Ende 1973 noch über 2 Mrd. Dollar betrugen, waren sie bis Ende Juni 1975 auf weniger als eine Milliarde Dollar zusammengeschmolzen, das entspricht einem Einfuhrwert von zweieinhalb Monaten. Stärkste Stütze der türkischen Devisenbilanz waren bisher die Überweisungen der türkischen Gastarbeiter in der EG, vornehmlich in der Bundesrepublik. Während diese in den Jahren zuvor zum Ausgleich der Handelsbilanz ausreichten, weisen sie seither eine stark sinkende Tendenz auf. 1974 konnten sie nur knapp zwei Drittel des Handelsbilanzdefizits decken; in den ersten sechs Monaten 1975 gingen sie sogar um 15 % zurück. Der unvermeidbar gewordene Rückgriff auf Anleihen auf dem internationalen Kapitalmarkt hat zu einer erheblichen Verschärfung der Auslandsverschuldung geführt. Diese erreichte zum Ende des ersten Quartals 1975 mit umgerechnet ca. 7,5 Mrd. DM einen Betrag von gleichfalls nahezu 10 % des Bruttosozialprodukts. Ende 1975 dürfte sie vor allem aufgrund der verstärkten Aufnahme von Devisenkrediten, die üblicherweise zu sehr ungünstigen Konditionen vergeben werden, noch wesentlich angestiegen sein.

In welchem Ausmaß die soziale Reproduktion in der Türkei «auf Pump» geschieht, erkennt man, wenn man die gesamte aus Inlands- und Auslandsanleihen resultierende öffentliche Verschuldung zusammenfaßt. Sie beträgt 1974 über 20 % des im gleichen Jahr erzeugten Bruttosozialprodukts.

Der Verschärfung der Außenwirtschaftsbilanz entspricht die wachsende Instabilität und Zerrüttung der türkischen Binnenwirtschaft. Die Geldentwertung, die im Jahresdurchschnitt 1974 um über 30 % anstieg, hat z. B. im ersten Quartal 1974 allein in den großen Städten zu einer Steigerung der Lebenshaltungskosten von nahezu 45 % geführt. Die Arbeitslosigkeit, für die man nur Schätzgrößen nennen kann (da die offiziellen Angaben reine Phantasiezahlen sind), dürfte sich inzwischen derart verschärft haben, daß in weiten Bereichen des Landes mit Ausnahme der Wachstumszonen um Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir und Adana im Winter nahezu zwei Drittel der Bevölkerung im erwerbsfähigen Alter ohne Beschäftigung sein wird. Wenn man sich zugleich verdeutlicht, daß von den etwa 20 Millionen Erwerbstätigen nach offiziellen Angaben maximal 1,4 Millionen, also ganze 7 %, sozialversichert sind, wird sichtbar, daß die genannten Indikatoren zugleich die unvermeidliche Verschärfung der sozialen und politischen Krise des Landes ankündigen.

Nach den Ursachen dieser Entwicklung braucht man nicht lange zu suchen. Selbst die westliche Wirtschaftspresse zögert nicht, den direkten Zusammenhang von Aufrüstung und Unterentwicklung anzuerkennen, und verweist auf die Kosten der Zypern-Aktion und die Aufwendungen für den geplanten Aufbau der Rüstungsindustrie.[193] Allein die im Haushalt 1975 ausgewiesenen «Aufwendungen für Verteidigung, Sicherheitsdirektion und Gendarmerie» entsprechen nahezu 55 % der im gleichen Jahr insgesamt für Investitionszwecke aufgewendeten Mittel.[194] Die 1974 getätigten Privatinvestitionen werden um 3 %, die staatlichen Investitionen sogar um 14 % übertroffen. Wenn man sich darüber hinaus vor Augen hält, daß ein Großteil dieser Investitionsaufwendungen unproduktiv angelegt wird (wie z. B. in der städtischen Bauwirtschaft) und zu keiner Erweiterung des gesellschaftlichen Bestands an Produktions- und Lebensmitteln führt, wird deutlich, in welchem Ausmaß in der Türkei ein Prozeß der gesellschaftlichen Rückentwicklung in Gang gekommen ist. Die wenigen in diesem Land für die Akkumulation zur Verfügung stehenden Ressourcen werden durch Aufrüstung vollends dezimiert und fehlgeleitet.

Die gleiche Information vermittelt ein Blick auf die Ausgabenstruktur des Haushalts 1975.[195] Während die ausgewiesenen Militärausgaben über 25 % der gesamten Ausgaben auf sich vereinigen und damit den größten Ausgabenposten darstellen, entfallen auf die für die Entwicklung des Landes zentralen Budgetposten die folgenden Prozentsätze: Dorfentwicklung 4,7 %, landwirtschaftliche Reformprogramme 1,8 %, Energieversorgung 0,95 %, Gesundheitssektor 3,8 % (dies, obwohl die Türkei noch im Oktober 1970 von einer verheerenden Choleraepidemie heimgesucht wurde!) und Erziehungssektor 13,6 %. In den genannten Zahlen ist noch nicht die im Juli 1975 beschlossene nachträgliche Erhöhung der Militärausgaben um eine weitere Milliarde DM auf 5,7 Mrd. DM enthalten, die eine faktische Steigerung der 1975 zur Verfügung stehenden Mittel um fast 100 % gegenüber 1974 bedeutet.[196]

Die Lage in Griechenland ist kaum weniger deprimierend.[197] Als die Ioannidis-Junta im Juli 1974 von der Bühne verschwand, hinterließ sie ein völlig zerrüttetes Wirtschaftssystem. Eine der Hauptursachen war auch hier die seit 1970 betriebene Aufrüstung, die aus dem begrenzten im Land erwirtschafteten Surplus einfach nicht mehr gedeckt werden konnte.

Die Auslandsverschuldung, die vor dem Putsch im April 1967 bei einer Milliarde Dollar (ca. 2,6 Mrd. DM) lag, stieg während der siebenjährigen Diktatur auf das Fünffache und betrug 1974 knapp 13 Mrd. DM. Um ihre ab Frühjahr 1975 getätigten Rüstungseinkäufe zu finanzieren, war die Ioannidis-Junta gezwungen, Auslandsanleihen zu immer ruinöseren Bedingungen aufzunehmen.

MATERIALIEN ZUR RÜSTUNGSPROBLEMATIK

29 Prozent der gesamten bearbeiteten Bodenfläche besitzen.[18] Die nachfolgende Tabelle soll diese Gegensätze genauer veranschaulichen:

Tabelle 1

Größe des Besitzes (in *dönüm*)*	Anteile der Haushalte an der Bauernbevölkerung (in Prozent)	Anteil an der bearbeiteten Bodenfläche (in Prozent)
landlose Bauern	17,52	0,00
arme Bauern (1–50)	64,28	34,11
kleine Bauern (51–100)	11,39	20,44
Mittelbauern (101–200)	4,82	16,77
Großbauern (201–500)	1,31	9,37
Großgrundbesitzer (mehr als 500)	0,67	19,31

* 1 *dönüm* = 919 Quadratmeter

Quelle: Ü. Akpinar, Sozialisationsbedingungen in der Türkei. Materialien zum Projektbereich «Ausländische Arbeiter», Sonderheft 1, Bonn 1976, Tabelle 13, S. 13

Hierbei ist auf die starken regionalen, geographischen und klimatischen Unterschiede der einzelnen Provinzen hinzuweisen und den daraus resultierenden unterschiedlichen Erträgen. Den fruchtbaren Gebieten an den Küsten und in West- und Mittelanatolien stehen gebirgige Regionen und Steppen im Osten des Landes gegenüber. Erosion und die traditionelle extensive Ausnutzung des Bodens gefährden in den östlichen Provinzen die Ernährungslage.

Der ungleichen Bodenverteilung steht ein rapider Bevölkerungszuwachs gegenüber. Trotz noch immer hoher Säuglingssterblichkeit beträgt der Bevölkerungszuwachs ca. 2,7 Prozent im Jahr.[19] Die Bodenverknappung bewirkt eine hohe Arbeitslosigkeit auf dem Land (1970: 1,3 Millionen)[20], die sich offen und versteckt manifestiert. Die versteckte Arbeitslosigkeit ist darauf zurückzuführen, daß die im Agrarbereich Tätigen nur einige Monate im Jahr Arbeit haben und daß oft mehrere Familienmitglieder ein kleines Stück Boden bewirtschaften, das ebensogut von weniger Personen bearbeitet werden könnte. Die Unterbeschäftigung auf dem Land ist eines der ernstesten Probleme der türkischen Landwirtschaft. Konnte früher der Landarbeiter durch saisonale Beschäftigung und Binnenwanderung noch Arbeit finden, so bleibt für viele heutzutage nur noch die Migration in westliche Länder. Die Industriezentren um die großen Städte sind den durch die Landflucht in die Städte gekommenen Arbeitslosen nicht gewachsen. Durch die Landflucht wird das starke Stadt-Land-Gefälle noch mehr verschärft. «In der Türkei steht heute einigen industrialisierten Enklaven, in denen die Entwicklung – wesentlich induziert durch ausländische Investitionen – verhältnismäßig fortgeschritten ist, ein riesiges Hinterland gegenüber, in dem die alten Strukturen bisher noch unangetastet blieben. Ganze Landstriche gelten als Notstandsgebiete.»[21]

Dies gilt vor allem für den Osten der Türkei, in dem 24 Prozent der Gesamtbevölkerung lebt. Er gehört zu den unterentwickeltsten Regionen in wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht wie auch auf dem Bildungs- und Gesundheitssektor. Das jährliche Durchschnittseinkommen der Bevölkerung beträgt dort 130 DM.[22]

Ein weiteres großes Problem für die türkische Landwirtschaft stellt die schlechte Infrastruktur dar. Auch sie unterliegt dem West-Ost-Gefälle. Nach einem 1971 veröffentlichten Bericht des Dorfministeriums haben 53 Prozent aller Dörfer keinen Strom, nur ein Viertel der Dörfer hat Straßen, die Sommer wie Winter befahrbar sind.[23]

Aus der folgenden Tabelle geht hervor, daß die Arbeitskräfte auf dem Land, obwohl im Abnehmen begriffen, den überwiegenden Teil der Erwerbstätigen in der Wirtschaft ausmachen (in Prozent):

Tabelle 2

Sektoren	1962	1967	1972
Agrarsektor	77,1	71,3	65,0
Industriesektor	8,3	9,2	11,3
Dienstleistungen	13,9	16,8	22,7
nicht erfaßt	0,7	2,7	1,0

Quelle: Ü. Akpinar, Sozialisationsbedingungen in der Türkei. Materialien zum Projektbereich «Ausländischer Arbeiter», Sonderheft 1, Bonn 1976, Tabelle 9, S. 31

2. Die Bedeutung der islamischen Tradition

1928 schaffte M. Kemal den Islam als Staatsreligion ab. Dies war ein wichtiger Schritt auf dem Wege einer Angleichung der Türkei an die westeuropäischen Länder, zum Aufbau einer modernen Gesellschaft, dem Hauptziel seiner Reformbewegung. Die islamische Gesetzgebung (Seriat) wurde abgeschafft und durch Zivilgesetze ersetzt.

82% der Bauernfamilienbesitzen keinen oder sehr wenig Boden. Dagegen gibt es 2%, die...

aus: Die verkauften Bräute
TOTO 4268

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL BİLİMLER ARAŞTIRMA

I-10-

Kinder der Türkei

Aus:

Nazim HIKMET: Sie haben Angst vor unseren Liedern. Türkischer Akademiker- und Künstlerverein, Berlin 1977, S. 3oo und 3o2.

In meinem Land, der Türkei, gibt es nicht die geringste Ähnlichkeit zwischen den verwöhnten und faulen Kindern der Kapitalisten, Großgrundbesitzer und hohen Beamten und den Kindern des Volkes. Spielzeug, Spiele, Sport, Schule, saubere Kleider, verschiedene Arten von Speisen und Getränken und der Arzt sind für die Kinder der Reichen da. Die Kinder des Volkes, die übergroße Mehrheit der türkischen Kinder sind von all diesem Segen, wie ich ihn oben einfach aufgelistet habe, ausgeschlossen. Zum Beispiel, nehmen wir ein Arbeiterkind. Der Name dieses Kindes sei z.B. Hüseyin. Hüseyin lebt in einem der Elendsviertel, wo keine Sonne scheint und wo man im Sommer vor Staub und im Winter vor Schlamm kaum durchkommt. Jetzt ist er elf Jahre alt und arbeitet in einer Eisenwarenfabrik, zehn Stunden täglich. Die von ihm bearbeiteten Metallstücke sind so schwer, daß er sie mit seinen mageren Händen kaum tragen kann. Hüseyin ist so müde, daß er es an manchen Tagen kaum aushalten kann, und bei der Arbeit fallen ihm die Augen zu, und deshalb wird er vom Meister ständig verprügelt. Hüseyin hat bis zu diesem Alter kein einziges Mal mit einem auf dem Markt gekauften Spielzeug gespielt. Hüseyin hat nicht ein einziges Buch. Er konnte nämlich nur zwei Klassen der Grundschule abschließen, dann ging er in die Fabrik, um zum Familienunterhalt beizutragen. Die Fleischmenge, die Hüseyin in seinem ganzen Leben, nämlich in neun bzw. zehn Jahren, verzehrt hat, beträgt nicht mehr als zwei oder drei Kilo. Wie alle Kinder, liebt auch Hüseyin Süßigkeiten und Schokolade, aber Süßigkeiten ißt er nur von Festtag zu Festtag, und was Schokolade betrifft, erinnert er sich nur, ein paar kleine Stückchen davon gegessen zu haben. Für die zehnstündige Arbeit bekommt Hüseyin täglich 45 Kurus, doch ein Kilo Brot kostet 30 Kurus, also er arbeitet zehn Stunden und kann nur anderthalb Kilo Brot mit nach Hause bringen. [. . .]

Betrachten wir jetzt das Kind eines armen Bauern. Sein Name sei Ahmet. Die Mutter von Ahmet hat ihm mehrere Geschwister geboren, aber nur sie beide, er und sein älterer Bruder, konnten überleben. Ahmet ist neun Jahre alt. Er hat noch nie Strümpfe und Sandalen angehabt. Er wird Strümpfe und Sandalen anziehen, wenn er fünfzehn Jahre alt wird. Er hat mit sechs Jahren als Rinderhirt angefangen, im Sommer in der Sonnenglut und im Winter in Schnee und Regen hat er sich in den Bergen herumgetrieben. Lesen und Schreiben kann er nicht und wird er auch nie können. Im nächsten Jahr wird er zum Pflügen gehen. Damit ist er sogar spät dran. Er kennt drei Arten, nur drei Arten von Essen: Tarhana-Suppe, gekochten Kürbis und Brot. Nur einmal in seinem Leben, bei der Hochzeitsfeier des Aga, hat er Fleisch gegessen, dreimal hat er auch Eier gestohlen und ausgesogen, und deshalb hat ihn sein Vater verprügelt, bis er ohnmächtig wurde. Weil die Eier ihrer vier Hühner und die Milch und Butter von ihrer einzigen Kuh nicht für sie bestimmt sind, sondern für den Verkauf auf dem Markt, damit sie sich ein paar Kilo Salz und Petroleum kaufen können. Ahmet hat seit zwei Jahren Malaria. Daher kommt es, daß sein Bauch so angeschwollen und sein Gesicht ganz gelb ist. Aber kein einziger Arzt hat je nach Ahmet gesehen. Im Dorf gibt es keine Spur von einer Gesundheitseinrichtung. Sein Vater hat aus der Stadt Chinin geholt, aber das war verfälschtes Chinin. Es kam gegen die Malaria von Ahmet nicht an.

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IV. Die politische und soziale Entwicklung nach dem 12. 3. 1971

Am 12. 3. 1971 richteten die Befehlshaber der türkischen Streitkräfte (Memduh Tagmac, Generalstabschef der Streitkräfte, Faruk Gürler, Oberbefehlshaber des Heeres, Celal Eyiceoglu, Oberbefehlshaber der Marine, und Muhsin Batur, Oberbefehlshaber der Luftwaffe) eine Ultimativnote an das türkische Parlament, die Regierung Süleiman Demirel und den Staatspräsidenten Cevdet Sunay.

In diesem Memorandum forderten die Generale: „Es wird als unerläßlich betrachtet, im Rahmen demokratischer Grundsätze eine starke und überzeugende Regierung zu bilden, die fähig ist, die gegenwärtige Anarchie zu beseitigen, die in der Verfassung vorgesehenen Reformen im Sinne Atatürks in Angriff zu nehmen und die Reformgesetze durchzuführen. Es wird ebenfalls als unerläßlich betrachtet, durch das Parlament und in einem Geist, der über allen Parteirücksichten steht, diejenigen Mittel anzuwenden, mit denen der Kummer und die Hoffnungslosigkeit überwunden werden können, die die türkische Nation und die aus ihr hervorgegangenen Streitkräfte angesichts dieser ernsten Lage empfinden. Falls dies nicht innerhalb der kürzesten Frist verwirklicht wird, sind die türkischen Streitkräfte entschlossen, die Regierungsgewalt unmittelbar zu übernehmen und damit die Aufgabe zu erfüllen, die ihnen für die Verteidigung und den Schutz der Republik gesetzlich anvertraut ist." Nur wenige Stunden nach der Veröffentlichung dieser Note im türkischen Rundfunk TRT trat Ministerpräsident Süleiman Demirel mit seinem Kabinett zurück. Staatspräsident Cevdet Sunay ernannte mit Genehmigung der türkischen NATO-Generale den konservativen Völkerrechtler, Professor Nihat Erim, zu Demirels Nachfolger.

Seit diesem berüchtigten 12. 3. 1971 hat sich die Türkei zu einer faschistischen Militärdiktatur entwickelt, mit allen Zügen eines offenen Faschismus: Zerschlagung der legalen Organisationen der Arbeiterklasse, insbesondere der kommunistischen und sozialistischen, sowie terroristische Verfolgung der Intelligenz. Wieder einmal, diesmal in der Türkei, haben dabei die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre lokalen Kollaborateure die gleichen Argumente der Herrschenden zur Ausführung eines Coup d'Etat erfunden. Wie die griechischen Obristen konstruierten die türkischen Generale die Gefahr einer „kommunistischen Machtübernahme" und die Gefahr des „Anarchismus". Obwohl, so der neue Ministerpräsident Nihat Erim, „die Zahl der Personen, die die anarchistische Situation schufen, nicht mehr als 200 sei"[142], wurde am 26. 4. 1971 in 11 Provinzen der Türkei, in denen 70 % der türkischen Gesamtbevölkerung leben, das Kriegsrecht proklamiert.

Der Staatsstreich vom 12. 3. 1971 und die Verhängung des Kriegsrechts am 26. 4. 1971 entsprachen genau den Vorstellungen und

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Wünschen der USA und der türkischen Bourgeoisie. Die US-Regierung war über die antiamerikanischen und antiimperialistischen Widerstände in der türkischen Arbeiter- und Studentenschaft außerordentlich verärgert, da zum Beispiel seit 1969 die Schiffe der 6. US-Flotte nicht mehr in türkische Häfen einlaufen konnten. Der amerikanische Botschafter Robert Komer, bekannt als CIA-Agent und „Schlächter von Vietnam", mußte die Türkei verlassen, das US-Militärpersonal konnte sich nicht mehr in der Öffentlichkeit sehen lassen, ohne von aufgebrachten Türken angegriffen zu werden.

Die nationale Bourgeoisie wiederum wollte ihre eigene ökonomische Effektivität sichern und erhöhen sowie die gesamten Wirtschaftsplanungsorganisationen kontrollieren. In dem Militärputsch fanden sich daher für die nationale Bourgeoisie die Möglichkeiten, systemkonforme Reformen durchzusetzen und gleichzeitig die sozialistische Arbeiterbewegung in der Türkei auszuschalten. Denn spätestens seit 1970 gelang es der Gerechtigkeitspartei als Sammelbecken der türkischen nationalen Bourgeoisie nicht mehr, die Reformvorstellungen der expandierenden Wirtschaft zu erfüllen. Voraussetzungen dazu waren nach Angaben des Repräsentanten der türkischen Kapitalistenclique Vehbi Koc:

„– die politische Stabilität muß garantiert werden. Alle Parteien müssen zusammen die extreme Linke oder extreme Rechte bekämpfen;

– es muß ein klares Einverständnis für die Politik gegenüber der EWG und den ausländischen Investitionen in der Türkei erreicht werden;

– die gemischte Wirtschaftsform darf nicht geändert werden."

Auf Grund der engen Verflechtung zwischen dem Bankkapital und den türkischen Militärs gab es dann wenig Zweifel daran, daß die Militärs, die ja selbst im türkischen Wirtschaftsleben integriert sind, die Wünsche der Bourgeoisie befriedigen würden.[143]

1. Vorbereitungen für den Staatsstreich

Die Integration der türkischen Offiziere in das internationale Finanzkapital stieß im Laufe der letzten Jahre auf zunehmenden Widerstand in dem Teil des Offizierkorps, das nicht die Kontakte zu seiner eigenen sozialen Herkunft verloren hatte und das für die „Ideale" der Atatürkschen nationalen Befreiung eintrat. Hunderte solcher Offiziere wurden schon vor dem 12. 3. aus der Armee entlassen oder in abgelegene Garnisonen von Ostanatolien versetzt. Trotz der unzähligen Entlassungen und Versetzungen waren die führenden Kräfte beim Militär nicht in der Lage, allen Widerstand innerhalb der Armee zu vernichten, und am 8. 3. 1971 verfaßten die radikalen Armeeoffiziere sogar ein Kommuniqué, in dem sie die korrupte Politik und den hegemonialen Anspruch der USA angriffen sowie für radikale Reformen des türkischen Gesellschaftssystems eintraten. Diese Aktionen

der radikalen Offiziere hatten schon seit 1969 in erheblichem Maße die USA und ihre lokalen Verbündeten verunsichert. Was zu Zeiten des Menderes-Regimes praktiziert wurde, setzte sich dann auch im Jahre 1971 fort. Damals verfaßte ein türkischer CIA-Agent für Oberst Dickson, Chef des CIA in der Türkei, einen Bericht über die Rolle der Militärs: „Es ist eine unumstrittene Tatsache, daß die Armee im politischen Leben des Landes stets den wichtigsten Faktor bei der Stabilisierung des bestehenden politischen Regimes darstellt . . . Es stellt (daher) eine potentielle Gefahr für das Regime dar, daß z. Z. die meisten Offiziere – unter einer Reformpsychose leidend – blinde Anhänger von Inönü (CHP) und der DP feindlich gesonnen sind . . . Überdies befindet sich ein Teil des Staatsapparates in den Händen der Oppositionsanhänger . . . Während entsprechende Regierungsmaßnahmen vorbereitet und durchgeführt werden, sollten demzufolge auch die gefährlichen Regimegegner unter den Beamten und Offizieren festgestellt werden, damit sie im Rahmen eines Programmes ausgeschaltet werden können."[144]

Ähnlich wie vor knapp 20 Jahren wurden auch im Jahre 1971 nach Bekanntwerden der Unruhen innerhalb der türkischen Armee alle Geheimdienste sofort mobilisiert, um ihre traditionelle Rolle der Intriganten zu spielen. Der Staatsstreich wurde im wesentlichen von den Geheimdiensten CIA und MIT (türkischer Geheimdienst) geplant. Drei Personen des Geheimdienstes bereiteten die Modalitäten des Staatsstreiches vor: Der wichtigste scheint Cihat Alpan, Generalsekretär im Büro des Staatspräsidenten, gewesen zu sein, die zweite Person war General Atif Ercikan, Chef der Planungsabteilung im Generalstabshauptquartier in Ankara. General Ercikan, der anfangs die Rolle eines der Führer der radikalen Offiziere vom 8. 3. 1971 spielte, verriet im letzten Moment dem Generalstab die Absichten des Offizierskorps. Dazu traf er sich mit Cihan Alpan und den CIA-Repräsentanten in der US-Botschaft in Ankara-Cankaya. Während dieses Geheimtreffens planten die beiden obengenannten Schlüsselfiguren zusammen mit den CIA-Agenten und dem amerikanischen Botschafter einen Staatsstreich. Der Plan sah vor, daß die vier Oberbefehlshaber der türkischen Armee am 12. 3. 1971 der Regierung ein Ultimatum übergeben sollten, in dem die Generale die Regierung auffordern sollten, Reformen zu realisieren sowie die linke Bewegung zu bekämpfen. Sofort nach dem Schritt wollten sie dann die radikalen Offiziere ausschalten und die Verwirklichung der Reformen an den Interessen der Bourgeoisie orientieren. Es ging ihnen darum, bei gleichzeitiger Aufrechterhaltung eines Parlaments und einer Marionetten-Regierung, eine Militärdiktatur zu installieren.

Genau dieser Plan wurde eingehalten. Am 12. 3. 1971 präsentierten die militärischen Mitglieder des türkischen Sicherheitsrates der Regierung und dem Parlament ihre Forderungen und schalteten schon in den nächsten Tagen die revoltierenden Offiziere aus. Der Plan zur Liquidierung fortschrittlicher Offiziere wurde durch die dritte

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Schlüsselfigur beim März-Putsch eingeleitet, durch den Generalstabschef der ersten türkischen Armee, General Fikret Göknar. Als gleichzeitiger Chef des militärischen Sicherheitsdienstes verfügte er über direkte Kontakte zum Präsidentenpalast. Vor dem Staatsstreich traf sich General Fikret Göknar ebenfalls mit CIA-Agenten in seiner privaten Residenz in Istanbul-Bebek und plante gemeinsam mit ihnen die „Operation Istanbul". In Zusammenhang mit diesem Plan wurden nach dem 12. 3. in Istanbul Hunderte von Armeeoffizieren unter dem Vorwand ausgeschaltet, sie würden die „Türkische Volksbefreiungsarmee" unterstützen.

Trotz des offensichtlichen konterrevolutionären Staatsstreiches beeilten sich die verschiedensten progressiven Kräfte in der Türkei, wie die Gewerkschaft DISK und die türkische Lehrergewerkschaft TÖS, der neuen Regierung gegenüber nicht ablehnend zu sein und zuerst einmal abzuwarten, was die Erim-Regierung an konkreten Veränderungen beabsichtigte. Die Gewerkschaft DISK forderte in einer öffentlichen Erklärung die Arbeiter zur Ruhe auf, und die fortschrittlichen türkischen Gewerkschaften erwarteten gemeinsam von der neuen Regierung:

„1. Maßnahmen, die ein schnelles Ende der ökonomischen, politischen, ideologischen und militärischen Hegemonie der USA herbeiführen;

2. ein sofortiges Ende der faschistischen Methoden gegen die demokratischen Kräfte und

3. die schnelle Verwirklichung der sozialen und ökonomischen Reformen im Interesse der arbeitenden Bevölkerung."

Die Zuversicht der Öffentlichkeit erfüllt sich nicht. Im Regierungsprogramm der Erim-Regierung fand sich keine einzige der Forderungen der Arbeiterschaft oder der Intelligenz wieder.

So war dann die erste konkrete Auswirkung des Militärputsches die Einleitung einer massiven Verfolgungskampagne gegen die gesamte organisierte Linke, und im April 1971 verhängte der Sicherheitsrat schließlich den Ausnahmezustand, das Kriegsrecht, über 11 Provinzen der türkischen Republik. Eine Überprüfung dieser Provinzen zeigt deutlich, warum das Kriegsrecht verhängt wurde.

1. Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adapazari, Zonguldak, Eskisehir, Izmir und Adana waren die hochindustrialisierten Gebiete der Türkei, in denen die Arbeiterschaft zum großen Teil gewerkschaftlich organisiert war.

2. In den Provinzen Hatay, Diyarbakir und Siirt in Ostanatolien war für die Verhängung des Kriegsrechtes das Kurdenproblem der Auslöser. Sofort nachdem das Kriegsrecht ausgesprochen wurde, klassifizierte Ministerpräsident Nihat Erim die Verfassung aus dem Jahre 1961 als „Luxus für die Türkei"[145] und erklärte, daß es notwendig sei, die Verfassung zu ändern. Aber schon ohne die spätere Verfassungsänderung wurden nach den Gesetzmäßigkeiten des Kriegsrechts die meisten demokratischen Rechte außer Kraft gesetzt. Eine der Folgen, laut Mitteilung der Militärkommandantur Ankara:

„Es wurde festgestellt, daß alle studentischen Organisationen, die, unter welchem Namen auch immer, in den staatlichen oder privaten Einrichtungen in Ankara existieren, schädliche Aktivitäten entfaltet haben. Die Tätigkeiten dieser Organisationen, die die Einheit und den Zusammenhalt unseres Landes unterminieren und den Verantwortungen und den Aufgaben der Studentenschaft fremd sind, werden gemäß Artikel 3 des Gesetzes Nr. 1402 für unbestimmte Zeit untersagt."

Und in einer weiteren Mitteilung der gleichen Militärkommandantur hieß es: „Für die türkische Nation ist offiziell und privat nur ein Bild vorhanden, das überall aufgehängt werden kann. Und das ist das Bild unseres größten Retters Atatürk. Im Herzen und im Traumbild aller, die unserer Nation angehören, kann kein anderes Bild und kein anderer Name Platz haben."

Die Vereinigten Staaten und die türkische Bourgeoisie waren mit einer derartigen Entwicklung zufrieden. US-Außenminister Rogers deklarierte in einem Report für den US-Kongreß diese Zufriedenheit, denn „die Türkei ist eine wichtige Kraft, die die südöstliche Flanke der NATO sichert und die Stabilität im Mittelmeergebiet garantiert. Die türkische Regierung akzeptiert die NATO als Grundlage ihrer Außenpolitik."

Währenddessen wurden auch die nationalen Konflikte zwischen Griechenland und der Türkei beigelegt. Nach dem militärischen Staatsstreich fanden die beiden Militärdiktaturen eine gemeinsame Basis, um ihre Probleme, insbesondere das Zypernproblem, zu lösen, und zwar in der Form, wie es die NATO wünschte.

Die Geheimdienste beider Länder sondierten alle günstigen Konstellationen, um die Insel in eine gemeinsame NATO-Basis umzubauen und die Macht von Erzbischof Makarios endgültig zu brechen, nachdem am 8. 3. 1970 ein von proimperialistischen Kräften vorbereiteter Versuch, Präsident Makarios zu ermorden, mißlungen war. Die Zufriedenheit der USA erreichte ihren Höhepunkt, als während der ersten Jahresfeier des Militärputsches Premierminister Erim bekanntgab: „Meine Regierung öffnet die türkischen Häfen wieder für die 6. Flotte. Das wurde erst möglich durch das Niederschlagen der linken antiamerikanischen Elemente. Wir versprechen, daß die Kooperation zwischen den Vereinigten Staaten und der Türkei fortgesetzt wird."

2. Terror der türkischen NATO-Generale und ihrer Marionettenregierung

Seitdem das Kriegsrecht herrscht, veröffentlichten die Generale der Gebiete, in denen das Ausnahmerecht bestand, täglich Kommuniqués, die durch den staatlichen Rundfunk verlesen wurden, zuletzt fünfmal am Tage. Darin forderten die Kriegsrechtskommandanten die Bürger auf, Informationen über Sozialisten und Kommunisten dem Militär-

kommandanten zu liefern. Entlohnt wurden sie mit 700 Dollar für jeden wichtigen Hinweis. Ministerpräsident Nihat Erim eröffnete bei der T. C . Merkez Bankasi ein öffentliches Konto, auf das die Regierung 500 000 TL einzahlte. Damit sollten diejenigen finanziell unterstützt werden, die der Regierung und der Polizei bei Verhaftungs- und Fahndungsaktionen gegen die Linken halfen. Der zweite Spender war ein Millionär aus Samsun.[146]

Die Generale sorgten sich darüber hinaus um das moralische und sittliche Wohl der Türken. Sie bestimmten in ihren Gebieten, wie sich die Jugendlichen kleiden müssen, Polizisten schnitten jungen Leuten öffentlich die Haare ab, wenn sie zu lang waren, und brachten sie danach wegen „Vergehens gegen die sittliche Würde" in die Gefängnisse. Später nahmen die Bürger, wie in Antalya, den Militärs diese Aufgabe ab, indem sie Jugendliche mit Gewalt zum Friseur brachten. In Ankara verfügten die Militärs, daß alle ideologischen Bilder aus den Studentenheimen zu entfernen seien. Die neuen Bestimmungen regelten außerdem, daß es von nun an verboten sei, die Studentenheime für politische Aktivitäten zu benutzen. Außerdem wurde verboten, ausländische Fahnen und Symbole zu zeigen und ideologische Lieder zu singen.[147]

Insgesamt 11 Militärgerichte, die der totalen Kontrolle der Militärkommandanten unterliegen, wurden in den sechs größten Städten der Türkei (Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Eskisehir, Adana und Diyarbakir) eingerichtet. Die Gerichte setzen sich jeweils aus einem hohen Offizier als Gerichtspräsidenten, zwei Militärrichtern und einem Militärstaatsanwalt zusammen. Sie werden durch das Verteidigungsministerium ernannt und von dem Staatspräsidenten bestätigt. Die neuernannten Militärrichter hatten sich zuvor für ihr Amt prädestiniert, indem sie sich als Kommunistenjäger in der Armee einen Namen gemacht hatten. Alle Straftaten, die auch schon vor dem Zustand des Kriegsrechts begangen worden waren, so die Militärs, und die die „Verkündung des Ausnahmezustandes verursacht hatten", fallen in den Zuständigkeitsbereich der Militärsondergerichte, gleichgültig, ob der sogenannte Täter die ihm vorgeworfene Tat innerhalb oder außerhalb des Gebietes, in dem das Kriegsrecht verhängt wurde, begangen hat. Die Militärgerichte werden daher noch Terrorurteile fällen, wenn das Kriegsrecht längst aufgehoben ist, nämlich so lange, bis sie alle vorhandenen Fälle abgeurteilt haben.

Militärische Sondergerichte, wo Recht unter Bajonetten, Maschinenpistolen und Gummiknüppeln gesprochen wird, sind verfassungswidrig! So ist die Unabhängigkeit der Gerichte, gemäß Artikel 132 (I) der Verfassung eines der wesentlichen Rechtsgüter. „Kein Organ, keine Behörde, keine Dienststelle und kein einzelner dürfen einem Gericht oder Richter bei der Ausübung ihrer richterlichen Aufgaben irgendwelche Befehle oder Weisungen erteilen, ihnen amtliche Rundschreiben zusenden, Empfehlungen oder Vorschläge machen" und schließlich können Richter ihres Amtes nicht enthoben werden.[148] Alle

diese in der türkischen Verfassung niedergelegten Bestimmungen werden von den militärischen Sondergerichten mißachtet.

Die Militärkommandanten schlagen den Militärrichtern nach Listen vor, wer zu welcher Strafe verurteilt werden soll. Der Militärrichter kann natürlich nicht unabhängig sein, da er nur ein Glied in der Kette der militärischen Hierarchie ist und in jeder Beziehung, insbesondere auf Grund der Befehlsstrukturen, an die Weisungen seiner Vorgesetzten gebunden ist. Und schließlich werden die Militärrichter von den Militärkommandanten abgelöst, wenn sie nicht die Urteile fällen, die der Kriegsrechtskommandant vorgeschlagen hatte.

Die Verfassungswidrigkeit der Militärgerichte und der gesamten Maßnahmen der Militärkommandanten zeigt sich gewöhnlich an anderen Erscheinungen. Während die Verfassung die Haftdauer auf maximal 24 Stunden beschränkte, sperren die Kriegsrechtskommandanten nach eigenem Gutdünken bis zu 30 Tage, ohne richterliche Beschlüsse, die Gefangenen ein. Artikel 14 der Verfassung verbietet strikt jede Folterung, aber Tausende von politischen Gefangenen werden auf Befehl der Militärkommandanten von Istanbul, Ankara, Adana und Eskisehir, gefoltert. Nach Artikel 32 der Verfassung darf niemand gezwungen werden, sich vor einer anderen Behörde als dem zuständigen Gericht zu verantworten. Es können darüber hinaus keine mit richterlicher Gewalt ausgestattete Ausnahmebehörden geschaffen werden, die einer Person das Erscheinen vor einer anderen Behörde als dem normalerweise zuständigen Richter zur Pflicht machen können. Trotz dieser Bestimmungen werden zum Beispiel Sozialisten aus Gebieten, in denen kein Ausnahmezustand besteht, in das Gebiet mit Ausnahmezustand gebracht und dort vor das Sondergericht gestellt. In Kayseri, einer mittelanatolischen Stadt, erklärte der Gouverneur, daß er, entsprechend den Beschlüssen der Regierung, an Hand früher angefertigter Listen, 74 Personen festnehmen und nach Ankara schicken ließ.[149] In Kayseri gab es kein Kriegsrecht..

Darüber hinaus darf nach Artikel 33 der Verfassung von 1961 niemand für eine Tat bestraft werden, die zu der Zeit, zu der sie begangen wurde, nach dem zu jener Zeit in Kraft befindlichen Gesetz nicht als ein Vergehen angesehen wurde. Trotzdem wurden selbst diejenigen vor die Tribunale gestellt und angeklagt, deren Taten schon drei, vier oder sogar acht Jahre zurücklagen. Hunderte von Journalisten, Schriftstellern, Übersetzern und Verlegern stehen deshalb seit Monaten vor den Militärtribunalen, da sie vor Jahren kritische Artikel über die damalige Regierung verfaßt hatten.

Nach dem 22. 9. 1971 wurde dieser verfassungsbrechende Terror der Militärs schließlich gesetzlich sanktioniert und die Bestimmungen der Verfassung, den Wünschen der Generale entsprechend, abgeändert.

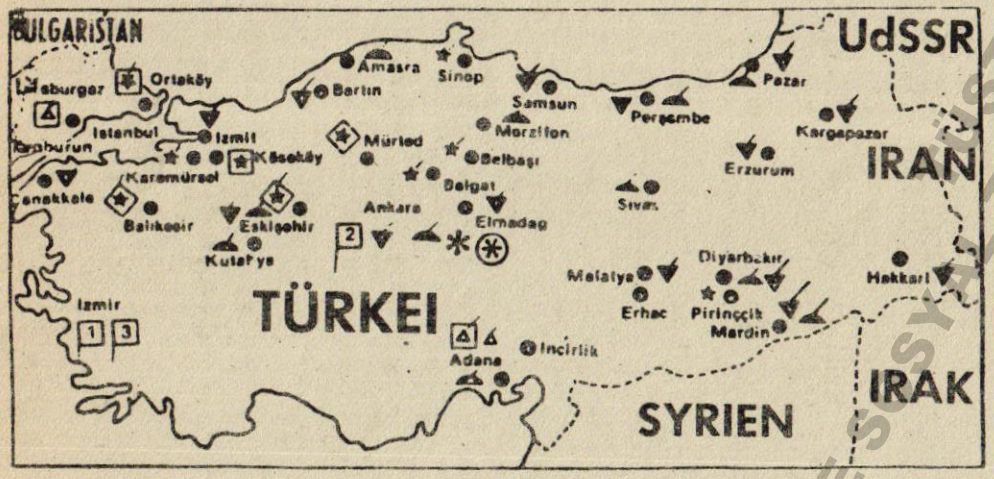
Türkei: Militär übernimmt nach Stützpunktvertrag und internationaler Finanzsanierung die Macht im Staat

NATO-Generalität schlägt zu: Kriegsrecht, Schutzhaft, Gewerkschaften und Parteien verboten

ANKARA (ddp/rtr/NEUE). – Zum dritten Mal in den letzten 20 Jahren haben die Militärs in der Türkei die Macht übernommen. Nach Erklärungen des herrschenden „Nationalen Sicherheitsrats" wurde in der Nacht zum Freitag das ganze Land unter Kriegsrecht gestellt und eine unbefristete Ausgangssperre verhängt, Parteien, Gewerkschaften und Vereinigungen wurden suspendiert, die Immunität der Parlamentarier aufgehoben. Ministerpräsident Demirel und Oppositionsführer Echevit wurden aus ihren Häusern geholt und „in Schutzhaft" genommen. Nicht verhaftet wurde dagegen der Alpaslan Türkes, Führer der rechtsextremen Partei der Nationalen Bewegung. Er wurde aufgefordert, sich „zu seiner eigenen Sicherheit" bei den Militärs zu melden.

Die Machtübernahme der Generalität folgt einem Ultimatum, das die Armee am 1. Januar Parlament und Parteien gestellt hatte und in dem zur Beendigung der politischen Streitigkeiten und zur gemeinsamen Überwindung der Krise des Landes aufgerufen worden war.

Die Macht im Land liegt seit gestern in den Händen des „Nationalen Sicherheitsrates". Er wird vom Generalstabschef Kenan Euren, den Oberkommandierenden der drei Waffengattungen, der paramilitärischen Gendarmerie sowie dem Befehlshaber der Seestreitkräfte in der Ägäis gebildet. In seinen Befugnissen dürfte der Rat weit über den bisher bestehenden „Nationalen Sicherheitsrat" hinausgehen, der 1961 einberufen wurde, aus Politikern und Militärs bestand und als Kontrollorgan der Armee gegenüber der Regierung fungieren sollte.



- ✱ US logistische Einheit
- ⊛ US Militärmission
- ✱ US Horchposten
- 1 NATO HQ Südost (Hauptquartier)
- △ NATO Militärstützpunkt
- 2 NATO HQ Nordost
- NATO Frühwarnposten
- ◈ US nukleares Luftwaffenlager
- ⊞ US nukleares Heerwaffenlager
- NATO Nuklearwaffenlager
- 3 NATO taktisches Luftwaffen HQ
- NATO Geschützstation

Unklar ist bisher das Ausmaß der Unterdrückung des politischen und gewerkschaftlichen Lebens. Nach Meldungen von gestern morgen, wurden diejenigen Organisationen nicht verboten, die nach Einschätzung der Militärs politisch in der Mitte anzusiedeln sind.

Zur Begründung seiner Machtübernahme ließ der Sicherheitsrat über Rundfunk erklären, die staatlichen Organe seien „nicht länger funktionsfähig" gewesen, die Verfassungsorgane nicht mehr unparteiisch. Die politischen Parteien hätten es „über kurzsichtige Rivalitäten und durch unkooperative Haltung versäumt, Maßnahmen zum Schutze des Staates zu ergreifen".

Eine entsprechende Forderung hatte die Armeeführung schon am 1. Januar in einem Aufruf an den Staatspräsidenten vorgebracht.

Ganz unbeschadet von dieser kaum verhüllten Putschdrohung hatten Vertreter der US-amerikanischen Regierung nach Anfang Januar in Ankara einen Militärvertrag ausgehandelt und innerhalb weniger Tage, am 9. Januar, abgeschlossen. Er garantiert die fortgesetzte Benutzung von 26 US-Basen im Land, unter ihnen die bedeutende Abhörstation Sinop an der Schwarzmeerküste.

Um die Nutzungsrechte hatten beide Seiten jahrelang gehandelt, nachdem der alte Vertrag 1975 einseitig von der Türkei aufgekündigt worden war.

Die eigene strategisch günstige Position am Südrand der Sowjetunion sollte damals im Hinblick auf die griechisch-türkischen Rivalitäten und die Politik der Westmächte auf Zypern neu „ausgehandelt" werden.

Die Entwicklung im Iran und in Afghanistan rissen jedoch den amerikanisch ausgerichteten Südgürtel um die Sowjetunion derart auf, daß die Stabilisierung der Türkei zum vordringlichen Anliegen des Westens wurde. Bausteine dazu waren außenpolitisch der angesprochene neue Stützpunkt-Vertrag und wirtschaftspolitisch die wesentlich von der Bundesrepublik organisierte „Türkeihilfe", ein Rahmenplan zur Aufbringung der in den nächsten Jahren benötigten Finanzhilfe.

Anläßlich der parlamentarischen Billigung des westdeutschen Kreditanteils, war eine Debatte darüber aufgekommen, inwieweit an die Vergabe innenpolitische Verpflichtungen gebunden werden sollten. Entsprechende Überlegungen wurden damals mit der Begründung zurückgewiesen, man wolle sich nicht in die inneren Angelegenheiten des Landes einmischen.

Die NATO-Generalität, die jetzt wieder die Macht an sich gerissen hat, übt praktisch seit 1960 einen Einfluß aus, der weit über ihre Rolle in anderen Staaten des Bündnisses hinausgeht. Nach dem damaligen Sturz der Regierung Menderes (27. Mai 1960) ließ sich das Militär mit der erwähnten Institution des „Nationalen Sicherheitsrates" eine Kontrollfunktion der Regierung in die neue, unter seinem Druck zustandegekommene, Verfassung schreiben. Im März 1971 intervenierten die Streitkräfte zum zweiten Mal direkt mit der Begründung, soziale Unruhen beenden und einem drohenden linken Umsturz zuvorkommen zu müssen.

(siehe auch Kommentar S. 8)

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ PARTİSİ

Die Neue 13.9.80

Das Erwartete ist eingetroffen

clg.– Das Erwartete ist eingetreten. in der Türkei hat die Armee die Macht übernommen. Angedroht hatte sie das bereits am 1. Januar dieses Jahres.

Nun kann man gespannt sein, wie die NATO und die westeuropäischen Mächte, die der Türkei gerade Milliarden zugeschoben haben, über verbale Entrüstung hinausreagieren werden. Die USA, die am 9. Januar dieses Jahres von der Türkei gerade wieder ihre Stützpunkte erhalten haben, dürften sich in der ärgsten Zwickmühle befinden. Der Menschenrechtler Carter, der zur staatlichen Folter- und Mordorgie, die seit Monaten läuft, ohnehin kein Wörtchen verloren hat, wird diesmal nicht um ein Wort herumkommen. Aber sicher ist dies: Die NATO wird die Türkei nicht suspendieren, die EG wird die Türkei aufnehmen, wenn die Militärs ihr Kabinett bei Gelegenheit mit ein paar Zivilisten schmücken. Es laufen ja genug herum, die sich anbieten. Die Schirmherren der „Grauen Wölfe" müssen ja nicht im faschistischen Ornat in den Kabinettssaal treten.

Die Machtübernahme der Militärs war sorgfältig vorbereitet worden. Der rechtsextremistische Terror der letzten Monate, der Tausende von Opfern forderte, aber auch die linke Opposition zu Gegenschlägen herausforderte, schüchterte die demokratisch gesinnte und gebildete Minderheit des Landes ein, dezimierte ihre Führung und ihre Basis. Im Ausland wurde das Bild einer von Zivilen unlenkbaren Türkei systematisch vervollkommnet. Wenn der Vorsitzende der Sozialistischen Internationale nichts anderes zur Schutzhaftnahme seines Parteifreundes Ecevit mitzuteilen hat als, er hoffe auf ein Maßhalten der türkischen Militärs, muß man sich nicht wundern, daß die ersten Kommentatoren in den westeuropäischen Medien so tun, als habe sich die türkische Armee nur widerwillig entschlossen, die Macht zu ergreifen.

In den nächsten Wochen wird, man kann gewiß sein, die Kunde verbreitet, weit hinten in der Türkei schlage man nun nicht mehr aufeinander, die Militärs hätten das Land „stabilisiert". Das ist es, was sich die USA, die NATO und die ihr verbündeten Interessen wünschen. An der russischen Südflanke einen „stabilen" Staat, der völlig erhaben ist über den Versuch, jemals neutralistisch zu schwanken.

Was uns speziell in der Bundesrepublik angeht, so wirft der Militärputsch (der wohl auch ein präfaschistisches Ereignis, oder zumindest ein pro-faschistisches genannt werden kann) die Asylfrage erneut auf. Die demokratischen türkischen Vereinigungen haben in den letzten Wochen darauf aufmerksam gemacht, daß die einst wirtschaftlich begründete Auswanderung aus der Türkei in eine politisch begründete Flucht umgewandelt wurde. Dies wird sich nun verstärkt fortsetzen. Und aus vielen türkischen Gastarbeitern werden nun türkische Flüchtlinge werden. Diejenigen, die so oft an den Glockenseilen des Menschenrechtsgebimmels hängen, werden nun an diesen Türken beweisen können, wohin ihr Engagement zielt.

Auch Matthöfer findet beschönigende Worte für die Putschisten

Türkische Junta setzt sich langfristig fest

Neue 16.9.80

ANKARA (ddp/rtr/NEUE).– Die seit Donnerstag herrschende türkische Militärjunta macht in ihren Erlassen und Aktionen zunehmend klar, daß sie entgegen ihren ersten Ankündigungen nicht an eine baldige Rückkehr in die Kasernen denkt. Neben der Ausrufung des Juntachefs General Kenan Evran zum Staatspräsidenten sagten die Militärs am Sonntag die für nächstes Frühjahr vorgesehenen allgemeinen Wahlen ab. Der sich abzeichnende politische Kurs bietet bisher keine Überraschungen. Außenpolitisch betonten die Militärs ihre NATO-Treue, in der Wirtschaftspolitik scheint man an eine Fortsetzung des unter dem letzten Ministerpräsidenten Demirel eingeschlagenen Kurses zu denken. Die angekündigten Verfassungsänderungen, über die man vorgeblich eine Stabilisierung der innenpolitischen Situation erreichen will, wurden bisher nicht präzisiert. Die Zahl der bisher Verhafteten liegt nach Schätzungen aus der Hauptstadt, die ddp wiedergibt, bereits bei mehreren Tausend.

Die neuen Machthaber selbst verweigern exakte Auskünfte über die Zahl ihrer bisherigen Opfer. Offiziell bestätigt wurde neben der Inhaftierung der Parteiführer bisher nur die Festnahme von 96 Parlamentsabgeordneten.

Am Sonntag griffen die Militärs auch in die laufenden Tarifauseinandersetzungen ein. In einem Kommuniqué wurden Unternehmer, in deren Betrieben Lohnkämpfe anstehen, angewiesen, unverzüglich Lohnerhöhungen bis zu 70 Prozent zu gewähren. Andererseits wurden alle streikenden Arbeiter aufgefordert, zur ersten Schicht dieser Woche wieder an ihren Arbeitsplätzen zu erscheinen.

Das faktische Streikverbot trifft etwa 40 000 Arbeiter, die sich Mitte vergangener Woche in verschiedenen Teilen des Landes im Ausstand befanden. Die Regierung Demirel hatte zusätzlich mit der gesetzlich möglichen Aussetzung eines Arbeitskampfes um drei Monate den Streik von mindestens 100 000 Arbeitern verhindert.

Die jetzt amtlich dekretierte Lohnerhöhung von bis 70 Prozent kommt einer Niederlage der Arbeiter gleich. Ihre Gewerkschaften hatten nach Informationen der Föderation der türkischen Arbeitervereine (FIDEF) bei einer Inflation (im letzten Jahr) von 280 Prozent Lohnerhöhungen von 300 Prozent gefordert.

Den bisherigen wirtschaftspolitischen Kurs des gestürzten Demirel werden die Militärs fortführen. Hier dürfte sich auch kein Spielraum für etwaige eigene Vorstellungen ergeben, angesichts der international ausgehandelten Eckwerte und Wirtschaftsmaßnahmen, die in der Türkei in den nächsten Jahren ergriffen bzw. erzielt werden müssen. Bereits am Freitag war deshalb der Nationale Sicherheitsrat, das oberste politische Gremium der Militärregierung, mit Zentralbankchef Ismail Hakky Aydinoglu und Demirels Wirtschaftsberater Turgut Ozal zusammengetroffen.

Ozal war maßgeblich an den Verhandlungen über die westliche Wirtschaftshilfe für die Türkei und an der Ausarbeitung eines Sanierungsprogramms der alten Regierung beteiligt. Der Nachrichtenagentur Reuter sagte Ozal, er werde seine Position beibehalten, ohne das näher erläutern zu wollen.

Auch international spricht alles für eine Stabilisierung der Militärs. Nachdem sich die NATO bereits wenige Stunden nach deren Machtübernahme offiziell für neutral erklärte, haben sich auch die ausländischen Kreditoren praktisch zugunsten der neuen Machthaber ausgesprochen. So begründete Bundesfinanzminister Matthöfer die Fortsetzung der Finanzhilfe unter anderem mit seinem „Eindruck", daß die Militärs „nur außerordentlich widerstrebend zu dieser Aktion geschritten" seien.

TÜRKIYE TÜSTAV ARSIVLERI ATATÜRK ARASTIRMA VAKFI

ΣΥΝΕΡΓΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΥ ΟΤΕ

ΑΝΑΚΟΙΝΩΣΗ

Ἀθήνα 6.11.80

Συνάδελφοι,

Ἡ ἀπόφαση ὅλων τῶν Συλλόγων τοῦ Προσωπικοῦ τοῦ ΟΤΕ, γιὰ ἀγωνιστικὴ διεκδίκηση τῶν δικαιωμάτων μας, χαιρετίστηκε μὲ ἐνθουσιασμὸ ἀπ' τὸ Προσωπικὸ καὶ ἀναπτέρωσε τὴν ἐλπίδα γιὰ τὴν ἕνωση τῶν κατακερματισμένων δυνάμεων σὲ μιὰ πανίσχυρη συνδικαλιστικὴ δύναμη, ἱκανὴ νὰ ἐπιβάλει δυναμικὰ τὴ λύση τῶν προβλημάτων μας.

Ἡ ἀδιάκοπη οἰκονομικὴ μας ἐξαθλίωση, ἡ φαλκίδευση τῶν μισθῶν μας ἀπὸ τὸν καλπάζοντα πληθωρισμὸ καὶ ἡ πολιτικὴ τῆς μονόπλευρης λιτότητας ἔχουν κάνει προβληματικὴ τὴν ἐπιβίωσή μας. Ἡ κοινὴ μοῖρα ἔδειξε σὲ μᾶς τὸ δρόμο καὶ ἕνωσε τοὺς συλλόγους τοῦ Προσωπικοῦ ΟΤΕ γιὰ κοινὸ καὶ ἀνυποχώρητο ἀγώνα.

Τὸ ἀπεργιακὸ κῦμα ὀγκώνεται καὶ φουσκώνει κάθε μέρα. Ἡ μαχητικὴ κινητοποίηση τῶν ἐργαζομένων στὶς δημόσιες ὑπηρεσίες, στὴ ΔΕΗ, στὶς Τράπεζες, στὰ Ἐργοστάσια ἁπλώνεται καὶ ἀπαιτεῖ τὴ λύση τῶν πανεργατικῶν αἰτημάτων μας.

Ἡ Γ.Σ.Ε.Ε. ἀποφάσισε τὴν προκήρυξη 24ωρης Πανελλαδικῆς ἀπεργίας τὴ Δευτέρα 10 Νοέμβρη 1980 καὶ καλεῖ ὅλες τὶς Συνδικαλιστικὲς Ὀργανώσεις νὰ κινητοποιηθοῦν γιὰ τὴν ἐπιτυχία της.

Οἱ Ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ οἱ Συνδικαλιστικὲς ὀργανώσεις πάντα ζητοῦσαν ἀπὸ τὴ Γ.Σ.Ε.Ε. νὰ ἀναλάβει τὴν εὐθύνη της καὶ νὰ διεκδικήσει ἀγωνιστικὰ τὰ πανεργατικὰ αἰτήματα. Αὐτὴ τὴ στιγμή, ὅλοι οἱ ἐργαζόμενοι τῆς χώρας θὰ πάρουν μέρος στὴν Πανεργατικὴ ἀπεργία τῆς Δευτέρας, εἶναι ὅμως ἕτοιμοι νὰ κλιμακώσουν πάρα πέρα τὸν ἀγώνα τους καὶ σ' αὐτὴ τὴν προοπτικὴ καλοῦν τὴν ΓΣΕΕ, νὰ συνεχίσει, ὅπως οἱ ἴδιοι θὰ συνεχίσουν τὸν ἀγώνα μέχρι τὴ λύση τῶν αἰτημάτων.

Συνάδελφοι,

Στὸ προσκλητήριο αὐτὸ τοῦ ἀγώνα γιὰ τὸ ψωμὶ τῶν οἰκογενειῶν μας, ὅλα τὰ Σωματεῖα τοῦ χώρου μας χωρὶς ἐξαίρεση, θὰ δώσουν τὸ ἀγωνιστικὸ παρών. Γι' αὐτὸ καὶ καλοῦν ὅλους τοὺς ἐργαζόμενους τοῦ ΟΤΕ νὰ πάρουν μέρος στὴν ἀπεργία, γιατὶ ἄλλα περιθώρια ἀναμονῆς δὲν ὑπάρχουν.

Ἦρθε ἡ ὥρα νὰ διεκδικήσουμε δυναμικὰ τὰ στοιχειώδη βασικὰ δικαιώματά μας σὰν συνειδητοὶ ἐργαζόμενοι, σὰν ἀξιοπρεπεῖς καὶ περήφανοι ἄνθρωποι. Ἀνεξάρτητα ἀπὸ παλαιὲς ἄγονες διαμάχες, ποὺ ἔντεχνα καλιεργοῦσε ὁ ἐργοδότης μας γιὰ νὰ μᾶς κρατᾶ διαιρεμένους καὶ νὰ ἐξουδετερώσει τὴν δύναμη ποὺ θὰ εἶχε τὸ ἑνωμένο προσωπικό μας, ξεκινᾶμε τώρα, ὅλοι στοὺς ἀγῶνες μας στὴ γενικὴ ἀπεργία τῆς 10ης Νοέμβρη 1980, μὲ τὰ παρακάτω αἰτήματά μας :

- **Συμπληρωματικὴ αὔξηση ἀποδοχῶν 30% γιὰ τὴν κάλυψη τοῦ χαμένου εἰσοδήματός μας τὰ τελευταῖα χρόνια.**
- **Καθιέρωση αὐτόματης τιμαριθμικῆς ἀναπροσαρμογῆς ἀπὸ 1.1.81 ἀνὰ τρίμηνο, μὲ ἀμοιβαῖα ἀποδεκτὸ τιμάριθμο.**
- **Ἀφορολόγητο ὅριο στὸ ὕψος τῶν ἀποδοχῶν τοῦ ἀνειδίκευτου ἐργάτη καὶ τιμαριθμικὴ ἀναπροσαρμογὴ τῶν φορολογικῶν συντελεστῶν.**
- **Ἀναπροσαρμογὴ στὰ πραγματικὰ ἐπίπεδα καὶ ἐπέκταση σ' ὅλους τοὺς ἐργαζόμενους τοῦ Ο.Τ.Ε. τῶν ἐπιδομάτων γιὰ θέρμανση καὶ στέγαση.**
- **Ἀναπροσαρμογὴ τῶν ὁδοιπορικῶν κατοικίας καὶ ἐξαίρεσή τους ἀπὸ τὴ φορολογία.**
- **Ποσοστοποίηση ὅλων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων δραχμικῶν ἐπιδομάτων.**
- **Καθιέρωση τοῦ χρονοεπιδόματος ὡς βασικοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ ὑπολογισμὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιδομάτων ἐπὶ τοῦ συνόλου (βασικοῦ μισθοῦ καὶ χρονοεπιδόματος).**
- **Ἵδρυση Ἐπικουρικοῦ Ταμείου, μὲ βάση τὴ σχετικὴ μελέτη τῆς Ὑπηρεσιακῆς Ἐπιτροπῆς.**
- **Τροποποίηση τοῦ Ν. 165)73 γιὰ νὰ κατοχυρωθεῖ ἡ αὐτοτέλεια καὶ ὁ κοινωφελὴς χαρακτήρας τοῦ Ο.Τ.Ε. καὶ νὰ ἀποκλεισθεῖ ἡ μετοχοποίηση ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐκχώρηση δραστηριοτήτων του.**
- **Καθιέρωση πενθήμερης ἑβδομάδας, μὲ παράλληλη μείωση τῶν ὡρῶν ἐργασίας.**
- **Κατάργηση τοῦ ἀντεργατικοῦ νομικοῦ πλαισίου.**

Συνάδελφοι,

Τὰ Συνεργαζόμενα Σωματεῖα Προσωπικοῦ ΟΤΕ σᾶς καλοῦν νὰ πάρετε μέρος στὴν πρώτη 24) ωρη ἀπεργία τὴ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ 10 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΗ, ἀπὸ τὰ μεσάνυχτα τῆς Κυριακῆς ὡς τὰ μεσάνυχτα τῆς Δευτέρας. Ὅλοι μαζί, ἑνωμένοι καὶ μαχητικοί, ἀποφασισμένοι νὰ ἐπιβάλουμε τὸ δίκιο μας.

Ἡ ἀναχρονιστικὴ νοοτροπία νὰ συμπιέζουν τοὺς μισθοσυντήρητους γιὰ τὴ «στήριξη» τῆς οἰκονομίας καὶ γιὰ νὰ αὐξάνουν τὰ κέρδη τῶν λίγων ποὺ θησαυρίζουν καὶ μᾶς ἐκμεταλλεύονται, πρέπει νὰ σταματήσει.

Συνάδελφοι, ὅλων τῶν κατηγοριῶν καὶ βαθμῶν, σταθεῖτε ὄρθιοι καὶ ἀνυποχώρητοι, ὅπως ταιριάζει στὶς ἀγωνιστικὲς παραδόσεις τοῦ κλάδου μας. Μόνο μὲ ἀγῶνες θὰ πετύχουμε τὴν ἀναγνώριση τῶν δικαιωμάτων μας καὶ τὴν βελτίωση τῶν συνθηκῶν τῆς ζωῆς μας.

ΟΛΟΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ 10 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΗ

Μὲ ἀγωνιστικοὺς χαιρετισμούς

— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΑ ΕΝΩΣΗ ΤΕΧΝΙΚΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΙΚΟΥ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΗΤΡΙΩΝ - ΧΕΙΡΙΣΤΡΙΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣΠΤΥΧΙΟΥΧΩΝ ΑΝΩΤΑΤΩΝ ΣΧΟΛΩΝ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΩΝ ΔΙΑΝΟΜΕΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΤΥΧΙΟΥΧΩΝ ΑΝΩΤΕΡΑΣ ΤΗΛΕΠ. ΣΧΟΛΗΣ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΙΠΛΩΜΑΤΟΥΧΩΝ ΜΗΧ/ΚΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝ ΡΑΔ/ΓΩΝ ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΜΗΧ/ΚΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΤΥΧΙΟΥΧΩΝ ΕΡΓΟΔΗΓΩΝ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΡΑΔΙΟΤΗΛΕΓΡΑΦΗΤΩΝ ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΟΤΕ
— ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΙΟΣ ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ ΧΕΙΡΙΣΤΡΙΩΝ ΜΗΧ/ΣΕΩΣ ΟΤΕ
— ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΠΤΥΧΙΟΥΧΩΝ ΥΠΟΜ/ΚΩΝ ΟΤΕ

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

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RAPOR

26-30 mayıs tarihleri arasında, Banksen Genel başkanı Metin Denizmen'le birlikte, Banksen'in üyesi bulunduğu Uluslararası Ticaret Sendikaları Birliği'nin Sofya'da yapılan 30. dönem Yönetim Kurulu Çaleşmalarına katılmak üzere Bulgaristan'da bulunduk. Toplantı27 ve 28 mayıs günleri yapıldı. Metin Denizmen toplantıda, Türkiye'deki sendikal durumu değerlendiren, sınıf sendikalarının şimdiki özgür birlik stratejisini açıklayan, Türkiye'deki politik durumu kaba hatlarıyla tanıtan bir konuşma yaptı. Bu konuşma bütün yönetim kurulu üyeleri tarafından ilgiyle izlendi, notlar alındı. Yönetim Kurulunda temsil edilen ülke temsilcilerinin, özellikle kapitalist ülkelerden gelenlerin Türkiye'deki sendikal savaşım konusundaki bilgilerinin artmasına yardımcı oldu. Konuşma metni, çeşitli yerlerde kullanılmak üzere TUI sekreterliğine verildi. Ayrıca, toplantı sonucunda yayınlanan "Dayanışma Kararı"ndaki Türkiye ile ilgili kısım (ciltlikte) büyük ölçüde genişletildi, ismi tek kelime ile geçen Türkiye konusunda, bunun yerine, karara redaksiyon komisyonu ile hazırladığımız iki paragraflık bir bölüm eklendi. Ayrıca, DSF'nin Flashes bülteninde yayınlanmak üzere, "bir Banksen yöneticisinden alınan bilgi" olarak, son 1 mayıs ve DİSK hakkında hazırlanmakta olan dava konusunda bilgi veren bir haber hazırlanıp Sekreterliğe verildi.

Toplantıya SSCB, Bulgaristan, Macaristan, Polonya, Çekoslovakya, DAC, Romanya, Küba, KoreDHC, Fransa, Kongo HC, Nijerya, Madagaskar, Suriye, Hindistan, Kıbrıs sendikalarından temsilciler, DSF temsilcisi, TUI'ın Sekreterliğini oluşturan Romanyalı Frunze ve Kolombiyalı Villamarin katıldılar. Toplantıda, görevinden alınan Polonyalı Başkanın yerine Macar Janos Vas başkanlığa seçildi. Ayrıca Yürütme Kurulunda, Sovyet, Fransız, Kıbrıslı ve Kolombiyalı üyelerin ek olarak, Romanyalı Genel Sekreter Frunze, Polonya'lı ve Suriyeli sendikacılar seçildiler. Toplantıya gözlemci olarak katılmaları beklenen Arap Sendikaları Birliği temsilcisi ve Latin Amerika'dan Coltrac örgütünün temsilcisi gelmediler.

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Kore, Nijerya, Madagaskar ve Hindistan temsilcilerinin dışında, diğer ülke temsilcileriyle çeşitli biçimlerde görüşüldü, kendilerine Türkiye'deki durum ve sendikal stratejimiz, Banksen'in şimdiki durumu konularında bilgi verildi. Sendikal stratejimiz özellikle Macaristan, Bulgaristan ve Sovyet temsilcileri tarafından, çok olumlu olarak değerlendirildi. DSF temsilcisi de bu görüşe katıldı, ancak böyle bir stratejiyi yaşama geçirmenin de ne derece güç olduğunun altını çizdi.

DSF temsilcisi, DSF sekrterliğinde "Head of Administration" görevinde bulunan, örgüt işleriyle görevli olduğunu söyleyen Sovyet Kolesnikov, özellikle , yaplacak olan ILO 75. Çalışma Konferansı konusunda bilgi verdi. ILO Konferansına sunulacak olan Türkiye ile ilgili raporu kovalamak gerektiğini, hasıraltı edilmesini önlemek için Konferansa ne şekilde, ne amaçla ilgilileceğini önceden öğrenmek gerektiğini söyledi. Bu konuda DGB'den Mur adlı sendikacının yardımcı olabileceğini bildirdi./Ayrıca, zaten oraya hareket etmiş olan DSF delegasyonunun isim ve adreslerini verdi. Batı Avrupa sendikalarıyla, özellikle de DSF dışı sendikalarla ne şekilde eylem birliği yapabileceğimiz sorumuza, DSF dışı sendikalarla olsa olsa ILO içinde eylem birliği yapılabileceği, bunun dışında eylem birliği olanaklarının zayıf olduğu yanıtını verdi. Türkiye'deki sendikal savaşımla ile ilgili taze bilgileri Prag radyosunun DSF'ye ayırdığı saatlere iletmemizi, salık verdi. Bu radyo ile ilgili olarak Bulgar Burjukov'un ismini verdi.

Cenevre'ye bir adam yollamamızın çok yararlı olacağını belirtti.

Sovyet sendikacıları, aralarında Denizmen'in de bulunduğu 4 Banksen'liyi ve 1 Maden-iş'liyi Ağustos ayında SB'ne dinlenmeye davet ettiler. Bu kişilerin sahte kimliklerinin ve pasaport numaralarının 10 gün içinde, sendikal kanalla ve elden kendilerine yollanmasını istediler. İsimleri içeren zarfın üstüne sadece kendi telefon numaralarının yazılmasını istediler. (Vera Karpenkova'nın numarası) (1258353 / 8070) Daha sonra bu durumu DAC'li yoldaşlara ilettik ve bunu yapabileceklerini öğrendik.

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Sovyet sendikacıları Uluslararası Demokratik Hukukçular Birliği ve UDKF ile daha sıkı işbirliği kurmamızı salık verdiler.

Kendisiyle görüştüğümüz Bulgar Ticaret sendikaları başkanı Tsekov, Türkiye konusundaki politik ve ekonomik değerlendirmemizi sendikalar Merkez Konseyine ilettiğini bildirdi. Türkiye'den başka Bulgaristan'a geçmek isteyen olup olmadığını sordu.

Kendisiyle görüştüğümüz, TUI'a başkan seçilen Macar Vas, Batı Avrupa'da özellikle İspanyol, Portekiz ve İtalyan sendikalarıyla eylem birlikleri yapma olasalıklarının bulunduğunu, TUI Sekreterliği kanalıyla bu ülkeler sendikalarına somut dayanışma eylemleri önerileri yapmamızı istedi. Birer Akdeniz ülkesi olarak bu ülkelerin Türkiye'nin durumuyla daha yakından ilgilendiklerini söyledi. Emigrasyonda bulunan sendikacıların kişisel sorunları için Macar sendikalarına, kendi işkolu sendikalarına başvurmamızı, bu konuda herşeyi yapabileceklerini söyledi. 2-3 haftalık bir görgü eğitimini, dinlenme, tedavi gibi işleri istemekten çekinmemizi istedi. Bu konularda doğrudan ilişki kurulmasını istedi.

Kendileriyle görüştüğümüz Fransız sendikacıları, işkolu düzeyinden ziyade, CGT düzeyinde dayanışma istememizi salık verdiler. Fransa'da işkolu sendikalarının uluslararası alanda tekbaşlarına faaliyet yürütmediklerini, bunu CGT'nin yaptığını söylediler.

Kendisiyle görüşülen Suriye temsilcisinden dayanışma isteğinde bulunulduğunda, kendilerinin bizim dayanışmamıza gereksinim duydukları yanıtı alındı.

Kongo temsilcisi, ülkesine döndüğünde bir dayanışma eylemi yapılmasını sağlayacağını, temmuz ayında yapılacak Kongo sendikaları Kongresinin bunun için bir fırsat olacağını söyledi.

Örgütün yeni Genel Sekreteri Frunze, uzun yıllardır dış ilişkilerde çalışmış, Türk-iş çevrelerini iyi tanıyan bir kişi. Seyfi

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Demirsoy ve Halil Tunç [illegible] un iyi birer sendikacı olduk-
ları kanısında. Baştürk ve Ertan Andaç'la yakın ilişkileri olmuş, kendi-
uzun zamandan beri ve
lerini iyi tanıyor. Bu nedenle, Sekreterliğin Baştürk'ün serbest bırakılması [illegible] konusunda çeşitli girişimlerde bulunması önerimizi gerçekten benimsedi. Banksen'in Sekreterlikle ilişkilerini sıklaştırmasını istedi, bu konuda her türlü olanağı sağlıyabileceklerini, Prag'a Denizmen'in gitmesi için uçak bileti yollayabileceklerini, kendisinin Berlin'e gidebileceğini söyledi. Bu arada, Banksen'li sendikacıların Romanya'da uzun süreli bir eğitimden geçirilmesi [illegible] , Romanya'da kalmaları konusunda ısrarlı bir tutum gösterdi.

Örgüt sekreteri Kolombiyalı Alvaro Villamarin bize sürekli yardımcı oldu, toplantıdan sonra da Türkiye'de Banksen'in durumunu üyelere duyuracaklarını söyledi. [illegible] Romanyalı yeni genel sekreter konusunda biraz [illegible] dikkatli davranmamız gerektiğini bize hissettirdi. Kanımca kendisi TUI sekreterliğinde bize en fazla yardımcı olabilecek kişidir. Kendisine Banksen'lilerin kalmakta oldukları yerin adresi verildi.

Kanımca, TUI sekreterliği ile ve sekreterlik kanalıyla diğer örgütlerle bundan sonra daha sıkı ilişkiler sürdürmekte , Türkiye hakkında düzenli aralarla bilgi vermekte yarar vardır. Ayrıca, özel olarak Sovyet ve Macar sendikalarıyla bağları daha da sıklaştırmaya gereken önemi [illegible] vermeyi sürdürmekten geri kalmamağa dikkat edilmelidir. Anladığıma göre, Bulgar sendikaları, eğitim, tatil gibi şeylerden ziyade, kaçanlara kolaylık sağlama, vb..konularda yardımcı olmayı yeğlemektedirler.

Polonya temsilcisi konuşmasında Polonya'da 3 sendikal akım bulunduğunu, bunların Solidarnoş, işkolu sendikaları ve özerk sendikalar hareketleri olduğunu söyledi. [illegible] Yeni çıkartılan çalışma yasasına göre sendikaların da tüzüğünün değiştirilmekte olduğunu söyledi. "PBİP olağanüstü Kongresinde halkın ve bütün sendikal

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akımların istekleri dile getirilecek" dedi. Amaçlarının bütün sendikaları tek bir çizgi etrafında toplamak olduğunu söyledi.

Birlikte bulunduğumuz süre içinde, Denizmen kendisinin ve arkadaşlarının bazı dertlerini dile getirdi. Sohbetlerimizden edindiğim izlenime göre, ailesinden ~~xx~~ haber alamamaktan tedirgin. Gelecekte ne yapacaklarının henüz açık olmaması bu tedirginliğin ana nedeni. Bunun yanısıra, Türkiye'deki sendikal gelişmelerden hemen hiç haber alamaması da kendisini olumsuz yönde etkilemiş. Bu konuda daha/~~xxx~~ çok bilgi almak istediğini sık sık belirtti. Illegallik koşullarına adapte olmakta güçlük çekiyor. Örneğin, diğer sendikacı arkadaşlarının nerede olduklarını, ne yaptıklarını bilmemekten rahatsız oluyor. Kendisinin ve arkadaşlarının cinsel sorunları~~xx~~ olduğunu dile getirmekten çekinmedi Temmuz ayında bitecek olan eğitimin uzatılmasını istiyor. Özellikle almanca eğitimine ağırlık verilmesini istiyor. Aydın bir kişi olarak kültürel gereksinimlerinin daha fazla karşılanmasını istiyor.

Kanımca, Denizmen 'in uluslararası sendikal faaliyetlerin ~~içine~~ katılmasında biraz daha fazla ~~[illegible]~~ (TUI ile ilişkiler)~~xxxxx~~ yarar vardır. ~~Şimdi~~ Bu kendisi için moral yükseltici de oluyor. Ayrıca x Denizmen ve kendisiyle birlikte kalanlara bir pikap~~x~~ ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ yollanmasında, okumaları için türkçe roman, ve diğer kitaplar sağlanmasında yarar vardır. Kendilerine ilginin arttırılması da kuşkusuz çok yararlı olacak ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ partimizle aralarındaki bağları sağlamlaştıracaktır.

Sofya'da , Karamehmetov~~x~~ ailesini de ziyaret ettik. Bu, Bulgaristan Türklerinden , yazar Karamehmetof'un ~~x~~ oğlu Ahmet ve/~~xxxx~~ gelini Emelnaz' dan oluşuan bir aile. Emelnaz Bulgaristan radyosu Türkçe yayınlarında işçi köşesini hazırlıyor. Denizmen Bulgaristan'a ilk ~~xxx~~ sığındığında 20 gün boyunca bu kadın kendisine dilmaçlık etmiş ve bu aile ile aralarında sıkı bir dostluk doğmuş. Bu nedenle de Denizmen'i etkileyebiliyorlar. ~~xxxx~~ Birlikte bulunduğumuz akşam da, kendisine Bilen yoldaşın

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imzalı bir kitabını gösterdiler. Ardından Bulgaristan'ın kendi iç sorunlarını sürekli anlattılar. Özellikle Bulgaristan Türklerinin durumundan sözettiler. Türklerin mesleklerinde yükselmelerinin çok zor olduğunu şimdiye kadar hiçbir Türk'ün bakanlık yapmadığını, oysa nüfusun 1/8'ini Türk olduğunu söylediler, bu durumun Türkiye'ye göçlere yol açtığını savladılar. Ayrıca, "Leipzig bizi unuttu" türünden sözlerle partiye sitemde bulundular. Bunun dışında Emelnaz, Sofya Radyosu Türkçe kesiminin TKP'nin yayınlarına, diğer ilerici yayınlara gereksinimi olduğunu vurguladı. Kanımca Sofya radyosuna daha çok ilerici yayın yollanmasının sağlanması yerinde olacaktır.

Sofya'da kaldığımız sürece mihmandarlık eden Roman Kovaçev Yeni Işık gazetesinde görevli. Türkiye'deki edebiyat çevrelerini iyi tanıyor. Aziz Nesin'in konuğu olarak önümüzdeki ay Türkiye'ye gidecek ve Nesin Vakfı tesislerinde kalacak. Ayrıca, Niyazi Kuas, M.Zırtıloğlu gibi sendikacıları da tanıyor. Kendisi ve Bulgar yoldaşlar, Denizmen'in ~~Bulgaristan'da~~ yurtdışında bulunduğu konusunda Türkiye'de birşey söylememesi için uyarıldılar.

Tahsin Mafrat

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1 Haziran 81

20-21 Mayıs 1981 de yapılan UMSB Yürütme Kurulu toplantısı hakkında:

Toplantıda UMSB genel sekreteri değişti. Fransız Bagi nin yerine gene Fransız Alain Stern adlı bir sendikacı geldi. Dha önce CGT adına Türkiye ye de gelmiş olan bu kişinin bize karşı tutumu olumlu. Yalnız bu değişiklik olduğu için yeni gelenin somut iş yapar duruma gelmiş olmadığı için bu toplantıda UMSB den somut bir talepte bulunmadık. Sosyalist ülke sendikaları ve fransızlar gene her konuda yardım ve dayanışmaya hazır olduklarını belirttiler. Paris teki büro açıldığında Maden İşe de burada olanak tanınacağı hem okunan raporda belirtiliuordu, hem de fransızlarla bu konu konuşuldu, ancak henüz mali sorunlar çözülemediği için bu büronun ne zaman açılacağı belli değil. Atrıca bu büronun açılması işinin dört senedir konuşulduğunu da hatırlatmakta yarar var. Macarlar eğitim semineri için işçi gönderip gönderemiyeceğimizi sordular, istediğimiz kadar işçi için daha uzun süreli yada kısa süreli eğitim semineri düzenlemeye hazır oldukları nı belirttiler.

Gerek toplantı konuşmamızda gerekse özel ikili görüşmelerde partimizin sendikal politikasının anahatlarını anlattık. Bu gerçekten büyük ilgi gördü. Çok militan bir sendikacılığın sembolu olan Maden İş in birden böyle birlikçi bir sendikacılığa geçişi onlarda gerçekten hayranlık uyandırdı. İyi bir izlenim yarattık bu açıdan da. Toplantının başka bir önemli olgusu Polonya konusunda fransızların UMSB nin Polonya ya heyet göndermesi ve bunun kilise ve Solidarnosla da görüşmesi önerisi oldu. Uzun tartışmalardan sonra bu konuda ilkesel konumla ı sarsmayan bir uzlaşma ile sonuçlandı.

Bundan sonraki toplantı 10-13 Kasım da Budapeştede olacak. Ayrıca 26 kasım dolaylarında Paris te otomobil konferansı var bunun davetiyesi gelecek. Bundan bir iki gün öncede Paris te Renault toplantısı var. Buraya Maden İş adına katılacak kişinin

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Renault işçisi olması gerekmiyor.Sendikalara haberleşme için Prag daki Kanra nın adresini verdik.

İlerisi için bütün UMSB üyelerine yazılı olarak bu adresin bildirilmesinde ve düzenli aralarla örneğin iki yada üç ayda bir Türkiyeden sendikal haberler içeren bir enformasyon gönderilmesinde büyük yarar var.Bu konuda çok talep var.Somut dayanışma eylemleri nin örgütlenmesi bunsuz olanaksız.Ayrıca uzun vadede Türkiyedeki durum ışığında DSF ve bağlı federasyonlar içindeki örgütsel olarak Türkiye nin yeri ne olacak sorunu üzerinde de şimdiden düşünmek, biçimler bulmak gerekiyor.Ayrıca Türkiye ile ilgili her türlü dayanışma eylemi için,ancak biz somut birşey önerirsek bir adım atılması olanağı var.

UMSB nin bu yürütme kurulu toplantısında bir karar çıktı.Bu karara Türkiye ile ilgili olarak şu bölümü ekledik:

Türkiye de devlet darbesinden sonra tüm temel sendikal haklar kaldırıldı.Birçok sendika bu arada Maden İş Aster İş Limter İş gibi UMSB üyeleri kapatıldı,yüzlerce sendikacı tutuklandı.Bu İLO nun sendikal özgürlük komisyonunun 997 ve 999 nolu raporlarında da belirtiliyor.Şu sırada İstanbul Sıkıyönetim mahkemesinde DİSK yöneticileri ve aktif sendikacılar hakkında bir dava başlamak üzeredir. Bu nedenle sendikal hak ve özgürlükler için savaşımlarını sürdüren türk emekçilerle dayanışma büyük önem taşıyor.

Cemal Kırlı

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aylık
DSF'nin Dünya Sendikal Hareketi adlı/dergisinin arkaarkaya Mayıs, Haziran ve Temmuz sayılarında Türkiye üzerine üç yazı yayınlandı.

DSF dergisinin Mayıs sayısında A.İskenderov imzasıyla yayınlanan yazı,"İşçilerin çıkarlarını sonuna kadar savunmak" başlığını taşıyor. Yazıda DİSK tarihi, Türkiye'nin ekonomik ve politik koşulları ele alındıktan sonra, DİSK'in gericiliğin baş hedeflerinden biri olduğu belirtiliyor. 15-16 Haziran büyük direnişi, Maden-İş'in grevleri üstünde duruluyor ve devamla şöyle deniliyor.

"Hükümet ve patronlar işçilerin savaşımını kırmak için baskılara başvurdular, lokavt ilan ettiler, fabrikaları kapattılar. Patronlar mali olanaksızlıklar nedeniyle Maden-İş'in uzun süre dayanamıyacağını, açlığın işçileri gerileteceğini, grevin kırılacağını umuyorlardı. Ama yanılıyorlardı. Eylem birliğinin, sınıf dayanışmasının utkunun yolu olduğunu bilen Türkiye proletaryası kavga kardeşlerinin yardımına koştu. DİSK'e bağlı sendikalar ve diğerleri Maden-İş'in savaşımıyla dayanışmaya girdiler. Tüm ülkede grevcilerle yardım kampanyaları düzenlendi. Ülkenin demokratik güçleri de dayanışmalarını dile getirdiler. Öte yandan dayanışma ulusal çerçeveyi aştı F.Almanya'da çalışan Türkiyeli işçiler, diğer ülkelerin sendikal örgütleri dayanışmaya katıldılar. Türkiye işçi sınıfının bu savaşımı utkuyla taçlandı."

Daha sonra 1976-1977-1978 1 Mayıs gösterileri anlatılıyor, "terörizme ve faşizme karşı" ara başlığı altında DİSK'in kurulduğundan bu yana büyüyen faşizm tehlikesine, politik terörizme ve gericiliğe karşı kararlı bir savaşım sürdürdüğü, bir çok DİSK görevlisi ve militanının baskıların ve terörizmin kurbanı olduğu belirtiliyor. Kemal Türkler'in barbarca katledilmesi karşısında cenaze törenine katılan yüzbinlerce işçi ve emekçinin, işçi sınıfının büyüyen etkisini ve gücünü böylece ortaya koyduklarına işaret ediliyor. Yazı "DİSK'i savunmak, sendikal hakları savunmaktır" ara başlıklı bölümle sona eriyor.

12 Eylül devirmesiyle başlayan baskılara değiniliyor. DİSK'e, yönetici ve militanlarına, sendikal hak ve özgürlüklere yönelen saldırıların dünyanın bir çok ülkesinde ilerici ve demokratik güçler ve uluslararası sendikal hareket tarafından protesto edildiği, tutukluların serbest bırakılması, sendikal hakların sağlanması için, Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonunun tüm ulusal ve ulus-

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lararası sendikal örgütleri, dayanışma kampanyasını güçlendirmeye çağırdığı belirtiliyor. Yurt dışındaki Türkiyeli işçiler tarafından da dayanışma eylemlerinin yapıldığına işaret eden yazı, şu cümlelerle son buluyor:

" Avrupa ülkelerinde çalışan Türkiyeli işçiler düzenledikleri toplantı ve mitinglerde, DİSK'in kapatılmasını şiddetle protesto ediyorlar. Ve konfederasyonun yönetici ve militanlarının serbest bırakılmasını istiyorlar. Bu toplantı ve mitinglerde şu belgi haykırılıyor: - Yaşasın DİSK! "

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu dergisinin Haziran sayısında Clod Marten'in yazdığı yazı "Devirme öncesinde ve sırasında" başlığını taşıyor.

Yazının ara başlıkları şöyle: "Derin bir bunalım" , "Politik durum", "Terörizm", "İşçilerin savaşımı".

"Sınıf savaşımının şiddetlenmesi ve faşist tehlikenin tırmanışının yanısıra, sadece tüm ekonomiyi değil, aynı zamanda politik alanı da çevreleyen derin bir bunalım, devirmeden önceki dönemin belirgin özelliğidir." denilerek, Türkiye'nin bir tablosu çiziliyor, son bölümde grev ve direnişler anlatıldıktan sonra, yazı şöyle son buluyor:

"Askersel cuntanın yaptığı ilk açıklamada, ideolojik olarak nitelenen grevler suçlandı. Sendikal faaliyetler askıya alındı. Türk-İş konfederasyonu genel sekreteri Sosyal Güvenlik Bakanlığı'na atanırken, DİSK kapatıldı. Metal patronları sendikasının eski başkanı başbakan yardımcılığına, Cam Holding'in genel müdürü Enerji ve Doğal Kaynaklar Bakanlığına getirildi."

DSF dergisinin Temmuz sayısında "Sendikalar baskı altında" başlığıyla yayınlanan üç sayfalık geniş yazısında Clod Marten, devirme sonrasındaki koşulları inceliyor. Yazıda şöyle deniyor:

" 12 Eylül 1980 devirmesi, 1960 yılından bu yana üçüncüsüdür. Birincisi 1960'da Menderes'in diktatörlük rejimine son vermiş ve bazı önemli demokratik hak ve özgürlükleri tanıyan bir anayasanın oluşturulmasına olanak tanımıştı. Sendikalar ve toplu sözleşmeler üzerine yapılan yasalar 1963'de kabul edilmişti. Sendikal örgütlere grev hakkı aynı yıl tanındı. Askerler genel seçimleri örgütlemekte gecikmediler. Ve yeni devlet yapısını, sivil politik partilerin yönetimine devrettiler. 12 Mart 1971'deki ikinci devirmeden sonra, anayasadaki reformları savunarak ortaya çıkan askerler (askersel çevreler) anayasayı ve diğer yasaları değiştirerek, binlerce insanı zindanlara

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atarak, demokratik özgürlüklere saldırdı. İşkence her gün ve sistematik bir biçimde uygulanıyor , kitaplar meydanlarda yakılıyordu. Bu açık baskı rejimi/1973 Ekimi/genel seçimlerine ancak değin sürebildi. Bugün de iktidarı ellerinde tutan generaller bir demokrasiye dönüş programları olduğunu belirtiyorlar. Ancak, önce kendi belirledikleri hedeflere ulaşmaları gerektiğine işaret ediyorlar. Askersel müdahelenin başlıca gerekçesi, devirmeden önceki sadece 18 aylık dönemde 3.740 kişinin ölümüne yol açan terörizm olarak belirtiliyor. Şurası bir gerçek ki, 12 Eylül 1980'den bu yana terör eylemlerinde bir düşüş göze çarpıyor. Önemli sayıda terörist belirlendi ve yakalandı. Bundan kalkınarak askerler (askersel çevreler) övünüyorlar ve kendilerini tek kurtarıcı olarak ilan ediyorlar. Bununla birlikte insanlar 1978 yılı sonundan beri sıkıyönetimin varolduğunu dikkate alarak ve hele generalin "Milli Güvenlik örgütünde değişiklik yapmadan başarılı olduk" diye konuştuğunu duyunca terörizme son vermek için bu askersel rejimin gerekli olup olmadığı üzerinde sorular sormaya başlıyorlar. Her fırsatta komünizme, faşizme, bölücülüğe ve dinsel gericiliğe karşı söz söyleyen askersel rejimin iddialı bir programı var.

Hiç de terörizmle savaşımla sınırlanamayacak olan bu programın özünü generallerin Financial Times gazetesinin 18 Mayıs tarihli sayısında yer alan şu sözleri açıkça dile getiriyor. " Devlet aparatının çalışmasını iyileştirmeli, 30-40 yıl öncesine uzanan yasaları geliştirmeliyiz. Parlamentoların son 30 yıldır yapamadıkları vergi reformunu sonuçlandırmak istiyoruz. Üniversiteler üzerine yeni bir yasa hazırlıyoruz. Tarım reformu üzerine de. Bir diğeri, bazen anarşistlerin eğitim merkezleri haline gelen 46 bin derneği kapsıyor. Sonra anayasa var. En çok karışıklık yaratmış olan sorunlardan biri bu. Anayasanın zayıf yanları teröristlere yaradı. Parti yaşamını ve seçimleri düzenleyen yasalara ihtiyacımız var. Yeni bir askersel müdahalenin gerekliliğini ortadan kaldıracak tüm gerekli önlemleri almak istiyoruz. "

5 generalden oluşan Milli Güvenlik Konseyi, onun atadığı ve emekli askerler , büyük burjuvazinin iş adamları ve diğerlerinden oluşan hükümet, tüm politik, ekonomik, toplumsal yaşamı ilgilendiren yüzü aşkın yasayı değiştirdi bile. Ya da yenilerini kabul etti. Demokrasiye dönüş programı işte bu şekilde uygulanıyor. Fakat hangi demokrasiye. Bu konuda yavaş yavaş

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tartışmalar başlıyordu. CHP eski başkanı Ecevit de öngörülen bu yeni demokrasi hakkında iyimser olmadığını belirtti. Ancak hemen arkasından Haziran ayında Milli Güvenlik Konseyi yeni bir kararnameyle rejimin geleceği üzerine her türlü tartışmayı ve sürdürülen politikaya yönelik her türlü eleştiriyi yasaklayıverdi. Generaller "Demokrasi kendi kendini artık kontrol edemediği için" müdahale etmek zorunda kaldıklarını söylemişlerdi. Bugün onlar, demokrasiyi doğrudan zor yoluyla kontrol altında tutuyorlar. Onlara iyi görünen bu kontrolu yarın için kurumlaştırmak istiyorlar. Askersel bir rejimi gerektirmeyecek yeni yapılar oluşturulursa, yarın yeni bir askersel müdahele gerekli görülmeyebilir. Herşey, düşünülmüş bir girişimin söz konusu olduğunu doğrular nitelikte. Bu girişim yarın tutucu bir istikrar, sağlam bir toplumsal uzlaşma düzeni yaratmak amacıyla tüm devlet yapısını, ülkenin hemen tüm önemli kurumlarını yeniden örgütlemeyi hedefliyor. Bu finans oligarşinin yükselişiyle doğrudan bağlı olarak yasal baskıcılığın güçlendirilmesi, demokratik, sendikal, politik hak ve özgürlüklerin sınırlandırılması doğrultusunda öngörülüyor.

Generaller sadece gelecek Ekim ayı içinde oluşturulacak bir Kurucu Meclis'in tarihini ilan ettiler. İşçiler tarafından tekellerin ve Uluslararası Para Fonu'nun adamı olarak nitelenen ve metal işkolu patronları örgütünün eski,başkanı, şimdiki başbakan yardımcısı Özal'ın ülkeyi bunalımdan çıkarmak için istediği 4-5 yıllık süreyle belirlenen öngörülerine atıf yaparak İngiliz Gardiyan gazetesi yorumcusu, bugünkü geçiş rejiminin daha birkaç yıl süreceğini yazıyor. Özellikle sendikal, demokratik hak ve özgürlüklere karşı izlenen politika, ordunun içindeki ve dışındaki emperyalizm ve tekel yanlısı en gerici çevrelerin çıkarlarından başka bir şeye hizmet etmiyor. "

Yazıda daha sonra askersel rejimin ilk uygulamaları anlatılıyor. Parlamentonun fesh edildiği, politik parti faaliyetlerinin yasaklandığı, şimdi hapiste olan Türkeş'in 28. tümende saklandığı, sendikal çalışmaların ve grevlerin durdurulduğu, DİSK yönetici ve militanlarının gözaltına alındığı, kitle örgütlerinin kapatıldığı, seçimle işbaşına gelmiş belediye başkanlarının yerlerine askerlerin atandığı, KİT'lere ve devlet aygıtının çeşitli yerlerine askerlerin ya da emekli generallerin getirildiği belirtiliyor. Onbinlerce kişinin hapiste tutulduğu

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ekleniyor ve yazı şöyle devam ediyor. "Duruma egemen olan askerler açısından ideolojik suç öylesine çarpık bir kavram ki, teröristleri, demokratları ve ilericileri aynı kefeye koymaya yarıyor. Ekonomik alanda generaller 1980 yılı başında faşist partinin desteklediği Demirel azınlık hükümeti tarafından oluşturulan politikanın sürdürülmesi doğrultusunda tavar aldılar. Bu özünde çalışan kitlelerin satın alma güçlerini düşürerek, enflasyonu frenleme, yani bunalımın faturasını bunlara ödetme biçiminde özetlenen ve Uluslararası Para Fonu'nun salıkladığı bir ekonomik politikadır. "

Yazının "141 ve 142. maddeler" başlıklı bölümünde, söz konusu maddelerin içeriği kapsamlı bir biçimde anlatılıyor, sözü edilen suçların sendikalarda, işçi derneklerinde, ve devlete bağlı ekonomik kuruluşlarda işlenmesi halinde cezaların üçte bir oranında arttırıldığı vurgulanıyor ve şöyle devam ediliyor. " Sendikacılara ve işçilere uygulanan bu ayırım, bu maddelerin anti-demokratik özünü gözden kaçırmamalıdır. Türkiye'de demokratik özgürlüklerin genişletilmesi çin savaşım özellikle 141 ve 142. maddelerin iptal edilmesi istemiyle damgalanmıştır. Demokratik güçler, diğerlerinin yanısıra bu maddelerle anayasanın düşünce ve özgür anlatım hakkını tanıyan 20. maddesi arasındaki çelişkinin altını çiziyorlardı. Komünist Partisi'nin 1922 yılından beri gizliliğe itildiği bu ülkede gerici çevreler her türlü demokratik düşünceyi, komünizmle özdeşleştirerek, çarpıtıcı kampanyalarında bu maddelerden yararlanmayı bildiler. Bugün de askerler, her ilerici düşünceyi komünizmle, bunu da terörizmle özdeşleştirmek için yararlanıyor. Terörizm ve faşizmin tırmanışına karşın demokratik ve ilerici hareketin büyük bir gelişma sağladığı, askersel devirme öncesi dönemde, 141 ve 142. maddeler giderek ... yor, sivil ya da askersel mahkemeler, çoğunlukla Anayasa Mahkemesine başvuruyorlardı. Askersel müdahaleden sonra Anayasa Mahkemesi gericiliğin arzuladığı tutucu yönde karar verdi, ve askersel mahkemeler hızla bu iki maddeden ağır hapis cezaları vermeye başladılar."

7 yıl hapis cezasına çarptırılan çevirmenlerden,Politika gazetesi yazı işleri müdürünün mahkum edilmesinden, Töb-der ve Köy-Koop davalarından söz edildikten sonra, "İşçi ve sendika düşmanı önlemler" ara başlığı altında şu görüşlere yer veriliyor.

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"Eylül devirmesine değin, 1980 yılı sendikal savaşımların görülmemiş bir biçimde yükselmesine sahne oldu. 1978 ve 1979 yıllarında grev sayıları 184 ve 269, grevci sayıları 27 bin 208 ve 41.187, grevde kaybolan işgünü sayıları 1.624.105 ve 2.849.874 idi. 1980 yılının 23 Mayıs'ına değin grev sayısı 388'e, grevci sayısı 53.774'e ,kaybolan işgünü sayısı 3.513.313'e ulaşmıştı. Devirme sırasında direnişler hesaba katılmaksızın, grevlerde kaybolan işgünü sayısı 7,8 milyonu bulmuştu. Grev hareketi yaylarak güçleniyordu ve askersel müdahe olmasıydı, grevci sayısı 130 bine çıkacaktı. Büyük patronlar, hükümet ve gerici çevreler, bu grevlere karşı, bunları ideolojik grevler diyerek, çarpıtıcı bir kampanya sürdürdüler. Askersel rejimin ilk açıklaması grev hareketine karşı aynı saldırıları içeriyordu. Grevlerin ve hatta her türlü işi yavaşlatmanın bir kararnameyle yasaklanmasından sonra İşverenler Konfederasyonu başkanı şöyle diyordu: "Sanayiciler, yatırımlarını artıracaklar, üretim kapasitesi yükselecek, ve toplumsal barış kurulacak." Generaller "Üretimi artıracak tüm araçlar seferber edilmelidir" diyor ve ekliyorlar."Çok çalışacağız, az konuşacağız."

Rejimin bir sözcüsü şöyle yazıyordu: " Yeterli bir üretim düzeyine erişmek ve içinde bulunduğumuz ekonomik zorlukları yenmek amacıyla grev ve lokavt haklarını geçici bir süre için askıya almak zorundayız. Hiç kimse son sendikal eylemlerle yaratılan anarşik ortamın Türk ekonomisini çöküşün eşiğine sürüklemiş olduğuna karşı çıkamaz." 500 binin üstündeki işçinin toplu sözleşmelerini yapmak için hükümet, patron ve Uluslararası Hür Sendikalar Konfederasyonuna bağlı Türk-İş Konfederasyonu temsilcilerinden bir Yüksek Hakem Kurulu oluşturuldu. Şimdiden 145.500 işçiyi kapsayan yeni toplu sözleşmelerde, sendikaların ve işçilerin birçok kazanımları ortadan kaldırıldı. Ücret ve yan ödeme artışları istemleri karşılamaktan çok uzaktır. Hatta belirlenen, önce sendikalar tarafından elde edilenlerden daha düşüktür. Öte yandan grevci işçilerin ayırımcılığa uğratıldıkları, cezalandırıldıkları belirtildi. İşçilerin bir çok ekonomik, toplumsal, demokratik kazanımları yeni yasaya, ya da yasa değişiklikleriyle ellerinden alındı. Toplu sözleşmelerle belirlenen kıdem tazminatı sınırlandı. 1981 yılı için günlük asgari ücret brüt 333, ~~941~~ olarak saptandı ki, bu bir kez daha büyük güçlükle karşılayabilecek bir rakamdır. Emeklilik için gerekli çalışma süresi

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5 bin işgününden 7.200'e çıkarıldı. Ücretlilerin sağlık masraflarına katkısı artırıldı. 1 Mayıs Bahar bayramı ve bir tatil günü olarak bile iptal edildi. Yeni bir yasayla üyeleri cumhurbaşkanı tarafından seçilecek ve sendikalar üzerinde denetim yetkisi olacak bir Yüksek Denetleme Kurulu oluşturuldu. Bir yasa tasarısı hükümete ücretleri dondurma ve vergileri artırma yetkisi tanıyor. İş, Sendikalar, Toplu Sözleşme ve Grev yasalarının değiştirilmesi için hazırlıklar yapılıyor. Hangi yönde değiştirilecek bunlar? Hükümetin programında yer alan şu sözler yorum gerektirmiyor. "Sendikalar faaliyetlerini demokratik ilkelere uygun olarak sürdüreceklerdir. Bir de işçileri sömürenlere, onları kendi emellerine sürüklemek isteyenlere ve sendikal hakları kötüye kullananlara izin verilmeyecektir. "

Kısacası sendikal hak ve özgürlükleri kısıtlamak ve ortadan kaldırmak için çoktan eskimiş olan gerekçeler güncelleştiriliyor: Sendikalarda politika yasağı. Ancak generaller Türk-İş yönetiminin rejimlerine sunduğu ideolojik ve politik desdekten, bu örgütün genel sekreterinin bakanlar kurulunda yer almasından son derece hoşnut görünüyorlar."

Yazıda daha sonra askıya alınan sendikalara atanmış kayyumların yaptıklarına değiniliyor. Sendika görevli ve çalışanlarının işten atıldığı, ailelerinin güç koşullara itildiği, kendi sendika merkezlerini ziyaret etme haklarının bile ellerinden alındığı, Genel-İş'in Ören tesisleri için olduğu gibi, sendikaların mal varlığının ciddi bir tehlike altında bulunduğu belirtiliyor. "İşçilere ve sendikacılara karşı davalar" başlıklı bölümle devam eden yazıda DİSK'in demokratik/ve kitle sendikacılığı anlayışının sağlam bir savunucusu olduğu, bu nedenle baskılara hedef oluşturduğu, DİSK'e karşı sürdürülen koğuşturma ve davaların Baştürk'ün belittiği gibi politik nitelikte olduğu ve sınıf sendikacılığının yıkılmak istendiği açıklanıyor. DİSK, Anayasayı değiştirmekle suçlanırken, bizzat generallerin Anayasa'yı askıya aldıkları ve Baştürk'ün mahkemede 1961 Anayasasını savunduğu anlatılıyor.

Töb-Der, Köy-Koop davalarının sözü ediliyor.185 tekstil üyesinin çok ağır cezalara çarptırıldıkları vurgulanıyor. Sarece terör eylemleriyle ilişkisi bulunan sendikacıların tutuklandığının ileri sürülmesine karşın, tersine, terörizme karşı etkili eylemlerle savaşım vermiş olan yüzlerce DİSK yönetici ve militanının iddianamelerinden habersiz olarak aylardır hapiste tutul-

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duklarına işaret işaret ediliyor.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu ile Uluslararası Demokrat Hukukçular Birliği'nin ortak çabalarıyla İngiltere, Belçika, Fransa barolarından hukukçuların birçok kez Türkiye'ye gittikleri, ve demokratik hak ve özgürlükler ile insan haklarının nasıl çiğnendiğini yerinde saptadıkları belirtiliyor. Yazı "İnsan hakları" ara başlığı altındaki bölümle şöyle son buluyor:X

"Kalın çizgileriyle bugünkü rejimi destekleyen ama politikasının bazı yönlerini eleştirmesi nedeniyle ılımlı bir gazetenin 10 gün askıya alınmasından, bir tiyatro oyununun ya saklanmasından söz etmeyelim. Bunlar en kör gözlere bile batan olaylardır. Böylesi bir rejimde korunmak istenen demokratik görünüm ile açıkça baskıcı yöntemler arasında bir tutarlılık sağlamak çok güç hatta olanaksızdır. Sıkıyönetim yasasında yaptıkları bir değişiklikle generaller gözaltı süresini 90 güne çıkarttılar. Bu süre içinde ne savunma avukatıyla ne de yakınlarıyla görüşme hakkı tanınmıyor. Keyfilik de hoş bir sözcük değildir ve bazen daima daha anlamlı olan iç çelişkilerin vurgulanmasını sağlar. DİSK sendikacılarının hapiste geçirdikleri ilk 3 ay askersel yetkililere göre sadece onların güvenliği için iyi niyetli bir gözetim imiş. Ve sözüm ona yasal gözetim süresi ondan sonra başlamış. Cunta tarafından istenmeyen ve yurt dışında olduğu varsayılan herkesi, sorgusuz, sualsiz,. yargısız cezalandırmayı amaçlayan bir yasa uyarınca birçok sendikal ve politik yönetici vatandaşlık haklarını yitirme tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadır. Şimdiden TİP ve Töb-Der genel başkanları Türk vatandaşlığından çıkarıldılar. Öte yandan bu önlemle tesbit edilen birçok kişinin ülkelerinde oldukları da ortaya çıktı. Batı Avrupadaki bazı gözlemciler generallerin işkence karşısındaki tutumlarına ilişkin olarak hayranlıklarını dile getiriyorlar. İşkence sorumlularına karşı bazı davaların açıldığı bir gerçek. Ve bu böylesi askersel rejimlerin tarihinde ilk kez görülüyor. Generaller bu suçların bilgileri dahilinde işlenmediğini söyleyerek kendilerini savunuyorlar. Ancak, Baştürk ve diğer sendikacılara işkence ve kötü muamele edildiği iyi biliniyor. Birçok örnek arasında Bursa Emniyet Müdürlüğünün 5. katından atıldıktan sonra ölen DİSK Maden-İş sendikası hukuk görevlisi Hilmi Feyzioğlu olayı anılardadır."

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COMMENTARIES

The Legal Situation in Turkey

[This article on legal developments since the assumption of power by the armed forces on 12 September 1980 was presented as a memorandum by the International Commission of Jurists to the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in April 1981.]

1. On 12 September 1980, for the third time since 1960, the Turkish armed forces took over the government of the country. The National Security Council (NSC), in which political power is now vested, and its Chairman, General Evren, defended this take-over on the grounds that the country was in "mortal danger" as a result of anarchist and terrorist activities compounded by the inertia of the state and the political parties, and was even facing a very real threat of "civil war"[1].

2. Our aim here is to give a general description of the changes made in Turkey since 12 September 1980. The supporting evidence consists primarily of the communiqués, decisions, decrees and legislation promulgated by the National Security Council – in other words of official documents by which the present regime is attempting to establish a body of law to meet both present and future needs. Statements and speeches by both General Evren and General Saltik, Secretary General and spokesman of the National Security Council, have also been used.

It is worth noting in passing that a classification of such data will be more valuable if it is based on their effect in terms of time, ie if a distinction is attempted between the "provisional" measures of a "transitional" regime and long-term measures designed to provide a framework for the military regime's successor.

I. State Machinery

A. The Legislative Arm

3. The parliament and government established in accordance with the 1961 Constitution were dissolved and replaced by the National Security Council as from 12 September 1980. The Council is made up of the Chief of the General Staff and the Commanders-in-Chief of the Army, Air Force, Navy and Gendarmerie[2]. General Evren announced the same day that the NSC, which he chaired in his capacity as Chief of the General Staff, had "provisionally" assumed legislative and executive power pending the establishment of a new parliament and government[3].

Legal force was given to this arrangement by three instruments enacted by the NSC, the first being the "Rules of Procedure for the NSC in its law-making capacity"[4]; the second the "Law on the Constitutional Order" which stipulates that "the powers and functions assigned by the (1961) Constitution to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey shall, as from 12 September 1980, be temporarily exercised by the National Security Council"[5] and the third, a law of 12 September 1980 confirming the members of the NSC in their posts by stipulating that they will continue to carry out their duties as members of the Council until such time as the "Grand National Assembly of Turkey effectively resumes its work"[6].

4. The NSC has also given itself the power to revise the 1961 Constitution which, as stated in the Law on the Constitutional Order, remains in force (Art. 1). The same law stipulates that if there is any discrepancy or contradiction between the provisions of the Constitution on the one hand and those of laws, decisions or communiques promulgated by the NSC, the latter shall be deemed "constitutional amendments" (Art. 6). It should also be pointed out that the same law prohibits all appeals to the Constitutional Court to annul NSC instruments (art. 3).

It is clear from this that the NSC enjoys full power to legislate and to amend the Constitution, at least in this initial period of the transitional regime.

5. The second phase of that period will begin, apparently, with the summoning of a Constituent Assembly, scheduled, "barring unforeseen obstacles", for September or October 1981, as General Evren has just publicly announced. He also announced that the political parties, whose activities are suspended and will remain so until the new Constitution and the laws referred to below are adopted, will not be allowed to sit in the Constituent Assembly[7].

The Constituent Assembly will be able to assist in the drafting of the new constitution and of the laws governing the electoral system, political parties, associations, public meetings and demonstrations and labour relations (strikes, lock-outs, collective bargaining, etc). The bills it drafts will be submitted for approval to the NSC, whose decision shall in all cases be final[8].

6. In addition, it should be noted that there is a further bill whose scope is no less significant than that of the bills just listed, and which is not included among those that will be drafted with, at the very least, the Constituent Assembly's "participation". This is the Emergency Powers Bill, which confers full powers on the government for use in the event of national emergencies or disasters and/or in time of economic crisis, and enables it to impose a set of civic and material obligations and responsibilities on the citizens. This Bill, drafted by the Ministry of Justice, will soon be submitted to the government for consideration[9]. It is therefore likely to become law even before the Constituent Assembly is convened.

It should further be noted that, contrary to the statements of General Evren and General Saltik referred to in paragraph 6 above, the laws governing associations, freedom to meet and form associations and the bill to amend labour legislation are being drafted by the government. It would accordingly seem that they are going to be passed by the NSC even before the Constituent Assembly is convened (see paras 31 and 35).

B. The Executive Arm

7. The executive in the present as in the previous system is bicephalous and consists of the head of state and the Council of Ministers. But the dominant partner is the head of state because, firstly, he is Chief of the General Staff and Chairman of the National Security Council, and, secondly, the powers and duties formerly conferred on the President of the Republic are expressly vested in him by Article 2 of the Law on the Constitutional Order. On the other hand, that same law does not unequivocally recognise the Council of Ministers as an organ of state. The only references to it are

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in Articles 4 and 5 of that law and Articles 18 and 19 of the "Rules of Procedure", and then indirectly.

As far as relations between the NSC and the government are concerned, the "Rules of Procedure" place the latter under the control of the former[10].

8. Furthermore, the legal responsibility of the Council of Ministers is largely revoked or suspended for the transitional period, for the Law on the Constitutional Order prohibits all appeals to annul Council of Ministers decrees (Art. 4). Similarly, it is henceforth forbidden to request the Council of State (the highest administrative court) to suspend the implementation of ministerial decisions affecting the status of public service personnel (Art. 5).

9. With regard to the government, consideration must be given firstly to the new relationship which has been established between the central government and the autonomous local authorities, and then to changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities.

In the first field, local independence is being reduced or removed by the central government: the NSC has, in fact, removed all the mayors from office and announced the dissolution of all municipal and provisional assemblies[11]. This is a temporary measure for the duration of the "transitional" regime. The NSC's aim here is to create impartial and "non-partisan" local authorities. To this end, new mayors were appointed by the Ministry of the Interior, whose Directorate of Local Government announced at the end of November that appointments had been made to 54 out of the 67 provincial administrations[12].

Although these measures are temporary and may be explained by the present emergency, a tendency to perpetuate them is nonetheless visible. Thus the NSC's Administrative Affairs Committee in a report to the NSC on the "reorganisation of public administration" recommends abolishing municipal elections and adopting a system of appointing mayors[13].

10. Concerning changes in the relationship between the civilian and military authorities, mention must first be made of a temporary measure placing the General Security Directorate under the control of the Gendarmerie[14]. But the shift in the balance of power between the two emerges much more clearly from the new legislation on martial law commanders. The essential features of that legislation, which is no longer temporary, are as follows:

Firstly, the responsibilities of the martial law commanders for security and censorship have been extended. The Law of 19 September 1980 amending the Martial Law Act[15] empowers commanders to request the immediate dismissal of any national or local government staff whose continued employment would be "undesirable" or "of no value" (Art. 1); to censor or suspend any kind of publication (newspapers, magazines, books, etc); to prohibit the circulation and communication of printed matter; to order the seizure of any kind of printed matter, including musical records and tapes; to halt the operations of printing works and recorded music firms that have printed or published such material; to forbid strikes, lock-outs, trade union activities, public meetings and demonstrations, as well as the activities of associations; to suspend teaching in secondary schools and universities; to request the authorities of such institutions to expel pupils and students whose presence in a region where martial law is in force is deemed incompatible with the maintenance of public order, etc (Art. 2). The new law also eases restrictions on the use of firearms by the police (Art. 3). The duration of detention without charge is raised initially to 30 days[16], and may be extended to 90 days, by a recent amendment to the Martial Law Act[17].

11. Secondly, the changes in the superiors to whom the martial law commanders are responsible need to be noted. Unlike the previous system, in which the Prime Minister was responsible for co-ordination between the martial law commanders in the various regions, and in which the commanders themselves were directly answerable to the Prime Minister, a new law replaces the Prime Minister by the Chief of the General Staff[18]. Henceforth, therefore, the martial law commanders will be responsible to, and their activities co-ordinated by, the military hierarchy alone (Arts. 2 and 3).

12. A second change, made by the Law of 15 November 1980, concerns the answerability of the martial law commanders and makes it impossible to appeal to the courts against administrative acts by the commanders. The Law stipulates that "no proceedings may be instituted with a view to annulling administrative actions taken by martial law commanders under the provisions of the present act, nor can they be held civilly liable for personal fault" (Art. 7).

C. The Judicial Arm

13. The most striking change in this field is the virtually complete suspension of judicial review of the legislative and executive processes. The Law on the Constitutional Order prohibits any appeal to the Constitutional Court to challenge the constitutionality of "communiqués, decisions, decrees and laws" promulgated by the NSC (Art. 3). All right of appeal to the Council of State against NSC acts, against Council of Ministers decrees and against "orders issued by any of the Mnistries is also revoked" (Art. 4). The law also contains a provision on ministerial decisions regarding the personal status of civil servants, the effect of which is to deprive the latter, if not of the right to appeal to the Council of State for a decision to be reversed, at least of the right to request that the implementation of administrative decisions affecting them be postponed (Art. 15). This is simply a temporary regulation that will not outlast the transitional regime.

14. With regard to criminal justice, consideration may be given to the somewhat different pattern that is emerging from the legislation introduced since the military take-over and which is likely to affect the military government's successor.

Firstly, there is a trend towards extending the purview of military justice at the expense of civil justice. This is due in part to the fact that all Turkish provinces are at present under martial law. The NSC was therefore obliged, immediately after the take-over, to set up new military courts in the new martial law regions[19]. The new law has also extended the substantive and territorial jurisdiction of the military courts when martial is in force. The NSC's aforementioned decision not only gives the martial law courts jurisdiction over the offences detailed in the Martial Law Act, but also adds a further list of crimes, including "any kind of crime against the Republic, against the NSC or its communiqués, orders and decisions, against the integrity, indivisibility and independence of the fatherland and the nation, and against national security, as well as crimes likely to subvert fundamental rights and freedoms"[20]. This extension of the scope of military justice is legalised and even accentuated by the law amending the Martial Law Act[21], which was followed by another of similar scope[22]. Furthermore,

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the Military Court of Cassation has strengthened this trend by its decision that military courts shall be empowered to try the "ideological offences" provided for in Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Criminal Code[23].

15. The second trend concerns the relationship between the judiciary and the executive and consists in increasing the former's subordination to the latter, particularly as regards military justice. Shortly after the take-over, the NSC assumed control over the appointment and dismissal of judges in the martial law courts[24]. This power was subsequently transferred to the Ministry of Defence, which must act in consultation with the Chief of the General Staff[25].

But none of this prevents the NSC from acting directly either to appoint new judges to the military courts or to transfer them, whenever it considers such action is called for[26].

16. Still in the field of criminal justice, a further new departure since the military take-over has been to increase the severity of sentences by amending the Turkish Criminal Code[27].

17. To conclude, let us briefly consider the changes in both civil and military criminal procedure resulting from a series of new laws amending earlier legislation:

Under the Law of 19 September 1980

1. The martial law commander is empowered to interpret the law's provisions and decide whether a case should be brought before a civil or a military court (Art. 8, amending Art. 15/2, 3 and 4 of the Martial Law Act).
2. Prison sentences passed by military courts under martial law may neither be suspended nor converted into fines (Art. 10, amending the former Art. 17).
3. The identity of an informer in a case may not be revealed, even during a trial, without his consent (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/c).
4. Crimes for which the penalty is a prison sentence not exceeding 3 years may be tried in absentia (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/1).
5. The right of appeal to the supreme court against prison sentences not exceeding 3 years is abolished (Art. 11, amending Art. 18/n).

18. *Under the Law of 14 November 1980*

1. Martial law courts under a single judge are established and are empowered to try offences for which the maximum penalty is five years' imprisonment (Art. 4).
2. The discretionary power of judges to lighten the sentences on accused persons whose conduct during the hearing is good is abolished (Art. 5).
3. The duration of adjournments in hearings and adjournments for the defence to prepare pleadings is reduced respectively to 30 days and 15 days (or 30 days in the case of mass trials) (Art. 6/k).

The above two laws amend the Martial Law Act of 1971. To them should be added the following two laws which were introduced subsequently:

19. *Law of 7 January 1981*

This law amends the Code of Criminal Procedure and makes two essential changes. Firstly, it revises the procedure for challenging judges, the aim being to forestall excessive questioning by the accused or his lawyer. Secondly, it allows a trial to continue in the absence of the defendant[28].

20. *Law of 21 January 1981*

This law amends criminal procedure in military courts and merely extends the changes made by the Law of 7 January 1981 to the field of military justice[29].

II. Political and Social Life

Under this heading we shall discuss the problems relating to political democracy, human rights and the labour world.

A. Political Life

21. Since 12 September 1980 all political activity has been suspended in Turkey by a measure directed in the first place against party activity.

"The political truce", says General Saltik, "must last until the adoption of a new Constitution, and new laws govering the political parties and the electoral system"[30]. General Evren too has just said that the resumption of activity by the political parties and "the constitution of new political groups" will be authorised once the Constituent Assembly – to be convened in the autumn of 1981 – has completed its main task, namely the adoption of new constitutional legislation[31].

One of the consequences of the suspension of the activities of the political parties is the withdrawal of state aid to them[32].

22. The "political truce" does not affect the political parties alone, but the whole of political life, and notably the press. The military leaders have reminded all journalists and writers of their duty "to avoid party polemics" and declared their intention of applying the letter of the decree prohibiting all political activity in the country until further notice. The Head of Military Co-ordination of the Combined Forces General Staff denounced in a communiqué "certain writers and other members of the press who are trying to pursue their partisan struggle by defending their opinions in their articles or by criticising parties other than their own"[33].

23. In addition there are the administrative measures and legal proceedings being taken against the leaders of the political groups. After 12 September the leaders of the four major political parties represented in parliament were placed "under Army protection". The National Security Council authorised Mr Ecevit and Mr Demirel, Presidents of the People's Republican Party and the Justice Party respectively, to return to their homes after spending one month at a military holiday centre. Most of the leaders of these two parties are under orders to make no political statements.

On the other hand, Mr Türkes and Mr Erbakan, Presidents of the Nationalist Movement Party (extreme right-wing) and the National Salvation Party (Islamic) respectively, have been in prison since 12 September, with their party leaders. Türkes and his followers are liable to prosecution under Article 149 of the Turkish Penal Code, which prescribes penalties ranging from 6 to 20 years' imprisonment for armed action against the government or action designed "to incite the people to revolt". Erbakan and his followers are accused of the offence of anti-secular acts, under Article 163 of the Penal Code. All are shortly to appear before military courts set up under martial law. In addition the leaders of the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Party are in prison and on trial by a military court because of certain clauses of their party programme and rules which are alleged to infringe Articles 141 and 142 of the Penal Code[34].

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24. What is the attitude of the population to these bans and repressive measures? It is true that the silent majority, terrorised by the escalation of violence since 1978, do not seem to be disturbed by the ban on political activities and rivalries. On the contrary, they are pleased to see the spectacular fall in acts of terrorism and the return to peace and quiet after the military regime took over. In other words, they are content with having "recovered their right to life" or their "personal security". It is essential to grasp this in order to understand the relations between the military power and society in Turkey today. "Right-wing as well as left-wing terrorism", writes Mr Ecevit, the former head of the People's Republican Party, "had united with a view to demonstrating the inapplicability of democracy in Turkey and bringing people to the point where they will not care for anything else except their right to live... To some extent they have succeeded in this... But their success is only fleeting... To be content with a right to life is to accept to lead a vegetable life"[35].

25. As regards the plans of the military for the future of the Turkish political regime, it can be said that they favour the introduction of a bipartisan political system which would prevent acute polarisation as well as the re-emergence of extremist political groups. There is also a noticeable attempt to restrict the influence of leaders over their political parties. On 28 October 1980, General Saltik announced that Mr Demirel and Mr Ecevit could resume their political activities "like any other citizen" when their parties were authorised to function again. The NSC then specified that future legislation on the functioning of political parties might include "democratic guarantees against the domination of leaders over their members of parliament"[36].

26. Two important points should be added here. In the first place the intended changes in the political system will be introduced by a constituent assembly in which the parties will not be represented. Secondly, the NSC will have the final decision regarding the texts the assembly produces.

B. Human Rights

27. The human rights and fundamental freedoms guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution have been largely restricted or abolished since 12 September, either by the decisions and communiqués of the martial law commanders or by the decrees and laws promulgated by the NSC. Freedom of association, freedom of assembly, the right to demonstrate and trade union rights, including the right to strike, have been suspended.

Freedom of expression is also in eclipse, on the one hand owing to press self-censorship and on the other because of a tendency to impose severer penalties for "crimes of opinion", many of them dating back to before 12 September. To quote one or two examples, there is the case of Mrs B. Boran, President of the Workers' Party of Turkey, who has been sentenced to 8 years and 9 months of hard labour and 2 years and 11 months of house arrest for having broadcast "communist propaganda" over the Turkish radio and television before the 1979 elections. Her conviction is based on Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, which makes Communist propaganda an offence[37] and which has just been ruled compatible with the Turkish Constitution and with democratic principles by the Constitutional Court in a recent unanimous decision[38].

The editor of the journal *Ürün*, Mr Taskiran, was also sentenced to seven and a half years' imprisonment for the commission of the same offence in the press[39]. Three journalists on the staff of the daily paper *Aydinlik*, Mr Yurdakul, Mr Büyüközden and Mr Oflaz, were sentenced, again by virtue of the same article of the Penal Code, to 7 and a half years, 2 years and one and a half years' imprisonment respectively[40]. The former Minister of Public Works in the Ecevit government, Mr Elçi, has been sentenced to two and a half years' hard labour for having said that there exists a Kurdish minority in Turkey. Mr Ozansu, assistant at the University of Istanbul, was sentenced to 7 and a half years' imprisonment for having translated a Marxist work. It should be pointed out that there is no appeal against sentences not exceeding 3 years[41].

28. Let us now turn to the principles of individual freedom, inviolability and safety which protect individuals against arbitrary detention and arrest and against ill-treatment by officers interrogating accused persons.

It must first be said that the principle of habeas corpus is seriously affected by the new legislation in force since 12 September. A law amending the State of Siege Act extended the period of detention without charge to 90 days[42]. The period authorised in normal circumstances was extended to 15 days by an amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure[42]. Here it should be pointed out that the corresponding period is 5 days in a country like Chile, whose authorities care little about protecting the individual.

It must be said that the length of these periods prescribed by the military regime in Turkey, which the Minister of Justice justifies by "the shortage of judicial personnel" and the "vast number of persons charged"[43], is also a threat to the physical inviolability of the individual since it enables police officers conducting interrogations to ill-treat or torture accused persons. The length of the period in particular under a state of siege makes it impossible to obtain a medical certificate attesting to traces of ill-treatment or torture. It must also be remembered that throughout this time suspects are cut off from all communication with a lawyer and denied, by the new legislation, as was seen in the first part of this report, any means of appeal against decisions by the martial law commanders concerning their detention. Turkish lawyers are, therefore, right to criticise the length of this period of custody, which they regard, among other things, as encouraging ill-treatment[44].

29. Let us now look at practices affecting individual freedom, inviolability and safety. Mr Ulusu, the Prime Minister under the military regime, reviewed on 14 March 1981 the six months that had elapsed since the army took over. Where criminal proceedings were concerned, he said that of 23,111 people being detained 6,233 were in police custody and 16,188 had been charged. Of the 10,181 persons tried in the previous six months, 886 had received prison sentences. He admitted that 68 cases of torture had been reported. Enquiries had been opened into 40 of them; 14 trials were in progress and 14 other cases had proved unfounded. Questioned by the Military Prosecutor of Istanbul, Mr Isvan and Mr Bastürk, respectively Mayor of Istanbul from 1973 to 1977 and President of the DISK trade union, said that they had not been subjected to any ill-treatment, contrary to the rumours that had been current for some time[45].

Another aspect of the "right to life" is the application of capital punishment. Four people have been executed so far, but the number may rise since prosecutors have called for the death penalty in some hun-

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dred cases. In the same context mention ought also to be made of the cases of those people who were killed in "clashes with the police and security forces", who numbered 115 according to official sources in the first six months of the military regime[46].

30. Another important change affecting human rights concerns the nationality of Turkish citizens. A law introduced by the NSC amending the Turkish Nationality Act stipulates that "any person having committed or committing acts against Turkey when abroad shall be allowed three months from the publication of the notice that they are being sought by the authorities – or one month only in time of martial law – to return to Turkey and present themselves to the authorities". Failing this, the law prescribes, such persons will forfeit their nationality and their property will be confiscated[47]. Since the adoption of this amendment lists of wanted persons have been published inviting the persons concerned to return to Turkey and present themselves to the authorities on pain of forfeiting their nationality. So far three lists comprising some thirty names have been published and some ten people have returned to Turkey.

In addition, an amendment to the Passports Act prohibits people charged with offences against certain articles of the Turkish Penal Code from leaving the country until they have been acquitted[48].

31. Among the laws in preparation, which will probably be adopted by the NSC before the Constituent Assembly meets, is one concerning freedom to hold public meetings and demonstrations. The draft provides that public meetings and demonstrations may not be held until 72 hours after the application to the authorities has been lodged and that the authorities may postpone a public demonstration for 20 or 30 days, depending on whether the decision lies with the governor of the town or the Ministry of the Interior[49].

Similarly, the revision of the Associations Act is being undertaken by the government. This will also be adopted before the Constituent Assembly is convened. It is designed to reduce the number of students' associations to one per faculty or establishment of higher education[50].

C. The Labour World

32. Under this leading we shall discuss the changes that have come about in the Turkish regime with regard to labour relations and in particular trade union freedom, the right to strike, the settlement of labour disputes, etc, together with the new regime's plans for the future in these matters[51].

On 12 September 1980, the NSC decided to suspend the activities of the two trade union confederations – DISK (progressist workers' union) and MISK (nationalist workers' union) and to place their leaders "under the protection of the Turkish armed forces"[52]. The same measures were afterwards applied to the HAK-IS Confederation. The bank accounts of the three were blocked, their premises closed down and their management or administration placed in the hands of the public trustee[53].

Only the TURK-IS Confederation, close to the regime, was authorised to pursue its activities and its Secretary General, Sadik Side, became Minister of Social Security.

The suspension of trade union activities was followed by a series of arrests of the Confederations' leaders and militants. The total number of members of the DISK Confederation alone who were in detention was estimated at 2,002 in the report of the World Labour Confederation (p. 37). On this point, states the report of the ILO Freedom of Association Committee, the Turkish Government declares that "very serious indications apparently proved the existence of structural ties and co-operation between certain illegal clandestine organisations responsible for terrorist acts and some trade unions, as well as of the infiltration by terrorist groups into certain trade union structures. This seems to have led the Government to suspend the DISK's activities. The Government states that the same apparently happened to the MISK which was infiltrated by the extreme right and which explains why its affairs are now within the jurisdiction of the courts. The Government claims that the DISK leaders whose names are listed by the complainants were arrested following a decision by the appropriate court and were accused of contravening sections 141, 142 and 146 of the Penal Code, the provisions of Act No. 1402 of the State of Emergency and those of Act No. 6136 on firearms"[54].

33. But it is reasonable to think that the suspension of these organisations and the arrests made were primarily directed against the DISK, since the MISK (extreme right) and the HAK-IS (with religious leanings) are little represented among the working classes. This is supported by the fact that the MISK leaders were released recently[55].

These developments show that the aim is to wipe out the progressive trade union movement and recognise the pro-governmental Confederation TURK-IS as the sole representative of labour vis-à-vis employers. This attitude is made very clear in Mr Ulusu's programme: "The trade unions will pursue their activities according to democratic principles. Only those which exploit the workers, which wish to dominate them and which misuse trade union rights will be prevented from doing so"[56].

34. Strikes have also been prohibited by decision of the martial law commanders in accordance with the Martial Law Act. This amounts to ignoring the right to collective bargaining. In order to fill the gap left by the abolition of collective bargaining the authorities have introduced two systems. The first, which is provisional, consists in applying the principle that where collective bargaining was already in progress, the workers would receive from the employers concerned 70 % of their gross earnings, as an advance. The second was introduced with the adoption of a new law replacing the system of collective bargaining by compulsory arbitration. This is entrusted to the Higher Arbitration Board, most of whose members are government representatives appointed by the Cabinet. The Board is empowered to lay down the content of labour contracts by final decisions against which there is no appeal[57]. Thus the new system does away with the role of trade unions and collective bargaining in the settlement of labour disputes.

35. So far we have been looking at the regulations for the "transition" period. Where the long-term revision of labour legislation is concerned, two trends can be distinguished. The first consists in restricting trade union freedom in a manner incompatible with the international standards adopted by democratic states. The proposed revised trade union legislation provides for control by the Ministry of Labour over trade union teaching programmes and seminars and forbids them to issue statements, except such as concern occupational activities, to support a political party or to join any international trade union organisation upholding the "class struggle" principle, etc.[58] The second point to be underlined is that this revision will be completed in the course of next July, before the Constituent Assembly is convened[59]

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III. Remarks and Conclusions

The few remarks that can be made here and the conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of the facts described above will be concerned (A) with the intrinsic nature of the military intervention, (B) with the question of derogation during the transitional regime, and (C) with the long-term action of the military regime.

A. The Military Intervention

36. The military intervention of 12 September 1980 cannot be judged in the light of the concept of "derogation" as it is understood in Article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights. Here it is a case of a coup d'état, a take over by force, and not of legal action taken in accordance with the law like a declaration of martial law or of a state of emergency. We are thus faced with a *de facto* situation which is neither compatible with law, nor comparable to a legally taken measure, but is simply alien to both.

However, What was at first a purely *de facto* situation has since been converted into a legal situation, because the new regime has succeeded in imposing its legality and legitimacy both in internal and in international law. The regime has indeed given proof, in its 7 months of existence, that it is effective and has undoubted popular support, a fact that gives it the status of a legitimate regime. Internationally, too, it is recognised as legitimate.

37. With regard to the social and political dynamics of the military takeover in Turkey, three essential points need to be remembered.

In the first place, it occurred in a country where terrorism was unleashed (more than 5,000 deaths since 1978, with an average of 22 political assassinations per day in 1980) and was threatening to drag the nation into civil war, owing to the apathy and partiality of the political authorities.

In the second place, the drive against terrorism of all persuasions has shown itself to be successful since 12 September, since the daily number of victims has been reduced from 22, as stated above, to one. This result is the reason for the popularity enjoyed by the military regime.

Lastly, all the objective and subjective indications (the desire, preference, and declared intention of the military to return to their barracks) encourage the belief that the military regime is a *provisional* one. This is a primordial point which differentiates the coup d'état in Turkey from those in other countries of the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Latin America.

But none of this rules out criticism of the Turkish military regime in the light of the general principles of law in force in democratic countries, since the Turkish military authorities themselves describe their aim as the "restoration of democracy". The regime must be looked at above all in the light of the European Convention on Human Rights (notably its Article 15), to which Turkey is a party. Turkey remains bound by the international legal obligations which flow from it, despite the change in political power.

B. Emergency Actions or Measures

The fact that we are faced in Turkey not with a *state* of exception declared as such by the competent state authorities, but with a *regime* of exception set up following a military coup d'état, makes difficult any attempt to examine or judge the regime's action from the legal standpoint in the light of Article 15 of the Convention. The concept of "derogation" and the criterion represented by the words "to the extent strictly required by the exigencies of the situation" are inadequate yardsticks by which to measure the present situation in Turkey since the *regime is a de facto one*.

But, paradoxically, it is this special feature of the situation that makes it possible to form a legal judgment of it. For the Turkish regime today, while the result of a military take over, claims to be *provisional* and to aim at *"restoring democracy"*. One can and must, consequently, judge it, without forgetting the weight attaching to the circumstances, according to the aims it has assigned itself. It is, by definition, not an arbitrary regime, governing by its mere existence and by force, but a regime or authority which is seeking to legitimise itself, to legalise itself and to set limits to its own power in the name of a democratic ethic. It can therefore be judged according to the principles it claims to respect, that is to say the legal principles which are unanimously accepted in democratic countries and cannot be waived even in times of great political crisis and upheaval.

39. In the context just described, one can understand and accept the expediency, even the inevitability, of certain steps taken by the military after they had taken over the government, such as the suppression of representative and democratic organs (the Parliament and its elected government), of the judicial control machinery (suppression of the power to monitor the constitutionality of legislation and the legality of administrative acts under the "transitional" regime, provided that these do not directly affect the rights and freedoms of individuals), and the imposition of the NSC as a body conferring on itself legislative and executive powers (see paragraphs 3 and 13). These actions were necessary as being the only ones which could overcome the great political crisis in Turkish politics which carried the imminent threat of civil war.

Similarly, the declaration of martial law in all the administrative districts of the country, the provisional abolition of local self-government and the removal of the elected mayors from office (paragraph 3), the placing of the General Security Directorate under the control of the Gendarmerie (paragraph 10) are actions which are in line with this attitude. As such, they are comprehensible, legally irreprochable and proportionate to the imminence of the public energency in the country, provided they remain limited in time.

40. The same cannot be said, on the other hand, of the changes made in the status of the martial law commanders. The conferring of excessive powers on the commanders, their release from responsibility to the civil authority (the Prime Minister) and placing them under the authority of the Chief of the General Staff, together with the abolition of all possibility of appeal against their decisions, are grave violations of the principle of the rule of law, according to which state decisions and actions are subject to control by the judicial authority, even in time of political crisis or emergency, when they affect the personal status of individuals. What is even more serious is the fact that these amendments to the State of Siege Act are not provisional but permanent (paragraphs 10, 11, 12).

41. The situation is the same as regards fundamental rights and freedoms. In the first place it is difficult to understand why, in a country where terrorists have always been a minority as compared with the great mass of the population who have had nothing to do with acts of terrorism, all public freedoms should have been restricted, including even the freedom of the press to criticise, with very harsh sentences being imposed for "crimes of opinion" and with

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threats of repressive action (paragraphs 21, 22, 27). The fact that this has been done by an authority that wishes "to save democracy" constitutes, moreover, a contradiction in the official attitude.

The detention and charging of more than two thousand trade union leaders and militants also seems excessive, particularly as most of the charges against them concern "crimes of opinion", such as Communist propagandising or incitement to strike. Even if these charges were justified, that should not entail the total suspension of the activities of the unions to which the persons concerned belong. On this latter point, the distinction made between the trade unions according to their political persuasion is also to be criticised as constituting a violation of the principle of equality solemnly upheld by Article 14 of the European Convention on Human Rights.

42. As for the principles of individual inviolability and security, it must be admitted that they have been totally and unjustifiably overridden. Periods of 15 or 90 days in police custody, applicable at normal times and in time of martial law respectively, are quite incompatible with the right "to be brought promptly before a judge" embodied in Article 5 (3) of the European Convention (paragraph 28).

Whereas the NSC is very sensitive on the subject of torture, which it strongly condemns, itself examining all allegations of such treatment (paragraph 29), another fact connected with the "right to life" is rightly causing much concern. This is the number of people who have been killed "in clashes with the police and security forces". There were already 115 of them, according to official sources, at the end of the sixth month of the military regime (paragraph 29). This figure is disturbing, particularly as there is no means of checking whether these deaths were occasioned by "the use of force which is no more than absolutely necessary" (Article 2 of the Convention).

43. The changes made in the military system of criminal justice are among the most important of the present regime's actions. Before analysing them, two essential features should be emphasised.

In the first place, the new legislation in this field gives the impression of being provisional, applicable solely during the "transition" period. That impression is wrong. In fact the legislation is definitely permanent and will be applied whenever martial law is declared. For this reason, it could well be dealt with under heading (C) "Long-term plans and action".

Secondly, fair, independent and impartial justice is the basis of any society that claims to be civilised. It is also the *sine qua non* of the concept of a state. It is accordingly inadmissible to derogate from this principle on the pretext of the existence of a "public emergency threatening the life of the nation".

Now, the new Turkish legislation in the field of military criminal justice has irremediable defects. The setting-up of new military courts after crimes have been committed and their perpetrators are known, the almost total take over of civilian justice by military justice thanks to the extension of the latter's temporal and territorial powers, the trial of so-called "crimes of opinion" by military courts, even when the alleged offences were committed long before the advent of the military regime (paragraphs 14, 27), the greater dependence of the military judges on the Ministry of Defence and the NSC (paragraph 15), the increased severity of sentences thanks to the amendments made to the Penal Code (paragraph 16) and lastly and above all the serious restrictions placed on the rights of the accused (judgment in the absence of the accused, abolition of the right of appeal, etc) are typical violations of the principles cited above (see in particular paragraphs 17 to 20). They are in flagrant opposition to Articles 6 and 13 of the Convention.

C. Long-Term Plans and Action

44. The NSC is not content with making rules for the "transition" period; it is also laying the foundations for the civilian regime which is to succeed it. The importance of the changes made in the status of the martial law commanders and in the military system of criminal justice has just been stressed. To these must be added all the new laws that the government is at present drafting and that are soon to be submitted to the NSC for approval. They comprise laws on exceptional circumstances, on the State Security Courts, on associations, public meetings and demonstrations, on labour relations, etc.

That a committee of high-ranking generals should seek to lay down rules for the political and legal future of the state is intolerable. Moreover, the plans and actions of this autocratic "legislator" are explicitly anti-democratic (paragraphs 5 to 7, 25, 26, 31, 35). Lastly, the Constituent Assembly which it is announced will be convened in the autumn of 1981, will be less a legislative and/or constituent assembly than a committee of experts (paragraph 5).

Taken together all this constitutes the most flagrant derogation on the part of the military regime from the concept of democracy.

It is true that all these moves and attempts to set up new legal machinery in Turkey are defended on the grounds that Turkish legislation was defective in the matter of the prevention of terrorism and anarchy and so allowed "ill-intentioned people" to take abusive advantage of the rights they enjoyed under the Constitution and the laws of the land. Is this argument valid? That is the last point to be examined before reaching a general conclusion.

45. The alleged inadequacy of Turkish criminal law is a mistaken, if widespread, illusion. Some typical features of Turkish public law ought to correct this picture.

Any act of terrorism is severely punished by the Turkish Penal Code, whose Articles 146 and 149 even provide for capital punishment. Moreover, since 1962 there have been nine executions in application of these provisions.

The Turkish Penal Code goes even further in penalising dissemination of certain political ideas, such as Marxist doctrines (Article 142) and anti-secular ideas (Article 163). Moreover, these articles of the Penal Code were declared compatible with the Constitution by the Constitutional Court itself in 1964. Among other offences classified in the Penal Code as "crimes of opinion" is the propagation of ideas inciting to the class struggle, forbidden by Article 312 and likewise judged compatible with the 1961 Constitution by the Constitutional Court. The same Court also ruled that Section 89 of the Political Parties' Status Act banning any reference to the "existence of ethnic minorities in Turkey" was compatible with the Constitution.

The Penal Code and the Political Parties' Status Act also prohibit any attempt to form political parties upholding Marxist, religious or Fascist ideologies. The Constitutional Court ordered, for example, the disbanding of left wing parties (the Turkish Workers' Party in 1971, the Workers of Turkey Party in 1980, in application of Section 89 of the above-mentioned Act) and a party of Islamic persuasion (the National Order Party) in 1971.

Labour legislation is also extremely strict, but is still considered compatible with the Constitution in several decisions

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of the Constitutional Court. To quote only two examples, incitement to an illegal strike is not only a ground for termination of contract but also lays the person responsible open to criminal prosecution. Another example: most of the penalties prescribed by the Penal Code for "political crimes" and "crimes of opinion" are increased where such offences are committed by trade unionists. On this point, the report of the ILO Freedom of Association Committee is revealing:

> "The committee notes with grave concern that the trade union leaders and militants in prison are liable to very heavy penalties and that these penalties can be increased simply because they are trade union members. On this point the committee wishes to stress, as it has already done in earlier cases, that while the fact of exercising trade union functions in no way confers immunity from ordinary criminal law, such provisions, which discriminate against trade-unionists, are gravely prejudicial to the exercise of trade-union rights." (p. 51)

Furthermore, it is clear that in Turkey in the years before 1980, terrorists of all persuasions acted in disregard of the legal rights enjoyed by all citizens, illegally, clandestinely and with recourse to violence.

It follows, therefore, that there is no cause to claim that an alleged inadequacy of the criminal law in Turkey justifies the restrictions cited.

By way of conclusion, it can be said that from the legal point of view the problems raised by the military regime in Turkey should not be posed in terms of "the date of the return to democracy" but rather in the following terms: "a return to democracy, but under what conditions?".

Notes and References

(1) Communiqué No. 1 issued by the National Security Council on 12 September 1980, and televised statement by General Evren the same day.

(2) Communiqué No. 1 issued by the NSC on 12 September 1980.

(3) Radio and television broadcast by General Evren, 12 September 1980.

(4) *Official Gazette* (OG) of 28 September 1980 – 17119.

(5) Art. 2 of the Law of 27 October 1980, No. 2324 (OG, 28 October 1980 – 17145).

(6) Law on the National Security Council, 12 December 1980, No. 2356 (OG, 12 December 1980 – 17188 (b)).

(7) Taken from General Evren's speech at Konya (see *La Presse turque* of 16 January 1981).

(8) Press conferences given by General H. Saltik on 28 October 1980 and 1 November 1980 (see *Le Monde* of 30 October 1980 and the Turkish daily *Milliyet* of 2 and 23 November 1980) and General Evren's speech at Konya (cited above).

(9) See statement issued by the Ministry of Justice (Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* of 29 January 1981).

(10) Articles 18 and 19 of the Rules of Procedure, amended by NSC Decision No. 10 dated 25 February 1981 (OG, 3 March 1981 – 17268).

(11) Law of 25 September 1980, No. 2303 (OG, 29 September 1980 – 17120) and Law of 25 September 1980, No. 2304 (OG, 29 September 1980 – 17120).

(12) *Milliyet*, 25 November 1980.

(13) *Milliyet*, 1 February 1981.

(14) Communiqué No. 9 and Decision No. 1 of the NSC (OG, 12 September 1980 – 17103 (b), and 14 September 1980 – 17105).

(15) Law No. 2301 (OG, 21 September 1980 – 17112).

(16) NSC Decision No. 8/12-1633 (OG, 17 September 1980 – 17108).

(17) Law of 7 November 1980, No. 2337 (OG, 8 November 1980 – 17154).

(18) Law of 14 November 1980, No. 2342 (OG, 15 November 1980 – 17161).

(19) NSC Decision No. 7 of 14 September 1980 (OG, 15 September 1980 – 17106).

(20) Ibid.

(21) Law No. 2301 of 19 September 1980 (OG, 21 September 1980 – 17112). See in particular the amendments concerning Articles 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 of the Martial Law Act of 1971.

(22) Law No. 2310 of 8 October 1980 (OG, 10 October 1980 – 17131 (b)).

(23) Decision of the 4th Chamber of the Military Court of Cassation, 7 October 1980 (*Cumhuriyet*, 24 October 1980).

(24) NSC Decision No. 6, 14 September 1980 (OG, 15 September 1980 – 17106).

(25) Art. 4 of the Law of 19 September 1980, No. 2301, amending Article 11/2 of the Martial Law Act (OG, 21 September 1980 – 17112).

(26) A few examples:
NSC Decision No. 41/25496, 19 January 1981 (OG, 21 January 1981 – 17227)
NSC Decision No. 42, 23 January 1981 (OG, 28 January 1981 – 17204)
NSC Decision No. 43, 5 February 1981 (OG, 10 February 1981 – 17247)
NSC Decision No. 46 (OG, 3 March 1981 – 17268).

(27) Law of 12 January 1981, No. 2370 (OG, 10 January 1981 – 17216).

(28) Law of 7 January 1981, No. 2369 (OG, 10 January 1981 – 17216).

(29) Act of 21 January 1981, No. 2376 (OG, 23 January 1981 – 17229).

(30) Quoted by the weekly "Yanki", No. 501, 3–9 November 1980, p. 7.

(31) *Cumhuriyet*, 29 March 1981.

(32) *Milliyet*, 20 December 1980.

(33) *Le Monde*, 31 December 1980.

(34) *Cumhuriyet*, 2 March 1981.

(35) *Arayis*, No. 3, 7 March 1981, p. 4.

(36) *Le Monde*, 1 November 1980. These statements prompted the resignation of Mr Ecevit who, in protest against this attack, gave up the leadership of his party.

(37) *Milliyet*, 17 February 1981.

(38) Decision of the Constitutional Court of 27 November 1980, E 1979/31 K 1980/59 (Official Gazette, 8 January 1980 – 17214).

(39) *Milliyet*, 14 March 1981.

(40) *Cumhuriyet*, 4 and 18 February 1981.

(41) Article 11 of the Law of 19 September 1980, cited in para. 17 above.

(42) Law of 7 November 1980, No. 2337 (Official Gazette, 8 November 1980 – 17514).

(43) *"Ufuklar"*, No. 12, 9 March 1981, p. 3.

(44) See in particular the criticisms of Professor Tosun in *"Ufuklar"*, No. 2, 9 March 1981, p. 3.

(45) *Le Monde*, 17 March 1981.

(46) See *Yanki*, No. 520, 16–22 March 1981.

(47) Law No. 2383 of 13 February 1981 (Official Gazette, 17 February 1981 – 17254).

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(48) Law No. 2418 of 25 February 1981 (Official Gazette, 27 February 1981 – 17264).

(49) *Milliyet*, 7 February 1981.

(50) *Cumhuriyet*, 4 April 1981.

(51) For the most detailed documents dealing with all these problems see in particular "Trade Union Report on Turkey", World Confederation of Labour, January 1981, and "2076 report of the Committee on Trade-Union freedom", ILO, Geneva, 3–6 March 1981.

(52) NSC communiqué No. 7 of 12 September 1980.

(53) NSC Decision No. 8 of 14 September 1980 (Official Gazette, 15 September 1980 – 17106) and Law No. 2316 on the appointment of trustees for the suspended trade unions, federations and confederations of 10 October 1980 (Official Gazette, 11 October 1980 – 17132).

(54) Report of the Freedom of Association Committee, p. 48.

(55) *Cumhuriyet*, 23 January 1981.

(56) Official Gazette, 1 October 1980 – 17122, p. 15.

(57) Law No. 2364 of 24 December 1980 (Official Gazette, 27 December 1980 – 17203).

(58) *Cumhuriyet*, 15 February 1981 and 28 February 1981.

(59) *Cumhuriyet*, 7 April 1981.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI TÜSTAV

Human Rights Commission

The Commission on Human Rights held its 37th session in Geneva, from 2 February to 13 March 1981.

The cumulative effect of some significant events occurring prior to this session created a certain atmosphere of suspense, particularly among delegates of the developing world, concerning the likely outcome of the session. These included the failure of the western sponsored pre-implementation conference on Namibia (Jan. 1981), the escalation of South African military attacks on Angola, Zambia and Mozambique, the annexation of east Jerusalem by Israel and the de-emphasis on human rights in the foreign policy of the new Reagan administration in the United States.

Prominent among the features of this session were the general concern expressed about the deteriorating human rights situation in El Salvador, the completion, after 20 years of drafting, of the Draft Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and Discrimination based on religion or belief, the greater attention and time devoted to the report of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, and the renewal of the mandate of the working group on disappearances.

The Commission adopted 40 resolutions dealing with all the items of its agenda, and 12 decisions on some of these items.

The Right to Self-Determination

The Palestinian question once again dominated the discussions on self-determination. The report of the Special Commit-

P R E S S E A B T E I L U N G

Türkische Botschaft - Presseabteilung

23. Februar 1981

Die derzeitige Situation der Menschenrechte und des Rechtsstaates in der Türkei

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Die derzeitige Situation der Menschenrechte und des Rechtsstaates in der Türkei.

Durch die Machtübernahme der türkischen Streitkräfte ist das Parlament aufgelöst und die politischen Aktivitäten sind vorerst untersagt. Abgesehen davon bleibt jedoch weiterhin die Verfassung von 1961 in Kraft, die die einem Rechtsstaat entsprechenden Menschenrechte gewährleistet. Sieben Artikel der Verfassung wurden abgeändert um den Aktivitäten des Nationalen Sicherheitsrates im Bereich der Gesetzgebung eine legale Basis zu geben. Die übrigen Artikel der Verfassung - einschliesslich der, die die grundsätzliche Aufrechterhaltung der Menschenrechte und des Rechtsstaats betreffen - gelten unverändert fort.

Dem erfolgreichen Kampf gegen den Terrorismus von links und rechts ist es zuzuschreiben, dass die Menschenrechte wieder beachtet werden. Als allerdings das Kriegsrecht über das ganze Land verhängt wurde um dem Terrorismus wirkungsvoll zu begegnen, wurden gewisse Einschränkungen nötig, die jedoch von der Verfassung und dem Europarat vorgesehen sind und zugelassen wurden.

Es ist im übrigen Tatsache, dass dieselben ordentlichen Richter (juge naturel) wie ehedem, die beibehaltenen Gesetze anwenden und dass niemand wegen einer Tat bestraft wird, die vor der Machtübernahme des Militärs nicht auch gesetzwidrig war. Die einzige Neuerung ist eine höhere Strafe bei Widerstand gegen die

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Sicherheitskräfte; diese Anordnung war unerlässlich und es ist wohl verständlich, dass gerade eine solche Tat schwerer bestraft werden muss.

Folterungen sind nach unserem Strafgesetz immer noch ein Verbrechen. Die neue türkische Regierung legt grossen Wert darauf, dass allen Fällen, bei denen der Verdacht auf Folterung besteht, oder wo eine solche Behauptung erhoben wird, mit grösster Gewissenhaftigkeit nachgegangen wird. Zeigen die Ermittlungen, dass die Sicherheitsbehörden sich eines derartigen Vergehens schuldig machten, so haben die Täter einen Strafprozess gemäss dem türkischen Gesetz zu gewärtigen. Tatsächlich sind auch z.Zt. einige Angehörige unserer Sicherheitskräfte wegen solcher Verbrechen angeklagt.

Die politischen Aktivitäten der Parteien sind vorläufig untersagt. Kein Politiker aber befindet sich seiner früheren politischen oder parlamentarischen Aktivitäten wegen in Haft oder sieht einem Strafprozess entgegen. Diejenigen, die immer noch inhaftiert sind (insgesamt 39) sehen ihrem Prozess wegen vor der Machtübernahme der Militärs begangener gesetzwidriger Tätigkeiten entgegen, da der Nationale Sicherheitsrat jetzt ihre parlamentarische Immunität aufgehoben hat. In allen Fällen handelt es sich um Straftaten, die nach türkischem Gesetz bereits vor Übernahme der Militärregierung geahndet wurden, doch war das Parlament seinerzeit unfähig, die Aufhebung der Immunität zu beschliessen.

In der Türkei gibt es keine politischen Gefangenen. Von den Gewerkschaften sind nur DISK (Revolutionäre Gewerkschaften) und MISK (Nationalistische Gewerkschaften) aufgelöst und verboten worden. Ihre Führer befinden sich nicht in Haft weil sie besonderer gewerkschaftlicher Aktivitäten angeklagt wären, sondern weil sie sich gegen das türkische Gesetz vergingen. Der Dachverband der Gewerkschaften (Türk-Is) und die übrigen Gewerkschaften sind im übrigen weiterhin tätig. Sie wurden nur aufgefordert, in der jetzigen schwierigen Übergangsphase von

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Streiks abzusehen und sich mit der generellen Vereinbarung einer 70-prozentigen Lohnerhöhung einverstanden zu erklären. Dieses ist auch geschehen und die Arbeitgeberorganisationen stimmten zu. Es ist zweifellos nicht die Absicht der augenblicklichen türkischen Regierung, die wirtschaftlichen Schwierigkeiten der Türkei durch Opfer der Arbeiter zu beseitigen; sie betrachtet aber eine vernünftige Vereinbarung zwischen Arbeitnehmern und Arbeitgebern als gute Voraussetzung für die Wiederherstellung des sozialen Friedens und die ökonomische Sanierung. Das bedeutet keineswegs eine arbeiterfeindliche Einstellung; im Gegenteil, denn die Regierung ist bestrebt, durch Steuerermässigungen und andere Massnahmen gerade für die unteren Einkommensgruppen Verbesserungen zu schaffen. Die nicht in revolutionäre und rechtswidrige Aktivitäten verstrickten und deshalb weiterhin tätigen Gewerkschaften bemühen sich in Verhandlungen mit dem Staat um zusätzliche Erleichterungen. Der Vollständigkeit halber sollte nicht unerwähnt bleiben, dass Türk-Iş gleichfalls die Interessen der Angehörigen der verbotenen Gewerkschaften vertritt.

- - - -

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Confédération Européenne des Syndicats

European Trade Union Confederation

Den Europæiske Fagl[illegible] Samorganisation

Europäischer Gewerkschaftsbund

Bruxelles, le 21 décembre 1981
JIN/HL/CL

- Aux confédérations affiliées à la CES
- Aux comités syndicaux
- A la CISL, la CMT, le TUAC et la NFS

Chers collègues,

conc. : représentants du DISK

La CES a reçu une communication de la part du Comité exécutif du DISK, dans laquelle il est annoncé qu'à l'extérieur de la prison de Davutpasa deux personnes seulement ont été officiellement authorisées à représenter le Comité exécutif du DISK. Il s'agit des deux juristes M. Ercument Tahiroglu et M. Yucel Top. A part ces deux personnes, il n'est permis à personne d'autre, quel que soit le titre ou poste détenu antérieurement, de représenter le DISK ou de donner des conférences de presse à son nom, etc.

M. Ercument Tahiroglu est l'avocat chargé de la coordination de la défense du DISK dans le procès actuellement en cours à Istambul.

M. Yucel Top était le chef de la section juridique du DISK, et il est actuellement en exil à Bruxelles.

Les circonstances dans lesquelles nous avons reçu la communication du Comité exécutif sont telles que celle-ci doit être considérée comme fiable.

Salutations fraternelles,

Jon Ivar Nålsund
Secrétaire général adjoint

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

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22 Aralık 1981

B A S I N A Ç I K L A M A S I

Türkiye'de 12 Eylül 1980 askeri darbesiyle kurulan Cunta tarafından kapatılan Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu (DİSK)'in 52 yöneticisinin Sıkıyönetim Mahkemesinde idam talebiyle yargılanmaya başlanması nedeniyle bir bildiri yayınlayan DİSK Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi Yaşar Arıkan özetle şöyle demiştir:

"Yöneticisi olduğum 600 bin üyeli işçi konfederasyonu DİSK'in Genel Başkanı dahil 52 yöneticisi idam talebiyle askeri mahkemede yargılanmaya başlandı.

Türkiye'de generaller Cuntası, bir darbe ile iktidara el koymuş, bütün anayasal kurumları ortadan kaldırmış, tümüyle hukuk dışı bir askeri-faşist diktatörlük kurmuştur.

Türkiye'deki rejim bütünüyle gayrı meşrudur. Onun kurduğu bütün mahkemeler ve Anayasa dışı kurumlar da gayrı meşrudur.

Askeri Cunta, DİSK'i ve bütün demokratik kuruluşları kapatmış, DİSK'in ve üye sendikaların mal varlığına, binalarına, banka hesaplarına, dinlenme tesislerine hatta otolarına el koymuş ve onlardan gelir kazanmaya başlamıştır.

Ayrıca DİSK liderleri ve birçok sendika yöneticisi tutuklanmıştır. Bugün içeride 2000'i aşkın DİSK'li sendikacı ve aktivist bulunmaktadır.

Askeri Savcı 25 Haziran'da bir basın toplantısı yaparak 52 DİSK yöneticisi aleyhinde idam istedi. Fakat bu konuda iddianame ortada yoktu. Savcı daha sonra iddianamenin olmadığını söyledi. Nihayet dava 24 Aralık'da başladı.

İşte 52 DİSK yöneticisinin idam talebiyle yargılanması böyle bir kanunsuzluğun ürünüdür. Askeri mahkemenin savcısı, DİSK'i, yasal grevlerden, 1 Mayıs gösteri ve mitinglerinden, genel grev ve çeşitli anti-faşist eylemlerden dolayı idam talebiyle suçlamaktadır. Oysa 13 yılı kapsayan bu eylemlerin hemen büyük çoğunluğu hakkında Anayasal ve sivil mahkemeler tarafından dava açılmamıştır. Bazı eylemler, genel grevler için açılan davalarla istenen cezalar ise ertelenen 1-6 ay hapis cezasını aşmamaktadır.

DİSK yöneticileri hiçbir sivil mahkemede ceza almamış oldukları halde şimdi anayasal düzeni yıkmak, parlamentoyu feshetmek üzere eylem yapmakla suçlanıyorlar.

Oysa Türkiye'de kurulu anayasal düzeni yıkan, hükümeti deviren, parlamentoyu fesheden ve Anayasa'yı tamamen kaldıran birisi varsa o da 12 Eylül darbesini yapan ve halen de bu Cunta'yla iktidarda olan generallerdir.

Öte yandan, DİSK'e yönetilen suçlamalar DİSK'in sınıfsal görevidir. DİSK'in eylemleri sınıf hareketinin eylemleridir. Yani Cunta, DİSK'in şahsında işçi hareketini yargılamak istemektedir.

Şurasını belirtelim ki, DİSK, 14 yıllık varlığı ve etkinliği ile işçi sınıfımıza, halkımıza, demokrasi tarihimize seçkin bir kuruluş olarak malolmuştur. Onun saygınlığını ve kitlelerin bağrındaki yerini hiçbir güç söküp alamayacaktır.

24 Aralık'da başlayan DİSK davası nedeniyle tüm uluslararası sendikaları, hukuk kuruluşlarını ve demokratik kurumları Türkiye'deki askeri rejime karşı etkin bir tutum takınmaya ve DİSK'le dayanışmaya çağırıyorum."

Yaşar Arıkan

DİSK Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

BASIN AÇIKLAMASI

Türkiye'de faşist cuntaya bağlı askeri mahkemede bir yıldır yargılanan TÖB-DER yöneticilerinin ağır cezalara çarptırılması, TÖB-DER'in kapatılması ve DİSK yöneticilerinin idam talebi ile yargılanmaya başlanması üzerine bir bildiri yayınlayan F.Almanya' daki TÖB-DER yöneticileri özetle şöyle dedi.

"Yöneticisi bulunduğumuz Türkiye öğretmenlerinin mesleki demokratik örgütü TÖB-DER 25 Aralık 1981'de, askeri cuntaya bağlı Ankara Sıkıyönetim Mahkemesi'nde alınan kararla kapatıldı. 50 yönetici arkadaşımız ağır hapis cezalarına çarptırıldılar. Aynı günlerde DİSK yöneticileri, yine cuntaya bağlı mahkemede idam talebi ile yargılanmaya başlandı.

Zorla yönetime elkoyan, bütün anayasal kuruluşları ortadan kaldıran, insan hakları ve hukukun bütün temel kurallarını çiğneyen askeri-faşist cuntanın kendisi gayri meşru olduğu gibi, onun emirle kurulan ve emirle karar veren mahkemeleri de gayri meşrudur. Nitekim TÖB-DER yöneticileri, bir yıl boyunca baskı ve işkence altında, her türlü savunma olanaklarından yoksun bir biçimde yargılanmışlardır. Uluslararası hukuk gözlemcilerinin de belirttiği gibi, usulüne uygun bir ceza duruşması dahi yapılmamıştır. Askeri savcılar TÖB-DER yöneticilerinin suç işlediklerini gösteren hiçbir somut delil ortaya koyamamışlardır.

Başkent Ankara'da herkesin gözü önünde yıllar önce yapılan Genel Kurul toplantılarında, Demokratik Eğitim Kurultayı'nda yapılan konuşmalardan ötürü, TÖB-DER'i gizli örgüt olarak göstermeye çalışmışlardır. Yıllar önce açılan ve beraatle sonuçlanan davaları yeniden gündeme getirmişlerdir. TÖB-DER'in onbinlerce satılan legal yayın organlarında yayınlanan eğitim ve barış gibi genel konuları içeren yazıları suç olarak göstermişlerdir.

24 Aralık'ta İstanbul'da başlayan DİSK davasının ilk duruşmalarında aynı oyunun tezgahlandığı açıkça görülmektedir. Anayasal düzeni silah zoruyla yıkan cunta, şimdi "anayasal düzeni zorla değiştirmeye teşebbüsten" DİSK yöneticilerini idam cezasına çarptırmaya, DİSK'i kapatmaya hazırlanmaktadır.

Faşist askeri cuntanın "aşırı sağa da, aşırı sola da karşı olma" demagojisi de bugün, bütünü ile iflas etmiştir. Göstermelik bir biçimde yargılanan faşist Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi'nin şefleri bir bir serbest bırakılmaktadır. Türkiye'nin her yanında işkenceyi bir devlet politikası olarak uygulayan askeri cunta, işkence ile adam öldüren, pekçok insanı sakat bırakan işkencecibaşı Mustafa Haskırış'ı serbest bıraktıktan ve yurtdışına kaçırdıktan sonra, güya cezaya çarptırmıştır.

Askeri faşist cunta, bütün icraatlarıyla işçi ve emekçi düşmanı olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. TÖB-DER davası ile generaller cuntası, eğitim, bilim ve öğretmen düşmanlığını kanıtlamıştır. Şimdi DİSK davası ile, sendikal hareketi yoketmeye, sendikaları fizik olarak da ortadan kaldırmaya hazırlanmaktadır.

Askeri cunta bir avuç tekelci sermayedarın emrinde ve hizmetinde olduğunu, 45 milyon insanı karşısına aldığını, demokrasiyi boğazlayıp, insan haklarını yok ettiğini icraatıyla ortaya koymuştur. Böylece, sadece Türkiye halkları karşısında değil, dünya demokratik kamuoyunda da çoktan mahkum olan cuntacılar, tüm zorbalıklarına karşın Türkiye demokratik öğretmen hareketini ve işçi hareketini yok edemeyeceklerdir.

Dünya demokratik kamuoyunu, sendikaları, hukuk kuruluşlarını Türkiye'deki zorba yönetime karşı mücadelede, TÖB-DER, DİSK ve Türkiye demokrasi güçleriyle aktif dayanışmaya çağırıyoruz."

Gültekin Gazioğlu	Ayhan Kutlay	Kemal Uzun	Tekin Üstün
TÖB-DER Genel Başkanı	Genel Başkan Yardımcısı	Genel Sekreter	Genel Sekreter Yar.
İhsan Kapusuz	Aydın Yeşilyurt		Mehmet Yalçın
Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi	Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi		Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi

Ali Kemal Yaylı

Genel Yönetim Kurulu Üyesi

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Avrupa Parlementosuna
Veriben Rapor

Selahattin UYAR
c/O Bilim Buchhandlung
Oranienstr. 28
1000 Berlin 36

Ich bin Selahattin UYAR, stellvertretendes Vorstandsmitglied der DISK (Konföderation progressiver Arbeitergewerkschaften) in der Türkei und stellvertretender Vorsitzender der Gewerkschaft TEKSTIL (Gewerkschaft der Textilarbeiter, Mitglied in DISK, 70 000 Mitglieder). Ich lebe zur Zeit in Berlin (West). Ich musste nach dem Militärputsch vom 12. September 1980 mein Land verlassen, um meiner Festnahme zu entgehen. Ich bin einer der wenigen DISK-Funktionäre, die die Junta nicht hat verhaften können.
In meinem beiliegenden Schreiben gebe ich einen kurzen Überblick über die Lage in der Türkei seit dem Putsch.
Wie auch die Bundestagsdelegation, die die Türkei bereist hatte, unterstrichen hat, ist DISK in keine "Terror-Aktion" verwickelt gewesen. Trotzdem wurden tausende ihrer Funktionäre und Betriebleute festgenommen, schon am ersten Tag nach dem Putsch wurden sie aufgefordert, sich zu stellen. Auch andere Organisationen wurden verboten. Dies zeigt, daß die Junta es vor allem auf die Arbeitnehmer abgesehen hat, denn durch diese Maßnahmen sind diesen Bevölkerungsschichten die Möglichkeiten genommen, sich gegen die verschlechterung ihrer wirtschaftlichen Lage zu wehren.
Alle internationalen Abkommen und Beschlüsse (Internationale Menschenrechtskonvention, KSZE, Europäische Menschenrechtskonvention, ILO- und UNESCO-Beschlüsse) werden täglich mit Füssen getreten, Folter ist auf der Tagesordnung. Als der ÖTV-Vorsitzende Herr Kluncker in der Türkei war, hat er trotz mehrfachem Verlangen, nicht die Erlaubnis bekommen, den DISK-Vorsitzenden Abdullah Baştürk und andere inhaftierte Gewerkschafter zu besuchen; und der Europäische Gewerkschaftsbund sagte ihre Türkeireise ab, weil man auch ihrer Delegation schon im voraus den Besuch verweigert hatte. Es stellt sich jedem unvoreingenommenen Beobachter die Frage, warum diese Besuche nicht gestattet werden; die Begründung, die türkischen Gesetze ließen dies nicht zu ist fadenscheinig, Besuche der Inhaftierten werden nicht erlaubt, weil sie über ihre Folterbehandlung in den Gefängnissen berichten würden.
Ich fordere im Namen aller Gewerkschafter meines Landes alle freiheitlich-demokratisch gesinnten Menschen auf, sich den unmenschlichen Verhältnissen in der Türkei zu widmen und alles zu tun, um die sofortige Wiedererrichtung der Demokratie zu erreichen.

Mit freundlichen Grüßen

Selahattin UYAR
Stellvertretender Vorsitzender TEKSTIL-Gewerkschaft

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Selahattin UYAR
DISK - TEKSTIL
Stellvertretender Vorsitzender

Der Militärputsch vom 12. September 1980 ist ein gewaltsamer Angriff gegen die Rechte und das Wohlergehen der überwältigenden Mehrheit der 45 Millionen Menschen, die auf dem Boden der Republik Türkei leben. Dieser Militärputsch hat eine viel stärkeres Unterdrückungsregieme etabliert als es in der dunklen Periode nach dem 12. März 1971 der Fall war, der dem Ultimatom des Generalstabchef und den Oberbefehlshabern der Teilstreitkräfte folgte. Diejenigen, die vor 10 Jahren mit der Macht von Bajonetten dem Parlament anti-demokratische Änderungen der Verfassung und der Gesetze aufgezwungen hatten, aber wegen dem Widerstand der demokratischen Kräfte ihr Ziel nicht erreichen konnten, haben heute die Verfassung faktisch außer Kraft gesetzt, das Parlament aufgelöst und proklamiert, daß jedes Schriftstück, das von fünf Generälen unterschrieben wird, Gesetz sei. Diejenigen, die wegen dem aktiven Widerstand von hunderttausenden von Arbeitern ihren Plan zum Verbot der fortschrittlichen Gewerkschaftskonföderation DISK nicht verwirklichen konnten, haben gleich am ersten Putsch-Tag tausende Gewerkschafter und Arbeiter in die Gefängnisse gestopft, jegliche Gewerkschaftliche Betätigung verboten, DISK verboten und ihr Eigentum konfisziert, alle gewerkschaftlichen Freiheiten, allen voran das Recht auf Streiks und Tarifverträge, aufgehoben. Die einzige demokratische Massenorganisation der Bauern, KÖY-KOOP wurde verboten, ihr Kongress durfte nicht abgehalten werden, ihre Funktionäre wurden mit hohen Strafforderungen ins Gefängnis gesteckt. Die demokratischen Organisationen der Lehrer, der Beamten, der technischen Angestellten wurden verboten, tausende von ihnen Entlassen. Durch verschiedene Unterdrückungsmaßnahmen hat man den Gewerbetreibenden und Kleinunternehmern das Recht genommen, ihre Interessen zu artikulieren. Die Militärjunta und die sie lenkenden Kreise haben die Meinungs-, Veröffentlichungs- und Vereinigungsfreiheit aller dieser gesellschaftlichen Schichten aufgehoben und ihr Ziel erreicht, in der Türkei eine blutige Gewaltherrschaft zu errichten. Unser Volk, das in der Vergangenheit ähnliche Pläne mit Hilfe der demokratischen Weltöffentlichkeit bekämpft hat, leidet heute unter viel schwierigeren Bedingungen und fordert zu Recht eine umfangreichere und direktere Solidarität.

Die demokratische Öffentlichkeit in Europa und ihre institutionellen Verteter kennen aus der unmittelbaren Erfahrung ihrer jüngeren Geschichte,

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zu welchen Demagogien und Lügen solche anti-demokratischen, faschistischen Regime fähig sind. Diejenigen, die die vor dem 12. September 1980 übers ganze Land verbreiteten politischen Morde als Anlaß zu dem Militärputsch benutzen wollten, sind auch verantwortlich für den größten Teil dieser Morde gewesen, haben sie angestiftet oder mindestens ihre Augen zugedrückt, um so ihre Pläne verwirklichen zu können.
Die Rolle der Abteilung für besondere Kriegsführung beim Generalstab und die Rolle des Geheimdienstes bei diesen politischen Morden, die umfangreiche Unterstützung der neo-faschistischen MHP, die innerhalb der Terrororganisationen, deren Mitglieder heute festgenommen werden, erfolgte Anstiftungstätigkeiten können niemals vergessen werden. Es darf nicht zugesehen werden, wie hunderte von jungen Menschen, die im Rahmen der Verfolgung von terroristischen Organisationen mit der Begründung erschossen werden, sie hätten "den Ermahnungen der Sicherheitskräfte nicht Folge geleistet", wie nicht mal achtzehnjährige Jugendliche das Schaffot besteigen müssen, und hunderte von ihnen die Erhängungslisten füllen. Und vor allem kann nicht hingenommen werden, daß die Terrortaten vor dem 12. September zum Anlaß genommen werden, Gewerkschaften, demokratische Massenorganisationen, fortschrittliche, linke politische Organisationen, die mit diesen Taten nicht im geringsten zu tun hatten, und im allgemeinen große Volksmassen zu unterdrücken, die demokratischen Grundrechte und -freiheiten aufzuheben. Die angebliche Unterstützung der Militärjunta durch die Massen ist ein vorübergehende, durch Lügen und Druck zustande gekommene Unterstützung, wie zu Zeiten von Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Salazar und die Obristen. Das es für unser Volk nicht infrage kommt, sich einem Gewalt- und Sklavenregieme zu beugen zeigt sich darin, daß seine wertvollsten Söhne und Töchter einen sich immer verstärkenden Widerstand gegen die Junta anführen. Die Entschlossenheit, Wachsamkeit und Aktivität der demokratischen Weltöffentlichkeit wird eine große Unterstützung für diesen, unter schweren Voraussetzungen geführten Kampf sein.
Die Geschichte lehrt uns, daß es nicht möglich ist, anti-demokratische, faschistische Regieme durch Kompromisse, durch Zuvorkommen und Versuche der Besänftigung von ihren menschenfeindlichen Zielen abzubringen. Die Politik der Chamberlain's, der Daladier's waren nie erfolgreich. Das Ziel der Junta und der Kräfte hinter ihr, die alle demokratisch gewählten Repräsentanten des Volkes, bis hin zum Bürgermeister des kleinsten Dorfes ihrer Ämter enthoben, alle dempkratischen Massenorganisationen verboten haben, mit über hundert sog. neuer Gesetze das gesammte Rechtssystem "zu erneuern" vorgeben, liegt auf der Hand. Die Militärjunta, die sich Nationaler Sicherheitsrat nennt und ihr Marionetten-

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Regierung ist nicht auf dem Weg zur "Rückkehr zu einem demokratischen Regieme", ganz im Gegenteil, werden mit jedem vergangenen Tag die demokratischen Rechte und -freiheiten stärker mit den Füßen getreten. Alle vorbereiteten Maßnahmen zielen darauf hin, ein maskiertes faschistisches Regieme zu institutionalisieren, das mit einer parlamentarischen Demokratie nichts zu tun haben wird. Die demokratischen Kräfte der Türkei sind davon überzeugt, daß die demokratische Öffentlichkeit in Europa und ihre sie repräsentierenden Institutionen nicht durch diese, von anderen Militärregiemen her bekannten Taktiken hinters Licht zu führen sind, daß es keine Kompromisse mit den Plänen geben wird, die darauf abzielen, unser Volk dem faschistischen Terror und den Morden zu opfern, und daß sie ihren Beitrag zur Isolierung der Feinde der Demokratie leisten werden.

Der gesetzliche Mindestlohn, auf den hunderttausende Arbeiter mit Ungeduld gewartet haben, wurde letzte Woche festgesetzt. Von diesem Mindestlohn, der auf 10.000 TL brutto festgelegt wurde, wird ein Arbeiter netto 5.000 TL auf die Hand bekommen, d.h. etwas mehr als 100 DM. In welchem Land auf dieser Erde kein ein Mensch mit diesem Lohn leben? Hatte doch die Anstalt für soziale Versicherung, eine staatliche Institution, errechnet, daß die Löhne pro Tag im Mai 1979 151 TL betrugen und im Mai 1980 auf 92 TL herabgesunken waren. Diese Realtität setzen wir in Vergleich zu den Preissteigerungen in einzelnen Provinzen unseres in der Inflation ertrinkenden Landes: Ankara: 165,8 %; Istanbul: 175,4 %; Izmir: 174,5 %; Adana: 183,7 %; Antalya: 165,8 %; Bursa: 167,5 %; Diyarbakir: 185,4 %; Erzurum: 161,7 %; Eskişehir: 178,9 %; Ordu: 176,1 %; Samsun: 171,7 %. Unabhängig davon, wieviel Prozent die Löhne steigen, versclechtert sich die Lage der Arbeiter zusehends. Die internationale Arbeitsorganisation ILO definiert den Mindestlohn wie folgt: " Ein Lohn, der nur den Lebensunterhalt des Arbeiters und seiner Familie deckt, ist kein Lohn, der ein menschenwürdiges Leben gewährleistet. Der Mindestlohn ist der Lohn, der ein Leben nach den angemessenen Lebensnormen garantiert." Obwohl es so ist, verhält sich die sog. Arbeiterorganisation TÜRK-IŞ, selbst ILO-Mitglied passiv, ja sie führt diese Maßnahmen aus.
Die Lohnverhandlungen für 460 000 Arbeiter werden von einem, in antidemokratischer Weise aus "2 Ministern, 3 hohen Staatsbeamten, 2 Arbeitgebervertretern, 2 Arbeitervertretern" zusammengesetztem Hohen Schiedsrat geführt, doch die Junta hat auch hier das letzte Wort. Der Rechnungshof, der seinen Charakter als Verfassungsorgan verloren hat, hat auf Anweisung der Junta einen Beschluß gefasst, daß die Arbeiter in öffentlichen Betrieben durch Tarifverträge nicht mehr als zwei Monatslöhne als Prämie erhalten dürfen.

TÜRKIYE SOSYAL TARIH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI TÜSTAV

Angesichts des neuen Entwurfes eines Gewerkschaftsgesetzes ist es nicht vermessen zu sagen, es handelt sich hierbei um ein Gesetz zum Verbot der Gewerkschaften. Das ganze Land ist dabei, militarisiert zu werden. Die Junta und die Arbeitgeber ordnen das gesellschaftliche Leben nach ihren soldatischen Auffassungen. In jedem Betrieb befindet sich ein Offizier als Beobachter, die Arbeiter müssen unter dem Schatten der Bajonetten arbeiten. Kein Vertreter der internationalen Arbeiterorganisationen hat bis jetzt die Möglichkeit gehabt, die tausende von Arbeitern und Gewerkschaftern, unter ihnen den Vorsitzenden der DISK, Abdullah BAŞTÜRK, zu besuchen; alle Versuche in dieser Richtung blieben ohne Erfolg.

Die europäische Öffentlichkeit darf sich nicht wundern, wenn sie morgen in der Türkei einen etablierten Faschismus vorfindet. Wir als Freiheitsbotschafter unseres Volkes möchten sie darauf aufmerksam machen.

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Obersetzung/Be

Schreiben Ibrahim Denizcier, Vorsitzender des Gewerkschaftsbundes Türk-Is an den Vorsitzenden des DGB

19.9.1980

Lieber Kollege Vetter,

wie Du weißt, hat die türkische Armee mit Wirkung vom 12. September 1980 die Administration des gesamten Landes unter ihre Befehlsgewalt gestellt.

Diese Intervention hat keine Ähnlichkeit mit den militärischen Handstreichen oder militärischen Umstürzen, wie wir sie häufig in lateinamerikanischen, afrikanischen und nah-östlichen Ländern erleben. Die Intervention ist vielmehr erfolgt, um die türkische Demokratie zu retten und um diese auf kräftigere, vernünftige und verläßliche Fundamente zu stellen.

Wie in den beigefügten Statements erwähnt, sahen sich türkische Armee-Streitkräfte gezwungen, zum letzten Mittel zu greifen und die von den Politikern lahmgelegte Regierung zu übernehmen, um somit die Demokratie vor ihrer Vernichtung zu bewahren. Die Intervention wurde vom Nationalen sicherheits-Rat durchgeführt, welcher sich zusammensetzte aus General Kenan Evren, dem Stabschef, und dem Kommandeuren der Streitkräfte zu Land, Luft und Wasser sowie der Polizeikräfte.

Die unabhängigen Justizorgane des Landes führen gegenwärtig ihre Angelegenheiten mit unabhängigen Richtern und ohne jegliche Einmischung von außen durch. Das Oberste Verfassungsgericht, das Oberste Verwaltungsgericht, das Oberste Gericht für Strafsachen, der Oberste Rechnungshof sowie sämtliche Gerichte

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nachgeordneter Instanzen und die öffentlichen Ankläger üben ihre regulären Funkionen aus.

Es besteht völlige Pressefreiheit; sämtliche Medien arbeiten, mit Ausnahme von drei Zeitungen mit sehr extremer Tendenz.

Die Tätigkeit sämtlicher Vereinigungen ist suspendiert worden; Verbände, die über den Rahmen der geltenden Gesetze und der in ihren Satzungen niedergelegten Prinzipien hinausgegangen waren und bei denen festgestellt wurde, daß sie Teil der terroristischen Aktivitäten waren, wurden aufgelöst. Der Gewerkschaftsbund Türk-is hingegen, der nach den gesetzlichen Bestimmungen und entsprechend den Grundsätzen der Satzung des Bundes tätig gewesen war und als echter Anwalt für die Demokratie und das freie parlamentarische System aufgetreten ist, arbeitet weiterhin als funktionierende Organisation mit allen Mitgliedsorganisationen und Regionalbüros.

Es bestehen einige Einschränkungen und Begrenzungen, doch sollen diese, wie von der an erster Stelle zuständigen Person angegeben wurde, nur für kurze, vorübergehende Zeitdauer gelten.

TÜRK-IS ist entschlossen, diese Einschränkungen mit Vernunft und gelassen,zum Nutzen eines solideren demokratischen Regimes und einer schnellen Durchsetzung des Rechts zu überstehen.

Auf der gewerkschaftlichen Bühne handelt es sich bei den von einer Einstellung ihrer Tätigkeit betroffenen Bünden um drei Organisationen, denen wir in zahlreichen früheren Schriftsätzen nicht-gewerkschaftliche Aktivitäten angelastet haben. Hier handelt es sich erstens um DISK; diese Organisation ist, zumal in den zurückliegenden Jahren, in ihrer Politik und ihren Aktionen zur finanziellen und ideologischen Quelle für

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die terroristischen Aktivitäten geworden und hat mit einigen illegalen, mit ihrer Tendenz gleichlaufenden Organisationen eng zusammengearbeitet. Bei diesen Aktivitäten hat DISK den Vorwand gewerkschaftlicher Arbeit gebraucht und sich der Gewerkschaften gewährten Rechte und Freiheiten bedient. Die Beziehung von DISK zum WGB ist Dir auch sehr wohlbekannt.

Der zweite Bund, MISK (Bund nationalistischer Gewerkschafter ist das Gegenstück von DISK auf der extremen Rechten, er operiert genauso wie DISK seinerseits auf der extremen Linken. Er war die Gewerkschaftsorganisation der Nationalen Aktionspartei. Die dritte Organisation, HAK-IS (Bund der Gerechtigkeits-Gewerkschaften) wurde als das Organ der Türkischen Heils-Partei gegründet und hat, genauso wie die beiden anderen Organisationen, politischen Zwecken gedient. Im Falle dieser Organisation wurde eine reaktionäre Politik verfolgt und auf die religiösen Gefühle der Bevölkerung gesetzt. Sämtliche dieser Bünde wurden aufgehoben, weil sie gewerkschaftliche Mittel für ihre politischen und ideologischen Zwecke einsetzten.

Die Ereignisse in der Türkei solltest Du im Licht der Statements des Nationalen Sicherheits-Rats beurteilen, die wir in Obersetzung beigefügt haben; es ist Vorsicht geboten gegenüber Informationen und falscher Propaganda, wie sie in Europa von Quellen mit politischen Zielen in Umlauf gesetzt werden. Wir werden Euch über die Entwicklungen unterrichtet halten.

Ich darf Dich bitten, unsere Stellungnahme den Mitgliedsorganisationen und anderen Organisationen, für die die beigefügten Statements infrage kämen, zur Kenntnis zu bringen.

Mit besten Wünschen verbleibe ich,

gez. Ibrahim Denizciler

Vorsitzender

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

İŞÇİ SINIFI, SENDİKAL HAREKET YOĞUN BASKILAR ALTINDADIR
ÇIKIŞ YOLU BİRLEŞMEKTİR

12 Eylül 1980'de iktidara el koyan cunta, daha ilk gün DİSK'i kapattı. Yöneticilerini tutukladı. Binlerce sendika temsilcisi, işçi koğuşturuldu. Grevler yasaklandı, toplu sözleşmeler durduruldu. Türk-İş'in sendikal faaliyetleri kısıtlanddı Tüm demokrasi güçlerine yönelik baskılar uygulandı, uygulanıyor.

Terörizmi önlemek, demokrasiyi kurtarmak için geldiklerini söyleyenler tersine terörizmin hedefi olan, demokrasiye herkesten çok gereksinim duyan işçi sınıfına, sendikal harekete saldırarak, halka verdikleri sözleri tutmaktan yana olmadıklarını gösterdiler.

DİSK'i idam cezası ile yargılamak isteyenler, bilmiyorlar mı ki, DİSK'in savaşım çizgisi açıktır. İşçi sınıfımız, onun yiğit sendikal örgütü DİSK terörizme her zaman karşı oldu. Faşist terör DİSK'in pek çok üyesinin canına kıydı. Yaralarımız daha tazedir. Bu konuda kimse bizden hesap soramaz.

Hesap soran biziz. Soruyoruz: İşçi sınıfımızın yiğit evladı, sendikal önderi Maden-İş genel başkanı Kemal Türkler'in katilleri kimlerdir? 1 Mayıs 1977'deki Türkiye tarihine kapkara bir sayfa olarak geçen kanlı toplu kırımın sorumluları kimlerdir? Katiller nerededir? Cunta yönetimi bunları bulacak yerde, 1 Mayıs'ları düzenledik diye bize saldırıyor. İşçi sınıfının uluslararası marşı Enternasyonal söylendi diye, üyelerimizi ağır cezalara çarptırıyor.

DİSK demokratik hak ve özgürlükler için çok yönlü özverili savaşımlar verdi. DİSK'in faşist teröre karşı yaptığı direnişler ortadadır. DİSK'in terörizmin her türünün demokrasi düşmanlarının işine yaradığını defalarca belirttiğini kim gizleyebilir?

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İşçi sınıfına, sendikal harekete yönelik bu baskılar şaşırtıcı değildir. Çok önce ve pek çok kez söyledik, emperyalistlerin, tekellerin dümen suyuna gitmek, demokrasi ile önünde sonunda karşı karşıya gelecektir. Çünkü halkımızın, ülkemizin üzerine çöken derin ekonomik, politik, sosyal bunalımların kaynağı bunlardır.

Cunta yönetimi bu doğrultudaki politikasıyla bunalımı hafifletmek bir yana tersine derinleştirdi. Şimdi bunalımın yükü daha da ağırlıkla işçi ve emekçilerin sırtına bindirilecek. Bunun için, tepkileri önleyebilmek için daha çok zorbalığa başvurulmak istenecek.

Bu nedenle, bizler, özellikle sendikal alandaki baskıları ve anti-demokratik uygulamaları sergilemek istiyoruz. Amacımız kamuoyunu., sendikacıları, işçileri uyarmak, ülkemizi ve halkımızı bekleyen tehlikelerin daha da arttığı günümüzde, sendikal hak ve özgürlükler için neler yapılabileceği konusundaki görüşlerimizi iletmektir. Çıkış yolu birleşmektir. İşçiler, sendikacılar, demokrasi güçleri, tüm gücümüzü bu yolda seferber edelim!

BUGÜN EKONOMİK DURUM NEDİR?

Yaklaşık iki yıldır sürdürülen "24 Ocak" programının tüm önlemlerine karşın, bugün ekonomik bunalım derinleşerek sürüyor. Döviz dar boğazı aşılamadı. Tüm "ihracat artıyor", nutuklarına karşın ihracat, ithalatı karşılayamıyor, dış ticaret açığı gittikçe büyüyor. Hükümet kendine yeterli dış borç, dış kaynak, kredi bulamıyor.

Ülke içinde de, vergi, zam paketleri uygulamaları, ücretleri ve taban fiyatlarını sınırlayıp azaltmaları, sömürüyü olağanüstü artıran tüm bu uygulamalara karşın, parababaları yatırım yapmıyor. Tefeciliğe, spekülasyona, vurgunculuğa başvuruyor.

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Devalüasyonlar enflasyonu, enflasyon devalüasyonu besliyor. Enflasyon ortadan kaldırılamıyor. Bunalım hafiflemiyor, tersine derinleşiyor. Üretim düşüyor. Kapasite kullanımı % 30-40'larda aşamıyor. Stoklar durmadan artıyor. Piyasa tıkalı. Satışlar, yığınların korkunç sömürüsü ve alım gücünün düşürülmesi nedeniyle zayıf. Enflasyonu azaltmak için uygulanan kemer sıkma politikası sonucu kitlelerin alım gücü öylesine tüketilmiştir ki, işçilerin cebindeki para bırakın buzdolabı, televizyon vb. almayı, artık kilosu 300 TL ye çıkan beyaz peynire, tanesi 20 liraya çıkan ekmeğe bile yetmiyor.

Cepteki paranın alım gücü var mı, yok mu? Üretim artıyor mu, azalıyor mu? İş olanakları mı artıyor, yoksa işsizlik mi? Biz işçiler bunlara bakıyoruz ve diyoruz ki, TÜSİAD'ı da, MESS' de, Özal da yalan söylüyor.

Çünkü cebimizdeki para da, alım gücümüz de azaldı. Daha az yiyor, daha az giyiyoruz. Daha kötü yerlerde barınıyoruz. Tezgahların yarıdan fazlası boş. Habire işçi atılıyor. İşsizlik 5 milyonu aştı. Ekonomik bunalım gel geç değil, süregendir. Bu ekonominin hem iç, hem dış ilişkilerinden kaynaklanıyor. Ekonomimimin, sanayinin yapısı bozuktur. Türkiye kapitalizmi dışa bağımlıdır. Bunalım uluslararası kapitalizmin derinleşmekte olan bunalımı ile de sıkıca bağlıdır. Avrupa İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonunun da belirttiği gibi, kapitalizmin dünya çapındaki ekonomik bunalımı için "henüz görünürde bir son yok"tur. Dolayısıyla ülkemizdeki ekonomik bunalım da daha da derinleşecektir. MESS'ci, IMF'ci Özal bile,"en az iki yıl daha sabretmek gerekir" diyor.

Yukarıda belirttiğimiz nedenlerden dolayı, izlenen ekonomik politika ile bunalımın aşılması olanaklı değildir. Ama bu politika

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hem tekellerin sömürüsünün olabildiğince artmasına hizmet ediyor, hem de tekeller bu politika ile bunalımın sonuçlarının kendi sınıf çıkarları üzerinde olumsuz etkiler yaratmamasını sağlamağa, bunalımın yükünü işçi ve emekçi sınıflara, halka yüklemeğe çalışıyorlar. Önümüzdeki yıllarda sömürünün daha da derinleşeceğini, ağırlaşacağı görülüyor.

YHK İLE EKMEĞİMİZE SALDIRILDI

Devalüasyonlarla para değeri sürekli düşerken, fiyatlar durmadan artarken; bir yandan Yüksek Hakem Kurulunun "ilke" kararları ve tek tek bağıtladığı sözleşmelerle; öte yandan da ardarda çıkarılan bir dizi yasa ile ücretlerimize dolu dizgin saldırıldı! Gerçek ücretlerimiz geriledi. Gelirlerimiz azaldı. Ekonomik alanda ağır kayıplara uğradık.

1979-80 fiyat artışlar toplamı % 200'e yaklaşırken, işçilerle alay edercesine cunta önce % 70'lik avans uygulamasını getirdi. Ardından, YHK kuruldu. "İlke" kararlarını açıkladı. Bunların birincisi; iki yıllık sözleşmeleri 3 yıllık olarak toplam % 170'lik bir zam ile bağlamak oldu.

YHK burada da durmadı, o tekellerin nalıncı keseri olarak devam etti. 1981, bitimli sözleşmelere ancak, % 20 kadar bir brüt artış sağlayacak olan, "%10 + 3000 ₺" zam kararını bindirdi. Bu % 20 zam, resmi açıklamalarda fiyat artış oranı olarak verilen % 40'ın bile altındadır. 1981 bitimli sözleşmelerin diğer yıllardaki zam oranlarını ise, cunta hükümetinin düzenleyeceği fiyat artış istatistiklerinin insafına terketti. Yakacak, izin, bayram ikramiyeleri vb. yan ödemelerdeki artışlar ise hemen yok denecek göstermelik düzeylerde tutuldu.

YHK'nun diğer bir "ilke" kararı da sayıştayıyla, hükümetiyle, MGK'sıyla oynanan danışıklı düğüşlü ikramiye sayısı 4'de

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donduruldu. Daha yüksek zam bir yana ; cebimizdeki paraya el atıldı. Elde edilmiş ekonomik kazanımımız, toplu sözleşme ile ikramiye arttırma hakkımız çekilip alındı.

YHK'nunun bir başka "ilke" kararı ile de yan ödemeler, çıplak saat ücreti olan "ücret"imize dahil edildi. Böylece hem saat ücretlerini, hem saat ücreti dışındaki diğer yan ödemeleri, yani toplam gelirimizi, alabildiğine en az düzeyde tutmanın bir başka yolunu da tekelci, holdingci parababaları, YHK'nun bu "ilkesel" kararı ile buldular.

YHK'nun bu zam politikasının bizi açlığa mahkum etmek olduğu açıktır. Toplu sözleşmeler yaparak ücretlerimizi, hayat pahalılığının yıpratmasına karşı biraz olsun koruma olanağımız hepten yokedilmiştir.

Sayıya lüzum yok! Bülent Ulusu'nun son basın toplantısında bir gazetenin "Yumuntanın tanesini 8 liradan, peynirin kilosunu 300 liradan, bir ekmeği yirmi liradan yiyen, bir tane aspirine 2,5 lira veren işçilere ve memurlara teşekkür etmeyecek misiniz" sorusuna verdiği cevap ve sorunun kendisi yeterlidir.

Biz, sofrasındaki katığı değil, kuru ekmeği bile kesmek zorunda kalan işçiler, bay Ulusu'nun deyimi ile "sıkıntı çeken dar gelirli vatandaşlar ücretlerimizin nasıl füze hızı ile azaldığını iyi biliyoruz. İşverenlerin, tekellerin örgütleri bile bunu yadsıyamıyor. "Reel ücretler azaldı" diyor.

- LHK'nun "ilke" kararları ve tek tek bağıtladığı sözleşmeler bir çok sosyal, demokratik hakkı da yok etti.

- YHK, toplu sözleşmelerin, işçinin tazminatlı ya da tazminatsız, yani ister İş Kanunu'nun 13. ya da 17. maddesine göre işten çıkarılmasına sınır getiren, iş güvencesi sağlayan maddelerini kaldırdı. İşçi temsilcilerinin de söz ve oy hakkı ile katıldığı ortak kurullara, "disiplin", uyuşmazlıkları çözüm" vb. kurullarına ilişkin maddeleri sözleşmelerden çıkardı. Sessiz sedasız irili ufaklı girişimlerle işten çıkarmalar giyotin gibi

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işlerken, işsizlik durmadan artarken, işverenler toplu çıkarmaları hızlandırırken, YHK iş güvencesi konusunda yılların savaşımları osnucunda toplu sözleşmelerle elde ettiğimiz kazanımları bir kararla yok etti. Tekeller YHK'nun bu kararı ile yıllardır gerçekleştiremedikleri özlemlerini gerçekleştirdiler.

Aynı biçimde, YHK işçi ve sendika temsilcilerinin çalışma koşullarının düzenlenmesine katılmalarını, toplu iş sözleşmesinin uygulanmasını denetlemelerine ilişkin tüm hükümleri toplu sözleşmelerden çıkarıp attı. Vardiya, iş zamanlaması, işçi sağlığı, iş güvenliği önlemleri, servis, iş elbiseleri, ayakkabıların vb.ların kararlaştırılması gibi konular bir yana, yediğimiz yemeklerin listesinde bile sözümüz olmayacak bundan sonra.

YHK'nun ilke kararları ve bağıtladığı sözleşmelerin özeti budur.

Cunta da, hükümeti de, tekeller de, kimi Türk-İş başları da sıkışınca, işler sarpa sarınca ücretlerimize, haklarımıza yöneltilen saldırının sorumlusu olarak YHK'umu, buradaki 3-5 brökratı, ~~hukukçu~~ eskisi emir kulunu gösteriyorlar. Yağma yok. DİSK'li, Türk-İş'li sendikasız tüm işçiler, tüm dürüst sendikacılar ekonomik, demokratik kayıplarımızın esas sorumlusunun işbirlikçi tekelci burjuvazi, kemerleri sıkma politikasını dayatan cunta ve hükümet olduğunu biliyoruz.

İŞÇİ DÜŞMANI YASALAR

. Tekellerin ücretlerimize, çalışma ve yaşama koşullarımıza yaylım ateşi saldırısı çıkan yasalarla destekli, paralel sürdü. Bir dizi yasal hakkımız da koparılıp alındı.

. Önce: Kıdem tazminatı yasası ile kıdem tazminatlarımız iyice budandı. Sınırlandı. Bu alanda yasayla ve sözleşmelerle

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elde ettiğimiz haklar açık açık geri alındı. Kıdem tazminatı 30 günle ve asgari ücretin 7,5 katı ile donduruldu. Evvelden vergisini ödeyerek de olsa aldığımız asgari ücretin 7,5 katını aşan tazminat tutarımız tekellere, işverenlere, hükümete bırakıldı. Bu milyonlarca lira birikmiş haklarımıza zorbalıkla el konmasından başka bir şey değildir.

. Kıdem tazminatı yasasını vergi yasası izledi. İlk bakışta vergi kesintileri bir miktar azaltıldı. Ama tekeller kaşıkla verir görünürken, sapıyla da gözümüzü çıkarmaktan geri durmadılar. Yalnızca, yeni toplu sözleşme yapan ya da toplu sözleşme zammı almaktan vaz geçen işçiler vergi indiriminden yararlandı. Dahası sözleşmesi imzalanmış işçilerin vergi indirimi haraç gibi kesilip merkezi bir fonda toplandı. Sözde, sözleşme bitiminden sonra para hızla değer kaybederken taksit taksit edenecek. Geçmişte devletten alacakların nasıl tasarruf bonolarına bağlandığını, ya da memurların MEYAK kesintilerinin nasıl üzerine oturulduğunu biz işçiler iyi biliriz.

. Sözde vergi kesintisi azaltılırken, tekel yanlısı hükümet SSK yasası ile cepheden saldırdı. SSK kesenekleri arttı. SSK hastanelerinde muayene vizite ücretine bağlandı. Daha önce karşılıksız verilen ilâcın % 20'si işçiden alınıyor. Emeklilik süresi uzatıldı. Emekli maaşı oranı indirildi. 18 yaş öncesindeki çalışma süresi emeklilikten sayılmayacak dendi. Emeklilerden ilâç, ailelerinden muayene ücreti kesilmeye başlandı. Milyarlarca liralık SSK fonlarımız devlet tahvilleri yoluyla tekellere akıtılmışken, milyarlarca liralık kesilmiş sigorta primimiz tekellerin kasasında kilitli, ucuz kredi iken, gene bizim küçüldükçe küçülen, "dar gelirlerimize" tırpan atıldı.

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. Asgari ücret 10.000 ₺ ile açlık düzeyinin altına inerken, asgari geçim indirimi bu saptanan komik miktarın bile altında kaldı. Oysa herkes biliyor ki vergi dışı asgari geçim indiriminin, asgari ücret düzeyinde olması zorunludur.

Sendikalarımızın, konfederasyonumuzun, DİSK'in savaşkan üyeleri,

Türk-İş'li sınıf kardeşlerimiz!

12 Eylül'ün bir yıllık uygulaması ile uğradığımız ağır ekonomik, demokratik ve yasal kayıpların kısa bilançosu budur. Ağır ekonomik bunalım koşullarında önemli şeyler yitirdik. Durumu ayıklıkla değerlendirdiğimizde, ekonomik duruma ve olası gelişimine baktığımızda, birliğimizi ve savaşımımızı bugüne kadarki gelişmelere, günün ve geleceğin gereksinimlerine göre yükseltmezsek yitirdiklerimizin, daha da yitirebileceklerimizin yanında çok küçük kalacağı görülüyor.

YENİ TEHLİKELER

Değerli işçiler, Türk-İş ve DİSK üyesi,

sendikalı, sendikasız sınıf kardeşlerimiz!

Yeni tehlikelerin belirtilmri nelerdir:

. Bülent Ulusu'nun son basın toplantısında YHK'unun işbaşında kalıp kalmayacağı yolundaki soruya verdiği yanıt YHK'nun daha uzunca bir süre işçi sınıfımızın, tüm sendikaların baş belası olmasını sürdürme niyetini gösteriyor.

İşverenlerin çığırtkanı H.Narin, aynı konuda fetvayı basıyor. O yeni sendikalar kanunu çıkmadan, sendikal faaliyetlerin serbest bırakılmasını istemiyor.

Turgut Özal IMF'ye söz verdi. Ücret artışlarını düşük tutmayı sürdüreceğiz dedi. O daha şimdiden 1982'de enflasyon % 25

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olacaktır diyerek, 1982'de ücret zamlarının % 25'in altında tutulacağını bildiriyor. Bunun hazırlıklarını yapıyor.

Enflasyon oranı düzmece istatistiklerle düşük gösterilecek, YHK da buna dayanarak hayat pahalılığının yarısından az sözde "zamlar" yapacak. Gelirlerimiz iyice kırpılacak. Ekonomik kayıplarımız daha da artacak.

. YHK'u daha 1979, 1980'de biten sözleşmeleri tamamlayamadı. Devlet işletmeleri biten toplu sözleşme farklarını da ödemiyor. 1981 yılının sözleşmelerinin bu yıl bitemiyeceği, 1982'ye sarkacağını YHK başkanı açıklıyor. Dolayısıyla palalılık belimizi bürekken milyarlarca liramız daha aylarca tekellerin sasasına faizsiz kredi diye işleyecek, değeri düşecek.

TEHLİKE - TOPLU İŞÇİ KIYIMI

. Bugün işsizlik % 22'lik bir oranda. 5 milyonu aşkın işsiz var.

Son üç yılda ulusal gelir artışı giderek azaldı. Sıfıra düştü. Sonra 1980'de sıfırın altına geriledi. 1981'de de gelişmeler aynı doğrultuda Ulusal gelir artmayınca, elbette yatırımlar da artmadı, artmak bir yana plana, bütçeye alınan en zorunlu yatırımlar bile gerçekleşmiyor. Genel olarak yapılan yatırımlar, yatırımlar için yapılması gereken yarcamaların ancak % 20-30 düzeyinde kalıyor. Birçok yatırımdan ise vaz geçiliyor.

Yatırımların artması bir yana, sanayi %30-40 arası bir kapasite ile çalışıyor. Fabrikalar 3 vardiyayı 2'ye, 2 vardiyalı 1'e indiriyor. 10 tezgahtan 5-6'sını çalıştırmıyor. Küçük, orta işletmelerde iflaslar artıyor. Bu durum, sürekli işten çıkarmaları tensikatları getiriyor. IMF, KİT'lerde işçi kıyımını dayatıyor.

Toplu işten çıkarmalar büyük bir dalga halinde patladı,

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patlayacak.

Daha geçtiğimiz aylarda Karabük Demir Çelik'den, Renault'dan yüzlerce işçi bir defada kapı dışarı edildi. Bunlar 12 Eylül'den beri sessiz sedasız sürdürülmeğe çalışan, dipten sürdürülen tensikat dalgasının yüze vurmasıdır. Tekeller MGK'nın "Resmi toplu işten çıkarma"larla ilgili yasağını kaldırmak için ardarda girişim yapıyorlar.

Yığınsal işten çıkarmalara yönelik bu girişimler karşısında, tüm işçilerin, aydınların, basın mensuplarının, ordudaki yurtsever subay, assubay ve erlerin dikkatlerini bazı önemli noktalara çekmeyi yararlı görmekteyiz.

. Birinci olarak: Bugüne kadar bir çok işyerinde, özellikle orta ve küçük işyerlerinde işten çıkarmalar aralıksız sürdü. Toplu işten çıkarmaların görece olarak sınırlı kaldığı kesim daha büyük sanayi kuruluşları ve KİT'lerdir. Bunlar ise sanayi proletaryası diyebileceğimiz 1.600.000 ile 1.700.000 arasındaki işçiyi kapsamaktadır.

Şöyle ki, bugün en yoğun talep, pazarlama ve stok sorunları ile karşı karşıya olan, yani kârları azalmasın diye "tensikat yapmak zorunda" olan işyerleri, metal sanayinin beyazlar denen -Buzdolabı, çamaşır makinası, fırın, elektrikli ev aletleri vb.- dayanıklı tüketim malları üreten kesimidir. Bugün toplu işten çıkarmalar serbest bırakıldığı an bu dalda çalışan işçilerin -ki bu işçiler Türkiye proletaryasının en deneyli, en dirençli ve savaşkan bölükleridir- % 25'inin işten atılması sözkonusudur. Türkiye çapında ise işten çıkarmalar toplam işçi sayısının % 10-15'ine ulaşabilir.

Bu yaklaşık 250 bin işçinin ve ailesinin açlığa mahkûm edilmesi demektir. İşin bu kadarla sınırlı kalamayacağı açıktır. Bu ise, toplam üzerinden hesaplandığında, en az yarım milyonluk bir işçi kıyımı demektir.

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İşçilerin, sendikaların, sendikacıların böylesi bir saldırıyı boynu bükük karşılayacağını sananlar aldanıyorlar. İşçi sınıfımız, DİSK, Türk-İş, tüm sendikalar buna direnecektir.

. İkinci olarak: İşbirlikçi tekelci burjuvazi kendi hesabına kurnazca bir taktik izliyor. Sözleşmelerde ücretlere ve haklara saldırısını MGK, hükümet ve YHK eli ile yapıyor. İşten çıkarmalarda da orduyu öne sürüyor. MGK'nın ve sıkıyönetimin kararı ve onayı ile işçi çıkarmayı planlıyor. İşten çıkarmalar sırasında işyerlerinde ordu birliklerinin önlem almasını istiyor.

Genel Kurmayın 17 Haziran 1981 tarihli yazısı ve sıkıyönetim komutanlıklarının tamamlanmak üzere olduğu söylenen hazırlıkları bu planın 1. adımının tuttuğunu gösteriyor. Narinler, Koçlar, Kara Memetler, Durmuş Yaşarlar binlerce işçi atıp, sonra fısıldayacaklar, "Ne yapalım, MGK izin verdi, sıkıyönetim onayladı, ordu atın dedi, attık". Orduyu, dolayısıyla onun içindeki yurtsever bubay, assubay ve erleri de işçilerin üzerine sürüp, ulusal demokratik güçleri karşı karşıya getirmeyi tezgahlıyorl

Biz ulusal demokratik güçlerin birliğinden yana sınıf sendikacıları olarak yurtsever ordu mensuplarını bu provokasyona karşı uyarmayı tarihsel bir görev sayıyoruz.

Biz işçiler açlığa, işsizliğe boyun eğmeyeceğiz. Direneceğiz. Ve biz yurtsever subay, assubay ve erlere sesleniyoruz:

İşbirlikçi tekellerin oyununa gelmeyin. Yerli ve yabancı tekellerle beraber değil, tekellere karşı işçilerle, emekçi halkla birlik olunuz! Ulusal çıkarlarımızdan yana tutum alınız.

. Üçüncü olarak: İşsizliğin yapısal ve süregen olduğu, artarak geliştiği Türkiye'de "ücretsiz izin", ya da "yarım mesai, yarım gündelik" türü sözde tensikat karşıtı görünen yollar çözüm değil., tüm işçilerin gırtlağına düğümdür. Tüm çalışabilen iş-

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çileri işten atılma tehdidi ile daha da açlığa mahkum etmektir. İşçileri birbirine düşman etme çabasıdır.

Burada ekonomimizi kurtarmak için sözde gerçekçilik adına hareket eden kimi iyi niyetli, liberal, bilim adamlarını, teknokratları da uyanık olmağa çağırıyoruz. Bu yöntemler, bunca yıl ve pek çok ülkede denenmiş, iflas etmiştir.

İşçi sınıfımız böylesi sözde çözümlere, şiddetle direnecektir.

. Dördüncü olarak: Kocatopçu'nun tensikatları zorunlu sayan ama bunu yeni sendikalar yasası ve işten çıkarma tazminatını da içeren fon yasasıyla birlikte ele alma önerisi ise daha ince bir oyundur. O tüm gücü ile tensikatların önünü açmak istiyor. Ama bunu yaparken Türk-İş'i pasifleştirip, nötralize etmeyi ve işçileri kararsızlığa sevketmeyi kuruyor. Fon tasarısı ile işten çıkarılacaklara 3-5 aylık ek tazminat vererek, böylece tensikata uğrayacak kitleyi ikircime itip, bölmeyi de öngörüyor. Bu ara da da yeni yasalarla sınırlı bir sendikal çalışmaya ve toplu sözleşme hakkına izin vererek, en az gürültü ile tensikat operasyonunu tamamlamayı düşlüyor. Bu konuda Türk-İş yönetimini, tüm üye sendikaları, böylesi bir tuzağa karşı uyanıklığa çağırıyoruz!

Tüm çalışan işçileri, sözde işten çıkarma tazminatı aldatmacasına karşı köklü, kapsamlı bir işsizlik sigortası ve 13.-17. maddelerin kalkması için bunalım süresince toplu işçi çıkarmanın yasaklanması için savaşa çağırıyoruz.

İşçiler, değerli savaş arkadaşlarımız,

Geçici diye çıkarılan yasal düzenlemelere ek olarak, ekmeğimize, özgürlüklerimize yapılan saldırıların kalıcılaşmasını sağlayacak yeni yasalar hazırlanıyor.

274 sayılı Sendikalar, 275 sayılı Toplu Sözleşme, Grev ve

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Lokavt yasasındaki haklarımızı, 1475 sayılı İş Yasasındaki zaten sınırlı haklarımızı yeni yasalarla iyice sınırlamanın, yok etmenin hazırlığı sürüyor. Sendikal savaşım tekellerin, hükümetlerin devletin güdümüne alınmak isteniyor. Böylece işçilerin sömürüye karşı savaşımı zayıf düşürülüp, etkisizleştirilecek. Dahası sendikal örgütler tekellerin onların hükümetlerinin bir aracı durumuna gelecek. Bunu istiyorlar.

Bu amaçla;

- Sendikalar Yasasında: Sendika kurmak, sendikaya üyelik, sendika organlarını seçme ve bu organlara seçilme, sendikaların denetlenmesi, aidat ve mali kaynak, sendikal çalışmanın, üye ve yöneticinin güvencesi;

- Toplu Sözleşme, Grev ve Lokavt Yasasında: Toplu iş sözleşmesi yetki prosedürü, çoğunluk sendikasının saptanması, sözleşme görüşmelerinde uyuşmazlık, uyuşmazlık aşamasında gidilecek kurul, bu kurulda ve bu aşamada resmi makamların yeri, toplu sözleşmenin sendika ve işverence bağıtlanması, bağıtlanamazsa, grev hakkı ve sınırları, grev hakkının doğması ve kullanımı, imzalanmış sözleşmede kapsam ve yararlanma, sözleşme uygulamasına sendikanın katılımı, işverinin sendikalara karşı yükümlülükleri -aidat kesimi vb.- gibi;

sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin en temel noktaları hükümet ve cunta çevrelerinde elden geçiriliyor.

Sorun yalın ve açıktır!

Önümüzdeki dönemde:

Kan ve can pahasına elde ettiğimiz toplu sözleşme hakkını ya koruyacağız, ya da yitireceğiz.

Grev hakkımızı ya koruyacağız, ya da yitireceğiz.

Sendikalar ya bizim gerçek sınıf örgütlerimiz olacak, ya da patronların elinde oyuncak.

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Sömürüye, işsizliğe karşı yasal savaşım silahlarımız olacak mı, olmayacak mı?

Sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerimiz olacak mı, olmayacak mı?

Ayrıntılar bir yana işin özü budur!

SALDIRI TÜM SENDİKALARA, TÜM İŞÇİLERE YÖNELİKTİR

Cunta, hükümet, tekeller saldırıların ayrımsız tüm sendikal hareketi, sendikal savaşımı hedef alıyorlar.

Cunta DİSK'i kapayıp yönetici ve üyelerini tutuklayıp, takibe alıp, idam tehdidini savurdu. Bizleri vatandaşlıktan atmaya çalışıyor. İki bin üye için soruşturma ile yarım milyon DİSK'li tehdit altında.

Cunta, DİSK'e yaptıkları ile Türk-İş'i de tehdit altına aldı. Faaliyetlerini yoka indirdi. Bir dizi sendikasını, alt örgütünü kapadı. Bir çok Türk-İş üyesi sendikacıyı tutukladı. Koğuşturuyor. Türk-İş sürekli sopa altında tutuluyor.

Hem Türk-İş, hem DİSK üyeleri için sendikal hak ve özgürlükler kullanılmaz hale getirildi. Şimdi yeni yasal çerçeve ile tüm işçilerin, ayrımsız tüm sendikaların cendereye alınması, işçi örgütü olmaktan çıkarılması amaçlanıyor.

Tehlike budur. Böylesine önemli yasal haklarımızı, olanaklarımızı hepten yitirmek tehlikesi ile karşı karşıyayız.

Ne yapacağız?

Yitirdiklerimizi geri almak, bizden koparılıp alınmak istenen sendikal haklarımızı korumak için, biz tüm işçiler, sendikalar, sendikacılar, ne yapacağız?

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DİSK'LE DAYANIŞMAYI YÜKSELTELİM !

Türk-İş üyeleri, DİSK üyeleri,

Türk-İş ve sendikalarının yöneticileri, DİSK'in savaşkan yöneticileri,

Bütün sendikalar, üyeleri, sendikasız tüm işçiler;

12 Eylül ile birlikte sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerimize yönelen saldırı en başta DİSK'e, bağlı sendikalara ve üyelerine yönelikti.

DİSK davası hazırlanıyor. 52 tutuklu yöneticinin ve teslim olmayan bizlerin de idamı isteniyor. İki bin DİSK üyesi için soruşturma, koğuşturma sürüyor. Savcı çeşitli ceza istemi ile dava açacağını ilan etti.

Genel başkanımız Abdullah Baştürk en alçakça baskılara, işkencelere karşı koydu. Boyun eğmedi.

O sınıfımızın onurunu, DİSK'in savaş bayrağını yükseklerde tuttu, tutacaktır.

Sorguya, işkenceye uğrayan binlerce üye, temsilci aynı yolda yürüdü. İşçilik onurundan ödün vermedi. Zındanlardaki sınıf kardeşlerimiz, DİSK üyeleri, DİSK'in savaşkan geleneğini dimdik, açık alınla savundular, savunuyorlar.

Onlarca DİSK yöneticisi, sendika militanı, üyesi de teslim olmadı. Onlar da savaş bayrağını, DİSK'in savaşkan ruhunu gene sınıf savaşlarının içinde, yücelerde dalgalandıracaklardır. DİSK'i yaşatmaya devam ediyorlar, edeceklerdir.

Teslim olmayan kardeşlerimizden İlerici Deri-İş genel başkanı Kenan Budak "teslim olmayı" reddettiği için kahpece kurşunlandı. Toprağa düştü, öldü. Ama DİSK üyeliğinin, işçi olmanın onurunu yere düşürmedi. İnsan haklarından bahsedenler, yargısız mahkemesiz idam cezası infaz ediyorlar.

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Yaşamını sınıfımıza adamış, sendikalarımızda herşeyleri ile işçi sınıfının yolunda yürüyen uzman kadrolarımız tutuklandı, işkence gördü. A.Hilmi Feyzioğlu gibileri işkencede can verdi.

Biz onları, savaş arkadaşlarımızı, hapiste, ya da teslim olmayıp dışarda, ama savaşı sürdüren ve bu yolda herşeylerini veren kardeşlerimizi selamlıyoruz.

Ölülerimizi, şehitlerimiz üzerine and içeriz ki, işçi sınıfının düşmanlarına teslim olmayacağız. Hep beraber yükselttiğimiz savaş bayrağını elden bırakmayacağız. DİSK'i, onun geleneğini, ilkelerini yaşatacağız, savaşımı sürdüreceğiz!

Cunta kapttım diyor!

Ama DİSK'li işçiler sendikacılar savaşıyor! DİSK'in geleneklerini koruyor. Tabanda örgütlülük sürüyor. İşçiler tanıdıkları, denedikleri, sınadıkları sendikal önderlerle bağlarını koparmıyorlar.

. Savaşkan tüm DİSK yöneticileri, üyelerin onlara özgür iradeleri ile, seçerek verdiği, örgütsel görevin ve güvenin gereğini yerine getiriyorlar. Onlar içerde, dışarda, ama görevlerinin başındalar. Bu görevi bize üyelerimiz verdi. Ve ancak onlar geri alabilir. Ne cunta, ne hükümet, ne de yerli ve yabancı tekeller

Cunta, onun hükümeti, işbirlikçi tekeller bizi sendika ağalığı ile suçladı. Üyelerimizin iradesi dışında yönetim organlarına gelmişiz gibi kampanyalar yürüttü.

Şimdi biz onlara sesleniyoruz:

"Birçok DİSK'li yönetici arkadaşımız tutuklu. Zındanda. Biz aranıyoruz.

Siz örgütlerimize tepeden kurullar atadınız. Erk sizde. Egemenlik sizde.

Koyun sandıkları DİSK'e bağlı işyerlerine. Soralım işçilere, kimdir DİSK'in yöneticileri?

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Genel başkanımızı, konfederasyonumuzu, kardeş sendikaların yöneticilerini ve bizleri sendika ağalığı ile suçlayanlar, sizler halkımıza en lâyık yönetim demokrasidir, demediniz mi?

O halde en demokratik yola baş vuralım. İşçilere soralım, kimdir DİSK'in yöneticileri? DİSK üyeleri, işçiler sizlere gerekli yanıtı verecektir. Hodri meydan.

Cunta, hükümeti ve tekeller DİSK üyelerinin yanıtının ne olacağını biliyorlar. Onun içindir ki, onlar DİSK'e bağlı işyerlerindeki işçilere, DİSK üyelerine en ağır baskıları yöneltiyorlar.

İşyerleri sürekli basılıp aranıyor. Jandarma, polis kuşatmasına alınıyor. DİSK'i hepten yok etmek için saldırı üstüne saldırı geliyor.

Cunta, hükümet, DİSK üyelerine varolan yasal haklarını ve olanaklarını bile kullanmayı çok görüyorlar. Bir yandan " DİSK yasal olarak kapatılmadı. Yasal tüzel kişiliği sürüyor. Yalnızca faaliyeti yasak" diyorlar. Böylece yüzbinlerce işçinin yasal olanaklardan yararlanmalarını, DİSK'i kapalı tutarak engelliyorlar. Öte yandan DİSK üyelerinin açık sendikalara yasal başvurularını da engelliyorlar. "İstifa serbest, üyelik yasak" diyorlar. Tekellerin olağanüstü baskı ve sömürüsüne karşı onların var olduğu kadarıyla bile yasal olanaklardan yararlanmalarına olanak vermiyorlar. İşçilerin birleşmesinden korkuyorlar.

İşçiler, kardeşler, bir kez daha tekrarlıyoruz:

DİSK'e, DİSK yöneticilerine, üyelerine yönelik bu zorbalık ve baskı, DİSK üyelerinin yasal haklarının kullandırılmaması yalnızca DİSK'e yönelik değildir. Tüm sendikal harekete, Türk-İş'e, Hak-İş'e, bağımsız sendikalara ve sendikalı, sendikasız tüm işçilere yöneltilmiştir.

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DİSK'e, bizim örgütlerimize yapılanların oluşturduğu tehdit ile tekeller, tüm sendikal hareketimizi, tüm işçi sınıfımızı teslim almaga çalışıyor. İşçi sınıfının, sendikal hareketin birliğinin önünü kesmeği düşlüyor. Tüm işçilerin sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerini yok etmek istiyor.

İşte bunun için kardeşler, bugün DİSK'le, onun tutuklu ve aranan yönetici ve üyeleri ile dayanışmayı yükseltmek, DİSK'in açılması için savaşmak, bugün DİSK üyelerinin yasal olanaklardan yararlanması için çaba harcamak, 5 milyonluk sınıfımızın en başta Türk-İş'li, tüm sendikal örgütlerin birinci görevidir.

Tüm DİSK üyelerine sesleniyoruz:

DİSK'le maddi ve manevi dayanışmayı yükseltmek her işçi, her dürüst sendikacı ve sendikal örgüt için tarihsel bir zorunluluk ve görevdir. Sendikal hak ve özgürlükler için savaşımın tek koşuludur.

Örgütümüz üzerindeki yasağı kırmak için, sendikal özgürlükler savaşımında DİSK'e düşen görevi yerine getirmek için ve sendikal birliği gerçekleştirmek biz DİSK'li işçilere düşen tarihsel görevi başarmak için,

işyerlerinde, bölgelerde sendikalarımızda, koşullara uygun biçimlerde, her yolla, bugüne kadar olduğu gibi birliğinizi koruyun, güçlendirin,

Bugün yurtta savaşım koşulları gittikçe ağırlaşıyor. Ama yok olmuyor. Kimi alanda olanaklar artıyor. Ağırlaşan koşullara karşın biz Maden-İş ve Bank-Sen yöneticileri yurt içinde görevlerimizi sürdürmeğe devam edeceğiz. DİSK'le dayanışmayı yurt içinde daha geniş boyutlara ulaştırmanın yollarını bulacağız.

Uluslararası demokratik kamuoyunda, dünya işçi, sendika hareketinde de ülkemizdeki zorbalık rejimine, onun uygulamalarına

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karşı kamuoyu güçleniyor. Türkiye işçi sınıfıyla, sendikal hareketiyle ve DİSK'le dayanışma eğilim ve eylemleri iyice artıyor, ilgi genişliyor. Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun başından beri gösterdiği dayanışma ve tüm örgütlerini işçi sınıfımız ve DİSK'le dayanışmaya yönlendirmesi, Uluslararası Hür Sendikalar Konfederasyonu'nun son açıklamaları ile daha da gelişen dayanışmadan yana tutumu, Dünya Emek Konfederasyonunun ve Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonunun dayanışma yolundaki sürekli girişimleri bu konuda olanakların arttığını gösteriyor.

Bunları değerlendiren bizler, DİSK, Maden-İş ve Bank-Sen organlarının görevli yöneticileri, uluslararası dayanışma kampanyasını daha da derinleştirmek üzere arkadaşlarımızdan bir kırmının çalışmalarını yurt dışında sürdürmelerini kararlaştırdık.

Demokrasi ve özgürlükten yana herkes!

DİSK'le her tür dayanışmayı yükseltmelidir!

Tutuklu DİSK yöneticileri serbest bırakılmalı, koğuşturma kaldırılmalı, dava düşürülmelidir!

DİSK, açılmalıdır!

Her türlü çalışması serbest bırakılmalıdır!

Dünyadaki tüm işçiler!

Dünyadaki tüm sendikal örgütler!

Barıştan, demokrasiden ve adaletten, insan haklarından yana tüm insanlar!

Bugün yalnızca sendikacı oldukları için, yasal, en doğal sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerini kullandıkları için binlerce işçi ağır hapis cezaları ile cezalandırılmak isteniyor.

İşçi-sendika hareketinin beşiği Avrupa'da sendikacılar daragacına çekilmek, sendika üyeleri cezalandırılmak isteniyor.

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Bize, DİSK'e, DİSK üyelerine, Türkiye işçi sınıfına ve sendikal hareketine elinizi uzatınız.

Bizler, Türkiye işçi sınıfı ülkemizin ve halkımızın alnına sürülen bu kara lekeyi silmek için savaşıyoruz. Direniyoruz.

Ve tüm ülkelerin barışsever, hukuktan, insan haklarından yana insanlarının, kuruluşlarının dayanışmasını istiyoruz.

Bizimle dayanışmanızı yükseltiniz.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

TÜRK-İŞ'LE DAYANIŞMAYI YÜKSELTELİM-GÜÇLÜ BAĞLAR KURALIM

12 Eylül cuntası işçi sınıfımızın büyük bir bölümünü içinde barındıran Türk-İş'i kapamadı. Ama tüm sendikal çalışmaları yasakladı. Kimi sendikaları kapandı. Alt örgütleri mühürlendi. Yöneticilerden tutuklananlar oldu. Halen bir çok Türk-İş'li sendikacı tutukevlerinde. Türk-İş'in, Kongre, seminer gibi izin verilen çalışmaları bile sınırlandı. Sürekli baskı ve denetim altına alındı.

Cuntanın tutum ve uygulamaları Türk-İş'i tümüyle güdümüne almak, onu üyelerine ve tüm işçi sınıfına karşı kullanmak istediğini ortaya koydu.

Genel Kurmay 2. başkanlığının 17 Haziran tarihli genelgesi bunun somut kanıtıdır. Söz konusu genelgede açık sendikaların, ki bunların hemen hepsi Türk-İş üyesidir, kimi çalışmalarına izin verilmesinden söz ediyor. Kongreleri yapılabilir deniyor. Ama ekleniyor. "Kongreler yapılamadığı için 12 Eylül ile başlayan "islahat düzenine uygun düşmeyen ve işçiler tarafından istenmeyen kişiler ve kadrolar süresinde değiştirle..memiştir". Yani, "12 Eylülcülerin istemediği Türk-İş'li sendikacıların değiştirilmesi için kongre yaptırın"deniyor, sıkıyönetim komutanlarına.

Elbetteki değiştirilmek istenen yöneticiler, tekellerin en gerici çevreleri ile işbirliği içindeki Erçelik, Özdemir, Başoğlu gibileri değildir. Türk-İş içindeki dürüst, namuslu, sağduyulu, tüm sendikacılar örgüt kademelerinden, örgütleri Türk-İş'den atılmak isteniyor.

Buna karşın Türk-İş yönetimi çoğunlukla cunta ve hükümetle uzlaştı. Onun işçiesınıfımıza, sendikal hareketimize, bu arada Türk-İş'e de yönelen saldırılarına boyun eğdi. Elindeki yasala

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olanakları bile kullanmadı. Bu nedenlhe yalnız Türkiye işçi sınıfının, üyelerinin değil, dünya işçi sınıfı ve sendikal hareketinin tepkisini aldılar. Kaderlerini ordu içindeki ve dışındaki en gerici çevrelere bağlamış O. Erçelik, K. Özdemir, M. Başoğlu Türk Metalci M. Özbek gibileri, Türk-İş yönetimindeki bu gerici faşist karması ögeler, şimdi Türk-İş'in bu politikasına karşı yükselen tepki ve hoşnutsuzluktan yararlanıp Türk-İş'i hepten ele geçirmenin peşindedirler. Onlar Türk-İş'i bir işçi örgütü olmaktan çıkarmanın peşindedirler. Türk-İş'in işçi örgütü olmanın asgari gereğini bile yerine getirmesinin önündeki en büyük engel bu gerici faşist karması ögelerdir.

Onlar, 12 Eylül'den sonra açık kalan, sendikalı işçilerin çoğunluğunu barındıran bir sendika, bir işçi örgütü olarak Türk-İş'in, DİSK'in, sendikalarının kapatılmasına, üyelerinin baskıya uğramasına sesiz kalmasına önayak oldular, Bununla da kalmadılar, kapatılan, baskıya uğrayan Türk-İş üyesi sendikalar ve tutuklanan Türk-İş'li sendikacılar için bile Türk-İş'in davranmasını engellediler.

Onlar örgütleri yasal o larak işletilmeyen, DİSK ve üyesi işçilere Türk-İş'in kapılarının kapalı tutulmasanın baş savunucluğunu yapıyorlar. Sendikal birliğe giden yolu, DİSK ve Türk-İş üyelerinin omuz omuza sendikal hak ve özgürlükler için savaşımını engellemye çabalıyorlar.

İşçiler, kardeşler, DİSKüyeleri,

Türk-İş yönetimindeki gerici ögelerin engellerini de aşarak Türk-İş'le dayanışmayı yükseltmek, Türkiye işçi sınıfı ve sendikal hareketini güçlenydirmenin yaşamsal bir yanıdır.

Cuntanın, hükümetin, tekellerin en gerici çevrelerinn Türk-İş'e yönelen baskılarına, birlik ve işçi düşmanı girişimlerine karşı her yolla savaşmak tüm işçilerin yakıcı, güncel görevidir.

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Türk-İş'le dayanışma, sendikal hak ve özgürlükler ve sendikal birlik savaşının yaşamsal gereğidir.

Çünkü, Türk-İş, ne Erçelik-Özdemir gibilerinindir., ne de birlik düşmanı gerici güçlerin. O da DİSK gibi bütün işçilerindir. O, Türk-İş'e üye olan ve olmayan tüm işçilerin, tüm dürüst sendikacılarındır.

Biz bugün Türk-İş yöneticilerine ve Türk-İş'e yöneticilerine ve Türk-İş'e elimizi uzatıyor ve sesleniyoruz.

. Gün birlik günüdür.

. Gün dayanışma günüdür.

. Sendikal ayrılıkların, bölünmüşlüğün duvarlarını el birliği ile yıkalım.

. Tekellerin artan sömürüsüne, baskısına en geniş sendikal birliğin gücü ile karşı koyalım.

. Koşullar ne kadar ağır, görüşlerimiz ne kadar farklı olursa olsun bir araya gelebiliriz. Konuşabilirz. Üyelerimizin ve küm işçilerin çıkarlarının gerekleri doğrultusunda birlikte davranabiliriz.

. Türk-İş yöneticilerine, sendikacı kardeşlerimize en kısa sürede görüşme öneriyoruz.

. Biz tüm gücümüzle Türk-İş'le, bağlı sendikaların, üyeleri ile dayanışmayı yükselteceğiz. Türk-İş'in işçi hakları ve birlik yolundaki her olumlu adımını sonuna kadar destekleyeceğiz.

Türk-İş ve DİSK üyelerine sesleniyoruz.

. İşyerleriarası diyaloğunuzu sıklaştırın. İşveren saldırılarına omuz omuza karşı çıkın.

. Bize, yöneticilerinize, bir araya gelme ve diyalo kurmada

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yardımcı olun.

. Birlik yolunu tabandan girişmlerinizle de açın. Türk-İş üyeleri, DİSK'li kardeşlerinizin Türk-İş'e başvurularının sonuçlanmasına engel olan birlik düşmanlarını etkisizleştirin. DİSK üyeleri, Türk-İş'in kapılarını zorlayın. Türk-İş'li sınıf kardeşlerinizle birleşin.

. Sendikalı, sendikasız tüm işçiler. Tür-İş'le dayanışmayı yükseltin.

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BİRLEŞELİM! SENDİKAL BİRLİĞİ SAĞLAYALIM! ÖZGÜRCE DEMOKRATİK, BİRLİK SENDİKALARINI YARATALIM!

Tekeller ve onların kemer sıktırma politikasını benimseyen cunt, işçi sınıfımıza ve sendikal hareketimize karşı amansız saldırısını sürdürüyor.

Onlar daha uzun bir süre Türk-İş'in de 12 Eylül öncesine kadar bile çalışma yapmasını yasaklı tutmağa niyetli görünüyorlar. Türk-İş dışındaki işçileri de yine daha uzun bir süre örgütsüz yada küçük örgütlerde dağınık tutmak istiyorlar. Örgütleri kapalı olan DİSK üyelerini "istifa serbest, üyelik yasak" diyerek yasal olanaklardan yararlanamaz durumda tutmağa çalışıyorlar. Yüzbinlerce mahayli, bilinçli işçiyi işten çıkararak sendikal harekete ağır darbe vurmayı hedefliyorlar. Milyonlarca sendikasız işçiyi ise her türlü yasal sendikal örgütlenme ve yasal ekonomik savaştan uzak tutmaya da amaçlıyorlar. Sömürüyü dolu dizgin yoğunlaştırmak için, buna çabalıyorlar.

. Tekeller yeni yasaların bu amaca hizmek edecek biçimde çıkarmasını sağlamaya çalışıyorlar.

O halde bir kere daha soralım: Ne yapmalıyız?

. Sınıf dayanışmasını yükseltmeliyiz.

. Sınıfımızın tüm güçlerini topyarlayabilmek için sendikal birlik yolunda yürümeliyiz.

. Sendikal birliği sağlamak için tüm işçiler, tüm sendikalar sendikacılar çabalarımızı yüz misline çıkarmalıyız. Tün çabaları birleştirmeliyiz.

. Sendikal birliği zorlaştıran, geçmişin ayrılıklarına kısır çekişmelerine, dar sendika rekabetine son vermeliyiz.

. Sendikal birliği sağlamak, sömürüye karşı koymak için tüm yolları kullanmalıyız.

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. DİSK'li işçiler, sendikacılar birliklerini, geleneklerini, sınıf ve kitle sendikacılığı ilkelerini dipdiri yaşatmalıyız.

. Sendikalar ve sendikal faaliyetler üzerindeki DİSKüzerindeki tüm yasakların kalması için birliğimizi, örgütlülüğümüzü koruyup, ardıcıl savaşmalıyız.

. Yasakları yıkmalyız. Ekmekleri ve hakları için savaşta işçiler yasal, açık sendikalar, Türk-İş dahil baş vurmalı, onlardan yararlanmalı ve yasal olanakları sonuna kadar değerlendirmelidirler.

. DİSK'li, Türk-İş'li, bağımsız sendikalı tüm işçiler, özgürce, gönüllü birleştikleri demokratikçiç işleyişe sahip güçlü sendikal örgütleri bu süre içinde yaratabilirler, yaratmalıdırlar. Her işkolunda, işyeri-işyeri işçilerin özgür iradesiyle seçilen delegelerle yapılacak kongreler her işkolunda birlik sendikalarının oluşmasını sağlıyabilir. Sendikal bölünmüşlüğe, en başta DİSK-Türk-İş ayyrılığına, gönülük temelinde özgür iradelerimizle son vermek görevi öncelikle DİSK ve Türk-İş üyesi işçilere ve sendikalara düşüyor.

İşte 12 Eylül'ün 1. yılında cuntanın, hükümetin ve tekellerin saldırılarına karşı bizce yapılması gereken budur. Bir çok işyerinde, işkolunda, sanayi bölgesinde işçiler bu yoldan adımlar atıyorlar. Biz sınıfına bağlı sendikacılar olarak işçilerden, onların savaşımından öğrenmenin en doğru yol olduğuna sonuna kadar inanıyoruz.

Tüm sendikalı işçiler, DİSK Türk-İş üyeleri diğer sendikalaşmak isteyen sendikasız işçiler bu yolda Türk-İş'i desteklemeli, onun işçilerin çıkarları için DİSK, kapalı sendikalar ve sendikal haklar üzerindeki yasakların kalkması için savaşımda aktifleşmesine yardımcı olmalıdırlar.

Türk-İş'i tüm işçilerin çıkarları için savaşımda etkin çıkışlar yapmaya çağırıyoruz.

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DİSK ve Türk-İş üyelerinin birliğini zorlaştıran tüm engellere karşı savaşım.

- Cuntanın, hükümetin sendikal hak ve özgürlükler, sendikal çaylışma ve özgürlükler üzerindeki tüm yasaklarına karşı, YHK'na karşı savaşım.

- DİSK' in açılması, davanın düşmesi, tutukluların salıverilmesi için savaşım.

- Kapalı Türk-İş sendikalarının açılması, tutuklarının salıverilmesi için savaşım.

- 274-275 nolu yasalardaki, iş yasasındaki sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin geri alınmasına karşı, demokratik, işçiden yana yasalar için savaşım.

- Toplu işçi kıyımına karşı sa vaş.

- İşçilerin tüm demokratik sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerini, sendikal çalışmalarını özgürce gerçekleştirebilecekleri, kullanabilecekleri demokratik bir ortam için savaşım.

- İşçi sınıfının sendikal b irliği için savaşım.

- Yaşam düzeyinin düşürülmesine, tekellerden yana kemerleri sıkma politikasına karşı savaşım.

- Emperyalizme, tekellere, cuntanın baskılarına karşı barış, demokrasi ulusal bağımsızlı ve özgürlük için savaşım.

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21.9.1981

TÜRKİYE'DE EMEKÇİ GENÇLİĞİN ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI

Bildiğiniz gibi, Türkiye'de 12 eylül 1980 günü askersel bir devirme oldu. ~~Sağcı askersel bir cunta~~ MGK erke ~~xxxxx~~ oturdu. Parlamento, siyasal partiler kapatıldı, Anayasa askya alındı. Ülkemizin iki büyük sendikal konfederasyonunudan DİSK ve ona bağlı sendikalar kapatıldı./Diğer büyük konfederasyon Türk-iş'in ise çalışmaları büyük ölçüde yasaklandı. Yöneticileri bir yılı aşkın süredir tutuklu ve idamları isteniyor. Bazı örgütleri kapatıldı. Demokratik hakların yanısıra sendikal haklarda, işçi haklarında da önemli kısıtlamalar yapıldı. Yapılıyor. Korporatif, ya da büyük ölçüde devlet denetiminde bir sendikal sistem kurma eğilimleri gözlemleniyor.

Kuşkusuz, ~~sağcı askersel diktatörlüğün~~ cuntanın ~~xxxxxxxx~~ genel olarak sendikal naklara getirdiği bu kısıtlamalar genç emekçilere de yansıyor, onların çalışma koşullarını daha da kötüleştiriyor. Bunu biraz daha yakından görmeğe çalışalım.

Türkiye, emperyalizme bağımlı bir ekonominin getirdiği, ~~xxxxx~~ gittikçe ağırlaşan, içinden çıkılamaz ~~laşan~~ bir ~~xxxxx~~ yapısal ekonomik bunalım içindedir. Üretim artış hızı eksinin altındadır, yatırımlar durmuş tur. Enflasyonu/~~xxxxxx~~ dizginlemek için 24 ocak 1980'den bu yana sürdürülen ve 12 eylül devirmesinden sonra daha dainsafsızca uygulanan "kemerleri sıkma" politikası bunalımın yükünü iyice halkın sırtına yıkmıştır. Uygulanan "serbest piyasa" ekonomisi ile, halkın tükettiği malların fiyatları yükselmiş, ücret artışları enflasyon oranının çok daha gerisinde bırakılmış, ülkede emekçi yığınlarının sefaleti açlık sınırına yaklaşmıştır. IMF'nin receteleriyle yürütülen bu ekonomi politikası ülkeyi emperyalistmerkezlere dahabağımlı kılmakta, emekçi halkın çıkarlarına bütünüyle ters düşmekte, spekülatif yollardan para kazanmayı kolaylaştırmaktadır. Bu ekonomik politikanın sonuçları, genç emekçilerin çalışma koşullarının daha da bozulmasını, ~~askersel sağcı diktatörlüğün baskılarıyla birlikte, beraberinde getiriyordu.~~ işsizliğin artmasını doğuruyor.

Türkiye, her zaman, genç emekçilerin haklarının çok geri olduğu, hemen hiçbir şekilde korunmadıkları bir ülke olmuştur. Yasal işçi

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haklarının görece ileri olduğu 60'lı ve 70'li yıllarda bile, yürülükteki yasalar, 12-18 yaş arasındaki genç ve çocukların, bazı formaliteler yerine getirilmek koşuluyla, her türlü işte çalıştırılmalarına açık kapı bırakıyordu. 16 yaşını doldurmamış olanların günde 8 saaten fazla çalıştırılmaları yasa ile yasaklanıyordu. Ama, bu, işverenlerin hiçbir zaman uymak istemediği bir yasa hükmü olarak kalmıştır. 1970 yılında, Türkiye'de, 454 bini 12-14 yaş arası, 781 bini 15-19 yaş arası, 482 bini de 20-24 yaş arası olmak üzere, toplam 1 milyon 718 bin çocuk ve genç çalıştırılıyordu. 1975 yılında, iş kazası sonunda ölenlerin %23'ü genç işçilerdi. Ayrıca, yasal çıraklık statüsü ile, çocukların da çalıştırılmaları, yetişkinlere benzer koşullar içinde ve uzunlukta ama dahadüşük ücretle aynı çalışmaları getirilmiştir. Görüldüğü gibi Türkiye, sömürücü sınıfların, emekçilerin çocukluk ve gençliklerini yaşama ve öğrenim görme haklarını, sağlıklarını, hatta yaşamlarını elbirliğiyle aldıkları bir ülkedir.

12 eylül devirmesi öncesi, genç işçiler , çalışma koşullarıyla ilgili haklarını, başta DİSK olmak üzere, sendikalarda verdikleri savaşımla savunuyorlardı. Türkiye işçi sınıfının zaten bileşim olarak genç olması genç işçileri bu savaşımda daha da öne çıkartıyor, aynı zamanda genç işçilerin haklarının savunmasını da güncel bir görev olarak sürekli gündemdetutuyordu. Örneğin, 16 yaşından küçüklerin çalışmasının yasaklanması, genç işçilerin kültürel ve mesleksel eğitimlerinin sağlanması, savaşımlardan, DİSK'in kongre kararlarına yansıyordu. Aynı şekilde, çıraklar da, Çırak-der'de gibi derneklerde örgütleniyorlar, eşit işe eşit ücret, uzun süreli çalışmanın engellenmesi ve işyerindeki kötü çalışma koşulları ve kötü muameleye karşı savaşım veriyorlardı. Genç işçilerin, çocukların insafsız bir sömürüye alınmasını sağlayan "Çıraklık Yasası"nın kaldırılması, DİSK'in de istemlerinden birisini oluşturuyor, böylece DİSK, işçi statüsünde olmayanların da hakkını savunma görevini bir kez daha yerine getiriyordu.

DİSK, Çırak-der gibi mesleki örgütler, ilerici gençlik ve kadın örgütleri ve ilerici gençlik örgütü İGD arasında, genç ve çocuk işçilerin haklarını savunmak amacıyla kurulan eylem birliği, Türkiye emekçilerine örgütsel ve mesleksel alanda çok şeyler kazandır-

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mıştır.

Genç ve çocuk emekçilerin haklarını savunma savaşımının bundan sonra da başarıyla yürütülmesi, herşeyden önce, genel sendikal örgütlenme ve birlik çabalarının, sendikal savaşımın yeni koşullarda yeni biçimlerde sürdürülmesine bağlıdır.

Türkiye'deki genç emekçilerin karşı karşıya oldukları sorunların en başında işsizlik geliyor. Mesleksel eğitimin yetersizliği, genel eğitimin oransızlığı ve niteliğinin düşüklüğü, gençleri, daha öğrenimlerinin bitiminden başlayarak işsizlikle karşı karşıya bırakmaktadır. Türkiye'de bugün 5 milyonu aşkın açık işsizin yaklaşık yarısını gençler oluşturmaktadır. Köylerden kentlere göç, sürekle ekonomik bunalım, sanayinin geriliği işsizliği artırmakta, geçici işsizlikten fazla, kalıcı işsizliği getirmektedir. Böylece, hızlı nüfus artışının da etkisiyle, daha hiç çalışamadan, sürekli işsiz durumuna düşmektedir. Bu geniş genç işsizler ordusunun varlığı beraberinde politik sonuçlar da getirmektedir. 12 eylül darbesini hazırlayan anarşi ve terör ortamında, bu genç işsizler ordusu, ne yazık ki, gerek sağ, gerekse "sol" terör örgütlerinin kendilerine "militan" topladıkları/bir kesim oluşturmuştur.

12 eylül öncesi, / Sendikalar, işçi sınıfının bütünüyle işsizliğe karşı savaşım verdikleri örgütler olmuşlardır. DİSK 6.Genel Kurul kararlarında şöyle deniyordu:"Türkiye'nin bugün içinde bulunduğu ekonomik ve siyasal sistemde işsizlik sorunu tam olarak çözümlenemez. Bu sorun, ancak diğer sorunlarımız gibi işçi sınıfının erkince çözümlenir." DİSK ve ona bağlı sendikalar, 12 eylül öncesi, işsizliği azaltmak için toplu sözleşmelere işten çıkartmaları güçleştirici maddeler koymak için savaşmışlar, işten işçi çıkartmayı kolaylaştıran, İş Yasasının 13. ve 17.

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maddelerine karşı amansız bir savaş vermişlerdir.

12 eylül devirmesini, sendika militanlarının işten çıkartılma - sı izlemiştir. Sendika militanları arasında gençlerin önemli bir yer tuttuğu düşünülürse, işten çıkartılanların önemli bir kısmının genç işçiler olduğu anlaşılır. Şimdi, 12 eylül devirmesinden bir yıl sonra ise, gerek iflasların, işyeri kapamaların artması, gerekse yığınsal iş çi çıkarmaların başlaması sonucu işsizlik, ve dolayısıyla genç işsizliği de, daha da artmıştır. Askersel yönetimin, işten çıkartmaları yasaklayan kararı kağıt üzerinde kalmaktadır./12 eylül öncesinde, DİSK'e bağlı Maden-iş üyesi işçilerin direnmesi sonucunda toptan işten çıkartmayı gerçekleştiremeyen Renault işvereni, şimdi yüzlerce işçiyi bir kezde işten çıkartabilmektedir. Yurttaşlıktan atılma tehdidine karşın askersel diktatörlüğe teslim olmayarak, isteklerini kabul ettirinceye kadar savaşımlarını sürdüreneklerini açıklayan ve tüm işçi sendikacıları , politik görüş ayrılıklarını bir kenara bırakarak birleşmeye çağıran DİSK'li sendikacılarının istemleri arasında işten çıkartmaların son verilmesi, çıkartılanların geri alınması da var.

Türkiye'de genç işçiler ve çıraklar, düşük ücretle çalıştırılmalarına karşın, yetişkinlerle aynı işleri yapmaya zorlanmaktadırlar. Genç ve çocuk emekçilerin pek çoğu sigortasız ve kaçak olarak çalışmaya zorlanmakta, böylece hem çalışan emekçiler sosyal haklarını yitirmekte, hem de işveren daha eksik vergi ve sigorta primi ödemektedir. İş yasasına ek olarak çıkartılan bir tüzükle, 16-18 yaş arasındakilerin , doktordan sağlamlık raporu getirmek koşuluyla ağır ve tehlikeli işlerde de çalıştırılabilecekleri hükme bağlanmaktadır. DİSK'in kapatılmasından ve Türk-iş'in büyük ölçüde işlemez duruma getirilmesinden sonra, kuşkusuz işverenlerin bu konudaki keyfi uygulamaları daha da artmıştır. DİSK'li sendikacıların çağrılarında belirttikleri gibi, "faşist sendikalar dışındaki tüm sendikaların açılması" ile genç emekçilerin bu konudaki savaşım olanakları artacaktır .

Genç işçiler için asgari ücret aynı Septanmber'da artırılmıştır. Buna göre asgari ücret 10.000 TL brüt olarak Septanmber'dan genç işçiler için 6690 TL ile yetinilmiştir. Oysa yapılan 12 görüşme ayrıdır.

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İş Yasasına göre, ülkemizde haftalık çalışma süresi 48 saattir. Ancak, aynı yasa, yılda 90 güne kadar fazla mesai yapılmasını olanak tanımaktadır. Genç işçilerin, pratikte, yetişkinlerden değişik koşullarda olmadıkları hesaba katılırsa, bu kadar uzun bir çalışma süresinin genç bir işçi dinlenmesinden, kültürel yetişmesinden ve hatta sağlığından yoksun kalması demek olduğu anlaşılır. Çoğu çocuk olan çıraklarda ise bu durum çok daha korkunçtur. Yapılan bir araştırmada, çoğu 12-15 yaş arasında bulunan çırakların yarısından fazlasının günde 10 saatten fazla çalıştıkları saptanmıştır.

12 eylül devirmesinden sonra ülkemizde çalışma süreleri de fiilen uzatılmış, cumartesi günleri çalışmayan kamu işyerleri yeniden cumartesileri de çalıştırılmaya başlanmış, haftalık çalışma süresi 56 saate doğru uzatılmıştır. "Eşit işe eşit ücret" hakkının sağlanması, çalışma sürelerinin uzatılmasının engellenmesi ve kısaltılması da, kuşkusuz, DİSK'li sendikacıların önerdiği gibi, sendikal örgütlülüğün güçlendirilmesine, bu amaçla sendikal birliğin sağlanmasına bağlıdır.

Türkiye'de gençliğin iş koşulları da, tüm diğer işçiler gibi son derece geri ve denetimden uzaktır. Ancak, sendikalar 12 eylüle kadar, güçlü oldukları işyerlerinde işverenleri bazı önlemler almak zorunda bırakmışlardır. Bu konuda, DİSK'e bağlı Maden-iş senidkası, işyerlerinde oluşturduğu,"İşçi sağlığı iş güvenliği Komiteleri"yle iyi bir örnek yaratmıştır. Çıraklar ise çok daha kötü koşullarda çalışmakta, işyerlerinde en ilkel temizlik kuralları bile gözetilmediği gibi, ek olarak çıraklar dayak ve hakaretle de karşı karşıya bulunmaktadırlar.

Kötü iş koşulları, gençlik arasındaki iş kazaları olasılığını ve meslek hastalıklarını da arttırmaktadır. Gençlik ve spor bakanlığının 1973'de hazırlattığı bir raporda şöyle deniyordu:"Gençler çoğu defa karanlık, rutubetli, kirli, güneş almayan işyerilerinde çalışmakta, iyi besleneme-

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mekte, ve bu yetersiz koşullar sağlık durumlarını etkilemektedir. Genç işçilerin %3,5'unun tüberkülozlu olması bu görüşü doğrulamaktadır". Bu durumda bugün de olumlu bir değişme yoktur. 1976 yılında, Türkiye'deki iş kazaları ve meslek hasatlıklarının %35'i 14-24 yaş grubundaki gençlerde ~~meydana geliyordu~~ görülüyordu. Yine 1976 yılında, işgöremezliği gerektiren hastalıkların %18'i genç işçilerde görülüyordu.

Sendikaların kapatıldığı ya da işlevsiz bırakıldığı bugünkü ~~askersel diktatörlük~~ koşullarında, patronların iş koşulları konusundaki keyfi davranışları çok daha artmıştır. Dolayısıyla genç işçilerin ve çırakların iş koşulları daha da kötüleşmiştir.

Türkiye, emperyalizme bağımlı geri kapitalist bir ülkedir. Bu nedenle, genel eğitim düzeyi çok düşüktür. Türkiye nüfusunun ~~yarısına yakını~~ %40'ı okuma -yazmaktan yoksundur. Klasik eğitim ile mesleksel eğitim arasındaki oransızlık, bir yandan yüksek öğretim kurumlarının kapılarına gençlerin yığılmasına yol açarken, bir yandan da diplomalı genç işsizlerin sayısı yükseltir. (1976-77 ders yılında meslek okullarında 435 bin, genel orta öğretimde ise 1 milyon 483 bin genç vardı.) Çalışan gençler ise, şimdiye kadar saydığımız olumsuz çalışma koşullarından ötürü, eğitimlerini herhangi bir şekilde sürdürme olanağından hemen hemen bütünüyle yoksundurlar. Ancak sınıf sendikalarında ve demokratik kuruluşlarda emekçi gençlik çağdaş bilimi, kendi sınıfının bilimini bir ölçüde öğrenebilmektedir. DİSK ve ona bağlı sendikalarda 1975 yılından sürdürülen ve askersel darbe ile son verilen yoğun bir şekilde bu yana seminerler genç emekçilere de, sömürüden kurtulma bilimi konusunda ilk bilgileri bir ölçüde vermiştir. DİSK ve ona bağlı sendikalar işçi çocukları için okumada fırsat eşitliğinin yaratılması, okulların demokratikleştirilmesi, üretime yönelik bir eğitim sisteminin kurulması, genç işçilere iş saatleri dışında eğitimlerini sürdürmeleri için işverenler tarafından maddesel olanakların tanınması için kavanlı bir savaşım sürdürmüşlerdir.

DİSK'li işçi ve sendikacılar, 12 eylül devirmesinden bu yana,

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DİSK'li, Türk-iş'li bütün işçi ve dürüst sendikacıların gönüllü birliği için, askersel diktatörlük tarafından kaldırılan sadikal hakların geri alınması ve genişletilmesi için savaşım veriyorlar. Türkiye emekçi gen liği, her zaman olduğu gibi, bu savaşımın en ön sıralarında yer alıyor. Askersel ~~xxxkx~~ diktatörlüğün baskı koşullarına kendini ustaca uyarlıyor. Devirmeden hemen sonra işten çıkartılan ya da kaçmak zorunda kal ~~xkkkfx~~ militanların yerine yenilerini koymasını, bu işte kendisinden daha yaşlı kuşaklarla uyum sağlamasını beceriyor. Emekçi gençlik, ~~askersel diktatörlük~~ bu koşullarında sendikal savaşımı sürdürebilmek için her olanaktan yararlanıyor. Spor karşılaşmalarından bayramlara kadar her fırsattan yararlanıp işçileri sendikal haklarını ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ savunmaları için uyarıyor. ~~Askersel diktatörlük koşullarda, yasağa karşın 1 Mayıs'ın kutlanmasına katkıda bulunuyor.~~ Fabrikalarda, işten çıkartmalara karşı, yemeklerin düzeltilmesi için, patronların keyfi uygulamalarını engellemek için direnişler düzenleniyor. Yemek boykotları yapılıyo iş yavaşlatmalar düzenleniyor. Tek kelimeyle, fabrikalarda ve atelyeler de ~~xxxxxxx~~ sendikal savaşım değişik bir biçimdesürüyor. Tüm bu çalışmalarda, ~~xxxkx~~ geniş işçi yığınlarınansendikal birliğin zorunluluğunun ~~xxixx~~ ikna edilmesinde,/~~askersel diktatörlük sürdükçe~~ ~~gerici~~ cunta koşulları altında demokratik sendikal hak/~~ların elde edilemiyeceğinin~~ ve özgürlüklerin kazanılması için savaşmak gerektiğinin anlatılmasında, dünya sendikal hareketinin gittikçe yükselen uluslararası yanışmasının duyurulmasında genç emekçilerin ~~en~~ ileri ~~kesimleri~~ müfreselen önmeli rol oynuyor.

Emekçi gençler, sendikal haklar için verdikleri savaşımda şunu hiç unutmuyorlar: demokratik sendikal hakların elde edilmesi ~~askersel diktatörlüğe karşı savaşımla bağlıdır.~~ en başta işçi sınıfının sendikal birliğinden ve tüm demokrasi güçlerinin birliğinden, ve bu temelde demokrasi için emperyalizme tekellere ve gericiliğe karşı kararlı savaşımdan geçiyor.

Emekçi genç kardeşlerimizin hak savaşımlarının başarıya ulaşacağına yürekten inanıyoruz.

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FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ

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Prague, 1 septembre 1981

Monsieur
Francis BLANCHARD
Directeur Général du BIT
CH 1211
GENEVE 22 - SUISSE

N°

Objet: Plainte contre le Gouvernement Turc pour violation des droits et libertés syndicaux

Monsieur le Directeur Général,

Par la présente nous tenons à vous informer sur l'aggravation de la situation en Turquie en ce qui concerne les droits et libertés syndicaux.

1) Des poursuites judiciaires en cours ou en préparation contre la Confédération DISK et ses dirigeants ne constituent qu'une parodie de justice. Il s'agit en effet d'un véritable procès politique et anti-syndical.

a) Le 12 septembre 1981 un an sera déjà passé depuis la mise en prison des dirigeants et militants de la DISK et de ses syndicats affiliés. D'après les autorités l'enquête judiciaire serait toujours en cours. Alors que le tribunal militaire N° 1 du Commandement de l'Etat de siège d'Istanbul a décidé le 27 mai 1981 de relâcher 59 dirigeants et militants de la DISK vu " l'inexistence des raisons ayant causé leur arrestation ", le tribunal militaire N° 2 d'Istanbul, sans prendre en considération ce fait, a catégoriquement refusé le 22 juin 1981 la mise en liberté de 152 autres dirigeants et militants syndicaux. Le juge qui a donné la décision de la mise en liberté des 59 syndicalistes a été par la suite déplacé de son poste.

b) Un tribunal civil de Bakirkoy (Istanbul) a condamné le 3 juillet 1981 à 6 mois de prison et 500 livres turques d'amende tous les membres du Bureau Exécutif de la DISK (1977-1980), à savoir Abdullah Basturk, Fehmi Isiklar, Kemal Nebioglu, Riza Guven, Mukbil Zirtiloglu, Tuncer Kocamanoglu et Mustafa Aktulgali. Accusés à partir d'une action nationale organisée le 20 mars 1978 en signe de protestation contre l'assassinat de 7 étudiants de l'Université par des terroristes fascistes et sous prétexte qu'ils ont "incité les travailleurs à la grève illégale " (donc infranction de la

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loi 275 sur les conventions collectives, la grève et le lock-out) ils avaient été acquittés devant ce même tribunal. La Cour d'Appel a cassé cette décision d'acquittement et renvoyé l'affaire devant le tribunal rappelant l'article 56 de la loi 275. Dans ce cas les dirigeants syndicaux ont été condamnés en vertu de cet article, pour avoir " incité les travailleurs des organismes d'enseignement à la grève illégale " (Rappelons qu'à ces derniers le droit syndical n'est pas reconnu ni le droit à la grève).

c) Un procès est en cours devant un tribunal civil de Bakirkoy (Istanbul). Les dirigeants de la DISK y sont accusés à partir d'une action nationale, appelée " deuil national ", entamée en septembre 1976 contre un projet de loi qui prévoyait la constitution des tribunaux de sureté de l'Etat. Les accusés avaient été déjà acquittés. Mais cette décision d'acquittement a été cassée par la Cour d'Appel. La prochaine audience aura lieu le 25 septembre prochain, c'est-à-dire 5 ans après l'action mentionnée.

d) Le procès appelé " procès pour la dissolution définitive de la DISK " est en cours devant un tribunal civil de Bakirkoy (Istanbul). Des accusations purement politiques sont formulées dans l'acte d'accusation. A l'audience du 18 mai 1981 le tribunal a décidé de transférer le dossier au tribunal militaire en se référant à une lettre du Commendement de l'Etat de Siège et de la 1ère Armée d'Istanbul envoyée au tribunal et mentionnant que " le procès concernant la dissolution de la DISK aurait lieu devant le tribunal du Commendement". Il est à noter que cette lettre n'existait pas dans le dossier. Les avocats à la défense consternés de ce fait ont demandé un délai pour faire appel, déclarant également que le tribunal n'était pas compétent pour donner une décision définitive à ce propos. Les demandes des avocats de la DISK ont été rejetées par le tribunal qui s'est hâté de transférer le dossier au tribunal militaire. Mais la Cour d'Appel a cassé cette décision et a renvoyé le dossier au tribunal civil de Bakirkoy. Cependant il est à souligner que Abdullah Basturk qui comparait seul devant ce tribunal pour représenter la DISK n'a pas été emmené de la prison militaire où il se trouve pour pouvoir participer à la dernière audience du procès (le 17 juiller 1981), malgré la lettre adressée au Commendement de l'Etat de Siège par le tribunal civil de Bakirkoy.

e) Un troisième procès est en cours devant un tribunal civil de Bakirkoy où les membres du Bureau Exécutif de la DISK sont accusés d'avoir violé la loi 275 en organisant une grève nationale le 30 avril 1980 en vue de protester contre l'interdiction de célébration du 1er Mai à Istanbul.

f) Pour le même motif un procès a débuté le 28 mai 1981 devant le tribunal militaire N°2 d'Istanbul contre 150 dirigeants et militants de la DISK. Etant donné que les membres du Bureau Exécutif de la DISK comparaissent devant le tribunal civil en vertu de la loi 275, ici ils sont accusés en vertu de la loi 1402 sur l'Etat de Siège. Les autres dirigeants et militants de la DISK sont accusés en vertu des lois 275 et 1402 et des articles 71 et 74 du

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Code Pénal Turc. Le principale accusation formulée est encore " incitation à la grève illégale et politique "ou " participation " à celle-ci. Certains accusés se trouvent en liberté tandis que d'autres (la majorité) en prison. A l'audience du 29 mai 1981 ils ont refusé de reconnaître les procès-verbaux qu'ils ont du signer devant la police déclarant qu'ils ont été interrogés les yeux bandés. Les avocats à la défense ont souligné que " trois différents procès de droit commun se préparaient au même sujet, à partir de la même action, contre les mêmes accusés avec des charges d'accusation différentes ".

g) C'est le 25 juin dernier que le procureur militaire, Suleyman Takkeci, a fait une déclaration à la presse, largement diffusée par la radio et télévision turques, en interrompant les programmes en cours, dans laquelle il a demandé la peine de mort contre 52 dirigeants de la DISK en vertu des articles 141 et 146 du Code Pénal Turc. A l'audience du 17 juillet 1981 concernant l'action nationale contre les tribunaux de sureté de l'Etat les avocats à la défense de la DISK ont fait savoir que même l'acte d'accusation à ce propos n'existait pas et que le procureur militaire ci-mentionné avait commis un grave délit du point de vue de la jurisprudence en vigueur. C'est à partir de cette constatation qu'ils ont demandé au tribunal de dénoncer ce procureur militaire.

A noter que le colonel Suleyman Takkeci est bien connu en Turquie de ses positions et agissements profondément anti-démocratiques. Il était procureur militaire pendant la période de répression brutale ouverte sur la base du mémorandum militaire du 12 mars 1971 et qui a duré pendant deux ans et demi; période qui a été largement condamnée à la suite par l'opinion publique en Turquie. A cette époque il a demandé la peine de mort contre des dizaines de personnes dans un procès monté de toutes pièces, sous prétexte qu'ils avaient fait couler un grand navire appelé "Marmara". Dans un autre procès appelé "Madanoglu" il a demandé la peine de mort contre plusieurs officiers de l'armée. Il s'est avéré que des procès-verbaux étaient arrachés par des tortures et que les preuves dont il disposait étaient falsifiées. Tous les accusés sont été acquittés.

Il a également joué un rôle important dans le relâchement des trafiquants d'armes et de stupéfiants inculpés à la suite du coup de septembre 1980. Un des trafiquants bien connu, Idris Ozbilir, a avoué qu'un colonel lui avait conseillé de s'adresser à Takkeci lorsqu'il se trouvait en difficulté.

Les extraits de la déclaration du procureur militaire que nous reproduisons ci dessous suffisent à montrer l'ambition politique et arbitraire de celui-ci:

" Ce prccès a le but d'exposer et de soumettre à une véritable épreuve par la loi le caractère réel des faits, en apparence isolés, de la lutte économique, idéologique et politique menée par la DISK contre l'Etat ".

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" En se présentant comme une organisation syndicale de classe et de masse, la DISK utilisait les masses populaires innocentes et les travailleurs comme une arme contre l'Etat et s'afforçait, par ses actions, de tenir l'Etat sous une constante pression morale et matérielle dans le sens économique, politique et social. En paralysant le mécanisme et l'autorité morale de l'Etat elle s' efforçait de créer un climat de rébellion et de révolution. Par des actions de ce genre la Turquie a été poussée et éventuellement forcée à l'opération du 12 septembre ".

" Ces actions ouvrières ne représentaient aucun exercice légal du droit à la grève ou d'un quelconque droit semblable.C'étaien des actions qui reflétaient la mentalité, l'attitude et la conduite de ceux qui ont désire pousser le pays dans l'anarchie et le placer au seuil d'une insurrection et d'une révolution avec le but de détruire l'Etat turc ".

Ont été citées les actions suivantes de la DISK comme délits nécessitant la peine mort: " La grève générale tentée le 16 septembre 1976 sous le nom de deuil de masse; la grève générale du 20 mars 1978 comnue comme l'avertissement " au fascisme "; les débrayages et arrêts de travail le 30 avril 1980 pour protester contre l'interdiction des manifestations du 1er Mai par les autorités de l'Etat de Siège; renommer la Place de Taksim à Istanbul " Place du 1er Mai "; de déploiement de l'agitation à Istanbul et dans d'autres villes au nom de démonstrations pour la démocratie; la conduite préméditée des négociations collectives salariales vers une impasse et l'exploitation des grèves en vue de la dévastation écomonique de l'Etat ".

Par ailleurs il a déclaré que pour chaque syndicat affilié à la DISK il y aurait également un procès à part et "toutes les personnes et organisations en unité de vues ou d'action avec la DISK" seraient transférées devant les tribunaux militaires.

h) Le fait que Mr. Ercument Tahiroglu, un des principaux avocats à la défense de la DISK, a été arbitrairement appréhendé le 27 avril 1981 et détenu pendant trois jours entiers montrent clairement que les droits de défense sont bafoués et se trouvent constamment menacés.

Conclusions:

- Que ce soit devant les tribunaux civils ou militaires les dirigeants et militants de la DISK sont accusés à partir des mêmes actions. Les faits montrent qu'ils est actuellement de pratique que ces actions sont plutôt supposées comme infraction de la loi 275 (formulée comme "incitation ou participation" à la grève illégale"). Dans ce cas on prévoit de 1 à 3 mois et en cas de récidive de 3 à 6 mois de prison. Il est évidemment à souligner que ces punitions découlant d'une limitation des droits syndicaux sont absolument contestables du point de vue des libertés syndicales universellement reconnues, notamment par les conventions et recommandations de l'OIT. Notons par ailleurs que les dirigeants de la DISK ont été plusieurs fois acquittés ou au plus condamnés une fois à 6 mois de

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prison. Cependant il est à constater qu'ils se trouvent en prison depuis déjà un an. La peine de mort demandée contre 52 dirigeants syndicaux par le procureur militaire dans une déclaration à la presse ne peut donc être basée que sur une interprétation bien abusive et totalement arbitraire des activités de la DISK.

Ici nous voudrions vous faire part des constatations suivantes des Maîtres N.Blake et H.Kennedy, membres du Barreau anglais, qui ont séjourné en Turquie du 17 au 20 janvier 1981 sur les efforts conjoints de la FSM et de l'AIJD: " Dans le passé plusieurs tentatives de poursuivre en justice les militants de la DISK pour avoir organisé des grèves illégales s'étaient soldées par des échecs bien que, ces derniers mois, ces échecs aient souvent transformés en succès à la suite de l'appel du procureur. Il nous a semblé que l'utilisation du pouvoir répressif et l'interprétation de l'éventail des lois relevant du Code Pénal sont orientées délibérément contre les membres de la DISK à cause de la politique fondée sur l'activité de masse de la classe ouvrière que ces derniers préconisent:... La DISK est exposée à une répression qui équivant à une violation prima facie des articles de la Constitution turque et des Conventions de l'OIT.. Il existe un cas prima facie de l'ingérence des autorités militaires dans l'indépendance du système judiciaire et dans le règne de la loi, en infraction de la Constitution turque et des normes reconnues sur le plan international ".

Concernant les manifestations du 1er Mai qui sont citées par le procureur militaire comme délits nécessitant la peine de mort ont doit se rappeler des conclusions du Comité de Liberté Syndicale de l'OIT (Cas Nos 930 et 962 in Rapports 197,199 et 204) partant du principe que " le droit d'organiser des réunions publiques et des cortèges à l'occasion du 1er Mai constitue un aspect important des droits syndicaux ".

- Il ressort que la détention des dirigeants et militants de la DISK n'est nullement justifiable. Pour justifier leur détention les autorités turques ont plusieurs fois déclaré que seuls "les syndicalistes trouvés coupables d'agissements terroristes" seraient inculpés. (Rappelons-nous entre autres des propos de Haydar Saltik, Secrétaire général du Conseil de Sécurité Nationale, parus dans le quotidien "Cumhuriyet" du 13 décembre 1980); Dans le rapport du Comité de Liberté Syndicale de l'OIT (cas nos 997 et 999) nous pouvons retenir ce paragraphe concernant la réponse du gouvernement turc au sujet des arrestations: "Le gouvernement déclare que des indications très sérieuses auraient mis en évidence l'existence de liens organiques et d'une coopération entre certaines organisations clandestines illégales responsables des actes terroristes et certains syndicats, ainsi que les infiltrations constatées des milieux terroristes dans certaines structures syndicales. Ceci aurait conduit le gouvernement à suspendre les activités de la DISK. Il en aurait été de même pour la MISK infiltrée par l'extrême droite, ajoute le gouvernement, qui précise que ces affaires sont maintenant du ressort de la justice. Le gouvernement convient que les dirigeants de la DISK ont été arrêtés par décision du tribunal compétent et accusés d'infraction aux articles 141,142 et 146 du Code Pénal et aux dispositions de la loi N° 1402 sur l'Etat de Siège et à celles de la loi N° 6136 sur les armes à feu". Le procureur militaire Takkeci non plus n'a pu accuser la DISK d'avoir pris part au terro-

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risme pour demander la peine de mort contre ses dirigeants. Par ailleurs le quotidien "Cumhuriyet" du 23 janvier 1981, nous a appris que les dirigeants de la MISK, au siège de laquelle une bombe en préparation s'étaient explosée avant la période du coup d'Etat, étaient relâchés. Notons aussi que parmi les 59 syndicalistes de la DISK relâchés le 27 mai 1981 par la décision du tribunal militaire N° 1 d'Istanbul se trouvent 4 dirigeants qui figurent dans la liste des syndicalistes menacés de mort par le procureur militaire Takkeci. Concernant les conditions de détention nous voudrions vous communiquer cette constatation du Maître P.Vandernoot, avocat au Barreau de Bruxelles, qui a séjourné en Turquie du 12 au 17 Mai 1981, sur les efforts conjoints de la FSM et de l'AIJD: "Les syndicalistes accusés, que M.Vandernoot avait rencontrés en avril 1980, lui ont paru épuisés. Les membres de leurs familles lui ont confirmé qu'ils étaient privés de sommeil, manquaient de nourriture, qu'ils quittaient très rarement leurs cellules pour prendre l'air, que les visites des proches étaient très rares (½ jour par semaine) et se déroulaient dans des conditions déplorables (visites communes, présence de soldats entre les rangées de fil de fer séparant le détenu de la famille). Les avocats à la défense des syndicalistes de la DISK m'ont assuré exercer leur mission dans les mêmes conditions, rendant impossible tout contact réel avec les clients".

- Il semble que les milieux les plus agressifs et réactionnaires en Turquie (à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur des forces armées) sont aujourd'hui à l'oeuvre pour transformer tous les procès contre la DISK en un unique procès, afin de passer ses dirigeants en jugement devant un tribunal militaire arbitraire.

2) Deux verdicts ont été prononcés contre les militants des syndicats DISK/MADEN-IS (métallurgie) et DISK/TEKSTIL (textile):

a) Le tribunal militaire N°3 d'Istanbul a condamné les 14 membres du choeur ouvrier de MADEN-IS à 5 ans 6 mois et 20 jours de peine de prison suivie de la résidence surveillée au département de Bursa pendant 1 an 10 mois et 6 jours. Ils étaient accusés de "propagande communiste" sous prétexte qu'ils ont chanté l'Internationale au 23ème Congrès National de leur syndicat (le 19-22 décembre 1979). Ils ont été jugés en vertu du fameux article 142 du CPT.

b) Le tribunal militaire N° 2 d'Izmir a condamné 185 travailleurs membres du Syndicat TEKSTIL à des peines de prison allant de 2 à 24 ans. Les 185 travailleurs appartenant au complexe agro-industriel TARIS étaient accusés d'avoir organisé une grève illégale et occupé par force les lieux de travail. En effet, au début de l'année 1980, les 1100 travailleurs du complexe mentionné ont du faire face à la menace de licenciement collectif dans le but politique d'embaucher ensuite des commandos fascistes soutenus par la direction. Le 22 janvier 1980 la police a effectué une grande

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opération provocatrice en intervenant dans les lieux de travail. Par la suite, pour mettre en échec les plans de la direction, pour la garantie de l'emploi et la sauvegarde de leurs acquis, les travailleurs ont dû engager une grève qui a été brûtalement réprimée de nouveau et donnant lieu à des accrochages par les forces de l'ordre

3) Malgré le décret du Conseil de Sécurité Nationale qui interdit toute discussion sur les procès en cours un grand quotidien intitulé "Tercuman", propriété et porte-parole du grand patronat, intensifie ses publications diffamatoires et falsificatrices contre la DISK et ses dirigeants, se faisant d'un autre côté un défenseur des dirigeants des organisations fascistes qui passent actuellement en jugement.

4) Le président du syndicats des travailleurs des cuirs et peaux, DISK/ILERICI DERI-IS Kenan Budak, a été tué dans la dernière semaine du mois de juillet. Les forces de l'ordre ont tiré sur lui tandis qu'il était simplement assis dans un magasin situé dans un quartier ouvrier d'Istanbul (Zeytinburnu). Selon nous il est indispensable et urgent que le gouvernement turc fasse la clarté sur les conditions de cet assassinat.

5) La confiscation du patrimoine des travailleurs fait son chemin. Le centre de repos et d'éducation du syndicat DISK/GENEL-IS (communaux) situé à Oren (à l'ouest de la Turquie) à été loué au mois de mars 1981 à la Banque de Tourisme (banque d'Etat) par les curateurs nommés à administrer cette organisation syndicale. Le contrat signé serait valable pour 3 ans. DISK/GENEL-IS a dépensé environ 100 millions de livres turques (soit un million de dollars US d'après la parité actuelle) pour le faire bâtir. Le centre de repos d'Oren est entré en service dans de nouveaux statuts en tant qu'installation touristique. Au cours de la cérémonie d'ouverture qui a eu lieu le 30 mai 1981, à laquelle ont participé des ministres, des préfets et des militaires, le directeur de la Banque de Tourisme a déclaré que leur but est "de gagner cette institution au tourisme turc".

6) La fermeture arbitraire des organisations syndicales continue. C'est le cas notamment des syndicats affiliés à la fédération YOL-IS (construction routière), elle-même affiliée à la Confédération TURK-IS. Le syndicat YOL-IS du département Diyarbakir a été fermé le 12 septembre 1980. Son président, Vahap Serin, a été acquitté devant le tribunal militaire, mais après une détention de cinq mois et demi. Le plus grand syndicat de cette fédération celui d'Ankara, a été fermé le 20 mai 1981 sur la décision du tribunal militaire N°3 du Commandement de l'Etat de Siège d'Ankara. "La conception scientifique de la classe ouvrière" mentionnée aux art articles 4 et 19 des statuts de cette organisation, qui selon le

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procureur militaire signifierait " la lutte pour l'anéantissement de l'ordre établi, l'instauration du communisme et de la dictature de prclétariat", a été jugée contradictoire avec les quatre premeirs articles de la Constitution,l'alinéa 4 de l'article 30 de la loi 274 sur les syndicats, l'alinéa 1 de l'article 15 de la loi sur 1402 sur l'Etat de Siège. Dernièrement le syndicat YOL-IS d'Izmir a été fermé le 11 juin 1981 par simple décision du Commandement de l'Etat de Siège de ce département.

7) L'un des premiers décrets du Conseil de Sécurité Nationale interdit les licenciements sauf dans le cas où les employeurs ont des "raisons valables". Il serait difficile de dresser la liste des travailleurs licenciés depuis le coup d'Etat du 12 septembre 1980,parmi lesquels se trouvent de nombreux militants syndicaux. Dans les derniers mois ce sont des licenciements collectifs qui sont en cours. En effet 1600 travailleurs de l'usine sidérurgique de Karabuk ont été licenciés le 1er juin 1981. Les travailleurs rassemblés le lendemain devant l'usine pour protester contre cette mesure ont été dispersés par les forces de l'ordre et 20 d'entre eux ont été appréhendés. La direction de l'usine Renault en Turquie qui a obtenu l'autorisation des autorités militaires de licencier plus de 700 travailleurs pour des motifs économiques a licencié le 28 juin dernier 677 travailleurs. Il est à noter que de telles tentatives de la direction Renault avaient échoué avant l'intervention militaire face à l'action de plus de 2000 métallurgistes travaillant dans cette usine, la quasi totalité étant organisée au sein du syndicat DISK/MADEN-IS.

8) Les familles des dirigeants et militants syndicaux emprisonnés ainsi que les permanents et les employés des organisations syndicales suspendues se trouvent sans ressource de vie. Ces derniers, au nombre de milliers, ont subi une mesure inacceptable des curateurs nommés par les autorités à l'administration de leurs syndicats. La plupart d'eux ont été licenciés. D'autres ne sont pas licenciés, mais il ne leur est pas permis de continuer leur travail. Ils n'ont même pas le droit de visiter leurs sièges ou locaux syndicaux. Dernièrement les curateurs de la DISK ont pris la décision de "licencier" les dirigeants détenus de cette organisation,démocratiquement élus à leurs fonctions par son dernier Congrès National. Evidement ils ne sont pas rémunérés depuis l'intervention militaire de 12 septembre 1980. Par contre les cotisations des travailleurs syndiqués continuent à être versées par le système "check-off" aux comptes bancaires des syndicats suspendus où les sommes sont bloquées en vertu d'un décret du Conseil de Sécurité Nationale. Rappelons par ailleurs qu'en cas de dissolution définitive de la DISK tout le patrimoine de cette organisation sera passé sous le propriété de la Confédération TURK-IS en vertu de la loi sur les syndicats.

9) Le Conseil de Sécurité Nationale et le gouvernement continuent changer les lois en vigueur.Une nouvelle loi récemment adoptée prévoit la constitution sur l'autorisation des autorités des services d'ordre armés dans les entreprises. A l'ordre du jour se trouvent les lois 274 et 275 et celle sur le travail. Le Ministère du Travail qui avait plusieurs fois annoncé que la "Conférence sur le Travail" se réunirait avec la participation de certaines organisations syndicales permises et des représentants des

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milieux concernés en vue de l'élaboration des projets de changement de ces lois, vient de renoncer à sa proposition et a déclaré que les projets déjà préparés seraient bientôt soumis au CSN. Les droits et les libertés syndicaux risquent d'être restreints dans une situation où les travailleurs et leurs organisations syndicales n'ont en réalité aucun droit à la parole et à la défense. A ne citer qu'un exemple de restriction présent dans le projet de la loi 275, le droit à la grève au cas où l'employeur ne respecte pas les clauses de la convention collective en vigueur serait supprimé.

10) La "Haute Commission d'Arbitrage" continue à décider de son gré des conventions collectives des centaines de milliers des travailleurs. Les augmentations salariales sont bien loin d'être à la hauteur des exigences. Elles ne sont même pas à la hauteur de celles obtenues par les syndicats avant le coup d'Etat. Il est significatif de constater que les travailleurs grévistes d'avant le coup d'Etat se trouvent en plus ouvertement punis.(Plus de 50.000 travailleurs étaient en grève au moment du coup d'Etat. Le nombre de grévistes aurait dépassé 130.000 au cours du mois de septembre si l'intervention militaire n'avait pas eu lieu).Ainsi par exemple les augmentations salariales accordés aux membres de DISK-MADEN-IS (métallurgie), en nombre de plus de 40 mille, sont inférieures à celles obtenues par TURK METAL (TURK-IS) avant le coup d'Etat. Par ailleurs les travailleurs ne sont pas mis suffisamment au courant des conventions collectives. La "Haute Commission d'Arbitrage" ne prévoit que l'affichage dans l'entreprise de celle-ci pendant 30 jours. Avant le coup d'Etat les syndicats mettaient un exemplaire de la convention collective à la disposition de chaque travailleur concerné. Finalement notons que la "Haute Commission d'Arbitrage" supprime systématiquement certains acquis sociaux et démocratiques des travailleurs et des syndicats présentes dans des conventions collectives antérieures; notamment en ce qui concerne la participation, la garantie de l'emploi, les conditions de travail, etc.

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En soulignant que le mouvement syndical international a unanimement dénoncé la violation des libertés syndicales et des droits de l'homme en Turquie, il est urgent, nous semble-t-il, que l'OIT adopte des mesures appropriées pour:

* La libération des dirigeants et militants de la DISK et ses syndicats affiliés ainsi que d'autres organisations démocratiques de masses laborieuses;

* La cessation de toute poursuite judiciaire contre-eux;

* L'annulation du décret prévoyant la déchéance de la nationalité des syndicalistes exilés à l'étranger;

* L'ouverture dans leur situation antérieure des organisations syndicales démocratiques;

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*Le rétablissement des droits et des libertés syndicaux conformes aux recommandations et aux conventions de l'OIT, le libre exercice des activités syndicales;

* Le respect des droits de l'homme.

Il nous parait nécessaire d'envisager l'envoi d'une commission d'enquête de l'OIT en Turquie afin d'observer la situation syndicale sur place.

En vous remerciant d'avance de l'attention qui, nous espérons sera accordée à notre plainte, nous vous prions d'agréer Monsieur le Directeur Général, l'expression de nos sentiments distingués.

Jan N e m o u d r y
secrétaire de la FSM

PS. Liste des 52 dirigeants de la DISK menacés de peine de mort.

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

LISTE DES DIRIGEANTS DE LA DISK MENACES DE PEINE DE MORT

Les 52 dirigeants de la DISK sont tous membres ou ex-membres des organes dirigeants de la confédération et de ses syndicats affiliés. La structure de la DISK comprend un Bureau Exécutif de 7 membres dont le Président, le Secrétaire Général et les Secrétaires, un Comité Administratif composé du Bureau Exécutif et de 22 autres membres, la Commission de Contrôle, la Commission de Discipline, tous élus au Congrès National et des Unions Régionales ou Locales dirigées par des Secrétaires Représentants élus aux Assemblées Générales des régions ou des localités. Le 6ème Congrès National de la DISK a eu lieu en décembre 1977, le 7ème le 25-30 juin 1980.

Les syndicats affiliés à la DISK ont en grandes lignes la même structure.

MEMBRES DU BUREAU EXECUTIF

1.	ABDULLAH BASTURK	Président Président du GENEL-IS(communaux) Membre du Bureau Exécutif du PSI (CISL) Ex-député du Parti Républicain du Peuple
2.	FEHMI ISIKLAR	Secrétaire Général Membre du MADEN-IS (métallurgie)
3.	RIZA GUVEN	Secrétaire Ex-président du TEKSTIL(textile)
4.	MUKBIL ZIRTILOGLU	Secrétaire Ex-président d'OLEYIS(hôtellerie)
5.	SULEYMAN CELEBI(a)	Secrétaire Secrétaire du TEKSTIL
6.	KEMAL NEBIOGLU(b)	Secrétaire 1977-1980 Ex-président du GIDA-IS(alimentation)
7.	TUNCER KOCAMANOGLU	Secrétaire 1977-80 Ex-président du D.TOPRAK-IS(agriculture)
8.	MUSTAFA AKTULGALI	Secrétaire 1977-80 Président du KERAMIK-IS(céramique)

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MEMBRES DU COMITE ADMINISTRATIF

9.	I.HAKKI ONAL	Secrétaire du GENEL-IS
10.	BELGUZAR CAN	" "
11.	EKREM AKKUS	" "
12.	D. ALI YALNIZ	Président du LASTIK-IS(caoutchaouc)
13.	CELAL KUCUK	Secrétaire Général du LASTIK-IS
14.	KENAN AKMAN	Secrétaire du LASTIK-IS Ex-député PRP
15.	NUSRET AYDIN	Président d'OLEYIS Ex-chef de la Commission des Travailleurs duPRP
16.	TAHIR GUNER	Secrétaire d'OLEYIS
17.	RIDVAN BUDAK	Président du TEKSTIL
18.	MUSTAFA KARADAYI	Président du PETKIM-IS(pétro-chimie) Commissaire aux Comptes de l'ICPS (FSM)
19.	DEMIRHAN TUNCAY	Président du GIDA-IS
20.	Selahattin SAYIN	Président du TEKGES-IS (gaz, eléctricité, eau)
21.	OZCAN KESKEC	Président du SOSYAL-IS (employés)
22.	AKSIN KOC	Président du FINDIK-IS (employés)
23.	YALCIN TALAKA	Président du TIS (agriculture)
24.	ISMET CANTEKIN(c)	Président du DEV MADEN-SEN(mineurs)

MEMBRES DU COMITE ADMINISTRATIF 1977 - 1980

25.	HALIL HAYTA	Président du TUMHAS-IS (santé)
26.	MEHMET MIHLACI	Secrétaire du GIDA-IS
27.	KEMAL YILMAZ	Dirigeant du LASTIK-IS
28.	NIYAZI KUAS	" "
29.	ALI SAHIN	" "

MEMBRES DE LA COMMISSION DE CONTROLE

30.	FIKRI TANTA	(LASTIK-IS)
31.	MEHMET BEKIROGULLARI	(LASTIK-IS)
32.	KEMAL AKAR	(OLEYIS)
33.	ALI KOCAMAN	(OLEYIS)
34.	ISMAIL OZBICER	(GENEL-IS)

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MEMBRES DE LA COMMISSION DE DISCIPLINE

35. TALAT OZ (LASTIK-IS)
36. TURKER ADAKLI (")
37. OSMAN OZKAN (")
38. ISMAIL CALISKAN (GENEL-IS)
39. CEMAL ARSLAN (")
40. ERGUN ERDEM (MADEN-IS)
41. ALI TASER
42. SABAN AYGIN

SECRETAIRES REPRESENTANTS DES UNIONS REGIONALES OU LOCALES

43. ALI KAYA (MADEN-IS)
44. RECEP KOC (")
45. TAYYAR ELMAS (")
46. CELAL ALCINKAYA (")
47. HASAN KAHRAMAN (")
48. SAIM AKBULUT (GENEL-IS)
49. RAFET DEMIRTEL (")
50. YUSUF YUREKLI
51. SULEYMAN TURAN
52. SEFER GUVENC

(a) Le Secrétaire Ertan ANDAS, Secrétaire Général du GENEL-IS, a décédé à la suite du 7ème Congrès. Le septième membre du Bureau Exécutif, Kemal DAYSAL, Secrétaire du MADEN-IS et membre du Bureau de l'UIS-Métaux (FSM), n'a pu être appréhendé par les services de l'ordre. L'ayant supposé en exil à l'étranger les autorités militaires ont engagé une procédure pour l'exclure de la nationalité turque.

(b) Les trois ex-secrétaires suivants formaient avec les quatre premiers dirigeants le Bureau entre les 6ème et le 7ème Congrès.

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(c) Sept autres membres du CA n'ont pu être appréhendés: Yasar ARIKAN (Président du HURCAM-IS), R.TIRPANCI, A.OZARKALIOGLU (Dirigeants d'OLEYIS), Ekrem AYDIN, MURAT TOKMAK (Secrétaires du MADEN-IS), Mehmet KARACA (Président du MADEN-IS, Secrétaire Général de la DISK 1976-1977), Turhan ATA (Secrétaire du BANK-SEN). Les trois derniers se trouvent dans la même situation que celle de K. DAYSAL.

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TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Turquie

Un an de dictature et de répression aveugle

Le 12 septembre, un an se sera écoulé depuis le coup d'Etat militaire. Les aspects contradictoires du régime militaire n'échappent point aux observateurs sérieux. Un procès s'est ouvert contre 584 dirigeants et militants des organisations fascistes, accusés d'avoir organisé l'assassinat de plus de 600 personnes (y compris Kemal Türkler) et mené des actes terroristes «sous le couvert de la lutte contre le communisme et dans le but de fonder un régime fasciste». Mais d'autre part, un procureur militaire a déclaré le 25 juin qu'il demanderait la peine de mort contre 52 dirigeants de la DISK détenus depuis presque un an, sous prétexte qu'ils ont mené «des actions pour pousser le pays dans l'anarchie et le placer au seuil d'une insurrection et d'une révolution avec le but de détruire l'Etat turc».

Ce procureur militaire, violant les règles de la jurisprudence a demandé la peine de mort contre les 52 syndicalistes à une conférence de presse qu'il a organisée. L'acte d'accusation n'a toujours pas été rendu public. Les actions suivantes de la DISK ont été citées dans sa déclaration de presse, comme des délits nécessitant la peine de mort: «la grève générale tentée le 16 septembre 1976 sous le nom de deuil de masse; la grève générale du 20 mars 1978 conçue comme un avertissement au fascisme; les débrayages et arrêts de travail du 30 avril 1980 pour protester contre l'interdiction des manifestations du 1er Mai par les autorités de l'Etat de siège; rebaptiser la Place de Taksim à Istambul «Place du 1er Mai»; le déploiement de l'agitation à Istanbul et dans d'autres villes au nom de «démonstrations pour la démocratie»; la conduite préméditée des négociations collectives salariales vers une impasse et l'exploitation des grèves en vue de la dévastation économique de l'Etat». Point n'est besoin de commentaires pour montrer qu'un procès monté de toutes pièces, profondément anti-syndical et anti-démocratique se prépare?

Par ailleurs, l'assassinat de Kenan Budak, Président du syndicat ILERICI DERI-IS (cuirs et peaux) affilié à la DISK, par les forces de l'ordre montre à quel point la répression anti-syndicale est violente. On a tiré sur lui, pendant qu'il était simplement assis dans un magasin à Istanbul.

Bastürk, Isiklar et d'autres dirigeants de la DISK

Activer la solidarité est donc urgent

La FSM a fait appel le 13 juillet à toutes les organisations affiliées et amies:

«A mobiliser toutes leurs forces dans un large mouvement de protestation et de solidarité, en organisant des pétitions de masse, des motions, des délégations aux ambassades de la Turquie, faisant notamment des journées d'audience de ce procès, des véritables journées de lutte, etc...

A s'adresser notamment à Monsieur Kurt Waldheim, Secrétaire Générale de l'ONU, et à Monsieur Francis Blanchard, Directeur Général du BIT, en leur demandant d'intervenir auprès des autorités turques, pour sauver les dirigeants et militants de la DISK de la mort, de la torture et de la prison.»

Cinq syndicalistes turcs dans la clandestinité (DAYSAL, Secrétaire Confédéral de la DISK, Vice-Président du MADEN-IS, membre du Bureau de l'UIS-Métaux; KARACA, membre du CA de la DISK, Président du MADEN-IS; DENIZMEN, membre du CA de l'UIS-Commerce, Président du BANK-SEN; TOKMAK, membre du CA de la DISK, Vice-président du BANK-SEN) ont fait, à l'occasion de l'assassinat de TÜRKLER, un appel aux travailleurs de Turquie et à toutes les forces syndicales et démocratiques à la lutte unitaire pour sauver et libérer les syndicalistes emprisonnés, pour le rétablissement des libertés syndicales et démocratiques.

L'UIS-Textile a protesté contre l'assassinat de BUDAK, en envoyant des télégrammes et des lettres aux autorités turques et au BIT. L'UIS Fonction Publique a adressé une lettre circulaire aux organisations affiliées et amies. L'Union Générale des Travailleurs Agricoles de Guyane et la FI.SE.MA.RE de Madagascar se sont adressées respectivement au BIT et au Secrétaire Général de l'ONU. Le CTC de Cuba a manifesté aussi sa solidarité.

Télégramme de la FDGB de la RDA

M. Bulend ULUSU
Premier Ministre
de la République de Turquie
ANKARA

Au nom de ses plus de 9 millions d'adhérents, le Comité Confédéral de la Confédération des Syndicats Libres Allemands demande au gouvernement turc de mettre immédiatement fin au procès contre la Confédération Syndicale Progressiste de Turquie DISK et la libération de tous les militants et membres emprisonnés de cette organisation.

La peine de mort requise contre 52 militants de la DISK constitue une atteinte flagrante des normes internationales en vigueur, des droits et libertés syndicaux.

La FDGB condamne rigoureusement cette atteinte aux droits fondamentaux de l'homme et des syndicats et déclare sa solidarité permanente avec tous les syndicalistes de Turquie luttant pour le progrès et la démocratie.

Harry TISCH

L'appel de la FSM pour l'aide au Liban a rencontré un vif écho

Suite à l'appel lancé par la Fédération Syndicale Mondiale: Flashes Nos 33/34 et 35, le vaste mouvement de solidarité envers les travailleurs et le peuple du Liban se développe chaque jour davantage. Un important nombre de syndicats ont envoyé plus de 9 tonnes de médicaments et matériels sanitaires, ainsi que plusieurs tonnes de denrées alimentaires.

ARCHIVES SYNDICALISTES REVOLUTIONNAIRES

son organisme. Voilà ce qui'il est de «l'humanitaire» bombe à neutrons.

Appel au peuple américain

Dans un appel au peuple américain, ceux qui sont revenus des camps d'extermination nazis soulignent la lourde responsabilité qui pèse sur les hommes et les femmes des Etats-Unis en laissant accomplir les desseins criminels de leur président. «Ne vous laissez pas conduire sur le chemin d'une folie qui ne connaîtrait ni vainqueur ni vaincu, mais seulement des cadavres et des étendues désertiques, souligne le texte. Les rescapés des camps de concentration nazis ont formulé «l'immense espoir d'un réveil de la raison dans les rangs du peuple américain». A cet égard, ils ont lancé un appel angoissé à l'humanité entière.

Arme destinée à faire la guerre

La bombe à neutrons n'est pas seulement une nouvelle variante de l'arme nucléaire. Elle est destinée à une guerre nucléaire «limitée» soit en Europe, soit dans un pays en voie de développement, souligne-t-on dans une déclaration publiée à Washington par la Coalition des organisations et des groupements contre la guerre. La décision de l'administration Reagan de fabriquer la bombe à neutrons aura de graves conséquences pour l'économie nationale qui subit des difficultés chroniques. La Coalition fait savoir qu'elle organisera le 27 août des piquets devant la Maison-Blanche. Cette action marquera le commencement d'un mouvement de masse aux USA pour l'interdiction complète de la bombe à neutrons. Des meetings et des manifestations de protestations contre les armes neutroniques sont prévus dans quelques dizaines de villes américaines.

Syndicats: Conjuguons nos efforts pour la paix

Une place importante dans la large campagne de protestations contre la décision criminelle de Reagan qui s'est développée à travers le monde, revient aux organisations de masse de la classe ouvrière, au mouvement syndical. Comme l'a souligné la FSM, il s'agit d'un acte hostile aux travailleurs, aux syndicats et à l'humanité toute entière.

Des millions de syndicalistes ont joint leurs vives protestations contre la décision de Reagan à celles exprimées au cours de nombreux meetings et manifestations des forces démocratiques et progressistes dans divers pays. Nombreux ont été les organisations syndicales et les dirigeants syndicaux qui ont clamé leur opposition catégorique aux desseins militaristes de Washington et lancé un urgent appel à leurs membres, les mobilisant en commun avec toutes les forces de paix et de progrès dans un vaste mouvement d'opposition à la politique militariste des USA, un mouvement visant à empêcher la réalisation de la décision sur la fabrication de la bombe à neutrons et à imposer de véritables négociations sur la limitation de la course aux armements.

PEROU

Washington a besoin de la bombe à neutrons pour pouvoir poursuivre sa politique de chantage militaire, a déclaré la centrale syndicale la plus importante du pays — la Confédération générale des travailleurs du Pérou (CGTP).

IRLANDE

A l'appel de l'organisation «Campagne pour le désarmement nucléaire» a eu lieu une manifestation devant l'ambassade des Etats-Unis à Dublin pour demander la révocation de la décision de Reagan sur la fabrication de la bombe à neutrons. Les participants à la manifestation ont adressé une lettre au président américain dans laquelle ils ont souligné que la décision a été prise au moment où l'Union Soviétique a lancé un urgent appel aux USA à entamer les négociations sur la limitation des armes nucléaires, au moment où la politique agressive du gouvernement américain se heurte à une opposition toujours plus ferme dans les pays ouest-européens.

UIS BATIMENT

L'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs du bâtiment, du bois et des matériaux de construction a envoyé une lettre au président Reagan dans laquelle elle dénonce catégoriquement, au nom de ses 16 millions d'adhérents, la décision de fabriquer la bombe à neutrons et a exigé la révocation de cette décision, et des mesures visant la détente, le désarmement et la paix dans le monde. Dans un appel adressé aux travailleurs du bâtiment, aux organisations affiliées et amies, l'UIS les invite à poursuivre les actions contribuant à arrêter la production des armes nucléaires sous toute leur forme.

GRANDE BRETAGNE

Le projet de résolution qui fixe l'ordre du jour des débats des syndicalistes britanniques sur le désarmement et la paix lors de la prochaine conférence annuelle du TUC (du 7 au 11 septembre à Blackpool, soumis par le syndicat le plus important du pays — l'Union des travailleurs du transport et non-qualifiés (TGWU), rejette tout déploiement des missiles CRUISE et TRIDENT en Grande Bretagne ainsi que les armes à neutrons en Europe.

USA

Plus de dollars aux armements et moins aux besoins sociaux

Selon les données du bureau des statistiques des USA, on a enregistré une augmentation du nombre de personnes se trouvant sous le seuil de la pauvreté: en 1980, 13% d'Américains se trouvaient sous cette ligne, soit 1,3% de plus par rapport à l'année précédente. Il est typique pour les USA que le nombre d'Américains d'origine africaine ou latino-américains qui tombent dans cette catégorie ait doublé par rapport à la moyenne nationale.

Selon les mêmes données, l'inflation frappe davantage les couches les plus larges de la population: le pouvoir d'achat d'une famille américaine moyenne a baissé de 5,5% en 1980 en comparaison avec l'année précédente. Le rapport officiel admet que le taux d'inflation a substantiellement dépassé la croissance des salaires.

Le nouveau budget fédéral, récemment signé par le président Reagan, accentue d'avantage la polarisation de la société américaine en approfondissant les inégalités existantes entre les pauvres et les riches. Le système des taxes favorise les entrepreneurs. La stratégie de la Maison Blanche est simple: l'argent entre les mains des capitalistes est un «investissement rentable», tandis que les fonds destinés aux besoins sociaux sont «perdus».

En plus, le gouvernement américain a besoin d'importants moyens financiers pour mettre en œuvre son vaste programme d'armements. Et dans ce domaine la Maison Blanche ne connaît pas d'économies. Etant donné que les taxes pour les entrepreneurs baissent, des économies nécessaires se réaliseront au détriment des services sociaux, de l'éducation et du système de la santé. La sécurité sociale aux Etats-Unis a été réduite à l'état d'il y a 50 ans. Les frais médicaux et d'hôpital doubleront. Il est évident que les groupes sociaux les plus faibles seront frappés le plus. Des dizaines de milliers de vieux Américains seront touchés par les réductions des prévisions budgétaires destinées aux services pour les citoyens âgés.

En même temps, les chômeurs deviennent victimes de la réduction des dépenses sociales. Rien que dans l'état de Michigan, 230.000 chômeurs, qui recevaient une allocation de chômage, seront frappés par les nouvelles mesures. Il s'agit ici d'un état américain avec un taux de chômage au niveau de 11,8% (mois de juillet), le taux le plus élevé des USA. Ce sont les riches à nouveau qui en profitent. Ils «économiseront» la somme de 3,4 millions de dollars par semaine en taxes, ce qui représente une grande partie des moyens nécessaires pour le paiement des allocations chômage dans le Michigan.

Telle est donc la stratégie sur laquelle le président Reagan se propose de fonder une économie «saine». Justifiant le nouveau budget il a déclaré que l'intention est de «rendre l'économie américaine au peuple «américain».

Mais les faits sont différents. Les profits plus importants d'une partie de la société se réaliseront au détriment des intérêts de l'autre partie. Le président Reagan ne s'inquiète guère du sort des chômeurs qui percevront 1,4 milliard de dollars de moins en allocations chômage, des 1,2 million d'étudiants qui ne peuvent plus compter seulement sur l'appui de leurs parents lorsqu'ils poursuivent de longues études, des 3 millions de personnes âgées dont les allocations seront réduites, des millions d'Américains ordinaires qui seront contraints d'acheter moins de produits et qui, ayant perdu la capacité de travail à la suite d'un accident du travail, n'auront pas la possibilité de se recycler dans un autre emploi leur permettant une vie décente.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu
Basın Açıklaması

11 Eylül 1981

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun daveti üzerine DİSK yürütme kurulu üyesi ve Maden-İş sendikası başkan vekili Kemal Daysal, 8-11 Eylül 1981 tarihleri arasında Prag ı ziyaret etti. Bu ziyaret sırasında DSF genel merkezinde Kemal Daysal arkadaş, Jan Nemudri başkanlığındaki bir Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu heyetiyle görüştü. Görüşmede Daysal arkadaş, DSF temsilcilerini Türkiye'deki durum ve gelişmeler üzerine bilgilendirdi.

12 Eylül'de Türkiye'de bir askersel rejimi dayatan devirmeden bu yana bir yıl geçmiş oluyor. Bir yıldar sendikal demokratik hak ve özgürlükler, insan hakları sistematik olarak çiğneniyor. DİSK ve üye sendikaların yüzlerce yönetici ve militanı askersel cezaevlerinde bir yıldır keyfi olarak tutuluyor. 52 DİSK yöneticisi ölüm cezasıyla tehdit ediliyor. Askersel rejimin bu son tehdidi emperyalizmin ve tekellerin hizmetindeki en gerici ve saldırgan çevreler tarafından izlenen ve Türkiye'de ilerici sendikal hareketi ortadan kaldırmayı hedefleyen derinlemesine, sendika ve işçi düşmanı bir politikanın uzantısından başka bir şey olamaz.

Daysal arkadaş DİSK'le, yönetici ve militanlarıyla ve Türkiye işçilerinin savaşımıyla dayanışma çerçevesindeki eylem ve girişimleri için Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'na teşekkür etti. DSF sekreteri Nemudri arkadaş da Türkiye'de baskıya uğrayan işçi ve sendikacılara yönelik olarak Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonun giriştiği tüm dayanışma eylemlerini genişçe anlattı.
Ve bu eylemlerin giderek yükseltmekte, Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonunun en ufak bir gücü dahi esirgemiyeceği konusunda DİSK yöneticisi arkadaşa güvence verdi.

Yanısıra iki taraf da, Türkiye'de sendikal özgürlüklerin çiğnenmesine karşı Uluslararası sendikal örgütlerin aynı görüşte birleştiklerini saptadılar. Ve özellikle DİSK YÖNETİCİLERİNİN ölüm, işkence ve zindandan kurtarılması için protesto ve dayanışma hareketinin eylem birliği içinde geliştirilmesi ve güçlendirilmesinin ivedi bir gereksinim olduğunu vurguladılar.

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Görüşme sonunda Nemudri arkadaş DSF sekretaryası adına Türkiye'de baskıya karşı sendikal hak ve özgürlüklere, insan haklarına saygı gösterilmesi için gerçek bir demokrasinin kurulması yolunda DİSK'in ve Türkiye işçi sınıfının savaşımına DSF'nin sürekli ve etkin desteğini yeniden dile getirdi.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Silahsızlanmanın toplumsal ve ekonomik yönleri üzerine Dünya Sendikalar Konfe[illegible] ransı 15-17 Aralık 1981 günleri arasında Paris'te toplanacak. Silahsızlanmanın toplumsal ve ekonomik yönleri üzerine Dünya Sendikalar Konferansı'nın toplanması kararı geçtiğimiz yıl Sofya'da yapılan Dünya Halkları Barış Parlamentosu'nun toplantısında alınmıştı. Barış Parlamentosu'na Türkiye'den de aralarında DİSK yöneticilerinin bulunduğu bir heyet katılmıştı.

Öte yandan 1978'de toplanan Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu 9. Kongresi böyle bir dünya konferansının gerçekleştirilmesi doğrultusunda karar almış ve tüm dünya sendikalarına çağrıda bulunmuştu. Silahsızlanmanın toplumsal ve ekonomik yönleri üzerine Dünya Sendikalar Konferansının uluslararası hazırlık komitesi 22-23 Eylül tarihleri arasında Çekoslovakya'nın başkenti Prag'da biraraya geldi.

Hazırlık Komitesinde Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu, Dünya Barış Konseyi, Arap Sendikaları uluslararası Konfederasyonu gibi uluslararası örgütlerin yanısıra şu ülkelerden değişik uluslararası örgütlere bağlı ya da bağımsız sendikalar yer alıyor.

Alman Demokratik Cumhuriyeti, Angola, Avusturya, Bulgaristan Çekoslovakya, Danimarka, Fransa, Hindistan, İngiltere, İrlanda, Japonya, Kanada, Kıbrıs, Küba, Macaristan, Portekiz, Şili, Türkiye, Sovyetler Birliği ve Yunanistan.

Hazarlık komitesinin toplantısına Türkiye'den bir DİSK temsilcisi katıldı.

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Hollanda Sendikalar Konfederasyonu FWN'nin 15 günlük yayın organı FNW Haberler'in 15. sayısında yer alan haber yazısı:

Hollanda Sendikalar Konfederasyonu FNW Türk-İş'le ilişkilerini askıya aldı.

Hollanda Sendikalar Konfederasyonu FNW kardeş örgüt olarak tanıdığı Türk-İş konfederasyonu ile ilişkilerini askıya aldı. Bu karar, Türk sendika örgütünün geçen yıl Eylül ayındaki devirmeden sonra iktidarı ele geçiren askersel cuntayla işbirliği yapması nedeniyle alındı. Askersel cunta işçilerin örgütlenme hakkına ve toplu sözleşme özgürlüğüne son verdi. Ve diğer sendika ve insan haklarını çiğnedi. Bu koşullar altında Hollanda Sendikalar Konfederasyonu FNW genel sekreterleri Şide'nin askersel cunta tarafından atanan hükümette bakan olarak yer aldığı Türk-İş'le ilişkilerini sürdürmek istemiyor.

Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu da Türk-İş'in üyelik isteğini reddetti. Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonuna üye olmak isteyen diğer Türk konfederasyonu DİSK'in pek çok yöneticisi ve üyesi hapiste bulunuyor. Hollanda Sendikalar Konfederasyonu FNW- ONLARA yönelik insancıl bir yardım örgütleme çabası içindedir.

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(3)

30. Juni 1981

DÜNYA ÖĞRETMENLER SENDİKALARI FEDARASYONU
FİSE'NİN 12.KONFERANSI TAMAMLANDI.
(KONFERANSTA TÖB-DER'DE TEMSİL EDİLDİ)

Dünya öğretmen Sendikaları Federasyonu,FİSE'nin 12.Konferansı 8-12 Haziran günlerinde Macaristan'ın Başkenti Budapeşte'de,Macaristan Eğitimciler Sendikası'nın çağrılısı olarak toplandı.

Konferansa FİSE'ye bağlı uflusal öğretmen örgütlerinden 80 ülkeden 200 delege katıldı.Konferansta öncelikle,bilim ve eğitim konuları ele alındı.Son zamanlarda,çeşitli bilim dallarında gözlenen gelişmelerve yeni bulgular değerlendirildi,bunun eğitimle olan ilişkileri, bilimsel gelişmelerin ve bulguların eğitim tekniklerini geliştirmedeki yeri ve önemi araştırıldı.

Daha sonra ve konferans süresince,ulusal öğretmen örgütleri temsilcileri, ülkelerindeki eğitim uygulamalarını,eğitim ve eğitimcilerin sorunlarını belirten konuşmalar yaptılar.Bir nevi deney aktarımı niteliğinde olan bu konuşmalarda konuşmacılar,eğitimi olumsuz yönde etkileyen,eğitimin ülke düzeyinde yaygınlaşmasını engelleyen ve eğitim olanaklarından tüm ülke insanlarının eşit olarak yararlanmalarını engelleyen ana sorunlara ağırlık verdiler.Özellikle de Uzakasya,Ortadoğu, Afrika-Arap Ülkeleriyle Latin Amerika Ülkeleri delegeleri ABD'nin savaş kışkırtıcılığının,silahlanma yarışını körüklemesinin,ülkelerinde kabile ve halklar arasında gerginliği artırıcı girişimlerinden söz açtılar, ABD'nin bu tutumuna karşı olduklarını belirtiler.Silahlanma yarışının askeri harcamalarının gün günden artmasının eğitim olanaklarını son derece sınırlandırdığını vurguladılar.Bu delegeler,"ülkemizin de bir çoğunda yarısından fazla insan okuma-yazma bilmiyor,birçok yerleşme merkezimizde okul yok, buralara öğretmen gönderemiyoruz,mevcut okullarımız basit ders araç ve gereçlerinden yoksun.Biz milyarlar vererek en gelişmiş silahları satın alıyoruz.Ulusal gelirimizin çok büyük bir kısmını askeri harcamalara ayırıyoruz.Beslenme yetersizlikleri,sağlık bozuklukları,uygunsuz konutları öğrencilerimizin başarılarını düşürüyor.Biz öğretmenler gerici ve faşist baskıların yanı sıra,ciddi bir yaşam sıkıntısı içersindeyiz.Mesleki formasyonumuzu geliştirme olanakları bulamıyoruz."

"Sovyetler Birliğinin 26.Büyük kurultayında Devlet Başkanı Brejnev tarafından ileriye sürülen silahlanmayı durdurma ve barış önerileri biz eğitimciler için son derece önemlidir.Bizler bu anlamdaki bir barışı,belirtildiği gibi yalnızca savaşın karşıtı bir kavram olarak almuyoruz.Bu anlamda barış,içeriği daha geniş olan bir kavramdır.Barış silahlanmamaktır.Barış iş'tir.Barış sağlıktır.Barış okuldur,Barış kitaptır.Barış eğitimdir.Bunun için bizim örgütlerimiz ülkelerimizde barış savunucusu,savaş düşmanıdır."

FİSE'nin 12.Konferansında TÖB-DER' de temsil edildi.Konferansa TÖB-DER Yönetimini temsilen katılan öğretmenlerle birlikte BİRLİK-DAYANIŞMA'cı öğretmenler de konferansta bulundular.Konferans süresince TÖB-DER yönetiminin temsil eden öğretmenlerle BİRLİK-DAYANIŞMA'cı öğretmenler işbirliği içinde bulundular.Gerek FİSE konferansında yaptıkları konuşmada ve gerekse ulusal örgütlerin delegeleriyle düzenledikleri özel görüşmelerde ülkemizin genel durumu hakkında,TÖB-DER, öğretmenler ve ülkemiz eğitim sorunları üstüne bilgiler verdiler.

Bildirildiğine göre,FİSE'nin konferansında TÖB-DER'li öğret,

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menler açıklamalarında şu konulara yer verdiler.

12 Eylül 1980 günü Türkiye'de bir askeri devirme oldu.Generaller emir-komuta zinciri içinde erke el koydular.Anayasa'yı kaldırdılar,TBMM ni kapattılar.Siyasi partilerin çalışmalarını durdurdular.Tüm ülkede sıkı yönetim ilan ettiler.İşçi kuruluşları kapatıldı,toplu sözleşme grev yasaklandı.Tüm demokratik kuruluşlar,mesleki örgütler kapatıldı.Doğaldır ki TÖB-DER' de kapatıldı.

Generaller darbenin gerekçesini,anarşi ve terörü önlemek,can güvenliğini sağlamak olarak açıkladılar.Nevarki,anarşi ve terörüzme hiç karışmamış,aksine anarşi ve terörün karşısında yer almış kuruluşları da kapattılar,yöneticilerini tutukladılar,işkencelerden geçirdiler,şimdi bunlar hakkında davalar açtılar,ağır hapis cezası istemiyle sıkıyönetim askeri mahkemelerinde yargılatıyorlar.

Örneğin,Türkiye'de sınıf temeli üstünde çalışmalar yapan işçilerimizin tek sendikal örgütü DİSK bunlardan biridir ve DİSK başından beri anarşi ve terörün karşısında olmuştur.Bu alanda en güçlü örgüttür.Yöneticileri darbenin ilk günlerinden beri tutuklu bulunuyor.Hepsi aylarca sorgulandı,işkencelerden geçirildi.Bir türlü de yargı önüne çıkarılmıyorlar.

KÖY-KOOP,köylülerimizin demokratik örgütüdür.KÖY-KOOP'da anarşi ve terörün karşısında yer tutmuştur.O'da kapatılmış ve yöneticileri 15 yıl ağır hapis istemiyle yargılanıyor.

Örgütümüz TÖB-DER de anarşi ve terörüzme bulaşmamıştır.DİSK gibi,KÖYKOOP gibi,birçok demokratik ve mesleki örgütler gibi,onlarla birlikte gericiliğe karşı,faşizme karşı savaş vermiştir.Belki de suçu budur!

TÖB-DER'li öğretmenlerin açıklamaları şöyle sürüyor..

Halen 66 merkez yöneticimiz yöneticimiz askeri cezaevlerinde tutuklu bulunuyor ve sıkıyönetim askeri mehkemelerinde 20 yıla kadar varan ağır hapis istemiyle yargılanıyorlar.

28 merkez yöneticimiz için askeri mahkemece gıyabi tutuklama kararı verildi.Bunlardan bir kısmı şimdi yurt dışında bulunuyorlar.

Sıkıyönetim makamlarına teslim olmadılar diye örtümüz genel başkanı Gültekin Gazioğlu başta olmak üzere 10 merkez yöneticimiz T.C.

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vatandaşlığından çıkarıldı.Mal varlıkları tasviye edildi.

4 yöneticimiz sorgulamaları sırasında gördükleri işkenceler nedeniyle yaşamını yitirdi.

Şube düzeyindeki tutuklu yöneticimiz 500 dür.

Üyelerimizden tutuklu bulunun binlercedir.(Bu sayı günden güne değişmekte ve yükselmektedir.)

Çeşitli nedenlerle,genellikle de direnişlere katıldıkları gerekçesiyle 4000 üyemiz de disiplin cezasıyla-sorgusuz,yargısız-meslekten uzaklaştırıldı.

Bugün ülkemezde üniversiteler,yüksek okullar dahil tüm eğitim kurumları sıkı bir denetim altındadır.Dersliklerin kapılarında polis,asker nöbet tutmaktadır.Üniversite ve bilim özerkliği tümüyle kaldırılmıştır.

Eğitimimiz-bu koşullar altında-her kademedeki eğitim kurumlarımız için batı yanlısı,milliyetçi,antidemokratik ögeler öne çıkarılarak yeniden planlarıyor.

Okullarımızda tam bir kışla eğitimi uygulamadadır.Öğrencilere sürekli milliyetçi marşlar öğretilip söyletiliyor.Kürt halkı için kendi dilinde eğitim yapmak şöyle dursun,ana diliyle konuşmak yasak.Buna cesaret edenler en ağır cezalarla cezalandırılıyor.

200 bin üyeli örgütümüz TÖB-DER ve üyelerimiz,öteden beri,gericiliğin,faşist baskıların altında görevlerini yerine getirmeğe çalışmışlardır.Faşistler daha önce 200 üyemizi kurşunlayarak öldürdü.Bunlar arasında örgütümüzün en büyük şubesi olan İstanbul şube başkanımız Talip ÖZTÜRK ile,demokrat bir bilim adamı olan Prof.Cavit Orhan TÜTENGİL'de bulunuyor.Katilleri de bugüne kadar yakalanmış değil.

Türkiye NATO'nun üyesidir.Nato Türkiye için çok pahalıdır. NATO üyesi gelişmiş Avrupa ülkeleri bile,örgüt harcamaları için ve ABD'nin dayatmalarına karşın,ödemelerini %3 oranına çıkarmazlarken Türkiye için bu oran %14.tür.Bunun eğitime olan etkilerinin ne denli olumsuz olacağı açıktır.

Halen 3700 köyümüzde okul yok.Öğrenim çağındaki 2milyon çocuğumuz okulsuz-öğretmensiz.

1978 verilerine göre,doğu bölgemizde erkek yurttaşlarımızın

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%85 i,kadınlarımızın %92 si hiç okuma-yazma bilmiyor.Ülke genelinde okuma-yazma bilmeyenlerin sayısı 13 milyon.

Okuma-yazma durumunu saptayan cunta,yeni bir okuma-yazma seferberliği başlatmış bulunuyor.Biz bunu olumlu bir girişim olarak değerlendiriyoruz.Nevarki,böyle bir girişimde bulunan askeri cunta TÖB-DER'i kapattı.Yöneticilerini,üyelerini askeri hapisanelere doldurdu,öğretmenlikten ayırdı,vatandaşlıktan çıkardı,işkencelerden geçirdi.Bunun arkası da gelmiyor.50 milyona yaklaşan nufusuxxa olan,zengin yeraltı,yerüstü zenginliklerine sahip bulunan ve eğitimi bunlara karşın utanç verici düzeyde tutulan ülkemizde,askeri cunta ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ TÖB-DER'i sorumlu tutuyor,suçlu diye öğretmenleri yakalıyor...

Oysa Türkiye emperyalizme,ABD'ye bağımlılığının acısını çekiyor. Bunlara bağımlılığındandır Türkiye'nin geri kalmışlığı.Eğitimi,ekonomik ve sosyal ~~xxxxxxxxx~~ düzenin genel bozukluğu içinde sağlam temellere oturtulamamış,gerici ve faşist karmaşı siyasi yönetimlerin elinde ve emperyalizmin buyrukları ve istemleri doğrultusunda ülkenin ulusal geliri çar-çur edilmiş,halkımız bunlar elinde ,bunlar tarafından bilinçli bir şekilde okulsuz-alfabesiz bırakılmıştır.

Tüm ilerici kamuoyu ve halkımız biliyor.TÖB-DER,öğretmenlerin sosyal ve sendikal hakları ve eğitim politikasının değiştirilmesi, demokratik,baraşçı,ulusal çıkarlardan ve halktan yana bir eğitim için savaşım vermiştir.

TÖB-DER,tüm bu istemler doğrultusunda pek çok eylem yaptı, direnişler örgütledi.Gericilikle boğuştu.Faşistlere ve onların cinayetlerine,kitle kırımı girişimlerine karşı savaşım yürüttü.

TÖB-DER bu haklı savaşımını yine sürdürecektir.Esasen TÖB-DER 1971 yılında kendisinden önce öğretmenlerin örgütü olan,ayni amaçlar doğrultusunda çalışmalar yapan,savaşkan örgütümüz TÖS'ün,yine bir askeri cunta tarafından kapatılmasından sonra ve askeri cunta yönetimi ~~xxxxxxx~~ sırasında kurulmuştu.

TÖB-DER'li öğretmenler,FİSE'nin 12.konferansından sonra uluslararası örgütler arasında dayanışmanın daha da yükseleceğini,yeni boyutlar kazanacağını söylemişlerdir.

TÜSTAV SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CONFÉDÉRATION MONDIALE DU TRAVAIL

SECRÉTARIAT GÉNÉRAL : 50, RUE JOSEPH II - B-1040 BRUXELLES - BELGIQUE
TÉL : 02/217.63.87 - ADRESSE TÉLÉGR. : MUNDOLABOR - BRUXELLES

Camarade Jan NEMOUDRY
F.S.M.
Vinohradská 10
121 47 Praga 2
Tchécoslovaquie

DATE Le 19 août 1981

NOS RÉF. JK/ALF 1297
VOS RÉF.

Cher camarade,

Nous accusons réception de votre lettre du 15 juillet concernant la répression exercée contre le DISK en Turquie et proposant l'envoi d'une délégation conjointe CISL, CMT, FSM en Turquie.

Vous savez que la CMT a déjà mené et continuera à mener des actions de soutien et de dénonciation pour défendre nos camarades du DISK.

Je ne manquerai pas de communiquer votre initiative au Bureau Exécutif de la CMT.

Recevez, Cher camarade, mes meilleures salutations.

Jan KULAKOWSKI
Secrétaire Général

Attention : A partir du 1er juin 1980
Nouvelle adresse : 71, rue Joseph II - Boîte 2
1040 BRUXELLES
Téléphone : 230.62.95

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE

Prague, le 21 juillet 1981

Général Kenan EVREN
Chef d'Etat et du Conseil
de Sécurité Nationale
ANKARA - Turquie

Messieurs,

A l'occasion de l'anniversaire de l'assassinat de notre camarade Kemal TURKLER, éminent syndicaliste au niveau national et international, nous tenons à exprimer par la présente notre profonde préoccupation devant la violation systématique des libertés syndicales en Turquie, aggravée par la demande de peine de mort contre 52 dirigeants de la Confédération DISK, organisation syndicale représentative des centaines de milliers de travailleurs turcs.

Une telle tentative est inadmissible alors que les assassins de TURKLER restent toujours impunis et on continue à faire la sourde oreille à propos du massacre des manifestants du 1er Mai 1977. A cette époque-là le chef du Parti du Mouvement Nationaliste et qui avait donné l'ordre d'assassiner TURKLER était vice-premier ministre.

Les déclarations faites au nom du régime en faveur de la démocratie sont manifestement démenties par la répression qui s'est abattue sur la DISK, ses dirigeants et adhérents et d'autres forces démocratiques de votre pays.

Le mouvement syndical international a unanimement dénoncé ce procès intenté contre 52 dirigeants de la DISK, en flagrante contradiction avec les conventions de l'OIT et les chartes de l'ONU et qui constitue selon nous un défi contre les travailleurs du monde entier.

C'est pourquoi nous exigeons notamment la libération immédiate des 52 dirigeants de la DISK et d'autres syndicalistes arbitrairement détenus, la cessation de toute poursuite contre ceux-ci, le rétablissement des libertés syndicales et démocratiques, le respect des droits de l'homme.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Au nom de ses 190 millions d'adhérents de tous les continents du monde, la FSM est décidée à poursuivre ses efforts dans ce but qui est en pleine conformité avec les aspirations des travailleurs turcs dont plusieurs organisations sont membres de la FSM et de tous les travailleurs de votre pays, pour une véritable démocratie en Turquie.

Le Secrétariat de la F.S.M.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Press Communique

No. 36
Prague, 21 July 1981

22 July: anniversary of Brother Turkler's murder

On 22 July it will be one year since the cowardly murder of our brother, Kemal Turkler, by the fascist gangsters in Turkey. It has just been revealed that the murderers acted on the direct orders of the leader of the fascist party, a former deputy prime minister.

Kemal Turkler, who was president of the metalworkers' union MADEN-IS, for many years and president of the trade union confederation DISK from its foundation until 1977, was an eminent leader of the Turkish trade union movement. A promoter of class- and mass-based trade unionism and symbol of the heroic fighting spirit of his country's working class, he was also a strong supporter of unity among all the workers of the world.

The WFTU pays respectful and heartfelt tribute to the memory of brother Turkler, whom we shall never forget.

It is horrifying to realise that now, a year later, the authorities are trying to condemn his companions, Abdullah Basturk and 51 other leaders of DISK, to death by means of a verdict reached in an arbitrary military court, while the murderers of Kemal Turkler go unpunished.

On behalf of its 190 million members all over the world, the WFTU reiterates its appeal for strong protest action to be taken against this latest crime. The strength capable of preventing this crime and saving the lives of the DISK leaders is to be found in active international workers' solidarity and in the unity of workers and democratic forces in Turkey which was expressed in the great mass turnout at the funeral, a year ago, of our late lamented brother, Kemal Turkler.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ

Checoslovaquia, 121 47 Praga 2, Vinohradská 10
Teléfono 243741-9, Telex 121525 WFTU C
Dirección telegráfica: FESYMOND PRAGUE

Prague, 13 July 1981

To all affiliated and friendly organisations

SG/Circ. 35/81

Re: Campaign against the repression in Turkey

Dear Brothers,

Ever since the military coup d'etat on 12 September 1980, Turkey has been living under a regime where trade union freedoms are systematically flouted.

The Progressive Trade Union Confederation DISK has been one of the main targets of repression since the junta seized power.

Hundreds of leaders and activists of DISK and its affiliated unions have been suffering in military prisons for ten months.

Various proceedings have been brought against these trade unionists which bear witness to the unequalled violation of trade union freedoms and basic human rights and are in flagrant contradiction to ILO Conventions and the UN Charter. It should be pointed out that the hearing of a further trial of 52 leaders of DISK and its affiliates has been set for a military court in Istanbul and this will act as the basis for other proceedings against some 2,000 trade union leaders and activists. The military prosecutor has demanded the death penalty for Abdullah Basturk, president of DISK, and his 51 brothers.

The 52 trade unionists are accused of wanting to "overthrow" the Constitution of the Republic, whereas it is the generals themselves who have overthrown it as a result of the coup d'etat.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

This trial is an act directed against the trade unions and workers and favours only the most aggressive elements of local and international reaction; it is a challenge to the workers of the whole world.

The WFTU voices a strong protest against this attempt to lay the DISK leaders low. The only way to cause this attempt to fail is active mass protests by workers in all countries.

The WFTU has never ceased to support the workers of Turkey, the DISK and its affiliated unions in their courageous fight. It has constantly undertaken different actions and legal measures in defence of our brothers imprisoned in Turkey and their families.

In this spirit, the WFTU call on all affiliated and friendly organisations:

- to mobilise all their forces in a broad campaign of protest and solidarity by organising mass petitions, motions and delegations to Turkish embassies, and in particular by turning the days of the trial hearings into real days of struggle;

- to send requests to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General, and Mr. Francis Blanchard, ILO Director General, asking them to intervene with the Turkish authorities so as to save the DISK leaders and activists from death, torture and prison.

Yours fraternally,

Ibrahim ZAKARIA
Acting General Secretary

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

FEDERACION SINDICAL MUNDIAL
WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
FÉDÉRATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE
ВСЕМИРНАЯ ФЕДЕРАЦИЯ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ

Checoslovaquia, 121 47 Praga 2, Vinohradská 10
Teléfono 243741-9, Telex 121525 WFTU C
Dirección telegráfica: FESYMOND PRAGUE

Прага, I3 июля I98Iг.

ВХОДЯЩИМ И ДРУЖЕСТВЕННЫМ
ОРГАНИЗАЦИЯМ

Цирк. № 35/8I/ГС

О кампании против репрессий в Турции

Дорогие товарищи!

С тех пор, как I2 сентября I980 года в Турции произошел военный государственный переворот, в стране установился режим, систематически подавляющий профсоюзные свободы.

Одним из главных объектов репрессий турецкой военщины стала Конфедерация революционных рабочих профсоюзов (ДИСК).

Сотни руководителей и активистов ДИСК и ее входящих организаций вот уже на протяжении десяти месяцев томятся в тюремных застенках хунты.

Многочисленные судебные процессы, сфабрикованные против профсоюзных деятелей, свидетельствуют о грубом посягательстве на профсоюзные свободы и основные права человека, о вопиющем нарушении положений конвенций МОТ и Устава ООН.

Власти замышляют новый процесс против 52 руководителей ДИСК и его членских организаций, которые должны предстать перед военным судом Стамбула. Этот процесс послужит сигналом для начала широкой кампании репрессий против 2 000 профсоюзных руководителей и активистов. Военный прокурор потребовал вынесения смертного приговора председателю ДИСК А.Баштюрку и остальным 5I руководителям ДИСК.

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Все эти 52 профсоюзных деятеля обвиняются в попытке "упразднить" конституцию республики, хотя сами генералы приостановили ее действие после совершения государственного переворота.

Готовящийся процесс, который является глубоко антипрофсоюзным и антирабочим актом, потворствует интересам наиболее агрессивных кругов местной и международной реакции и представляет собой вызов трудящимся всего мира.

ВФП решительно протестует против попыток расправиться с руководителями ДИСК. Лишь решительные и активные выступления трудящихся всех стран могут помешать осуществлению намерений турецких властей.

ВФП неизменно оказывала поддержку трудящимся Турции, ДИСК, ее членским организациям в их упорной героической борьбе. Она постоянно осуществляла разнообразные действия, в том числе юридического характера, направленные на защиту арестованных турецких профактивистов и членов их семей.

Сегодня ВФП снова призывает все входящие и дружественные организации:

- развернуть самые широкие действия протеста и солидарности путем организации петиций, обращений, направления делегаций в посольства Турции в своих странах, осуществления дней борьбы, которые должны стать ответом на судебные процессы, организуемые турецкими властями и т.д.;

- обращаться к Генеральному секретарю ООН Курту Вальдхайму и генеральному директору МБТ Франсису Бланшару с просьбой потребовать от турецких властей остановить угрозу, нависшую над руководителями и активистами ДИСК, прекратить пытки и предоставить им свободу.

Ибрагим ЗАКАРИЯ
исполняющий обязанности генерального секретаря ВФП

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

nouvelles syndicales internationales

BIMENSUEL

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CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

NSI/15 Le 27 juillet 1981

TOP INTERNATIONAL

Déclaration de la C.I.S.L. à propos de la situation au Moyen-Orient

Le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, a fait la déclaration suivante suite à la détérioration de la situation au Moyen-Orient:

"Le mouvement syndical libre international est profondément bouleversé et horrifié par le retour de la violence au Moyen-Orient. La C.I.S.L. condamne entièrement les attaques menées à partir du territoire libanais par les forces de l'O.L.P. contre les villages paisibles du Nord de l'Etat d'Israël, tout comme elle condamne la riposte démesurée et sans discernement de l'armée israélienne qui a provoqué la mort de centaines de civils au Liban et la destruction, entre autres, des moyens de communication qui sont d'une importance vitale pour l'économie de ce pays. Nous demandons aux organisations affiliées de la C.I.S.L. dans les pays concernés d'exercer une pression sur leurs gouvernements respectifs en faveur d'un cessez-le-feu immédiat et de l'ouverture du dialogue entre toutes les parties en cause sur base de la Résolution 242 adoptée par le Conseil de sécurité des Nations Unies, afin que les droits fondamentaux de l'Etat d'Israël et du peuple palestinien soient entièrement reconnus par tous les intéressés et qu'une collaboration pacifique soit établie entre les différents pays de la région, améliorant ainsi le bien-être social et économique des travailleurs appartenant aux populations qui ont été cruellement éprouvées depuis si longtemps. Nous demandons également aux parties concernées d'assurer le retrait immédiat des forces armées étrangères se trouvant au Liban et de respecter l'indépendance, l'intégrité du territoire et l'unité du pays ainsi que l'autorité de l'Etat libanais." (voir également sous le titre MOYEN-ORIENT).

EN ANNEXE

Résolution sur les Services publics et les droits syndicaux dans le Secteur public, adoptée par le Comité exécutif de la C.I.S.L.

SOMMET D'OTTAWA

Le Sommet d'Ottawa, réunissant les dirigeants des sept nations industrielles les plus importantes, s'est terminé sans que l'on soit parvenu à un accord sur des mesures tellement nécessaires pour renflouer l'économie mondiale. Cependant, entre les lignes du communiqué final apparaissait une certaine évidence que l'attaque concertée des syndicats contre les politiques monétaristes restrictives commençait à faire réfléchir les gouvernements.

Avant la réunion, un sommet syndical organisé par le TUAC (la Commission syndicale consultative auprès de l'O.C.D.E.) avait rédigé une déclaration destinée à être présentée aux sept dirigeants. La C.I.S.L. était représentée au sommet syndical par son Secrétaire général, Otto Kersten.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Secrétaire général : O. KERSTEN, rue Montagne aux Herbes Potagères 37-41 - 1000 Bruxelles - Tél. (02) 217.80.85 - Telex 26785 ICFTU BRU

Parmi les points de vue des syndicats dont les dirigeants discutèrent avec le Président du Sommet d'Ottawa, le premier ministre canadien Pierre Trudeau, figuraient les aspects suivants:

- Une politique active de l'emploi et du marché de l'emploi, y compris la création directe d'emplois, permettant de libérer des ressources qui sont aujourd'hui de plus en plus immobilisées dans des indemnités de chômage.

- Une politique d'investissement ayant comme objectifs précis l'amélioration des services publics pour répondre à des besoins non satisfaits et la stimulation des investissements privés dans des secteurs économiquement et socialement utiles.

- Une politique de lutte contre l'inflation en déclenchant une attaque contre ses principaux facteurs sous-jacents, c'est-à-dire les taux élevés d'intérêt, la trop forte dépendance à l'égard du pétrole importé, les forces contrôlant le marché, le vieillissement de la capacité de production, la distribution défectueuse des revenus et le chômage lui-même.

- Une politique visant à la réduction du temps de travail sans réduction du revenu.

- Une approche globale à l'égard des prix et de l'approvisionnement de toutes les formes d'énergie, ainsi que dans le contexte des négociations collectives entre les pays producteurs de pétrole et les pays consommateurs de pétrole.

- Une réduction des taux d'intérêt, coordonnée à l'échelon international, et des réformes dans le système monétaire international pour faciliter le recyclage des surplus de la balance des paiements de certains pays producteurs de pétrole et pour aider les pays en voie de développement à surmonter les problèmes de leurs balances des paiements.

- Des politiques de développement, négociées entre toutes les parties intéressées, qui améliorent la structure économique et sociale et la base de production des pays en voie de développement par le biais d'une assistance financière et technique accrue et d'autres formes de transferts de ressources.

(Le Secrétaire général du TUAC, Kari Tapiola, commentera le sommet et les réunions de l'O.C.D.E. dans la prochaine édition du bulletin de la C.I.S.L., Monde du Travail Libre).

CISL
2e RASSEMBLEMENT MONDIAL
DE LA JEUNESSE SYNDICALE
SEVILLE, ESPAGNE 22-30 AOUT 1981

Le comité organisateur du Rassemblement de la Jeunesse s'est réuni à Madrid les 26 et 27 juin pour discuter des derniers arrangements.

Les membres du comité ont également inspecté le lieu du Rassemblement à Séville où les travaux de construction tirent à leur fin.

TÜRK SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

AFRIQUE

L'AFRIQUE DU SUD - Une nouvelle vague de répression

Les syndicalistes noirs en Afrique du Sud sont en train de faire face à la plus importante vague d'arrestations depuis 1976. Parmi les syndicalistes détenus, on compte: Zwekahle Sisulu et Thami Mazwai, Président et Secrétaire national de la Media Workers' Association of South Africa, Dumile Makanda, Président de la Motor Assembly and Components Workers' Union of South Africa (Macwusa), les syndicalistes de Macwusa, Sipho Pityana et Mxolisi Didiza, le membre du comité exécutif de Macwusa, Maxwell Mandlinguizi ainsi que le membre Tsedu; Joseph Mavi, Président de la Black Municipality Workers' Union; Thozamile Gqweta, Sisa Njikalana et Xolani Kota, respectivement Président, Vice-président et Secrétaire de la division de l'Est londonien de la South African Allied Workers' Union.

Les autorités ont nié que les responsables soient détenus en raison de leurs activités syndicales. Néanmoins, les observateurs font remarquer que tous les syndicats concernés sont ceux qui refusent de fonctionner au sein d'un système de travail organisé par le gouvernement.

La C.I.S.L. a protesté auprès des autorités sud-africaines contre la répression et a renouvelé son appel aux Nations Unies en vue d'imposer des sanctions économiques.

* * *

Un incendie a sérieusement endommagé le siège du Transvaal de la Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), le 16 juillet. Des dossiers syndicaux irremplaçables ont été détruits par le feu qui, croit-on, a été provoqué par une bombe incendiaire.

* * *

Les travaux de compilation de la nouvelle liste C.I.S.L. des sociétés étrangères qui investissent en Afrique du Sud sont presque terminés. La nouvelle liste compte 3.050 entreprises, contre 1.883 dans l'ancienne liste.

* * *

Un exemple encourageant du résultat qui peut être obtenu par la pression internationale sur les investisseurs étrangers nous est donné par la South African Fabrics, une filiale de la multinationale Courtaulds appartenant à l'industrie textile et vestimentaire. La SAF dont la main-d'oeuvre est principalement noire, a accepté l'arbitrage à propos de la revendication syndicale d'une augmentation générale du salaire et de la mise en place du système à travail égal, salaire égal, pour les hommes et les femmes. L'arbitrage a eu lieu du 8 au 12 juin, en dehors du système fonctionnant d'après l'impopulaire 'Industrial Conciliation Act' et la sentence arbitrale stipule que la discrimination en matière salariale doit être abolie et qu'une augmentation générale de 12% doit être octroyée.

John Copelyn et Alec Erwin de la National Union of Textile Workers et Charles Ford, Secrétaire général de la Fédération internationale des Travailleurs du Textile, de l'Habillement et du Cuir, portèrent témoignage.

ASIE

Japon: Au nombre des congrès syndicaux qui se sont tenus ce mois-ci, on compte ceux de la Municipal Transport Workers' Federation, Toshiko (14 et 15 juillet), de la Postal Workers' Union Zentei (14 au 17 juillet), du General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (Sohyo, 20 au 23 juillet) et de la Telecommunications Workers' Federation, Zendentsu (29 juillet au 1er août). Le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L. a adressé ses félicatations aux organisations syndicales concernées.

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CONTINENT AMERICAIN

Protestation de la C.I.S.L. contre les arrestations en Argentine

La Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres a protesté auprès des autorités argentines contre l'arrestation de dirigeants syndicaux le 23 juillet dernier, juste après que la C.G.T. (Fédération générale du Travail) de ce pays eût organisé une journée nationale de protestation contre l'inflation et le chômage et de soutien à un programme de revendications syndicales. Soulignant que les arrestations constituent une violation de la Déclaration universelle des Droits de l'Homme et des Conventions de l'O.I.T., le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, a exigé du Président argentin, Viola, la libération immédiate et sans condition de Saul Ubaldini (Secrétaire général de la C.G.T.), de Donaires, de José Rodriguez, de Lecio Romero, de Ricardo Perez, de Manuel Diz Rey, d'Antonio Clader, d'Oswaldo Borda et des autres dirigeants syndicaux détenus. La C.I.S.L. a également déposé une plainte officielle auprès du B.I.T. contre le gouvernement argentin et Otto Kersten a demandé au Directeur général du B.I.T., Francis Blanchard, d'intervenir personnellement auprès des autorités argentines.

EN DERNIERE NOUVELLE: Selon les dernières nouvelles, on peut penser qu"Ubaldini et quelques autres syndicalistes ont été libérés. La C.I.S.L. est en train de chercher à obtenir la confirmation de cette nouvelle.

Libération du dirigeant syndical bolivien blessé

Le dirigeant syndical bolivien, Genaro Flores, qui avait été sérieusement blessé, a finalement été autorisé à quitter le pays. Il se trouve actuellement aux Etats-Unis. La C.I.S.L., son organisation régionale interaméricaine O.R.I.T., ainsi que de nombreuses affiliées avaient protesté auprès de la Junte bolivienne contre la détention prolongée de Flores. Il fut récemment examiné à la Clinique de Copacabana à La Paz, par le Dr Alain Bernard pour le compte de Amnesty International. Le Dr Bernard a confirmé que Flores avait une balle logée dans la colonne vertébrale et qu'il devait subir une intervention chirurgicale si on ne voulait pas qu'il devienne définitivement paralysé. Le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L. a demandé à Francis Blanchard, le Directeur général du B.I.T., d'insister auprès des autorités boliviennes pour qu'elles autorisent le transfert de Flores à l'étranger.

La C.I.S.L. a également réclamé la libération immédiate du syndicaliste et journaliste bolivien, Marcelo Quesada Gambarte, qui a été arrêté et emprisonné sans jugement.

Des dirigeants syndicaux chiliens menacés de la peine d'emprisonnement

Huit dirigeants de la Coordinadora Nacional Sindical, l'organe de coordination syndicale du Chili, ont maintenant été libérés sous conditions à la suite des protestations exprimées par la C.I.S.L. et ses affiliées. Toutefois, le Président de la C.N.S., Manuel Bastos et le Secrétaire général de la C.N.S., Alamiro Guzman, restent en détention et sont menacés de lourdes peines d'emprisonnement sur de vagues accusations. Ils furent arrêtés peu de temps après avoir présenté aux autorités chiliennes un programme de revendications principalement économiques, le 7 juillet dernier. Le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, a demandé aux autorités chiliennes de recevoir les représentants de la C.I.S.L. qui plaideront en faveur de la libération immédiate des syndicalistes.

Le dirigeant syndical des mineurs du Guatemala se trouve en détention

On a appris que le dirigeant syndical des mineurs, Luis Federico Castillo, a été arrêté par les forces de sécurité guatémaltèques, le 24 février dernier, alors qu'il revenait de son travail à la mine de tungstène de Ixtahuacan. Il est maintenu en détention depuis ce jour et le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, tout en exprimant l'espoir que Castillo sera libéré le plus tôt possible, a demandé aux autorités militaires des informations concernant la légalité de son arrestation et les conditions de sa détention.

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MOYEN-ORIENT

Les combats au Liban

Dans un télégramme adressé à la C.I.S.L. le 21 juillet dernier, George Sacre, le Secrétaire général de la Fédération des Syndicats du Pétrole au Liban, a condamné "le dernier raid aérien arbitraire d'Israël contre le Liban", qui "s'est soldé par plus de 1.000 tués et blessés dans les quartiers résidentiels de la capitale, par la destruction de 10 ponts d'importance vitale et par la destruction partielle de la raffinerie de pétrole de Zahrani". Les travaux de réparation à la raffinerie sont entravés par le tir israélien et Sacre a demandé à la C.I.S.L. de condamner les raids et d'obtenir du gouvernement israélien qu'il arrête le tir.

Un message reçu le 26 juillet de Yerucham Meshel, Secrétaire général de la Fédération israélienne du travail, Histadrut, faisait observer qu'"à la frontière nord de l'Etat d'Israël, les organes centraux du mouvement syndical se sont réunis pour examiner la situation et ont reconnu à l'unanimité qu'il était impératif de faire tout ce qui est en notre pouvoir pour obtenir rapidement un cessez-le-feu". Toutefois, de la récente résolution du Comité exécutif de la C.I.S.L. à propos de cette question, la seule partie à mettre en oeuvre à ce jour, déclarait Meshel, est "celle relative au retrait des forces armées israéliennes du Liban". Les Syriens ne s'étaient pas retirés et les groupes palestiniens au Liban étaient en train de renforcer dangereusement leur position armée". Le Liban, insistait Meshel, "doit retourner au seul contrôle des autorités libanaises".

EUROPE

France: Force Ouvrière, l'affiliée de la C.I.S.L., a marqué son accord sur les propositions du gouvernement français pour une semaine de travail de 39 heures. Le Secrétaire général de F.O., André Bergeron, fit observer qu'en prolongeant les négociations on aurait pu courir le risque de perdre l'occasion d'aboutir à des résultats concrets par la convention collective avant que le Parlement n'examine la question. F.O. considère cet accord comme un premier pas vers la semaine des 35 heures demandée par la Confédération européenne des Syndicats.

Grande-Bretagne: Le TUC a réclamé une réunion urgente avec le Premier ministre pour discuter les mesures économiques et sociales, à la suite des émeutes survenues dans les villes anglaises. (Dans la prochaine édition de Monde du Travail Libre figurera un résumé d'un programme du TUC pour la renaissance des villes de l'intérieur de la Grande-Bretagne).

Portugal: L'UGTP a ratifié l'appel du Premier ministre en faveur d'un contrat social.

Malte: Un Centre de participation des travailleurs au développement, qui assurera des cours éducatifs et fonctionnera également comme centre de consultation et de recherche en la matière, a été établi à l'Université de Malte. G. Agius et A. Busuttil de l'Union générale des Travailleurs font partie du Comité organisateur du Centre.

Monaco: La Cour Suprême a rendu son jugement à propos de la plainte de la fédération syndicale U.S.M., en proclamant inconstitutionnelles une série de provisions légales, dont celle autorisant le Ministre d'Etat à déclarer les grèves illégales. Tout en remerciant la C.I.S.L. de son soutien, le Secrétaire général de l'U.S.M., Ch. Soccal, s'est engagé à poursuivre la lutte jusqu'à ce que le droit de grève soit entièrement assuré.

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CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

COMITE EXECUTIF

Copenhague, 1 - 2 juillet 1981

RESOLUTION SUR LES SERVICES PUBLICS ET LES DROITS SYNDICAUX DANS LE SECTEUR PUBLIC

Le Comité exécutif de la C.I.S.L., réuni à Copenhague les 1er et 2 juillet 1981:

NOTE avec une profonde inquiétude que les services publics et en particulier les droits syndicaux des employés du secteur public ont été l'objet d'attaques grandissantes,

REAFFIRME le principe fondamental, incorporé dans la résolution adoptée à l'unanimité au Congrès mondial de la C.I.S.L. qui s'est tenu dans la ville de Mexico en 1975, selon lequel tous les travailleurs ont droit à une liberté syndicale totale qu'ils soient employés par des entreprises privées, par des gouvernements ou par des institutions publiques,

CONSIDERE que des services publics efficaces sont essentiels au bien-être et au progrès de la société et que des relations industrielles fondées sur la reconnaissance complète des droits/syndicaux employés du secteur public étaient d'une importance cruciale pour le bon fonctionnement des services publics,

SOULIGNE que des négociations collectives libres dans le secteur public comme dans le secteur privé, constituent le meilleur moyen de résoudre tout type de problème surgissant entre employeurs et travailleurs et d'accorder aux travailleurs l'occasion d'influencer la fixation des conditions de travail et d'emploi.

CONDAMNE les gouvernements qui ne reconnaissent pas les droits syndicaux fondamentaux des employés du secteur public et qui introduisent une législation et prennent d'autres mesures destinées à affaiblir le syndicalisme dans le secteur public,

EXPRIME sa totale opposition à l'imposition de sanctions pénales ou disciplinaires contre les syndicalistes pour avoir participé à des activités syndicales et aux réclamations pour les dommages survenus dans un conflit professionnel,

PRIE le gouvernement de prendre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour

- supprimer la législation qui limite les droits des employés du secteur public,
- promouvoir les négociations collectives libres entre le syndicat des employés du secteur public et les autorités du secteur public,
- supprimer toutes limitations du champ des négociations collectives afin que tous les aspects des conditions de travail et d'emploi soient fixés conjointement,
- assurer que le mécanisme de conciliation et d'arbitrage soit véritablement indépendant, impartial et efficace et soit établi de commun accord par les syndicats et l'employeur,
- assurer que l'existence d'un mécanisme de conciliation et d'arbitrage ne soit pas utilisée comme un prétexte pour éviter des négociations collectives volontaires pour empêcher la résolution hâtive des plaintes syndicales,

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- accorder aux employés du secteur public des moyens syndicaux leur permettant d'effectuer leur travail de manière effective et efficace et empêcher que ces moyens ne soient supprimés de façon arbitraire par l'employeur,

- assurer aux syndicats, à leurs membres et à leurs responsables l'immunité contre des poursuites et des actions judiciaires sous la législation civile et criminelle en raison d'activités syndicales normales y compris l'action industrielle,

- protéger, par la législation, les employés du secteur public contre tout acte discriminatoire à l'égard de leur emploi en raison de leur affiliation à un syndicat ou de leurs activités syndicales et assurer des méthodes efficaces pour leur réhabilitation suite à des dommages qu'une telle discrimination aurait causés,

CONSIDERE que le droit de grève et de participation à d'autres formes d'action industrielle est un droit syndical fondamental et par conséquent,

CONDAMNE entièrement le refus à ce droit pour tous les employés du secteur public, l'introduction dans plusieurs pays d'une législation destinée à limiter ce droit et à autoriser des sanctions contre des syndicalistes prenant part à une action industrielle et en particulier des mesures arbitraires qui seraient prises à l'égard de syndicats spécifiques ou dont on les menacerait afin de les empêcher de mener une action industrielle légitime,

PROCLAME que tous les employés du secteur public doivent jouir des mêmes droits politiques que tous les autres citoyens, y compris le droit de participer totalement aux partis et aux activités politiques,

SE PRONONCE EN FAVEUR de l'adoption par la Conférence internationale du Travail de 1978 de la Convention 151 qui complète les Conventions 87 et 98 et qui accorde aux employés du secteur public des garanties internationales pour leurs droits syndicaux,

EXHORTE tous les pays du monde à ratifier la Convention 151 de même que les Conventions 87 et 98 et de les appliquer sans restriction,

APPUIE les efforts des syndicats libres et démocratiques des employés du secteur public et des Secrétariats professionnels internationaux respectifs qui tâchent d'assurer la jouissance de tous les droits syndicaux aux employés du secteur public dans le monde entier, et

PLAIDE en faveur de la solidarité et du soutien de la C.I.S.L. à l'égard des syndicats des employés du secteur public et de leurs Secrétariats professionnels respectifs dans leurs efforts pour obtenir pour leurs affiliés la totalité des droits syndicaux.

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nouvelles syndicales internationales

BIMENSUEL

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CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

NSI/10

Le 13 mai 1981

Décès de Sir Vincent TEWSON, ancien Président de la C.I.S.L.

La C.I.S.L. a appris avec tristesse le décès, en Grande-Bretagne, de Sir Vincent Tewson, ancien Secrétaire général du TUC et ancien Président de la C.I.S.L.

Vincent Tewson est né en 1898 à Bradford, dans le Yorkshire. Il quitta jeune l'école et alla travailler dans les bureaux centraux de l'Amalgamated Society of Dyers, le principal syndical de l'industrie lainière. Il demeura dans le syndicat jusqu'en 1916, date à laquelle il entra à l'armée. Après la démobilisation, il reprit ses activités syndicales et consacra son temps libre à des affaires publiques. En 1931, il devint Secrétaire général adjoint du Trades Union Congress sous la direction de Walter Citrine, fonctions qu'il occupa durant 15 ans. Lorsque Citrine devint Président de l'Autorité nationalisée de l'Electricité, Tewson lui succéda en tant que Secrétaire général du TUC, poste qu'il quitta en 1960.

Lors du 2me Congrès mondial de la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres, en 1951 en Italie, Vincent Tewson fut élu Président de la C.I.S.L., succédant ainsi au Belge Paul Finet.

Tewson fut étroitement mêlé à l'histoire du mouvement syndical international libre dès la naissance de celui-ci en 1949. Au Comité exécutif de la Fédération syndicale mondiale, en tant que représentant du TUC, Tewson fut l'un des premiers à s'apercevoir que la F.S.M. n'était devenue qu'un instrument de plus de la propagande de Moscou. En 1948, en même temps que Arthur Deakin, le Secrétaire général du syndicat britannique des travailleurs du transport, il annonça que le TUC se retirait de la F.S.M. Au même moment, ou peu après, dans le monde entier des syndicats démocratiques quittaient la F.S.M.

L'année suivante, Tewson était Secrétaire de la Conférence de dirigeants syndicaux libres qui se tenait à Genève; c'est là que furent entamés des plans pour la formation d'une nouvelle internationale syndicale devant lutter pour des droits justes des travailleurs du monde tout en défendant leur liberté individuelle. Cette conférence de Genève donna naissance à la C.I.S.L. qui tint son Congrès inaugural en décembre 1949 à Londres. Tewson fut élu au Comité exécutif.

Président de la C.I.S.L. de 1951 à 1953, il était bien connu et respecté dans les milieux syndicaux internationaux.

Dans un télégramme envoyé à la famille et au TUC, le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, exprimait les sincères condoléances du mouvement syndical international libre et déclarait: "Nous nous souviendrons longtemps avec respect et gratitude du dirigeant disparu dont le dévouement et la persévérance pour la cause du mouvement syndical international et national lui ont attiré un respect authentique.

TÜRKIYE SOSYAL TARIH ARASTIRMA VAKFI

Secrétaire général : O. KERSTEN, rue Montagne aux Herbes Potagères 37-41 - 1000 Bruxelles - Tél. (02) 217.80.85 - Telex 26785 ICFTU BRU

ANNEXES : 1) EL SALVADOR - La droite et l'armée dans le même sac

2) Premier Mai supprimé en Turquie

TOP INTERNATIONAL

Un organe des Nations Unies critique la politique monétariste

La Commission économique pour l'Europe des Nations Unies (ECE), dans une étude récemment publiée, intitulée "L'Economie Européenne en 1980", couvrant initialement les phénomènes économiques récents des pays d'Europe occidentale et méridionale, ainsi que les mutations structurelles de l'industrie manufacturière ouest-européenne dans les années 1970, exprime des critiques quant à la stratégie monétariste adoptée par maints gouvernements. Le principal moyen adopté pour combattre l'inflation, consistant dans le contrôle de la masse monétaire, ne mérite pas la priorité qui lui est actuellement accordée, est-il déclaré dans cette étude.

Le net fléchissement de la production a conduit à une inquiétante augmentation du chômage; dans l'Europe occidentale industrialisée, le chômage a augmenté de 1,7 million de personnes entre novembre 1979 et novembre 1980. La brusque augmentation du chômage, qui est partie de niveaux beaucoup plus élevés que lors de la précédente récession (1974-75), va probablement se poursuivre, avec des taux de croissance oscillant, dans les différents pays, entre plus et moins 1%, et avec une augmentation de la main-d'oeuvre estimée à plus d'un million par an - en raison du taux de natalité élevé connu par le passé.

Toutes les composantes de la demande se sont affaiblies en 1980, en particulier la consommation privée et l'on s'attend pour 1981 à une stagnation considérable des investissements industriels. Face à des forces du marché aussi réduites, toute reprise économique ne pourra être suscitée que par l'application d'une politique appropriée. Mais les politiques de restrictions et l'assujettissement de la politique fiscale aux critères monétaristes ne laissent que peu de place à une quelconque stimulation. La stratégie adoptée a notamment eu pour conséquence une escalade généralisée des taux d'intérêt, qui ont maintenant atteint des niveaux très élevés, surtout aux Etats-Unis.

L'étude déplore que les Gouvernements d'Europe occidentale aient été forcés d'adopter des politiques plus draconiennes que leur seule situation intérieure ne l'aurait justifié.

La ECE pose à juste titre un grand point d'interrogation sur la stratégie monétariste actuelle et sur son but avoué d'éliminer les espoirs inflationnistes, conduisant ainsi à une croissance équilibrée. Il est certain que pour le Mouvement syndical, la hausse du chômage, la réduction des services sociaux et d'autres conséquences, sont un prix trop cher à payer pour d'incertaines spéculations sur la croissance future.

Questions de la Femme au Travail

La 43e réunion du Comité consultatif C.I.S.L./S.P.I. pour les Questions de la Femme au Travail s'est tenue à Bruxelles les 7 et 8 mai 1981 sous la présidence de Paulette Hofman (F.O. France).

Le Comité a donné beaucoup d'importance au point 3 de son ordre du jour: Emploi des travailleurs ayant des responsabilités familiales. Il a examiné en détail les nouveaux textes de convention et de recommandation proposés par le Bureau international du Travail pour la seconde discussion de ces nouveaux instruments par la Conférence internationale du Travail en juin prochain et a arrêté des orientations utiles aux Membres Travailleurs de la Conférence.

En ce qui concerne plus spécialement l'adaptation des heures d'ouverture des magasins et services aux besoins des travailleurs ayant des responsabilités familiales, le Comité a considéré que cette adaptation ne devait en aucune manière avoir pour résul-

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tat une aggravation des conditions de travail des autres travailleurs de ces magasins et services et que les syndicats avaient dans ce domaine un travail de formation à faire.

Les autres points qui ont été discutés au cours de la réunion du Comité des Femmes ont été un rapport sur la mission féminine C.I.S.L./O.R.A. en Asie et un programme de formation en Asie, l'intégration des femmes dans les syndicats, le programme d'action et les questions de l'emploi des femmes.

La prochaine réunion du Comité a été fixée aux 15 et 16 octobre 1981.

AFRIQUE

Congrès extraordinaire en Tunisie

Après les événements bien connus et relatés régulièrement dans les "Nouvelles syndicales internationales", de nombreux congrès des branches sectorielles et régionales des syndicats étaient organisés en Tunisie pour préparer un Congrès extraordinaire de l'U.G.T.T. Durant cette période d'avant-congrès extraordinaire, tous les responsables de l'U.G.T.T. emprisonnés après le 26 janvier 1978, à l'exception du Secrétaire général Habib Achour, furent libérés et amnistiés et purent ainsi participer à la reconstruction du mouvement syndical libre. Malgré les appels pressants et réitérés des syndicalistes tunisiens et du mouvement syndical international libre, Habib Achour, qui est également Vice-Président de la C.I.S.L., n'a pas été autorisé de sortir de sa retraite forcée et d'être candidat aux élections pour le nouveau Bureau exécutif.

Le Congrès extraordinaire s'est tenu les 29 et 30 avril à Gafsa. 544 délégués étaient présents. N'ayant pas reçu de réponse satisfaisante à la question de "la levée de l'exclusive et la garantie de l'acceptation de toutes les candidatures sans exception", 127 délégués ont quitté le Congrès qui a adopté plusieurs motions d'ordre politique, économique et syndicale. Une motion (publiée à la fin de cet article) au sujet de la levée de l'exclusive a été adoptée à l'unanimité.

Tous les membres du Bureau exécutif qui ont été élus par le Congrès sont des dirigeants syndicaux des anciennes structures légitimes (d'avant le 26 janvier 1978): K. Abid, S. Allouche, T. Baccouche, A. Belaid, H. Ben Achour, H. Ben Kaddour, S. Besbes, A. Bouraoui, K. Bousalah, N. Chaari, M. Gharbi, A. Ghorbal et K. Salhi. Le Bureau exécutif élargi a désigné T. Baccouche comme Secrétaire général.

La motion au sujet de la levée de l'exclusive adoptée unanimement par le Congrès a la teneur suivante:

"Le Congrès extraordinaire de l'U.G.T.T., réuni à Gafsa les 29 et 30 avril 1981:

- Considerant que l'U.G.T.T. est innocente de toute responsabilité dans les événements du 26 janvier 1978, que la responsabilité de ces événements incombe à des parties qui ont voulu frapper l'U.G.T.T. afin de la placer sous tutelle et de lui imposer leur mainmise et que ce sont essentiellement la Centrale syndicale, ses militants et la classe ouvrière en général qui ont payé le prix de ces événements.

- Considérant que la cause syndicale est une et indivisible ayant pour objectif la sauvegarde de la Centrale et de son autonomie et que les syndicalistes n'ont jamais cessé de revendiquer la proclamation d'une amnistie générale pour tous les syndicalistes sans exclusive afin d'effacer les traces de l'injustice qu'ils ont subie.

- Considérant que les mesures de grâce dont ont bénéficié les syndicalistes sont restées incomplètes puisque ne concernant pas le camarade Habib Achour dont nul ne peut nier le militantisme syndical et national ainsi que ses attributions syndicales et internationales.

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- Les congressistes estiment d'une part, que le présent congrès n'est qu'une étape dans l'itinéraire syndical et, d'autre part, que le maintien en résidence surveillée du camarade Habib Achour spolié de tous ses droits, constitue une entrave à l'autonomie de l'U.G.T.T. et à la démocratie dont doit bénéficier l'action syndicale, conformément à la motion du 21 septembre 1980 qui a suscité l'unanimité des syndicalistes en diverses occasions.

- Le Congrès demande au nouveau bureau exécutif d'oeuvrer avec détermination pour la levée des restrictions et de l'exclusive sur le camarade Habib Achour afin qu'il retrouve ses droits civiques, politiques et syndicaux.

- Le Congrès recommande la tenue d'un conseil national dans les plus brefs délais et ce pour le suivi de l'action du bureau exécutif concernant ce point particulier. Il délègue au bureau exécutif les prérogatives de l'adoption des mesures pratiques susceptibles de lui permettre d'exercer ses droits.

- En conséquence, le Congrès lance un pressant appel à tous les travailleurs et cadres syndicaux pour qu'ils oeuvrent à une plus grande unité des rangs et à un soutien de leurs structures élues pour la garantie de la pérennité et de l'autonomie de l'U.G.T.T. et la poursuite de l'action militante, dont l'objectif est la concrétisation des aspirations de la classe ouvrière et des couches populaires, pour le bien de la patrie."

CONTINENT AMERICAIN

La résistance se durcit au Chili

Des informations qui nous sont parvenues en fin avril confirment que la grève à la mine de cuivre "El Teniente" est totale et illimitée. Elle pourrait s'étendre à d'autres mines. Les grévistes se sont engagés à ne pas plier devant les menaces de la junte militaire et de la compagnie CODELCO. Les mineurs reprochent à CODELCO d'avoir publié des chiffres de salaires tronqués pour les dépeindre comme des "travailleurs aristocrates". Vingt fédérations syndicales et syndicats nationaux, représentés dans les divers fronts syndicaux, ont exprimé leur solidarité aux grévistes.

Cette grève se déroule à un moment où la lutte contre la dictature chilienne déborde de la classe ouvrière. Les chrétiens-démocrates ont manifesté publiquement contre la campagne de calomnie que mène le régime contre le Cardinal Silva Henriquez. Le Cardinal a critiqué la politique économique de Pinochet.

Le régime a répondu par une répression accrue aux diverses manifestations de sentiment populaire telles qu'une manifestation à l'occasion de la libération de prisonniers politiques et une brève occupation de la radio le 28 avril. Un groupe se faisant appeler "Milices de la Défense populaire" a réussi à lancer à la radio un appel de sept minutes pour le soutien à la grève des mineurs et pour une mobilisation contre la junte le 1er mai. Ce 1er mai, le ministre de l'Intérieur a interdit toutes réunions à l'exception de celle présidée par le Général Pinochet. La police a arrêté dix des mineurs en grève le 9 mai. La C.I.S.L. et plusieurs de ses affiliées ont protesté contre ces arrestations et ont réaffirmé leur solidarité avec les travailleurs chiliens.

Tournée bolivienne en Europe

Le dirigeant de la centrale syndicale bolivienne COB, Juan Lechin, vient d'effectuer une série de visites à des affiliées de la C.I.S.L. C'est ainsi qu'en Allemagne fédérale il a participé à côté du Président du DGB, H.O. Vetter, aux manifestations du 1er mai. Il a rendu visite également aux organisations syndicales libres des Pays-Bas (FNV), du Danemark (LO et FTF) et d'Espagne (UGT). Les responsables des organisations visitées ont exprimé leur sympathie au leader syndical bolivien et ont confirmé la solidarité de la C.I.S.L. et de leurs organisations avec les travailleurs boliviens en lutte pour le respect des droits humains et pour les libertés syndicales et politiques.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

ASIE

Déclaration de DOMEI

Après deux journées de débats animés, la Convention de la Confédération japonaise du Travail (DOMEI) a confirmé des stratégies pratiques et diverses tâches à entreprendre.

Tout d'abord, DOMEI doit remporter les négociations salariales de 1981 et mener à bien ses luttes. Pour cette raison, elle doit obtenir satisfaction avec sa revendication d'une hausse des salaires de 10% pour suivre les développements économiques et, ainsi, sauvegarder le salaire réel des travailleurs et placer l'économie nationale sur la voie d'une croissance constante. Elle doit aussi remporter la victoire en des questions importantes telles que la réduction du temps de travail et l'utilisation complète des congés annuels ainsi qu'obtenir l'application générale de la retraite à 60 ans.

DOMEI fera en même temps de gros efforts pour appliquer ses politiques et ses systèmes visant la stabilisation et l'amélioration des conditions de vie des gens grâce au rétablissement des finances nationales (sans avoir recours à une augmentation de la fiscalité), à la sécurité de l'emploi, au contrôle des hausses des prix et à la promotion du bien-être social ainsi qu'à des politiques d'économie d'énergie. De plus, l'organisation a pris des décisions concernant les préparatifs pour la fondation de "l'Institut de Recherche économique et sociale" qui servira à formuler des théories et des idées politiques, basées sur des approches nouvelles, afin de faire face aux situations en mutation au Japon et à l'étranger ainsi que dans les structures sociales et économiques. DOMEI prendra l'initiative de s'assurer que cette institution soit créée.

L'unification du front du travail, l'un des objectifs stratégiques pour les années 1980, en est arrivée à un stade encourageant, particulièrement en ce qui concerne l'Organisation pour la Promotion de l'Unification. La Convention a réaffirmé que les principes fondamentaux de DOMEI, qui demande l'unification dans le secteur privé comme première étape et l'affiliation à la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres, seront fermement maintenus. Des contacts plus étroits avec d'autres organisations affiliées et avec des sections de DOMEI dans chaque préfecture seront développés et DOMEI, dans son ensemble, luttera pour l'unification du front du travail.

Afin d'accomplir ces tâches et d'autres résolutions adoptées par la Convention, DOMEI franchira un grand pas vers la construction d'un ordre nouveau grâce à la participation des travailleurs et à l'unification du front du travail. Elle doit en outre consolider les organisations membres de DOMEI qui se trouvent sur les lieux de travail et qui font preuve d'une grande vigueur.

EUROPE

Espoirs en France

Le Bureau confédéral de FORCE OUVRIERE, organisation-membre de la C.I.S.L., a exprimé ses vives félicitations à François Mitterand, nouveau Président de la République française.

Le Secrétaire général de F.O., André Bergeron, a fait la déclaration suivante: "L'élection du Socialiste François Mitterand à la Présidence de la République a marqué sans doute la fin d'une période de l'histoire politique de la France. La tâche ne sera pas facile et F.O. n'a pas l'intention de mettre le couteau sur la gorge du nouveau Président. Aucun miracle n'est possible dans le contexte national et international actuel, un contexte profondément marqué par les conséquences d'une crise économique mondiale qui va probablement durer longtemps. Cela veut dire que demain, pas plus qu'hier, F.O. ne se fera entraîner dans la voie de la démagogie et de la surenchère. F.O. espère que la politique qui sera faite sous la conduite du nouveau Président débouche sur le progrès et la justice sociale dans la démocratie et la liberté."

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Libération de syndicalistes turcs

Le 24 avril, un juge militaire a ordonné la libération de 113 membres de la confédération syndicale DISK qui avaient été arrêtés lorsque les forces armées prirent le pouvoir en septembre dernier. 195 membres de DISK, dont le Président et le Secrétaire général, sont toujours en prison. Les personnes qui ont été libérées comme celles qui sont encore détenues doivent être jugées pour tentative de soulèvement et pour activités subversives marxistes-léninistes, accusations qui sont passibles de la peine de mort en vertu de la loi martiale à présent en vigueur. Comme l'ont annoncé les "Nouvelles syndicales internationales", une mission de la C.I.S.L. s'est rendue en Turquie au début du mois d'avril et a demandé au gouvernement la libération des syndicalistes emprisonnés et le respect des droits humains et syndicaux.

P A N O R A M A

Etats-Unis: Le syndicat américain des travailleurs de l'automobile (United Automobile Workers'Union), l'un des plus grands groupements syndicaux des Etats-Unis (1,2 million de membres actifs), va rejoindre la fédération syndicale nationale American Federation of Labour and Congress of Industrial Organisations (AFL-CIO).

L'union des deux groupes a été affirmée lors d'un vote à la base au cours de conventions régionales de l'UAW, la majorité s'étant prononcée pour la réaffiliation.

Afrique du Sud: A Livingstone, dans le sud de la Zambie, un dirigeant syndicaliste noir a déclaré devant une conférence organisée par l'Organisation internationale du Travail que plus de cinquante mille enfants noirs sont morts de faim l'an dernier dans les régions rurales d'Afrique du Sud.

B.I.T.: Selon une étude publiée récemment par le Bureau international du Travail (B.I.T.), le nombre d'enfants et d'adolescents de moins de quinze ans qui travaillent dans le monde a encore augmenté depuis deux ans. Les données dont on dispose permettent d'affirmer qu'on en compte aujourd'hui au moins 55 millions.

P E R S O N N A L I T E S

Le Comité exécutif du Mauritius Labour Congress (île Maurice) a été constitué avec Chandersendsig BHAGIRUTTY comme Président et Khemraze GUNNIAH comme Secrétaire général.

DERNIERE NOUVELLE

Après l'annonce de l'attentat commis à Rome sur la personne du Pape Paul Jean II, le Secrétaire général de la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres, Otto Kersten, s'est dit choqué et affligé de l'action terroriste de différents milieux extrémistes, qui par l'incitation ou en donnant l'exemple, sont les vrais responsables de la vague d'attentats contre des représentants politiques, des églises ou des syndicats.

Le Secrétaire général a souhaité prompt rétablissement au Pape, et il a réitéré l'appel de la C.I.S.L., qui regroupe plus de 70 millions de membres dans les cinq continents, que tous les leaders politiques et économiques du monde prennent conscience des conséquences inévitables d'une situation prolongée qui est marquée sur le plan des différentes régions mondiales, par la faim, le chômage et le non-respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme et des droits politiques et syndicaux.

Seule l'instauration généralisée d'un nouvel ordre social et démocratique libre peut éviter de plus grandes catastrophes.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Annexe II (NSI/10)

La Fête du Travail supprimée en Turquie

Les généraux de la junte militaire au pouvoir en Turquie ont supprimé la Fête du Travail.

La question du 1er mai comme Fête du Travail a été controversée en Turquie durant ces 50 dernières années, période au cours de laquelle à cette date il n'y avait pas de jour de congé, où ce jour était célébré comme festival de la fleur et du printemps et parfois comme Fête du Travail. Les généraux au pouvoir ont à présent décrété que le 1er mai n'est plus un jour férié en Turquie.

Les organisations de travailleurs de Turquie n'obtinrent la légalité qu'en 1947. La législation permettait la formation de syndicats mais ceux-ci ne pouvaient conclure de conventions collectives ou lancer des appels à une action industrielle. Ce ne fut qu'en 1963 qu'une nouvelle Constitution garantit aux syndicats des droits semblables à ceux dont jouissent les syndicats dans des pays européens comparables. Durant la période où la capacité des syndicats de mener une action était encore considérablement réduite, bien que tolérée par la loi, l'organisation membre de la C.I.S.L. TÜRK-IŞ évita de célébrer le 1er mai comme Fête du Travail et la transforma plutôt en festival de la fleur et du printemps.

Le 1er mai 1976, la confédération syndicale DISK organisa pour la première fois une manifestation de 100.000 travailleurs à Istanbul et les célébrations de la Fête du Travail devaient se renouveler en 1977. Il y eut des incidents durant la manifestation au Taskim Square dont le lourd bilan s'établir à 35 tués et 200 blessés. Une autre grande manifestation de travailleurs fut prévue pour 1979 mais elle fut interdite. La loi martiale fut établie dans 13 villes de Turquie. La confédération DISK considéra l'interdiction de sa manifestation injustifiée et se déclara prête à la maintenir. C'est ainsi que les locaux de DISK furent fouillés le 28 avril 1979; les affiches et les tracts du 1er mai furent confisqués et les membres du Comité exécutif ont été arrêtés tout comme de nombreux responsables de syndicats affiliés à DISK. Un couvre-feu fut imposé le 1er mai, le gouvernement Ecevit donnant comme raison l'obligation de freiner la violence grandissante. Dans la logique des généraux, l'abolition de la Fête du Travail est un corollaire de cette action.

freies Wort

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Annexe I (NSI/10)

EL SALVADOR - La droite et l'armée dans le même sac

Tant qu'une aide extérieure sera apportée à la répression, la lutte pour la libération à El Salvador demeurera essentiellement militaire. C'est ce qu'a souligné Guillermo Ungo qui est Président du Mouvement révolutionnaire national du pays (MNR - mouvement social-démocrate affilié à l'Internationale Socialiste) et de l'alliance d'opposition démocratique, le Front révolutionnaire démocratique. Il a rendu visite au siège de la C.I.S.L. le 28 avril pour y avoir des entretiens et nous avons profité de l'occasion pour lui poser quelques questions sur la grave situation à El Salvador.

Q.: Comment le mouvement syndical libre international peut-il aider les travailleurs de votre pays ?

Ungo: Les syndicats d'Europe, et particulièrement ceux qui sont affiliés à la C.I.S.L., ont dans le passé très bien réagi à la situation en Amérique latine et ont attaché une attention particulière aux pays latino-américains dans lesquels la C.I.S.L. a des affiliés. Les travailleurs européens ont donc ainsi pu comprendre la façon dont eux-mêmes sont affectés par les événements qui se déroulent en Amérique latine. Nous devons continuer à encourager cette prise de conscience en Europe et ailleurs. Politiquement, vous devez persévérer dans vos dénonciations des violations des droits humains à El Salvador et dans d'autres pays d'Amérique latine.

Q.: Ces dénonciations sont donc efficaces ?

Ungo: Oui. Elles aident vraiment dans une situation où se mène une lutte populaire et où il y a une alternative populaire parce qu'elles contribuent à isoler le gouvernement militaire. Les protestations doivent se poursuivre au niveau à la fois national et international. Les boycotts sont un autre moyen d'isoler le régime. Lorsque les travailleurs de la côte ouest des Etats-Unis ont décidé de faire un boycott des cargaisons à destination de El Salvador, principalement des envois d'armes, cela a vraiment gêné les gouvernements de El Salvador et des Etats-Unis. Vous pouvez aussi, évidemment, donner une aide humanitaire plus que nécessaire.

Q.: Comment les syndicats de El Salvador ont-ils été touchés par la répression ?

Ungo: Ils ont beaucoup souffert. Bon nombre de leurs dirigeants furent tués ou sont entrés dans la clandestinité pour y reprendre la lutte. Beaucoup de syndicats ont été arbitrairement supprimés ou, comme ce fut le cas dans le secteur public, furent déclarés illégaux. Plus d'une vingtaine de dirigeants syndicaux ont ainsi été emprisonnés simplement pour avoir mené des grèves.

Q.: La guerre de guérilla est-elle un affrontement entre extrémistes de droite et extrémistes de gauche ?

Ungo: Et bien, il semble que pour les gouvernements de El Salvador et des Etats-Unis, les extrémistes sont des gens tels que (l'Archevêque) Romero et les religieuses américaines. Il est absolument faux de dire que le gouvernement de El Salvador est centriste. Il a une conception bien concrète de ceux qui représentent les extrémistes de gauche, c'est-à-dire tout le peuple doit être persécuté. Le gouvernement ne voit aucun extrémiste de droite pour la bonne raison que l'armée et l'oligarchie ne forment qu'un. Les gens de droite et l'armée sont dans le même sac, que ce soit organiquement ou structurellement.

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Q.: Peut-il y avoir une solution militaire au conflit ?

Ungo: Evidemment, lorsqu'il y a une guerre, il y a un facteur militaire. Le facteur militaire ne perdra de son importance que si le gouvernement américain arrête de soutenir la campagne militaire du gouvernement militaire. Nous ne voyons comment, simplement en le demandant poliment, nous pourrions obtenir de l'armée qu'elle cesse de tirer.

Q.: A quoi ressemblerait un El Salvador libre ?

Ungo: Il nous faut un programme révolutionnaire démocratique. Nous devrons changer la structure du pouvoir qui, à présent, est concentré entre quelques mains. Nous voulons un gouvernement populaire dans lequel le peuple est réellement représenté.

Q.: Un gouvernement pluraliste ?

Ungo: Nous devons opérer un changement anti-oligarchique, autrement dit un changement démocratique. Les différentes organisations d'opposition (et il en est d'importantes, ce n'est pas comme au Nicaragua) ont besoin l'une de l'autre pour appliquer ce programme. Oui, nous devrons connaître le pluralisme. Sans révolution, il ne peut y avoir de démocratie. Sans démocratie, il ne peut y avoir de révolution.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

nouvelles syndicales **internationales**

BIMENSUEL

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CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

NSI/9 27 avril 1981

TOP INTERNATIONAL

Campagne pour une amnistie en Uruguay

Si la tradition démocratique de l'Uruguay a pu servir, pendant quelques décennies, d'exemple à suivre pour toute l'Amérique latine, il n'en est malheureusemtn plus de même depuis qu'un groupe de militaires fascistes essaie d'y imposer sa loi par des méthodes de terreur.

Il n'y a pas de doute que, depuis 1973, le peuple uruguayen a beaucoup souffert sous un système dictatorial barbare et sanglant. Un grand nombre de citoyens, et particulièrement des syndicalistes, ont été emprisonnés, torturés et même tués parce qu'ils se sont employés à défendre la liberté et la démocratie.

Beaucoup de dirigeants politiques et syndicaux se trouvent toujours en prison.

C'est la raison pour laquelle la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres, sur recommandation de son Comité de défense des droits de l'homme et des droits syndicaux en Amérique latine, a lancé un appel pressant à ses 128 organisations affiliées et leurs membres, qui dépassent les 70 millions, dans toutes les régions du monde, à augmenter la pression sur les autorités uruguayennes en faveur d'une amnistie qui libérerait les dirigeants politiques et les syndicalistes emprisonnés, et en faveur du respect des conventions de l'Organisation internationale du Travail par le Gouvernement d'Uruguay.

Un dossier spécial, annexé à la présente édition des NSI, relatant l'histoire sanglante des dernières années a été constitué par la C.I.S.L.et servira à informer le grand public de ce qui se passe réellement en Uruguay.

Turquie

Le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, a envoyé le télégramme suivant au Premier ministre turc Bulend Ulusu et au Secrétaire général du Conseil de Sécurité nationale H. Saltik: "La C.I.S.L. est très préoccupée par le procès qui sera fait à partir du 22 avril à la centrale syndicale DISK légalement constituée. La suspension de cette organisation et de la plupart de ses syndicats affiliés, la détention prolongée de ses dirigeants et, dans certains cas, les mauvais traitements qui leur sont infligés sont une violation des droits humains et syndicaux. Les accusations portées contre DISK et ses dirigeants sont tellement vagues que l'on ne peut que se poser des questions quant à la qualité de la justice dispensée aux accusés. Les syndicats libres du monde entier suivent avec anxiété le déroulement de ce procès et en jugeront les résultats en conséquence. Nous vous saurions gré si vous pouviez transmettre ces vues au Procureur de la République chargé de l'affaire."

Secrétaire général : O. KERSTEN, rue Montagne aux Herbes Potagères 37-41 - 1000 Bruxelles - Tél. (02) 217.80.85 - Telex 26785 ICFTU BRU

AFRIQUE

La C.I.S.L. demande les droits syndicaux pour les mineurs sud-africains noirs

Dans un télégramme envoyé au Premier ministre d'Afrique du Sud, la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres "déplore que des coups de feu ont été tirés sur des mineurs noirs à Penge et répète que la violence ne fera que croître tant que les conditions des travailleurs noirs, et des mineurs noirs en particulier, ne seront pas radicalement améliorées. Il faut introduire d'urgence dans les mines d'Afrique du Sud les normes du travail internationalement reconnues et il faut donner et garantir aux mineurs noirs le droit de s'organiser en syndicats".

Protestation syndicale internationale contre les attaques visant des organisateurs sud-africains

La Fédération internationale des Organisations de Travailleurs de la Métallurgie a élevé une protestation vigoureuse contre des attaques visant deux organisateurs de l'un des principaux syndicats sud-africains noirs. Les deux hommes sont des organisateurs du National Union of Motor Assembly and Rubber, affilié à la F.I.O.M., qui groupe principalement les travailleurs de l'industrie de l'automobile. Le mois dernier, M. Fuki Ah Shene a essuyé des coups de feu après avoir été réveillé par le jet d'une brique à travers la fenêtre de sa maison à Port Elizabeth. M. Fred Sauls, le Secrétaire général du syndicat, a reçu une menace de mort et sa voiture a été barbouillée de slogans d'extrême-droite.

CONTINENT AMERICAIN

Solidarité avec les mineurs de Teniente (Chili)

La C.I.S.L. a exprimé sa solidarité avec les mineurs de Teniente, au Chili, en grève pour appuyer leurs revendications. La C.I.S.L. a envoyé un télégramme au ministre chilien du Travail, "considérant que les revendications des mineurs sont justes et visent à rétablir les libertés civiles et les droits syndicaux conformément aux principes de l'O.I.T."

Télégramme envoyé au ministre chilien de l'Intérieur et au ministre de la Justice

"La C.I.S.L. proteste avec vigueur contre les accusations portées par le ministre de l'Intérieur contre la Coordinadora Nacional Sindical (Comité coordinateur syndical national), considérant que les intérêts et le droit des travailleurs de s'organiser librement et démocratiquement doivent être respectés conformément aux principes et conventions de l'O.I.T. La C.I.S.L. demande que les accusations soient considérées nulles et non avenues."

EUROPE

Marche populaire pour les emplois

Le TUC de Grande-Bretagne cherche un ample appui à la Marche populaire qui part le ler mai de Liverpool et qui, en passant par Manchester, Stoke-on-Trent, les Midlands, se terminera à Londres le 29 mai. L'on compte sur la participation de 500 personnes, pour la plupart des chômeurs, portant des vestes vertes qui leur auront été fournies.

Le but de la marche est d'attirer l'attention sur le chômage qui ne cesse de croître en Grande-Bretagne. Il y a un énorme besoin de logements, d'hôpitaux, d'écoles, de biens et de services que les chômeurs pourraient fournir.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Les conseils du travail locaux se trouvant sur le parcours ont accepté de recevoir les marcheurs et de leur assurer la nourriture et le logement dans des bâtiments municipaux. Des réunions seront organisées pour coïncider avec l'arrivée de la marche.

Des comités locaux représentant les conseillers locaux et régionaux, les sections du TUC, le mouvement coopératif et les Eglises projettent d'organiser des réceptions au passage de la marche dans leur région.

Pologne

Le Comité international du TUC de Grande-Bretagne a envoyé le message suivant aux confédérations syndicales nationales d'Europe de l'Est: "Le Comité international du Trades Union Congress réaffirme avec force son appui à la reconnaissance de Solidarité comme organisation indépendante représentant la masse des travailleurs polonais. Le TUC soutient Solidarité qui estime qu'il faut laisser la Pologne résoudre ses problèmes de façon pacifique et libre de toute pression extérieure.

MOYEN-ORIENT

Congrès de la SEK à Chypre

Les assurances sociales et les politiques sociales des syndicats comptaient parmi les sujets discutés par l'affiliée de la C.I.S.L., la Confédération des Travailleurs de Chypre (SEK) à son 20ème Congrès pancypriote du 12 au 14 mars à Nicosie.

Prenant la parole au Congrès, le Chef de Département de la C.I.S.L. Pieter de Jonge a rappelé que la C.I.S.L. a une affiliée dans chacune des communautés de Chypre et qu'elle était prête à aider à tout moment, comme elle le fit par le passé, à rapprocher les deux communautés par leurs organisations syndicales respectives. Les syndicalistes ont montré l'exemple aux politiciens dont les négociations sur Chypre sont d'une lenteur extrême. Aucune indépendance véritable ne pourra être maintenue en présence de troupes qui ne sont pas placées sous l'autorité de la République souveraine de Chypre et c'est pour cette raison que la C.I.S.L. avait demandé le retrait de toutes les troupes étrangères de l'île. Rendant hommage aux efforts des Cypriotes grecs pour reconstruire leur économie, de Jonge a demandé si les travailleurs cypriotes turcs ne bénéficieraient pas aussi considérablement d'une participation à une économie non divisée de Chypre.

P A N O R A M A

ITF: La Fédération internationale des Ouvriers du Transport (ITF) est la seule organisation qui contrôle les navires battant pavillon de complaisance, ceci grâce à un réseau mondial d'inspecteurs. Ce sont en premier lieu les salaires et les conditions de travail qui sont examinés. S'il n'y a pas de conventions collectives, elles sont conclues. Dans le cadre de l'assistance donnée aux équipages de 1977 à 1979, la plupart des plaintes concernaient le non-paiement des salaires et le non-respect des contrats d'emploi. Durant cette période de trois ans, des armateurs ont été obligés de payer les arriérés suivants aux membres des équipages:

1977	188 navires	£ sterling	3.740.959
1978	244 navires	£ sterling	4.937.432
1979	338 navires	£ sterling	8.567.323
1980	321 navires	£ sterling approx	7.000.000

Quelque 300 navires ont été placés sous contrat au moyen de boycotts ou de menaces de boycott. Le 1er janvier 1970, 95 navires étaient sous contrat. Au 31 décembre 1980, ce nombre était passé à 1.900. Une réalisation syndicale appréciable !

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

SEVILLE - PAS UN "VOYAGE ECONOMIQUE"

CISL
2e RASSEMBLEMENT MONDIAL DE LA JEUNESSE SYNDICALE
SEVILLE, ESPAGNE 22-30 AOÛT 1981

Séville - lieu où se tiendra du 22 au 30 août le Rassemblement mondial C.I.S.L. de la Jeunesse - ne doit pas se transformer en voyage économique ! Le Rassemblement réunira quelque 4.500 jeunes syndicalistes invités par la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres sur un site de 11 hectares. L'on attend d'eux qu'ils jettent les fondations d'une solidarité efficace. De par son contenu même, le Rassemblement ne peut se réduire à une simple randonnée touristique: la lutte pour les droits humains et la liberté syndicale, combattre le chômage des jeunes, les possibilités de contrôler les compagnies multinationales, la solidaité internationale sont parmi les points principaux dont il sera discuté. Certes, il y aura aussi des activités musicales, artistiques ou sportives qui créeront des moments de détente et donneront l'occasion de nouer des contacts, principalement avec de jeunes hommes et de jeunes femmes syndicalistes du Tiers Monde. La vente d'insignes ou d'étiquettes permettra également à ces jeunes de participer pleinement.

L'impact que produira le Rassemblement dépendra du nombre le plus grand possible de syndicalistes, hommes et femmes, qui s'en occuperont, y compris ceux qui ne peuvent directement y prendre part. Le Rassemblement s'intéressera principalement aux moyens de résoudre des problèmes qui sont ou ont été soulevés par de jeunes syndicalistes. Face aux développements critiques que connaît le monde, la solidarité internationale de la jeunesse syndicale est plus nécessaire que jamais, partout !

P E R S O N N A L I T E S

Lors de la 26ème Convention régulière du Conseil syndical de Grenade qui s'est tenue à St. George, Septimus FORSYTH a été élu Président et John VENTOUR Secrétaire-Trésorier pour la période 1981-1982.

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Le Pape JEAN PAUL II prendra la parole devant la Conférence internationale du Travail le 4 juin prochain à Genève.

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Edmund BALUKA, dirigeant en décembre 1970 du comité de grève de Szczecin et, il y a quelques jours encore, l'un des exilés du pays les plus connus, est rentré en Pologne. Il s'est placé sous la protection des ouvriers du chantier de Szczecin et attend que sa situation soit réglée. Les autorités polonaises n'ont pas encore donné de réponse à la demande de Baluka de demeurer légalement dans son pays.

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Marcello MALENTACCHI est entré au Secrétariat de la Fédération internationale des Organisations de Travailleurs de la Métallurgie en qualité de chef du Département Hygiène et Sécurité. Né en Italie, âgé de 34 ans, Malentacchi vit en Suède depuis 1964. Après avoir travaillé à la chaîne de montage chez Volvo à Göteborg, il est devenu fonctionnaire à plein temps de la Fédération suédoise des Travailleurs de la Métallurgie. Depuis 1975, il travaille au Département Hygiène et Sécurité de cette Fédération.

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Annexe I

LE DEVELOPPEMENT DE LA SITUATION POLITIQUE ET SYNDICALE EN URUGUAY DEPUIS 1973

La tradition démocratique de l'Uruguay qui, par sa politique sociale progressiste et par la profonde conviction démocratique de son peuple a, pendant des décennies, servi d'exemple en Amérique latine, fut durement frappée et insultée par un groupe de militaires fascistes qui s'efforcent depuis les années septante d'imposer la terreur et leur loi au peuple uruguayen.

Afin de freiner l'escalade du terrorisme urbain déclenché par les Tupamaros, le gouvernement civil, élu démocratiquement, a dû promulguer en 1972 une loi d' "Etat de Guerre Interne". Eu égard au caractère exceptionnel de la situation, la loi et les dispositions d'application amputaient les libertés des citoyens, augmentant fortement les pouvoirs de la police et de l'armée, et octroyant à cette dernière des compétences judiciaires en matière civile.

Toutefois, le rôle sans cesse plus arbitraire tenu par l'armée uruguayenne dans les affaires civiles du pays conduisit en février 1973 à une confrontation entre le Président Juan Maria Bordaberry et les Chefs de l'armée.

D'autre part, le Parlement commença à manifester son désaccord à l'égard de la politique suivie par l'Exécutif, ce qui entraîne la suspension du régime parlementaire, le 27 juin 1973.

Face à de telles circonstances, le mouvement syndical uruguayen lança un appel à la grève générale, appel largement suivi puisque le pays fut entièrement paralysé par la grève le 29 juin. La répression ne se fit pas attendre et le Président Bordaberry prit des mesures contre le mouvement syndical, les partis politiques démocratiques, l'Université et la presse, amorçant ainsi une escalade de la terreur et de la répression qui alla en augmentant pour aboutir de nos jours à des limites inimaginables.

En juillet, la Convention Nationale des Travailleurs fut déclarée illégale par le Gouvernement et Antonio Tamayo, le représentant de la C.N.T. devant l'Organisation internationale du Travail fut arrêté à l'Aéroport "Carrasco". Simultanément, 2000 travailleurs furent congédiés.

L'Union nationale des Travailleurs de la Métallurgie et des Branches connexes (UNTRMA), le Syndicat unique national de la Construction et des Secteurs connexes (SUNCA), la Fédération nationale des Professeurs (FNP) et le Syndicat des Ouvriers et des Employés fiscaux (SOEP), furent également dissous et déclarés illégaux.

D'autre part, le 1er août, le Gouvernement promulgua une "nouvelle" loi syndicale, adressée à tous les travailleurs, afin qu'ils constituent des organisations syndicales "libres et non politiques". Le gouvernement fasciste essaya de justifier sa nouvelle loi en convoquant des élections syndicales auxquelles les anciens leaders de la C.N.T. ne pouvaient pas se présenter comme candidats à leur réélection. En outre, dans le but de paralyser l'activité politique, les délégués syndicaux élus ne pouvaient pas participer aux activités politiques. Et tout ceci en dépit de la ratification par le Parlement uruguayen de la Convention 87 de l'Organisation internationale du Travail en 1953.

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Au même moment, des leaders politiques et syndicaux se voient arrêtés pour le simple fait d'avoir des convictions démocratiques. Les travailleurs organisèrent une campagne importante en vue de recueillir des signatures pour demander l'habeas corpus de nombreuses personnalités. Le gouvernement fasciste répondit par l'adoption d'un Décret, daté du 21 août 1973, interdisant de telles campagnes.

Pendant la période de juin à octobre, la censure fut établie et de nombreuses publications furent interdites et suspendues: le 13 août, "Ultima Hora" fut suspendu pendant 20 jours, des hebdomadaires de la gauche furent suspendus temporairement et "El Oriental", de même que "Compañero" furent définitivement fermés.

A cette période, et selon le journal conservateur "Ahora", 1.375 autres personnes furent congédiées.

Le ler décembre parut le Décret-Loi N° 1026/973 du 28 novembre, déclarant illégaux de nombreux partis politiques et des fédérations d'étudiants. Citons, entre autres, le Parti Socialiste, l'Union Populaire, Mars-26, le Parti communiste Révolutionnaire, la Fédération des Etudiants Universitaires de l'Uruguay (F.E.U.U.).

Le 19 décembre, dans le but de remplacer le Congrès dissous, la dictature implante un Conseil d'Etat composé de 25 personnes, nommées par le Décret Présidentiel.

Dès lors, la répression se fait plus sévère et les détenus sont conduits dans des prisons militaires ou dans des prisons éloignées, dans l'intérieur du pays. La dictature uruguayenne, avec des rêves de grandeur hitlérienne, "baptise" la prison la plus importante du pays du nom de "Liberté". La torture devient quotidienne et l'assassinat des détenus politiques commence alors sous le "Plan Attica" (tirer sur les prisonniers en application de la "Ley de Fugas"). On pratique la torture psychologique parmi les détenus, les changeant de lieu de détention afin de saper leur moral et celui de leurs proches qui ignorent ainsi l'endroit où ils se trouvent.

L'exil des Uruguayens, fuyant la persécution, la détention et la torture, devient le plus impressionnant de l'histoire de l'Amérique latine. A la fin du mois d'avril 1974, une nouvelle Loi Pénale est promulguée. Elle contient des mesures pour empêcher une libération "trop rapide", ou sur parole des prisonniers. La loi introduit de nouveaux crimes, entre autres, le crime contre l' "éducation publique".

En janvier 1975, la Commission internationale des Juristes, accuse officiellement le gouvernement uruguayen de la détérioration des conditions pénitentiaires (par exemple: suppression du temps de récréation, suppression des visites et tortures), mesures qui furent appliquées en guise de représailles pour l'assassinat, le 18 décembre 1974, de l'Attaché Militaire uruguayen à Paris, le Colonel Ramón Trabal.

Les premiers mois de 1975 se caractérisent par une série de détentions d'étudiants universitaires et de syndicalistes et par la fermeture d'une série de journaux. D'autre part, un groupe de femmes détenues ayant donné le jour en prison, sont sommées de rendre leurs enfants, après avoir été autorisées à garder leurs bébés auprès d'elles. L'âge des enfants oscillait entre 6 mois à 3.1/2 ans.

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En 1975, la Fédération Uruguayenne des Enseignants (FUM) fut dissoute et ses locaux furent fermés. Son Secrétaire général, Didasko Pérez Baccino, fut arrêté et envoyé à la prison "Libertad".

Les 22 et 23 avril 1973, 200 jeunes de 14 à 17 ans furent arrêtés dans le cadre des détentions massives qui précédèrent le 1er mai. Une semaine plus tard, ils se trouvaient toujours au secret dans le Stade Municipal des Sports et dans les locaux de la police. A la même époque, dans le Département de Salto, 1800 travailleurs de la construction furent arrêtés et écroués, à la fin d'une réunion syndicale.

Des missions et des visites individuelles (journalistes, etc.), effectuées en Uruguay, multiplièrent des déclarations qui alarmèrent l'opinion publique internationale. Au mois de février 1975, un journaliste décrivait dans "The Guardian" la brutalité et la férocité des tortures employées dans les prisons uruguayennes et déclarait que la torture et la mort étaient devenues routinières.

Un correspondant du journal espagnol "La Vanguardia" écrivit à la même époque que "l'Uruguay est aujourd'hui liquidée au sens propre et au sens figuré. La mort est devenue pour beaucoup une libération. D'autres ont moins de chance et doivent passer par une série d'étapes toujours plus pénibles: détention, emprisonnement, interrogatoire, torture...".

Le 29 décembre 1975, la Loi N° 14493 est approuvée. Les crimes dits "contre la nation" y sont répertoriés et sont de la compétence et de la juridiction des autorités judiciaires. Etant donné que les "affaires civiles" étaient peu nombreuses, l'autorité militaire fut considérée comme l'unique juridiction du pays.

Amnesty International lança un appel pour mettre sur pied une campagne mondiale entre le 20 février et le 20 mars 1976 et publia à cette occasion un document détaillé sur le cas de 27 Uruguayens décédés des suites de tortures - des noms, des dates et des faits précis y figurent. La campagne débute par 2 conférences de presse, l'une à Genève et l'autre à New York. Les responsables d'Amnesty International soulignèrent lors de ces conférences que l'Uruguay, avec ses 6.000 prisonniers politiques, détenait le plus grand nombre de prisonniers politiques du monde, un pour 450 habitants, et qu'au cours des dernières années, plus de 50.000 Uruguayens avaient été emprisonnés, interrogés et torturés.

Le 12 juin 1976, les forces armées retirèrent leur confiance au Président Bordaberry qui fut démis de ses fonctions et remplacé, par une décision prise le 14 juillet, par le Dr. Aparicio Méndez qui entra en fonction le 1er septembre 76 pour une période de 5 ans.

Par un décret signé par le Président Méndez le jour même du début de son "mandat", tous les hommes politiques appartenant à des "partis marxistes" et qui se présentèrent aux élections de 1966 et de 1971, furent privés de leurs droits publics pendant 15 ans. Le reste des hommes politiques appartenant à des partis démocratiques furent privés du droit de vote pendant la même période.

Le 7 décembre 1976, le gouvernement annonça qu'il se proposait d'amoindrir les mesures antisubversives et que les sentences prononcées contre 1.800 détenus seraient réexaminées. Cependant, une déclaration gouvernementale

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antérieure (du 21 octobre) avait décrété que toute personne de plus de 18 ans pourrait se considérer comme étant "en danger", sous ls suspicion d'activités subversives et pourrait être passible d'emprisonnement, de résidence surveillée ou de déportation. En outre, le 29 octobre, les forces de sécurité avaient annoncé la détention de 62 personnes "subversives" qui se proposaient d'assassiner des membres du gouvernement uruguayen. Des groupes d'exilés uruguayens affirmèrent que les personnes détenues avaient été enlevées en Argentine, étant donné que les forces de sécurité des deux pays travaillaient en étroite collaboration contre les dissidents.

Le 15 février 1977, le gouvernement promulgua un décret établissant trois commission paritaires au niveau de l'entreprise - composées de 2 membres représentant l'entreprise et de 2 autres membres représentant, selon la commission concernée, les ouvriers, les employés ou les cadres. Ces derniers étant élus par le personnel selon des modalités fixées par le décret qui précisait concrètement que la qualité de représentant du personnel était perdue si ce représentant "avait des antécédents dans les organisations contraires à la Constitution".

Dans les milieux syndicaux, ce décret fur réfuté "en raison de son contenu nétatif, inadéquat et inefficace". On estime dans ces milieux que la création de ces commissions n'avait d'autre but que celui d'ignorer les organisations syndicales. On insista sur le fait que la compétence de ces commissions se limitait à des conflits de droit (application des lois du travail, des normes de sécurité et d'hygiène, etc.) et qu'il leur était défendu d'intervenir dans les conflits d'intérêts (augmentations salariales, réduction du temps de travail, etc.), ce qui constitue l'essence même de la défense des intérêts des travailleurs.

Il convient également de souligner que les délégués à la 61è réunion (1976) de la Conférence Internationale du Travail présentèrent au Comité de Liberté syndicale du Conseil d'Administration de l'O.I.T., une plainte fondée sur l'Article 26 de la Constitution de l'O.I.T. et relative à son inobservance par l'Uruguay, ainsi que sur les Conventions N° 87 et N° 98 de l'O.I.T. Le Comité examina cette plainte en novembre 1976 et en mars 1977 et sur ses recommandations, le Conseil d'Administration de l'O.I.T. exprime son vif mécontentement de voir qu' "en dépit du temps écoulé depuis l'état d'exception de juin 1973, la situation syndicale n'a pas progressé dans le pays, exception faite d'un décret tendant à l'établissement de commissions paritaires dont le bon fonctionnement conduirait, selon le gouvernement, à la préparation d'un anti-projet de loi syndicale".

Le gouvernement uruguayen annonça, fin 1977, qu'il n'y avait plus de détenus politiques dans le pays mais que 2.336 personnes restaient en prison pour des crimes de subvertion et de sédition, certaines d'entre elles n'avaient pas encore été jugées.

Néanmoins, antérieurement, au cours de la réunion du 18 août 1977 de la Sous-commission des Nations Unies sur la prévention de la discrimination et la protection des minorités, Monsieur Ben Whittaker - le représentant de la Grande-Bretagne - déclara que l'Uruguay comptait près de 400.000 personnes en exil depuis le coup d'Etat de 1973. D'autre part, la presse internationale mentionna au début de 1978 que l'année précédente le rythme de construction de prisons en Uruguay atteignait une par mois.

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Le 9 août 1977, un communiqué du gouvernement uruguayen annonça que le Président Méndez avait l'intention de convoquer des élections générales pour 1981, auxquelles participeraient uniquement les 2 grands partis traditionnels, le "Nacional" (Blanco) et le "Colorado", dans le but d'arriver à l' "institutionnalisation définitive du nouvel Uruguay sout les conditions les plus favorables". En août, le plan du gouvernement en faveur du retour à la démocratie fut annoncé. Ce plan, connu sous l'appellation "Cronograma", comprenait trois étapes fondamentales:

1) Formulation d'une nouvelle Constitution en 1980;

2) Elections présidentielles en novembre 1981 avec un candidat unique représentant les partis politiques nationaux, avec l'approbation des forces armées;

3) Elections postérieures en 1986, auxquelles les partis traditionnels participeront "de manière normale" et pourront présenter leurs propres candidats à la Présidence. On prévoyait de même que la Constitution serait approuvée par référendum. Il est évident qu'à aucun moment, la mascarade fasciste n'a prétendu rendre au peuple uruguayen la souveraineté qui lui revient légitimement.

Le ler juillet fut publiée la Loi Institutionnelle N° 8, selon laquelle le pouvoir judiciaire passa au contrôle direct de l'Exécutif qui est habilité à démettre les juges de leurs fonctions au cours des 4 années suivantes. Selon la Loi Institutionnelle N° 7, les fonctionnaires pourront être démis de leurs fonctions sans qu'une charge soit nécessairement retenue contre eux.

En même temps, on stipule que les fonctionnaires doivent être obligatoirement en possession d'un certificat d' "aptitude", sur lequel figure une mention: la lettre "A", qui signifie que l'intéressé n'a mené aucun type d'activité syndicale ou politique; la lettre "B", qui indique que le fonctionnaire a sympathisé ou bien a appartenu à un parti modéré de l'oppisition, et la lettre "C", qui signale que le fonctionnaire a eu des activités politiques "subversives", ce qui, dans la majorité des cas, entraîne la révocation du fonctionnaire, sans aucune espèce de garantie juridico-administrative, ni économique.

Dans les premiers jours de mars 1978, un Décret gouvernemental établit un Bureau Central d'Informations sur les Personnes (OCIP), dans le but d' "aider à centraliser les analyses, l'étude et la préparation des réponses appropriées à tout type de demande, les demandes d'information ou les accusations en provenance de l'étranger et relatives à la situation des personnes en rapport avec des crimes contre la sécurité de l'Etat.

Le 7 juin 1978, le Ministre de l'Intérieur fit savoir aux dirigeants de l'Association Nationale des Employés du Secteur bancaire qu'ils devaient procéder à la nomination d'un nouveau Comité exécutif composé de personnes sans "antécédents défavorables". Le Conseil central de l'Association donna la réplique au Ministre en alléguant le droit de célébrer des élections secrètes pour élire un nouveau Comité. N'ayant pas obtenu de réponse, le 14 septembre, le Ministère de l'Intérieur leur communiqua que six des dirigeants choisis devaient être rayés de la liste du Comité en raison de leurs activités subversives antérieures, et ils durent être remplacés par des suppléants.

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En juin 1978, la Commission Interaméricaine des Droits de l'Homme présenta un rapport à la 8e Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Etats américains (OEA) dans lequel le gouvernement de l'Uruguay était accusé de violer les Droits de l'Homme, avec des arrestations arbitraires, des tortures et des assassinats de prisonniers politiques. Il fut confirmé que 20 des 25 prisonniers cités dans le rapport étaient morts en détention.

Selon Amnisty International, il n'y a eu, au cours de ces dernières années, aucun type de grâce ou d'amnistie pour les prisonniers politiques, mais bien que les jugements s'effectuent avec une lenteur alarmante, il reste à l'heure actuelle peu d'hommes politiques qui n'ont pas encore été jugés. Amnesty International estime qu'il y a pour l'instant en Uruguay environ 2.000 détenus politiques, dont 200 à 300 syndicalistes.

Lors de sa 9e session ordinaire, l'Assemblée générale de l'Organisation des Etats américains demande à la Commission Interaméricaine des Droits de l'Homme de continuer à observer la situation des Droits de l'Homme en Uruguay. Dans sa résolution n° 443, adoptée lors de cette même session, l'Assemblée renouvela son appel pressant au Gouvernement uruguayen, pour qu'il exécute de manière intègre, les mesures recommandées par la Commission dans son précédent rapport.

Lors d'une mission de l'Internationale Socialiste, présidée par le Secrétaire général du Parti Socialiste Ouvrier Espagnol (PSOE), Felipe González, qui devait visiter l'Uruguay les 25 et 26 novembre 1979, les autorités uruguayennes lui refusèrent l'autorisation d'entrer dans le pays.

Fin 1979, le Gouvernement uruguayen prétendit établir une Loi d'Associations Professionnelles qui constituait une violation flagrante de l'esprit et de la lettre de la Convention 87 sur la Liberté syndicale et la Protection du Droit syndical de l'O.I.T. La C.I.S.L. déposa une plainte devant l'O.I.T., considérant que ce projet de loi diminuait les droits des travailleurs à s'organiser librement. En raison de cela et d'autres pressions internationales, le projet n'a pas encore été approuvé par le Conseil d'Etat.

Un représentant du Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L. organisa une série de contacts en février 1980 en Uruguay et fit des déclarations publiques, au cours desquelles il critiqua sévèrement le projet de loi en question. Le Vice-Amiral Hugo L. Márquez, membre de la Junte des Commandants en Chef des Forces Armées, répondit à ces déclarations, disant entre autres: "La présence dans notre pays de personnes étrangères à ce pays, qui apportent des idées étrangères, qui ne connaissent pas la réalité uruguayenne, qui ne savent pas ce qui s'est passé en Uruguay au cours des années et qui exportent des idées de leur pays, ne me plaît pas".

Le 28 mars 1980, le Gouvernement uruguayen promulgua une loi qui réserve exclusivement aux autorités judiciaires la compétence juridique en vue d'accorder la "liberté anticipée", la "liberté provisoire" et la "liberté comme conséquence d'un acte de grâce", compétence qui appartenait au Président de la République et au Pouvoir Judiciaire Civil.

Il convient de signaler que le rôle joué par les avocats civils de la défense est inexistant en raison des irrégularités qui entourent la juridiction militaire. Les avocats se trouvent de ce fait dans l'impossibilité d'exercer leurs fonctions de manière efficace et renoncent à la défense. A leur place

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et pour donner une impression de sérieux, on nomme des "avocats" militaires qui, dans la majorité des cas, ignorent le droit applicable et ne prennent aucun contact avec les "prétendus inculpés". En outre, on applique l'incongruité juridique prévue par la Loi de Procédure Pénale militaire, selon laquelle le peine proposée et demandée par le Ministère Fiscal est augmentée systématiquement par le Juge.

Les dirigeants de l'Association des Employés du Secteur Bancaire furent arrêtés le 29 avril 1980 pour avoir publié un document dans lequel on critiquait la loi qui avait supprimé le ler mai.

Selon le plan "Cronograma", annoncé précédemment par le gouvernement, le 15 mai 1980, le peuple uruguayen eut connaissance du contenu de la note que le Président de la République adressait au Président du Conseil d'Etat, Hamlet Reyes et comportant l'Avant-Projet de Constitution. Dès la première ligne, cet avant-projet contenait des éléments le condamnant et laissant en question son caractère démocratique. En effet, le texte proposé pour la nouvelle Constitution était: "Principes, Fondements et Conditions du Nouveau Texte Constitutionnel". Selon des déclarations publiées par la presse, le projet avait été entièrement élaboré par la Commission des Affaires Politiques des Forces Armées, dans le but d'établir des limites, restreignant la vie et l'activité politique démocratique de l'Uruguay.

Dans son chapitre intitulé: "Droits", les droits, obligations et garanties consacrées dans la Constitution de 1967, sont maintenus. Cela dit, dans d'autres parties, ces droits sont limités: le droit d'association des syndicats et le droit de grève, la réglementation sur les associations ouvrières, les restrictions de la liberté d'information, l'interdiction faite à différentes catégories de personnes de s'associer, l'interdiction faite aux fonctionnaires publics de se mettre en grève, etc.

Bref, que les forces armées essayent de mettre sur pied la prétendue démocratisation du pays avec une Constitution qui, sous de multiples aspects, diminue les libertés fondamentales, ne pouvait laisser impassible le sentiment profondément démocratique de l'Uruguay.

Il n'existe aucun précédent dans l'élaboration des 6 Constitutions que l'Uruguay a adopté au cours de son existence républicaine, comme celui que prétend établir le Gouvernement actuel, en imposant au peuple un texte de Constitution sans la participation des forces de la Nation que sont les partis politiques et les organisations syndicales.

Le gouvernement fasciste uruguayen prétend imiter la mascarade que le gouvernement fasciste chilien organisa en septembre 1980, soumettant au référendum le 30 novembre de la même année, une Constitution qui ne pouvait être acceptée par la majorité démocratique du peuple uruguayen.

Dans des circonstances défavorables, 60% des votants s'opposèrent à la farce fasciste, bien que la dictature uruguayenne eut investi 30.000.000 de dollars américains dans une propagande en faveur du OUI.

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En effet, toutes les forces politiques et syndicales uruguayennes, à l'exception d'une poignée de sbires du régime, condamnèrent et désapprouvèrent par un NON catégorique, l'intention de perpétuation du régime fasciste au travers d'une Constitution élaborée par les forces armées.

Devant les résultats négatifs, le gouvernement uruguayen a supprimé "sine die" le plan annoncé antérieurement, laissant ainsi dans une incertitude totale, les espérances d'un prompt retour à la démocratie en Uruguay.

EIA/CP avril, 1981

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

nouvelles syndicales **internationales**

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CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

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TOP INTERNATIONAL

"Le Rôle des Syndicats dans le Développement"

Conférence mondiale spéciale de la C.I.S.L. à New Delhi

18 - 20 mars 1981

La Conférence de New Delhi marque un pas important dans la campagne de la C.I.S.L. pour la réalisation d'un nouvel ordre économique et social international. Après trois jours de débats, les 250 participants venant de 63 organisations affiliées à la C.I.S.L., de 14 organisations syndicales amies et de 7 Secrétariats professionnels internationaux se sont mis d'accord sur une déclaration d'intention (jointe en annexe) qui fixe les priorités pour 1981 et les années suivantes.

Mais la déclaration formelle finale n'est qu'un élément démontrant la valeur de la Conférence. Tout aussi important, bien que moins tangible, il y avait l'engagement véritable pour le progrès que manifestèrent les délégués à ce dialogue Nord-Sud des syndicats.

Comme il est dit dans les conclusions de la conférence, "la C.I.S.L. a toujours souligné l'intérêt mutuel qu'ont les travailleurs du Nord et du Sud à adopter un programme pour un développement global équilibré - en fait ce concept est la justification de notre existence".

La Conférence a été ouverte par le Premier ministre de l'Inde, Mme Indira Gandhi. Elle a profité de l'occasion pour rendre hommage au soutien que donne la C.I.S.L. à la coopération internationale et pour solliciter l'aide des syndicats des pays industrialisés en faveur des nations économiquement défavorisées.

Parmi d'autres orateurs invités, l'on notait l'ancien Président du Venezuela, C.A. Perez Rodriguez; Lakshmi Kant Jha et Joe Morris, de la Commission Brandt; Bertil Bolin, de l'O.I.T., le Dr. J.R. Clarke de la Banque mondiale, M. J.M. Zegers du Fonds monétaire international. Les contributions de hauts représentants d'organisations intergouvernementales telles que l'ONU, le F.M.I., la Banque mondiale, la C.N.U.C.E.D., le GATT, l'O.N.U.D.I., la C.E.E., l'O.C.D.E. et la FAO furent d'un intérêt particulier.

Deux événements, dus à des organisations syndicales invitées, marquèrent aussi la Conférence. Le vice-Président de l'AFL-CIO, Martin Ward, annonça que les syndicats américains revenaient à la C.I.S.L. Il dit avoir été désigné par le Conseil exécutif de l'AFL-CIO pour conduire un petit comité qui aurait des réunions préliminaires avec

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la C.I.S.L. afin de régler les détails de la réaffiliation. Il émit l'espoir que les formalités pourraient être remplies pour la Convention du Centenaire de l'AFL-CIO en novembre 1981.

Le vice-Président de "Solidarité", Andrzej Gwiazda, transmit le salut des nouveaux syndicats de Pologne. Il souligna que trois éléments fondamentaux des luttes de "Solidarité" en Pologne pouvaient être applicables au rôle des syndicats dans le développement à l'échelle mondiale. Tout d'abord, la croissance industrielle peut satisfaire les besoins essentiels des travailleurs et de leurs familles. Deuxièmement, ces besoins essentiels ne peuvent être définis que par les travailleurs, là où eux-mêmes et leurs organisations disposent de la liberté d'expression. Troisièmement, les syndicats doivent jouir du droit de grève parce que c'est la seule arme à la disposition des travailleurs lorsqu'ils font part de leurs revendications aux employeurs et aux gouvernements.

M. Gwiazda a également déclaré que bien que "Solidarité" ne s'efforce pas d'obtenir son affiliation à quelque organisation syndicale internationale, elle souhaite coopérer avec la C.I.S.L. et ses affiliées.

Parmi les participants à la Conférence, il y avait deux grandes délégations de l'INTUC et de HMS, les affiliées indiennes de la C.I.S.L. En tant qu'hôtes de la C.I.S.L., elles exprimèrent leur fierté devant le fait qu'un grand pays en développement, l'Inde, a été choisi par le Comité exécutif pour la tenue de la Conférence.

Des discours d'ouverture à l'adoption de la déclaration d'intention - la nouvelle Déclaration de New Delhi - le ton de la Conférence fut ce que doivent faire les syndicats pour réaliser un programme global en vue d'un développement équilibré. La même importance était accordée à la suite à donner et au débat sur les options politiques. 1981 est une année critique pour le dialogue Nord-Sud. Les tendances économiques actuelles sont en déclin et font peser la menace d'une récession mondiale prolongée. Mais il y a une alternative. Elle implique de grands changements dans les politiques gouvernementales qui ne peuvent être décidées qu'aux plus hauts niveaux. La tâche essentielle de la C.I.S.L. et de ses organisations affiliées est maintenant de donner suite à la Conférence et de s'assurer que les politiques proposées dans la Revue économique mondiale 1981 de la C.I.S.L. et dans la Déclaration de Delhi soient adoptées.

La C.I.S.L. au sujet de la Pologne

Le 27 mars, le Secrétaire général de la C.I.S.L., Otto Kersten, a fait la déclaration suivante: "C'est avec une inquiétude grandissante que la C.I.S.L. suit les derniers développements qui, en Pologne, trouvent leur origine dans la répression dirigée contre des syndicalistes de Bydgozcz. Face à cette répression, "Solidarité" a entrepris une action pour assurer la sécurité et l'intégrité physique de ses membres et de ses responsables. La C.I.S.L. donne tout son appui à "Solidarité" dont la réaction est naturelle et légitime et qui aurait été celle de tout syndicat libre et démocratique du monde: en assurant la sauvegarde de ses membres, "Solidarité" protège son existence même en tant qu'organisation.

Nous répétons aujourd'hui ce que nous avons toujours dit: les problèmes de la Pologne doivent être résolus par le peuple polonais, non pas par la violence mais par des négociations constructives menées de bonne foi. Des mesures efficaces doivent être prises pour éviter d'autres provocations.

Le mouvement syndical libre international n'ignore pas les problèmes économiques auxquels doit faire face la Pologne et il est tout disposé à faire ce qu'il peut pour encourager une assistance rapide et effective à ce pays mais la C.I.S.L. attend aussi des autorités polonaises qu'elles respectent intégralement les accords de Gdansk ainsi que les obligations internationales de la Pologne en ce qui concerne les conventions internationales du travail couvrant la liberté syndicale, les droits syndicaux et la négociation collective."

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AFRIQUE

L'UGT centrafricaine rappelle qu'elle est apolitique

Dans le climat lours qui règne à Bangui, la capitale de la République centrafricaine, après les élections présidentielles et un mois avant les élections législatives, les dirigeants de l'organisation affiliée à la C.I.S.L., Union générale des Travailleurs centrafricains (U.G.T.C.), ont gardé leur calme. Dans un communiqué, ils ont demandé aux travailleurs de ne pas écouter les mots d'ordre de grève lancés par des partis ou mouvements qui n'ont rien à voir avec le syndicalisme et ils ont rappelé que l'U.G.T.C. est apolitique.

CONTINENT AMERICAIN

Les travailleurs américains de l'automobile à l'AFL-CIO

Lors d'une conférence de presse qu'il a tenue à Detroit, le Président du syndicat des travailleurs de l'automobile aux Etats-Unis (UAW), Douglas Fraser, a déclaré que son Comité exécutif avait recommandé à l'unanimité de rejoindre la confédération syndicale américaine AFL-CIO. Avec 1,2 million de membres, l'UAW est le deuxième syndicat en importance des Etats-Unis.

Réalités boliviennes

Les mineurs boliviens subissent aujourd'hui un traitement pire que sous le régime Banzer. Ils vivent avec leurs familles dans des camps qui n'ont rien à envier aux camps de concentration d'une époque révolue. Les familles comptent en moyenne cinq personnes, mais on trouve également des familles qui sont composées de quinze membres. Les camps sont gardés par l'armée, et les travailleurs ne peuvent pas en sortir. Les violations de domicile et les viols sont à l'ordre du jour. Les familles se nourrissent de pain, de riz, de sucre, de viande et de farine.

Avant la prise de pouvoir de l'armée, les familles recevaient leurs rations de nourriture des coopératives d'Etat. Elles recevaient 2 kilogrammes de viande par semaine, 30 kg de sucre par mois, 30 kg de riz par mois et 800 petits pains par mois. Aujourd'hui les familles (peu importe si elle compte 5 ou 15 membres) reçoivent par mois: 2 kg de viande, 5 kg de sucre, 5 kg de riz et 200 petits pains. A cela s'ajoutent 20 litres d'eau par famille et par jour. L'électricité est rationnée. Les salaires sont payés irrégulièrement (en moyenne tous les deux mois). L'augmentation générale du coût de la vie est de 60 à 70%. Suite à la suppression des subventions de l'Etat, les prix du riz, du sucre, de l'huile et de la farine ont augmenté de 30%. Le prix du pain a subi une hausse de quelque 100%. Tandis que les prix des produits et des services ne cessent d'augmenter, les salaires nets des mineurs diminuent.

Après une grève de protestation dans les mines, les 12 et 13 janvier, les militaires au pouvoir ont exilé du pays un groupe de syndicalistes et ont gardé en ôtage leurs familles.

Des campesinos ayant bloqué les routes pour souligner leur solidarité avec les mineurs, l'armée a pris leur terre.

Tristes réalités boliviennes !

EUROPE

Provocation en Pologne

L'action brutale de la milice contre des membres du syndicat libre "Solidarité" à Bydgoszcz a fait peser le risque du déclenchement d'un conflit sans précédent en Pologne depuis l'été dernier.

Lech Walesa a tout de suite annulé la visite qu'il devait effectuer en France du 22 au 29 mars.

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Des négociations difficiles à tous les niveaux de la vie politique polonaise, y compris au sein du syndicat "Solidarité", une grève d'avertissement de quatre heures, le vendredi 27 mars, largement suivie par les dix millions de membres de "Solidarité" et terminée sans incidents, les manoeuvres militaires du Pacte de Varsovie à l'intérieur des frontières, ont marqué la vie politique et sociale de la Pologne ces derniers jours. Le tout sur un fond économique très difficile et dont les problèmes très sérieux ne trouveront pas facilement de réponses acceptables dans une atmosphère tendue à l'extrême, qui finalement ne pourrait profiter qu'aux "durs" à l'intérieur du parti communiste.

"Solidarité" a formulé ses revendications en cinq points:

1. Entamer des poursuites immédiates contre les personnes qui peuvent être accusées de violence contre des membres de "Solidarité" (comme à Bromberg) et l'action syndicale. (Le Président du parlement régional de Bromberg, Edward Berger, doit être prêt à démissionner).

2. Garantir la sécurité du travail syndical et le droit des syndicats de répondre aux critiques faites dans les médias et ce par le même moyen de diffusion.

3. L'abandon des poursuites contre des personnes qui étaient activement dans l'opposition de 1976 à 1980, même si leurs activités allaient officiellement à l'encontre de la loi.

4. Le droit des fermiers privés de s'organiser en syndicats.

5. L'annulation de la décision du gouvernement à propos de l'indemnité de grève (réduite).

Le parlement a été convoqué en séance spéciale lundi à Varsovie. Le "Front national", au sein duquel les partis siégeant au parlement travaillent ensemble, avaient auparavant parlé "d'une aggravation dramatique et très dangereuse" de la situation en Pologne.

Si les négociations échouaient, il y aura un risque très réel de grève générale dont on ne peut prévoir les conséquences.

Liquidation du Conseil central des Syndicats officiels polonais

Selon les journaux de Varsovie, lors d'une réunion de liquidation du Conseil central des Syndicats (CRZZ), le 10 mars 1981, les présidents des syndicats de branches - membres de la commission de liquidation - ont décidé de destiner les biens de l'ex-Association des Syndicats à des fins sociales.

Les sanatoriums et les maisons de vacances, appartenant jusqu'à présent à l'Association des Syndicats, seront transférés aux Fonds de vacances ouvrières afin que tous les travailleurs puissent en profiter.

Les avoirs se trouvant en compte du CRZZ seront destinés à la construction de jardins d'enfants et de homes pour vieillards dans les régions du pays qui en sont les plus dépourvues.

A cette occasion, le Président de la commission des syndicats de branches (Albin Szyszka) a fait appel à toutes les directions syndicales des branches dans le but d'assurer la réalisation de ces opérations.

Toutes les réserves en devises se trouvant sur le compte du CRZZ, c'est-à-dire environ 150.000 dollars et 800.000 roubles, seront mises à la disposition du ministre de la Santé et de l'Assurance sociale pour l'achat d'installations médicales du service général de santé.

On a également décidé que l'Institut d'Editions syndicales de l'ex-CRZZ doit passer aux mains des syndicats de branches.

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Le projet de budget du gouvernement suédois sévèrement critiqué par LO

La confédération syndicale suédoise LO s'est montrée très critique à l'égard du projet de budget et de plan financier pour 1981/82 soumis à la mi-janvier. LO estime que ce projet reflète l'attitude passive du gouvernement et son incapacité de prendre des mesures positives.

Le fait que le gouvernement prévoit lui-même et admet que le chômage augmentera en Suède de 60.000 unités par an et que l'économie continuera à décliner alors que l'inflation poursuivra sa course,est considéré par LO comme un signe de très mauvais augure.

Pour LO, le plan financier signifie que le gouvernement souhaite une prolongation de l'ancienne convention collective, autrement dit, le pouvoir d'achat des travailleurs accentuera sa chute en 1981. D'après un porte-parole de LO, les salaires des membres de LO subiront une détérioration plus forte encore que d'autres groupes de travailleurs, en partie à cause de l'indexation de la fiscalité. Il ajoutait que LO n'accepterait pas une telle politique de distribution. "Nous insistons pour que la stabilisation de l'économie suédoise soit accompagnée d'une juste politique de distribution."

LO estime également que le gouvernement manque d'arguments solides pour poursuivre ses mesures d'austérité comme le prévoit le plan. D'après LO, les problèmes qu'implique la recherche d'une économie équilibrée doivent être traités dans le cadre d'un programme d'action couvrant une période de plusieurs années et dans lequel l'accent serait mis sur la nécessité de freiner l'inflation et de stopper la hausse vertigineuse des prix.

LO n'est pas d'accord non plus avec la déclaration du gouvernement sur la situation de l'inflation pour 1981. Le plan financier prévoit un taux d'inflation de 7% pour l'année qui vient mais rien qu'en janvier, les prix ont augmenté d'environ 3,5% !

Le Sommet européen de Maastricht: La dégradation se poursuit

La Confédération européenne des Syndicats ne se faisait pas d'illusions sur les résultats du Conseil européen de Maastricht: elle n'attendait pas de miracles.

Elle espérait cependant que la dégradation catastrophique de la situation de l'Emploi en Europe amènerait les chefs d'Etat et de gouvernement à une réflexion approfondie sur quelques mesures pour arrêter cette évolution désastreuse.

C'est la raison pour laquelle la C.E.S. a jugé opportun de présenter, à nouveau, ses propositions et revendications pour l'amélioration de l'emploi en Europe. Ses délégués ont souligné, avec force, le danger que représente le chômage de masse pour nos sociétés et pour nos démocraties.

Au lieu de changer de cap, le Conseil approuve et recommande des attaques encore plus sévères au pouvoir d'achat et aux acquis sociaux des travailleurs. Malgré le fait que le secteur privé a prouvé son incapacité de redresser la situation, le Conseil lui attribue plus de confiance qu'au secteur public.

Or, la C.E.S. est et reste convaincue que sans interventions accrues du secteur public, une amélioration durable de l'emploi ne sera pas possible.

La C.E.S. ne partage pas cet avis du communiqué: "la Communauté représente toujours une réalisation d'importance primordiale et un instrument indispensable permettant de limiter les incidences de la récession et d'arriver à rétablir, sur une base saine et stable, une croissance économique soutenue et des niveaux d'emploi satisfaisants".

Bien au contraire, en continuant sa politique restrictive et déflationniste, la Communauté détruit le peu de crédibilité que lui accordait encore les travailleurs.

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C'est une raison de plus pour que les travailleurs participent massivement aux actions régionales, sectorielles, nationales et européennes organisées dans le cadre de la campagne que la C.E.S. a lancée contre le chômage.

P A N O R A M A

Italie: Le 8ème Congrès de l'Unione Italiana del Lavoro se tiendra à Rome du 10 au 14 juin 1981. Thème du Congrès: "UIL 81 - De l'antagonisme au protagonisme".

Autriche: C'est à Vienne, capitale de l'Autriche, que l'Association internationale de la Sécurité sociale (A.I.S.S.) organisera du 1er au 3 avril 1981 une Conférence internationale sur les implications pour la sécurité sociale des recherches consacrées à l'invalidité. Quelque 80 experts de 18 pays étudieront notamment les problèmes rencontrés par les handicapés dans leur recherche d'un emploi et la relation entre le niveau des pensions d'invalidité et l'incitation à reprendre le travail. L'A.I.S.S., dont le siège est à Genève, regroupe des institutions officielles chargées de la gestion de la sécurité sociale dans quelque 115 pays.

France: Après une visite de la Confédération des Syndicats danois, LO, conduite par son Président, Thomas Nielsen, à la C.G.T.-Force Ouvrière à Paris, les responsables de LO Danemark et de Force Ouvrière ont affirmé leur complète identité de vues sur la nécessité de renforcer le syndicalisme libre au sein de la C.I.S.L. pour promouvoir un nouvel ordre économique et social mondial susceptible de réduire les écarts et les inégalités entre pays industrialisés et pays en voie de développement. Ils ont déclaré que ce déséquilibre exacerbé par la crise compromettait gravement la paix mondiale.

P E R S O N N A L I T E S

A l'occasion de son dernier passage à Bruxelles, Juan LECHIN, dirigeant de la centrale syndicale bolivienne COB, eu de longs entretiens avec des membres du secrétariat de la C.I.S.L. sur la situation en Bolivie. Lechin avait été arrêté le 17 juillet 1980 par la junte militaire, avant d'être envoyé en exil.

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Cliff DOLAN, qui fut vice-Président du Conseil australien des syndicats (ACTU) depuis 1971, a été élu récemment Président de cette organisation. Il succède à R.J. HAWKE qui se consacre à présent entièrement à son travail comme membre du parlement dans le parti travailliste qui est dans l'opposition. Le Conseil australien des syndicats, qui compte 2 millions de membres, est affilié à la C.I.S.L.

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Le TUC de Grande-Bretagne a demandé à l'un des syndicalistes les mieux connus du Royaume-Uni d'aider le Fiji Trades Union Congress à préparer des réformes de la législation sociale de Fiji. Il s'agit de Jack JONES qui était jusqu'il y a peu le Secrétaire général du syndicat britannique des travailleurs du transport.

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Ruben LEVIN, rédacteur de "Labor" depuis 1953, est mort d'un accident cardiaque le 29 janvier. Agé de 78 ans, il était internationalement connu et considéré comme le doyen des rédacteurs syndicaux d'Amérique.

Richard J. CALISTRI est le nouveau rédacteur du journal "Labor".

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A.J. MHUNGU, Secrétaire général du syndicat des travailleurs des chemins de fer du Zimbabwe et, depuis la fondation récente du Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, Trésorier de cette nouvelle confédération syndicale nationale, a rendu visite au siège de la C.I.S.L. à Bruxelles et a eu des entretiens avec des responsables du secrétariat de la C.I.S.L.

ARKIVE SSSYAL TARIH ARASTIRMA VAKFI

MANIFESTE C.I.S.L. DU PREMIER MAI 1981

Le ler mai, des centaines de millions de travailleurs du monde entier se souviennent du passé. Ils pensent aux développements socio-politiques de ces dix, quinze ou cent dernières années. Ils savent ce qu'étaient les conditions de vie de leurs parents, grands-parents et arrière-grands-parents. Ils les comparent à leur situation, aujourd'hui, et sont conscients des immenses progrès réalisés par le mouvement syndical dans sa lutte inlassable contre les vieilles et nouvelles élites privilégiées de ce monde. Le ler mai, ils seront nombreux à commémorer ceux qui ont souffert du fait de leurs opinions et activités politiques, ceux qui étaient renvoyés et proscrits, expulsés et battus, emprisonnés et torturés ou même assassinés.

Avec ou sans autorisation, le ler mai les syndicats expriment de par le monde leurs revendications aux employeurs et à l'Etat. Ils confirment leurs idées à propos d'une société plus juste, plus démocratique et plus libre ainsi que sur un nouvel ordre économique et social international.

Le ler mai, des centaines de millions de travailleurs de tous les continents se retrouvent côte à côte et, confiants en leur propre force, ils regardent avec espoir vers un avenir meilleur.

Il y a six mois, le Comité exécutif de la Confédération internationale des Syndicats libres a adopté un programme d'action fixant ses priorités pour les années '80. La C.I.S.L. groupe aujourd'hui 128 organisations affiliées avec plus de 70 millions de membres répartis dans 91 pays. Le programme d'action insiste sur le fait que les objectifs de base de la C.I.S.L., résumés dans le slogan "Pain, Paix et Liberté", sont interdépendants et demeurent valables pour les années '80. Mais le contexte économique, social et politique dans lequel ils doivent être atteints a quant à lui changé.

Le monde où nous vivons est marqué par l'aggravation d'une situation de conflit et de crise s'inscrivant dans le cadre d'une croissance économique mondiale limitée. Le système économique mondial est de plus en plus dominé par quelques compagnies transnationales géantes qui, très souvent, contrôlent à la fois les marchés mondiaux et les sourses d'approvisionnement grâce à leur position de force monopolistique et oligopolistique. Et ainsi, le fossé économique au sein des nations et entre elles se creuse sans cesse.

Selon la Banque mondiale, 800 millions de gens dans le Tiers Monde vivent dans des conditions qui ne répondent à aucune définition justifiable de la dignité humaine. Dans toutes les régions du monde le chômage monte en flèche. Rien que dans les pays de l'O.C.D.E., l'on enregistre 23 millions de sans travail.

La Conférence mondiale de la C.I.S.L. sur le "Rôle des Syndicats dans le Développement" qui s'est tenue en fin mars à New Delhi a clairement montré que l'aggravation de la situation économique et sociale dans le monde qu'avait prévue bien des gens est inévitable.

Nous vivons tous dans le même monde. La pauvreté, où qu'elle sévisse, met en danger le bien-être général. C'est pourquoi il faut réaliser une croissance économique équilibrée et combler l'écart entre riches et pauvres.

Voici quelques facteurs d'un programme économique et social Nord-Sud équilibré:

- Reconnaissance du rôle des syndicats dans la création d'un nouvel ordre économique et social qui doit être basé sur la liberté syndicale.

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- Réforme du système monétaire international qui doit comprendre un transfert massif de ressources vers les pays en développement et l'abaissement des taux d'intérêt.

- Un programme énergétique global et un contrôle des excédents de pétrole. La création d'un fonds énergétique pour les pays en développement.

- Des mesures coordonnées des pays industrialisés pour réaliser le plein emploi. Une augmentation des revenus réels. Une augmentation de l'assistance officielle au développement. Une adaptation structurelle au nouveau système commercial mondial. Le contrôle de l'inflation.

- Des programmes dans les pays en développement afin de satisfaire les besoins essentiels.

- La suppression des barrières commerciales protectionnistes.

- La création d'un fonds de reconversion international.

La C.I.S.L. prône des mesures qui ne profitent pas seulement à une élite privilégiée et aux transnationales; elles doivent aussi produire leurs effets dans les bidonvilles et parmi les millions d'affamés, surtout dans les régions rurales du Tiers Monde mais également dans d'autres régions. Dans le souci de la justice et de la paix, il vaut la peine de lutter pour le programme alternatif des syndicats libres.

Dans divers pays, les enlèvements, la torture et le meurtre, l'oppression, la déportation et l'internement dans des institutions psychiatriques sont des méthodes d'un usage courant afin de réduire au silence des syndicalistes ou d'autres gens qui n'ont pas les faveurs du régime politique.

Le 1er mai, des centaines de millions de travailleurs expriment leur inquiétude face à la détérioration de la situation politique dans ces pays.

Ils expriment leur solidarité à ceux qui risquent leur vie pour la liberté et la démocratie. Ils continueront à donner tout leur appui à ceux qui ont le courage de lutter contre des régimes non démocratiques et leurs actes inhumains.

Il n'est pas de problème insoluble et si tous les travailleurs organisés dans des syndicats libres et leurs amis nous aident activement à réaliser nos justes demandes, nous aurons certainement bien plus de chance d'obtenir le pain pour chacun, la paix dans le monde et la liberté pour tous.

Vive le Premier mai !

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CONFEDERATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

CONFERENCE MONDIALE SUR LE ROLE DES SYNDICATS DANS LE DEVELOPPEMENT

NEW DELHI, 18-20 mars 1981

Déclaration d'intention - Déclaration de la Nouvelle Delhi

L'économie mondiale est dans un état de crise grave qui, à moins d'une action urgente de la part des gouvernements, ne cessera de s'aggraver. Sans une action urgente et concertée, la pauvreté intolérable qui accable 800 millions d'êtres humains dans le monde en voie de développement ne fera que s'accentuer. Le chômage augmentera tant au Nord qu'au Sud, accroissant les tensions et conflits sociaux et politiques au sein des pays comme entre ceux-ci. Une augmentation du nombre déjà énorme de chômeurs dans le Sud risque de provoquer une explosion d'une ampleur catastrophique.

Toutefois, ces tendances désastreuses ne doivent pas nécessairement devenir réalité. Il y a une alternative, c'est d'accepter le concept d' "une seule Terre". Cela implique un changement dans l'orientation de la politique économique des pays industrialisés, une politique de développement plus efficace pour les populations du Sud, un transfert massif de ressources financières vers les pays en voie de développement, un accord global et compréhensif sur l'énergie, la réforme du système monétaire international - bref, un nouvel ordre économique et social international.

La Conférence de la C.I.S.L. sur "Le rôle des syndicats dans le développement" signifie que les syndicats libres et démocratiques s'engagent à coopérer au plan international pour un développement équilibré. Toute pauvreté où qu'elle soit, est un danger pour la prospérité générale. C'est un devoir pour les syndicats d'oeuvrer à la réalisation d'une croissance économique équilibrée générale et à la réduction de l'écart entre riches et pauvres, au sein des nations comme entre celles-ci. La C.I.S.L. a toujours souligné l'intérêt mutuel qu'ont les travailleurs du Nord et du Sud à adopter un programme pour un développement global équilibré - en fait ce concept est la justification de notre existence. Nous sommes heureux que ce thème ait été si bien et si fortement repris dans le rapport de la Commission Brandt.

Principaux éléments d'un programme global de développement équilibré

i) La participation sans restriction des syndicats à la création d'un nouvel ordre économique et social basé sur les principes de la liberté syndicale et du droit à l'organisation et à la négociation collective.

ii) Une réforme du système monétaire international, y compris le transfert massif de ressources financières aux pays en voie de développement, le "désarmement" en matière de taux d'intérêt et le recyclage multilatéral des surplus pétroliers.

iii) Un programme énergétique global comprenant un système de surveillance des stocks pétroliers, une plus grande stabilité des prix et des livraisons, la création d'un Fonds de l'énergie qui permette aux pays en voie de développement d'effectuer les importations de pétrole essentielles à des prix préférentiels, l'amélioration des mesures conservatoires, l'accélération de l'exploitation, l'investissement dans des énergies alternatives et l'utilisation plus efficace des combustibles fossiles, et spécialement du charbon.

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iv) Un réel transfert de technologies vers le Sud, par des mesures bilatérales et multilatérales, afin d'investir sur une large échelle dans la production à fort coefficient de main-d'oeuvre.

v) Des mesures coordonnées de la part des pays industrialisés pour réaliser le plein emploi, la croissance des revenus réels, une augmentation de l'aide publique au développement, un ajustement structurel au nouveau système commercial mondial et le contrôle de l'inflation.

vi) Un plus fort accent dans les pays en voie de développement sur les programmes visant à satisfaire aux besoins essentiels et à investir dans le développement humain de même qu'à développer la production industrielle et agricole, dans le but d'arriver à une croissance qui trouve en elle-même les éléments de son expansion et qui soit génératrice d'emplois sur une large échelle.

vii) L'élimination des barrières protectionnistes, liée à des politiques officielles plus énergiques, soutenues par un Fonds international de Reconversion, en vue de l'ajustement des investissements et de l'emploi et de l'introduction d'une clause sociale juste et impartiale dans le GATT, fondée sur les instruments de l'O.I.T.

viii) Un large programme pour les produits de base y compris le financement du traitement des matières premières dans les pays en voie de développement.

ix) Un Code de conduite des Nations Unies sur les sociétés transnationales (STN) qui soit efficace et qui réglemente leur rôle dans le développement, assure la pleine participation syndicale à l'élaboration et à la mise en oeuvre de ce Code et incorpore la Déclaration de Principes de l'O.I.T. sur les multinationales et la politique sociale.

SUITE A DONNER PAR LES SYNDICATS A LA CONFERENCE

i) Les organisations affiliées devraient informer leurs adhérents de la politique de la C.I.S.L. pour un nouvel ordre économique et social international. L'appui à un programme mondial concerté pour une croissance et un développement équilibré devrait faire partie des campagnes nationales des affiliées contre le chômage et la pauvreté.

ii) Les organisations affiliées devraient faire pression sur leurs gouvernements respectifs afin qu'ils répondent positivement aux recommandations du rapport Brandt. La Revue C.I.S.L. 1981 de la situation économique mondiale devrait servir à renforcer les propositions politiques propres des centrales nationales pour la croissance et le développement.

iii) Dans les programmes de formation syndicale, particulièrement dans ceux des pays industrialisés, il faudrait insister sur la nécessité d'un nouvel ordre économique et social international. La C.I.S.L. fera suivre cette Conférence Mondiale par des séminaires et des réunions de travail au niveau régional.

iv) Les syndicats des pays en voie de développement devraient continuer à construire des organisations syndicales libres, démocratiques et

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efficaces. Ils devraient consolider leur capacité d'analyser les problèmes économiques et élaborer des propositions de politiques dont devraient discuter les gouvernements.

v) Les syndicats des pays industrialisés devraient s'efforcer de canaliser une partie substantielle des fonds pour le développement vers l'éducation et les projets socio-économiques des syndicats.

vi) Les centrales nationales affiliées devraient, en coopération avec la C.I.S.L. et ses organisations régionales, promouvoir leurs propres projets de développement. Elles devraient y inclure des projets-pilotes pour la création d'emplois; des projets de développement rural; y compris l'intégration des femmes et des jeunes au développement, des programmes pour l'amélioration des normes en matière d'éducation mettant en particulier l'accent sur l'alphabétisation, la formation professionnelle, l'amélioration du logement, de la nutrition, de l'hygiène et des soins de santé.

vii) La C.I.S.L. s'attend à rencontrer le Président du Sommet Nord-Sud projeté pour le mois d'octobre à Mexico, afin de faire pression en faveur d'une action donnant suite aux conclusions de la Conférence de New Delhi et du rapport de la Commission Brandt. Les organisations des pays participant au Sommet devraient aussi rencontrer leur gouvernement avant le Sommet.

viii) La C.I.S.L. et ses affiliées chercheront à s'assurer, par l'intermédiaire de la Commission syndicale consultative auprès de l'O.C.D.E., que le prochain Conseil des Ministres de l'O.C.D.E. accorde toute l'attention nécessaire aux propositions syndicales en vue d'un programme global concerté de croissance et de développement. Elles s'efforceront également d'agir sur les Chefs de Gouvernement participant à la réunion d'Ottawa en juillet.

ix) La C.I.S.L. accentuera sa pression sur l'Assemblée générale des Nations Unies pour qu'elle arrive rapidement à un résultat constructif en ce qui concerne la négociation globale d'un nouvel ordre économique international. Ses affiliées en feront de même auprès de leurs gouvernements.

x) La C.I.S.L. demandera à rencontrer le plus tôt possible le F.M.I., la Banque Mondiale et les autres institutions intergouvernementales afin d'obtenir que les syndicats puissent jouer un rôle plus important dans la création d'un nouvel ordre économique et social.

xi) Le Comité exécutif de la C.I.S.L. examinera régulièrement, par l'intermédiaire de son Comité économique et social, les progrès réalisés suite aux conclusions de cette Conférence mondiale spéciale et en fera rapport à ses organisations affiliées.

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Flashes SUR LE MONDE SYNDICAL

No 19 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 11 mai 1981

Le syndicat des mineurs américains affronte les puissants trusts du pétrole

Près de 160.000 mineurs de charbon, membres du syndicat uni des mineurs (UMW) ont entamé une grève contre les propriétaires des puits (Bituminous Coal Operators Association). En effet, le 27 mars expirait l'accord national mais depuis aucun nouvel accord n'a pas été signé. Le 1er avril ils ont repoussé le projet de nouvel accord, qui avait été accepté par les hauts dirigeants du syndicat. (Voir Flashes No 16). Conscients «des dangers dissimulés» dans les propositions de nouvel accord faites par les compagnies du charbonnage, les mineurs poursuivent leur grève.

Le comité de négociation du syndicat avait accepté le projet d'accord prévoyant une certaine augmentation du salaire et le retrait d'un nombre de changements anti-syndicaux inclus dans le règlement de travail visant l'accélération du rythme de travail dans les puits. Informés des nouvelles clauses qui visent à diviser et détruire le syndicat la majorité des mineurs ont voté pour le rejet pur et simple de l'accord.

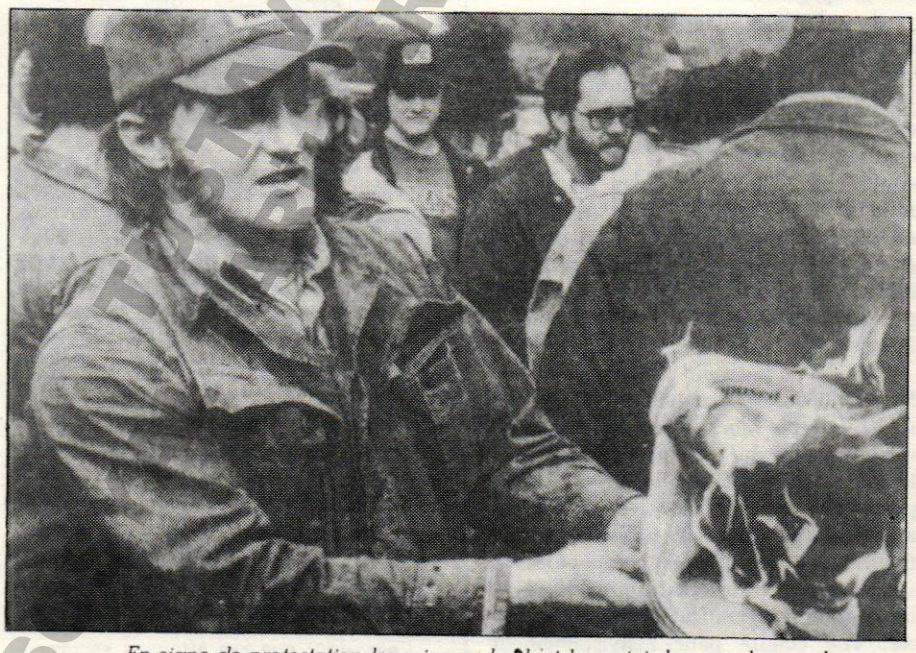
De quoi s'agit-il dans le conflit actuel dans le charbonnage américain? Le nouvel accord permettrait aux compagnies de faire traiter le charbon extrait par des mineurs non-syndiqués avec les installations contrôlées par le syndicat sans aucune pénalisation. Selon le même projet, les nouveaux embauchés seraient livrés entièrement aux compagnies, sans aucune possibilité de devenir membres du syndicat au cours des 45 premiers jours d'embauche, alors que jusqu'ici ils bénéficiaient dès le début de tous les droits de membres du syndicat.

Lorsque les négociateurs du syndicat, répondant au résultat du vote des membres, ont soumis à l'Association des propriétaires la demande du syndicat pour que les clauses anti-syndicales soient éliminées, le porte-parole de la compagnie a rejeté avec arrogance cette requête et, dans une tentative de développer la division dans le syndicat, il a attaqué le président du syndicat Sam Church ainsi que le Comité de négociation, les accusant d'avoir été répudiés par les membres. Les membres du syndicat ont néanmoins souligné que le résultat du vote ne signifiait pas la répudiation des dirigeants, mais plutôt celle de l'attaque vicieuse dirigée par la compagnie contre le syndicat, et que le syndicat a été uni dans la confrontation avec les patrons. Comme l'a déclaré un des membres du Comité de négociation qui a voté contre le projet, il ne s'agissait pas seulement d'un accord visant à priver les mineurs des droits et avantages déjà acquis, mais d'un prélude à la destruction du Syndicat uni des mineurs.

Dans la situation actuelle, caractérisée par une prise de contrôle des trusts internationaux du pétrole sur le charbon américain et une campagne anti-syndicale massive qui se développe aux Etats-Unis, les mineurs ont considéré ces clauses comme partie intégrante du plan visant à étouffer le syndicat: avancer l'extraction du charbon «non-syndiqué» et l'emporter sur le charbon extrait par les membres du syndicat UMW, se servir des nouveaux embauchés privés de tous droits, pour rompre les normes de travail, enfin utiliser la période de 45 jours pour éliminer tous ceux qui sympathisent avec le syndicat ou résolus à défendre leurs droits.

La récente tragédie survenue dans un puit non-syndiqué à Redstone (Colorado), où 15 mineurs ont trouvé la mort, met de nouveau en évidence la nécessité urgente pour l'UMW de mener une lutte serrée contre l'accélération du rythme de travail au détriment de la sécurité du travail.

Avec une moitié de la quantité de charbon provenant des puits où les syndicats n'existent pas — cette proportion a augmenté par rapport aux 30% en 1970 — les compagnies ont essayé et échoué dans leur tentative de briser le syndicat dans sa lutte pour un nouvel accord en 1978. Lors de la grève historique de 110 jours, les mineurs ont réussi à faire échouer les exigences les plus dange-



En signe de protestation les mineurs brûlent le projet de nouvel accord.

TISKOVÉ STŘEDISKO RSTV PRAHA

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reuses des compagnies visant à priver les mineurs des droits et avantages déjà acquis. ils se sont prononcés contre deux projets d'accord, initialement acceptés par les négociateurs du syndicat. Néanmoins ils ont accepté un troisième projet qui leur a pourtant coûté le système modèle de santé et de sécurité sociale. Pendant cette lutte, les mineurs ont bénéficié surtout du soutien des syndicats qui développaient indépendamment leurs activités, des organisations amies et de l'opinion publique. George Meany et l'AFL-CIO qu'il dirigeait ont assisté en spectateur sans rien entreprendre.

La question principale qui se pose à l'heure actuelle au mouvement syndical est de **mobiliser le plus tôt possible, un soutien maximum aux mineurs en grève.**

Les mineurs font face aux trusts du pétrole les plus puissants du monde qui sont les propriétaires réels des compagnies de charbonnage: Exxon, Rockefellers, U.S. Steel, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Ohio et Consolidated Coal division of Conoco, dont le président Bobby Brown est le négociateur principal des compagnies.

Le charbon «jaune» américain est stocké dans les ports pour être exporté. On en exporte aussi bien en Grande Bretagne que dans d'autres pays où on est en train de fermer de nombreux puits. Les compagnies du pétrole et du gaz contrôlent actuellement plus de 55.000 millions de tonnes de toutes les réserves américaines en charbon. La production en 1980 s'est accrue de 7% pour atteindre 825 millions de tonnes, c'est-à-dire presque le triple par rapport à celle d'il y a 20 ans.

Sous la politique de collaboration avec les employeurs poursuivie par Meany et l'AFL-CIO, le mouvement syndical américain perdait du terrain d'une année à l'autre, concédant les droits syndicaux pour les salaires et les avantages marginaux lors des négociations contractuelles. Aujourd'hui les compagnies se sentent assez fortes pour procéder à la liquidation des syndicats en tant qu'entités. «Le comité pour l'environnement sans syndicats» fait partie intégrante de l'administration de Reagan.

Dans cette grève,les mineurs risquent pour déjouer cette politique d'abandon de perdre leurs emplois et les moyens d'existence de leurs familles. Pour riposter à l'attaque du patronat, ils appellent à un mouvement massif et uni. Il ne s'agit pas simplement de préserver l'UMW mais d'y faire affluer tous les mineurs.

Tout dépend de la capacité du mouvement syndical américain et international d'apporter aux mineurs américains un soutien massif et prompte.

La FSM exprime sa solidarité avec la lutte pour les droits syndicaux menée par le Syndicat uni des mineurs et appelle ses organisations affiliées et amies à manifester leur soutien actif et sous diverses formes aux mineurs américains en grève.

REUNION DU COMITE PERMANENT DE TRAVAIL FSM-CISA

Le Comité Permanent de Travail FSM-CISA a tenu sa session courante du 21 au 22 avril au siège de la FSM à Prague.

La délégation de la Confédération Internationale des Syndicats Arabes (CISA) était composée du Secrétaire général de l'organisation, Ehmeid Jalloud, du Secrétaire pour la formation syndicale, Wagih Taha et du Chef du département d'information Marawan Khalil.

La délégation de la FSM était composée du Secrétaire général par intérim Ibrahim Zakaria, des Secrétaires Jan Nemoudry et Juan Ponce, et du collaborateur du département Proche et Moyen-Orient de la FSM, Jabbar Rihani.

Les participants à la réunion se sont penchés d'abord sur la situation tragique qui sévit au Liban qui s'est transformé en un champ de bataille, où les villes et les villages subissent les raids barbares de l'aviation et les tirs de l'artillerie israélienne entrainant ainsi la mort de centaines de civils paisibles, hommes, femmes et enfants. En parfaite coordination avec cette agression israélienne, les forces fascistes et isolationnistes dirigent leurs armes contre les forces patriotiques et progressistes libanaises et contre la résistance palestinienne.

Les deux parties ont constaté que l'intensification des combats au Liban s'accompagne d'attaques et de provocations dirigées contre la Syrie, la Djamahirya Arabe Libyenne Populaire Socialiste et l'Organisation de la Libération de la Palestine dans le but d'entamer leur orientation et leur détermination face aux complots impérialistes, sionistes et réactionnaires. Ces attaques ont escorté la visite qu'a rendu récemment le Secrétaire d'Etat américain à quelques pays de la région. Elles font partie de la nouvelle tendance qu'epouse la politique étrangère des Etats-Unis marquée par une agressivité accrue, l'incitation à la guerre froide, l'accélération de la course aux armements et la multiplication des provocations et des menaces d'intervention armées dans les affaires intérieures des pays de la région.

Constatant que ces attaques se proposent d'installer de nouvelles bases militaires américaines dans la région, de créer une alliance militaire américaine avec certains gouvernements réactionnaires arabes, de liquider l'entité palestinienne et d'anéantir l'OLP, l'unique représentant légitime du peuple arabe palestinien, les représentants de la CISA et de la FSM ont souligné que ces développements imposent à l'ensemble du mouvement syndical mondial une unité d'action et une solidarité accrue pour assurer le respect de la liberté des peuples et contrecarrer l'offensive impérialiste.

Dans le cadre de l'examen des nombreuses questions d'intérêt commun pour les deux organisations, les participants à la réunion ont évoqué les résultats de la dernière session du Conseil Central de la CISA réunie à Benghazi ainsi que les résolutions constructives concernant la situation politique et syndicale dans le monde arabe qui y ont été adoptées.

Les deux parties ont discuté également des préparatifs en cours pour la convocation du Xème Congrès Syndical Mondial qui se tiendra à La Havane (Cuba) en février 1982, un événement important pour le mouvement syndical mondial qui veut être une tribune ouverte à tous les syndicats de diverses tendances et affiliations pour arrêter des décisions en vue d'élargir et consolider l'unité des travailleurs et la solidarité syndicale mondiale.

Les participants à la réunion ont exprimé leur satisfaction pour les réalisations effectuées dans le cadre des accords convenus dans leurs précédentes réunions et ont décidé de poursuivre leurs efforts conformément au programme d'action qui englobe les questions d'intérêt commun pour les deux centrales:

— Dans le domaine de la lutte contre la politique désastreuse des transnationales, les deux parties ont hautement apprécié leur coopération avec d'autres organisations syndicales pour les préparatifs de la conférence syndicale mondiale sur les activités de ces transnationales dans l'industrie pharmaceutique, qui aura lieu à Moscou en novembre de cette année, ainsi que l'intensification de l'action syndicale mondiale dans le domaine des compagnies pétrolières.

— Dans le domaine du développement et de l'instauration d'un nouvel ordre économique mondial, les deux parties ont convenu de poursuivre leurs efforts, conformément au programme d'action adopté par la Conférence Syndicale Mondiale réunie l'année passée à Belgrade et de stimuler l'activité du Comité Permanent issu de la Conférence d'Alger sur la Réforme agraire.

— Dans le domaine de la formation syndicale poursuivre la coopération et déployer des efforts conjoints pour assurer le succès du projet d'édification de l'Institut Arabe de Formation Syndicale attaché à la CISA.

— Accorder la priorité au problème de la défense des libertés et droits syndicaux, dans l'activité des deux centrales et déployer des efforts communs dans ce domaine.

— Coordonner les efforts des deux centrales au cours de la prochaine session de la Conférence Internationale du Travail.

— Consolider la coopération mutuelle entre les fédérations professionnelles arabes et les unions internationales professionnelles.

Une fois de plus, les participants ont hautement apprécié l'esprit d'amitié et la coopération qui animent les rapports entre les deux centrales ainsi que le développement croissant de ces rapports au service des travailleurs du monde entier.

Turquie

Chanter l'Internationale: de 6 à 13 ans de prison

Le procès contre 26 militants syndicaux s'est tenu récemment au 3ème Tribunal Militaire du Commandement de l'Etat de Siège d'Istambul. Parmi les accusés notamment le chœur ouvrier de DISK-MADEN-IS (Syndicat des travailleurs de la métallurgie), dont les 18 membres sont détenus depuis septembre dernier. D'autres syndicalistes tels que Mehmet Karaca (Président de MADEN-IS), Kemal Daysal (Secrétaire de MADEN-IS et de la DISK, membre du Bureau de l'UIS-Métaux), Bahtiyar Erkul (Secrétaire de MADEN-IS) et Metin Denizmen (Président de BANK-SEN, membre du Comité Administratif de l'UIS-Commerce) sont déjà jugés et condamnés arbitrairement par un décret de la junte militaire: compte tenu qu'ils ne se sont pas livrés aux autorités militaires ils seront déchus de la citoyenneté turque (ils sont considérés réfugiés à l'étranger).

Les militants syndicaux sont accusés de «faire de la propagande communiste au cours des activités syndicales» sous prétexte qu'ils ont chanté l'Internationale au 23ème Congrès National de MADEN-IS (le 19-22 décembre 1979). Le procureur militaire demande notamment à partir du fameux article 142 du Code Pénal Turc de lourdes peines de prison allant de 6 ans et 8 mois à 13 ans et 4 mois.

Dans la première déclaration faite au nom de la junte militaire à la suite du coup d'Etat du 12 septembre, «ceux qui chantent l'Internationale» étaient sévèrement attaqués; ils étaient accusés d'avoir entonné l'hymne des travailleurs à la place de l'hymne national. L'Internationale a été qualifiée d'hymne des «pays communistes».

A en croire les généraux qui détiennent le pouvoir en Turquie ce sont les travailleurs qui chantent l'Internationale qui seraient les responsables du terrorisme et de la crise économique. Voilà la «logique» qui sert à bafouer non seulement les libertés et les droits syndicaux, mais aussi les libertés fondamentales de l'homme comme celle d'opinion et d'expression.

Face à la solidarité internationale et la protestation contre la violation des libertés et des droits syndicaux en Turquie, les militaires ont été contraints de libérer 113 militants syndicaux de la DISK. Mais la répression continue. D'après la déclaration officielle du Secrétariat de Coordination de l'Etat de siège de l'Etat Major turc (le 16 avril dernier), 24.457 personnes se trouveraient détenues (à vue ou arrêtées) pour «délits idéologiques». Le Rédacteur en chef du quotidien interdit «POLITIKA», appartenant aux syndicats DISK/MADEN-IS, DISK/BANK-SEN et autres, vient d'être condamné à 1 an et demi de prison pour avoir écrit et publié un article prétendu «séparatiste, visant à affaiblir les sentiments nationaux», d'après l'article 142 du Code Pénal Turc. L'Institut de Recherche Economique et Sociale de la DISK a été investi et passé au peigne fin par les forces de l'ordre et son directeur, Sadun Aren, célèbre professeur en économie, a été arrêté à 2h. du matin, chez lui, à Ankara. Les procès continuent, d'autres se préparent. La junte militaire s'attaque ouvertement aux acquis démocratiques des travailleurs, tel que le 1er Mai.

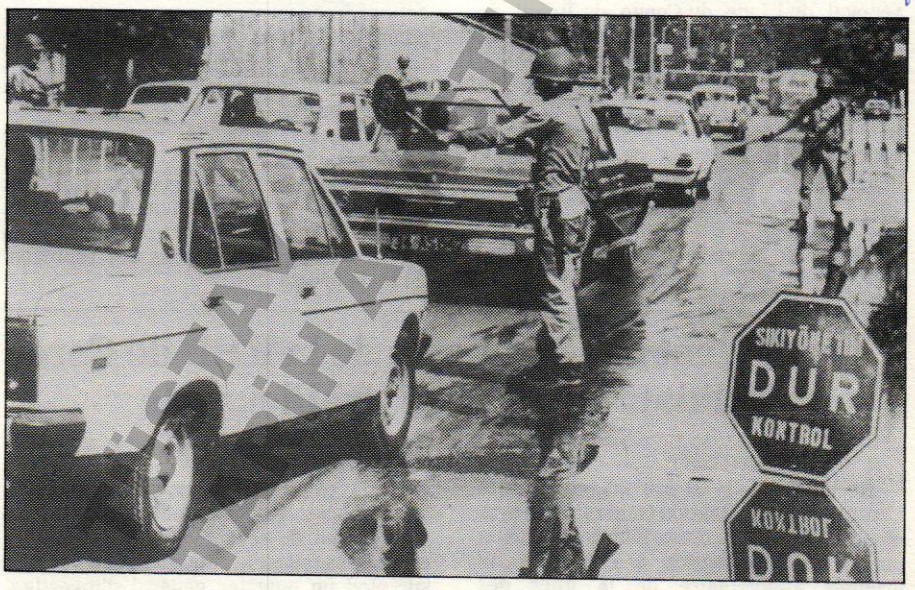
La junte militaire cherche à supprimer totalement le 1er Mai

On se rappelle toujours des grandes luttes menées par la DISK et les forces démocratiques du pays pour célébrer le 1er Mai comme une vraie journée internationale de lutte et de solidarité. Pour détourner la conscience des masses travailleuses le 1er Mai était déclaré «Fête de printemps et des Fleurs» dans les années 20.

C'est en 1976 que le 1er Mai a été célébré à Istambul à l'initiative de la DISK. En 1977 des centaines de milliers de manifestants étaient attaqués par les armes: 34 morts et des centaines de blessés. En 1978 en manifestant encore par centaines de milliers, les travailleurs montraient qu'ils ne se laissaient pas intimider par l'agression fasciste. En 1979 le commandement de l'Etat de Siège a empêché la manifestation à Istambul en instaurant le couvre-feu. Une grande manifestation a eu lieu à Izmir. Les dirigeants de la DISK ont été mis en prison. En 1980 pour protester contre les mesures répressives et arbitraires de l'Etat de Siège les travailleurs ont débrayé dans tout le pays le 30 avril. Le 1er Mai n'a pu être célébré massivement que dans certaines villes.

Aujourd'hui la junte militaire cherche à supprimer totalement le 1er Mai. Par une nouvelle «loi» décrétée par les généraux le 1er Mai n'est plus considéré comme «la fête de Printemps», et n'est plus un jour férié. C'est une attaque aberrante aux acquis démocratiques des travailleurs alors que la célébration du 1er Mai est considérée par l'OIT comme une liberté syndicale essentielle.

Par ailleurs aucun des agresseurs du 1er Mai 1977 n'a été arrêté encore. La junte militaire continue à faire la sourde oreille à ce propos.



Une image aujourd'hui habituelle dans les rues d'Istambul

Australie

Quelles forces se dissimulaient derrière les manifestations de Sidney et de Brisbane?

La classe ouvrière et le mouvement syndical australiens mettent en garde les travailleurs devant la réactivisation des forces anti-syndicales et anti-ouvrières. Les récentes manifestations qui se sont déroulées dans les rues de Sidney et de Brisbane ont illustré de manière dramatique la montée de telles tendances. Les manifestants n'ont pas protesté contre l'augmentation du coût de la vie, la réduction des salaires réels ou contre les nombreux problèmes sociaux du pays mais ont manifesté plutôt leur opposition à la politique des syndicats qui vise à imposer une meilleure vie pour la majorité de la population.

La seule composition des manifestants suffit pour déceler le caractère déstabilisateur de ces événements. On relevait en effet dans leur rang un pourcentage élevé d'éléments provenant de la classe moyenne, des ménagères, des retraités, des «cols blancs» et des marginaux plus vulnérables à la manipulation des forces anti-ouvrières, parmi lesquels les fascistes avaient recruté leurs forces dans les années 1930 et 1940. Il est de même difficile de séparer ces manifestations anti-ouvrières avec la recrudescence de la violence et de l'intimidation contre les dirigeants syndicaux et les organisations syndicales.

Récemment, Bill Kelly, dirigeant syndical à Wollongong a été victime d'une attaque armée. Des éléments suspects ont criblé de balles la porte de son appartement. Bill Kelly a subi une blessure à la tête. Plus tard, un coup de téléphone anonyme lui annonçait que cette attaque n'était qu'un avertissement et que la prochaine fois la mort s'en suivra. Une réunion prévue dans les locaux des syndicats a dû être ajournée par suite d'une menace d'attaque à la bombe.

Les syndicats australiens prennent des mesures adéquates pour mobiliser tous les travailleurs et les forces progressistes contre le danger de recrudescence des tendances anti-ouvrières fomentées par les forces de droite et la réaction précisément dans cette période caractérisée par une aggravation sans précédent de la crise capitaliste.

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ PARTİSİ

Une conférence internationale contre les sociétés transnationales de la pharmacie en novembre 1981 à Moscou

Le Comité international préparatoire pour une Conférence syndicale internationale contre les sociétés transnationales de la pharmacie, pour une politique de santé au service de l'homme a tenu sa session à Athènes (Grèce) les 14 et 15 avril 1981.

La composition de cette session permet de se faire une idée sur le caractère large et unitaire du Comité formé l'an dernier à Genève à l'initiative des représentants des différents composants du mouvement syndical mondial, qui indépendamment de leurs affiliations internationales sont animés d'un seul objectif, faire face aux sociétés transnationales de la pharmacie qui s'engraissent de la santé des travailleurs. A Athènes ont été représentés les travailleurs de l'industrie pharmaceutique et de la santé du Japon, du Mexique, du Sénégal, de l'Inde, du Congo, du Brésil, de Chypre, d'URSS, de Hongrie, de Finlande, de France, d'Italie, du Portugal, de Grèce, aussi bien que des représentants d'organisations régionales et internationales telles que la CMT, le CPUSTAL, l'Organisation Mondiale de la Santé publique, l'UIS des travailleurs de la Fonction publique, l'UIS des travailleurs de l'Alimentation et la FSM.

Les participants ont décidé de convoquer à Moscou (URSS) du 11 au 13 novembre prochain une conférence internationale syndicale sous le thème: «L'action syndicale face aux sociétés transnationales de la pharmacie, pour une industrie pharmaceutique et une politique de la santé au service de l'Homme».

La conférence qui rassemblera quelque 300 délégués des syndicats de la santé et de la pharmacie du monde portera sur les deux sous-thèmes suivants:

1. Les conséquences des actions des sociétés transnationales de la pharmacie sur la santé des populations et les politiques de santé des différents pays notamment les pays en voie de développement; l'action des travailleurs et des syndicats pour une politique démocratique de la santé, répondant aux besoins des populations et aux aspirations des travailleurs de la santé.
2. La situation des travailleurs de l'industrie pharmaceutique, leurs luttes et actions face aux sociétés transnationales et pour des relations qui correspondent à un nouvel ordre économique international entre pays industrialisés et pays en voie de développement.

De quelle industrie pharmaceutique avons-nous besoin?

La session du Comité préparatoire s'est achevée par une conférence de presse au cours de laquelle ses membres ont répondu à de nombreuses questions des représentants de presse.

Le Président des Syndicats de la RPD de Corée solidaire avec les travailleurs de la Corée du Sud

Récemment, le Président du Comité Central de la Fédération Générale des Syndicats dela RPD de Corée Kim Bong Djou a publié une déclaration à l'occasion du premier anniversaire de la lutte des ouvriers de la mine de charbon dans le département de Djeung Seun (province de Kangwon) en Corée du Sud, qui au mois d'avril 1980 se sont soulevés en masse contre l'exploitation et l'oppression cruelles des gouvernants fantoches sud-coréens et pour réclamer le droit à l'existence et les libertés démocratiques.

Kim Bong Djou a expliqué que les ouvriers de cette mine de charbon ont ébranlé par leur lutte concertée et opiniâtre tout le territoire de la Corée du Sud, placé sous «une loi martiale rigoureuse». Ils ont infligé des coups sévères au système «rénové» chancelant et impulsé le courage et une confiance nouvelle aux travailleurs et peuple sud-coréens, farouchement opposés au honteux système de domination et qui réclament une politique plus démocratique, la fin du fascisme et une vie nouvelle.

Acculé par la pression ferme des travailleurs, le régime de Séoul a fait semblant d'accepter ces revendications. Mais en réalité, il préparait sournoisement une vague de répressions aveugles.

Le Président du Comité Central de la FGSC a brossé un tableau des évènements qui se sont déroulés à l'époque. Contrainte de reculer, la clique Chon Du Hwan a promis le relèvement des salaires, de payer les primes et de s'abstenir de prendre toute sanction contre les insurgés.

Mais ce n'était-là qu'une manœuvre pour apaiser la colère et désamorcer le mouvement de révolte. Passant outre les promesses faites, la clique au pouvoir a mis sur pied un quartier général d'investigations et a déclenché une vague d'arrestations de travailleurs et leur traduction devant des tribunaux d'urgence chargés de leur infliger de lourdes peines.

Ce comportement inique démontre qu'aucune des personnalités au pouvoir à Séoul n'est disposée à accorder aux travailleurs le droit à l'existence et à la démocratie. Ces droits ne peuvent être obtenus que lorsque le régime anti-populaire au pouvoir sera détruit. La réalité de la Corée du Sud d'aujourd'hui prouve que les travailleurs et le peuple sont conscients de l'incapacité totale de Chon Du Hwan de résoudre les problèmes urgents qui traumatisent le peuple sud-coréen.

A cet égard, Kim Bong Djou a réaffirmé que toute la vie passée des travailleurs sud-coréens indique que ceux-ci doivent devenir maîtres de leur destin et se frayer eux-mêmes la voie vers une vie nouvelle.

Les travailleurs de la Corée du Sud doivent poursuivre la lutte jusqu'au renversement du régime fasciste de Chon Du Hwan afin d'établir un régime réellement démocratique. Ils doivent rompre la chaîne du gouvernement militaire qui a fait couler le sang des ouvriers de la mine de charbon de Djeung Seun et des victimes du fascisme, liquider la politique d'asservissement colonial des Etats-Unis et exiger le retrait définitif et total des troupes américaines du territoire de la Corée du Sud.

REUNION DE L'UIS DE LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE

Le président de l'UIS, Raymond Barberis, en évalue les résultats

Récemment, à Tallin (URSS) s'est tenue la 32ème session du Comité Directeur de l'UIS de la Fonction Publique. Notre envoyé a demandé à Raymond Barberis, Président de l'UIS d'en faire part aux lecteurs de «Flashes».

«Cette réunion était consacrée à la préparation de la VIIe Conférence Professionnelle Internationale qui se déroulera à Prague en octobre 1982.

Outre les membres du Comité Directeur, les représentants des Syndicats d'Algérie, d'Angola, du Congo, de Finlande, des Sapeurs Pompiers de Grande Bretagne, du Japon, assistaient à la Session et ont participé aux débats.

Ceux-ci ont été fructueux, permettant à chacun d'exprimer son point de vue, tout en étant marqués de la volonté commune, d'aboutir à des décisions de nature à enrichir l'activité de l'Union Internationale.

Un appel aux syndicats de la Fonction Publique du monde entier, a été adopté, qui les invite à participer sans distinction de conceptions syndicales, de continent ou d'affiliation internationale, au large forum international qui sera la VIIème Conférence Professionnelle.

Cet appel met en évidence les préoccupations professionnelles que partagent l'UIS et les syndicats de Fonctionnaires d'Etat, Travailleurs des P.T.T., des Banques, des Communes et de la Santé.

Il associe à la lutte pour les rémunérations, les carrières, les statuts des personnels, la bataille pour la sauvegarde du service public, et met en évidence les raisons supplémentaires qu'ont les travailleurs du secteur public, de s'associer à toutes les initiatives allant dans le sens de la détente internationale et de la paix, tout en développant leur propre action sur leurs propres objectifs syndicaux.

L'appel souligne l'importance particulière de la lutte pour la défense des droits et libertés syndicales des personnels de la Fonction Publique, partout où elles sont mises en cause.

Empreint du souci de l'union pour une action offensive et résolue sur les objectifs syndicaux de classe correspondant aux intérêts réels des travailleurs, l'appel souligne la volonté de l'UIS de contribuer à un renouveau du mouvement syndical mondial, et lui fixe l'objectif d'être plus encore un lieu de rencontres, d'échange d'expériences, et d'impulsion de la lutte commune des syndicats de la Fonction Publique du monde entier.

Ce document, et tous ceux qui visent à une bonne préparation du Congrès, en définissant des tâches et des objectifs précis, reflète la préoccupation dominante de l'UIS de la Fonction Publique, soucieuse de donner une nouvelle efficacité à la lutte une des travailleurs de la Fonction Publique par delà les frontières, et résolue à faire de son delà les frontières, et résolue à faire de sa VIIème Conférence une étape significative

ARCHIVES SUISSES DU MOUVEMENT OUVRIER

LES AMERICAINS PROTESTENT CONTRE LA POLITIQUE DU GOUVERNEMENT ENVERS LE SALVADOR

Plusieurs milliers de personnes ont manifesté le 18 avril dernier devant le siège de l'ONU à New York contre la politique du gouvernement américain envers le Salvador. Les participants à la manifestation ont marché en cortège à travers les rues principales de Manhattan en scandant «Pas de guerres», «Etats-Unis hors du Salvador», «Pas de novueaux Vietnams».

Le député démocrate de New York, Ted Weiss, qui était à la tête de la manifestation a déclaré devant le palais de l'ONU que le président Reagan «prend comme prétexte les évènements au Salvador pour réduire les dépenses sociales et augmenter les dépenses militaires».

Vietnam

NOUVELLE FORME DE GESTION DANS L'AGRICULTURE

Après les typhons et les inondations qui en 1980 ont provoqué des pertes graves dans la production agricole, tout laisse prévoir cependant que la récolte de paddy, le riz non décortiqué, de la campagne hiver-printemps sera bonne. Considérant que les objectifs du plan pour le premier trimestre 1981 ont été atteints dans l'agriculture, on peut donc déjà affirmer que les résultats pour le deuxième trimestre de l'année devraient marquer une progression continue.

Ces progrès obtenus dans la production agricole ne sont pas dûs seulement aux meilleures conditions climatiques mais résultent également de la nouvelle politique agricole décidée par le gouvernement.

Les paysans ont travaillé mieux qu'auparavant et leurs revenus ont augmenté proportionnellement à leurs efforts.

Une composante importante de la politique agricole actuellement appliquée dans le Nord du pays est la nouvelle forme de gestion dans la production agricole appelée «fixation de la quantité forfaitaire des produits». Elle concerne chaque brigade de production et chaque paysan travaillant dans les coopératives agricoles où elle a été introduite.

Différente de l'ancienne forme de gestion, appliquée depuis 20 ans selon laquelle la rémunération des paysans se basait sur les «points de travail», elle engage le paysan recevant la terre qu'il cultivera pour la plupart lui même, à fournir une quantité forfaitaire de produits fixée par la coopérative dont il est membre par l'intermédiaire des brigades de production. Sur cette terre reçue, les travaux plus complexes de culture, d'hydraulique agricole, de protection contre les insectes nuisibles sont assurés par la coopérative, tandis que les autres travaux (repiquage, soins et récolte) sont faits par le paysan. Après la récolte, si le paysan parvient à dépasser la quantité forfaitaire de produits établie, il bénéficie, en dehors des «points de travail» fournis, de la totalité du surplus.

Par rapport à l'ancienne forme de gestion, la nouvelle présente l'avantage de lier l'intérêt du paysan à l'obtention de plus grandes quantités de produits, et par là, permet d'encourager celui-ci à tirer le maximum de profit de la main-d'œuvre familiale et à appliquer de plein gré les techniques culturales avancées.

La nouvelle forme de gestion est née de l'expérience d'un groupe de coopératives agricoles de la région de Haïphong, une expérience qui a permis d'améliorer sensiblement les conditions de vie des paysans et d'augmenter en même temps les livraisons de vivres à l'Etat.

Chili

10.000 MINEURS DE «EL TENIENTE» EN GREVE

La solidarité de la FSM

Les ouvriers de la mine de cuivre d'«El Teniente», une des plus grandes du monde, et d'où provient plus du quart de la production chilienne de cuivre poursuivent courageusement la grève qu'ils ont entamé le 22 avril dernier.

Les responsables de huit syndicats représentant 10.500 ouvriers de la mine contrôlée par l'Etat qui se trouve à 150 km au sud-est de Santiago du Chili se sont consultés sur la stratégie de lutte. Aux assemblées syndicales qui ont voté pour la grève a été posée à l'unanimité la revendication d'une augmentation de salaire de 10%.

C'est la deuxième fois qu'un mouvement de grève d'une telle envergure se manifeste dans la mine «El Teniente», après 1979, lorsque le régime militaire de Pinochet avait imposé le soi-disant «plan laboral» interdisant les grèves dans les secteurs économiques d'importance vitale pour le pays, comme c'est justement le cas des mines de cuivre qui pour le Chili représentent la source principale de devises.

La FSM a manifesté sa solidarité aux ouvriers de la mine «El Teniente» et souligné son plein soutien à leurs justes revendications socio-économiques.

Message de la FSM au Président du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU

Le 24 avril 1981 le Secrétariat de la FSM a adressé un télégramme au Président du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU, dans lequel il exprime ses appréciations sur le débat entamé par le Conseil concernant les sanctions contre le régime raciste d'Afrique du Sud et demande des mesures concrètes pour imposer la libération de la Namibie.

Toute discussion dans cette direction par le Conseil de Sécurité, souligne le message, correspond aux aspirations de toutes les forces progressistes du monde entier et en premier lieu des victimes de l'apartheid en Afrique du Sud et du peuple de la Namibie.

La FSM assure le Président du Conseil de Sécurité de sa coopération la plus complète pour faire appliquer les décisions concernant ces sanctions.

R.F.A.

Accord salarial seulement pour 640.000 métallos

Les négociations salariales dans la métallurgie ont abouti le 30 avril dernier à un accord dans le Bade-Wurtemberg. Celui-ci prévoit une hausse moyenne des salaires de 4,9% du 1er avril 1981 au 31 janvier 1982, ont annoncé syndicat et patronat de la branche.

Les deux parties ont convenu d'une augmentation rétroactive forfaitaire de 160 marks applicable pour chacun des mois de février et mars 1981 aux 640.000 métallurgistes du nord de Bade-Wurtemberg, indépendamment du montant de leur salaire.

L'accord ne s'applique qu'à la seule région du nord du Bade-Wurtemberg et constitue un compromis dans lequel a prévalu la position du patronat.

Quelques jours avant la signature de cet accord presque deux millions de métallos ouest-allemands avaient entamé une grève d'avertissement, à l'appel de l'IG-Metall, justement pour exiger du patronat la satisfaction de leurs revendications salariales.

Cette grève a été le point culminant d'une série d'actions de ce type menées depuis plusieurs mois par les métallos contre l'intransigeance manifestée par le patronat dans les négociations salariales de cette année, les plus longues de l'histoire de la RFA.

Pour l'ensemble de la métallurgie, ceux qu'on appelle pour masquer l'antagonisme de classe, les «partenaires sociaux» s'étaient rencontrés en effet déjà cinquante fois depuis le 14 janvier, sans résultat. Cette «nouveauté» s'explique par la volonté du gouvernement et du patronat d'imposer une politique d'austérité dont les travailleurs devraient surtout payer les conséquences.

Les négociations pour le renouvellement des conventions collectives annuelles en RFA ne se mènent pas par branche mais par «circonspections tarifaires», dont la plus importante est la Rhénanie Nord-Westphalie.

Le syndicat de la métallurgie réclamait initialement une augmentation des salaires de 8%. Au cours des négociations il a abandonné cette position résolument revendicative en faveur d'une attitude favorable à un compromis.

L'accord qui a été signé n'aura pas valeur de modèle pour toute la RFA comme l'avait demandé le syndicat IG-Metall, car la confédération patronale Gesamtmetall s'est refusée pour le moment à accéder à cette demande.

PORTUGAL

Les travailleurs pour la défense des conquêtes révolutionnaires

La lutte de classe au Portugal s'est aiguisée ces dernières semaines. Les tentatives du gouvernement Balsemao, représentant des grands monopoles nationaux et internationaux, de détruire les conquêtes révolutionnaires du peuple portugais — notamment les droits syndicaux et le contrôle ouvrier dans les entreprises — se sont heurtées à la résistance croissante des travailleurs soutenus par leur centrale syndicale unitaire la CGTP-Intersindical.

Les réunions syndicales pour analyser la situation, élaborer des cahiers de revendications pour améliorer les salaires et contre les licenciements se multiplient dans tous les secteurs de l'économie nationale, dans le nord comme dans le sud du pays. Les grèves, suivies presque toujours à 100%, les manifestations et descentes dans les rues sont à l'ordre du jour, comme ce fût le cas des travailleurs du transport, du textile, de la fonction publique etc... Les travailleurs luttent pour les objectifs fondamentaux de la Constitution du pays, notamment pour les Conventions Collectives, le réaménagement du pouvoir d'achat menacé par les partis de droite. Un vaste mouvement de masses se développe dans l'ensemble du pays pour exiger la démission du gouvernement de droite. Rien qu'à Lisbonne, 150.000 travailleurs de 160 entreprises ont engagé la lutte. Il n'y a pas de doute que le mouvement syndical unitaire fortement implanté et organisé dans les entreprises se mobilisera pour mettre en échec les objectifs du grand capital visant à détruire la démocratie au Portugal. Les travailleurs sont déterminés à défendre les nationalisations, le contrôle ouvrier, la réforme agraire, les droits démocratiques y compris les droits syndicaux.

C'est dire donc que la septième année de la Révolution d'Avril connaîtra des journées de grandes luttes des travailleurs.

Rencontre consultative UNESCO — Organisations syndicales Internationales et Alliance Coopérative à Paris

La 7ème Consultation entre l'UNESCO, les trois organisations syndicales internationales (CISL, CMT, FSM) et l'Alliance Coopérative Internationale (ACI), a eu lieu au siège de l'UNESCO les 26 et 27 avril 1981.

L'objet de cette consultation a porté sur le plan à moyen terme de l'UNESCO (1984-89) au sujet duquel les participants ont eu un large échange de vues et ont apporté leur contribution à la préparation et à l'élaboration de ce plan par des suggestions et propositions dans les domaines de leur compétence.

Une fois de plus, les représentants de l'UNESCO ont apprécié comme très positive la coopération avec les organisations participantes, ainsi que l'importance et l'utilité de ces consultations.

Partant du programme et des résolutions de la 21ème Conférence Générale de l'UNESCO, qui abordent les grands problèmes du monde contemporain, la délégation de la FSM, conduite par Jan Nemoudry, Secrétaire de la FSM, en a souligné les priorités et a souhaité leur application par des mesures concrètes en faveur du progrès social, notamment concernant la paix, le désarmement, le développement, le Nouvel Ordre Economique International, et a plus particulièrement insisté sur les problèmes de la jeunesse et de la communication.

DECLARATION DE LA FENASOL

La Fédération Nationale des Syndicats des Ouvriers et des Employés du Liban a adressé au gouvernement libanais un message dans lequel elle l'invite à prendre des mesures urgentes visant à normaliser la situation économique dans le pays sensiblement aggravée par les récents événements. Dans le document on souligne: «Au moment où l'intégrité et l'indépendance du Liban sont menacées par les agissements agressifs perpétuels d'Israël dans le Sud du pays et les conflits armés à Zahla et Beyrouth provoqués par le parti Kataîb, les gros commerçants et hommes d'affaires cherchent à profiter de la situation pour fructifier leurs intérêts égoïstes. A cet effet, ils augmentent arbitrairement les prix des produits alimentaires, des carburants et des médicaments au détriment des larges masses de la population du pays. Les menées ignominieuses de la bourgeoisie ont fait que les prix des denrées alimentaires et des produits de consommation courante ont augmenté d'environ 30 à 50%. Les monopoles et les spéculateurs — poursuit le document — provoquent de façon artificielle un déficit de carburant, pour en tirer de gros bénéfices.»

Dans une déclaration rendue publique la Fédération Nationale des Syndicats des Ouvriers et des Employés du Liban souligne que toute la responsabilité pour la détérioration de la situation dans le pays incombe aux dirigeants des forces chrétiennes de droite et à Israël qui cherchent à diviser le pays, liquider les forces nationales patriotiques et le Mouvement de résistance palestinienne, afin d'instaurer un régime dictatorial antipopulaire. Le document appelle la classe ouvrière, tous les travailleurs du Liban à consolider l'unité et la cohésion de leurs rangs, à lutter pour la sauvegarde de l'intégrité territoriale, la souveraineté et l'indépendance de l'Etat, pour une reconciliation nationale, contre l'agression israélienne.

TRADE UNION INTERNATIONAL OF WORKERS OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL

WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Press Communique

No. 5
Prague, February 3, 1981

FOR RESPECT FOR RIGHTS, AGAINST REPRESSION OF TRADE UNIONS IN TURKEY

The military authorities in Turkey continue to increase their repression and violation of human and trade union rights, endangering the life of thousands of trade union and other progressive activists including the leadership of the Progressive Trade Union Confederation (DISK), the genuine defender of Turkish workers' rights.

Constantly concerned with the present situation, the WFTU recently delegated a group of western lawyers to undertake a fact-finding mission to Turkey where they attended the trial at which the authorities are attempting to dissolve the DISK, which represents over 600,000 workers. The court's decision has not yet been given, but the wave of arrests is continuing.

The lawyers indicated that the military government's attack on trade union rights includes the following:

a) over 2000 trade unionists were detained during the coup d'etat;

b) many of these were tortured;

c) the period of 15 days pre-judicial detention provided for by the law has been arbitrarily extended to three months and even this period has been illegally exceeded;

d) the detainees were victims of torture and brutality including being questioned blindfolded and refused access to civil judges and defence lawyers.

The lawyers also learnt that some of the trade union leaders may be charged under article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code with "subverting the Constitution". This charge carries the death penalty and there is a danger that it may be made against the members of the Executive Committee of the DISK, including

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Brother Basturk, Isiklar, Güven and Zirtiloglu.

In view of this grave and dangerous situation threatening the DISK leadership and other active trade unionists, the WFTU, in addition to its decision to approach the ILO on this matter, calls on all international and national trade union organisations to redouble their efforts in favour of the release of all imprisoned trade union leaders and activists and other democrats and progressive people, as well as the restoration of trade union rights and democratic freedoms. It asks the world trade union movement to renew its protests to the Turkish authorities and Turkish embassies abroad, to the ILO and other international bodies.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Pancyprian Federation of Labour (P.E.O.)

PRESS COMMUNIQUE

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

No 1/81 23 January, 1981

PEO STRONGLY PROTESTS OVER TURKEY

PEO has reacted strongly to the news that 223 trade union officials and members of DISK will be prosecuted by Turkey's military regime. In a letter sent by Andreas Ziartides, General Secretary, to the Director-General of the ILO it is stated:

"According to reliable information the military authorities in Turkey have decided to prosecute 223 trade union officials and members of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK).

This act of the Turkish authorities constitutes yet another flagrant violation of internationally recognised and universally accepted principles. It is an act of undeniable and brutal violation of trade union human rights.

We strobgly protest against the above-mentioned decision. We express our indignation for the procecution of the 223 fellow trade unionists of DISK and ask you to apply all means at your disposal to protect them from being prosecuted and persecuted by the military-led Turkey's regime."

PEO has also written to the WFTU Secretariat requesting immediate measures to be taken in order to express international workers' solidarity with DISK and its persecuted leaders.

flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

No 19 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 May 11, 1981

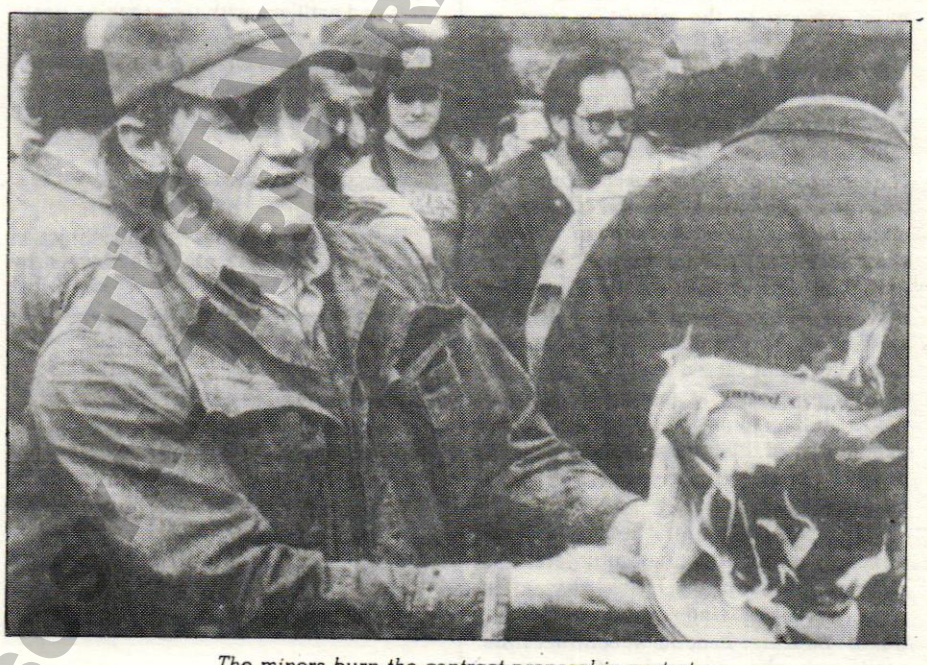
US mine workers union fights powerful petroleum trusts

160,000 coal miners, members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW), went on strike against the Bituminous Coal Operators Association when their national coal agreement expired March 27 with no new agreement signed. On April 1 they voted down a company proposal accepted by top union officials and remain on strike because they saw hidden dangers in the companies' proposed agreement.

The contract proposal, which contained a wage increase and withdrew a number of the anti-union speed-up rule changes threatened by the companies, was accepted by majority vote of the union's negotiating committee. But when the miners found out that it contained new clauses with which to undercut and destroy the union they voted by a 2 to 1 majority to reject it.

What are the reasons behind the present conflict in the US coal industry? One provision of the new contract would allow the companies to process non-union coal through union-run processing plants with no penalty. Another would put new employees wholly in the companies' power, unable to join the union for the first 45 days' employment, instead of immediately benefitting from union membership as they have done up to now.

When negotiators for the union, responding to the vote of the membership, placed before the BCOA the union's demand that the anti-union provisions be eliminated, the company spokesmen arrogantly rejected the demand and, trying to develop a split in the union, attacked the union's president, Sam Church, and the negotiating committee, charging they had been repudiated by the membership.



The miners burn the contract proposal in protest

Union members stressed that the vote was not repudiation of leadership but of the vicious company attack on the union, that the union was united in its confrontation with the companies. As a negotiating committee member who voted against it stated, «That contract was not just a take-away contract, it was the beginning of the destruction of the United Mine Workers.»

Under today's conditions, with the takeover of coal by the world's petroleum trusts and the massive anti-union campaign being carried on in the United States, the miners saw these clauses as part of the plan to smash the union: to push the processing of non-union over

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union coal; to use the newly hired workers with no rights to break down work standards and to use the 45-day period to weed out those who are pro-union or stand up for their rights.

The recent disaster in a non-union mine which cost the lives of 15 miners in Redstone, Colorado, is evidence of the urgency of the UMW's fight against speed-up at the expense of safety.

With half the US coal coming from non-union mines — up from 30% in 1970 — the companies tried and failed to break the union in the 1978 contract struggle. In a heroic 110-day strike the miners defeated some of the worst company «take-away» demands in voting down two proposed agreements accepted by the union's negotiators, finally accepting a third which still cost them the loss of their model health and welfare system. In that struggle all outside support came from unions acting independently, friendly organisations and the public. Meany and the AFL-CIO stood by and did nothing.

The key question now for the trade union movement is to bring maximum support to the miners as soon as possible.

The miners face the world's biggest petroleum trusts as real owners behind the coal operators. These include Exxon, the Rockefellers, US Steel, Standard Oil of California, Standard Oil of Ohio, and the Consolidated Coal division of Conoco, whose president, Bobby Brown, is chief negotiator for the companies.

«Scab» US coal is stockpiled at the harbors awaiting export. It is also shipped to Britain and other countries whose mines are being closed down. Oil and gas companies control at present more than 55,000 million tonnes of US coal reserves. Production in 1980 increased 7% to 825 million tonnes, almost triple that of 20 years ago.

Under the Meany-AFL-CIO policies of collaboration with the employers, US labor has been driven back year after year, conceding trade union rights for wages and fringe benefits at contract time until now the companies feel strong enough to eliminate unions altogether. The «Committee for a Union-free Environment» is an integral part of the Reagan administration.

The miners are putting their jobs and their families' livelihood on the line in a fight to stop this surrender. They call for a massive drive to unite, turn back the attack and organise the unorganised, not only to preserve the UMW but to use it to bring all miners into the union.

Much depends on how well and how rapidly US — and international labor — rallies behind them.

The WFTU expresses its solidarity with the UMW's struggle for trade union rights and calls on all affiliated and friendly organisations to give their active support in all possible forms to the striking US miners.

MEETING OF THE WFTU-ICATU PERMANENT WORKING COMMITTEE

This committee met at the WFTU headquarters in Prague on 21 and 22 April 1981.

The delegation of the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU) consisted of Ehmeid Jalloud, General Secretary, Wagih Taha, Secretary for trade union training and Marawan Khalil, head of the information department.

The WFTU delegation consisted of Acting General Secretary Ibrahim Zakaria, Secretaries Jan Nemoudry and Juan Ponce and Jabbar Rihani, member of the Middle East department.

At the beginning of the meeting the participants discussed the tragic situation in Lebanon, especially in the south of the country where towns and villages are suffering air raids and shelling by Israeli aircraft and artillery with the resulting death of hundreds of peaceful civilians, men, women and children. In complete coordination with this Israeli aggression, fascist and isolationist forces are directing their arms against Lebanese patriotic and progressive forces and against Palestinian resistance.

Both sides stated that the intensification of fighting in Lebanon is accompanied by attacks and provocations directed against Syria, the Libyan Arab People's Socialist Jamahariya and the Palestine Liberation Organisation so as to discredit their aims and undermine their determination in the face of imperialist, zionist and reactionary plots. These concerted attacks accompanied the visit of the US Secretary of State to several countries of the region. They are part of a new trend in US foreign policy marked by increased aggressiveness, incitement to cold war, acceleration of the arms race and increased provocation and threats of armed intervention in the internal affairs of countries of the region.

These attacks include proposals to install new US military bases in the region, to create a US military alliance with certain reactionary Arab governments, to destroy the Palestinian entity, wipe out the PLO, the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people. The representatives of ICATU and the WFTU stressed that these devleopments make essential united action and increased solidarity by the whole of the trade union movement to ensure respect for the freedom of people and to counteract the imperialist offensive.

In studying many questions of common interest to the two centres, the participants exchanged information and considered the results of the last session of the ICATU General Council in Benghazi, as well as the constructive resolutions adopted there on the political and trade union situation in the Arab world.

The participants also discussed the preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress to be held in Havana (Cuba) in February 1982, which will be an important event for the world trade union movement and an open forum for all trade unions of different trends and affiliations to come to decisions to expand and consolidate workers' unity and world trade union solidarity.

Both sides expressed their satisfaction about what has been done in the framework of agreements reached at previous meetings and decided to pursue their efforts with regard to the programme of action which covers questions of common interest to the two centres:

— In the field of the struggle against the disastrous policy of the transnationals, the two sides highly appreciated their cooperation with other trade union organisations on the preparations for the World Trade Union Conference on the Activities of Pharmaceutical Transnationals to be held in Moscow in November this year, as well as the growth of world trade union action in the sphere of oil companies.

— In the field of development and the establishment of a new international economic order, both sides agreed to pursue their efforts in line with the programme of action adopted by the World Trade Union Conference held in Belgrade last year and to encourage the activity of the Standing Committee set up by the Algiers Conference on Agrarian Reform.

— In the field of trade union training, to continue cooperation and make joint efforts to ensure the success of the project to build an Arab Trade Union Training Institute attached to ICATU.

— In the activity of both centres, to give priority to the defence of trade union rights and freedoms and make joint efforts in this sphere.

— To coordinate the efforts of both centres during the next session of the International Labour Conference.

— To consolidate mutual cooperation between the Arab trade federations and the Trade Union Internationals.

Once again, the participants highly appreciated the spirit of friendship and cooperation which marks relations between the two centres, as well as the growing expansion of these relations in the service of the workers of the whole world.

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ ARŞİVİ VAKFI

Turkey

Repression continues

A. Bastürk, DISK president, being arrested

Seven months after the military coup d'état, Turkey remains a country shaken by a growing economic and social crisis where repression has become the usual method of crushing the slightest sign of opposition by the masses who are very hard hit by the consequences of this crisis.

Although martial law has succeeded in putting a stop to the terrorism whose tragic increase made it possible for the Turkish generals to present themselves as the «sole saviours» of the country, the economic and social situation, far from improving, has become even worse than it was before the coup.

In recent years inflation has reached 300% whereas wages have risen only by 70%. Unemployment affects 20% to 30% of the workforce and the future looks even blacker with the continuous dismantling of state industries. From this point of view, the reasons for mass discontent are even greater than in the past and this is why the military regime is stepping up repression through the use of a huge repressive machine totally under its control. Of course, the regime tries at least to keep up appearances by keeping the leader of the fascist party, Colonel Turkes, and the leader of the Islamic integrist party, Professor Erbakan, in prison.

The law passed by the National Security Council on the convocation of a «constituent body» before the end of the year, from which any participation by political leaders from the «past» is excluded, is quite significant. Indeed, the whole of the military regime's economic policy is aimed at putting into practice, without any ambiguity, the line dictated by the International Monetary Fund and Turkish big private business interests.

Repression is thus the «natural» corollary of these choices in a country which, like Turkey, is torn apart by an extremely serious structural crisis and specially sharp social tensions.

During all this time arrests are commonplace and the prisons are overflowing with political prisoners who, according to information, are subjected to terrible torture. This has been the fate of A. Basturk, president of DISK, the progressive Turkish trade union federation which was banned by the military regime, as well as other progressive political and trade union activists among the 3,000 who, according to the most prudent estimates, have been arrested since the military coup on 12 September 1980. The military regime's liberticide attitude was recently confirmed by the law on loss of citizenship which will be applied to all those progressive Turkish democrats and trade unionists at present in exile who refuse to obey the military authorities' order to return to Turkey.

Developing countries disappointed with their relations with the EEC

The sixty countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) associated with the European Economic Community through the second Lomé Convention have published a statement in Luxembourg in which they said that their trade balance under the first Convention was not as positive as the European Commission had just stated.

Refuting the EEC Commissioner in charge of these matters, C. Chayson, who had said that in 1980 the ACP countries had a trade surplus of 4,000 million dollars over the EEC, the ACP representatives pointed out that the inclusion of oil exports in these figures gave a false picture of the real situation.

In other words, the changes in oil prices have permitted Brussels to hide the worsening trade relations between the EEC and the ACP countries. In fact, 50% of the products imported from the ACP countries by the EEC come from only three countries and 28% from Nigeria.

Statistics further show that 95% of products imported by the EEC from the ACP countries have from 1976, been raw materials whose prices, except that of oil, have gone steadily down, whereas exports from the EEC to those countries are manufactured goods whose prices are constantly rising.

WFTU CONDEMNS ACTS OF GENOCIDE IN LEBANON

Following the recent Israeli acts of aggression against Lebanon and the increased conspiracies stirred up by isolationist and fascist forces, the WFTU Secretariat sent telegrams to the Head of State and Prime Minister condemning the aggression by Israel and its accessories.

In these telegrams the WFTU reaffirmed that it considered the events in Lebanon to be an integral part of the general imperialist offensive against the Arab region coinciding with the visit by General Haig, US Secretary of State, and directed against progressive forces in Lebanon, Palestinian resistance and Syria which is in the front line of confrontation with the Israeli aggressor. In addition, the WFTU Secretariat sent a telegam of solidarity to the FENASOL.

ÚSTAV PRO SOCIÁLNÍ A HOSPODÁŘSKÉ DĚJINY

MEETING OF THE SECRETARIAT AND PRESIDENTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL COMMISSIONS OF THE BUILDING WORKERS' TUI

The Secretariat of the TUI of Workers of the Building, Wood and Building Materials Industries recently organised a conference with the presidents of the TUI's specialised and industrial commissions.

The meeting was attended by the TUI president, Lothar Lindner, vice-president Georges L'Herical and the presidents of the following commissions: Building Commission — Pierre Mazé (France); Building Materials Commission — Viliam Eichemberger (Czechoslovakia); Wood Commission — Edvin Kenraali (Finland); Commission on Hygiene and Safety at Work — Klaus Panze (GDR); Youth Commission — Tauno Nieminen (Finland).

The aim of the conference was to decide how to carry out the activities set out by the 34th session of the TUI's Administrative Committee and to work out a plan of activities and the implementation of initiatives proposed by the commissions.

The TUI Secretariat stressed the need for the commissions to concentrate their attention on analysing and studying problems such as the loss of jobs in the building, wood and building materials industries in the capitalist countries and other harmful consequences of the capitalist crisis which result in a drop of purchasing power for wage earners and worsening working conditions.

The participants also underlined that the commissions must pay greater attention to matters connected with democracy in the workplace and ways and means of fighting back against the monopolies' and transnationals' attacks on trade union rights and the vital interests of the workers. In this context they pointed out that a satisfactory solution to these problems was closely linked to the workers' struggle for peace, an end to the arms race and the achievement of disarmament.

Among the specific activities for the immediate future, the conference decided to organise:

— a symposium of the Wood Industry Commission on «The development of democracy in the workplace, the role and place of the workers and trade unions» (Paris, 19-22 October 1981);

— a session of the Building Materials Commission on «Occupational training and safety at work for young workers in the industry» (Budapest, towards the end of October 1981). This commission will also prepare a meeting of representatives of the workers of the ETERNIT company in Europe and North Africa to draw up joint demands (Vienna, October 1981) and a session on occupational training for young workers in the glass industry. This meeting will be held in Prague (October 1981) and will be organised in co-operation with the Glass and Ceramics Industry Commission of the Chemical Workers' TUI;

— an international symposium on «The problems of immigrant workers on building sites in Europe and the Arab countries» (France, 26-27 November 1981);

— a meeting of the Commission on Hygiene and Safety at Work on «Problems and trends in safety at work against a background of concentrated production in the building and wood industries» (Berlin, 23-24 September 1981);

— a meeting of the Youth Commission on the trade unions' tasks in the struggle in defence of the interests of young workers against a background of scientific and technological progress in the building, wood and building materials industries (Berlin, 24-25 November 1981).

SOCIAL TOURISM: WFTU-IBST meeting

Recently, Mr. Arthur Haulot, General Secretary of the International Bureau on Social Tourism (IBST), visited the WFTU headquarters in Prague where he met Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary, and discussed matters concerning the extension of social tourism.

Mr. Haulot gave an in-depth information on the activities of his organisation, which came into being in 1963 in Brussels with a view to contributing to a further extension of social tourism. He drew attention to the World Conference on Tourism which was held in October 1980 in Manila and especially referred to the importance of its results expressed in the Manila Declaration on World Tourism.

Brother Zakaria appreciated the activities of the IBTS and mentioned the fruitful cooperation between it and the WFTU's International Trade Union Committee on Social Tourism and Leisure (ITUCSTL).

Considering the Manila Declaration to be a positive document, the WFTU is ready to take an active part in the follow-up to its conclusions, particularly through the ITUCSTL.

Possible mutual co-operation in the international campaign for staggered workers' holidays was considered, including joint actions within the UN system in this respect.

Great Britain

No to American missiles

The South of England area committee of the construction workers' union has called for a boycott of all construction work connected with the deployment of American nuclear missiles on British soil.

In the magazine «Viewpoint» the area secretary said that it was the moral duty of British construction workers not to let themselves get involved in work which could result in the destruction of the country.

Two veterans of British trade union movement, Frank Cousins, former general secretary of the transport workers' union, and J. Newton, former general secretary of the garment workers' union, have said that the road to peace is to be found by limiting the arms race.

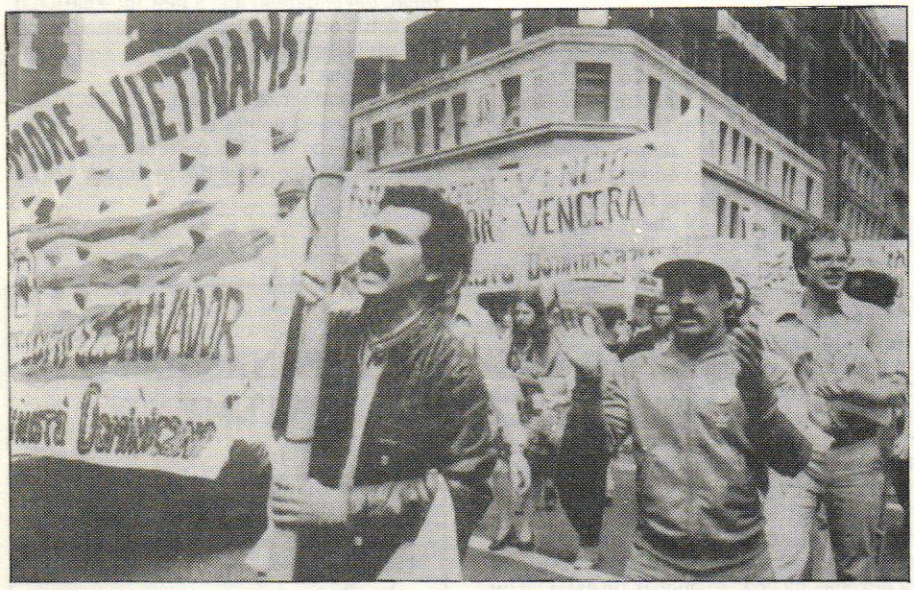
As they stressed in The Times, the huge stocks of nuclear arms in today's world are capable of destroying all life on earth several times over.

They find it totally inadmissible that the colossal sum of one million dollars a day should be swallowed up all over the world by military expenditure when two thirds of the children of our planet are suffering from malnutrition.

According to them, the production of nuclear arms capable of wiping out millions of people of present and future populations of the earth cannot be justified by any political motive.

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ HAREKETİ ARŞİVİ

AMERICANS PROTEST AGAINST GOVERNMENT POLICY ON EL SALVADOR



Several thousand people turned out on 18 April to demonstrate in front of the UN building in New York against US government policy on El Salvador. The demonstrators then marched through New York's main streets chanting «No War». «US out of El Salvador» and «No more Vietnams».

New York Democrat Ted Weiss who led the demonstration told the rally in front of the UN building that President Reagan was using the events in El Salvador to cut back on social spending and step up military expenditure.

Chile

OVER 10,000 MINERS ON STRIKE AT EL TENIENTE

WFTU solidarity

Workers at El Teniente copper mine, one of the largest in the world producing more than a quarter of Chile's output, are bravely continuing the strike they began on 22 April.

The leaders of eight unions representing 10,500 workers in the state-controlled mine 150 kilometres south-east of Santiago have had consultations on strategy for the struggle. At the union meetings which voted in favour of the strike there was a unanimous demand for a 10% wage rise.

This is the second time there has been such a significant strike movement in El Teniente mine since 1979, when Pinochet imposed the so-called «labour plan» banning strikes in economic sectors of vital importance to the country, like the copper mines which are Chile's principle source of foreign earnings.

The WFTU has demonstrated its solidarity with El Teniente mineworkers and emphasised its full support for their just economic and social demands.

Vietnam

NEW AGRICULTURAL MANAGEMENT METHOD

After the hurricanes and floods that caused serious losses in agricultural production in 1980, all the signs point to a good harvest for the winter-spring crop of paddy-rice. As the agricultural targets set for the first quarter of 1981 have been met, it can therefore be supposed that the results for the second quarter will be even better.

This success in agricultural production is not only due to better weather but also to the new agricultural policy adopted by the government.

The peasants have worked better than before and their income has increased in proportion to their efforts.

An important aspect of the present agricultural policy in the north of the country is the new management method in agricultural production known as «fixed minimum quantity of production». This concerns each production brigade and each peasant working in the agricultural cooperatives where the system has been introduced.

It differs from the previous management method operating for the last 20 years which provided for remuneration of the peasants according to «work points», in that it commits the peasant in receipt of land he cultivates mainly by himself to provide a minimum quantity of products set by the cooperative to which he belongs as a member of production brigades. The more complicated cultivation work on this land, such as irrigation and protection against harmful insects, is done by the cooperative, while other work (planting, tending and harvesting) is done by the peasant himself. After the harvest, if the peasant exceeds the established minimum quantity of products, he profits not only from the «work points» but also from the total surplus.

Compared with the old management method, the new one has the advantage of combining the peasant's interest with the obtention of larger quantities of products and, consquently, permits the peasant to reap the maximum profit from his family's labour and to implement modern cultivation techniques willingly.

The new management method is the result of the experience of a group of agricultural cooperatives in the Haiphong region which has made a considerable improvement in peasants' living conditions possible while, at the same time, increasing the provision of food for the state.

Message from the WFTU to the President of the UN Security Council

On 24 April 1981 the WFTU Secretariat sent a telegram to the President of the UN Security Council, in which it expressed its appreciation of the debate of the Council on sanctions against the racist regime of South Africa, and called for concrete measures to impose the liberation of Namibia.

Any discussion in this respect by the Security Council, stressed the message, meets with the aspirations of all progressive forces throughout the world and, in the first place, the victims of apartheid in South Africa and Namibia.

The WFTU assured the President of the Security Council of its full cooperation in implementing decisions concerning sanctions.

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

FRG

Wage agreement only valid for 640,000 metalworkers

Wage negotiations in the metal industry led to an agreement in Bad-Wurtemberg on 30 April. This provides for an average wage rise of 4.9% from 1 April 1981 to 31 January 1982, the trade union and employers in the industry announced.

The two sides agreed to a lump sum rise of 160 marks backdated to cover February and March 1981 for 640,000 metalworkers in north Bad-Wurtemberg, regardless of their present wages.

The agreement only applies to the region of north Bad-Wurtemberg and is a compromise in which the bosses' position prevailed.

A few days before the agreement was signed, almost two million West German metalworkers staged a token strike in response to a call from IG-Metall to urge the bosses to meet their wage demands.

This strike was the culmination of a series of actions of this kind over recent months by metalworkers protesting at employers' intransigence in this year's wage negotiations, the longest ever in the FRG.

In the metal industry as a whole, those who, to disguise class antagonism, are called «social partners» had already met 50 times since 14 January, without result. This novelty arose out of the government's and employers' desire to impose an austerity policy whose consquences whould be mainly shouldered by the workers.

Negotiations to renew annual collective agreements in the FRG are not carried out industry by industry, but separately by each district. The largest of these negotiating districts is Rhineland-North Westphalia.

The metalworkers' union started by demanding an 8% wage rise, but during the negotiations it abandoned its firm demand in favour of a compromise.

The agreement signed will not act as a model for the whole of the FRG, as IG-Metall wanted because the employers' confederation Gesamtmetall has so far refused to agree to such a request.

PORTUGAL

Workers for the defence of revolutionary gains

The class struggle has sharpened in recent weeks. Attempts by the Balsemao government, representative of the big national and international monopolies, to destroy the people's revolutionary gains — in particular trade union rights and workers' control in the enterprises — have come up against growing resistance by the workers supported by their united trade union centre, the CGTP—Intersindical.

Trade union meetings to analyse the situation and draw up lists of demands to improve wages and stop sackings are being held in all sectors of the national economy, in both the north and south of the country. Strikes, which receive almost 100% support, demonstrations and marches are on the increase, as has been illustrated with transport, textile, public service and other workers. The workers are struggling for fundamental issues concerning the country's Constitution and in particular for collective bargaining and the readjustment of purchasing power which is threatened by the right-wing parties. A vast mass movement is growing up throughout the country to force the right-wing government to resign. In Lisbon alone, 150,000 workers from 160 firms are involved in the struggle. There is no doubt that the united trade union movement, which is strongly represented and organised on the shopfloor, will mobilise to prevent big business from destroying democracy in Portugal. The workers are determined to defend nationalisation, workers' control, agrarian reform and all democratic rights including trade union rights.

This means that the seventh year of the April Revolution will witness further great struggles by the workers.

Meeting between UNESCO, international trade union organisations and the International Cooperative Alliance in Paris

The 7th consultation between UNESCO, the three international trade union organisations (WFTU, WCL, ICFTU) and the International Cooperative Alliance (ICA) took place at UNESCO headquarters in Paris on 26 and 27 April 1981.

The meeting dealt mainly with UNESCO's medium-term plan (1984-89) on which the participants had a wide exchange of views. They made their contributions to its preparation and drafting by offering suggestions in their own spheres of competence.

Once again, UNESCO representatives judged cooperation with the participating organisations to be very positive and considered such consultations to be important and useful.

On the basis of the programme and resolutions adopted by UNESCO's 21st General Conference which cover the great problems of today's world, the WFTU delegation, led by Jan Nemoudry, WFTU Secretary, stressed the priorities, hoping they would be implemented through concrete measures in favour of social progress, especially with regard to peace, disarmament, development and a new international economic order, and dwelt in particular on the problems of young people and communications.

On a number of problems the WCL and ICA expressed points of view which coincided with the WFTU's positions and which offer the chance of common action within UNESCO.

FENASOL STATEMENT

The National Federation of Workers' and Employees' Unions of Lebanon has sent a message to the Lebanese government in which it asks it to take urgent steps to normalise the economic situation in the country which has been considerably worsened by recent events. The message said: «At a time when the integrity and independence of Lebanon are threatened by constant aggressive activity by Israel in the south of the country and armed conflicts in Zahla and Beirut provoked by the Katayib Party, the large-scale traders and big business men are trying to take advantage of the situation to benefit their interests. With this aim in view, they impose arbitrary price-rises on food, fuel and medicines to the detriment of the masses. These shameful activities of the bourgeoisie have meant that food and other everyday products have gone up by 20% to 50%. Monopolies and speculators are provoking an artificial fuel shortage so as to reap huge profits.»

A statement published by the National Federation of Workers' and Employees' Unions of Lebanon stresses that full responsibility for the worsening situation in the country rests with the leaders of the right-wing Christian forces and Israel who are trying to divide the country and wipe out national patriotic forces and the Palestinian resistance movement in order to install an anti-people dictatorial regime. The document calls on the working class and all workers of Lebanon to consolidate unity and cohesion in their ranks, struggle to protect territorial integrity and the sovereignty and independence of the state, and strive for national reconciliation and against Israeli aggression.

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Flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

SPECIAL ISSUE

No 15 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 April 13, 1981

Türkiye, sayfa 4
Sayfa 2

24th SESSION OF THE BUREAU OF THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

(Berlin — GDR, 24-25 March, 1981)

From left to right: I. Zakaria (Acting General Secretary of the WFTU), Sandor Gáspar, (WFTU President), Harry Tisch (President of the National Confederal Committee of the FDGB), Karel Hoffmann (WFTU Vice-President).

Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, was the venue on 24 and 25 March for the 24th session of the WFTU Bureau, for which the FDGB, the trade union centre of the GDR, had organised the best possible conditions. The meeting was attended by full and deputy members of that WFTU body, its President Sandor Gaspár, the Acting General Secretary, Ibrahim Zakaria, and other members of the Secretariat, as well as representatives of regional trade union organisations.

In his speech of welcome, Brother Harry Tisch, President of the National Confederal Committee of the FDGB, noted that the WFTU Bureau was meeting at a time when the international situation was very complicated.

Stressing that the forces for social progress were doing their utmost to safeguard and consolidate peace and that it had now become increasingly clear that there was no reasonable alternative to the policy of peaceful coexistence had been given a new impetus by the peace initiative proposed from the rostrum of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union by Leonid Brezhnev.

«Faced with the great responsibility of the survival of mankind», he continued, «it is high time to prevent the most aggressive quarters of imperialism, especially the United States and their NATO allies and other aggressive military alliances, from pursuing their reactionary policies of confrontation and to force them to negotiate.»

In this context, Brother Tisch underlined the need to counteract the manoeuvres of imperialist reactionaries by strengthening action within the World Federation of Trade Unions and in the whole world trade union movement.

«Our position of principle», said the President of the FDGB's National Confederal Committee, «is and will remain: **the safeguard and defence of peace is the most important task at the present time and an integral part of the defence of trade union interests».**

It is very significant that the need for such action was expressed repeatedly in the speeches of those taking part in the 24th session of the WFTU Bureau, whose agenda was as follows:

1. Preparations for the 32nd session of the WFTU General Council and perspectives for the 10th World Trade Union Congress.
Speaker: Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary of the WFTU.
2. The WFTU's activities in the field of trade union training.
Speaker: Juan Ponce, WFTU Secretary.
3. The WFTU's contribution to the preparation and holding of the International Trade Union Conference on the

Supplement to this issue:

Visit by a delegation of Czechoslovak trade unions, led by K. Hoffmann, to Poland

Visit by a delegation of the Coordinating Commission of Polish Industrial Branch Unions to the USSR

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Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament.
Speaker: Jan Nemoudry, WFTU Secretary.

4. The 67th session of the ILO, Geneva, June 1981.
Speaker: Ibrahim Zakaria.

In his introduction to the 1st item on the agenda, the Acting General Secretary of the WFTU pointed out that although the 10th World Trade Union Congress had not yet been officially announced, it had already started to arouse growing interest among trade unions. The fact that the Congress will take place in Havana had become in itself a point of attraction. **«230 million workers were represented at the 9th World Trade Union Congress»**, Brother Zakaria went on. **«We think that we should work to reach the target of 250 million workers for the 10th World Trade Union Congress. We think this should be possible, firstly because of the increase of our own membership and secondly, because our relations with non-affiliated organisations have also increased.»**

The Executive National Secretary of the Cuban Workers' Centre, CTC, Jesus A. Escandell, listed all the initiatives taken by the CTC to contribute to the success of the 10th Trade Union Congress, an event the Cuban workers have already begun to honour by organising, among other things, a vast campaign of socialist emulation in production.

The fact that the next World Trade Union Congress is already arousing great interest in the world trade union movement — as the Acting General Secretary of the WFTU said — was amply proved during the proceedings of the 24th Bureau session.

The President of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, Alexei Shibayev, said that, « ... We are now entering the period running up to the 10th World Trade Union Congress where discussion will be centred round the struggle for peace, against the arms race and for the social and economic interests of the workers ... It is proposed to organise the Congress as a widely representative trade union forum open to all trade unions and other organisations whose aim is to struggle for the workers' interests.

«This is the right approach corresponding to the WFTU's principles. ... The WFTU's member organisations should give all the help they can to the WFTU Secretariat to publicise the aims and ideas of the Congress. This is what the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions intends to do ...»

Rubens Iscaro, Secretary of the Movement for Trade Union Unity and Coordination (MUCS) of Argentina stated that, « ... The WFTU is preparing for the 10th World Trade Union Congress at a time when the present situation requires trade union leaders and members to make a profound analysis of the objective situation and also to undertake a commitment to promote a profound renewal of working methods, which implies flexibility, democracy and originality in seeking effective ways and means to achieve the particular aims of the working class, as was stressed in the document of the Moscow General Council ...»

The General Secretary of the FISEMA of Madagascar, A. Razakanaivo, observed that, «... The 10th World Trade Union Congress is already taking on the dimensions of a historical event in the world trade union movement. We hope that it will be a great forum of unity to discuss the most urgent topics of our age, such as peace, détente, disarmament and matters connected with development, hunger and unemployment. The workers of the developing countries expect a lot from this Congress ...»

Viliam Kozík, Secretary of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions, said in part: «... The Congress should provide answers to the burning questions of today and take a correct class-based stand on both general and specific matters ... In our opinion, the Congress should pay special attention to the situation of the workers in capitalist and developing countries, the deterioration of their social situation, the unemployment which has recently taken on unprecedented dimensions, inflation, the growing class struggles, the militarisation of the economy to the detriment of the workers' social and cultural needs, and the increasingly virulent campaigns and attacks directed against the socialist countries.

«The Congress should take an unequivocal stand and denounce the tendency of imperialist circles to describe the national liberation struggle by the masses as international terrorism and should expose the real perpetrators of terrorism. The Congress should also voice its full support for and solidarity with the liberation movements in Asian, African and Latin American countries ...»

The President of FENASOL (Lebanon), Elias Habre, for his part, expressed the following ideas: « ... We are only ten months away from the 10th World Trade Unions Congress and we, as statutory bodies and trade union organisations, are called upon to assume enormous responsibilities and take on important tasks requiring sustained effort to ensure the success of the Congress ...

«The documents submitted by the Secretariat clearly reflect the importance accorded to the 10th World Trade Union Congress as a turning point towards the renewal of policies and methods of action, in the spirit of the 9th Congress. They confirm affiliated organisations' desire to strengthen the WFTU which is at the heart of the workers' social and national struggles against unemployment, inflation, the plundering by the transnational corporations, against war and for development, social progress and peace ...»

Wide and open discussions also marked the debate on all the items on the agenda of the 24th session of the WFTU Bureau, the most important ideas and suggestions of which are summarised in the communique published in this special issue of «Flashes».

In addition, the 24th session of the Bureau also adopted a resolution against repression and imperialist intervention in El Salvador, a resolution on the violation of trade union rights and repression of the workers in Turkey, a message to the Madrid Conference on European Security and a message of greetings to the trade unions and workers of Cuba, the first socialist state on the American continent, hosts of the coming 10th World Trade Union Congress.

Message of greetings to the trade unions and workers of Cuba

The 24th session of the WFTU Bureau, after examining the progress of preparations for the 10th World Trade Union Congress to be held in Havana from 10 to 15 February 1982, sends warm greetings to the Workers' Centre of Cuba, to all the workers, peasants and representatives of intellectual labour in the first socialist country on the American continent, wishing them every success in building a new and just society which has eliminated for good the exploitation of man by man.

We are pleased that preparations for the Congress have produced great political and labour enthusiasm among the workers of the Island of Liberty. It is certain that the socialist emulation organised by the CTC in honour of this forum will be marked by further successes in production.

Voicing the sentiments of millions of workers, the WFTU Bureau expresses its profound thanks to the trade unions and workers of the Republic of Cuba for their invitation to hold the 10th World Trade Union Congress in the capital of their country. It can be stated with deep conviction that the holding of the 10th Congress in Havana will be the best proof of wide international recognition for Cuba, a country playing an active role in the non-aligned movement and consistently putting into practice the principles of peaceful co-existence and international workers' solidarity, recognition of the great role played by the Cuban trade unions in the struggle for social progress, security and world peace.

Participation in the 10th Congress by workers' leaders from all over the world will be a clear and unequivocal rebuff to US imperialist blackmail and to the Reagan administration's crude attempts to intimidate the Cuban people with threats of a naval blocade. There are good reasons for affirming that the Havana trade union forum will demonstrate the impotence of reactionary attempts to swim against the rising tide of history.

The WFTU Bureau highly appreciates the efforts being deployed by the Cuban trade unions in preparation for the 10th World Trade Union Congress and assures the CTC and all the workers of Cuba of its militant solidarity and its determination to do everything necessary to make the Congress as unity-oriented, broad-based and representative as possible.

MEGYEI SZAKSZERVEZETEK KÖZPONTI IRODÁJA KFT

Communique of the 24th session of the WFTU Bureau

(Berlin — GDR, 24-25 March, 1981)

The 24th session of the WFTU Bureau met in Berlin, capital of the GDR, on 24 and 25 March 1981. Among other items concerning the current tasks of the WFTU, the meeting examined the preparations being made for the convening of the **10th World Trade Union Congress in Havana from 10 to 15 February 1982**, which will be an open forum for the trade unions of all countries.

In this context the Bureau noted the rising tempo of struggles in the capitalist countries which are afflicted by a profound and lasting crisis. The workers and their class-based trade unions reject the pro-monopoly «austerity» policies. They struggle against reactionary attempts to lower living standards. They oppose the restructuring and redeployment solely designed to increase monopoly profits and monopoly domination.

The transnational corporations, the big monopolies and the capitalist ruling circles are intensifying their offensive against trade union rights and democratic liberties. They are waging a vast and concerned ideological campaign against all progressive and democratic forces. In this manner, they hope to reduce the effectiveness of struggles and to slow down the mobilisation of workers.

By resolutely and ever more vigorously struggling against these attempts and these activities, and especially against the massive growth of unemployment and high inflation, the workers are increasingly showing their determination to control the means of production and trade, to fully participate in the economic and social choices in favour of their national interests, the independence of their country and the establishment of just and fair international economic relations.

In many countries unity-oriented and convergent actions are being carried out which increase the effectiveness of struggles for demands. The Bureau would like to underline the urgent need to develop and expand trade union unity and solidarity on a clear and combative basis both at national and international level.

The struggle of the workers also underlines the sharpening conflict on the basi question of development policy. Trade unions of different affiliations stress that the resources now spent on the arms race should be diverted to deal with the increasing social problems created by the continuing capitalist crisis.

These struggles highlight the close links which exist between development and disarmament. The main challenge of the 1980s — designated by the UN as the Third Development Decade and the Second Disarmament Decade — facing workers and trade unions in all countries revolves round these two basic issues.

The Bureau noted with concern that the present trend of US foreign policy is marked by greater aggressiveness, encouragement of the cold war and the arms race, provocations and threats of armed intervention in other countries, with serious consequences for the peace and security of peoples and the proper defence of workers' interests. The most glaring instances of this aggressive imperialist policy are seen in the open and direct intervention in El Salvador, the decision to arm the counter-revolutionary elements of UNITA allied with the South African racist regime against Angola, the decision to maintain and expand US military presence in south Korea, and the massive support given to the Israeli aggressors and the reactionary forces in the Middle East against the Arab population in Palestine, Lebanon, Syria and other Arab countries.

It expressed the deep concern felt by workers and trade unions over the pressure by the military-industrial complex for reductions in the allocation of resources for social needs and for the larger sums to be used for more menacing nuclear weapons. It drew attention to the direct relationship between the escalation of the arms race and the further worsening of the capitalist crisis and to the beneficial effect, both with regard to jobs and resources for development, of universal disarmament and a peaceful development of international trade relations. In this serious situation, the peace proposals launched recently by L. I. Brezhnev from the platform of the 26th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, especially the proposal for a session of the UN Security Council at summit level and other high-level initiatives, are a positive alternative for improving the international atmosphere.

In this connection, the WFTU Bureau welcomed the initiative of various trade union organisations to convene a World Trade Union Conference on the Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament. The Bureau noted that the ICFTU Executive Committee has also planned a one-day discussion on disarmament and conversion. While these convergent activities are, no doubt, welcome, the WFTU Bureau expressed its emphatic opinion that there is great scope for international trade union cooperation in this vital field and for a specific trade union contribution to the consolidation of détente and the maintenance of peace in the world.

It stresses the importance of strengthening the links of solidarity between trade union organisations and the need to build new and more effective kinds of solidarity on the basis of the orientation of the 9th World Trade Union Congress. In particular, the Bureau analysed the prospects for trade union training concluding that there was a need to intensify and coordinate member organisations' efforts in this area as one of the aspects of solidarity to rebuff the ideological offensive of the class enemies and the supporters of class collaboration and trade union division. In view of the enormous distorting role of the information media controlled by the transnationals, the trade union movement should have the right to make its voice heard when the crucial social problems of today are being discussed. In this regard, the efforts made at various levels, including UNESCO, to establish a new international information order must be expanded in the direction of serving truth and social justice.

The WFTU Bureau had a discussion on the issues before the forthcoming International Labour Conference in June this year. In the light of the decisions of the 30th session of the WFTU General Council (Sofia, April 1979), the Bureau appealed to all sections of the trade union movement to achieve a better coordination of their efforts at the ILO. The trade union movement should continue its efforts to bring about the democratic transformations of this international tripartite body so that it might truly reflect the aspirations of the workers and the diversity of the present-day trade union movement and also to resist the manoeuvres and pressures exerted by imperialist ruling circles.

The Bureau noted that the Draft Declaration on the renewal of the world trade union movement proposed by the 31st session of the WFTU General Council (Moscow, October 1980) had evoked wide interest. It called upon the WFTU Secretariat to ensure that the wide-ranging discussions on the Draft Declaration be fully reflected when the draft is finalised at the next session of the General Council.

The Bureau thanked the Workers' Centre of Cuba for the efforts already deployed to ensure the success of the 10th World Trade Union Congress and expressed its conviction that this forum would be held in the best possible conditions. It called on all member organisations to work for the success of the Congress as from now and invited the whole trade union movement, irrespective of international or regional affiliation, to take an active part in its deliberations.

The WFTU Bureau called on member organisations to make every effort to ensure the success of the coming 32nd session of the General Council, which will finalise the main draft documents for the 10th World Trade Union Congress.

Let us join forces for the success of the 10th World Trade Union Congress!

TÜRKİYE İŞÇİ SINIFI VE DEVRİMCİ

Message to Madrid Conference on European Security

The workers and trade unions of all countries of Europe and the whole world are following with close interest the Madrid Conference on European Security which is now continuing its resumed session. Workers and trade unions insist that the achievements for peace and security in the continent signified by the Helsinki Agreements of 1975 should be taken forward and not allowed to be reversed.

Economic, scientific and cultural cooperation among European states has grown significantly since Helsinki. This has been to the benefit of the workers and people of all countries. The trade union centres of Europe have also immensely contributed to this process. The European Trade Union Conferences which have been held since Helsinki have all had positive results.

These achievements can be a basis for new prospects. Economic cooperation, developed on a planned basis for mutual benefit, would have a most beneficial effect especially on jobs, incomes and living standards. Confidence-building would hasten steps to stop the arms race, promote military détente and consolidate peace. This would be a decisive result of the struggle in the interests of mankind which is now gravely threatened by war danger arising from the rapid growth of military arsenals.

The need of the hour is to stop barren polemics and start serious discussions. The misuse of the mass media especially in relation to the Madrid Conference by certain interested quarters must be deplored. The abundant opportunities for progress to carry forward the Helsinki Accords must be seized.

In this connection, the recent proposals of the Soviet Union for confidence-building measures and the deepening of détente and cooperation in Europe generate great optimism and provide the basis for the constructive dialogue so fervently desired by workers and trade unions in all European countries and the world at large.

These are the important proposals of the world trade union movement which the 24th session of the WFTU Bureau meeting in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, wishes to convey to the Madrid Follow-up Conference of European States on Security and Cooperation.

Resolution on violation of trade union rights and repression of workers in Turkey

The 24th session of the WFTU Bureau vigorously protests against the military regime in Turkey which is gravely violating trade union and democratic liberties, arbitrarily arresting, detaining and torturing several hundred trade unionists. The group of lawyers from Western Europe which visited Turkey recently at the request of the WFTU confirmed the serious violation of human rights and trade union rights perpetrated in the country.

These repressive measures have been directed mainly against the leaders and activists of the progressive trade union federation DISK which, with its membership of 600,000, has widespread support among Turkish workers. It is understood that under the provisions of the Turkish penal code, many of which have been borrowed from Italian legislation dating back to the regime of Mussolini, the top leaders of the DISK and many DISK activists who are being prosecuted may even face the death sentence. The military regime, with the aid of the military forces of NATO and the USA, wants to create an atmosphere of tension favourable to their hegemonist designs and to prevent any democratic progress in that country and region which is particularly affected by the activities of imperialism, gravely endangering world peace and security.

This regime wants to be behead the Turkish working class and trade union movement — which is against the warmongering policy of imperialism and, through their struggle, reject the austerity policies pursued by foreign capital and transnational monopolies in their own interests. The regime want to lay the burden of the social and economic crisis in which the country finds itself on the working people.

The 24th session of the WFTU Bureau strongly condemns the repression of trade unions in Turkey and demands the immediate release of all arrested trade unionists, the withdrawal of all cases of prosecution, and the lifting of the ban on the DISK. The WFTU Bureau appeals to workers and trade unions in all countries to further intensify their protest actions and take appropriate steps to compel the military regime in Turkey to respect trade union rights and democratic liberties.

For its part the WFTU commits itself to increasing its solidarity with the Turkish workers and people by seeking every kind of unity-oriented initiative so as to coordinate and strengthen the struggle in this context.

Resolution Stop repression and imperialist intervention in El Salvador

Over 17,000 people have been assassinated in El Salvador in the last 17 months by a fascist military junta trained, armed and propped up by US imperialist ruling circles. Among those murdered in cold blood were over a thousand workers and trade unionists. This carnage which continues in that small Central American country has been condemned by democratic forces all over the world. Even in the USA, growing sections of public opinion and even some Senators have criticised the interventionist policy of the US administration.

Despite all this isolation, the Reagan administration in the USA continues to defy world public opinion. In close alliance with such executioners of human rights as Pinochet's junta in Chile, the Regan administration is pouring arms and military «advisers» into El Salvador to back up the repression of the popular forces. In order to justify this open support of terror and repression in El Salvador, a campaign of misinformation and lies has been launched by the Reagan administration accusing the victims of terror of being «terrorists». All this is painfully reminiscent of the Pentagon's invention of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, which was the prelude to naked aggression in Vietnam.

The WFTU Bureau alerts workers and trade unions in all countries to the grave implications of US policy in El Salvador and appeals to them, in particular to workers and trade unions in the United States, to act immediately to force the US administration to stop its intervention in the internal affairs of El Salvador. Urgent action by democratic forces all over the world is immediately needed to stop the genocide in El Salvador and to support the struggle of the workers grouped in the Committee of Trade Union Unity (CUS), the Democratic Revolutionary Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Visit to Poland by Czechoslovak trade union delegation

A delegation from the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions (URO) led by its President, Karel Hoffmann, recently visited the People's Republic of Poland. The delegation of Czechoslovak trade unionists had a meeting with a delegation of the Coordinating Commission of Polish Industrial Branch Unions led by its President, Albin Szyszka. Afterwards the two delegations published a communique of which we give the main points below.

When the URO delegation visited Poland, Karel Hoffmann, URO President, and Albin Szyszka, President of the Coordinating Commission of Polish Industrial Branch Unions, replied to various questions put to them by Czechoslovak journalists accredited to Warsaw. «Flashes» reprints these two interviews in full.

Support for socialist renewal — joint communique

During their talks the two delegations informed each other about the social, political and economic situation of their respective countries, the tasks of the trade union movement in the two countries and the present problems facing the world trade union movement.

The discussions, which were held in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere, mainly centred round matters connected with safeguarding the workers' interests. At the same time, says the communique, the trade union movement cannot restrict itself to this function alone, because if the trade unions do not take an active part in the management and development of production, it is not possible to solve the important economic problems of the country and thus meet the ever growing needs of the workers. Other matters connected with trade union activity in the socialist system were also discussed.

The delegation of Polish trade unionists told the URO delegation about the efforts being made by political and state bodies and by the trade unions and other social organisations to stabilise the political and economic situation in Poland in the interests of strengthening the socialist regime. The document stresses that genuine preconditions now exist in Poland for allowing the workers to overcome the present difficulties and for safeguarding the way to balanced socialist development.

Both delegations affirmed the determination of their organisations to take an active part in the expansion of WFTU activities. Karel Hoffmann, in his position as WFTU Vice-President, emphasised the WFTU's interest in pursuing and expanding relations with the Polish Industrial Branch Unions.

According to a basic agreement signed by both delegations, the URO will provide the Coordinating Commission of Polish Industrial Branch Unions with the following, among other things:

— medical treatment of workers exposed to health hazards;

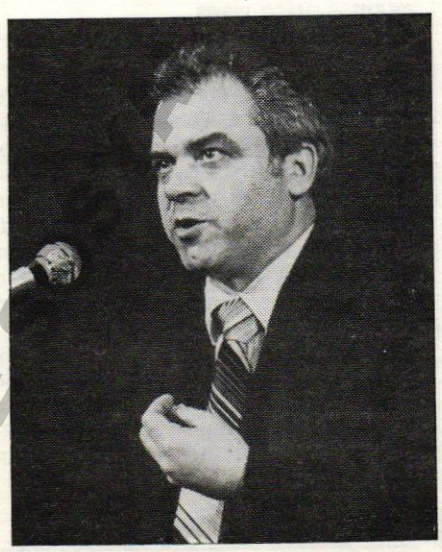
— rest facilities for members of the industrial branch unions;

— accommodation for children in pioneer camps organised by the Czechoslovak revolutionary trade union movement.

The communique states that this agreement is a basis for expanding cooperation in other fields of trade union activity, such as training trade union officers and scientific research activity. There are further opportunities in the field of exchanges of experience between the industrial branch unions of both countries at plant, national and regional level.

Both delegations were in favour of the further development of economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Poland, in view of the complex economic situation in Poland.

Interview with Albin Szyszka, President of the Coordinating Commission of Polish Industrial Branch Commission



Q: How do you evaluate the results of the meeting from the point of view of the need for close cooperation between the trade unions of the socialist countries and all progressive forces in the international trade union movement?

A: I am very pleased with the talks we have had with the delegation of Czechoslovak trade union leaders. I am sure that these talks will do much to strengthen the bonds of friendship between our peoples, as well as between the Czechoslovak revolutionary trade unions and the industrial branch union movement in Poland. We are most reassured that the Czechoslovak trade union centre supports our efforts in the international field because it is no secret to the Czechoslovak public that the Polish industrial branch unions are up against certain difficulties in their international activities.

The visit has had all kinds of positive results. Among other things, we have signed an agreement between the two trade union organisations. One of the points to be stressed in this agreement is the one concerned with increased deliveries to assist the Polish economy which is going through a very difficult period. I think that this agreement and its implementation will also help to develop relations between workers and between individual plants one important aspect of which is the exchange of visits, children's holidays in pioneer camps and rest facilities in holiday accommodation

Q: How is the process of strengthening the position of your trade unions in public life going?

A: Our position is improving. This can be seen in the fact that all those who earlier had for different reason chosen other trade unions, such as «Solidarity», are now returning to the ranks of our industrial branch unions. It is also growing stronger because we deal more specifically with the problems of workers in the plants themselves. In this context I can quote two initiatives which have inspired respect, namely: the simplification of procedures with regard to building and advantageous financial conditions for acquiring a family house, an important factor in solving the difficult housing problem; we have also taken a more active approach to matters connected with hygiene and safety at work.

We see our strength in our efforts to improve living and working conditions. The industrial branch unions have adopted a position of principle on several proposals made by the government and have made our own proposals with the aim of improving living and working conditions, or in other words, what we call defending the workers' interests. The path we have chosen, which is reasonable and free from demagogy and takes into account not only the problems of the present, but also people's interests in the future, is supported by the workers. We are aware of the very difficult economic situation of our country and this is why we adapt our demands to

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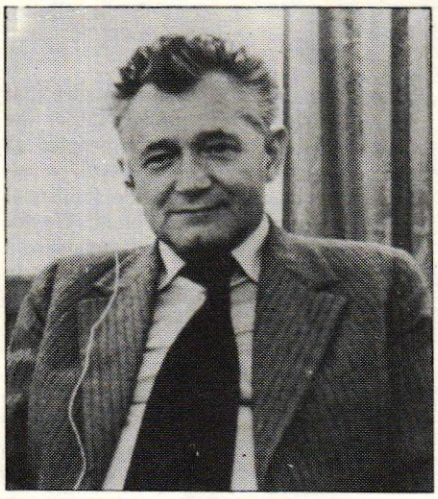
reality so as not to make an already critical situation worse.

Interview with Karel Hoffmann, President of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions



Q: Could you give a brief idea of the main characteristics of your meeting with the comrades representing the Polish industrial banch unions?

A: Our talks were positive and of an entirely working nature. Of course, they were influenced by the fact that this was the first of its kind between representatives of our two organisations and also by the fact that the Coordinating Commission is operating in difficult conditions and is only beginning to make international contacts. I am pleased to say that our discussions were very open, guided by a common interest in development and cooperation, a strong class-based approach to evaluating the role of trade unions in socialist society, as well as an understanding of the conditions in which the two organisations operate and what their tasks are.

Q: In your opinion, what is the most important thing now with regard to cooperation between the Czechoslovak revolutionary trade union movement and the industrial branch unions in Poland and what is the main aim of such cooperation?

A: Above all, it concerns the need to put into practice everything we have agreed and which was reflected in the agreement we signed, to develop relations, cooperation and exchanges of experience between the leaders of grass-roots trade unions, especially in those plants where there is already a long tradition of such cooperation.

The aim of our cooperation, as was also said by both sides, is to help both organisations to fulfil their role better, so that they may operate more effectively, give a better service to the workers and make a greater contribution to building and safeguarding socialist society.

Visit by a Polish trade union delegation to Moscow

At the invitation of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, a delegation of the Coordinating Commission of Industrial Branch Unions of the People's Republic of Poland, led by its president Albin Szyszka, recently visited the Soviet Union.

The Polish trade union delegation met the President of the AUCCTU, A. I. Shibayev, and other Soviet trade union leaders. During the meeting which was held in an atmosphere of friendship and the frank exchange of opinion, the two delegations informed each other about the main orientation of trade union activities in their respective countries at the present time. In his information on the situation of the Polish trade union movement, A. Szyszka especially stressed the efforts being made by the Polish industrial branch unions to get the country out of its present economic and social crisis.

The meeting also dealt with matters connected with the further expansion of cooperation between the trade unions and workers of the USSR and Poland on the basis of the steadfast friendship existing between the peoples of the two countries to the benefit of the unity and reinforcement of the community of socialist countries.

When examining certain aspects of the international trade union movement, both delegations expressed their support for active participation in the activities of the World Federation of Trade Unions and the Trades Union Internationals (TUIs), for all initiatives to strengthen peace and international détente, as well as unity of action by the international trade union movement on an anti-imperialist class-based basis.

The Polish guests visited the Leninski Komsomol automobile factory, whose workers have had close links of friendship with the Warsaw automobile factory for years, where they had the opportunity to acquaint themselves in greater detail with the working, living and off duty conditions of Soviet workers, as well as with the activities of the shopfloor trade union.

flashes FROM

Malaysian Trades Union Congress against price rises

The Malaysian Trades Union Congress, the largest trade union centre in the country with a membership of 500,000, recently announced the launching of a vast national campaign of protest against the soaring prices of everyday goods. Bread, milk, sugar, cement, petrol, electricity and gas prices have all risen several times in recent months. On 12 March it was decided to hold a mass meeting of plantation workers in protest against the deteriorating living conditions of the workers and the whole population. Similar meetings are planned by all the trade federations belonging to the MTUC in various Malaysian towns.

FRG
Labour disputes sharpen

The Federal Republic of Germany has recently been swept by a wave of strikes in Daimler-Benz (Mercedes) — 12,000 workers downed tools in the main plant of Sindelfingen near Stuttgart, and 2,000 in its West Berlin factory. West German engineering workers were demanding an 8% wage rise in the three big industries represented by the union IG-Metall — engineering, automobile and steel. The employers were only offering 3%.

The negotiations to settle this dispute between union and employers were in the nature of a test case for the renewal of all the collective agreements in the industry. In the FRG these are valid for one year.

There were work stoppages in response to a call by IG-Metall in over 250 plants where the workers were seeking wage rises. To back up their demands, tens of thousands of workers in six Volkswagen factories stopped work for an hour.

LEBANON
General Confederation of Workers protest against price rises

As a result of the political instability being maintained in Lebanon, the price of everyday items is going up day by day. Recently the price of milk, butter, meat, cheese and other products — 200 in all — has risen once again. In order to justify bringing in these unlawful profit-swelling measures, traders point to the country's complicated situation. Faced with this constant deterioration in the purchasing power of the workers and the whole population, the trade unions belonging to the General Confederation of Workers of Lebanon have resolutely condemned these arbitrary acts by the traders and demanded that the government put an end to them. In addition, they are claiming a 23% wage rise for blue- and white-collar workers. If the authorities refuse, the unions are planning a general strike.

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Flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

No 17 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 April 27, 1981

Letter to the WFTU from Long Kesh

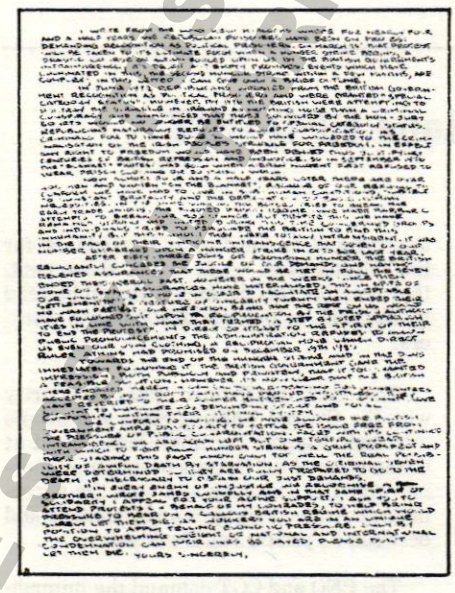
An Irish political prisoner exposes the maltreatment to which detainees are subjected

I write from the Long Kesh H-Blocks where for nearly four and half years we Republican prisoners have been on protest demanding recognition as political prisoners. On March 1st that protest will be taken to its ultimate form when a hunger strike begins, a drastic course of action forced upon us by the British government's intransigence, its deceit and empty promises. Events which have culminated in this, the second hunger strike within a few months, are complex; in this letter I can give only a brief outline.

In June 1972 Republicans wrested from the British government recognition as political prisoners and were granted «special category status». However, by 1976 the British were attempting to portray the struggle in Ireland as nothing more than a criminal conspiracy and announced that those convicted by the non-jury courts would no longer be entitled to special category status. Republicans naturally refused to accept classification as criminals for to have done so would have conceded to the criminalisation of the Irish people's struggle for freedom. In effect any right to freedom would have been denied thus justifying centuries of British repression and injustice. So in September 1976 the «blanket» protest was born when Kibran Nugent first refused to wear prison clothing or do prison work.

Now almost four and half years later there are over 400 men and women «on the blanket». Because of our refusal to conform we have had to live in sub-human conditions, subject to constant brutality and deprivation of basic necessities. In the same way as bosses tried to break the early trade unions, the bigoted prison regime has made barbaric attempts to break our resistance. But despite this we have remained strong and united. During this time concerned groups and individuals tried to persuade the British to end this inhumanity but throughout they were totally intransigent. It was in the face of their vindictive intrasigence that seven of our number embarked upon a hunger strike in October last year.

After fifty-three days of agonising hunger the British reluctantly conceded the justice of our demands and having received assurances that these would be met in full the seven ended their heroic fast. However, in the weeks since then none of the assurances have materialised, this in spite of our willingness to move in order to facilitate an acceptable settlement. As a gesture of



sincerity twenty men ended their no-wash protest, our intention being that the rest of us would have followed suit upon recognition by the prison authorities in line with what they termed «a step by step approach to end the protest». In direct contrast to the spirit of their public pronouncements, the administration refused to allow us even our own clothing, a reciprocal move which Direct Ruler Atkins promised on December 19th, 1980.

Towards the end of the hunger strike and in the days immediately following it, the British government gave the impression, both publicly and privately, that it too wanted a feasible solution. However, it is now clear tht the British were engaged merely in cynical double-dealing for guarantees accepted by us in good faith have proved worthless. They have reverted to their former entrenched position and have sought to humiliate us, demanding strict and total conformity within their criminal system.

We conform to no one. We have allowed the British government ample opportunity to settle the issue free from the pressure of public confrontation. Faced with its continued intransigence, we are again left but one terrible weapon with which to fight back. Hunger strike is a grim prospect and those staging this fast know too well the real possibility of awful death by starvation. As the original seven were determined so they are fully prepared to go to death if necessary to obtain our just demands.

«In every enemy of injustice we recognise a brother» wrote James Conolly and in that same spirit of solidarity I appeal for your active support. I ask you to attend protests on behalf of my comrades, to help bring pressure to bear on a callous British regime which would surely let them die. As workers you are in a unique position to apply telling economic pressure. Only by the overwhelming weight of national and international condemnation can their lives be saved. Please, don't let them die.

Yours sincerely.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL BİLİMLER ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

ROMANIAN TRADE UNION CONGRESS

With 2,029 participants representing more than 7 million workers and the presence of 59 foreign delegations representing national, regional and international trade union organisations, the Congress of the Romanian trade unions opened in Bucarest on 6th April. The Congress, which went on in plenary session and commissions till 8 April, was opened by an important address by President Nicolae Ceausescu who stressed the important role the trade unions are playing and should play in promoting the interests of the workers and building the socialist economy. He called on the workers and their trade union organisations to use to the maximum the rights they enjoy as a leading class in society and to even further improve the standard of living of the Romanian working people.

The report of activity of the trade unions and their future tasks was presented to the Congress by the President of the Central Council of the General Federation of Romanian Trade Unions, Brother Cornel Onescu. He gave a full account of the achievements of the workers since the last Congress, pointed out shortcomings in the activities of the trade unions and stressed that the trade unions should fully exercise their function as partners in drawing up plans for the economy and fulfilling these plans.

Both President Ceausescu and Brother Onescu underlined the importance of the unity of the international trade union movement to face the vital questions of humanity, in the first place the safeguarding of world peace.

Brother Zakaria, who represented the WFTU at the Congress, appreciated the role played by the Romanian trade unions in the life of our Federation and for strengthening international solidarity. He conveyed best wishes for further successes to the Romanian workers and their trade union centre, the General Federation of Trade Unions.

Brother Onescu was reelected president of the GFTU of Romania and head of the Central Council. An executive committee and a Secretariat were also elected.

In a coming issue of our monthly review «The World Trade Union Movement» we shall publish an article giving a deep analysis of the activities and tasks of the Romanian trade unions at present stage of development in Socialist Romania.

Joint communique PEO-CGT

In a joint communique, signed at the conclusion of the visit to France of a delegation of the All-Cyprus Federation of Labour (PEO) on the invitation of the French General Confederation of Labour (CGT), both organisations noted that they hold identical views on questions relating to the international social and economic situation. Both delegations stressed their member organisations' determination to struggle for the defence of the interests of workers of their respective countries in the conditions of the capitalist crisis, to act in unison for the establishment of a new economic order, for the defence of the spirit of Helsinki, for peace and disarmament, and to promote large-scale cooperation and the struggle in the interests of the working class. In this connection PEO and CGT are paying special attention to the follow-up of the deliberations of the International Trade Union Conference on development, held in Belgrade, and to the conclusions of the Madrid Conference.

As regards the activities of the WFTU, the two member organisations welcomed the draft declaration of the WFTU General Council and, in view of its importance for the international trade union movement, they feel that this document should be read by all trade union organisations and workers.

The CGT reaffirmed their solidarity with the Cypriot working class and people and their support for initiatives aimed at the solution of the Cyprus problem in keeping with UN decisions and with the agreements between Makarios and Denktash and between Kyprianu and Denktash.

The PEO and CGT demand the immediate restoration of trade union liberties in Turkey, the release of trade union and political prisoners as well as respect for the right to the freedom of association of all trade union organisations.

The joint communique states that in the interest of a further reinforcement of cooperation between both organisations, with full respect for each organisation's independence, both organisations renewed the agreement on bilateral cooperation between PEO and CGT.

France

Number of jobs scrapped per day exceeds number made available

One million seven hundred thousand unemployed at the end of the first quarter of 1981. In January and February alone the army of jobless swollen by 40,000.

For the first time in France, the number of jobs lost per day exceeds the number of newly available vacancies. Not long ago the growth of unemployment was mainly influenced by young people and women seeking work for the first time, but that figure has dropped to 11% during the year, which means that the big rise in unemployment is mainly due to sackings.

The number of workers on short time has also shot up: 400,000 were affected this way in January. The total rose to 2.1 million in 1980 as compared with 1.4 million in 1979.

In 20 months the two steel giants, Usinor and Sacilor-Sollac, scrapped 13,000 jobs in Lorraine. In the textile industry, where 167,000 jobs disappeared during the period 1973-78, 4,000 further jobs have been scrapped in a single month. The car industry has just announced the loss of 9,000 jobs. The management of Renault, one of the few companies to increase sales last year, is cutting 3,600 jobs in the industrial vehicle branch. As far as the building industry and public service sector are concerned, the unions fear a wave of 100,000 sackings «if the situation does not improve».

The outlook is very bleak: it is estimated that by the end of the year the number of unemployed will be 1,900,000 and by 1985, 2,500,000. In a report made last year the bosses in the metal industry stated that «the way it's going at the moment, unemployment has only just begun». For their part, the federation of mining and metal industries point out that there are several factors which appear to contribute to a constant growth in unemployment, but none of them can be neutralised, even for a short time. Recently, the French Prime Minister, Raymond Barre, said to journalists: «Don't expect me to propose a quick «miracle» reduction of unemployment. In any case, no-one would believe me.»

In other words, the bosses have decided to throw an even greater number of workers on to the streets. And the government is not prepared to prevent it. It will allow big business quite simply to dictate a policy of «healthy» profits and disaster for the country.

One thing is certain and it has already been proved: it is the workers, and only the workers, who must impose their most basic right — the right to work.

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TÜRK SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Turkey

For singing the «International»: from 6 to 13 years in prison

The trial of 26 trade unionists was held recently at the 3rd Military Tribunal of the Istanbul Martial Law Authority. Among those accused were the working class core of DISK/MADEN-IS (Engineering workers' union) 18 of whose members have been in custody since September. Other trade unionists such as Mehmet Karaca (President of MADEN—IS), Kemal Daysal (Secretary of MADEN-IS and of DISK and member of the Metalworkers TUI's Bureau), Bahtiyar Erkul (Secretary of MADEN-IS) and Metin Denizmen (President of BANK-SEN and member of the Commerce TUI's Administrative Committee) have already been arbitrarily tried and sentenced by a decree of the military junta: since they did not give themselves up to the military authorities, they will be stripped of their Turkish citizenship (they are considered to be in exile abroad).

The trade union officials are accused of «spreading communist propaganda in trade union activities» on the pretext that they sang the International at the 23rd National Congress of MADEN-IS (19-22 December 1979). The military prosecutor, on the basis of the infamous article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code, is seeking heavy prison sentences ranging from 6 years and 8 months up to 13 years and 4 months.

In the first statement made on behalf of the military junta after the coup d'état on 12 September «those who sing the International» were vigorously attacked; they were accused of singing the workers' anthem instead of the national anthem. The International was described as the anthem of the «communist countries».

To listen to the generals in power in Turkey one would think it was workers singing the International who were responsible for terrorism and the economic crisis. This is the «logic» which flouts not only trade union rights and freedoms but also basic human rights such as the right to an opinion and to free speech.

As a result of international solidarity and protests against the violation of trade union rights and freedoms in Turkey, the military have been obliged to release 113 trade unionists belonging to DISK. But the represssion goes on. According to an official statement by the Turkish General Staff's Martial Law Coordination Secretariat on 16 April, 24,457 people are under arrest (either under surveillance or in detention) for «ideological crimes». The editor-in-chief of the banned daily paper «POLITIKA» belonging to DISK/MADEN-IS, DISK-BANK-SEN and other unions, has just been sentenced to a year and a half in prison for having published a so-called «separatist» article «with the aim of weakening national sentiments», according to article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.DISK's Economic and Social Research Institute was surrounded and ransacked by the forces of law and order and its director, Sadun Aren, a well-known economics professor, was arrested at 2 o'clock in the morning at his home in Ankara. Trials continue to be held and others are being prepared. The military junta openly attacks the workers' democratic gains, such as May Day.

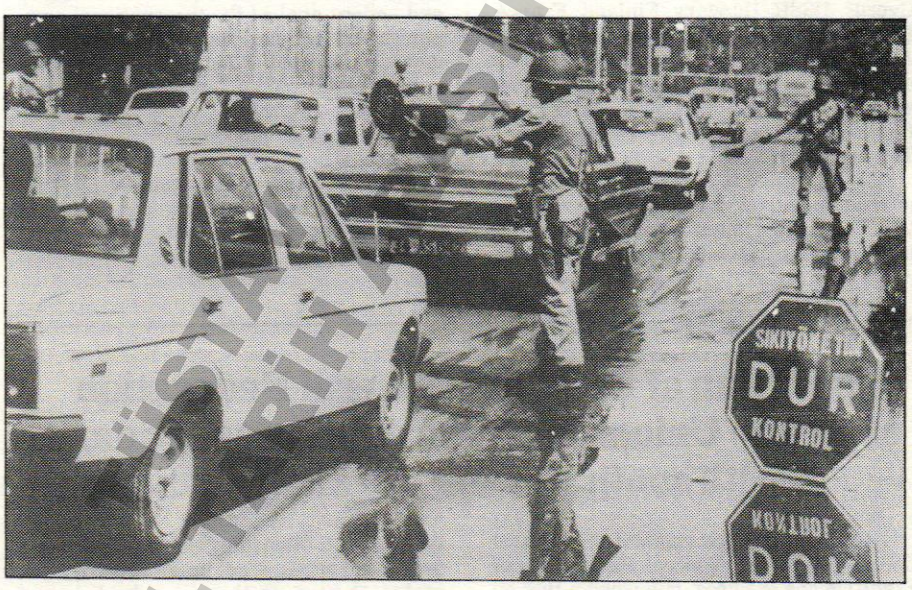
Military junta seeks to do away with May Day completely

We still remember the great struggles wages by DISK and other democratic forces to celebrate May Day as a genuine international day of struggle and solidarity. To divert the working masses' consciousness May Day had been declared the «Holiday of Springtime and Flowers» in the twenties.

It was in 1976 that May Day was celebrated in Istanbul on the initiative of DISK. In 1977 hundreds of thousands of demonstrators were attacked with firearms, resulting in 34 dead and hundreds injured. In 1978 hundreds of thousands of workers turned out again to show that they were not to be intimidated by fascist aggression. In 1979 the Martial Law Authority prevented any demonstration in Istanbul by enforcing a curfew. There was a big demonstration in Izmir. DISK leaders were imprisoned. In 1980, as a protest against the repressive and arbitrary Martial Law measures, workers downed tools all over the country on 30 April. It was only possible to hold mass celebrations of May Day in some towns.

Now the military junta is seeking to do away with May Day completely. As a result of a new «law» passed by the generals, May Day is no longer called the «Holiday of Springtime»; it is not a holiday at all. This is a vicious attack on the workers' democratic gains, as the celebration of May Day is considered by the ILO as an essential trade union freedom.

Furthermore, not a single one of the May Day aggressors has yet been arrested. The military junta continues to turn a deaf ear to such proposals.



A typical street scene in Istanbul today

İSTANBUL 1 NOLU DEVRİMCİ SOSYAL HALK MECLİSİ

Australia

What forces were lurking behind the Sydney and Brisbane demonstrations?

The Australian working class and trade union movement are putting the workers on their guard against the reactivation of anti-union and anti-worker forces. The recent marches in the streets of Sydney and Brisbane have graphically illustrated the growth of such tendencies. The demonstrators were not protesting against rising living costs, the reduction in real wages or the many social problems of the country, but were rather expressing opposition to the actions of trade unions aimed at improving the lives of the majority of the population.

The mere composition of the marches is enough to reveal the destabilising nature of these events. A large percentage of them were from the middle classes — housewives, retired people, white collar workers and others most vulnerable to manipulation by anti-worker forces — among whom the fascists of the 1930s and 1940s recruited their forces. It is hard to separate these anti-worker demonstrations from the fresh outbreak of violence and intimidation of trade union leaders and organisations.

Recently, Mr. Bill Kelly, a trade union official in Wollongong, was victim of an armed attack. Several shotgun blasts were fired through the door of his home, hitting him in the legs. Later, an anonymous telephone call said that the attack was a warning and that next time someone would get killed. A meeting planned at the trade union centre had to be postponed after a bomb threat was received.

The Australian trade unions are taking steps to mobilise all workers and progressive forces against the danger of further outbreaks of anti-worker views whipped up by right-wing and reactionary forces at this time of unprecedented crisis in the capitalist system.

International conference against the pharmaceutical transnationals to be held in Moscow in November 1981

The International Preparatory Committee for an International Trade Union Conference against the Transnational Pharmaceutical Companies, for a Health Policy in the Service of Man held a meeting in Athens (Greece) on 14 and 15 April 1981.

The composition of this meeting gives an idea of the broad and unity-oriented nature of the Committee set up a year ago in Geneva on the initiative of different components of the world trade union movement which, irrespective of their international affiliation, are inspired by a single goal — fighting back against the transnational pharmaceutical companies which grow fat at the expense of the workers' health. Representatives of workers in the pharmaceutical industry or health sector of Japan, Mexico, Senegal, India, Congo, Brazil, Cyprus, USSR, Hungary, Finland, France, Italy, Portugal and Greece attended the Athens meeting, as well as representatives of regional and international organisations such as the WCL, CPUSTAL, WHO, the Public Employees' TUI, the Food Workers' TUI and the WFTU.

The participants decided to convene an international trade union conference on the theme: «Trade union action against the transnational pharmaceutical companies, for a pharmaceutical industry and a health policy in the service of man» in Moscow (USSR) on 11-13 November this year.

The conference will bring together some 300 delegates representing trade unions in the pharmaceutical industry or health sector from all over the world and will deal with the following two subjects:

1/ The consequences of the action of transnational pharmaceutical companies on the health of populations and the health policies of different countries, particularly in the developing countries; actions by workers and trade unions for a democratic health policy satisfying the needs of populations and the aspirations of health workers.

2/ The situation of workers in the pharmaceutical industry, their struggles and actions against the transnational companies and for relations corresponding to a new international economic order between industrialised countries and developing countries.

What kind of pharmaceutical industry do we need?

The Preparatory Committee meeting finished with a press conference during which its members replied to many questions from journalists.

Chairman of CC of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea expresses solidarity with south Korean workers' struggle

Kim Bong Ju, Chairman of the Central Committee of the General Federation of Trade Unions of Korea, published a talk on the occasion of the first anniversary of the struggle of the coal miners in Chongson district, in the south Korean province of Kangwon, who rose in a massive resistance in April last year, rioting against their harsh exploitation and oppression under the south Korean puppet rulers and demanding the right to life and democratic liberties.

He explained that the coal miners of Chongson district, by their united and unflinching struggle, had shaken the whole of south Korea, suffering under emergency martial law; they had dealt the «renewed» system a severe blow and given fresh courage and confidence to the south Korean workers and people who opposed the old shameful system and demanded a new policy and a new life; they had powerfully inspired massive resistance to fascism and given a new impetus to the struggle for democracy.

The Seoul regime, yielding to the stubborn pressure of the workers, pretended to accept their demands, but in reality resorted to brutal fascist repression.

The Chairman of the CC of the GFTUK related the events which took place at the time:

The Chon Du Hwan group pledged itself to raise wages and pay a bonus, and also promised not to arrest the participants of the riot. But, discarding this promise like a pair of old shoes, it set up an investigation centre as soon as the riot subsided, and began a wave of wholesale arrests, throwing many workers behind bars and referring them to unjust trials which resulted in the imposition of harsh penalties.

This behaviour demonstrates that whoever is in power in south Korea, he never makes the workers a present of the right to life and democracy. This can be won only when the anti-popular ruling system itself is destroyed. Moreover, reality in south Korea today proves that the workers and people are aware of the total inability of Chon Du Hwan to solve their pressing problems.

All the past life of the south Korean workers, he said, indicates that they should hew the path of a new life, becoming the masters of their own destiny, not putting their trust in any rulers.

The south Korean workers must continue their struggle till they overthrow the Chon Du Hwan fascist regime and establish a democratic regime. They must be paid the price of the blood shed by the coal miners of the Chongson district, the victims of fascism, and break the chain of brutal military government rule. At the same time, they should energeticaly wage the struggle to terminate the policy of colonial enslavement of the United States which maintains the Chon Du Hwan group, and force US troops to withdraw from south Korea.

MEETING OF PUBLIC EMPLOYEES' TUI

TUI President Raymond Barberis evaluates the results

The 32nd session of the Directive Committee of the Public Employees' TUI was held recently in Tallin (USSR). Our representative asked Raymond Barberis, TUI President, to inform «Flashes» readers about it. This is his report:

This meeting was devoted to preparations for the 7th International Trade Conference to be held in Prague in October 1982.

In addition to members of the Directive Committee, the session was attended by representatives of trade unions from Algeria, Angola, Congo, Finland, Britain and Japan, who also took part in the discussions.

These were fruitful and although a common will was noticeable throughout everyone was permitted to express his point of view. The decisions taken are likely to enrich the TUI's activity.

A call to public employees' unions all over the world was adopted, inviting them, irrespective of their trade union outlook, their continent or international affiliation, to take part in the broad international forum of the 7th International Trade Conference.

This call stresses the occupational concerns shared by the TUI and unions representing civil servants, post and telecommunications workers and bank, local authority and health workers.

It associates itself with the struggle for salaries, careers, staff status and the battle to safeguard public services, and points out the extra reasons for public sector workers to join all initiatives in favour of international détente and peace while at the same time carrying out their own activities around their own trade union aims.

The appeal underlines the special importance of the struggle to defend the trade union rights and freedoms of public service staff wherever they are under threat.

Marked by the TUI's desire for attacking and resolute action around class-based trade union objectives genuinely corresponding to the workers interests, the call highlighted the TUI's wish to contribute wherever possible towards a renewal of the world trade union movement and set it the task of being even greater centre of meetings, exchanges of experience and encouragement for the common struggle of public service trade unions the world over.

This document and all others intended to provide a good preparation for the Conference by defining specific tasks and targets, reflects the predominant concern of the Public Employees' TUI which is anxious to give a new effectiveness to the united struggle of public service workers above and beyond frontiers and is determined to make its 7th Conference a significant step in this direction.

TÜSTAV TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF A.L.O.

Bona fide of Jordan, Bahrain and North Yemen delegations rejected

Following recommendations from the workers' group, the Annual Conference of the Arab Labour Organisation, which was held in Benghazi (Libyan Jamahariya) from 7 to 17 March 1981, rejected the bona fide of the delegates sent by the governments of Jordan, Bahrain and the Arab Republic of Yemen.

Jordan

The A.L.O. Conference condemned the repeated violation of trade union and democratic freedoms and the flagrant interference by the Jordanian authorities in trade union elections. It considered that the Jordanian centre belonging to the ICATU (and affiliated to the WFTU) had a greater right to represent the workers of Jordan at the Conference. In addition, it urgently requested the Jordanian government to:

1. Alter the Labour Code so as to ensure trade union and democratic freedoms.
2. Release all detainees.
3. Reinstate all sacked workers and trade unionists.
4. Organise democratic trade union elections.

Bahrain

Over a year ago, an ICATU delegation visited Bahrain for talks with senior members of the Ministry of Labour. As a result of the discussions between the two sides a joint communique was published in which the Bahrain government committed itself to:

- passing a law providing for the right to organise in trade unions;
- creating a favourable climate for completely free participation by workers in trade union activities;
- organising trade union elections when trade unions are set up.

The ICATU informed the A.L.O. Director General about this step, so that there might be cooperation in putting the agreements into practice. However, none of the commitments undertaken by the Bahrain government has yet been honoured. In addition, following the resignation of the former Minister of Labour, arbitrary measures have increased and the government has set up an organisation grouping workers and employers together, where the workers' representatives have no trade union rights or freedom to act or to organise. Consequently, the A.L.O. Conference refused to recognise that such delegates could represent the workers of Bahrain.

North Yemen

As we already mentioned in «Flashes» (No 12, 23/3/1981, page 5), the A.L.O. Conference did not recognise the so-called workers' delegates in the delegation of the Arab Republic of Yemen in view of the fact that in that country:

- the government still refuses to allow the workers to organise in trade unions;
- trade union leaders are still being held in prison in spite of promises to release them.

Key unemployment figures in the European Community for 1980 (annual average)

Country	Unemployment rate in relation to the active population	Annual increase (1980/79) %	Women in total unemployment %	Young people under the age of 25 in total unemployment (*) %
Belgium	9.4	+ 8.7	62.4	39.0
Denmark	6.2	+17.9	45.8	31.3
France	6.5	+ 7.5	54.6	45.2
Greece	1.1	+17.7	40.6	-
Ireland	8.9	+13.3	23.9	25.6
Italy	8.1	+ 7.5	46.1	46.8
Luxembourg	0.7	+ 3.7	51.9	50.9
Netherlands	4.9	+18.1	35.5	44.3
FRG	3.4	+ 1.5	52.0	27.3
United Kingdom	6.9	+29.1	31.3	41.4

(*) in December 1980

Cuba

Significance of general wage reform

Over a million and a half Cuban workers, or 59% of the workforce, are reaping the benefit of the general wage reform which came into effect last year.

As a result of this reform, 1,050,850 workers are paid according to their output which means that the amount of wages they receive depends on their work yield.

In the agricultural sector, 446,684 workers are paid according to each completed field or similar variation and since the reform came into effect 1,043,060 production norms have been updated.

509,190 workers receive bonuses for satisfactory work, both in quantity and quality.

Once this general wage reform is being fully implemented, it will mean an annual wage increase of 670 million pesos and will particularly benefit the lowest paid.

To meet the expenditure occasioned by the new system, it is planned to carry out a reform of retail prices and other measures, icnluding an increase in the goods and services available to the population.

In 1981, the national labour and social security committee intends to finalise the list of qualifications required for technological jobs and reinforce the new system for the direct hiring of labour and the correct evaluation of workers. Also this year, the third national meeting on work safety and hygiene will be held and measures to prevent accidents at work will be stepped up.

In view of the importance the Cuban government accords to this question, steps are being taken for the Minister of Higher Education to include labour topics in his curriculum plans.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL BİLİMLER ARŞTIRMA VAKFI

Flashes FROM

TUNISIA

Full civil rights restored to Abderrazak Ghorbal

The general secretary of SFAX, a regional organisation belonging to the UGTT (General Federation of Workers of Tunisia), has had full civil rights restored to him.

The decision was taken by President Habib Bourguiba on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of Tunisian independence.

Abderrazak Ghorbal had been sentenced to ten years hard labour after the bloody repression of the general strike of 26 January 1978 — commonly known as «Black Thursday».

Although he was released last August at the same time as several other leaders of the UGTT, he remained stripped of his civil rights. This latest decision means that he should be able to play a full part in the renewal of the Tunisian trade union movement.

The complete liberation of the regional trade union leader is a great victory for international solidarity which has never faltered since Black Thursday. The WFTU, which has been one of the spearheads of this vast international campaign for the release of Tunisian trade unionists, is delighted at this outcome which once again demonstrates the strength and vigour of solidarity from all workers of the world.

SPAIN

Search for joint measures against unemployment

The search for joint measures in the fight against unemployment was recently the subject of a meeting between the country's two largest trade union centres, the Workers' Commissions and the General Federation of Workers (UGT).

Their joint resolution points out that the number of jobless has already passed the 1.6 million mark and notes the government's inability to put a stop to the growing unemployment. The two organisations said they were in favour of a joint attempt to find ways to solve the problem. They also stated their intention to support any initiative aimed at ensuring jobs on the basis of a joint strategy during the negotiations now taking place with employers and the government.

According to figures published by the National Institute of Statistics, unemployment in Spain affected 12.6% of the workforce in 1980. Youth unemployment has become a particularly serious social problem: 279,000 young men and 298,000 young women are seeking a first job.

JAPAN

Real income and wages of workers decrease

The real income of working households and that of working people decreased in the fiscal year 1980 (April 1980 — March 1981). The national consumer price index rose 7.4% in January as compared with the same month the previous year.

According to a report on family budgets released by the Statistics Bureau of the Prime Minister's Office, the average real income of working households in 1980 was 349,686 yen (approx. 1,780 US dollars) per month, a decrease of 0.6% in real terms compared with that of 1979. Monthly spending for consumption was 230,568 yen (approx. 1.110 dollars), a decrease of 0.8% in real terms.

Real wages for January 1981 averaged 210,248 yen (1,010 dollars), a drop of 1.1% from over a year ago. Unless consumer prices are seen to have fallen in February and March, the average real income in the fiscal year 1980 is expected to decrease about 1.0%.

On the same day, the Prime Minister's Statistics Bureau also announced that the nationwide consumer price index in January recorded a 7.4% increase from a year ago, or 1.2% increase from December. The Economic Planning Agency believes that the rate of consumer price increase in the fiscal year 1980 will be 7.8%.

In this situation of low wages, higher prices and heavy taxes, the people's lives have become more difficult. On February 28 a representative of the Conference of Trade Unions for a United Front (CTU-UF) said that it had become a pressing task to defend the people's living conditions by reducing income taxes and freezing public utility charges, and to win a substantial wage increase of more than 30,000 yen, which the CTU-UF is claiming.

AUSTRALIA

Foreign control blackout

The domination of the Australian economy by foreign owned multinational and monopoly companies is a question that has been debated for many years. One of the problems making this debate difficult is the serious lack of information about just who owns what.

It is blatantly clear that both the Federal Government and the monopolies have no wish to allow the Australian people to find out the true facts of the situation.

Two years ago the Fraser government imposed a blackout of all official data on foreign ownership and control of Australia's major industries. It also scrapped the section of the Australian Bureau of Statistics dealing with foreign participation. This was supposedly a cost cutting measure but it is obvious that it was dismantled because of pressure on the government from multinational companies. The section was abolished after it had published information revealing very high levels of foreign ownership in the mining, manufacturing, energy and insurance sectors of the economy. Since the scrapping of the section no official data has been collected, although prior to 1978 surveys showed that foreign investment was 90.8 per cent in oil refining, 75.9 per cent in the motor industry and equally as high in many other key sectors of the economy.

Foreign investment in and control of the Australian economy has increased since this time. In the words of an ex-Treasury official: «The government is seen as permitting the country to be auctioned of to the highest bidder.»

BANGLADESH

Massive worker participation in the struggle for demands

The class struggle is taking on growing proportions in Bangladesh. New groups of the working class are joining the struggle every day. The workers are protesting against their worsening economic situation as a result of soaring inflation and price rises. They are showing their determination to defend their political and democratic rights. Hundreds of thousands of people — teachers, transport workers, workers from jute and textile factories, craftsmen, students — took part in this struggle at the end of February and beginning of March.

The capital Dacca was the scene of important strikes and worker demonstrations. The trade unions, together with progressive and democratic organisations in the country, did an important job in mobilising the masses. In spite of all attempts by the authorities to break up the trade union movement by reprisals against and persecution of trade unionists, the struggle for demands continues to grow.

The Bangladesh trade unions have vigorously condemned the latest action by the police who fired on striking textile workers in the town of Rajahi, leaving 30 injured.

Flashes from the trade unions

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AGAINST THE REPRESSION OF TRADE UNIONS IN TURKEY

The testimony of Western lawyers, members of a commission of enquiry set up by the WFTU

On the request of the WFTU, a group of Western lawyers recently went on a mission to Turkey to verify on the spot reports of serious violations of human and trade union rights perpetrated in the country following the military coup of September 12, 1980.

The lawyers had no possibility of establishing any contacts whatsoever with the official authorities of the military government. However, they succeeded in holding talks with several Turkish lawyers, journalists and trade unionists — the latter now living underground — and the information they collected from their enquiries, indicates that the main victims of the most harsh repression are the leaders and activists of the progressive trade union federation DISK, which has 600,000 members.

The lawyers ascertained that over 2,000 trade unionists were arrested during the military coup and that many of these were tortured with the aim of extracting information. Applying the Turkish penal code of 1946, which was based on Mussolini's fascist penal code but is in flagrant contradiction with the 1961 Constitution that guarantees trade union freedom, the 15-day period of preventive detention under which the arrested trade unionists were held was arbitrarily prolonged to three months, and even this period has been illegally exceeded.

The lawyers of the WFTU mission of enquiry were also informed that on the basis of the mentioned legal code certain DISK trade unionists could be charged with article 146 which includes a clause stipulating the death sentence.

In an attempt at self-justification and to give a semblance of legality to its repressive activities in the eyes of the public, the military have organised a campaign of slander against DISK, accusing it of having fostered terrorism, while in reality the progressive Turkish trade union centre has consistently denounced terrorism as a harmful phenomenon which has nothing in common with the workers' struggle. This attitude of DISK is confirmed by many documents and its public stand against terrorism, and the fact that no proof exists of collusion between its leaders or members and the terrorists. These latter have acted, as the coup itself demonstrates, for very different interests. All this can easily be verified.

Following this manoeuvre by the military leaders, there is a real danger that the DISK President, Abdulah Basturk, its General Secretary Isiklar and other members of the Executive Committee such as brothers Güven, Zirtiloglu and others will be charged under article 146.

In this serious and dangerous situation which threatens DISK leaders as well as other trade unionists and could deprive the Turkish workers of a trade union organisation which has time and again proved a genuine defender of their interests, the WFTU calls to all national and international trade union organisations requesting them to intensify their efforts for the release of all trade unionists and trade union leaders, of all progressive and democratic patriots and for the restoration of trade union rights and democratic freedoms.

The WFTU has referred to the ILO in this matter and will continue consultations with other national and international centres with the aim of launching a broad trade union campaign of united, active and effective solidarity with the progressive workers and trade union movement of Turkey.

FISE Bureau in Prague

A three-day session of the enlarged Bureau of the International Teachers' Federation (FISE) was held in Prague towards the end of Janauary to discuss the preparation of the 12th Conference of this organisation to be held in Budapest in the near future.

The President of FISE, brother Lesturuge Ariyavansa of Sri Lanka, told us after the end of the session that the 12th Conference to be held on 8 to 12 June 1981 in Budapest would be centred mainly on problems related to the new trends in the FISE and more particularly on the relationship between education and the economy. The question of the relation of schools with social practice -- the FISE President stressed — is a very topical and important one in the contemporary world. Today, he added, important success was achieved in this field by countries who have opted for the non-capitalist path of development. Illiteracy still constitutes a very serious problem because the number of illiterates in the world amounts to 800 million people. In this context, the President of FISE, Lesturuge Ariyavansa, remarked that Cuba has set a significant example in the struggle against illiteracy.

TÜRKİYE EKONOMİK VE TOPLUMSAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Visit of a delegation of the National Democratic Front (Arab Republic of North Yemen) to the WFTU headquarters in Prague

A delegation of the National Democratic Front of North Yemen consisting of Mohamed Kassem Saour, member of the Front leadership, Ali Seif Mukbil, President of the trade union organisation of the Arab Republic of Yemen and member of the Front leadership and Ahmad Saleh, member of the foreign relations department of the Front, paid a formal visit to WFTU headquarters on February 3, 1981. It was received by a delegation of our organisation led by Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary, who welcomed the Yemeni guests.

During their conversation the head of the National Democratic Front delegation spoke of the present manoeuvres of imperialism and reaction in the Gulf to stifle progressive forces both in South and North Yemen and destabilise the progressive regime established in the South. The concentration of troops in that region since 1980, the direct presence of US forces in the Gulf, the statements made by US leaders before and after the presidential elections, the conflict artificially stirred up between the two Yemens and well as the vast campaign presently launched by the western bourgeois press are all aspects of the general policy of US imperialism, zionism and Arab reaction to throttle the progressive forces of the region. The present situation in North Yemen is characterised by a split between the reactionary, militarofeudal and bureaucratic forces on the one hand and the progressive forces led by the National Democratic Front on the other. Since the Sanna government, under the pressure of imperialism and Arab reaction, betrayed the 1972 and 1979 agreements to end hostilities between the two countries on the basis of the respect of the independence and sovereignty of each state, non-aggression and the respect of democratic freedom, the situation in Yemen has deteriorated. Reactionary forces have formed a coalition against progressive elements. Murders, arbitrary arrests, the destruction of homes, terrorist actions and the concentration of mercenaries along the frontiers and in the training camps of certain reactionary Arab countries, form the background of the situation in North Yemen. In spite of brutal repression by the regime and the extortions of the police the National Democratic Front wages a courageous struggle to impose political, trade union and democratic freedom, for the liberation of political prisoners and non party members, against the campaign of slander aimed at the front, banditism and military provocations, and to achieve the peaceful unification of the two Yemens. In this struggle the National Democratic Front needs the support and solidarity of all trade union and progressive forces in the world.

At the end of the discussion brother Zakaria thanked the delegation for the information provided and reaffirmed the support and solidarity of the WFTU with the struggle of the Arab workers and peoples against imperialism and reaction, for national independence, sovereignty and progress, this struggle being an integral part of the struggle waged by the WFTU on all fronts.

SOUTH AFRICA

A wave of wildcat strikes and anti-racist actions

A series of wildcat strikes by the Black workers has marked the beginning of this year in the industrial zone of the Transvaal. These movements confirm the recent estimations of political observers who agreed that industrial action would constitute an important aspect of the anti-apartheid struggle in 1981.

A police spokesman said that 18 black employees of a factory producing telephone cables near Pretoria had been arrested for having allegedly intimidated workers who had tried to end a strike recently started by 420 employees for wage increase, the police used truncheons and tear gas to disperse the employees who refused to leave the factory.

In the suburbs of Pretoria the manager of a match factory announced that 220 black workers had gone on strike to obtain a 70% wage increase. On 14 January 400 black workers of the Metal Box factory ended a strike which started on December 22 in the same suburb. On the 13th of January, more than half the personnel of a Toyota branch in Johannesburg was fired following a few hours' strike.

In 1980 South Africa was hit by several strikes. Political observers stressed that this indicated that Pretoria would have to face a new phase of resistance to the regime in the near future. Apart from the boycott of lessons in schools for Black and «Coloured» children which cost the lives of over 60 people and which still continues in the East of the Cape Province, sporadic boycotts of buses and several important strikes were recorded last year.

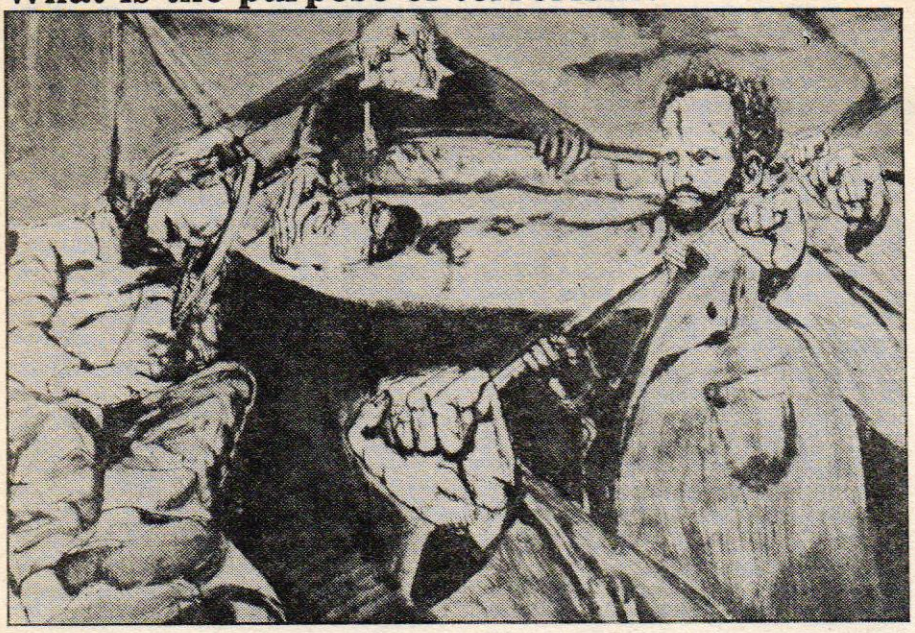
From May to August, the Cape was hit by a massive boycott of public transport and by a strike of the workers in the meat industry supported by the Black population. In June the East of the Cape province, known as the South African Detroit, and the industrial city of Huitenhabe were effected by important strikes in the automobile sector.

The automobile industry was paralysed for three weeks by strikes in the main factories (Goodyear, Ford, Volkswagen, General Motors).

Towards the end of July, Johannesburg was hit by a major strike. Some 10,000 municipal wage-earners stopped work for one week during which rubbish accumulated in the streets and the bus services for Africans were seriously impaired. This strike was broken by the police and by the firing of strikers, some of whom were readmitted and others sent «back» to their ethnic «bantustans».

The last strike of 1980 was that of the Black journalists members of the Black employees trade union of the South African newspaper industry (MWASA) about which detailed information was published in Flashes No. 5.

What is the purpose of terrorism?



Tribute to Guido Rossa, trade union activist of the CGIL, murdered by the Red Brigades (drawing by Sergio Vacchi).

On Friday January 23, thousands of workers from the big industrial enterprises of Genoa and hundreds of delegates from other north Italian cities met at the Italsider steel centre on the periphery of Genoa to commemorate the second anniversary of the murder of Guido Rossa, CGIL trade union leader and member of the Communist Party of Italy.

This renewed tribute was held in memory of Guido Rossa killed by the bullets of the hired assassins of the so-called Red Brigades for having resisted their occupation of the factory, at a time of passionate discussion in progressive Italian public opinion over the ways and means to halt the new wave of terrorism dramatically culminating in the kidnapping of Judge Urso and of obscure plots to make terrorism a political instrument in Italy and elsewhere.

The recent declarations by the new American Secretary of State General Haig on the objectives of this political speculation is sufficiently clear. According to the former head of NATO armed forces, it is the Soviet Union which «finances, equips and encourages terrorism» throughout the world and, he stressed, in this respect «terrorism is going to replace human rights as our number one concern» (retranslated). It is easy enough to understand the reasons behind such a choice. The new White House administration wants to drop the Carter policy on human rights which boomeranged against the United States as soon as possible. On the other hand — as Washington now appears to think — speculations about terrorism could serve as a pretext to justify the increased support extended by the United States to reactionary regimes, particularly in Latin America.

That is why Haig's concept of «terrorism» includes the liberation movements of peoples struggling against US-supported dictatorial regimes. Happily, today's public opinion has had the benefit of sufficient experiences, furnished precisely, and, we might say, paradoxically, by US imperialist policies, to have reached a totally different understanding of contemporary reality.

This same public opinion which yesterday refused to sympathise with the Shah of Iran and other despots to whom US imperialism generously supplied material and political support now equally rejects the generals of the reactionary junta swarming on the Latin American continent.

The plots, murders, and coups instigated or inspired by the CIA constitute a long list where we can read: Patrice Lumumba, Salvador Allende, Martin Luther King and other names of less known personalities not forgetting thousands of victims of the reactionary and fascist regimes imposed with the help of the CIA in Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Salvador, the Dominican Republic, South Korea and elsewhere.

The various statements on terrorism exuded in Washington are simply a smoke-screen, and a rather transparent one at that, to try and justify the intensified US protection of reactionary regimes. This is a highly disturbing trend with dangerous consequences for the further development of the international situation of which the whole of progressive mankind should take note.

Obviously the application of such a policy is totally incompatible with the needs of the workers throughout the world.

The world of today needs peace. Peace is the necessary condition for the settlement of increasingly serious and complex socio-economic problems such as unemployment in capitalist countries, including the United States; for the solution of the even more alarming problem famine which affects hundreds of millions of people in «Third World» countries. And, of course, peace is also necessary to the socialist countries where the leading priority is to ensure the constant improvement of the population's living standards.

The ECTU demands urgent action against unemployment

The demand to adopt concrete measures against unemployment in Western Europe which affects almost 8 million workers according to official statistics was reaffirmed by the ETUC (European Trade Union Confederation) leaders during a meeting with the leaders of EEC countries' socialist parties.

The ETUC General Secretary, Mathias Hinterscheid, declared that the participants in the meeting unanimously agreed that it was necessary to impose radical changes on present-day policies to avoid economic and social disaster.

He indicated that coordinated actions to provide job opportunities were necessary in many fields, stressing specifically that governments should actively intervene to guarantee higher levels of investment, to promote effective training and employment programmes and to fight inflation through specific and socially just measures, not by increasing unemployment.

In the forthcoming months ETUC's affiliated organisations have decided to organise meetings and other actions in the framework of a campaign launched by ETUC in the aim of persuading the EEC countries' governments to modify their policies and work for economic redeployment.

O. Vetter announces the trend of DGB struggles in 1981

«The West German trade union will do their utmost to contribute to the strengthening of peace and international détente», declared Oskar Vetter, DGB President, at a press conference organised recently in Düsseldorf. He declared himself against the sending of weapons by the FRG to centres of tension such as Chile and Saudi Arabia, stressing that such actions could further deteriorate the situation in these regions.

Speaking of the tasks of the DGB in 1981, Bro. Vetter stated that the DGB and its member trade organisations would consistently sustain the struggle for the reduction of unemployment which has reached massive proportions in the FRG. With respect to the official data of last December according to which over one million unemployed are registered in the FRG, the trade union leader did not disguise his concern over the possibility of a further deterioration of the situation on the labour market in 1981.

The DGB President criticized the policy of the employers and their attempt to make the workers bear the brunt of economic recession. He called on the German workers to unite in their struggle for trade union rights.

The next DGB Congress, according to the announcement made at the press conference, will be held on 12th to 14th March 1981 in Düsseldorf.

FRANCE

Renault bosses add to scrap-heap

The Renault management has just decided to suspend almost 50,000 workers, mostly unskilled, for two days in February. The first factories to be hit by this measure are those in Orleans, which will stop work on 12 and 13 February, and those in Douai, Flins and Sandouville on 13 and 16 February. In Cléon, the workers will be suspended from work for one day in February and one day in March. In certain factories the management claims to make these days coincide with the suplementary leave obtained for 1981.

These manoeuvres should cut down this year's buying power while producing as much, if not more, with a reduced number of workers and working days, which amounts to a reduced total of wages.

These totally unjustified measures of partial unemployment follow much pressure exercised by the employers in the big factories to make the workers accept the introduction of overtime work.

In the framework of this organised attack almost 100,000 Renault cars are now being produced abroad and re-sold on the French market. The management has further decided to produce the R 14 entirely in Spain. In Saint Ouent, this implies the export of 100,000 hours of machine tool work.

To resist the dismantling and breaking down of the works, the workers of Saint Ouen and of the other big factorires, responding to a CGT appeal, organised their reaction against unemployment, demanding the maintenance of full wages, the upholding and extension of their buying power for 1981. Through their great national centre, the CGT, they are demanding the closing of frontiers to all Renault cars produced abroad and sold in France and also the setting up of an employment agency.

A big national day of action against the breakdown of the automobile industry is planned for February 27. For the workers of the French automobile industry in general and of the Renault works in particular this will be an opportunity to consolidate their ranks even further and to make of this day a day of unity and struggle against the disastrous policy of the employers and of the transnational corporations.

FRG

Sombre economic forecast for 1981

Experts from five West German Institutes of Economic Studies, sponsored by employees, estimate that FRG economy will deteriorate and regress on all fronts in 1981. The economists forecast a rate of unemployment of about 5%, or over 1.2 million, with a considerable increase of partial unemployment and a «zero growth» of the gross social product. The prices of consumer goods will go up at an average annual rate of 4%, private consumption will probably only go up by 1.5%. West Germany will most likely be going through the third year of economic recession of its history, after 1967 and 1965.

The planned rise in direct taxes (alcoholic beverages and petrol) reduced subventions and the announced increase in social security and pension dues will weigh heavily on the consumers. On the other hand, some tax reductions will be granted by the Bonn governments through income tax modifications. But this measure will only very slightly alleviate the situation of the tax payers.

In this respect the experts advocate moderate wage agreements. There is official talk of a wage increase of 3 to 4% which will still lag behind the estimated rising inflation rate of 5%.

"The times of the easy life have passed", declared the FRG Minister of Economy M. Otto Lamberdoff recently, adding that there was no guarantee that the present standard of living of FRG citizens could be maintained.

A significant comparison

Under the title «The right to strike in Poland ... and in France», the French daily «Le Monde» published an article on 28 January giving further information on the events in Poland. We publish it in full, since the conclusions reached by the author, whose political convictions are unknown to us, represent in any case the kind of objective statements that unfortunately appear all too rarely on the pages of the bourgeois press.

«With the aim of imposing a five-day week and enjoying complete week-ends the Polish workers have decided to strike on Saturdays in spite of threats from their government. Once again France rushes to the window, its mass media crackle and sputter, each and every person expresses their solidarity with these brave strikers; will they dare to sanction them? Will they dare even to fire them? What a scandal this would be ... in Poland!

«But in France? The problem of such a strike arose in exactly identical terms. Wage-earners who refused to work on Saturdays decided, after the failure of negotiations, to strike on that day. They were immediately fired without the slightest warning, the smallest indemnity. Bad luck for them, bad luck for their homes, their children. They pleaded, naively invoking the right to strike, the Constitution, advanced and liberal democracy. The Supreme Court by a decree of 23 November 1978, put them entirely in the wrong with the motivation that they had decided to satisfy their demands unilaterally by modifying the essential conditions of their working contract and that they had not exercised their right to strike, since that right does not authorise the wage earners to carry out their work in conditions other than those foreseen in their contract. In other words, when the demands concern working Saturdays, one cannot go on strike on a Saturday ... that's how things are in France.

«Let us see if the same thing happens in Poland. But before commenting with righteous indignation the possible decisions of Polish judges, the mass media would be well advised to verify whether these judges have not simply imitated our own.»

TARİHİ SOSYAL HAREKET VAKFI

GREAT BRITAIN

The trade unions' revolt against the Parliamentary Labour Party

The British trade unions have scored a victory at the recent Labour Party extraordinary congress in Wembley which adopted by a massive vote a trade union proposal to change the procedure for the election of the Party leader who becomes Prime Minister in the case of a Labour victory in the elections.

This decision, according to which an electoral college will be set up, composed of 40% trade unions, 30% Party members and 30% MPs, does away with the exorbitant privilege enjoyed up to now by Members of Parliament to alone appoint the Labour leaders.

It is perfectly correct for the trade unions who represent the greatest force of the Labour Party — to be in a position to contribute to the decision-making of that party. In effect, the participants in the Congress have not forgotten that the conservatives were brought to power by the anti-worker and austerity policies of Labour Prime Minister Callaghan. Hence the decision to decrease the right wing stranglehold on policy which characterised former Labour cabinets is not only an important step in the struggle to return a Labour government, but also to ensure that future Labour governments will take the workers' interests into account. The Congress already launched an appeal for the Labour movement to do everything in its power to win the municipal elections in May and to ensure the success of the week of action against unemployment planned by the TUC for 4-11 April this year.

The trade unionists have emerged victorious from the long-awaited confrontation with the right wing within the British Labour Party. The right is already holding talks, principally with Roy Jenkins, former President of the European Commission, who has indicated his intention of forming a new Social Democratic Party, and his supporters envisage an alliance with the present Liberal Party.

It is too early to say whether the Labour Party, free from the domination of the parliamentarians, will or will not apply the decisions adopted last September by its Blackpool Congress committing, among other things, a future Labour government to withdraw Great Britain from the Common Market and to undertake unilateral nuclear disarmament.

PORTUGAL

Appeal by the CGTP-IN

Over 180 CGTP-IN affiliated organisations were urged to resist the attacks of reactionary forces against agrarian reform, the nationalised sector of industry and other achievements of the working class, peasants and working masses of the population.

In a declaration the CGTP-IN stressed that Portugal was going through a deep economic crisis and urged the workers to reject the policy of wage-freezing and mass dismissal applied in Portugal by the transnational corporations, particularly US companies.

HUNGARY

Looking after the old

According to statistics one fifth of the Hungarian population, over two million people, have reached 55 or 60 years of age, the age of retirement. Encouraged by the supplement to old age pensions, the healthy ones continue working. Women are more numerous in this category. Others, physically handicapped, (with frail health, incapable of moving about very much or even bed-ridden), can only relv on the help and care of society. An enquiry of the National Office for Statistics shows that two thirds of people over 60 years of age are not in good health: 58% of men and 62% of women pensioners have had some lengthy illness. In Budapest alone there are 50,000 pensioners, a proportion of over 80%.

DAILY CARE

To soften the loneliness of these elderly people, the Hungarian state has made and continues to make considerable efforts to ensure their welfare in society to which they also belong.

One of the aspects of this care is the setting up of a vast network of social assistance at home, whose main objective is to facilitate this life of old people living alone and who have difficulty in moving about because of their age or sickness, who have no family or close relatives, whose pension is not sufficient to afford pemanent household help and who are not willing to seek a place in a home for the aged. This form of social assistance was introduced in 1970. It consists of professional and voluntary workers supervised by inspectors — permanent organisers — and covers the whole country. It comprises men and women willing to carry out this type of work regularly.

In 1970, Hungary had 165 professional social workers and 3,500 voluntary workers who looked after almost 15,000 people in need of help. Today there are over 900 professionals helped by 12,300 voluntary assistants and 31,000 members of first-aid associations. The voluntary workers receive a 700 florints monthly payment from their respective district councils. Some refuse any financial remuneration. These voluntary workers spend one or two hours daily with the old people in need of help to prepare their lunch or accompany them to the district restaurant, clean the flat, change the bed-linen, take linen to the laundry, do various errands such as buying drugs in the pharmacy, calling the doctor or taking the patient to a medical centre, writing letters to their families, reading to them, talking to them. This network was recently extended to include some young women on maternity leave and university students.

A GREAT DEAL OF PATIENCE AND UNDERSTANDING

Working with the elderly is not always easy. Old age and loneliness often make them fussy, disagreable, aggressive and mistrustful. The voluntary workers' good will has difficulty in breaking through this wall. A great deal of patience, tact and understanding are needed to renew their zest for life. But thanks to their perseverance, kindness and good-will, these workers mostly succeed in gaining their protégés' friendship and trust.

TÜRKİYE DEVRİMCİ İŞÇİ SENDİKALARI KONFEDERASYONU TARİH ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

Flashes FROM

ITALIAN ARMOURED VEHICLES TO EL SALVADOR JUNTA

Boycott by Barcelona dockers

The dockers of the port of Barcelona have refused to complete the loading of the Peruvian ship Cuzco carrying 20 armoured vehicles equipped with machine-guns and canons of Italian production to the military and Christian-Democratic junta of El Salvador. This military equipment was sold to the junta by the Italian firm Oto Melara and was loaded on the Peruvian ship in the Italian port of La Spezia after the Genoa dockers boycott.

The Centre for the Coordination of Workers' Commissions and the Union of Barcelona Dockers have called on dockers of other countries to boycott the ship Cuzco and prevent the junta from obtaining these arms and using them against the patriots of Salvador.

The CGT Federation of Port and Dock Workers, on learning that armoured vehicles could be shipped from French ports, has decided to refuse to ship weapons to the murderers of the people of El Salvador.

JAPAN

Growing inflation and unemployment

A wind of disaster is blowing in the Japanese economy with soaring inflation and unemployment.

The latest statistics indicate, for instance, that in November 1980 prices had gone up by 8.4% a year, while in October the annual rate of price increase was 7.8%. During that same month of reference there were in Japan, 1,210,000 unemployed, or 2.3% of the active population, which is 0.14% more than in the preceding month.

This is the highest unemployment rate recorded in Japan since September 1978. The number of unemployed has increased by 100,000 over the last twelve months.

AUSTRALIA

Employers say demand for a shorter working week is «unwise»

The campaign waged to reduce the present 40-hour working week in Australia has been attacked by the employers and the Australian government.

The Minister of Industry declared this proposal and the rise in production costs its application would entail «rash and unwise». Appealing to the unions for «moderation» he stated that Australia could expect economic success in the current year only if the country succeeded in moderating internal expenses, including wage increases.

The Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) supports the campaign for a reduced working week of 35 hours. ACTU President C. Dollan maintained it should be possible for Australia to achieve a 37.5 hours week in the near future.

The Employers' Federation, for its part, said it was pointless to start an economic and social discussion on a eventual reduction, since the existing working week was already one of the shortest in the world.

BELGIUM

General strike against wage freeze

In response to a call by the two largest Belgian trade union centres, the FGTB of Socialist orientation and in the majority in Wallonia, and the CSC, Christian Socialist and in the majority in Flanders, a 24-hour strike on 6 February paralysed the private and public sectors all over the country.

This strike took place just as senators were meeting in Brussels to approve the austerity plan drawn up by the Christian Socialist-Socialist government coalition (see Flashes No. 6/1981).

This strike was the first massive, united reaction against the austerity plan and especially against the two-year freeze on all wages approved by the Belgian Senate.

BOLIVIA

The COB denounces the latest crimes of the junta

Repression and terror against the workers are the «methods» of government most frequently practised by the military junta in power in Bolivia.

The Bolivian workers' centre (COB), dissolved since the coup d'Etat of the generals in 1980, has not ceased to denounce the crimes perpetrated against the workers such as the recent murders of workers in Telamayu, Huanuni and at the Said textile factory of La Paz, the tortures and imprisonments in the mining centres of Siglo XX Catavi and Huanuni, the sacking of 130 railway workers and other factory workers in the Tasa and Lab works and other horrifying crimes.

On 15th January the fascist junta committed yet another atrocity. The murder of nine workers, trade unionists, including Bro. Artemio Carmargo, Secretary of the Bolivian Miners Federation.

The main mining centres of the country were occupied by the army and over one hundred persons have been arrested.

The World Federation of Trade Unions expressed its indignation over these atrocities and calls on all affiliated and friendly organisations, as well as on world public opinion as a whole to condemn these acts of brutality and to manifest active solidarity with the workers and people of Bolivia.

GREECE

150,000 workers on a 24-hour strike

The entry of Greece to the EEC is accompanied by a renewed outbreak of social conflicts.

Over 150,000 workers of Salonica, in the north of Greece, stopped work for 24 hours on January 30. The strike concerned more specifically the textile industry of the region, the clothes industry, building and other branches of the private sector.

This strike was organised to protest against the mass dismissals during these last few months in certain branches of the private sector, the rising cost of living and the mounting inflation rate, now exceeding 30%.

INDONESIA

Unemployment hits hard

The problem of unemployment will get worse over the coming decade in Indonesia. Such is the conclusion of a report by a special committee set up by the Ministry of Labour and Transmigration.

According to official figures, there are a million jobless between the ages of 15 and 30 searching in vain for work.

VENEZUELA

Mass dismissals in the building industry

The Federation of Building Industry Workers protested against the mass dismissal of workers in the building industry and against the employers' corrupt practices. The document published by the Federation stresses that in many cities of the country unemployment in this trade has reached 25%. The workers fired include a number of trade union leaders.

The Federation expressed its determination to struggle in defence of the workers' legitimate right to employment and against arbitrary dismissals and repression.

Flashes from the trade unions

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

No 44 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 October 27, 1980

4. Sayfada Yazı

FOR EFFECTIVE ACTION BY THE ILO CONCERNING THE MATTER OF TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATIONS

The World Federation of Trade Unions was present as an observer at a meeting of the Commission which examined the application of the ILO Declaration on multinational enterprises.

The labour sector of this Commission of the Governing Body was not truly universal, since a WFTU-affiliated organisation was not chosen to take part in it.

The discussion revealed the serious delay caused by the transnational corporations' refusal to supply accurate information about their future plans and activities in various countries. As for the ILO, the WFTU reiterated its reservations concerning the adoption of the Declaration which contains elements unacceptable to the trade union movement and the sovereignty of countries.

In particular, the employers' attempt to make the trade unions share in some sort of responsibility for the application of the principles of the Declaration and to establish standards of behaviour for the trade unions which would not win the support of workers who are consistently fighting against the transnational corporations' manoeuvres to jeopardise the rights of the peoples and the gains of the workers.

The WFTU has also rejected every endeavour to separate the problem of control over transnational corporations from the aims of the new international economic order to which the ILO should effectively contribute — according to the desire expressed by the workers at the World Conference on Employment in 1976 — by the adoption of international conventions concerning the social consequences of the transnational corporations' activities and trade union rights.

This practice constitutes a danger for the independent economic development of countries and leads to a «legalisation» of the many activities of transnational corporations which are in fact a threat to international cooperation and social progress.

As for employment, the WFTU pointed out the negative role of transnational corporations with their policy of redeployment resulting in a slow-down of production, the closure of factories and the liquidation of certain industrial branches. The most particularly harmful effect is the destabilisation of the economic structure of many countries, which makes integrated and stable development very difficult. In this context, American, British, Swiss, French, Dutch, German and Japanese transnational corporations are playing a particularly harmful role in maintaining and strengthening the policy of apartheid in South Africa.

31 October World Day for Uruguayan missing persons

On the initiative of the National Workers' Convention (CNT) of Uruguay, 31 October 1980 will be observed as a World Day for Uruguayan citizens abducted or missing in Uruguay, Argentina and Paraguay as a result of the fascist regime in Uruguay.

At a time when dictatorship is trying to institutionalise its reign of terror and denial of human and trade union rights by means of its «cronograma» which includes a rigged referendum on 30 November to impose a fascist Constitution, world democratic opinion and in the first place the trade union movement voices its concern over the fate of those who are missing, among whom are many children, over the thousands of political and trade union detainees and over the detestable use of torture which has already claimed dozens of martyrs.

The WFTU joins in supporting the day of international solidarity and demands to know the whereabouts of trade union leaders Leon Duarte, Oscar Tassino, Jose Hugo Mendez and many others.

The WFTU calls for the adoption of effective measures by the ILO to oblige the Uruguayan government to respect the most fundamental human rights and international conventions on trade union liberties.

It calls on trade unions the world over to organise actions of solidarity with the workers of Uruguay struggling against the dictatorship, for an amnesty and the restoration of democratic liberties, the full exercise of trade union rights and the recognition of the CNT as the genuine representative of the workers' interests.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Important experience gained in the struggle of the Quebec teachers

Extract from a speech by the President of the Quebec teachers' centre (Canada) Rodrigue Dubé to the 31st session of the WFTU General Council

«We thank the WFTU for their invitation. We accepted it eagerly and with great interest and on behalf of the 85,000 members of the Quebec teachers' centre, the CRQ, I send you their warmest greetings.

First of all, I should like to tell you briefly that we share the WFTU's opinions about employment, salaries and peace.

... We are happy to associate with progressive trade union movements for improved coordination and greater effectiveness in the struggle against armaments and for disarmament.

Even though the educational workers of Quebec are public servants, they have to bear the effects of the economic crisis of the capitalist world and of the transnational corporations' voracity.

Our governments invent so-called reforms and counter-reforms and restrict budgets for education in order to finance the economic crisis brought about by the very organisation of the capitalist system.

The Quebec public servants must be ever vigilant and in a position to defend themselves in order to restrain the wave of austerity measures directed against education and against all workers in education. All the teachers in Quebec went on a 11-day general strike in January 1980. The Quebec teachers did not hesitate to take part in a struggle. Their unity and solidarity enabled them to break down the wave of repression. Although the struggle's outcome was a victory for the teachers' trade union movement, we have to remain vigilant and show our determination to resume the struggle for the preservation of our gains.

When the Quebec teachers launched their fight, the Quebec government wanted to impose a heavy burden on them, to the deteriment of the quality of education; to restrict the teachers' autonomy in their work in order to prevent them from informing tomorrow's citizens, today's students, of the real situation, the risks of the capitalist system and the burden it places on the workers' shoulders; to reduce job security and to withdraw or reduce the expenses allowance in order to make the teachers contribute more towards the affairs of the State. This would have enabled the government to reduce the taxes on profits of enterprises.

It can be clearly seen that private companies, mainly transnational corporations are continuously lobbying and blackmailing the government in order to increase their profits by all possible means. These profits are qualified as excessive by the leading personalities of the capitalist system. Let me remind you of the remarks made by President Carter who intimated, not so very long ago, that the oil companies took improper advantage of the privileges conferred on them by the capitalist system. The situation must be really scandalous if the king of the hawks deigns to stammer or murmur a public reproach.

Our governments do not hesitate to reduce the budget in sectors most in demand. In Quebec, the government launched a propaganda campaign to convince the population that the education of children with learning difficulties must be reformed. We cannot oppose a reform which would improve the service for this category of children. However, the government tried to impose a reform plan with the aim of reducing resources and abolishing these essential services for this sector of the population. Briefly, they want to take every opportunity and use all possible pretext to deprive the workers of the gains won during years of hard struggle.

The agents of our governments are trying to initiate and invent all kinds of measures and counter-reforms in order to save money to the detriment of workers. Beyond local struggles which must be successfully waged, there is a need for all workers throughout the world to inform each other of their situation. Solidarity of the world's workers is necessary to counter and thwart the efforts of the oppressors, whether private employers or the State.»

UNITED STATES

Great victory won by the workers of the J.P. Stevens factories after 17 years of struggle

Three thousand two hundred employees of the J. P. Stevens textile factory at Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, recently concluded their first collective agreement with the management. This is a victory which may be defined as «historical» since the signature of this agreement was preceded by 17 years of trade union struggle.

The factories J. P. Stevens, one of the most important textile manufacturers in the South of the USA which employs over 32,000 workers in 80 undertakings, have always opposed the organisation of their employees in the textile and garment workers' trade union.

The battle fought since the 'sixties by J. P. Stevens employees has become symbolic.

The agreement signed by the workers' representatives and the management provides for a retroactive 8.5% rise in hourly wages. Moreover, the management of J. P. Stevens has promised that they will no longer hinder shop stewards in their work and have undertaken provision of adequate medical coverage and proper retirement pensions for the workers, an important gain in a country which has no compulsory social security system.

On their part, the trade union has agreed to end the boycott of the J. P. Stevens production plants which they ordered their members to observe.

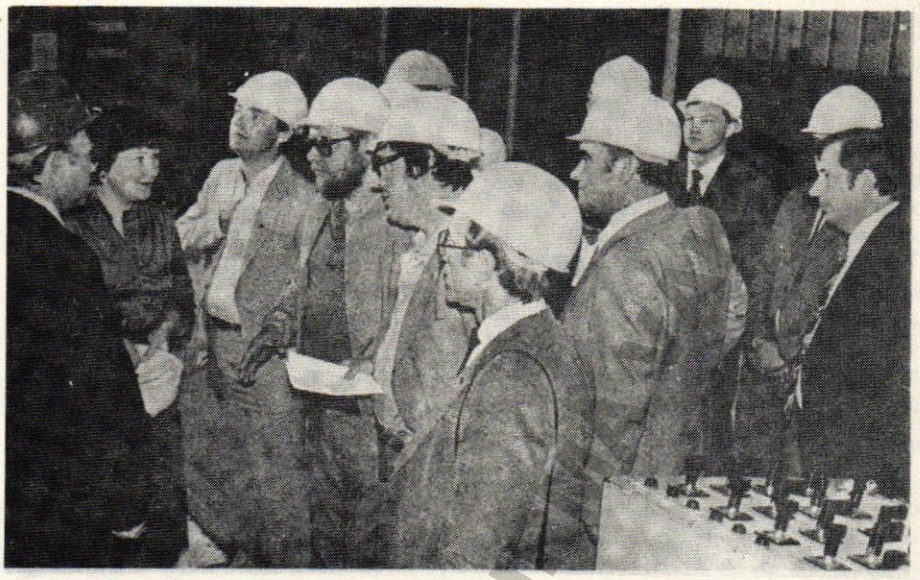
It can be foreseen that this important victory by the American workers will certainly give rise to similar movements throughout the US textile industry, where only 15% of all employees are organised.

□

TURKISH SOLIDARITY ASSOCIATION

SOVIET-FRENCH SEMINAR AT THE «KRIVOROJSTAL» FACTORY IN UKRAINE

A Soviet-French seminar on the subject «The rights of the trade union organisation in a metallurgical enterprise» was recently held at a Soviet metallurgical factory in Krivoi-Rog in Ukraine. The purpose of the seminar, the first of this kind, attended by a French delegation from the «Usinor-Dunkerque» factory and a delegation from the Krivoj-Rog factory, was the consolidation of friendship and solidarity between the two working classes and provided a good opportunity for them to promote fraternal cooperation. The French delegation from the «Usinor-Dunkerque» factory was comprised of brothers Dominique Ducret, Secretary of the factory trade union organisation, Claude Bernard, welder, assistant secretary of the enterprise committee, and Jean Devillard, foreman in the maintenance of electro-mechanical equipment, all members of the French CGT. The seminar was also attended by I. Kostukov, President of the Central Committee of the Union of Workers in the Metallurgical Industry of the USSR and André Sainjon, General Secretary of the Federation of Workers in the Metallurgical Industry (CGT). Brother Parchin, President of the City Committee of the Union of Workers in the Metallurgical Industry addressed the seminar and gave information about the enterprise and its working and organisational methods, its trade union activities, its health and social security scheme, its equipment, the organisation of the workers' and their families' leisure and rest and about its immediate and future objectives. In conclusion, brother Parchin said: «Our French brothers' visit to the «Krivorojstal» factory here in Ukraine will doubtlessly be beneficial for both parties and will serve as a further reinforcement of cooperation between the Soviet and French metalworkers».



The delegation during its visit to the factory (from left to right): A. Sainjon, D. Ducrot, C. Bernard et J. Devillers.

Rights won in the struggle

In reply to Parchin's speech, Dominique Ducro, Secretary of the factory trade union organisation (CGT) said: «Everything that we saw here is of invaluable interest for us, French workers. On our part, we should like to tell you about our worries and preoccupations. I must say frankly that we are astounded by the many rights enjoyed by the Soviet trade unions, since nothing like it exists in our country. Just one concrete example: As late as 1968, after a most relentless struggle lasting one-and-a-half months, we won the right to set up trade union organisations within enterprises.»

He then described the situation prevailing in France in particular and in the capitalist countries in general, characterised by a sharpening of the economic crisis whose consequences are borne by the workers, and the difficult, courageous and consistent struggles waged by the CGT in firm and steady defence of the workers' interests.

«The French trade union movement», he continued, «is preparing for new battles. The workers of the «Usinor-Dunkerque» are also preparing for them. In fact, in an attempt to bolster up the price of metallurgical products in the conditions of crisis, the leaders of the European Community are planning a 10% reduction of metallurgical production and this will not fail to particularly affect French metallurgy. We also know of plans to reduce our factory's production. In this connection a partial reduction of manpower by dismissals and short-time working for a great many workers (with an inevitable loss of pay), is planned regardless of what we think about it. This means that we have only one alternative: to fight».

Adequate living and working conditions

On behalf of the factory committee, its chairman, Brother G. Brainik, spoke about the tasks of the factory union and, particularly, its participation in drafting plans for the improvement of working conditions, the social promotion of the collective and control of the implementation of these plans. He said: «Last year the factory earmarked two million roubles for the improvement of labour safety alone. This year it spent the same amount for the same thing.»

He then emphasised the great attention paid by the trade union organisation of «Krivorojstal» to the organisation of the workers' and their families' leisure activities and rest. He said that the enterprise's sanatoria, rest homes, boarding houses and tourist centres cater for seven to seven and a half thousand persons every year. In order to improve health and social services, a prevention-sanatorium had been opened, where 350-400 persons per month can relax and are given high quality treatment in winter, while in summer it is used by children. In addition to the sanatorium, an out-of-town centre caters for thousands of tourists in summer, and every year 4,600 workers' children spend their holidays in pioneer camps.

Loyal witnesses

Conveying his impressions about the French delegation's visit, Claude Bernard, active trade unionist, member of the CGT, said: «We have seen for ourselves the great efforts made by the trade union and the management of the «Krivorojstal» factory to provide adequate housing and appropriate leisure pursuits for the workers. In France, he said, employers are interested merely in production. All other problems, such as housing, culture and leisure, are of no interest to them. According to current legislation, an enterprise committee exists in the factory, made up of representatives elected by the personnel and representatives of the management. According to its statute, this committee is supposed to take an active part in the enterprise's economic, social and cultural life. Economic questions are, however, solved without our assistance. With the means allotted to it the committee cannot do anything connected with culture or social problems. In spite of this, we are doing much to help our workers organise their rest and leisure. This year, for instance, we succeeded in helping 500 families to organise their summer vacation. Several hundred children spent their holidays in holiday colonies. This is all, apart from several trips.

We, active members of the CGT, are well aware that only political changes can bring real changes in our lives. I believe that it is not just by chance that French bourgeois propaganda is pursuing its anti-Soviet campaign with the aim of disparaging everything that happens in the USSR. They are trying to make the French people believe in the possibility of war with the Soviet Union.»

«In conclusion, Claude Bernard said: «In Dunkirk we shall certainly discuss everything we have seen in the Soviet Union. It is a great country. I congratulate you on the great progress which you have achieved.»

FAO
12th Regional Conference for Europe

The Food and Agricultural Organisation of the United Nations (FAO) held its 12th Regional Conference for Europe in Athens, 22-27 September 1980. Among the main items on the agenda were: the review and follow-up in the region of initiatives arising from the Programme of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (WCARRD), the regional implications of international action to strengthen World Food Security and agricultural manpower problems and policies in the European region.

There was a joint WFTU/TUI delegation present at the Conference composed of comrade G. Laugier, Secretary-General of the TUI of Agriculture, and comrade Z. Indruchová, member of the IGO Department of the WFTU.

Speaking on behalf of the WFTU and the TUI's of Agriculture and Food, comrade G. Laugier gave a thorough analysis of the situation and the consequences of the policy in direction of the labour force in agriculture as an expression of the crisis affecting Western Europe in comparison with the results and progress achieved in Eastern Europe. He further stressed the implementation of a new international economic order as an indispensable precondition for the development of agriculture and rural areas with genuine agrarian reforms being the keystone. As for the WCARRD, the WFTU and its respective TUIs have placed certain reservations and criticism on the Programme of Action of WCARRD, nevertheless they appreciated its positive feature as being an essential contribution to the implementation of indispensable land reforms. In this process, the workers and their trade unions are to play a determinant part, requiring the recognition of the right to associate in unions and respect for trade union rights and freedoms. The governments must, therefore, ratify and implement ILO Convention No. 141 and Recommendation No. 149 on the Role and Participation of Workers in the Economic and Social Development. To conclude, comrade Laugier called for further and more efficient cooperation between the FAO and trade unions in favour of agricultural workers the world over.

The European Conference is the only FAO Regional Conference which deals more thoroughly with world problems than with regional ones. That is why the final report, adopted by the 12th Regional Conference for Europe, expresses among other aspects deep concern at the continuing deterioration of food supplies in the developing countries and recognises that the solution of the problem lies in a substantial increase in agricultural production within the developing countries themselves, and, in the meantime, of an increase in the food assistance given by the developed countries. Mention was also made of the FAO resolution establishing a World Food Day, the first of which will be celebrated on October 16, 1981, drawing attention to the world food problems. People's participation, the creation of effective rural workers' organisations and the need for them to play a primary role in agrarian reform and rural development were also stressed.

The Turkish military junta «consolidates» its order.

AGAINST ARBITRARY MEASURES IN TURKEY

COMPLAINT BY THE WFTU SECRETARIAT TO THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL OF THE ILO

Brother Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary of the WFTU, recently sent Mr. Francis Blanchard, Director-General of the ILO, a further complaint against the Turkish government under the terms of article 24 of the ILO Constitution and with reference to the organisation's letter concerning this matter, dated February 4, 1980. The recent letter denounces the arbitrary measures introduced by the Turkish military junta immediately after the coup d'Etat, which prohibit the functioning of the country's democratic organisations, including trade union organisations. (Banning the DISK; confiscation of financial means and provident funds deposited in banks; the detention of many active trade unionists and leaders; torture which caused the death of brother Ahmet Hilmi Feyzioglu, legal adviser of the Maden-Is and main representative of the Turkish Peace Committee; the military authorities' warrant to search, concerning over 2,500 leaders and active members of the DISK, among them the President of DISK, brother Abdulahh Basturk, General Secretary Fahmi Isiklar, and members of the DISK Executive Committee Riza Guven and Mukbil Zitiloglu; suspension of the federation Turk-Is; the junta's ban on strikes, more especially the strike of 60,000 workers in the iron and steel industry, the textile and glass industries).

Brother I. Zakaria qualified the present situation in Turkey as being an unprecedented flagrant violation of Convention No. 98 concerning the application of the right of association and collective bargaining, ratified by the Turkish government, and asked the Director-General to examine the possibility of sending an inquiry commission to Turkey, entrusted with inquiring on the spot into the harsh treatment of trade unionists by the Turkish authorities which, in his opinion, reflects a hostile attitude not only towards the Conventions adopted by International Labour Conferences, but also towards the most fundamental principles of the ILO.

ARŞİV ÇALIŞMALARI

FRANCE

On 16th October the managerial staff members of the CGT- UGICT say: enough!

CGT General Secretary Georges Séguy speaking at the great demonstration of the EMTS in Paris.

Some 20,000 managerial staff from all corners of France demonstrated, on October 16 in the Paris streets, following a call by the CGT and UGICT. Despite the boycott by the mass media and individual pressures brought to bear by employers, this day of protest by engineers, technicians and foremen was an unprecedented event in France's social life.

By demonstrating their opposition to the questioning of their functions and statutes at the enterprise, to attempts to reduce managerial staff to the role of conveyor-belts, merely transmitting the employers' desires, but also to economic disorder and the squandering and the selling off of national interests, the engineers, technicians and foremen showed that they will not allow themselves to be the keystone for the implementation of the new policy of French employers at the enterprise, as F. Ceyrac would like them to be.

Addressing the rally of the EMTs, General Secretary of UGICT René le Guen said that managerial staff are also affected by the consequences of the present economic and social policy in France (unemployment, disqualification, authoritarian behaviour). They refuse today to succumb to a «feeling of uneasiness» and are gradually joining trade union action and the struggle in support of demands.

René le Guen pointed out: **«This does not restrict the managerial workers' demands and preoccupations to their category only and reveals the reality and requirement for the convergence of concern and actions with other categories of workers**

The action in support of demands is not a dogma,» the General Secretary of UGICT said in conclusion, **«it is the way enabling the EMTs to establish their rightful place in the national community, and by defending their dignity and their occupational aspirations, to relegate to the past the image of being technocrats, privileged through their knowledge and competence, and to open, for the future, the image of a fully-fledged worker devoting his cooperation, his competence and his knowledge to changes desired by all workers.»**

George Séguy, General Secretary of the CGT, said that the great demonstration of engineers, technicians and foremen **«helps to enhance the entire trade union struggle in our country. It is, in fact, a factor of confidence in the outcome of developing struggles. In fact,»** he said, **«it is a matter of importance for workers and salaried employees to know that a growing number of managerial workers turn a deaf ear to employers who would like to keep them apart from other workers and turn them into their accomplices in social conflicts or at least to neutralise them.»**

ITALY

A compromise puts an end to the strike at FIAT

The struggle of many thousands of workers at the FIAT works, the most difficult one waged at the national level during the last few years, came to an end after a compromise was negotiated between the unions and the management of the giant of the Italian automobile industry.

The six weeks of struggle were difficult for the FIAT workers despite the great solidarity movement supporting them. In fact, the strike in wages alone cost the workers some 50,000 million lire (almost 60 million US dollars). Since FIAT is the economic mainstay of the Piemont region (with a population of 4,600,000), the whole population suffered severe hardship from the dispute. The workers' courageous struggle against the mass dismissals decreed by the FIAT employers, encountered various manoeuvres aimed at dividing the workers by taking the advantage during this hard economic battle.

There were signs that the workers were getting exasperated. The management had in fact succeeded in staging a demonstration by some thousands of persons, mostly managerial staff, salaried employees and even workers who were at the end of their patience and in favour of resuming work. Under these circumstances there was imminent danger of the struggle turning into a battle against the determined «vanguard» who were in the minority. To continue the struggle under these conditions might have resulted in insuperable divisions.

Under these circumstances the united trade union federation (CGIL-CISL-UIL) entered into negotiations to end the strike by signing an agreement not unanimously approved by all striking workers.
Nevertheless, the compromise reached is not completely negative. It establishes the FIAT management's concessions on two essential points: they have waived their plan for mass dismissals and have recognised the role of the trade union. The union is to keep control over measures for the reduction of personnel. 23,000 persons are temporarily laid off but will be gradually reinstated until December 31, 1981. In the meantime, they will be looked after by the «Cassa d'integrazione», a provident fund which will pay them 93% of their wages.

Thus the FIAT management did not succeed in imposing its dictate: to dismiss workers without rendering satisfactory reasons for the dismissals, and from this point of view, it is the defeated party in this conflict.

VIETNAM
The trade unions and the younger generation

The preamble to the Decree concerning protection, the care for and the education of children says: «Children are a source of happiness for the family, the future of the country, the generation which will carry on the work of the ancestors, they will assume all tasks in the construction and defence of the socialist homeland.» This also means that in Vietnam the protection, the care for and the education of children is not only a primary aspect of state policy, but also an important task for every person, for the family, for the school and for society.

Last year, the International Year of the Child, various trade union bodies, in conjunction with the population throughout the country, made great efforts to make an effective contribution to this endeavour. Various emulation movements were launched and were warmly received by workers and salaried employees: «one working day», a «product from every unit for children», «planting a tree, breeding a domestic animal» (poultry, pig) for a nursery or kindergarten. Various forms of activity appeared in many enterprises such as: sponsorships of nurseries or kindergartens, the manufacture or collection of toys, etc. Many trade unions donated money from enterprise funds (funds earmarked for collective advantages) to provide additional equipment for nurseries and kindergartens and for organising games for children. The Trade Union Federation donated one million dongs for this purpose. 13,226 children were sent to holiday hostels; and more than one million children from large families received financial subsidies.

These efforts by trade union organisations, added to those of the entire population, helped to partly attenuate the great suffering caused by the war of aggression unleashed by the Chinese expansionists.

COORDINATING EDUCATION BETWEEN THE FAMILY, THE SCHOOL AND SOCIETY

Despite the fact that the SRV is now facing enormous economic difficulties, children are given all that is best, and everything is being done so that they can become masters of the future, new men, capable of building and defending the socialist homeland. In order to achieve this they must be protected, cared for and educated, beginning in their childhood, from the time they attend the nursery and kindergarten.

In order to have workers with a high political awareness, a high cultural, technical and professional standard, a young generation capable of worthily carrying on the work of the older people, it is necessary for the trade union organisation to pay the utmost attention to the care of and education of children.

In order to accomplish this task the trade unions must organise nurseries and kindergartens efficiently and train contingents of specialists in infant welfare with a solid professional knowledge. Factories can become sponsors to schools providing general education in order to create such conditions for the pupils which will enable them to combine study with productive work and, gradually, to get acquainted with the style of work in industry. This will provide the opportunity for children to become familiar with the revolutionary traditions of the working class, and on this basis, to form an affection for the factory, to wish to become a worker, a member of the vanguard class.

Soviet and Hungarian trade unions express their solidarity with Algeria

The earthquake by which the Algerian town Al Asnam, situated 170 km to the south-west of Algiers, was heavily affected on October 10, and which has caused many thousands of deaths and seriously injured, and caused considerable damage, gives rise to a continuously growing movement of international solidarity. Aid from the whole world flows to Algiers. In response to the WFTU appeal, our affiliated organisations also express their solidarity with our Algerian brothers. For example, the Soviet trade unions have sent them great quantities of medicines worth 5,000 roubles, 5,000 square metres of cotton material, one ton of rice, one ton of sugar and 100 camping tents. Moreover, the Hungarian Trade Unions have sent 2,500,000 forints worth of blankets, tents and provisions.

EEC
Incomes will decline in 1981
A very high rate of unemployment and inflation

The annual economic report (1980-1981) of the European Economic Community forecasts extremely gloomy prospects for the coming year. Above all, it again recommends a moderation in workers' incomes and states that «wages should even be reduced to a certain extent».

While the number of unemployed has for the first time exceeded the 7-million mark in September in the Common Market countries (7.1 million), the European Commission's report forecasts that the rate of unemployment will reach 6.8% of the population in 1981 as against 6% in 1980. The growth rate should slow down and drop from +1.3% this year to +0.8% next year. However, inflation is expected to stay at a very high level.

The report stresses that the decrease in business registered at the beginning of 1980 was the consequence of the reduction of popular consumption due to the steep price increase and yet «recommends» that the powers that be carry on in the same vein. The states are not to make any efforts during the future period to bolster consumption and social expenditure or help enterprises in difficulties. According to the Commission, priority should be given to «gilt-edged» investments by applying the famous battlements policy which consists of favouring activities and enterprises in the best position to make maximum profits at a given time.

Flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

No 1-2 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 January 12, 1981

6. sayfada DISK 44. yazı

WFTU SUPPORTS UN PROCLAMATION OF 1980s AS DECADE FOR DISARMAMENT

The United Nations has proclaimed the 1980s as the Disarmament Decade as well, supplementing its decision on the Third Development Decade (1981-90). The World Federation of Trade Unions fully supports this UN proclamation, since there can be no real development without disarmament, and no social progress without stopping the arms race.

The working people in every country have a basic human right to a world at peace and to rising standards for all in every sphere of human activity and, in national and international economies, for achievement of goals and services designed for human needs and betterment, full employment and social, economic, educational and health protection and advancement. Therefore the working people and trade unions of all continents are linking their struggles for further economic development, for justice and social progress, against the consequences of the crisis of the capitalist countries, against the transnational corporations and for the respect of trade union rights, with the struggle to end the military build-up, for détente and disarmament.

The development of the international situation confirms the desirability of resuming top level dialogue on the most important problems of international relations. In this respect the WFTU, its national centres and many other trade union organisations highly appreciate the proposal of the Warsaw Treaty member states of May 15, 1980, to convene a summit meeting with the participation of state leaders from all regions of the world, to concentrate on ways of extinguishing hotbeds of tension and the threat of war.

Also the proposal of convening a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe is of the utmost importance. The Madrid meeting should determine the site, date and procedure as well as the main objectives of the conference, which should open an important new stage in the process launched in Helsinki of strengthening security, disarmament and détente and creating a zone of peace and security in Europe.

Equally urgent is the immediate need to work towards the UN Declaration in favour of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean region, for an end to the military build-up by the US and its allies in the region and the liquidation of nuclear and other military bases in Diego Garcia, etc.

There is every reason for confidence and optimism. The world-wide condemnation of the arms race, the mass movement of all peace-loving forces, working people and trade unions, women, youth, students and other organisations against the danger of war have now reached new dimensions.

It is high time trade union organisations of different tendencies and orientations make every effort to promote disarmament and the diversion of the sums spent on arms to meet the economic and social demands of peoples. Fruitful cooperation among trade unions at national and international level is an essential and powerful instrument in the fight for genuine further progress in the field of military détente, disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe and in the whole world.

That is why the World Federation of Trade Unions strongly supports the results of the World Parliament of Peoples for Peace in Sofia and, especially, the Declaration of the Round Table of Trade Unionists to all working people and their organisations to take all the necessary steps for convening a special World Trade Union Conference on the Social and Economic Aspects of Disarmament.

It is our duty to act together to achieve these urgent objectives: To prevent the implementation of the NATO plan to deploy more nuclear missiles in Western Europe; the peoples interests demand that the billions intended for this purpose be used to create new jobs and reduce unemployment, to reduce taxes, to launch a struggle against inflation, to raise pensions, unemployment benefits and other social benefits and allowances, to raise wages and eliminate wage inequalities, to improve educational and public health services and to carry out other social reforms. To act together to oppose the escalation of the arms race, to seek together ways to save peace and consolidate détente in Europe and in the whole world.

Let us act together in the name of present and future peace!

— billions for jobs and social progress and not for arms race and war

TÜRKİYE SENDİKALAR KONFEDERASYONU ARŞİVİ

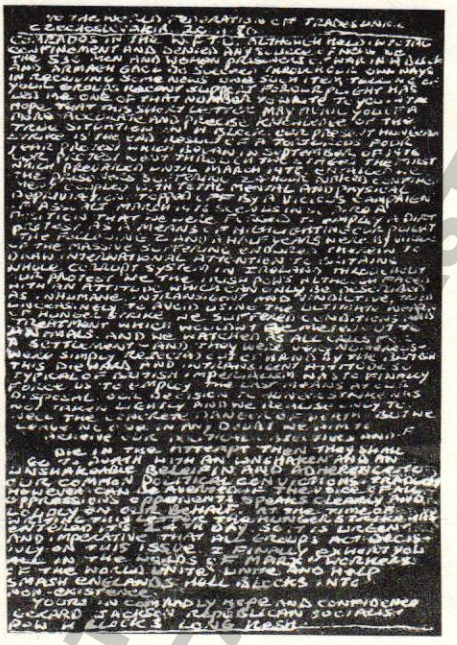
PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

Message sent to the WFTU by the prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh prisons in Northern Ireland

A few days after the Irish prisoners in the Maze and Armagh jails, who had been arrested without evidence and sentenced by Diplock no-jury courts and who demanded recognition as political prisoners, gave up their hunger strike, a message arrived at WFTU headquarters, which we publish in full.

TO THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

20/11/80



This is a smuggled communication from the H-Blocks of Long Kesh addressed to you from the Republican Prisoners of War.

Comrades in the WFTU. Although held in total confinement and denied any source of news, we the 530 men and women Prisoners of War in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and Armagh Jail do succeed through our own ways in receiving some news. One such item telling of your group's recent support for our plight has led me, one of that number, to write to you. We hope that this short letter may give you a more accurate and precise knowledge of the true situation in H-Blocks. Our present hunger strike is the end result of a tortuous four-year protest which began in September 1976.

Our protest went through two stages. The first which prevailed until March 1978 entailed the prisoners suffering 24-hour naked confinement coupled with total mental and physical deprivation culminating with a vicious campaign of assault. March 1978 saw us in so dire a situation that we were forced to employ a no-wash protest as a means of highlighting our plight. In the following two and a half years we, by virtue of the massive suffering endured therin drew international attention to Britain's corrupt system in Ireland. Throughout our protests we, the Irish Prisoners of War, faced with an attitude which can only be described as inhumane, intransigent and vindicative, tried unceasingly to avoid using the ultimate weapon of the hunger strike. We suffered treatment and conditions which would not be meted out to animals. And we watched, as calls for a settlement were simply rejected out of hand by the British.

This die-hard and intransigent attitude, so typical of British imperialism, was to finally force us to take the last means at our disposal. Our decision to go on hunger strike was not taken lightly and we realise only too well the concrete danger of death. But we leave no-one in any doubt, we aim to achieve political status and if some die in the attempt then they shall go to death with an unbroken and unshakable belief in and adherence to our common political convictions.

Tragedy, however, can be averted if the voices of all oppression's opponents speak clearly and vocally on our behalf. At the time of writing this letter the hunger strike has entered its 26th day, so it is urgent and imperative that all groups act decisively on this issue.

Finally, I exhort you all in the words of Marx, «WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE», unite and help smash England's HELL-BLOCKS into non-existence.

Yours in comradely hope and confidence.

Havoc in Belgium

Certainly one of the most fervent wishes for the New Year 1981, and this goes for all spheres of economic life, was that the car assembly sector in Belgium be preserved, that its workers keep their employment and that new jobs be created for the half a million people, at least, who are in one way or another affected by the crisis of the capitalist system.

Ford-Tractor in Antwerp moved one of its assembly line processes to Great Britain, then remployment was threatened at the Genk Division of Ford. A thousand million Belgium francs investments are foreseen for this division — with the assistance, tax relief and other support from the government. This money will, however, be only used to rationalise production, i.e. to do away with hundreds and perhaps thousands of jobs. Already between the end of 1979 and the end of October 1980 this division axed over 700 jobs. This clearly suggests just exactly what is in store for this American multinational at its Limbourg factory. Then followed the sudden winding up, in three hours, of the Forest (Brussesl) Division of the French multinational Peugeot-Citroën.

Finally, came the last blow, the blackmail organised by the leading French car manufacturers, the Régie Renault. A thousand million Belgium francs will be invested at Haren-Vilvorde, if the Belgian government decides to stop the import of Japanese automobiles.

Leaving aside small-scale Belgian manufacturers, there remain only seven big enterprises in the automobile industry. Citroën has disappeared, jobs are threatened at both Ford's and Renault's in Haren-Vilvorde and the outlook for British Leyland is not very rosy either.

Whose fault is it? In the opinion of the bosses who are supported by the government and the mouthpieces of the official mass media, it is the fault of the labour world — that is, of the workers and of high wages. But were the workers to earn more, they could also spend more — and thus buy more cars. And what of the Japanese competitors who give such big headaches to the bosses in the automobile industry? They have made the best of the free and easy situation. While American and West European car manufacturers were content with realising substantial profits, requiring only slight changes in their factories and car models, the Japanese were building modern enterprises that can produce many cars at small cost. The Americans and West Europeans are faced with an obvious dilemma — modernise or perish.

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ PARTİSİ ARŞİVİ

Simon REYES speaks about the resistance of his people

Recently released from the jails of the fascist generals who have forcefully taken over power in Bolivia, Simon Reyes — leader of the Miners' Federation and of the Bolivian Workers' Centre — gave an interview to the weekly "Humanité Dimanche". We publish this interview, convinced that the testimony of Simon Reyes will give a new impetus to the international solidarity movement, of which the WFTU was one of the first and chief instigators, for freedom and the respect of human rights in Bolivia. The release of Simon Reyes marks the first success of this solidarity movement. It will significantly encourage further actions of solidarity, which the Bolivian workers and people still badly need.

The Bolivian trade union leader today is thousands of kilometres from his homeland. The fascist generals in La Paz could not cut him off from his people and the struggle... Simon, a communist and leader of the Miners' Federation and of the Bolivian Workers' Centre — BWC, was arrested on July 17 the day of Garcia Meza's fascist putsch. He was tortured... He won't say a world about his sufferings. Modesty. He does not want to take for himself the suffering of an entire people. He wishes to face the present, although he cannot forget the brutality which has left its marks — broken teeth, fractured ribs. He wants to fight.

«Mines over 800 metres deep. No machinery. The high altitude — the mines are sited at 4,500 to 5,000 metres — make living and working conditions atrocious. Accidents. Silicosis (a typical mining disease), with TB complications; over 20,000 miners have occupational diseases. Only the most elementary medical care. On the average, miners' families have seven members. How can they live on a daily wage of three dollars? Bad food and precarious housing — two rooms per family — are the rule. Purchases, which usually can only be made at «la pulperia» — a shop belonging to the mine — take the whole wage. People must work at least twelve hours a day to earn some cash.

There are 65,000 miners in Bolivia, of whom 45,000 are wage-earners. All big mines were nationalised in 1952.»

A country's wealth, but encroaching poverty for the working class, for the entire people. Three letters — BWC — are symbols of the struggle for the workers.

«The BWC was founded in 1952. For the first time, a single centre brought together the working class — primarily the miners — and the other workers — employees, intellectuals, teachers, students etc. From the outset, a prominent feature of the BWC was that while it took up the defence of the world of labour, it brought up and discussed outstanding political problems. Thanks to the BWC it was possible to obtain in 1952, among other things, the nationalisation of the mines, land reform and universal suffrage.

In 1964, at the time of the installation of general Barrientos' dictatorship, the BWC was the stimulant and level of popular resistance. This attitude has remained a constant feature of the BWC throughout its history. The first target of every dictatorship was always the BWC. And their first concern: to have the troops intervene in the mining centres. These are today the vanguard of all struggles. 80% of the country's exports come from mining. The influence of the union is decisive.

At the time of the coup d'Etat on July 17, the miners once more demonstrated what they could do.

A general strike began lasting a fortnight. Despite the intervention of the army. Despite the massacres, as in Caracoles.»

The resistance goes on?

«On July 17, the military decapitated the BWC. They took over and destroyed independent broadcasting stations and reduced to silence the country's main democratic forces. Yet a large part of the Centre's officers are still in the country.

In November, the BWC warned the junta that it would organise a 48-hour strike, should there be a fifty-percent devaluation of the peso that would inevitably double the cost of living. Participating in the struggle alongside the BWC are the political parties, which formed the Popular Democratic Union that won the last election — the Left MNR, MIR and the Bolivian Communist Party. Actually, Garcia Meza made his putsch to annul this democratic victory. A special place belongs to the Committees for the defence of democracy, in which we find — in very broad unity — the BWC, democratic parties, representatives of associations for human rights and the Catholic and Protestant Church. I should like to stress that, on the whole, the position of the episcopate is most positive.»

Last month Garcia Meza boasted that he had released all political prisoners.

«Our information totally invalidates this claim. The repressive apparatus remains. The population must keep to a curfew and is continuously being harassed by the armed forces. House searches without warrants are a daily occurrence. People are arrested without explanation and held without trial in places only known to the military. No list of prisoners is available.»

What are the aims of the struggle and the prospects?

The primary demand of the Bolivian workers and people is the restoration of the democratic process; the restoration of all liberties; the release of the prisoners.

The alternative to fascism is democracy. At least for the time being nobody is thinking about new elections. The Communist Party calls on the Bolivian people to defend itself. Depending on the scope and forms of the resistance, all means of struggle may be considered possible.

Is the junta still internationally isolated? What is the role of solidarity?

«The dictatorship found open support only in Argentina, which has even granted it credits. Now Garcia Meza stakes all his hopes on Reagan! The attitude of the Andean Pact countries — Colombia, Peru, Ecuador, Venezuela — was instrumental in isolating the La Paz government.

I wish to thank the workers in Europe and France and, in particular, the French Communist Party, for their active solidarity. The delegations of the WFTU, CGT, CFDT, the Association of Democratic Lawyers, the ILO, which were sent to Bolivia, prevented the junta from liquidating the prisoners. And that is not all, the junta was even forced to release some of them. It is essential to continue condemning repression, to put strong pressure on western governments to prevent them from establishing relations with this odious dictatorship. It is necessary to carry on the provision of humanitarian aid to the prisoners, persecuted persons and their families.

The release of some prisoners proved the worth of solidarity. It can also play an important role in the return of democracy to Bolivia.»

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA

MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE TUI COMMERCE

At the end of 1980, an extended meeting of the Executive Bureau of the Commerce TUI was held in Bucarest, Rumania. On its agenda were the following points:

— Assessment of the 6th International Trade Conference, held in July 1980 in Budapest;

— Organisational matters;

— The TUI's programme of activities for 1981-84;

— Plan of Work and Budget for 1981;

— Preparations for the 8th session of the ILO Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers — Geneva, 13-22 January, 1981.

After discussion, the Executive Bureau decided to:

a) express its high appreciation of the preparation, organisation and the covening of the 6th International Trade Conference, as well as of the content of the documents presented to the Conference and approved by it;

b) adopt the draft programme of the TUI's activities for 1981-84, as well as the plan of work and the budget for 1981, which will be submitted for approval to the 30th session of the Administrative Committee;

c) approve the TUI delegation to the 8th session of the ILO Advisory Committee on Salaried Employees and Professional Workers that will take place in Geneva from January 13 to 22, 1981;

d) approve brother Ilie Frunza, Vice-President of the Rumanian Association of Trade Unions of Workers in Commerce and Consumer Cooperatives as General Secretary of the Commerce TUI, to replace brother Adam Ghertinisan;

e) convene the 30th session of the TUI's Administrative Committee in Sofia, Bulgaria, with the following agenda:

1. Hours of work and opening hours in commerce

The Bureau proposed that Administrative Committee members from the GDR, Cyprus, P.R. of the Congo, Nigeria, Cuba, Chile, PDR of Korea and Syria should prepare and present introductory reports to the discussion;

2. Programme of activities for 1981-1984:

— Plan of work and Budget of the TUI for 1981;

— Auditors' Report.

f) express the TUI's solidarity with the difficult struggle of Turkish workers in commerce; send a message to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, now meeting in Madrid, to defend peace and enforce disarmament.

The extended Executive Bureau presented a letter of thanks to brother Adam Ghertinisan, on the occasion of his departure, in appreciation of his excellent work during his eleven years as General Secretary of the Commerce TUI.

The participants approved a call, in which they voice their deep concern in the face of the worsening social and political situation of workers in commerce and of the entire Turkish working class and the imprisonment of their trade union leaders by the military in power; they declare their full solidarity with their struggle for trade union rights and freedoms, the restoration of democratic rights and the creation of a favourable atmosphere for the economic and social progress of the Turkish working class. They urgently call on the workers in commerce and their unions the world over to intercede, by all means at their disposal, in a vast solidarity campaign for the improvement of the present economic, social and political situation of Turkish workers in commerce and in other branches of the economy, and for the release of trade union leaders now detained on suspicion.

Finally, they sent a telegram to the participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, meeting in Madrid, asking them to do their utmost to ensure an atmosphere of confidence and cooperation in Europe, for security, détente, peace and a better and more just world, in which the peoples can develop in freedom and independence.

Training course for trade union cadres in Algiers

In November-December 1980 the Arab Labour Institute in Algiers organised a one-month training course for trade union cadres from the Arab world. It was intended mainly for trade unionists from postal, telegraph and telephone services. 20 trade unionists from seven Arab countries took part in the course, which analysed various questions related to trade union activities, as well as with other subjects concerning the national and international trade union movement, trade union rights, problems of employment, working conditions and safety. The participants also discussed the international economic situation and its effect on the developing countries.

Anton Hanna, from the WFTU, was asked to give two lectures on November 19. The first was on «Transnational corporations in telecommunications and their effect on the developing countries», the second on «The history of the Arab trade union movement».

The participants in the training course also presented some interesting papers on the present situation of the national trade union organisations in their respective countries.

TUNISIA
The convening of the UGTT postponed

The next UGTT congress that was to sanction the restoration of trade union activity in Tunisia, which ceased after the «black Thursday» — 26th January 1973 — riots will not take place, it was announced on 20 January.

It has been postponed because of various difficulties, which have cropped up at meetings of local branches, federations and regional unions which elect congress delegates.

These meetings have, in fact, revealed that in the regional and enterprise organisations there is practically no sign of the understanding that exists, at least on the surface, between the representatives of the former legitimate leadership of the UGTT and the team put in its place by the government after the «black Thursday».

A number of facts tend to indicate that the reorganisation of the Tunisian trade union centre is not proceeding freely and democratically, despite the government's assurances. It seems that some local authorities and, in particular, enterprise managements still exert pressure on the workers during the election of congress delegates. The bosses who, for several years, have had an almost entirely free hand, would prefer to forcefully postpone the renewal of free trade union activities for as long as possible.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

In Nicaragua, the labour movement closes its ranks against reaction

At the 1st Assembly for Unity, under the name of «Carlos Fonseca Amador», the Nicaraguan labour movement condemned the forces of imperialism and of local reaction trying to destabilise the Sandinist people's revolution.

The nine main workers' organisations reached a major agreement on the setting up of an organisation of trade union cooperation. This in itself is a serious blow to the private sector and to the political parties that have recently withdrawn from the State Council in order to destroy the process of national unity.

The workers' forum, convened by the Sandinist Workers' Centre, passed some important resolutions on problems of work. It branded as «forsaking the homeland» the attitude of the parties belonging to the Democratic Movement — the Social Christian, Social Democrat and Democratic Conservative — and of the Supreme Council of Private Sector Enterprises.

The resolution points out that in withdrawing from the State Council these organisations «wanted to provoke an artificial crisis in Nicaragua, solely in the interests of the interventionist plans of somozism, Central American reaction and American imperialism.»

This is why, the resolution continues, the organisation of trade union coordination condemns «the deceitful manoeuvres of local anti-progressive forces in the pay of imperialism and supports the political orientation of the Sandinist Front and the administration of the government junta and the State Council».

This unitary event which for two days towards the end of November brought together over 200 trade union representatives from the whole country, also spelt out the tasks of the workers in the Sandinist revolution.

A resolution on this point indicates that it is up to the workers to raise the level of production and create mechanisms for the control of productivity in order to relaunch the economy and reconstruct the country.

It was also decided to establish a commission, composed of trade union centres and the Ministers of Labour and of Planning, to investigate the nominal wage of the workers.

Agreements were reached about the strengthening of discipline at work and the solution of industrial conflicts without production stoppages.

At present, it is easy to find examples of the manoeuvres used by the transnationals, these tentacles of imperialism, to destabilise the Nicaraguan economy. The evening paper Barricada recently accused the American transnational Standard Fruit of sabotaging the export of Nicaraguan bananas so as to harm the country's economy.

Information from trade union sources, the paper says that fruit exports have been badly reduced to promote the Standard's operations in Ecuador «where it competes with four or five other banana companies».

As an example of this, the paper mentions the fact that the company stopped the sale of 15 thousand crates of bananas to the United States, after the beginning of loading operations.

It adds that Mr. Rizzo, one of the people in charge of the Standard's company in Nicaragua, told his subordinates that «to begin with, no fruit should go out of Nicaragua».

The newspaper states that a few days earlier Mr. Rizzo ordered that 700 crates on the company's premises and in the port of Carinto be destroyed because the fruit was bad, according to him.

USA
The rate of unionisation steadily dropping

It would be difficult to find another country where the rate of unionisation of salaried workers is dropping as rapidly as in the United States.

During the past twenty-five years the membership of American trade unions has been growing very slowly. If considered in proportion to the growth of the labour force, there is a decline from 33.2% to 20%.

«The question for the unions today is to find a means to survive,» declared William Winpisinger, President of the Federation of Aerospace Mecanics and Personnel.

While it is true that the American working class has scored undeniable successes after long years of hard fights against the monopolies, it is also true that daily in that country the most elementary rights of the unions and workers are being grossly violated. A single example: the anti-labour Taft-Hartley Act, which includes a clause hindering the workers from joining a union.

In their fight against the unions, the authorities have recourse to judicial repression, strikebreaking and the dismissal of activists and blacklists.

In addition, of course, there is the general anti-labour attitude of the mass media — they become virulent every time there is a strike or some other serious social conflict.

The present Administration in Washington has on several occasions used the anti-labour laws and threatened to call in the police and National Guard to break the strikes by the miners, railwaymen and others.

The declining unionisation in the United States is, moreover, to a large extent the result of the conciliatory policy of the present AFL-CIO leadership. They have turned this big American trade union centre into yet another wheel of the political machinery that protects the interests of big business.

Actually, the trade union big shots do not try to hide the truth. Thomas Donahue, AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer, declared, without beating about the bush: «As opposed to the labour movement in other countries, the American trade union movement considers itself part of the economic, social and political structure ... In our opinion, the rights of managerial staff, investors, enterprise bosses and shareholders are as genuine and valid as ours.»

The trade union big shots often have common interests with company capitalists. In their salaries they are level with big company managerial staff and they carry out considerable financial operations and speculations. In addition, they actively work with the gangsters.

All this breeds a growing discontent among the mass of American workers. They are right in putting part of the blame for the diminishing standard of living and the cuts in various social programmes, on the betrayal of reactionary trade union leaders, who act as the flunkeys of the monopolies.

AUSTRALIA
ACTU rejects US military bases

The ACTU Executive called on its members to launch the strongest protest against the provision of facilities in Australia for US nuclear armed bombers and submarines.

The resolution of the ACTU Executive states that the trade union movement has a responsibility to promote and develop peace. The extension of facilities to these vessels and aircraft on Australian territory and their potential to carry nuclear weapons — says the resolution — will inevitably have the effect of drawing Australia into a potential world nuclear conflict.

According to a decision of the ACTU Executive, affiliated unions would be asked to place an embargo on US military vessels if they docked in Australian ports or were serviced at other locations.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

TURKEY
The military regime increases its attack on the trade unions

The military coup d'Etat in Turkey of 12 September 1980, which the leading bourgeois information media presented as a «necessary» action to fight anarchy, restore the country's economy, do away with terrorism and bring back order, clearly demonstrates that its supporters are much more — even primarily — concerned with something else: they want to break the democratic movement and make the workers responsible for the crisis which is badly affecting the country.

Immediately after the coup d'Etat, the junta suspended all parliamentary and political activity. The DISK, the Turkish progressive trade union centre with over 600,000 members, was banned, its leaders persecuted and imprisoned. In the enterprises, trade union officers met for the most part, with a similar fate. The 70,000 workers in the metal, textile and glass industries, who were on strike at the time of the military take-over, were forced to suspend their action. At present at least 60,000 people — democrats, trade unionists — languish in gaol.

The news coming out of Turkey is that the workers will not meekly submit to the situation. In most enterprises, especially in those that were fighting at the time of the coup d'Etat, the workers resort to new forms of struggle — refusal to eat in the canteens, strikes of several minutes, etc. — to force the employers into signing collective agreements. In the working class districts of big cities, democratic and trade union forces and organisations are once more beginning to work effectively.

The WFTU, which has firmly condemned the military coup d'Etat, once more calls for a worldwide campaign of active and effective solidarity with the Turkish workers. The campaign should demand the immediate repeal of martial law, the restoration of all trade union rights and democratic freedoms, the abrogation of the ban on the DISK and its members and the immediate release of all imprisoned trade union activists and leaders, of all progressive and democratic persons.

Gross hypocrisy

The trade union newspaper CUPW of Ottawa, Canada, official organ of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers with 20,000 members, attacked, in its October edition, the «gross hypocrisy» of politicians, who loudly proclaim their support for the Polish workers' strike action.

«One of the most instructive aspects of the Polish strike action,» the paper pointed out, «has been the treatment it received from Western politicians...»

Everywhere, the same politicians who have opposed in Canada everything which the Polish workers were trying to achieve, have been applauding the strikers and their methods. Canadian and American politicians, who deny many of their own public sector workers the right to strike, vigorously support the Polish workers' demand for the right to strike and describe the strikers as «heroic». In Canada, the politicians who supported the imprisonment of CUPW President Jean-Claude Parrot, are the very people who, like some elements in the mass media, are not above distorting the issues in Poland.

The strikers have been described as «freedom fighters» fighting against socialism. Ironically, and as the last word in hypocrisy, it is usually these same politicians who are the first to label as «communists and socialists» any Canadian workers who advocate the same demands.

When the CUPW was on strike for a wage increase in 1979, the Tory and Liberal parties in the legislature, bulldozed through a bill, outlawing the strike. The leaders of the union refused to order their members back to work and were immediately arrested. After a year's court fight, the union's President, Jean-Claude Parrot, was forced to serve three months in prison for «contempt of the legislature».

BULGARIA
Trade union activities in a dynamically developing region

The Burgas province in south-western Bulgaria is known, after the victory of the socialist revolution, for its particularly rapid economic development that has completely changed its features. A province that in the past had only small workshops manned by craftsmen, Burgas today — with its 450,000 inhabitants — has modern and diversified industries: a highly specialised mechanical engineering and metallurgy, food and rubber industry — more that 50 industrial enterprises have been created.

Its volume of industrial production places Burgas third in the whole country; together with its other economic sectors it provides over 7% of the national income. The collectivisation of agriculture, its specialisation and the concentration of production into 12 agro-industrial complexes allowed large-scale mechanisation and chemisation, which helped significantly to raise agricultural production.

All this favoured and continuous raising of the standard of living of the workers in the province.

THE ENTERPRISE BELONGS TO US, WE ARE THE BOSSES ...

The trade union organisation in the Burgas province played a significant role in this great process of renewal. Today, the region has 200,000 trade unionists, organised in 870 local branches and 6,223 enterprise groups. Economic committees exist in all the enterprises to encourage the active participation of the workers in production management. Out of the 2,617 members of these economic committees, 1,497 are workers — of this number 769 are women. Through these activities the workers give impetus to one of their fundamental achievements — «the enterprise belongs to us, we are the bosses».

Another outstanding activity of the trade unions is in the field of training. On their initiative, 28 vocational training centres were created in the enterprises, where over 14,500 workers receive their training and improve their skills, while more than 25,000 workers and employees attend «pilot schools», courses and seminars for further training.

With the assistance and participation of trade union bodies the Burgas province has provided 13,636 full-time, 6,244 half-day and 1,037 temporary and summer kindergartens.

The trade unions also significantly help to raise the quality of transport and communal services, the building of houses and flats and the observance of work safety and health standards.

The «secret» of this remarkable success of the trade unions in the Burgas province lies in the genuine links that have been created between the workers and managers. They are a guarantee that the unions will further contribute to the building of an advanced socialist society that will satisfy ever more the needs of the workers.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARŞİVİ VAKFI

Flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

No 8 Vinohradská 10 Prague 2 February 23, 1981

S. 5 'de DISK hk. yazı

Meeting of the Permanent Secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and People of Palestine

The Permanent Secretariat of the International Trade Union Committee of Solidarity with the Workers and People of Palestine held a meeting in Accra from 7 to 8 February 1981 at the invitation of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity. Representatives of the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity (OATUU), the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (ICATU), the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) and the General Federation of Palestinian Trade Unions participated in the meeting.

The Secretariat discussed the current situation of the Palestinian question and hailed the achievements made by the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people in the international arena, which have led to more support for the Palestinian issue, together with an upsurge in the struggle of the Arab masses in Palestine and in the occupied Arab territories against the occupation and racial discrimination. At the same time, the Secretariat underlined the gravity of the situation because of the feverish attempts of Israel, supported by the United States of America, to perpetuate its policy of occupation.

CONTINUED ESCALATION OF ISRAELI REPRESSION AND OPPRESSION

Israel is continuing to confiscate land from the Arab population in order to establish Jewish settlements and to control the hydrological resources. This practice has led to the evacuation of the population and particularly the Arab labour force from their lands.

Recent events have shown the increased Israeli repression and oppression against the Arab workers which have led to the detention of many trade unionists, including the Secretary-Geneal of Trade Unions in the West Bank, Brother Adel Ghanem, and the Chairman of the Printers Union in Nablus, Brother Mahmoud Al-Sharbini. This is in flagrant violation of the International Labour Conventions which call for trade union freedom. Moreover, the Israeli authorities continue in their daily raids and aggressions against the Palestinian camps in the Arab countries and especially in Southern Lebanon.

The Secretariat, in the name of tens of millions of workers all over the world, strongly condemns the recent statement of the President of the United States that his Administration will give unconditional support to Israel and to ensuring a US military presence in the Middle-East. The joint Israeli and US policies are not only a big danger to the Palestinian people and to all the peoples of the area but they are posing a serious danger to world peace and security. Therefore, these policies should be totally condemned by all freedom and peace-loving forces all over the world.

The Secretariat stresses that the capitulationist settlements aim primarily at obliterating the Palestinian question and therefore rejects this kind of settlement and further reaffirms that there will be no solution without recognising the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their homeland and to establish their own independent sovereign state under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organisation.

FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE

The Secretariat has formulated a Programme of Action to mobilise the forces of the world trade union movement to support and continue their solidarity with the workers and people of Palestine. It considers the year 1981 as the year of dedicated cooperation with the African trade union movement. It has agreed to send delegations of the Permanent Secretariat to several African countries to get in touch with the trade union organisations there in order to explain the developments of the Palestinian question and the arbitrary oppressive measures to which the Arab workers in Palestine and the occupied territories are subjected. In addition to this, the delegation will expose the unholy alliance between the two racist regimes of Pretoria and Tel-Aviv which is directed against the people and workers in Africa and the Arab world.

The Secretariat has decided to issue its own periodical which will explain the developments of the Palestinian question from a trade union point of view. It will also expose the racist practices of the occupied forces against the Arab workers and their trade union organisations. It will further explain the real reasons for the establishment of Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories.

The Secretariat took the opportunity of its meeting in Accra to condemn the barbaric raid on the houses of militants of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) in Mozambique by the racists in South Africa. This kind of raid reminds us of the raids carried out by the Israeli forces against the Palestinian camps in Southern Lebanon.

The Secretariat called on all workers and trade union organisations of the world to step up their solidarity actions with the workers and people of Palestine and further urged them to organise weeks of information and solidarity meetings with the Palestinian workers and people.

At the end of its meeting, the Secretariat extended its thanks and gratitude to the Organisation of African Trade Union Unity for hosting the session and for providing it with excellent working conditions.

TÜRK-İŞ SAY Eğitim ARŞİVİ ANKARA

PUBLISHED BY THE WORLD FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS

ESCALATION OF US INTERVENTION IN EL SALVADOR

CALL BY 6th CONGRESS OF CGT OF PERU FOR SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF EL SALVADOR

Despite brutal repression by the military and Christian democrat junta marked by the daily murder of patriots in many parts of the country, guerilla units are stepping up their action against the junta's soldiery. Recently there was violent fighting in the San Miguel region where the forces of repression deployed hundreds of men supported by aircraft and helicopters.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front has stated that in recent weeks direct and indirect intervention by the US in El Salvador is taking on ever greater dimensions. Every day Hercules C-130 aircraft from the United States unload vast quantities of arms in the country. US intervention is actively supported by Guatemala and Honduras. Aircraft from Honduras carry out systematic genocidal raids, especially in the border areas, and hundreds of Guatemalan soldiers were used against patriots from El Salvador in the region of Metapan. Resistance forces have proof that the junta's aircraft and armoured vehicles are commanded by American officers.

In the light of current developments the 6th Congress of the CGTP (General Confederation of Workers of Peru) which met recently in Lima adopted a resolution calling for solidarity with the workers and people of El Salvador.

This document asks all trade union organisations on the American continent and all over the world to demonstrate their support for and militant solidarity with the just struggle of the El Salvador people under the leadership of the Democratic Revolutionary Front and its avant-garde, the Farabundo Marti Sandinista Front, to demand the release of trade unionists and all political prisoners in El Salvador, to condemn the escalation of US imperialist intervention and to bring about the failure of all attempts at direct military intervention in El Salvador.

Former American trade union leader exposes collusion between AFL-CIO and CIA

Victor G. Reuther, former Education Director of the UAW and former CIO Director of International Affairs, has written a book «The Brothers Reuther and the Story of the UAW», which was presented to the public at the UAW Convention this year. The book carries a foreword by current president of the UAW Douglas Fraser. Of historic importance is the book's exposure of the involvement of the leadership of the AFL and of the AFL-CIO after the merger in 1955 with the CIA since World War II which «brought corruption and shame, weakness and betrayal to the cause of labor solidarity». Author Victor G. Reuther is the brother of Walter Reuther, former CIO and UAW president.

In a chapter titled «The Seduction of AFL-CIO by the Central Intelligence Agency», Reuther charges Irving Brown, the AFL-CIO's representative in Europe, with using «incredibly large funds» in an effort «to get European trade unions in his pocket and to dictate the foreign policy of both European and African countries» and with «splintering» the French trade union movement and using CIA money to establish the right-wing Force Ouvrière.

«By the beginning of the sixties», Reuther writes, «Meany's lieutenants in the arena of international intrigue had woven a worldwide net financed by huge sums». He notes that AIFLD alone (American Institute for Free Labor Development) has operated with an annual budget of 8 million dollars under the direction of Meany's office.

(In this connection, the current AFL-CIO Financial Report shows expenditure of union funds of only 150,000 dollars in 1978 and 250,000 dollars for 1979 for the AIFLD — some 1/16 the total spent. Budgets of the companion bodies to AIFLD for the African and Asian continents carry similar budgets.)

Reuther notes that these funds were funnelled through phony «foundations» and that after these were exposed, largely through the AID (Agency for International Devleopment). In the days of his participation, Reuther says, the CIA funding was heaviest in Italy, France, North Africa and Greece.

So much is history — past and more recent — as witnessed by Victor Reuther's book. In this context, however, it would not be inappropriate to add an up-to-the-minute comment. According to press reports, the AFL-CIO «contributed» the sum of 160,000 dollars between last October and January this year to «Solidarity» in Poland. There is no doubt that the AFL-CIO is using these gifts to pursue very definite objectives of a policy which has contributed to some of the darkest pages in the history of the trade union movement in many countries.

NO to the neutron bomb!

Recent declarations by representatives of the new American administration once again calling for the production of the neutron bomb and the deployment of this dangerous weapon in western Europe, despite opposition by the people living there, are of concern to workers and trade unions as well as to all progressive forces the world over.

The mighty protests of the trade unions and wide sections of public opinion the world over had forced former President Carter three years ago to abandon the Pentagon-plan for the production and deployment of neutrom bombs especially in Western Europe.

It is a crime against humanity that when over 25 million workers are thrown out of jobs in the NATO member-countries and living standards cut by galloping inflation, the military-industrial complex seeks to impose a further escalation of the arms race. What is worse, the warmongers are even trying to sell the idea of fighting an actual war with nuclear weapons — and the neutron bomb is supposed to make this more plausible. With the neutron bomb, factories will remain intact and only workers will be killed. This is good capitalist logic for a nuclear war — but not for the workers and trade unions.

The extreme dangers of this situation calls for the most emphatic reaffirmation by the workers and trade unions — an emphatic NO to the neutron bomb! The WFTU calls upon workers and trade unions in all countries to act immediately.

■

TÜSTAV TARIH ASTITÜ

FRANCE

February 27: Important national day of action for automobile workers

Following the call of the CGT Metal Workers' Federation, automobile workers will hold an important national day of action on February 27 against partial unemployment, new waves of redundancy and the general decline of the automobile industry. There will be work stoppages in many Peugeot-SA and Renault factories and a mass meeting in Paris.

3,500 people dismissed at Talbot's, a wave of staggered dismissals at Renault's; 23 workless days imposed in 1980 at Peugeot-Sochaux — the country's biggest automobile factory; work is be stopped for 6 days at this same factory this month: a recent decision of the Regie Renault to transfer the production of the R 14 abroad, thus following the example of the private company Peugeot-SA, which imports its cars manufactured in Spain in large numbers to France. Other retaliatory measures — such are the partial results achieved by the bosses of the French automobile industry who are deliberately planning a general decline of this specific industry. Several factories face half time work permanently. At the Regie Renault, the management wants to deprive 50,000 wage-earners of work for two days — and this is only a prelude to the waves of mass dismissal in other enterprises. Even more serious is the fact that this management plans the introduction of robots and more modern automation into automobile production — this will not ease the burden of human labour, but in time will result in an even greater job loss and further over-exploitation.

In the face of this attack upon employment and wages, in the face of the undisguised decline of this key branch of the national economy, automobile workers and their unions have decided upon mass resistance: a national day of work stoppages in all factories culminating in a mass meeting in Paris on February 27 to demand immediate tripartite negotiations about shorter working hours, the introduction of a 35-hour week without wage cuts, a 5th week of paid holidays and lower retirement age. «Our retaliation must be at the same level as the attack,» stressed Jean-Claude Thénard, secretary of the Metal Workers' Federation — CGT. The national day should become a powerful moment of action.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Tory government's Green Paper on Industrial Relations

In the middle of January, at the «dawn of a new era», the Tory government headed by Mrs. Thatcher published their long awaited Green Paper on Industrial Relations.

Special powers to outlaw strikes by thousands of workers in key industries regarded as essential are being seriously mooted: powers giving the courts and government a completely free hand to block trade union activity. Through this unscrupulous attack on the British workers Mrs. Thatcher and her accomplices, are hoping to strike at the very heart of the trade unions and at their rights and freedoms won only through bitter struggles over the last one hundred years.

In simple terms it means that the seamen and electrical, gas and water workers currently taking or contemplating industrial action over an increase in wages, would, if this Green Paper was approved in Parliament, be banned from taking any sort of industrial action. Yorkshire ambulance drivers, on strike over bonus payments, could be found guilty in the courts of criminally breaking the law.

The Conservatives' proposal would give extra powers to the government and erode basic liberties in a way in which many ordinary citizens and workers regard as a violation of basic trade union rights.

Mr. David Basnett, general secretary of the Municipal Workers Union, stressed that if these suggestions were in any way implemented it would be the abandoning of all pretence of the traditional so-called neutrality of the legal system and the police force.

In the document there is an implicit suggestion that any strike which the government declared to be against the public interest, especially in the essential services area, e.g. the gas, electricity, water and seamen's disputes, could be declared unlawful.

The general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, Len Murray, condemned the report as being completely hostile to effective trade unionism and accused the government of re-introducing the sterile ideas of the now defunct Industrial Relations Act (which the trade unions strongly resisted at the time), so as to distract public opinion from its disastrous monetarist policies of the last two years which have caused rampant inflation, escalating unemployment, factory closures and many bankruptcies.

As was to be expected, the CBI, Confederation of British Industry (the employers' federation) generally welcomed the report. The answer the trade union movement decided to give to the present government was their complete backing for industrial action taking or about to take place, especially to the seamen in their struggle against the mighty shipping consortium.

There is a special section of the report «protecting the community» which could be retitled «protecting the transnational corporations, the international banks and the interests of monopoly capitalism».

28th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CUT OF CHILE

Message of the WFTU Secretariat to the Coordinatora Nacional Sindical

«February 12 is once more the anniversary of the Chilean United Workers' Centre, faithful heir to the best traditions of the Chilean proletariat. The fascist attempts to eliminate the centre have come against the daily increasing resistance of the trade union movement in its hard fight for the return of freedom, democracy and social progress in Chile; its presence is the force that guides and brings together the best and most aware sections of the proletariat and the anti-fascist forces in the struggle to end the greedy grasp of imperialism and the transnationals.

In the heroic fight waged by the Chilean workers, international solidarity has played an outstanding role. The World Federation of Trade Unions is proud that it has always been an element of this solidarity, from the first day of the fascist coup d'Etat in 1973.

Today, on the 28th anniversary of the glorious United Workers' Centre, the WFTU re-affirms its pledge of solidarity with the Chilean patriots in their noble fight against fascism, as well as in their struggle against the disastrous «plan of professional relations», this legal monstrosity imposed by the imperialist monopolies, transnational corporations and the country's fianncial capital.»

TÜSTAV SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Metalworkers' TUI visits Poland

A delegation from the Metalworkers' TUI recently visited Poland at the invitation of the central leadership of the mechanical construction workers' union and of the executive committee of metalworkers' union of Poland.

During their meetings the leadership of the two trade federations informed the TUI delegation about the important work carried out by their unions in the field of defending workers' rights and interests, as well as their concern to see that a normal atmosphere should be established in the enterprises, since the consolidation of the economic situation and the welfare of the Polish workers depends on this.

The president of the mechanical construction workers' union T. Krasnodembski, told his guests that the union's 12th congress in January this year approved the new constitution of the union and the programme of activity for the next three years. He stressed that the two documents had been drafted on the basis of over 43,000 proposals from grassroot members. The congress confirmed the changes which had taken place in the union's structure and working methods. More than 14,000 proposals have been received by the executive committee of the metalworkers' union of Poland and have been taken into account in the preparation of the union's congress which is due to be held in February and during which a report will be presented on how to put these proposals into practice.

The TUI delegation visited factories in the metal and mechanical construction industries in Warsaw, Katowice and Krakow, where they met the leaders of shop-floor committees, trade union activists and other workers, as well as representatives of the management, engineers and technicians, including members of of «Solidarity». These talks in the factories confirmed the impression the TUI delegation had got from the talks with trade union leaders, namely the inclination among wide sectors of workers to overcome the present difficulties. The workers who spoke with the TUI delegation affirmed their determination to work for the prosperity of their socialist country. Trade union leaders and members were against those forces which, behind the mask of «Solidarity», were threatening the economy of the socialist state and the workers' standard of living.

A communique signed at the end of the visit underlined the class positions of the Polish trade federations together with their determination to consolidate socialist gains in the country. The TUI delegation welcomed the renewal of the Polish trade federations' activities. It also noted the fact that the Constitution adopted by the 12th Congress of the mechanical construction workers' union stipulated affiliation to the TUI and the WFTU.

RESULTS OF THE WFTU FACT-FINDING MISSION TO TURKEY COMMUNICATED TO THE ILO

Jan Nemoudry, WFTU Secretary, and a lawyer, who was one member of the WFTU sponsored fact-finding mission to Turkey was received at ILO headquarters in Geneva on February 4 by Mr. Langergren and by Mr. Araoz, respectively Heads of the Standards and Freedom of Association Departments of the ILO.

The member of the fact-finding mission to Turkey — cf. Flashes No. 7/1981 — acquainted the ILO representatives with the serious violations of the freedom of association and of democratic liberties the fact-finding mission was able to verify on the spot, despite the obstructions put in their way by the authorities and the atmosphere of fear and suspicion that now prevails in Turkey under the government of the military regime. The chief victims of these violations are the DISK leaders and activists.

The ILO representatives highly appreciated the WFTU initiatives in defence of trade union rights and democratic freedoms in Turkey. The ILO announced that following the suggestions of the WFTU, the Committee on Freedom of Association will meet on February 23 to reach a decision about the complaints and proposals of our organisation. At the same time, the relevant ILO Departments will take other actions on this matter.

On behalf of the WFTU Secretariat, its Secretary Jan Nemoudry insisted that the sending of an ILO fact-finding mission to Turkey is an urgent necessity.

ANGOLA

Indisputable successes by a freed people

The dynamic revolutionary changes carried out by the Angolan people in the five years since the birth of the People's Republic of Angola are noticeable in all spheres of the country's life. The State sector has grown stronger: the State controls key branches of the economy and today is master of industrial production in several essential sectors.

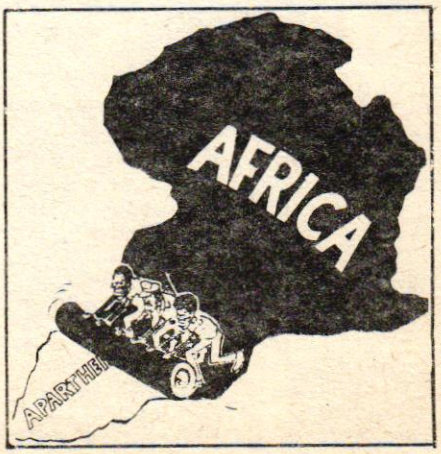
The young republic pays special attention to the training of technicians needed for the country's industrial development. This is being done with the assistance of the socialist countries, in particular the Soviet Union, where hundreds of Angolan specialists receive their training. To ensure its industrial growth, Angola has already put into operation and expanded several enterprises, among them the State enterprise SONANGOL, the country's leading petroleum refinery.

As part of the land reform programme, over 3,500 agricultural associations and some 500 agricultural cooperatives have been set up. More than 500,000 peasants belong to them. The land reform has considerably stimulated agricultural production and helped better provision for the population.

In addition, the government has introduced other measures and reforms, such as free health care, literacy campaigns, big investments to develop the educational system etc.

Because of its progressive home and foreign policy, the People's Republic of Angola has become a target for political as well as direct military attacks by the Republic of South Africa and an object of destabilisation attempts by the imperialist states.

Despite all the difficulties it encounters, the People's Republic of Angola carries out and expands the social and economic reconstruction of the country in order to improve the people's living standards. Thus during the recent celebrations of the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the liberation struggle in Angola, the Angolan workers and people were able to assess the positive results achieved so far.



TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

ARGENTINA

Industrial conflicts are on the increase

Strikes, meetings and an increasing number of claims and demands confirm that industrial conflicts are becoming more and more frequent in the various regions of the country. Their chief cause is reflected in the low wages and the decreasing number of jobs.

At a meeting, hundreds of workers from the «Fabrica argentina de engranajes», an enterprise situated in the vicinity of the capital, approved a «plan of trade union action». According to this plan there would be a two-hour strike on every individual shift to enforce a wage rise and the cancellation of the planned dismissals. Before the meeting the management announced that 200 workers would be dismissed before the end of January.

The trade union coordinating committee of workers in State enterprise and establishments demand a 100% increase thus the workers would get 600 dollars a month instead of the 650,000 pesos — 325 dollars — they earn today.

The railwaymen's union strongly protested against the number of redundancies resulting from the official policy in rail transport. Because of the implementation of this policy, over 50,000 railwaymen have already lost their jobs. For more than 80 days a strike brought a fish cannery to a standstill. The workers at the ironworks «La Cantabrica» strongly protested against the management's decision to stop paying out wages and salaries and to dismiss all personnel.

According to most critics, the serious situation in the country's economy was brought about by the policy of free enterprise practised by the present government.

European trade unionists in road transport meet in Lisbon

The first preparatory meeting for the 3rd European Road Transport Seminar was held on January 30 and 31 1981 in Lisbon. It was chaired by Alex Kitson, assistant general secretary of the British Transport.

The meeting, organised by the Portuguese Federation of Road and City Transport Workers — which is affiliated to the CGTP-IN — was attended by branch trade union leaders from Portugal, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, Hungary, France, Czechosbvakia, Finland, Italy and the GDR.

The meeting should be seen as an expression of international solidarity with the struggle of transport workers who last year scored significant victories, as well as with new struggles for claims and demands, the defence of the unions and trade union rights and for unity against all attempts to divide the movement.

The participants stressed the need for international unity of action, especially at a time when peace and détente in the world are threatened by dangerous rearmament and cold war policies.

The meeting passed a final declaration and decided to hold the 2nd reparatory meeting in Helsinki. The seminar will take place from August 12 to 16 this year in Budapest, capital of the Hungarian People's Republic. The two preceding seminars were held in the Soviet Union and Great Britain. They were attended by trade union delegations from the whole of Europe.

Two «macheteros» of the «Movement for a million».

CUBA

The «movement for a million»

The sugar industry is the backbone of Cuba's economy. In the years after the revolution, this important branch of the country's economy was raised to a high industrial level; many sugar refineries have already been built, and new ones are planned for the near future. Manual work in the sugar-cane harvest has been considerably reduced, most of the harvesting work is now mechanised. Every year, hundreds of volunteers join the skilled agricultural workers for the harvest. Because of the great changes in the attitude of the «macheteros» — sugar-cane cutters — that has taken place since the colonial past until the socialist present. Cuban society was able to carry out radical economic and social transformations.

According to the newspaper of Cuban trade unions «Trabajadores», 53,000 volunteers helped with the sugar-cane harvest in 1980. The enthusiasm of the «macheteros» led to socialist competition under the slogan «Movement for a million». The workers organised in work teams strive to bring in a million arrobas — 1 arroba = 11.5 kg — during every harvest. According to information provided by the Cuban workers' centre CTC, already more than 600 work teams participate in this competition — and their number is steadily growing. Thanks chiefly to the efforts of these voluneers, Cuba has had a record harvest over the past five years.

Cuban trade unions play a significant role in the growth of the movement «for a million». In their vast propaganda work they use various forms of stimulation to popularise the movement among the workers. The best teams get honorary banners and a reform of the structure of wages was carried out. The workers in that branch of industry have some additional advantages, e.g. priority in the allocation of new flats.

The Cubans say that the day is fast approaching when the trade of sugar-cane cutter will soon disappear from everyday life. But in the history of Cuba the word «macheteros» wil remain as a symbol of the commitment and pride of the Cuban people.

SOSTEN ARASTO RY:N ARKI

flashes FROM

AUSTRIA

ÖGB — prospects and tasks

Even Austria, which has so far maintained its position on the fringe of western countries despite the effects of the capitalist crisis, will be unable to avoid the consequences of the economic depression during 1981. A stagnation in economic growth is expected and the unemployment rate — 1.9% in 1980 — will probably increase. In such a situation the primary task of Austrian trade unions is to mobilise trade union action for full employment. This was emphasised in a declaration, recently published in Vienna by the Federation of Austrian Trade Unions.

On the question of social policy the federation will come out for the solution of such problems as the improvement of working conditions, especially for night work and strenuous jobs, and medical care in the enterprise. This year the ÖGB will encourage talks on the reform of the tax system planned for 1981.

According to data published by the dialy «Arbeiterzeitung», the ÖGB has now 1,641,475 members, a record figure in the history of the federation. Yet because of the changes in the economic structure and the passage of labour from branches with powerful trade unions into the service industries, where the influence of the ÖGB is weaker, the percentage of unionised workers and employees has declined from 63 to 59%. While over the past ten years 400,000 people joined the ranks of the workers and employees, trade union membership during the same period only increased by 120,000.

A. Benya, president of the ÖGB, in a letter to non-unionised workers called upon them to join branch unions. According to «Arbeiterzeitung», the purpose of the ÖGB campaign is to recruit new members, especially among the workers employed by small and medium-sized firms and among the young people.

PANAMA

A trade-union forum

Over 500 participants in a trade union meeting, recently organised in Panama on the initiative of the National Workers' Centre of Panama, protested against the activities of the United states because they use the former Canal Zone to prepare their military intervention in the internal affairs of Central American countries. In a special resolution the Panamanian trade union leaders expressed their fraternal solidarity with the heroic people of El Salvador fighting against the reactionary junta, which maintains itself in power thanks only to US military and financial assistance.

The trade union forum condemned the violations of the Canal zone agreement by the United States. In defiance of this agreement American enterprises operating in the Canal zone refuse to respect Panama's labour legislation and continue their policy of discrimination.

Trade union leaders criticised the oligarchy for having artificially increased the price of foodstuffs and essential goods to intensify their policy of exploitation. They demanded that the government take immediate and effective measures to curb the increasing cost of living in the country.

The forum outlined a vast programme of strengthening unity in the struggle for the workers' vital interests, against local reaction and the attempts of American imperialism.

PALESTINE

A declaration of the GFWP

The US policy of setting up military bases in the Near and Middle East was strongly condemned by the General Federation of the Workers of Palestine — GFWP. The GFWP pointed out in a declaration that these American military bases threaten not only the Arab national liberation movement, but also the security and stability of the entire Arab nation.

The governing body of Palestinian trade unions rejected all capitulation alternatives as a means of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict and voiced its firm protest against the arbitrary rule of Israeli authorities in the occupied Arab territories. In addition, the declaration draws attention to the suspicious role assigned by the West to the Jordanian regime in the solution of the Palestinian problem.

The GFWP Bureau called on Iraq and Iran to end the unnecessary slaughter and direct their efforts against the chief enemy — the Israeli aggressor.

SOUTH KOREA

Garment workers stage demonstration in demand of revival of trade union organisation

On 30 January garment workers of Pyonghwa market in Seoul staged a demonstration and sit-in, demanding the revival of their trade union which had been forcibly dissolved by the military fascists.

More than 20 workers — men and women — occupied the office of the reactionary trade union organisation and locked in the director. This action was an expression of their protest against the regime's gangsters who had abitrarily dissolved their organisation and the workers expressed their determination to fight to the last to attain their democratic rights.

When the police rushed to the scene, sent by the fascist clique to suppress them, the demonstrators barricaded the premises. Faced with increasingly fierce charges by the police, some women workers leaped from the third floor of the building to show their hatred of the military dictatorship. Despite this ultimate sacrifice and the justness of the workers' demands, the fascist clique arrested all the workers on charges of «violating laws banning demonstrations and assemblies».

This is the first workers' struggle since the lifting of «martial law» in south Korea.

GUATEMALA

The revolutionary forces unite to carry on the fight

Guatemalan revolutionary organisations have signed an agreement, supporting their union in the struggle against the present reactionary Guatemalan government. In the new front are: The Guerilla Army of the Poor — E.G.P., the Rebel Armed Forces — F.A.R., the Revolutionary Organisation of the People in Arms — O.R.P.A., the Guatemalan Workers' Party — P.G.T. In a joint communique, published after the reaching of a consensus, the signatories to the treaty point out that the purpose of the agreement is to carry on the struggle for the overthrowal of the regime. They also confirmed their determination to give all possible solidarity to the just struggle of the peoples in El Salvador and Honduras.

USSR—FINLAND

Joint initiative

A trade union seminar on «The working conditions of building workers in the Far North» was recently held in Kostomuksha, Karelian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, where a joint Soviet-Finnish project — an ore upgrading combine — is being built. The seminar was organised on the initiative of the Soviet trade union of workers in the building and building materials industry and of the Finnish trade union of building workers.

flashes from the trade unions

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

flashes FROM THE TRADE UNIONS

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FIRST CONGRESS OF AFGHAN TRADE UNIONS

The workers and trade unions of Afghanistan held their first Congress in Kabul, on March 7 and 8. The Congress discussed and adopted the constitution of the Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions and a elected a Central Council, with Satar Purdely as President.

Nearly 500 delegates representing 160,000 trade union members participated in the Congress.

The Congress was attended by fraternal delegations from the WFTU, ICATU, Soviet Union, Cuba, GDR, Vietnam, Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Laos, Mongolia, Kampuchea, Ethiopia, Angola, PDR Yemen, A.R. Yemen, SACTU, Palestine, India, Syria, Lebanon, France and Australia. The WFTU delegation was led by Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary.

Babrak Karmal, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Reublic of Afghanistan — DRA — addressed the Congress. He stated that the fundamental principles of the DRA provide for the effective participation of trade unions in the production, administration and related areas. While a comprehensive Labour Code is being drafted, regulations upholding the rights of trade unions with regard to collective agreements, etc. are already in force. These documents give the unions boundless opportunities to expand their activities.

In his report to the Congress S. Purdely, President of the Central Council, stated among other things:

«The 1978 Saur — April — Revolution that threw off the feudal yoke and established the power of the working people, opened up great prospects for trade union activity. The once illegal friendly societies were gradually transformed into trade unions. Amin's regime, however, brought serious setbacks: many trade unionists were imprisoned, several killed and trade union activities were paralysed. Only the victory of the new stage of the April Revolution restored conditions favouring the full development of trade union activity. Since then there has been steady progress and trade union councils were established in all the provinces.»

The situation in Kabul is but one example of the rapid growth of trade unions during that period. Until the beginning of 1980, i.e. prior to the victory of the new stage of the Revolution, Kabul had only 50 unions with 15,000 members. Today there are 249 unions in the city with a membership of 70,000. In Kabul the trade unions have opened 150 libraries, founded 30 amateur art groups and 50 sports teams; in addition, they have organised 380 groups of volunteers to eradicate illiteracy. There are now 30 wall newspapers in Kabul.

The report called for greater efforts in the field of organisation in order to increase membership beyond the existing 160,000. Great stress was put on educational programmes to train trade union activists.

Referring to the activities of counter-revolutionaries, the report stated that the hirelings of US imperialism, Chinese hegemonists and reactionaries, using the territory of Pakistan as their base, arms in hand, raid our land, destroy schools, mosques, hospitals, houses and whole villages, crops, means of transport and bridges. They kill defenceless women, children and old people. The enemies of the working class, these so-called «defenders of Islam» have blown up power transmission lines ... They use poison gas against school children and industrial workers ... The crimes committed by these gangs have caused material damage amounting to 4.5 thousand million afghanis.

According to the report, Afghan trade unions have formed their own self-defence units and actively participate in the struggle against the bandits. Women workers also took up arms to fight the enemy.

The report welcomed the government's decision, announced by President Babrak Karmal, to raise workers' wages by an average of 26.6% — with a minimum 40 to 50% increase in the lowest wages, to build

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houses for the workers and give financial and other material assistance to the peasants.

The part of the report dealing with the economy, expressed the gratitude of Afghan workers and trade unions to the socialist commumnity, especially to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has helped Afghanistan to build such big enterprises as the Jangalak engineering works, a fertiliser factory, oil refineries and gasworks, irrigation and power systems, a polytechnic, etc.

Pointing out that the people's standard of living cannot be raised without economic development, the report described the efforts of the workers and unions to increase production and productivity, efforts that go hand in hand with the defence of workers' rights and interests. Government decrees already in force grant the trade unions the right to participate in the elaboration and implementation of production plans, as well as the right to inspect production units and check labour protection and safety measures.

The Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions is a member of the Organising Committee set up to prepare the Constitutive Congress of the National Patriotic Front.

The report declared that Afghan trade unions are active affiliates of the WFTU and fully support all WFTU initiatives.

The report stated that Afghan trade unions support their government's peace policy and the proposal made to the Iranian and Pakistan governments to settle all disputes by negotiation. The Central Council of Afghan Trade Unions urged the trade unions in Iran and Pakistan to exert pressure on their governments to accept Afghanistan's peaceful initiative and offer of good-neighbourly relations, in keeping with the interests of the working people in both the region and the whole world.

In his message of greetings Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary of the WFTU, stated:

«Your Congress is an important milestone in the march towards social liberation heralded by the April Revolution. It marks another defeat for the counter-revolutionary manoeuvres of the imperialists and hegemonists in their undeclared war on the DRA. It marks the new confidence of the workers and trade unions of Afghanistan to actively participate in the building of a new life, firmly united in the ranks of the world trade union movement ...

«The WFTU declares from the platform of the First Congress of the Trade Unions of Afghanistan: All democratic and progressive forces in the world today that stand for a democratic development strategy — for genuine agrarian reforms, trade union rights, equal rights and the full emancipation of women, for an end to illiteracy, mass poverty and squalor — are with the April Revolution and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, supporting and protecting it ...»

Afghan trade unions greet the WFTU

The First Congress of Afghan Trade Unions, which met in Kabul on March 7 and 8, unanimously voted, as its first official resolution, a message of greeting to the WFTU.

The message states that the historical first Congress of the Trade Unions of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan warmly greets the World Federation of Trade Unions — this symbol of sacrifice and struggle of the international working class. The message recalls WFTU's unceasing defence of the social and economic interests of the international working class, its full support for the national liberation struggle and total condemnation of imperialist aggression. All this makes the WFTU an organisation of struggle, whose guiding principle is international solidarity. The WFTU has always proclaimed and continues to uphold the unity of all workers and trade unions irrespective of race, religion or political affiliation in the struggle for a brighter future. All this the WFUT does at a time and in a situation when the international trade union movement is going through a process of development and evolution.

The trade unions of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the message states, pledge to participate fully in all WFTU activities. The Congress of Afghan Trade Unions wishes the WFTU great successes in the struggle for peace, democratic advance and social progress.

Young people confronted with topical world problems

The WFTU Commission for Young Workers recently met in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In addition to the members of the Commission, the meeting was attended by representatives of the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the Danish LO.

The ample information provided by the WFTU Youth Department helped the participants to analyse in detail the most topical problems of young workers, in particular the unemployment of young people, their general education and professional training, as well as their living conditions in the context of the continuously deteriorating crisis of the capitalist system and the efforts of the monopolies and governments to intensify the exploitation of young workers on both a national and international scale.

They noted that the peoples, workers and youth desire progress, democracy and peace. In spite of the virulent ideological battle launched by big monopoly capital to paralyse both the young people and the workers, in spite of attempts to create tensions and bring back a cold war atmosphere in order to give a new impetus to the arms race, especially in western Europe, millions of workers and young people choose the road of progress, independence and socialism every year.

In the socialist countries, the workers and young people firmly advance along the road to building socialism. In the capitalist and developing countries the workers and young peole do not accept the disastrous and tragic results of the policy of big business; they take up the fight and score outstanding victories.

Encouraged by this positive development, the WFTU Commission for Young Workers will strive to:

— strengthen and develop the commitment of young people in the capitalist and developing countries in the struggle against the consequences of capitalist policies, especially with regard to employment, because this policy is a tragic social evil;

— promote the unity of the workers and young people in the developing, capitalist and socialist countries in the struggle for a new international economic order, founded on the principles of cooperation and mutual respect in peace and friendship between nations;

— strengthen, through concrete actions, the struggle against transnational corporations in order to effectively help and support all peoples fighting against imperialism, colonialism, fascism and racism and for their national liberation in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the Middle East.

The WFTU Commission for Young Workers decided to organise a large-scale international campaign in favour of the people of El Salvador. This campaign will soon be initiated in individual countries. It further decided to promote the commitment of young people the world over to the struggles of the working class for social and trade union advancement. For this it adopted a programme of action for 1981. All participants pledged to guarantee its success.

The participants in the meeting reiterated their firm determination to continue and to increase their efforts for peace and disarmament and to popularise the results of the World Forum of Youth and Students, held in January 1981 in Helsinki, in order to promote the commitment of young people in the struggle of the working class for social and trade union advancement.

WFTU in solidarity with Brazilian trade unionists, the victims of repression

On February 25, the Sao Paulo military court sentenced Luis Inacio da Silva called «Lula», President of the Union of San Bernardo Metalworkers and President of the Workers' Party, to three and a half years in prison. Of the other twelve who were also tried on February 25, only two trade unionists were acquitted; all were charged with «civil disobedience» and «subversive propaganda» during the metalworkers' strike which took place during April and May 1980 in the industrial zone of Sao Paulo. Three of them received the same sentence as Lula, the remaining seven were condemned to two years or two years and a half in prison. The sentence was pronounced after six hours of secret deliberation by a court of one civilian and four military judges. The only charge upheld against the trade unionists was that of «civil disobedience».

The defendants and their counsel decided to boycott the trial. One defence counsel, Luis Eduardo Greenhalgh, explained why neither he nor the defendants attended the trial: he declared that «the verdict was fixed beforehand» and he could not carry out his court duties freely. At the last moment, the court appointed a defence lawyer.

Shortly after the passing of the sentence, the eleven trade unionists, of their own accord, went to the headquarters of the Sao Paulo political police — DOPS — and through their counsel appealed against the decision to the Supreme Military Tribunal. In this way they should remain free until the second trial.

In April last year, 200,000 workers, most of them employed by enterprises of the transnationals Volkswagen, Mercedes Benz, Ford, Fiat etc., organised a strike lasting 41 days for higher wages, job guarantees, trade-union rights, a 40-hour working week and collective agreements, till now non-existent in Brazil. They also fought against the fierce exploitation of the workers by the transnationals. The rightful demands of the workers, closely related to the struggle for the democratisation of the country's social and political life, provoked the most brutal repression by the authorities in the service of big monopolies. The strike was condemned as being illegal. Police repression culminated in the arrest of 19 trade-union leaders, 13 of whom were charged with breaking the law on national security. In addition, in an attempt to deprive the unions of their leadership, the government forcefully removed 42 trade-union leaders from office.

Without any valid reason, the Sao Paulo military authorities did everything to prevent national and foreign trade-union delegations, including a delegation from the WFTU and from other political and social organisations, from attending the trial and thus demonstrating their solidarity not only with the defendants, but with the Brazilian trade-union movement. Emergency security measures, the very small court-room to restrict the public, the presence of only 15 journalists accredited by the Military Court, the sentence in absentia and the arbitray verdicts of the court are many flagrant violations of democratic freedoms and trade-union rights.

A wave of protests arose throughout the world, when Luis Inacio da Silva called Lula, Osmar Mendoça, Euilson Eimoes de Moura and other trade union leaders were condemned to several years in gaol. For its part, the World Federation of Trade Unions lodged resolute protests with both the Brazilian authorities and the ILO for violation of the Charter of Human Rights, the International Pact on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the Universal Charter of Trade-Union Rights and ILO Conventions 87 and 98, and demanded that the sentences be quashed. During his stay in Brazil the WFTU representative met representatives of Brazilian trade unions and of opposition parties in the Sao Paulo Legislative Assembly, as well as the 13 trade-unionists involved and the Sao Bernardo strike committee. In all his talks he reiterated the full solidarity of our organisation with the Brazilian trade-union movement in its struggle for trade-union rights, trade-union unity, democracy and a better life for Brazilian workers. With an inflation rate of 110%, a foreign debt of 55 thousand million dollars and a huge trade deficit, Brazil today faces serious economic problems.

In the face of the iniquitous ruling of the Sao Paulo military court, the Secretariat of the Trade Unions International of Metal, and Engineering Industries calls upon all its member and friendly organisations, upon all metalworkers the world over to condemn and vigorously protest against the arbitrary measures and sentences of the military court and resolutely demand the quashing of the sentences, as well as an end to government interference in the affairs of metalworkers' unions. These protests should be sent to the President of the Republic of Brazil, Brasilia, the ILO and the UN Commission on Human Rights.

WFTU LODGES A COMPLAINT WITH THE ILO

On March 10, brothers Lucien Labrune, permanent WFTU representative with the ILO and the United Nations, and Mario Ramos, member of the WFTU Economic and Social Department, were received at ILO headquarters by Mrs. Lagergreen and Mr. Araoz, in charge of the Standards and Freedom of Association Departments respectively. The representatives of our organisation spoke about the widespread restriction of trade-union rights in Brazil and, in particular, about the trial of the thirteen trade-unionists, who were sentenced in abstentia by the Sao Paulo military court on February 25. On the evening of that day, after the sentences had been announced, the defendants appealed against the decision to the Supreme Military Tribunal. Our representatives stressed primarily two essential facts: in addition to the prison sentence, the defendants are barred for ten years from the exercise of their civil rights, i.e. they cannot undertake any trade-union activity; moreover, they were tried by a military and not a civilian court, although the whole matter concerned was an industrial dispute — a peaceful strike with negotiations in progress between the strikers, the employers and the civilian authorities. There was no reason for the army to intervene. Our representatives made it clear that our organisation has decided to make all efforts in order to obtain from the Brazilian authorities the quashing of the verdicts and the respect of the freedom of association. All the information and documentation submitted by the WFTU to the ILO will be taken into consideration by the Committee on Freedom of Association, which will make the necessary decisions concerning the violation of trade-union rights in Brazil.

Guatemala

Assassination as a means of domination

Guatemala, a small country in Central America with six and a half million inhabitants — 53% Indians, 40% mixed Indian-Spanish and 5% Whites — is connected with one of the most sinister realities of our contemporary world: almost daily its name finds its way into the world press, not because of economic and cultural advances, but because of the assassination of Indians, workers, political and trade-union representatives, priests, peasants and students.

One day — May 29, 1977 — there were the Panzons killings. Then a year later, on July 28, 1978, 60 young people between the ages of 16 and 20 were executed by the army in San Juan de Cotsal. Another day, five people were killed at the San Marcos University in the capital. On another occasion, 19 Indians were murdered in Santiago Atitlán ...

After the fall of President Arbenz, made possible by the participation of the American government, thousands of Indians fled to the El Quiché plateau. Later, oil was found there, the oil which today is offered to American transnationals, and thus began the systematic extermination of the Indians, with occasional air-raids on their villages; the confiscation of their land increased the wealth of the greedy oligarchy and of the foreign monopolies.

THOSE WHO PROTEST DIE A VIOLENT DEATH RIDDLED WITH BULLETS ...

The result: 72% of the land belongs to 20% of the population. In 1978, income was 869 dollars per head, yet 70% of the inhabitants only earned 80 dollars. 40% of the persons of active working age are unemployed: while unemployment increases every year by 4.5%, employment shows an increase of barely 1.5%. Those who protest against this situation, die a violent death, riddled with bullets. How many have been murdered? 40 thousand, 50 thousand ... No accurate figures are available.

This is by no means a new phenomenon; these facts are known and have been revealed by the world's press, even though the capitalist mass media keep silent about the support given by imperialism to the Guatemalan dictatorship. With Ronald Reagan now installed as president of the United States this support is increasing. Yet this dictatorship is one of bloodiest in Latin America, although it is ludicrously described as a «democratic regime respecting civil liberties» by its leader, General Romeo Lucas Garcia, the man who opposed the return of Juan Gerardi, Archbishop of El Quiché, who was forced to leave Guatemala following an attempt on his life.

HOW MR. JOHN TROTTER MADE HIS WAY INTO THE HISTORY OF THE TRADE UNION AT THE EGSA

Less better known perhaps is the history of a small union, which the workers of the packaging company Guatemala SA — EGSA — tried to set up. This company bottling Coca-Cola was managed by John C. Trotter, a lawyer from Houston, Texas. The first attempt to organise a union was made in 1968 under the leadership of César Barrilla, who was employed at the factory. Subsequently Barrilla was kidnapped and murdered.

In 1975, after a strike, Trotter was forced to sign an agreement with the union, which at last became established. But in November 1978 the trade-union leader Pedro Quevedo was killed. His position was taken by Israel Márquez, who had to flee the country after an attempt on his life. In January 1979 another member of the leadership was killed, as he was leaving the house where Márquez used to live. Manuel López Balán, who had taken on Márquez's office, was tortured and murdered on April 5, 1979.

Marlon Mendizábla, appointed to succeed López Balán, met with the same fate on May 27, 1980. A few weeks later, René Aldana, member of the union's Executive Committee, was murdered within the factory precinct. On the same day, two more members of the Executive Committee were kidnapped on the premises of the CNT, to which the EGSA union was affiliated, and with them other 25 trade-union activists. They have disappeared without trace. During the 1980 May Day demonstrations two EGSA employees, Arnulfo Gómez and Ricardo Jesús Garcia were kidnapped. Their bodies, bearing signs of torture, were found a few days later, Gómez had had his lips and tongue cut off with a razor and his tongue was slipped into his shirt pocket. Garcia had all his fingers and toes broken.

Finally, Efrain Zamora, president of a bogus association of EGSA employees, established by the company to compete against the genuine union, was murdered on May 16, 1980, apparently because he wanted to resign from office.

Several countries boycott the Coca-Cola products because of the situation of the company in Guatemala. Various actions in solidarity with the Guatemala workers have been organised. Trotter was forced to leave the EGSA management in September 1980, twelve years after the first assassination.

What did the Guatemalan authorities do, during that time, to protect not the interests, but simply the lives of Guatemalan citizens, against the bestiality of the representative of a big American company, who played the role of judge and jury in the country? Nothing. Or, to tell the truth, they protected him. Trotter was forced to leave the country only as a result of international pressure. The dictatorship in Guatemala was installed by American transnationals to solely serve their interests.

Rumania

The participation of trade unions in economic and social life — a highly topical question for the trade union movement

A trade-union seminar with international participation on «Labour democracy, the role and rights of trade unions in ensuring the participation of the workers in the administration of economic and social life, in the improvement of working and living conditions of the workers» was held in Bucarest from March 5 to 7, 1981; following an initiative of the Central Council of the General Union of Rumanian Trade Unions.

The seminar was attended by representatives of trade-union centres from the following countries: Bulgaria, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, France, GDR, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Spain, USSR and Yugoslavia, as well as by guests from political, legal, social and public institutions.

The constructive spirit that prevailed during the debates, the competence of the participants, as well as the highly varied problems and concerns of the trade unions from the countries represented at the seminar, once more confirmed that the questions of democracy and participation are of vital interest to the unions and workers the world over, irrespective of their socio-economic and political regime.

The participants welcomed the initiative to hold this seminar as a significant contribution to a better mutual understanding, to the development of trade-union cooperation in matters of great common interest, e.g. the struggle for strengthening and developing trade-union rights, an overall democratisation of social, political and economic life aimed at promoting as much as possible the workers' fundamental desire for peace and progress.

FRG

The DGB Congress comes out in favour of peace and détente

The Federation of West German Trade Unions, DGB, to which 7,800,000 workers from 17 branch trade unions belong, held a Special Congress in Düsseldorf from March 12 to 14. The Congress was convened to elaborate a new «fundamental programme» defining the role of trade unions in society and this at a time when the «economic miracle» has become a thing of the past for the FRG and there is an escalation of serious social disputes.

In his opening speech before 540 delegates, DGB President Heinz Oscar Vetter highlighted the problem of unemployment. He stressed that it represents a danger similar to the one the Weimar Republic was unable to solve in 1919. Vetter, as well as other delegates, pointed out that the government is disconcertingly passive in the face of the trade union demand to expand the system of co-management in industry.

Another significant statement was that the development in the FRG today clearly demonstrates the intention of the bosses to re-introduce the relations that existed before the war when power was the prerogative of a handful of rich people: there already are in the FRG such «dynasties» as Flick, Springer, etc. which control millions of workers.

This statement was included in the «fundamental programme» although the DGB leaders would have preferred a less outspoken description of this actual reality.

The DGB President's opinions of the nature of West German trade-unionism, to which he would attribute solely social-democratic, liberal and religious traditions, were obviously intended to stifle, both at the Congress and in the future, all demonstrations of more radical and fighting positions on the role of the unions. It is well known that such ideas are relatively wide-spread in local union branches.

Fear of being branded as communist sympathisers probably led quite a few delegates to attenuate their remarks about the many crucial problems of West German society, such as the «Berufsverbot».

It should, however, be emphasised that on the crucial issue of our time — peace, the DGB Congress adopted a stand that is identical to that of hundreds of millions of people on our planet, who see peace as absolutely essential for the survival of mankind.

«We demand that the development, manufacture, stockpiling and use of weapons of mass destruction be banned. Our aim is general and controlled disarmament», declares the preamble of the new DGB «fundamental programme».

«We don't want our grandsons to ask us some day: «What did you do against war and the neutron bomb?», declared a delegate from the Union of Printers and Paper Industry Workers.

During the discussion other speakers urged the FRG government to take concrete steps to continue the process of détente and to revoke the NATO decision to base new American missiles on FRG territory. They said that the militarists must be prevented from deciding to go to war.

Philippines

The storehouse of the cheapest labour in South-East Asia

An inflation rate of 20%, a foreign debt of 12.3 thousand million dollars: the deteriorating financial situation of the country is seriously beginning to worry its western backers. They have recently promised to provide 1.2 thousand million dollars of public development aid for 1981; both the World Bank and the IMF still consider the country a good investment. Everybody is, however, fully aware that the country's regime is highly unstable and that international aid is only too often used to enrich even further the small clique near the powers that be. In its latest report the World Bank stresses the failure of the vast «rural development» programme it had financed.

In the eight years of martial law, real wages have dropped by one third. When he opened the country to foreign capital and deprived the small local industries of all protection, Marcos lost his last remaining popular support, that of the middle classes. In boasting of the inducement «of the cheapest labour in South-East Asia», the regime shows little concern for the stark poverty and deprivation that is the lot of over half the population. According to the WHO — World Health Organisation — 78% of the Filipinos suffer from malnutrition. Of course, the master of Manilla is not concerned with such thoughts.

Final Declaration of the 27th session of the International Trade Union Committee for Social Tourism and Leisure — CSITSL

The International Trade-Union Committee for Social Tourism and Leisure of the WFTU held its 27th session from March 2 to 7 in Calvi, Corsica, following the invitation of the French association «Tourism et Travail» to its holiday village «La Balagne».

The session was attended by the representatives of member organisations from 18 countries with different economic and social systems in various parts of the world and by the representatives of two international organisations.

Georges Séguy, General Secretary of the CGT and member of the WFTU Bureau, participated in the debates and made an important contribution.

The session discussed a report on «The importance and place of social tourism in the overall struggle of the workers for their rights, democratic progress, peace between the peoples and a new international economic order».

The participants approved the report and complemented and enriched it with the experience from their countries.

They decided to submit this material to the WFTU Secretariat for appropriate distribution to affiliated trade union centres and other organisations, in particular the specialised agencies of the United Nations.

This report, a follow-up of the Committee's earlier work, could help both member organisations and the recipients to gain a better insight into social tourism and improve their activities in this field.

Based on the draft declaration of the WFTU General Council, elaborated at its October 1980 session in Moscow, it could be the starting point for defining the WFTU's policy on social tourism in preparation for the 10th World Tade Union Congress to be held in 1982 in Cuba.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL ARŞİVİ VAKFI

Flashes FROM

TURKEY

Trade union activists refuse to take orders from the military junta

Summoned to surrender themselves to the police or of losing their nationality (cf Flashes No 11/1981), several leaders of progressive Turkish trade unions — DISK — told General Evren's military junta that they would continue their labour struggle, if need be, underground.

On February 10, General Evren, the tough man of the Turkish military junta, «summoned» several activists of trade unions and democratic movements — some of whom are at present abroad — to report to the authorities before March 5.

In a declaration circulated in leaflet form several leaders of DISK, the centre of progressive Turkish trade unions with over 600,000 members, and Maden-IS, the Metalworkers' Union affiliated to DISK and the TUI of Metalworkers, declare:

«We will not report to the authorities under martial law. Every individual has this right. Moreover, we must carry on our struggle, because tens of thousands of workers elected us for that very purpose.»

The document is signed by Kemal Daysal, member of the DISK Federal Bureau, Mehmet Karaca, member of the Executive Committee, Metin Denizmen, President of the Federation of Bank and Office Employees, Murat Tokmak, Vice-President of Maden-IS, Turhan Ata, member of the DISK Executive Committee, Bahtiyar Erkul and Halit Erden, Maden-IS Vice-President and General Secretary respectively.

In the document the Turkish trade-union leaders stress their determination to continue with their duties, even clandestinely as long the following demands are not granted and guaranteed: the revoking of the ban against the trade unions; restoration of trade-union rights and freedoms; the revoking of the ban on strikes; an end to outside interference in the negotiating of collective agreements; an end to torture and repression.

ISRAEL

Escalation of the Zionist campaign against Arab students in Israeli Universities

The Regional Committee of Palestinian Students in Haifa published a communique which vehemently condemns the aggression carried out by fascist zionist bands, against Arab students at the Technical Institute — TACHNIUN — in Haifa.

The Committee demands that the university authorities introduce severe sanctions against these bands and take all the necessary measures to put an immediate end to all acts of aggression against Palestinian students and people.

Lately, the hysterical and bloody attacks on Palestinian students in Israeli universities have become progressively more fierce.

Under the leadership of Rabbi Meir Kahan, head of the racist zionist movement, these bands demand, among other things, that Arab students be expelled from the universities.

This rabbi warned the Dean of the Technical Institute in Haifa that he would organise a violent attack on the Arab students, if they are not expelled from the Institute within one week.

Release the Palestinian citizen ZIAD ABDUL AIN!

In a telegram to the President of the United States, the World Federation of Trade Unions voices its indignation and strongly condemns the imprisonment of the Palestinian citizen Ziad Abul Ain, held in Chicago, USA, since last August, and the intention of the United States authorities to illegally hand him over to the Israeli authorities. This act, in itself a violation of all international conventions and human rights, would directly threaten the life of Abul Ain.

The WFTU — points out the telegram of its Secretariat — holds the United States government responsible for the life of Abul Ain and demands his immediate release.

OCCUPIED WESTERN BANK
The teachers' strike goes on

Since the beginning of this year, Palestinian teachers in the occupied territories on the West Bank are on strike for better salaries and the repeal of the decrees of the Israeli occupation authorities which interfere with academic freedom. This strike is very extensively supported by the population, including the parents of the pupils and students.

The teachers rejected the very meagre rise in salaries proposed by the Israeli authorities, since it is a notorious fact that the annual inflation rate in Israel has surpassed 130%.

The Central Council of Teachers in West Bank Schools warned the occupation authorities that the repression of teachers could result in their even firmer determination to carry on the struggle for their just cause.

In support of the teachers, shopkeepers in several West Bank towns held a one-day strike. Israeli troops, however, forced some of them to open their shops.

Call of the GDR trade unions

The FDGB came out in support of the speediest possible implementation of the new Soviet initiatives to strengthen peace and disarmament, as proposed by the 26th Congress of the CPSU. The aim of these initiatives, says the declaration published in Berlin by the FDGB, is to reduce international tension and carry out radical transformations in the world for the benefit of all mankind.

This is the spirit of a message sent by the GDR trade unions to the participants in the Madrid meeting. They call upon them to do their utmost to continue the process of détente that began in the seventies. Further, they stress the need to convene as soon as possible a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe.

AFL-CIO financial «aid» to «Solidarity»

The Italian review «Panorama» recently published a short interview with AFL-CIO President L. Kirkland about the financial «aid» given to the Polish «Solidarity» group. The review writes that their correspondent talked with Lane Kirkland, who admitted the transfer of financial means to «Solidarity». In particular, Kirkland confirmed: «We have already granted them 200,000 dollars and in the months to come we shall send them additional sums, even if the Russians continue to criticise us for our support of the free trade unions in Poland».

«Should independent trade-union organisations be established in other communist countries», Kirkland added, «they would also receive help from us.»

Flashes from the trade unions

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL ARAŞTIRMALAR VAKFI

25 May 1981, Flashes

(cont. from p. 3)

without legal foundation in the Constitution».

«Pinochet has rid himself of the dreadful problem of missing persons simply by passing a decree that says there are no missing persons in Chile. But during my stay in Chile I met several people who had witnessed the arrest of a member of their family by the notorious CNI, without receiving any news of the missing person since, nor even knowing whether he or she is still alive.

«Yes, as I was able to see in July 1977, May 1980 and again on the occasion of May Day 1981, there is tension in Chile provoked by fear. There is poverty. This is why the 3rd National Meeting of Chilean Women, held last December, launched the following slogan: «As we have already lost everything, now let's lose our fear.»

«I should like to go back to the case of our brother Fernando Bobadilla. He was arrested in a Santiago street at about 3 o'clock on the afternoon of May Day. He was made to get into a car, had sticking-plaster stuck over his eyes and a hood put over his head and, with his hands tied, was taken to a building where he underwent interrogation for over 10 hours. He was finally released with the «advice» to keep quiet about his arrest.

«In such conditions, with our brother Bobadilla in danger, it is necessary for all national, regional and international trade union organisations as a whole to voice their support for him by intervening strongly with the Chilean authorities and approaching international organisations, the ILO in particular. I think the ILO should be made aware of his case during the coming session of the International Labour Conference in Geneva in June.

«We should also voice our active solidarity with brothers Manuel Bustos, Alamiro Guzman and the nine members of the CNS who are being harassed by the Chilean authorities because of their trade union activities.»

Continuing his press conference, Antoine Herrero recounted how, the evening before he was due to leave Chile, CNI agents came and arrested him at his hotel at about 10 o'clock at night. «They put me in a car bound for an unknown destination. I recognised the classic methods of the CNI — sticking-plaster over the eyes and a hood over the head. During the seven car journeys I made and in the various places I was held, I could hear revolvers and machine guns being handled by the thugs in charge of me. At the first place in which I was detained I could also hear dogs barking.

«After submitting me to 12 hours' interrogation, Pinochet's henchmen were finally obliged to set me free, thanks to the intervention of the French Embassy in Santiago and, especially, to international solidarity.

«The conditions of my arrest, detention and interrogation make me think about all our Chilean brothers who have been and still are exposed to similar situations and whose only «crime» is to aspire to win back freedom, democracy and sovereignty for their country.

«This is why I think we should do more, much more, to strengthen our support for our Chilean brothers.»

Turkey

Military regime steps up repression against DISK

«It has never been possible to destroy the working class or what it fights for,» DISK president A. Bastürk tells judges.

Abdullah Bastürk with his lawyers, visibly suffering from his detention.

Of the four trials currently underway against DISK, its affiliates and its leaders, the one which aims at a permanent ban against DISK began on 27 April at the Istanbul civil court. Abdullah Bastürk, DISK president, was able to speak in public for the first time since his arrest in September 1980.

«We are on trial here,» he declared in his defence, «on account of the views which the leaders of DISK have openly stated over the years, in public, on radio and on television, during collective bargaining, at meetings and at demonstrations. We are on trial because DISK has consistently defended the interests of our country and the rights and liberties of the workers. This court is not only hoping to dissolve DISK and bring an end to its organisation. Its first objective is to liquidate the democratic class- and mass-based trade unionism which has developped in the wake of DISK in Turkey, fighting company unionism ... In this case the political aspect counts for much and the legal aspect for practially nothing ... DISK stood up determinedly against anarchy and terror, has launched appeals to this effect ... Since its foundation DISK has been a committed defender of national independence and democracy. It has opposed imperialism and fascism and actively defended the cause of peace ... It has defended the 1961 constitution in its totality ... DISK and the workers cannot be held responsible for the economic crisis. This was clearly demonstrated in the period following 12 September when salaries were fixed by other methods ... We continue to defend the same views, in spite of the severe repression under which we are now suffering ... The glorious history of the Turkish working class goes back for 100 years. During this time there have been periods when rights and liberties have been suppressed, trade unions banned, unionists thrown into jail and severely tortured. But it has never been possible to destroy the working class or what it fights for.»

The judge decided to ask the advice of the Court Martial on the question of transferring the case to the Military Tribunal. 51 lawyers are acting for the defence of the DISK leaders, who include the former Minister of the Interior of the Popular Republican Party. Following the hearing one of the lawyers was taken away by the military authorities and released after three days' detention.

Currently 195 DISK leaders and militants are detained in Istanbul's military prisons alone, and have already been held for eight months. Charges have not yet been brought against them. According to Turkish daily newspapers, the military procurator has not published the indictment under which 2,000 leaders and activists belonging to DISK will be brought to trial. Moreover, since May Day new arrests are underway on the basis of new lists of «suspects» which have been drawn up.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH VAKFI

THE CHILEAN WORKERS AND PEOPLE ARE NOT COWED BY REPRESSION

Arrested, then expelled from Chile, our brother Antoine Herrero, Secretary of the Textile Workers' TUI, testifies ...

Brother Antoine Herrero, Secretary of the Textile Workers' TUI, went to Chile at the invitation of the National Trade Union Coordinating Committee (CNS), the Democratic Federation of Workers (UDT), the Confederation of Domestic Staff (CEPCH) and the Workers' Unity Front (FUT) to represent the World Federation of Trade Unions at the celebrations for May Day, international workers' day.

But the Pinochet regime, once again revealing its repressive fascist nature, sent its police to arrest our brother Herrero, accusing him of having participated in «activities aimed at political agitation». That is how the Pinochet regime describes May Day!

The arrest of Antoine Herrero occurred only three months after that of Achilles Blondeau, an officer of the French CGT.

In the face of public and international pressure the regime was obliged to release Antoine Herrero who was subsequently expelled from Chile.

At a press conference held in the WFTU headquarters in Prague on 14 May, brother Herrero gave a detailed picture of the situation in Chile, at a time marked by an acceleration and reinforcement of social movements, the scope of which is underlined in our brother's evidence about his experiences.

«In spite of the difficult conditions of fascism which have now been felt for eight years, the Chilean workers also celebrated May Day, international workers' day, this year.

«Once again, under the false pretext of avoiding disorder on the public highway, all demonstrations were banned in Chile for May Day 1981, except those organised by the fascist government. Nevertheless, there were rallies in almost all towns, despite terror tactics and repression.

«These May Day demonstrations expressed the Chilean workers' anger and discontent at the continuous worsening of their living conditions. For example, wages and salaries dropped by 35.6% between 1971 and 1979.

«In Santiago, the national trade union organisations which invited the WFTU had made a joint appeal for this May Day to be celebrated by organising a joint meeting.

«The fascist authorities banned these four organisations from holding a meeting in the Don Bosco hall as they had planned.

«All the same, the May Day celebrations took place in a small hall belonging to the National Association of Fiscal Employees (ANEF) where about 600 hundred people were able to pack themselves in. Thousands and thousands of workers, men, women and especially young people, gathered in the wide Alameda avenue where ANEF has its offices.

«Representatives of the four trade union organisations in question took the floor at the meeting. Special stress was laid on the fact that in order to face up to the dramatic situation in which the Chilean workers find themselves, unity among workers and trade unions is more indispensable than ever.

«During the meeting a representative of the workers in El Teniente copper mines, on strike since 21 April, made the following appeal to workers and trade unions the world over: «We need the support of all workers, all trade unions, because we know our struggle will be long and hard against the brutal repression of the state-owner, and in view of the fact that provision is made in mentioned trade union organisations, I took part in two meetings, one held in Rancagua, the other in Caletones, organised by the unions of the El Teniente copper miners and attended by thousands of striking workers.

«During these meetings, at which I had the opportunity to take the floor to express the WFTU's solidarity with the 10,500 workers on strike, I was able to see that the miners were well aware that, with the arbitrary methods of Pinochet's junta, their the Constitution for any worker on strike for more than 60 days to be sacked. In this context, our struggle will become even more bitter after the 60th day.»

«On the afternoon of May Day, together with the leaders of the four previously struggle will be long and difficult. The miners of El Teniente are also aware that if their legitimate demands are not satisfied, this could have repercussions on Chilean workers as a whole. This is why international solidarity with the copper miners of El Teniente is an absolute necessity for the success of their struggle.

«Several hundred people were arrested in Chile on May Day. In Santiago, the police announced the arrest of 141 people, including 34 women. But we know that there were others arrested by the CNI — formerly the DINA — such as our brother Fernando Bobadilla, president of the Chilean federation of textile and garment workers.

«Arrests, deportations and killings continue in Chile. Disappearances are on the increase.

«According to information acquired on the spot, several hundred people have been arrested in Chile since the new Constitution was approved last March. These arrests are described by Chilean lawyers as «arrests

Brother Antoine Herrero describing the current situation in Chile to newspaper and radio reporters at the press conference

TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE İŞÇİ TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Merkezi Çekoslovakya'nın başkenti Prag'da olan Uluslararası Gazeteciler Örgütü'nün 15 günlük yayın organı News Letter (NiyuzLetır), Türkiye'de basın yayın organlarına ve ve gazetecilere karşı girişilen baskılara geniş yer verdi.

Ürün dergisi yazı işleri müdürü Ahmet Taştan'ın resminin de yer aldığı news Letter'ın Temmuz 1981 günlü ve 14. sayısında yayınlanan yazısında özetle şöyle deniyor:

Sıkıyönetim Mahkemelerinin son zamanlarda ilerici gazetecilere karşı kestiği hapis cezalarının kısa bir dökümü şöyledir:

Şimdi yasaklanmış olan aylık Ürün dergisinin yazı işleri müdürü Ahmet Taştan bir yazıda "Komünizm propagandası" yaptığı gerekçesiyle 9 yıl 9 ay hapis cezasına mahkum edildi. Savcılar, Ahmet Taştan için Ürün dergisindeki değişik yazılardan ötürü 500 yılı aşan hapis cezaları istiyorlar.

Yine Savaş Yolu dergisi yazı işleri müdürü Candemir Özler "Komünizm propagandası" gerekçesiyle 13 yıl 1 ay hapis cezasına çarptırıldı. 15 günlük İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik gazetesi yazı işleri müdürü Erhan Tuzkan, biri 9 yıl 5 ay 10 gün, öbürü 14 yıl olmak üzere iki kez ve toplam 23 yıl 5 ay 10 gün hapis cezasına mahkum edildi.

Politika gazetesi yazı işleri müdürü Aydın Şenesen 1977 yılında yayınlanan bir okur mektubundan ötürü 18 18 ay hapis cezası yedi. Aynı gazetenin yazarlarından Uğur Kökten, hükümete hakaret ettiği gerekçesiyle bir yıl hapse mahkum edildi. Geçirdiği ilerici derecede verem hastalığından ötürü akciğerlerinden biri alınmış olan ülkenin tanınmış mizah yazarı 70 yaşındaki Rıfat Ilgaz bu yılın Mayıs ayından beri hiçbir gerekçe gösterilmeden gözaltında tutuluyor.

Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu DİSK'e bağlı Genel-İş Sendikasının EMAS basımevi sorumlusu, eski Kurucu Meclis üyesi, 54 yaşındaki tanınmış yazar İlhami Soysal bu yılın Şubat ayından beri zındanda bulunuyor.

12 Eylül 1980'de askeriyenin erke el koymasından bu yana Türkiye'de yüzü aşkın gazete ve dergi askersel yöneticiler tarafından yasaklanmış bulunuyor.

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Sovyetler Birliği ile Türkiye'nin ilişkileri güçlü temeller üzerinde kuruldu ve öyle kalmaya devam ediyor

Sovyetler Birliği Bilimler Akademisi'ne bağlı Dünya Ekonomisi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Enstitüsü'nün aylık yayın organında yayınlanan "Uluslararası Politikanın Güncel Sorunları" başlıklı yazıda Türkiye'deki duruma da değiniliyor.

Sovyetler Birliği Bilimsel Akademisi'nin "Dünya Ekonomisi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler" adlı dergisinin Temmuz 1981 sayısında çıkan Babak,Kokeyev ve Oleşçuk imzalı yazıda Türkiye konusunda şöyle deniyor:

"Türkiye halkı, güç ve karmaşık bir dönemini yaşıyor. Bilindiği gibi 1980 yılı Eylül ayında ülkede ordu yönetime el koydu. Askerler, aşırı sağ neo-faşist ve aşırı sol maocu değişik türden ç çok sayıda terörist örgüte karşı kararlı bir savaşım başlattılar. 24 binin üzerinde insan terörist, eylemlere katıldıkları suçlamasıyla ya gözaltına alındı, ya da tutuklandı. Askersel yönetimin başı, Türkiye Milli Güvenlik Konseyi ve devlet başkanı Kenan Evren geçenlerde 30 Ağustos ile 29 Ekim tarihleri arasında bir Kurucu Meclis'in toplanacağını belirtti. Kurucu Meclis'in çalışmaya başlamasından sonra, parlamento seçimlerinin ne zaman yapılacağı açıklanacak.

Ülkenin ekonomik durumundaki istikrarsızlık sürüyor. Enflasyon hızının yüksekliği, yiyecek ve ana tüketim mallarının fiyatlarını artırıyor. İşsizlik ve dış borçlar artıyor. Türkiye askersel hükümeti dış politika alanında Kuzey Atlantik Paktı NATO'ya bağlılığını koruyor. Aynı zamanda hükümet, Sovyetler Birliği de içinde olmak üzere, komşu ülkelerle işbirliğini geliştirme niyetinde olduğunu belirtti.

10 Mart- 10 Haziran 1981 günleri arasında dünya politikasındaki gelişmeleri konu alan yazıda devamla şöyle deniliyor:

Mart ayında Sovyetler Birliği ile Türkiye arasında Leninci ilkeler temelinde imzalanan iyi komşuluk ve işbirliği ilişkilerinin kurulmasının 60. yıldönümü kutlandı.

Ülkede Mayıs ayında Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurucusu ve ilk cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün 100. doğum yılı kutlandı. Türkiye devlet başkanı Kenan Evren'e yolladığı kutlama telgrafında Leonid Brejnev şöyle dedi: Sovyetler Birliği'ne göre, Lenin ve Atatürk'ün temellerini attığı iki ülke arasındaki barış, dostluk ve verimli işbirliği gelenekleri Sovyet-Türk ilişkilerini

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geliştiren güçlü temeller üstünde kuruluduğu ve öyle kalmaya devam ediyor. "

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Sovyetler Birliği Yüksek Sovyet başkanlığının yayın organı İzvestiya gazetesinde yayınlanan "Kuraklık felaketi" başlıklı haberde, Türkiye'nin güneydoğu bölgelerinin toptan susuz kaldığı belirtiliyor. 7 milyon sürümü olan İzvestiya gazetesinin 6 Ağustos 1981 günlü haberinde şöyle deniyor:

"Bugünlerde Türkiye'nin güneydoğu bölgelerinde kendini gösteren eşi görülmemiş kuraklık sonucu bölgede yaklaşık 4 bin yerleşim bölgesi susuz kalmıştır. Türk Haberler Ajansının belirttiğine göre ısının 40 derecenin altına genellikle düşmediği Diyarbakır, Mardin, Urfa illerinde, su depoları ve tankları toptan boşalmış, binlerce büyük baş hayvan ölüm tehlikesiyle yüzyüze kalmıştır.

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Merkezi Prag'da bulunan Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun haftalık yayın organı Flashes gazetesinin 20 Temmuz 1981 günlü sayısında: "Pragdaki Türkiye büyükelçiliği Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikasından bir heyeti görmeyi reddetti" başlıklı bir haber yayınlandı.

Haberde şöyle deniyor : 24 Haziran 1981 günü Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikasından bir heyet Prag'daki Türkiye büyükelçiliğine gitti. Heyetin amacı, 185 tekstil işçisine verilen ağır hapis cezalarını protesto etmek ve 9 ayı aşkın bir süredir zındanda tutulan sendika yöneticilerinin özgürlüklerine kavuşmasını istemekti. Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikası heyeti, genel sekreter JanKril ve sekreter Antuan Herrero ile Anatoli Kolmakov'dan oluşuyordu.

Türkiye büyükelçisiyle elçilikteki diğer diplomatlar uluslararası sendikacılar heyetini kabul etmeyi reddettiler. Ayrıca Türkiye başbakanı ile Çalışma Bakanınan yazılan iki mektubu da almak istemediler.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun haftalık yayın organı Flashes'ın haberinde devamla şöyle deniyor: Bundan da Türk yetkililerin Türkiye işçi sınıfına ve halkına karşı baskı politikalarını haklı göstermek için herhalde ortalığa çıkacak yüzleri olmadığı anlaşılıyor.

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Genel

Guyana Tarım İşçileri/Birliği Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü genel direktörü Fransis Blanşard'a bir telgraf göndererek Türkiye'de 52 DİSK yöneticisinin ve militanının idamdan, işkenceden ve hapisten kurtarılması için genel direktörün derhal acil müdahalede bulunmasını istedi.

Madagaskar Devrimci Sendikalar Federasyonu FİSEMARE Birleşmiş Milletler Örgütü genel sekreteri'ne bir mektupla başvurarak 52 DİSK yöneticisinin idamdan kurtarılması için derhal Türkiye nezdinde genel sekreterin harekete geçmesini istedi.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'na bağlı Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği'nin Temmuz ayında çıkan yayın organında uluslararası birliğin, bir genelge mektupla tüm üye örgütlerine ve dost örgütlerine başvurarak 52 DİSK yöneticisinin kurtarılması için eylemlerinin artırılmasını istedikleri bildiriliyor.

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Confédération Européenne des Syndicats

European Trade Union Confederation

Den Europeiske Faglige Samorganisasjon

Europäischer Gewerkschaftsbund

le 23 avril 1981
JIN/HL/PN

RAPPORT SUR LA MISSION DE LA C.E.S. EN TURQUIE, DU 18 AU 22 AVRIL 1981

par Jon-Ivar Nälsund, Secrétaire Général Adjoint de la C.E.S.

Contexte de cette mission

Suite aux discussions sur les développements en Turquie en 1980-1981 et devant la gravité de la situation à laquelle font face les syndicats en Turquie, le Secrétariat de la C.E.S. a décidé d'envoyer une mission officieuse en Turquie. Le but de la mission était:

a) d'informer sur la position de la C.E.S. concernant la situation dans ce pays;

b) de rassembler des informations sur la situation des syndicalistes en Turquie;

c) d'assister en observateur au procès contre les syndicalistes turcs de DISK, qui a commencé le 22 avril 1981 à Istanbul.

La mission n'a pas été entourée de publicité préalable et n'a pas été notifiée aux autorités.

Ce rapport est basé sur des observations personnelles que j'ai pu faire durant les quatre journées que j'ai passées à Istanbul et sur les conversations que j'ai pu avoir avec un grand nombre de syndicalistes, d'avocats et de quelques hommes politiques proches du Parti Populaire Républicain.
L'actuel gouvernement turc considère que c'est un délit grave de donner des informations sur le côté sombre de la société turque actuellement. Les gens que j'ai rencontrés couraient donc le risque d'une peine de plusieurs années d'emprisonnement pour m'avoir dépeint la situation telle qu'ils la voient, eux. Le présent rapport ne contiendra donc pas d'informations relatives aux noms ni aux fonctions des personnes rencontrées. Je pense qu'elles représentent une fraction importante des forces démocratiques en Turquie et que les informations qu'elles m'ont données donne un aperçu très utile des conditions actuellement en cours en Turquie aujourd'hui.

Observations générales

Istanbul a l'aspect d'une ville occupée. Il y a des soldats partout, armés de fusils automatiques, le doigt sur la détente; selon les gens rencontrés, les soldats ont l'autorisation de tirer s'il y a des troubles. Ils procèdent à des contrôles permanents des occupants des autobus ordinaires qu'ils arrêtent fréquemment, faisant sortir et fouillant les passagers, leur demandant de montrer leurs papiers d'identité etc. Les gens que j'ai rencontrés soulignent qu'après le coup d'Etat militaire, on pouvait à nouveau circuler en rue sans danger et que le terrorisme ouvert des dernières années avait disparu. Cette amélioration de la sécurité personnelle est contre-balancée par une nouvelle terreur exercée par les autorités contre quiconque tenterait de critiquer l'absence de droits démocratiques de ce pays. Les avocats, les politiciens et les syndicalistes que j'ai rencontrés admettaient tous largement que les autorités militaires de la région d'Istanbul ont consciemment laissé faire les terroristes avant le coup d'Etat, afin de mieux préparer celui-ci, le 12 septembre 1980. La suppression rapide et effective du terrorisme ouvert dans

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les rues a été réalisée grâce à des méthodes qui étaient déjà accessibles aux autorités militaires sous la loi martiale, laquelle était déjà en vigueur avant le coup d'Etat. Le gouvernement semble essayer systématiquement de contrôler toutes les organisations et institutions, soit en forçant les dirigeants des organisations à suivre sa propre ligne politique, en en changeant les chefs, soit en fermant les organisations et en en créant de nouvelles, sous son contrôle.

Droits syndicaux

Au niveau des entreprises, aucune activité syndicale ne peut être poursuivie, quelle que soit l'organisation à laquelle les gens sont affiliés. Les bureaux syndicaux des usines sont scellés et les tentatives de faire valoir des griefs ne portent pas. La négociation collective est mise hors-la-loi et les grèves sont interdites. Au niveau national, Türk-Is peut fonctionner, tandis que DISK a été fermé. Toutefois, les limites entre lesquelles Türk-Is peut fonctionner sont très étroites.

Situation de DISK

Presque tous les fonctionnaires de DISK sont soit en prison, soit ils ont pris le maquis, soit ils sont exilés hors de Turquie. Plus de 300 d'entre-eux sont incarcérés à Istanbul et un nombre inconnu de syndicalistes de DISK sont emprisonnés ailleurs dans le pays. Le gouvernement a désigné trois curateurs pour gérer les biens et les revenus de DISK. Selon des rapports que j'ai reçus, les bâtiments appartenant à des organisations de DISK ont été cédés par les curateurs, sans compensation. Ainsi, le grand centre de vacances du syndicat des employés communaux - GENEL-IS, sur la mer Egée - a été cédé à une Banque Turque du Tourisme pour une période de 10 ans. Les bureaux de GENEL-IS à Ankara seront aussi probablement cédés à des institutions gouvernementales, sans compensation. A cause du système des listes pratiqué en Turquie, les employeurs continuent à déduire les cotisations syndicales des salaires des travailleurs et les envoient aux curateurs de DISK. Cet argent est recelé dans des banques d'Etat et on peut aisément supposer qu'à la fin du compte, il émergera dans les institutions militaires. Les employés de DISK n'ont pas eu de salaire depuis le coup d'Etat, ils n'ont pas été licenciés et ne peuvent donc pas se chercher un nouvel emploi; ils dépendant donc totalement de l'aide d'amis et de parents. Un procès a commencé le 22 avril 1981, qui vise à fermer définitivement DISK. En voici quelques détails.

Traitement des prisonniers de DISK

La plupart des fonctionnaires de DISK, au niveau national et local, soit on été arrêtés, soit se sont rendus dans les jours qui ont suivi le coup d'Etat. Selon des rapports d'avocats et de parents, ils ont été sujets à de graves tortures durant les dix premiers jours. Les méthodes utilisées varient de l'application de courants électriques, d'abus sexuels, de simulacres de pendaison, au maintien à l'état de veille durant plusieurs semaines, aux coups, aux coups sur la plante des pieds etc. Durant les quatre premiers mois, les prisonniers n'ont pas pu voir leurs avocats ni les membres de leurs familles. A ce moment, leur état de santé s'est détérioré de façon marquante. Au début décembre, presque un mois après le maximum légal, ils ont comparu devant un juge, n'ayant ensuite aucun recours à une défense légale. Le juge a libéré la plupart des prisonniers, mais 68 ont été gardés lors de cette première audience. Devant cette attitude libérale, le juge a été démis de ses fonctions par les autorités militaires et un autre juge a été désigné. Les prisonniers libérés par le premier ont ensuite été réemprisonnés par le second. Mais depuis, les prisonniers ont pu recevoir des membres de leurs familles et leurs avocats à intervalles réguliers, même si c'était sous un contrôle strict. On leur a également permis de recevoir des colis de nourriture et leur état de santé s'est amélioré de façon notable. Durant le dernier mois, des restrictions ont à nouveau été imposées et actuellement les prisonniers peuvent recevoir de la visite deux fois par mois et pour dix minutes par visite. Lors de telles visites, il y a un grand espace entre le visiteur et le visité, occupé par un gardien. Les avocats opèrent également dans des conditions difficiles du même genre.

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Il n'y a pas de salle d'attente pour les parents qui doivent attendre dehors, quelles que soient les conditions météorologiques. Ceux-ci attendent fréquemment de 6 à 7 heures avant de pouvoir visiter le prisonnier. Les prisonniers sont gardés dans de grandes pièces, jusqu'à 30 par pièce. Le confort sanitaire y laisse fort à désirer et la nourriture y est mauvaise. Les prisonniers peuvent cependant s'acheter de la nourriture supplémentaire. Ils peuvent recevoir jusqu'à 3.000 Livres turques (soit 30 dollars US) par quinzaine. Ils ne peuvent lire aucun autre livre que les livres sur ou par Kemal ATATÜRK.

Certains prisonniers sont malades. S'il faut des médicaments, les parents doivent aller en acheter dans les pharmacies, sans aucune assistance financière officielle. Il n'y a pas de docteur disponible dans la prison. Dans les cas graves, les malades doivent être transportés dans d'autres prisons où l'aide médicale nécessaire peut leur être donnée. L'inconfort des méthodes de transport est telle que les prisonniers préfèrent souvent ne pas avoir recours à ce "service", sauf dans les cas très graves.

On n'a pas fait connaître les chefs d'accusation aux prisonniers, et ils ignorent quand aura lieu leur procès. Les chefs d'accusation portés contre le dirigeant de DISK, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK seraient semble-t-il la violation aux articles 146, 141 du Code Pénal, à l'article 1402 de la Loi Martiale, à l'article 171 de la loi sur les réunions publiques (Code civil), à l'article 274 de la législation sur les syndicats et à l'article 275 de la loi sur les grèves, les conflits etc.
S'il est reconnu coupable d'avoir violé l'article 146 du Code Pénal, il risque la peine de mort.

Défense des fonctionnaires de DISK

Jusqu'à la fin décembre, les avocats ne pouvaient pas rendre visite aux prisonniers. Après, ils ont pu les rencontrer un quart d'heure à la fois, en la présence d'un gardien et avec un large espace entre le prisonnier et son avocat. Les avocats n'ont pas accès aux dossiers de charges des prisonniers et ils n'ont pas été informés des charges précises qui pèsent sur leurs clients. Environ 100 avocats de Ankara et de Istanbul se sont portés volontaires pour défendre, à titre gratuit, les fonctionnaires de DISK, et on compte parmi eux Mr Hasan Fehmi GÜNES, Ministre de l'Intérieur du gouvernement social-démocrate de Mr Bulent Ecevit.
Les problèmes financiers de la défense sont très sérieux.

Le 27 avril 1981, le principal avocat de la défense, Mr Ercüment TAHIROGLU était arrêté.

Situation des familles des prisonniers

Durant toute la période qui a suivi l'arrestation des fonctionnaires de DISK, leurs familles se sont trouvées sans ressources financières, la plupart de leurs épouses n'exerçant pas de profession avant le coup d'Etat. En conséquence, ces familles dépendent maintenant totalement de l'aide d'amis, de parents et de collègues de leurs maris. Les pouvoirs militaires essaient d'empêcher que ces familles se réunissent et dans certains cas arrêtent les gens qui collectent de l'argent pour elles, les accusant de venir en aide à des organisations terroristes. La situation économique des familles des prisonniers est donc très précaire. Dans de nombreux cas, les amis et les parents craignent d'entrer en contact avec les familles des prisonniers, du fait qu'ils pensent que les autorités militaires pourraient interpréter cela comme une preuve de collaboration avec DISK. Cela conduit à un isolement social, qui rend la situation des familles absolument intenable. Les femmes que j'ai rencontrées ont souligné les problèmes qui résultaient de cette situation. Elles ne savent pas quand leur mari sera jugé, quelles sont les charges qui pèsent contre lui ni quelle est la peine qu'il risque. Elles ne savent donc pas à quoi s'en tenir. Elles ont souligné combien l'incertitude psychologique peut être bien pire que les difficultés économiques. Les familles propriétaires de biens se sont vues forcées de vendre maisons ou

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terres pour assurer leur subsistance quotidienne, mais dans de nombreux cas, les familles ne possédaient pas les biens qu'elles auraient pu vendre. La nécessité d'une aide extérieure est donc impérative. Le revenu net moyen au moment de l'arrestation était de 10.000 Livres turques environ, soit 100 dollars US par personne et par mois. Les chiffres officiels de l'inflation en Turquie avoisinnent actuellement les 40% l'an, et il faut en tenir compte lors de l'établissement du chiffre de l'aide à accorder.

Assistance Financière Extérieure

Les besoins financiers pour assurer la défense des prisonniers et la subsistance des familles sont considérables. Les possibilités de collecter de l'argent en Turquie même sont minces - tant en raison du danger personnel qu'encourent ceux qui collectent qu'en raison du niveau économique général des parents, amis et collègues ces prisonniers. Les moyens d'assistance existant en Turquie ont été utilisés durant environ 8 mois, et de nombreux sympathisans commencent à décliner. La situation devient donc critique. Recevoir de l'aide de l'extérieur (étranger) est considéré comme un délit grave qui peut être puni de fortes peines de prison. Les organisations étrangères qui voudraient apporter une aide financière sont donc priées:

a) soit de convaincre des autorités turques que leur attitude à l'égard d'une telle aide doit être changée et d'autoriser une assistance financière à transmettre par les voies officielles;

b) soit transmettre cette aide par des voies secrètes au risque d'être illégale.

Procès contre DISK

Le 22 avril 1981, le procès visant à fermer définitivement DISK a commencé au tribunal de Bakirköy. Jusqu'ici, DISK a vu ses opérations suspendues et les autorités militaires souhaitent que le verdict mette définitivement l'organisation hors-la-loi. Les charges sont très générales et sont fondées sur de très vagues preuves. Les charges les plus sérieuses se rapportent aux articles 146 et 141 du Code Pénal turc (dont une traduction se trouve en annexe).

J'ai pu assister au procès qui s'est déroulé dans une petite salle du tribunal, dans un faubourg d'Istanbul. DISK était représenté par son Président, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK. C'était la première fois que Mr Bastürk pouvait parler publiquement après son arrestation en septembre 1980. J'ai pu lui serrer la main et échanger quelques mots avec lui avant que le garde ne mette un terme à notre entretien. Il paraissait en bonne santé, et selon ses avocats, il ne souffre pas de maladie particulière. La défense a été préparée par 76 avocats d'Ankara et d'Istanbul qui ont tous signé le document de la défense. Nombreux étaient ceux d'entre-eux qui étaient au procès, mais moins de la moitié des avocats de la défense ont pu pénétrer dans la salle. Après l'ouverture officielle de ce procès, Mr Bastürk a pu faire une déclaration. Cette déclaration a été préparée oralement par Mr Bastürk et le principal avocat de la défense, Mr Ercüment Tahiroğlu, la défense ne pouvant pas échanger de documents écrits avec Mr Bastürk. Il a donc vu le manuscrit final pour la première fois au tribunal même. La défense a mis en question la compétence d'un tribunal du travail (celui de Bakirköy) pour traiter d'un cas d'une telle importance et elle a demandé que l'affaire soit mise entre les mains du Tribunal Civil d'Ankara. Ce que le juge a refusé.

Mr Bastürk a fait une puissante déclaration, et j'ai eu le sentiment qu'elle a produit une impression positive sur le public. Le texte de cette déclaration se trouve en annexe. Après lecture de cette déclaration, le Procureur de la République a déclaré que cette déclaration était une insulte contre sa fonction et que des charges seraient ajoutées contre lui.
Après l'ouverture formelle du procès, le juge a poursuivi en disant que comme il ne savait pas si la Cour Martiale accepterait de changer de juridiction, il ajournait l'audience jusqu'au moment où il serait certain de la position de la Cour Martiale.

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La défense a réagi et a demandé que les débats se poursuivent et elle a fait remettre au tribunal les documents préparés par la défense. Le juge a refusé de regarder les documents de la défense et a ajourné l'audience au 18 mai 1981.

Les charges principales contre DISK, que l'organisation a été créée pour abroger la constitution turque par des moyens violents, n'ont été établies jusqu'ici en aucune manière et la déclaration de Mr Bastürk contient une véhémente déclaration qui soutient les idéaux démocratiques des droits syndicaux fondamentaux. Ce procès doit être considéré comme une persécution politique des syndicats.

J'ai eu l'impression que le juge ne souhaitait pas être tenu responsable de la fermeture de DISK et plutôt que de prendre en mains les problèmes personnels en acquittant l'organisation, il a essayé de pousser la décision entre les mains de la Cour Martiale, qui comprend des juges militaires. Les avocats de DISK ont vu dans cette manoeuvre une évolution négative, car la possibilité d'un verdict négatif contre l'organisation est bien plus grande à la Cour Martiale et constituerait un dangereux précédent pour les procès ultérieurs contre des syndicalistes isolés.

Le 23 avril 1981, la C.E.S. a publié un communiqué à la presse (dont un exemplaire se trouve en annexe).
Le 27 avril, le principal avocat de la défense, Mr TAHIROGLU, était arrêté.

Détermination des politiques de la C.E.S.

Au cours des conversations que j'ai eues, j'ai pu reconnaître une opinion généralement positive pour le soutien politique que la C.E.S. a donné aux syndicats turcs dans ses différentes déclarations et décisions. La décision de rejeter la candidature de Türk-Is et de postposer la demande d'adhésion de DISK a été considérée comme un signe évident de soutien du syndicalisme libre en Turquie. Les opinions sont partagées quant à savoir si les demandes de rupture des relations entre la C.E.E. et la Turquie sont le meilleur moyen de faire pression sur le gouvernement turc. La plupart des gens que j'ai rencontrés ont eux-mêmes conclu que la C.E.S. était elle-même en meilleure position d'en juger qu'eux-mêmes. Ce manque de confiance en soi est probalement dû en partie au manque d'information causé par la censure turque. Il y a donc un souhait général que les gouvernements d'Europe occidentale fassent davantage pression sur le gouvernement turc, mais on ne sait pas quelles formes cette pression devrait prendre.

Recommandations

Me fondant sur les informations que j'ai eues durant cette mission et sur les informations reçues à la C.E.S. jusqu'ici par d'autres voies, je recommanderais ceci:

a) que l'on accélère les efforts visant à faire pression sur le gouvernement turc;

b) que l'on envoie d'éminents experts juridiques aux procès contre DISK et contre les syndicalistes individuels, afin de suivre les débats;

c) que l'on trouve les voies et moyens d'assurer que les familles des syndicalistes emprisonnés et les avocats de la défense obtiennent l'assistance économique nécessaire.

Jon-Ivar Nilsund

Secrétaire Général Adjoint

Annexes: I. Déclaration de A. Bastürk au procès de DISK, le 22 avril 1981
II. Extraits du Code Pénal turc
III. Communiqués à la presse C.E.S. des 23 et 28 avril 1981.

JIN/HL/TN

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TÜRKIYE SOSYAL TARIH ARASTIRMA VAKFI

EXTRAITS DU CODE PENAL TURC

Art. 141

1. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle, ceux qui entreprennent de créer, d'organiser les activités ou diriger de quelque façon que ce soit et sous quel nom que ce soit, des associations dont l'objectif est d'établir la domination d'une classesociale sur les autres classes sociales, ou de supprimer une classe sociale, ou de renverser n'importe laquelle des institutions économiques ou sociales fondamentales établies dans le pays, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

   Ceux qui dirigent plusieurs ou toutes les associations de ce type seront condamnés à la peine de mort.

2. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent de quelque façon et sous quelque nom que ce soit des associations dont le but est d'anéantir les institutions politiques et juridiques de l'Etat ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

3. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent des associations dont le but est contraire au système républicain ou vise à donner l'administration de l'Etat à un seul individu ou à un groupe, de façon contraire aux principes démocratiques, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

4. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 1 à 3 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent des associations qui ont pour but de supprimer partiellement ou entièrement les droits publics reconnus par la Constitution au moyen d'idéologies racistes ou qui ont pour objectif d'anéantir ou d'affaiblir le sentiment national, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en la matière.

5. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 5 à 12 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui adhèrent aux associations mentionnées aux paragraphes 1, 2 et 3 et de 6 mois à 2 ans de prison ceux qui adhèrent aux associations mentionnées au paragraphe 4.

6. Les peines de prison seront augmentées d'un tiers si les actes mentionnés aux paragraphes ci-dessus sont commis dans des administrations d'Etat, des municipalités ou des entreprises dont le capital appartient partiellement ou entièrement à l'Etat, des syndicats, des écoles ou des établissements d'enseignement supérieur ou s'ils sont commis par des fonctionnaires ou des employés de ces institutions.

7. Si l'un des auteurs des délits mentionnés dans cet article avoue le délit et dénonce les autres auteurs aux autorités compétentes avant que l'enquête finale ne soit ouverte et si cette dénonciation s'avère exacte, ce délinquant, selon le cas, les conditions et les particularités de l'affaire, pourra être condamné, au lieu de la peine de mort, à une peine d'au moins 10 ans de prison criminelle, ou sa peine de prison pourra être diminuée d'un quart.

8. Dans cet article, l'on entend par association toute réunion de deux ou plusieurs personnes ayant un même objectif.

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Article 146

Seront condamnés à la peine de mort ceux qui entreprennent par la violence de modifier, altérer ou abroger partiellement ou entièrement la loi fondamentale de la République de Turquie ou d'anéantir la Grande Assemblée Nationale constituée par cette loi ou l'en empêcher d'exercer sa tâche.

Seront condamnés à la peine de mort ceux qui, seuls ou en groupe, dans les formes et les façons mentionnées à l'article 65, commettent ces délits en créant des troubles par leurs discours, leurs écrits ou leurs actions, ou en prononçant des discours sur les places publiques, suspendant des affiches ou imprimant des publications, même si le trouble reste au niveau de la tentative.

Seront condamnés d'une peine de 5 à 15 ans de prison criminelle et à l'exclusion perpétuelle des services publics les complices impliqués dans le délit mentionné sous le paragraphe 1 d'une façon autre que ce qui est indiqué au paragraphe 2.

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TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CP 15/81

La C.E.S.: "Le procès intenté contre DISK est une violation des droits syndicaux fondamenteux"

Le procès visant à mettre définitivement fin à la centrale syndicale turque DISK s'est ouvert hier 22 avril à Istanbul. La C.E.S. était représentée au procès par son Secrétaire Général Adjoint, Mr Jon-Ivar NÅLSUND. Après la première journée, Mr Nålsund a déclaré que ce procès était une mascarade. "Les militaires accusent DISK d'organiser l'abrogation de la constitution par des moyens violents, alors que tout le monde sait parfaitement que ce sont précisément eux, les militaires, qui s'en rendent coupables depuis septembre 1980, et que DISK a défendu la constitution et la démocratie turques dans son pays".

Lors de son procès, le Président de DISK, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK, a déclaré dans sa première déclaration publique depuis son arrestation en septembre dernier qu'il soutenait la démocratie et le droit des travailleurs de s'organiser en syndicats.

La défense était assurée par 76 éminents juristes turcs. Le juge a refusé de prendre en considération les éléments de la défense, sous prétexte qu'il devrait consulter la Cour Martiale sur la procédure à suivre dans ce procès. L'affaire est donc suspendue jusqu'au 18 mai 1981.

Entretemps, plus de 300 membres de DISK ont été emprisonnés durant 7 mois et demi et ils attendent quels sont les chefs d'accusation retenus contre eux. Jusqu'ici, aucune charge n'a en effet été publiée. De nombreux rapports font état de mauvais traitements et de tortures à leur encontre. Leurs familles sont laissées sans moyens de subsistance et les autorités turques s'opposent aux tentatives visant à leur venir en aide.

La C.E.S. dénonce énergiquement ces violations des droits humains et syndicaux fondamenteux et demande que tous les gouvernements européens et que les institutions européennes fassent tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour amener le gouvernement turc à mettre un terme à la sauvage persécution dont font l'objet les syndicalistes turcs et leurs familles.

23/4/1981

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CP 16/81

La C.E.S. dénonce l'arrestation du chef de la défense des syndicats en Turquie

Une fois de plus, le gouvernement turc a démontré le mépris qu'il a pour les droits syndicaux fondamentaux et pour les procédures légales en arrêtant l'avocat qui dirige la défense de plus de 300 syndicalistes appartenant à l'organisation syndicale turque DISK, Mr Ercüment TAHIROGLU.

Les syndicalistes de DISK sont en prison depuis 7 mois et demi, sans qu'on leur ait fait connaître leurs charges d'accusation. Ils sont détenus dans des conditions pénibles et ont été torturés. Mr TAHIROGLU dirigeait une équipe de quelque 100 avocats travaillant gratuitement dans des conditions très difficiles pour défendre les syndicalistes.

Le 22 avril, un procès s'ouvrait à Istanbul, visant à la fermeture définitive de DISK, dont les activités ont été suspendues depuis le coup d'Etat militaire de septembre 1980.

Hier, 27 avril, Mr TAHIROGLU a été arrêté par les militaires. Cela ne va pas faciliter la défense des syndicalistes de DISK.

Pour la C.E.S., c'est une preuve de plus que le gouvernement turc bafoue totalement les droits syndicaux les plus fondamentaux, comme les procédures légales et la société démocratique en général.

La C.E.S. demande une fois encore avec insistance que la Turquie soit suspendue du Conseil de l'Europe et que la Communauté Economique Européenne suspende sa convention de coopération avec la Turquie.

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JIN/MP/PN.
28/04/80

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

TEXTE INTEGRAL DU DISCOURS DE A. BASTÜRK

PRESIDENT NATIONAL DE LA CONFEDERATION

TURQUE DES SYNDICATS PROGRESSISTES (DISK)

le 22 avril 1981

au tribunal de BAKIRKÖY (Istanbul) concernant

les poursuites engagées en vue de la fermeture

définitive de DISK

(Traduction)

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Votre Honneur,

Le Procureur Général de Bakirköy a engagé des poursuites en vue de la fermeture de DISK. Nos avocats vous présenteront nos objections et les points de vue légaux en ce qui concerne les procédures. Cependant, je souhaite souligner certains points relatifs au fonds même de cette affaire.

C'est une affaire où l'aspect politique est prépondérant, et non l'aspect légal. Ce procès n'a pas été engagé suite à une activité secrète antérieure illégale, ou suite à un plan ou une décision de DISK ou de ses fonctionnaires qui auraient été découverts par la suite. Ces poursuites ne sont pas non plus fondées sur une action ou sur un mouvement qui auraient été lancés.

Non, ce procès nous a été intenté à cause des vues que les responsables de DISK ont publiquement émises, depuis des années, dans la presse, à la radio et à la télévision, lors de négociations collectives, de réunions et de manifestations. Il nous a été intenté en raison du fait que les responsables de DISK ont défendu les intérêts de notre pays, intégralement; en raison du fait que les responsables de DISK ont défendu les droits et les libertés des travailleurs en général, fidèles à leurs convictions et à leurs actions.

Ce procès ne cherche pas seulement à mettre un terme aux activités de DISK et à supprimer cette organisation. Son objectif premier, c'est de liquider la classe démocratique et le syndicalisme de masse qui s'est développé dans le sillage de DISK en Turquie, contre le syndicalisme jaune.

Que faut-il entendre par classe démocratique et syndicalisme de masse, à l'opposé de ce qu'en pensent certains milieux et le Procureur Général de Barkirköy?

+ Il faut entendre le respect réel des vues politiques, religieuses et philosophiques de tous les membres, sans aucune distinction, et avec l'approche la plus démocratique possible;

+ Il faut entendre la défense des droits démocratiques et des intérêts économiques des travailleurs en tant que classe, puisqu'ils se sont regroupés dans des syndicats pour la défense de leurs intérêts communs, c'est-à-dire de leurs intérêts de classe;

+ Cela veut dire qu'il faut voir la démocratie syndicale comme pierre de fondation de l'unité syndicale et veiller à ce que les droits de la masse d'avoir son mot à dire et de décider soient respectés;

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

+ Cela signifie organiser les activités des syndicats indépendamment de toutes les organisations et institutions, indépendamment des employeurs et des partis politiques;

+ Cela veut dire lutter contre ceux qui veulent détruire l'unité syndicale des travailleurs, contre le syndicalisme jaune, et réaliser l'unité syndicale des travailleurs;

+ Cela veut dire le respect des droits et libertés démocratiques en général et les droits et libertés syndicaux en particulier.

En un mot, cela signifie être une organisation de masse. De classe. Une organisation démocratique et indépendante:

DISK a été fondé en 1967, avec au départ 30.000 membres.

Très vite, le nombre de membres est passé à plus de 500.000, par suite de sa lutte pour les droits des travailleurs de s'organiser en syndicats, de négocier librement des conventions collectives et pour l'obtention du droit de grève. Suite aussi au fait que DISK a lutté pour la réalisation des droits et des libertés démocratiques, comme cela est prévu dans la Constitution et que DISK a lutté contre le syndicalisme jaune, et que notre organisation a fonctionné dans un esprit de démocratie syndicale entière et authentique.

C'est aussi grâce à la lutte de DISK que les principes fixés par l'OIT en matière de droits syndicaux et de libertés syndicales sont devenus une réalité. C'est aussi suite aux activités de DISK que l'expression "le travail est la plus haute des valeurs" est devenue une réalité.

C'est pour ces raisons que les gouvernements en place et les employeurs n'ont pas aimé notre organisation dès le jour de sa création. DISK s'est toujours opposé au syndicalisme servile, jaune. DISK n'a jamais reculé d'un pas, malgré les répressions des gouvernements, malgré les répressions anti-démocratiques et les actions entreprises par les employeurs et malgré les provocations des milieux fascistes. Puis DISK est devenu la centrale syndicale à laquelle tous les travailleurs et tous les employés ont souhaité s'affilier.

Cependant, les employeurs ont eu peur de ces luttes de DISK et de ce syndicalisme démocratique et de masse. Ils ont fait tout ce qu'ils pouvaient pour détruire DISK et mettre un terme à son combat démocratique par de coûteuses insertions dans les journaux etc.

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TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Le procès qui nous fut intenté par le Procureur Général de Bakirköy dans ce tribunal, le 30 juillet 1980, est le résultat d'un tel développement.

Le Procureur Général déclare DISK coupable d'avoir agi contre les principaux articles de la Constitution, de former une organisation politique secrète et demande que DISK soit supprimé définitivement.

Nous n'acceptons aucun des chefs d'accusation lancés par le Procureur Général.

Tous les éléments de charges et les plaintes portées contre le Procureur Général sont vagues, sans aucun fondement et ce sont des formulations générales. Ces charges charges sont basées sur une logique de ressemblances et de comparaisons, et elles visent à donner des impressions basées sur des éléments subjectifs. Les documents présentés par le Procureur Général sont fondés sur des faux, des déformations, le recel de la réalité; ils sont pleins d'informations fallacieuses et de contradictions et dénués de toutes preuves et n'ont aucune valeur légale.

Je répète que c'est une affaire où l'aspect politique a énormément de poids, et où l'aspect légal ne compte pratiquement pas.

Cette affaire est contraire aux principes essentiels des lois actuelles; elle vise à créer artificiellement des crimes qui n'ont jamais été commis.

DISK a été jugé conforme aux principes du "droit d'association", établi par l'article 46 de la Constitution de 1961, et conforme aux libertés et droits syndicaux établis par les lois n° 274 et 275, et il a toujours mené ses activités dans les limites de la législation en vigueur, et cela depuis sa création. Et voilà maintenant que l'on essaie de dire que DISK et tous ses responsables et membres sont coupables.

Comme l'indique le document remis par le Procureur Général, ce procès va, à l'avenir, engager plus de 600.000 travailleurs et affectera négativement quelque 3 à 4 millions de personnes, y compris les familles. C'est une affaire qui aura un retentissement énorme et qui aura des effets sociaux et légaux qui ne pourront plus être corrigés après.

Au moment où la Turquie souhaite devenir membre à part entière de la Communauté Européenne, il est très regrettable que DISK soit mis sur la sellette pour avoir défendu le minimum des droits syndicaux qui est pratiqué par tous les syndicats des pays membres de la C.E.E.

Il est très grave de violer ainsi les principes et les Conventions de l'O.I.T., qui ont été ratifiés par la Turquie.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Et il faut savoir que la classe ouvrière en Turquie n'est pas moins développée que la classe ouvrière des autres pays d'Europe et du monde.

Par suite de ses tâches légales, DISK s'est depuis des années intéressé de près aux problèmes sociaux, il a fait des déclarations basées sur des recherches scientifiques dans le domaine de l'économie, de la vie sociale et politique, notamment sur les problèmes relatifs à l'inflation, au coût de la vie, au chômage, à la répression et aux actions anti-démocratiques, au poids de la fiscalité et DISK a proposé des solutions dans ces matières. La situation actuelle a prouvé que DISK avait raison.

DISK s'est opposé sans réserves à l'anarchie et à la terreur. Alors que ses membres, des travailleurs des usines jusqu'à l'ancien président national, faisaient l'objet de meurtres fascistes, DISK a fait appel, à chaque occasion, aux personnes et aux organisations concernées pour qu'elles luttent également contre l'anarchie et la terreur.

DISK ne peut être tenu responsable de la crise économique qui frappe par ailleurs le pays. Les travailleurs non plus ne peuvent être tenus pour responsables. Il a été clairement prouvé que les travailleurs ne sont pas la cause de la crise économique due aux soi-disant hauts salaires qu'ils ont obtenus ou aux grèves qu'ils ont déclarées durant la période qui a suivi l'intervention militaire du 12 septembre, puisque durant cette période, il n'y a eu aucune action de la part des mouvements de travailleurs et les salaires ont été décidés d'autres façons.

DISK a toujours été le défenseur déterminé de l'indépendance nationale et de la démocratie, depuis le jour de sa fondation. Pour les mêmes raisons, DISK s'est opposé à l'impérialisme, au fascisme, et s'est fait le défenseur actif de la paix.

Oeuvrant activement à l'unité des travailleurs de Turquie, DISK, qui fait partie du mouvement syndical européen et mondial, s'est efforcé d'assurer l'unité du mouvement syndical international à tous les niveaux. A ce jour, DISK ne s'est pas encore affilié à une organisation internationale. Cependant, il a introduit sa candidature à l'organisation régionale qui a pour nom "Confédération Européenne des Syndicats".

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

La C.E.S. couvre, avec ses 40 millions de membres et plus, les plus grandes centrales syndicales d'Europe occidentale dans des pays comme la Grande-Bretagne, la RFA, l'Italie, les Pays-Bas, la Belgique, le Luxembourg, la Norvège, la Suède, le Danemark, la France, la Finlande.
Des deux organisations qui ont présenté leur candidature en Turquie, la C.E.S. a refusé l'adhésion de TÜRK-IS et elle est en cours d'accepter celle de DISK comme seule organisation turque.

Les tentatives qui tendent à montrer que DISK est une organisation agissant contrairement à la consitution sont toutes vaines. DISK est une organisation indépendante, de classe démocratique et de syndicalisme de masse des travailleurs de Turquie. Depuis le jour de sa fondation en 1967, DISK a toujours défendu la Constitution, a toujours mené ses activités dans le cadre de cette Constitution et a la Constitution comme base. Les affiliations de DISK sont passées de 30.000 à plus de 500.000 membres en 13 ans, cela grâce au fait que DISK défend le contenu de la Constitution de 1961.

J'ai toujours écrit, déclaré et agi publiquement. Les principales caractéristiques de DISK sont que c'est une organisation de masse, de classe, démocratique et indépendante.

Voilà les principes qui ont fait de DISK ce qu'il est et ces principes sont ancrés dans le coeur de centaines de milliers de personnes.

A ce jour, DISK a exposé ses vues au grand jour. Il les a exposées oralement au Parlement, aux Premiers Ministres, aux Ministres, aux Commandants de la Loi martiale, chaque fois que cela a été jugé nécessaire.

DISK a défendu la Constitution dans son ensemble. Nous avons défendu la Constitution (1961) dans les conditions les plus difficiles. Nous la défendons encore aujourd'hui. Il est de notre devoir de patriotes de la défendre.

J'ai exposé clairement mes opinions lors du procès de Barkirköy en relation avec l'action du 20 mars 1978 comme suit:

"Dans une démocratie, on n'applique pas le principe d'imposer ses propres vues aux autres. Et surtout pas par le meurtre. Nous voulons que l'on mette un terme au meurtre de nos enfants. Notre action a été orientée dans cette direction. Si elle n'est pas conforme à la loi, nous sommes prêts à en assumer les conséquences, pourvu que nos enfants ne soient pas massacrés. Pourvu que la Constitution ne soit pas bafouée. Et aussi longtemps qu'une sanglante dictature fasciste ne sera pas instaurée".

La glorieuse histoire de la classe ouvrière turque remonte à 100 ans. Durant cette

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

période, il y a eu des époques où les droits et libertés syndicales ont été abolis, où les syndicats ont été bannis, où des syndicalistes ont été jetés en prison et gravement torturés. Mais il n'a jamais été possible de détruire la classe ouvrière ni sa lutte.

Quels que puissent être les résultats du présent procès, on ne détruira pas les principes de la classe démocratique et du syndicalisme de masse de DISK. Parce que ces principes appartiennent maintenant aux travailleurs. Ils sont devenus partie d'eux-mêmes.

Quels que puissent être les résultats de ce procès, il n'est plus possible d'arrêter le développement syndical en Turquie. Après un certain temps, la classe démocratique et le syndicalisme de masse de DISK continueront à vivre, renforcés même.

Quoi que nous ayons pensé ou quoi que nous ayons fait, nous l'avons dait, parce que nous étions convaincus d'être dans la légalité et de penser dans la légalité. Et nous le pensons encore aujourd'hui.

Nous déclarons publiquement ici que nos opinions et nos actions n'ont pas été contre les lois. Nous continuerons à dire la même chose, malgré la lourde répression dont nous faisons l'objet, responsables syndicaux, représentants syndicaux et membres affiliés. Que l'on fasse passer nos vues pour des crimes, maintenant, après tant d'années, c'est cela qui est contraire à la démocratie, à l'ordre social, aux principes d'un Etat constitutionnel et à la loi elle-même.

Nous sommes fiers et heureux d'être des membres et des responsables de DISK, nous qui avons lutté pour que droits et libertés démocratiques en général, et droits et libertés syndicales en particulier et que l'on essaie de prouver que nous sommes coupables de l'avoir fait!

L'Histoire sera notre meilleur juge.
L'Histoire, la Classe laborieuse et les Travailleurs acquitteront DISK et nous jugera innocents.

Et c'est notre espoir que des tribunaux indépendants feront de même.

(s) Abdullah BASTÜRK

Président National
D.I.S.K.

(Prison militaire de Davutpasa - Istanbul)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

B. Réponse du gouvernement

268. Dans sa communication du 9 janvier 1981, le gouvernement déclare que le
icat de l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA, de Medellin, a demandé une enquête
nistrative sur les licenciements collectifs allégués par le plaignant, enquête
a été ordonnée immédiatement par les autorités du travail afin d'élucider le
et que cette enquête est encore en cours.

269. En ce qui concerne l'allégation relative à la prétendue "persécution
dicale" dans l'entreprise "Frigorifico Suizo" SA, le gouvernement déclare que
pection du travail a examiné quatre réclamations du syndicat de l'entreprise à
pos de la prétendue "persécution syndicale" et qu'après avoir procédé aux
uêtes et entendu les parties, elle a pris une décision qui exonérait l'entreprise
charges formulées par le syndicat, sans que celui-ci interjette aucun des
ours que prévoit la loi.

270. Enfin, le gouvernement indique que les entreprises "Gaseosas del Tolima"
"Gaseosas del Huila" SA et "Cerveceria Andina" ont conclu des conventions
lectives le 17 septembre, le 18 septembre et le 8 octobre 1980, respectivement.

C. Conclusions du comité

271. Le comité note qu'une enquête administrative est en cours sur les licenciements décidés durant l'année 1980 dans l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA. Le prie de lui transmettre les résultats de cette enquête, en incluant les motifs des licenciements, en particulier, en ce qui concerne les irigeants Luis Efrén Loaiza et Miguel Zea.

272. En ce qui concerne les allégations de tentatives de destruction par l'employeur du syndicat de l'entreprise "Frigorifico Suiza" SA, le comité note que ce syndicat a présenté quatre réclamations qui ont été examinées par l'inspection du travail qui a exonéré l'entreprise des charges portées contre elle sans qu'aucun recours n'ait été interjeté contre cette décision.

273. En ce qui concerne l'absence de réponse des entreprises "Gaseosas del Tolima" SA, "Gaseosas del Huila" SA et "Cerveceria Andina" SA aux demandes contenues dans le cahier des revendications des travailleurs, le comité observe que, peu de temps après la présentation de la plainte, des conventions collectives ont été conclues dans les entreprises en question. Le comité estime par conséquent que cet aspect du cas n'appelle pas un examen plus approfondi.

274. Dans ces conditions, le comité recommande au Conseil d'administration d'approuver le présent rapport intérimaire et d'inviter le gouvernement à lui transmettre les résultats de l'enquête administrative en cours au sujet des licenciements effectués dans l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA durant l'année 1980, en ayant en particulier aux dirigeants syndicaux Luis Efrén Loaiza et Miguel Zea.

Cas nos 997 et 999

PLAINTES PRESENTEES PAR L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DU COMMERCE, L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DE LA CONSTRUCTION, DU BOIS ET DES MATERIAUX DE CONSTRUCTION, L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE L'ALIMENTATION, DE L'HOTELLERIE ET DES BRANCHES CONNEXES ET LA FEDERATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE

TURQUIE

A. Introduction

275. Par des communications respectivement datées des 9 septembre et 15 octobre 1980, l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs du commerce

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(UISTC) et l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs de la fonction publique et assimilés (UISTFPA) ont présenté des plaintes en violation des droits syndicaux en Turquie, dans le cas n° 997.

276. Par ailleurs, de nouvelles plaintes ont été présentées dans le cas n° 999 par la Confédération mondiale du travail (CMT), par l'Union internationale des travailleurs du bâtiment, du bois et des matériaux de construction (UITBBMC) et par la Fédération syndicale mondiale (FSM) les 17 septembre, 1er octobre et 17 octobre 1980 respectivement. La CMT a également fourni des informations complémentaires à l'appui de sa plainte les 24 septembre et 25 novembre 1980.

277. Le gouvernement pour sa part a fait parvenir ses observations sur ces deux cas dans une communication du 3 décembre 1980. Par la suite, la CMT et la FSM, les 6, 9 et 21 janvier 1981, ont présenté certaines informations complémentaires qui ont été adressées au gouvernement. Celui-ci a envoyé des observations supplémentaires les 28 janvier, 5 et 16 février 1981.

278. La Turquie n'a pas ratifié la convention (n° 87) sur la liberté syndicale et la protection du droit syndical, 1948; elle a, en revanche, ratifié la convention (n° 98) sur le droit d'organisation et de négociation collective, 1949.

B. Allégations des plaignants

279. Les deux cas présentant plusieurs points complémentaires, le comité se propose de les examiner ensemble. Ainsi, l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs du commerce, dans sa communication du 9 septembre 1980, se réfère à l'arrestation de deux dirigeants syndicaux de l'Union progressiste des travailleurs des banques, des bureaux, des bourses du commerce, des instituts d'éducation, des coopératives et des compagnies d'assurance de Turquie (BANKSEN), Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz.

280. Elle annexe à sa plainte une lettre publiée par la BANKSEN et datée du 26 août 1980, où il est expliqué qu'à la suite de l'assassinat de Kenal Turkler[1], président du Syndicat de la métallurgie et ex-président de la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes (DISK), un million de travailleurs ont déclenché un grève générale de protestation. Plusieurs syndicalistes ont été arrêtés puis, pour la plupart, relâchés, mais Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz, respectivement présidents d'une section de la BANKSEN d'Ankara et de Diyarbakir, auraient été emprisonnés dans une prison militaire sur ordre des commandants de l'état de siège de ces deux villes et accusés d'entraves au fonctionnement de certaines entreprises.

281. Par la suite, dans leurs communications, la Confédération mondiale du travail, la Fédération syndicale mondiale et l'Union internationale des travailleurs du bâtiment, du bois et des matériaux de construction ainsi que l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs de la fonction publique et assimilés se réfèrent aux mesures prises à la suite du changement de régime survenu en Turquie le 12 septembre 1980. Elles dénoncent l'interdiction par les autorités de la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes (DISK) ainsi que celle de nombreuses organisations lui étant affiliées. Elles ajoutent que les locaux de ces organisations ont été fermés et que leurs comptes en banque ont été bloqués, et allèguent l'arrestation d'un très grand nombre de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux et l'interdiction générale des grèves.

282. La CMT joint à sa plainte la liste, publiée au Journal officiel turc du 18 septembre 1980, des trente-cinq organisations affiliées à la DISK et des quarante-sept autres organisations syndicales dissoutes, affiliées à plusieurs confédérations, par le Conseil national de sécurité composé de cinq généraux et ajoute que la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes (MISK) a également été interdite; seule la Confédération TURK IS, proche du pouvoir, peut, d'après la CMT, continuer ses activités, son secrétaire général Sadik Side étant devenu ministre de la Sécurité sociale.

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[1] Voir à cet égard le 204e rapport approuvé par le Conseil d'administration à sa session de novembre 1980, cas n° 985 (Turquie), paragr. 302-307.

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283. La CMT explique la situation syndicale par le contexte économique. Selon elle, le prêt du Fonds monétaire international de 1,6 milliard de dollars octroyé en 1980 à la Turquie pour une période de trois ans et les contraintes qui en résultaient, à savoir l'augmentation des prix, les restrictions à la consommation intérieure pour élargir le secteur de l'exportation, la suppression du contrôle des prix dans le secteur privé et la privatisation de l'économie, imposeraient implicitement l'austérité aux couches les plus défavorisées, la baisse d'un pouvoir d'achat déjà très faible et le maintien, même l'extension du chômage. C'est pour cela, allègue-t-elle, que le droit de grève et les syndicats combatifs et représentatifs ont été supprimés. A cet égard, ajoute-t-elle, 70 pour cent de hausse des salaires annoncée par le gouvernement turc depuis l'avènement du nouveau régime ne doivent pas faire illusion, l'inflation dans le pays étant de 100 pour cent. Elle dénonce par ailleurs les privilèges des sociétés multinationales, l'emprise du capital étranger et la force économique de l'armée qui, selon elle, développe ses activités non seulement dans l'électronique et la construction mais même dans l'industrie automobile, la pétrochimie, l'industrie de la conserve et les assurances.

284. D'une manière plus spécifique, la CMT déclare qu'en une seule nuit 935 militants de la DISK auraient été arrêtés; en outre, selon elle, à Istanbul seulement, un total de 5.000 personnes, appartenant à tous les niveaux des organisations syndicales, auraient été arrêtées. Parmi elles figurent, selon les plaignants, Abdullah Basturk, Fevmi Isiklar, Mukbul Zirtiloglu et Riza Guven, tous dirigeants de la DISK et Denizmen, président du Syndicat des banques (BANKSEN). Les syndicalistes arrêtés se trouveraient, d'après la CMT, dans des prisons militaires, tête rasée et en tenue de bagnards. Le délai de garde à vue aurait été porté de trente à quatre-vingt-dix jours, période pendant laquelle les prisonniers ne pourraient pas communiquer avec leurs avocats.

285. La FSM, pour sa part, fait état, dans sa plainte du 17 octobre 1980, de l'interdiction d'une grève de 60.000 ouvriers de la sidérurgie, du textile et de l'industrie du verre et se réfère aux déclarations du président de l'Organisation des employeurs (TISK) qui se féliciterait de l'interdiction générale des grèves qui, selon lui, allait permettre un gain à l'exportation de 150 millions de dollars.

286. Par ailleurs, elle allègue la mort d'Ahmet Hilmi Feyzioglu, conseiller juridique auprès du Syndicat des travailleurs de la métallurgie (MADEN IS), survenue, selon l'organisation plaignante, à la suite des tortures dont il aurait été l'objet. La FSM demande une commission d'enquête sur place étant donné le caractère répété et extrêmement grave des violations des conventions sur les libertés syndicales.

C. Réponse du gouvernement

287. Dans une réponse aux deux cas datée du 3 décembre 1980, le gouvernement donne de manière très générale des indications sur les motifs qui ont conduit à la prise du pouvoir par les forces armées turques le 12 septembre 1980. Le gouvernement explique qu'il s'agit d'une opération qui vise à instaurer les conditions nécessaires pour rétablir et faire revivre un régime libre et démocratique, basé sur le respect des droits et des libertés fondamentaux avec toutes les institutions que ceci implique. Les syndicats libres et les libertés syndicales font partie de ces dernières, ajoute le gouvernement.

288. Il déclare que le climat d'insécurité et de désordre qui régnait dans le pays et l'incapacité des structures existantes à faire face à l'escalade dangereuse de la violence accompagnée de graves problèmes d'ordre politique, économique et social ont rendu nécessaire et inévitable cette opération. Le gouvernement assure que les forces armées turques n'ont d'autre désir que de rendre le pouvoir à un gouvernement civil et librement élu. Le pays se trouve actuellement dans une période de transition où l'on entreprend la préparation de l'avenir. Cette tâche délicate de préparation nécessite parfois des restrictions d'exception provisoires, comme la suspension des activités de toutes les partis politiques et des associations. Ces restrictions ne proviennent pas de la volonté de supprimer ces institutions mais elles sont dictées par les exigences des conditions particulières.

289. Il se réfère enfin à diverses déclarations de principes relatives aux activités syndicales et aux intentions gouvernementales quant à l'évolution de la situation. Il indique notamment que le Chef de l'Etat, le général Kenan Evren, dans

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une conférence de presse du 16 septembre 1980, a expliqué que les syndicats vont continuer leurs activités conformes aux principes démocratiques, mais que ceux qui veulent exploiter et orienter les travailleurs en direction de leur propre idéologie et essaient d'abuser des droits syndicaux n'auront aucune opportunité pour réaliser leur but. Le programme du gouvernement du 21 septembre 1980 précise que, dans le but de restaurer la paix du travail, la législation sur la négociation collective, la grève, les syndicats et le travail sera révisée et que les amendements nécessaires seront réalisés.

290. Dans ce contexte général, ajoute le gouvernement, les principaux développements après le 12 septembre 1980 intéressant les activités syndicales peuvent être résumés comme suit:

a) les grèves et les lock-out ont été ajournés jusqu'à nouvel avis. Cette décision ne devrait en aucune façon être interprétée comme le déni du droit de grève. Elle est motivée par le souci de restaurer la paix sociale dont on a tant besoin et elle s'accompagne d'une série de mesures destinées à sauvegarder les droits des travailleurs en grève. Une augmentation de salaire de l'ordre de 70 pour cent leur est accordée et les licenciements contre le gré et sans la faute du travailleur ont été interdits;

b) pour les nécessités de la sauvegarde de l'ordre public, les activités de la DISK (Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs révolutionnaires) et de la MISK (Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes) ainsi que des syndicats qui leur sont affiliés ont été suspendues en attendant que leur sort soit décidé par les instances judiciaires. Il est à noter que les activités de ces organisations qui font l'objet d'une enquête judiciaire sont celles qui dépassent le cadre strictement syndical;

c) afin de sauvegarder les intérêts financiers et d'assurer l'administration des avoirs et des biens des syndicats dont les activités sont suspendues depuis plus d'un mois, une loi prévoyant la désignation des curateurs par des tribunaux du travail compétents vient d'être promulguée;

d) les travailleurs faisant partie des négociations collectives interrompues à la suite de la suspension des activités du syndicat qui les menait auront droit à l'augmentation du salaire de 70 pour cent, citée ci-dessus;

e) les dirigeants des syndicats dont les activités sont suspendues ont été invités à se soumettre à la surveillance des autorités. A la suite de l'instruction préliminaire, ceux contre lesquels aucune charge n'est retenue ont été relâchés le 11 octobre 1980. Les autres ont été traduits devant la justice. Les chefs d'accusation dirigés contre ces derniers portent notamment sur des délits de droit commun dans le cadre de la législation existante;

f) la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs de la Turquie (TURK IS), l'organisation de travailleurs la plus importante du point de vue du nombre de ses adhérents, ainsi que les syndicats qui lui sont affiliés continuent normalement leurs activités.

291. Le gouvernement conclut en se déclarant fermement attaché aux principes de la liberté syndicale et déterminé à oeuvrer pour la création des conditions propices à une jouissance effective et complète des droits syndicaux dans le cadre d'un régime démocratique basé sur la primauté du droit.

D. Compléments d'information

a) des plaignants

Allégations relatives à l'interdiction de la grève et de la négociation collective

292. Depuis lors, la CMT, dans ses communications des 6 et 21 janvier 1981, se réfère à l'interdiction du droit de grève et de négocier collectivement pour expliquer que le gouvernement se prépare à introduire un "arbitrage obligatoire". D'après elle, les syndicats qui seront autorisés à fonctionner de nouveau (et à

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mener des négociations collectives) et qui ne parviendront pas à un accord avec les employeurs devront s'adresser à un conseil supérieur d'arbitrage dont les décisions seront définitives. 350.000 travailleurs couverts par des conventions collectives signées avant le 12 septembre 1980 devaient, toujours selon la CMT, décider en trois jours, à partir du Nouvel An, s'ils allaient accepter les augmentations de salaires prévues dans les conventions collectives ou s'ils allaient faire usage des dispositions de la nouvelle loi fiscale.

Allégations relatives aux détentions de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux et à la dissolution de la DISK

293. Par ailleurs, la CMT déclare qu'une centaine[1] de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux de la DISK et de ses organisations affiliées ont été arrêtés sur ordre de la Cour martiale d'Istanbul, maintenus en prison pendant quatre mois sans pouvoir entrer en contact avec leurs avocats et inculpés de constitution et de participation à une organisation illégale ayant pour visée la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales. Le Tribunal civil de Bakirkoy (Istanbul) est, quant à lui, en train de procéder à l'instruction du procès relatif à la dissolution de la DISK, ajoute la CMT.

294. Sur ce dernier point, la FSM, le 9 janvier, confirme que les autorités ont procédé à l'ouverture des procès des membres du Comité exécutif de la DISK arrêtés au mois de mai 1980.

Autre question

295. De plus, cette organisation annonce l'envoi d'une mission de la FSM en Turquie, mission chargée de prendre contact avec les défenseurs des syndicalistes déférés devant les tribunaux, de contacter les personnalités compétentes du ministère du Travail et de suivre le déroulement des procès.

b) du gouvernement

Arrestation de syndicalistes

296. Le 28 janvier 1981, le gouvernement annonce, en ce qui concerne les actions judiciaires intentées à l'encontre des syndicalistes, MM. Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz, que M. Tandogan, président de la quatrième région de la BANKSEN, détenu le 23 juillet 1980 à Ankara et inculpé d'incitation du personnel de certaines banques à la grève illégale par le tribunal qui a retenu l'accusation et décidé son arrestation, a été libéré le 17 décembre 1980. Pour ce qui est de Fevzi Karadeniz, président de la neuvième région de la BANKSEN, il est détenu depuis le 24 juillet 1980 à Diyarbakir pour avoir incité et forcé les membres de son syndicat à ne pas reprendre le travail en signe de protestation contre l'assassinat de Kemal Türkler, et traduit devant le tribunal compétent qui a décidé de son arrestation.

Droit de grève et négociations collectives

297. Le 6 février 1981, le gouvernement ajoute qu'après le changement de régime il n'y a eu aucune intervention législative pour limiter ou interdire les activités syndicales; la suspension des grèves jusqu'à nouvel avis constitue la seule limitation temporaire en la matière. Cette limitation, précise-t-il, est entreprise conformément aux dispositions de la loi n° 1402 sur l'état de siège, adoptée en 1971.

298. Pour ce qui est de la conclusion des négociations collectives en cours, une loi prévoyant l'institution d'une haute commission d'arbitrage sous la présidence du Président de la Cour d'appel et composée de deux représentants des em-

[1] Les noms des dirigeants et des militants syndicaux qui se trouvent en état d'arrestation, avec, pour la plupart, leurs qualités et leurs lieux de détention, sont reproduits en annexe.

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employeurs et de deux représentants des travailleurs vient d'être adoptée, déclare le gouvernement. Cette haute commission est chargée de prendre les décisions pour la conclusion des négociations collectives et de résoudre les conflits éventuels. Ainsi des négociations collectives intéressant quelque 450.000 travailleurs pourront être menées à leur terme. Le mécanisme n'est pas destiné à remplacer le système de négociation collective existant; il est conçu comme une mesure de recours dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, ajoute le gouvernement.

Suspension des activités de la DISK et de la MISK

299. Sur ce point, le gouvernement déclare que des indications très sérieuses auraient mis en évidence l'existence de liens organiques et d'une coopération entre certaines organisations clandestines illégales responsables des actes terroristes et certains syndicats, ainsi que les infiltrations constatées des milieux terroristes dans certaines structures syndicales. Ceci aurait conduit le gouvernement à suspendre les activités de la DISK. Il en aurait été de même pour la MISK infiltrée par l'extrême droite, ajoute le gouvernement, qui précise que ces affaires sont maintenant du ressort de la justice. Le gouvernement convient que les dirigeants de la DISK dont les noms ont été mentionnés par les plaignants ont été arrêtés par décision du tribunal compétent et accusés d'infraction aux articles 141, 142 et 146 du Code pénal et aux dispositions de la loi n° 1402 sur l'état de siège et à celles de la loi n° 6136 sur les armes à feu.

300. Le 16 février 1981, le gouvernement indique que la liste publiée au Journal officiel turc du 18 septembre 1980 ne représente pas les organisations syndicales dont les activités sont suspendues. Elle contient le nom de tous les syndicats qui existent en Turquie ainsi que les noms des confédérations auxquelles ils sont affiliés. Par ailleurs, les activités du Syndicat des travailleurs du pétrole (PETROL IS) affilié à TURK IS ont été suspendues, convient le gouvernement, le 18 octobre 1980, mais cette décision a été annulée le 9 janvier 1981 et, depuis, ce syndicat exerce normalement ses activités.

301. De plus, le nombre de syndicalistes qui font l'objet de poursuites depuis le 12 septembre 1980 s'élève à 1.744, dont 577 ont été traduits devant la Justice, 83 d'entre eux ont été arrêtés et les autres relâchés, conformément à la décision du Tribunal de première instance. Cependant, le Procureur a fait appel de cette décision au Tribunal d'instance supérieur qui a décidé l'arrestation par contumace de 223 personnes se trouvant parmi celles qui ont été relâchées, précise le gouvernement qui convient, d'autre part, que le délai de garde à vue de trente jours peut être prolongé par décision du juge pour des périodes de vingt jours, sans excéder un total de 90 jours.

2. Conclusions du comité

302. Le comité note que les plaintes contiennent des allégations d'une particulière gravité, faisant état de la mort, de l'arrestation et de l'emprisonnement de syndicalistes, de l'interdiction d'un très grand nombre de syndicats et en particulier de deux des confédérations syndicales turques, la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes ou révolutionnaires (DISK) et la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes (MISK), et du gel de leurs biens ainsi que de la suspension du droit de grève. Le comité prend note des explications fournies par le gouvernement au sujet des motifs qui ont conduit à de telles mesures.

303. Avant d'aborder les diverses questions soulevées par les plaignants, le comité tient à exprimer sa préoccupation devant la gravité de certaines des allégations et à rappeler le prix qu'il attache à ce que la liberté syndicale puisse se développer dans le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés publiques.

304. Le comité note que le gouvernement n'a fourni aucune information au sujet de la mort alléguée à la suite de mauvais traitements dont aurait été victime Ahmet Hilmi Feyzioglu, conseiller juridique du Syndicat des travailleurs de la métallurgie. A ce propos, étant donné la gravité de l'allégation, le comité ne peut que demander instamment au gouvernement, s'il est exact que cette personne n'est plus en vie, de bien vouloir donner des détails à une enquête judiciaire indépendante

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305. A propos de la détention des dirigeants de la BANKSEN nommément désignés par les plaignants, le gouvernement indique qu'ils ont été inculpés d'incitation à la grève illégale et traduits devant les tribunaux, l'un des deux, Mehmet Tandoğan a recouvré la liberté le 17 décembre 1980, l'autre, Fevzi Karadeniz, est en détention depuis le 24 juillet 1980.

306. A cet égard, le comité constate avec préoccupation qu'un syndicaliste a été emprisonné pendant six mois pour faits de grève et qu'un autre se trouve en prison depuis huit mois pour les mêmes motifs. Le comité doit signaler que des mesures d'emprisonnement pour de tels faits comportent de graves risques d'abus et de sérieux dangers pour la liberté syndicale. Tout en notant que l'un des deux syndicalistes auxquels se réfèrent les plaignants a été libéré, le comité prie le gouvernement de revoir la situation en ce qui concerne l'autre syndicaliste.

307. En ce qui concerne l'arrestation de la centaine de dirigeants et de militants syndicalistes dont les noms sont mentionnés en annexe, le comité note que, selon le gouvernement, ils sont inculpés de délit de droit commun et plus particulièrement d'infractions aux articles 141, 142 et 146 du Code pénal et aux dispositions de la loi nº 1402 sur l'état de siège et à celles de la loi nº 6136 sur les armes à feu.

308. Les articles en question du Code pénal punissent de peines allant jusqu'à 15 ans de réclusion ceux qui établissent la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales et créent des associations visant à renverser l'ordre fondamental social ou économique du pays. Ceux qui dirigent plusieurs de ces associations encourent la peine de mort. La peine de réclusion sera aggravée d'un tiers pour ceux qui ont commis ces infractions dans les syndicats et les associations d'ouvriers (article 141 du Code pénal). L'article 142 punit ceux qui font de la propagande pour établir la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales et renverser l'ordre fondamental social ou économique du pays de peines allant jusqu'à 10 ans de réclusion. Pour les actes en question commis au moyen de publications, la peine sera augmentée de moitié. Pour les syndicalistes, elle sera augmentée d'un tiers. L'article 146 punit de mort ceux qui tentent de faire un coup d'Etat contre l'Assemblée nationale instituée par la Constitution. En outre, la loi nº 1402 de 1971 sur l'état de siège punit d'emprisonnement les personnes qui participent à des réunions ou à des grèves illégales. Enfin, les syndicalistes arrêtés sont aussi, entre autres, poursuivis aux termes de la loi sur les armes à feu.

309. Le comité constate avec une profonde préoccupation que les militants et les dirigeants syndicaux emprisonnés encourent des peines extrêmement lourdes et qu'un renforcement desdites peines risque d'intervenir du seul fait qu'ils sont syndicalistes. Sur ce point, le comité tient à souligner, comme il l'a déjà fait dans des cas antérieurs, que, si le fait d'exercer une fonction syndicale ou une activité syndicale n'implique aucune immunité vis-à-vis du droit pénal ordinaire, de telles dispositions, qui sont de nature discriminatoire à l'égard des syndicalistes, constituent une grave atteinte à l'exercice des droits syndicaux.

310. En outre, en ce qui concerne le délai de garde à vue qui peut être porté de 30 à 90 jours, le comité doit en tout état de cause souligner l'importance qu'il convient d'attacher au principe selon lequel toute personne arrêtée devrait faire l'objet d'une procédure judiciaire régulière, conformément au Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques, à savoir notamment que toute personne détenue doit disposer des facilités nécessaires à la préparation de sa défense et pouvoir communiquer avec le conseil de son choix. Le comité prie le gouvernement de continuer à fournir des informations sur l'évolution de la situation des personnes actuellement détenues, en particulier sur toutes mesures de libération qui interviendraient ou, en cas de condamnation, de communiquer les jugements les concernant avec leurs attendus.

311. En ce qui concerne la suspension des confédérations des syndicats de travailleurs progressistes ou révolutionnaires (DISK) et nationalistes (MISK) et des organisations syndicales qui leur sont affiliées, le comité veut souligner le principe selon lequel les organisations syndicales ne doivent pas être sujettes à dissolution par voie administrative. Le comité tient à insister particulièrement sur ce point, d'autant que, dans le présent cas, les mesures en question affectent deux des trois confédérations syndicales de Turquie et ont, par là même, des conséquences graves pour la défense des intérêts professionnels d'un nombre important de travailleurs du pays.

312. Les plaignants ont également fait état de la suspension générale du droit de grève et du droit de négociation collective. Il semble à cet égard que les

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négociations collectives aient été gelées pendant quelques mois et qu'une législation récemment adoptée permette à nouveau le développement de la négociation collective et l'intervention d'une haute commission d'arbitrage tripartite pour régler les conflits en cours en cas d'échec des négociations. Le comité ne peut se prononcer en toute connaissance de cause sans disposer du texte de la législation en question. Il prie en conséquence le gouvernement de communiquer ce texte.

313. Néanmoins, le comité tient à rappeler d'ores et déjà que, si, au nom d'une politique de stabilisation économique, un gouvernement considère que les taux des salaires doivent être fixés ou augmentés par décision unilatérale prise par les autorités et ne peuvent être fixés librement par voie de négociation collective, une telle restriction devrait être appliquée comme une mesure d'exception, limitée à l'indispensable; elle ne devrait pas excéder une période raisonnable et devrait être accompagnée des garanties appropriées en vue de protéger le niveau de vie des travailleurs.

314. Pour ce qui est de la suspension du droit de grève, le comité tient à rappeler en outre que des mesures de ce type constituent une restriction importante à l'un des moyens essentiels dont disposent les travailleurs et leurs organisations pour promouvoir et défendre leurs intérêts et qu'elles devraient être imposées exclusivement comme mesures temporaires dans une situation de crise nationale aiguë.

Recommandations du comité

315. Dans ces conditions, et pour ce qui est du cas dans son ensemble, le comité recommande au Conseil d'administration, d'approuver le présent rapport intérimaire, et en particulier les conclusions suivantes:

Le comité tient en premier lieu à exprimer sa profonde préoccupation devant la gravité des allégations et à rappeler d'une façon générale qu'un mouvement syndical réellement libre et indépendant ne peut se développer que dans le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme.

Le comité constate que les militants et les dirigeants syndicaux emprisonnés encourent des peines extrêmement lourdes et qu'un renforcement desdites peines risque d'intervenir du seul fait qu'ils sont syndicalistes. Il estime que de telles dispositions, qui impliquent un traitement discriminatoire à l'égard des syndicalistes, constituent une grave atteinte à l'exercice des droits syndicaux.

Le comité prie le gouvernement de continuer à fournir des informations sur l'évolution de la situation des personnes actuellement détenues, en particulier sur toutes mesures de libération qui interviendraient ou, en cas de condamnation, de communiquer les jugements les concernant avec leurs attendus.

Le comité prie instamment le gouvernement d'indiquer s'il est exact que Hilmi Feyzioglu n'est plus en vie et, soulignant l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à mener une enquête judiciaire dans les meilleurs délais, de lui communiquer les résultats de cette enquête.

Par ailleurs, le comité exprime le ferme espoir que les confédérations et organisations suspendues seront rétablies dans leur situation antérieure et que la nouvelle législation générale en matière syndicale envisagée sera conforme aux principes de la liberté syndicale et de la négociation collective.

Le comité note qu'entre-temps une loi instituant une Haute Commission d'arbitrage vient d'être adoptée. Il prie le gouvernement de communiquer ce texte pour pouvoir évaluer la situation en toute connaissance de cause.

D'ores et déjà, cependant, le comité tient à rappeler que la suspension de la négociation collective et de la grève constitue une restriction importante à des moyens essentiels dont doivent pouvoir disposer les travailleurs et leurs organisations pour promouvoir et défendre leurs intérêts.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL BİLİMLER ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ

25 Temmuz 1981 günlü Sovyet Sendikalar Birliği'nin yayın organı Trud gazetesinde "Yeni Cinayetlere Engel Olun" başlıklı bir haber yayınlandı. Trud gazetesinin Prag muhabiri Stolpovski'nin haberinde şöyle deniyor:

"Bir yıl önce Türkiye sendika hareketinin önde gelen yöneticisi Maden-İş genel başkanı ve uzun yıllar DİSK'in başkanlığını yapmış olan Kemal Türkler alçakça öldürüldü. Bu trajik olayı anımsatan Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu bir açıklama yaptı. DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk ve bu ilerici sendika örgütünün öteki yöneticilerine karşı Türkiye hükümetinin baskı hazırlıklarıyla ilgiliduyduğu derin kaygıyı belirtti. Milyonlarca emekçi adına DSF, bir kez daha dünya kamuoyuna zorbalığın kurbanlarını savunmak için kararlı bir biçimde bir kez daha seslerini yükseltme çağrısında bulunuyor.

Britanya Komünist Partisi'nin yayın organı Morning Star gazetesi 52 DİSK yöneticisi hakkında idam cezası istenmesini şiddetle protesto ediyor. "Türk demokrasisi ölüm cezası tehdidi altında" başlığıyla 20 Temmuz günlü Morning Star gazetesinde yayınlanan Anne Douglas (En Daglıs) imzalı yazıda DİSK yöneticilerinin bir yıla yakın bir süredir işkence altında tutuklu bulundukları belirtiliyor.

"Ama ölüm tehdidi bile DİSK yöneticilerini Türkiye'de demokrasiyi ve işçi sınıfının çıkarlarını savunmada mahkemeyi bir platform olarak kullanmaktan alıkoyamamıştır.

Cinsel organlara elektrik şoku, sahte idam sahneleri, bir hafta boyunca uykusuz bırakma, falaka gibi işkence yöntemleri konusunda avukatlar daha önce açıklamalarda bulunmuşlardı. Duruşmanın ilk yargıcı kimi DİSK üyelerini serbest bırakınca, Ankara'da askersel patronlar yargıcı hemen işten attılar.

Türkiye Komünist Partisi, DİSK'e öteki demokratik kuruluşlara karşı temelsiz suçlamalarda bulunmak için işkenceler yoluyla zorla itiraf koparmaya kalkan askersel rejimi suçladı.

İşkenceciler hedef olarak halkın ilerici yığınsal örgütlerini seçtiler. Yalnız DİSK değil, aynı zamanda İlerici Gençler Derneği, İlerici Kadınlar Derneği, Köy-Koop, Töb-Der gibi örgütleri işkenceciler hedef aldı.

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Morning Star gazetesindeki yazıda daha sonra Türkiye'ye giden Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu genel sekreter yardımcısı John Nalsund (Con Nalsund) un sözlerine değiniliyor. Sendika binalarının kapısına mühür vurulduğunu belirten Nalsund, hemen her DİSK yöneticisinin ya hapiste, ya sürgünde, ya da gizlenmekte olduğunu öylüyor. Sırf 300'ü aşkın DİSK'linin İstanbul'da hapiste olduğunu belirtiyor.

Morning Star gazetesi sendikaların kayyum denilen değişik çıkar çevrelerine teslim edildiğini, toplanan sendika kesenekleri-nin askersel rejime gittiğini yazıyor. Darbeden bu yana sendika çalışanlarına ücretleri ödenmiyor.

Duruşmanın ilk oturumunda DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk'ün konuşmasını savcı mahkemeye bir hakaret saydı. Baştürk, konuşmasında bu davanın ana amacı, bu davanın Türkiye'de demokratik kitle ve sınıf sendikacılığına son vermektir dedi. 1967 yılında kurulduğu zaman DİSK'in sadece 30 bin üyesi vardı. Askersel darbe sırasında ise, üye sayısı 600 bini aşmıştı.

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12 Temmuz 1981 günlü Haravgi'de Türkiye Komünist Partisi Merkez Komitesi'nin 15 Haziran günlü bildirisi tam metin yayınlandı.

Yine Haravgi gazetesinde Türkiye Komünist Partisi Merkez Komitesi Genel Sekreteri İ.Bilen yoldaşın AKEL'in seçimlerden sonra kazandığı başarıyı kutlayan mesajı yayınlandı.

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Ülkenin sayıca ikinci sendikası olan DİSK'in aktivistlerinden biri olan Prof. Sadun Aren Ankara'da tutuklandı. Yerel basına göre Sadun Aren, İstanbul'da tutuklu bulunan büyük bir DİSK yöneticisinin duruşmasına devam edilen gürup gönderilecek. DİSK yöneticileri Türk Ceza Yasasının 142 . yasasına göre "komünist propaganda yapmakla" suçlanıyorlar. Öte yandan Türkiye Çalışma Bakanlığı emekçilerin güncel yaşamsal, toplumsal haklarını içeren bir yasa tasarısı hazırlamakta. Günaydın gazetesine göre, bu yasa tasarısıyla, işkollarının sayısı arttırılacak, grev hareketleri yasaklanacak. (Durum gazetesi, 28 Nisan 1981)

Çekoslovakya Komünist Partisi yayın organı Rude Pravo (4 Mayıs) ile Çekoslovakya Devrimci Sendika Hareketi'nin gazetesi de Türkiye'de 1 Mayıs'a değiniliyor ve şöyle deniyor.

"Daha önce resmen Bahar Bayramı olarak kutlanan 1 Mayıs bu yıl Türkiye'de yasaklandı. 1 Mayıs'tan önceki gece, yani 30 Nisan akşamı, Ankara, İstanbul ve öteki büyük kentlerin caddelerinde çok sayıda polis ve askersel birlikler devriye geziyordu. Bilindiği gibi geçen Eylül'de darbeyle yönetime el koyan Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Mart ayında çıkardığı yasayla 1 Mayıs'ı tatil olmaktan çıkardı. "

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun aylık yayın organı, "Dünya Sendika Hareketi"nin Nisan sayısında, Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu sekreterlerinden Jan ... "Sendika ve İnsah haklarını savunma, bu haklara saygı için güçleri birleştirmek" başlıklı bir yazısı yayınlandı. Yazıda "kapitalizm koşullarında işçi ve sendika haklarına karşı tekellerin ve gerici hükümetlerin saldırısından" söz ediliyor ve şöyle deniyor:

"Gericilik ve tekelci sermaye gittikçe daha çok kanlı kırımlara başvuruyor, sendika yöneticilerini öldürüyor. Bu amaçla yalnızca devlet hizmetinde baskıcı polis aygıtını kullanmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda gaddarca ve haince terörist çeteleri kullanıyorlar. Bu savaşımda kaç sınıf kardeşimiz, yoldaşımız kiralık kaatiller eliyle öldürüldü. Bunlar arasında örneğin Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu eski başkanı ve Maden-İş başkanı Kemal Türkler var. Bolivya'da alabildiğine süren terör, yüzlerce işçi ve sendika aktivistinin yaşamına son verdi. Salvadorda cuntanın paralı askerleri

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binlerce işçiyi öldürerek, ortalığı kana buladılar."Yazıda daha sonra dayanışmanın zorunluğu belirtiliyor ve şöyle deniyor.

"Belçika'da çeşitli dayanışma eylemlerini saptamak ve bunlar arasında bir eşgüdüm sağlamak için Türkiye'deki demokrasi güçleriyle dayanışma komitesi kuruldu. Bu dayanışma şimdi her zamankinden daha büyük önem taşıyor. 12 Eylül darbesinden bu yana Türkiye'de demokrasi güçlerine karşı baskı büyük ölçüde hızlandı. Cunta 60 bini aşkın insanı tutukladı. 500 bin dolayında işçiyi birleştiren DİSK ve ona bağlı 29 sendikanın çalışmaları yasaklandı. Aynı şekilde grev hakkına yasak kondu. Olağanüstü mahkemeler kuruluyor. Dayanışma konusunda DSF, değişik, büyük çapta girişimlerde bulundu. DSF uluslararası örgütlere, devlet ve hükümet başkanlarına, özellikle Bolivya, Salvador, Türkiye, Şili, Tunus, Guatemala hükümetlerine protesto ve yakınma mektupları yolladı. Bu arada Türkiye'ye araştırma komisyonu gönderdi. Bu komisyon, senidkal hak ve özgürlüklerin ayaklar altına alındığını gösteren verileri ortaya koydu." deniliyor.

Cumhuriyet. 28 Nisan.1981

"Bizim Radyo'nun yayınları için Doğu Almanya'nın dikkati çekildi. (8. sayfa).

Ankara-Cumhuriyet Bürosu: Türkiye, halen Madrit'te sürmekte olan Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Konferansı izleme toplantısında "Bizim Radyo"nun yayınlarından dolayı Doğu Almanya'nın dikkatini çekti. Diplomatik kaynaklardan edinilen bilgiye göre, Konferans sırasında Türk temsilcisi söz alarak, Doğu Almanya'nın Bizim Radyo'nun yayınlarına izin vererek, Helsinki Nihai Senedi'nde yer alan ilkeleri çiğnediğini bildirdi. Türk tarafı bu görüşünü getirirken, Bizim Radyo'nun yayınlarıyla, Nihai Sened'te yer alan iç işlerine müdahalede bulunmama ilkesinin ihlal edildiğini belirtti. Doğu Almanya'dan Türkçe olarak yayın yapan Bizim Radyo, merkezi yurt dışında bulunan Türkiye Komünist Partisi'nin resmi yayın organı olarak biliniyor.

4 Mayıs'ta Türk Tarih Kurumu'nda yapıldı. 5 Mayıs'ta Bursa'da, 6 Mayıs'ta Konya'da, 8 Mayıs'ta Adana'da, 11 Mayıs'da Erzurum'da, 13 Mayıs'ta Trabzon'da bu konularda doktor Andrew .Mango BBC'nin Güney.. Başkanı konferanslar verecek. Dr. Andrew Mango, 14 Mayıs'ta yeniden Ankara'ya dönecek ve İngiliz Kültür Derneği'nde BBC'nin dış yayınları konusunda konuşacak. 15 Mayıs Cuma günü ise, İstanbul Üniversitesinde, Atatürk'ün Türk-İngiliz ilişki-

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lerine etkisi, akşam ise Nişantaşı'ndaki Türk-İngiliz Kültür Derneği'nde, BBC'nin dış yayınları konusunda konuşacak. İngiltere'den ayrılmadan önce, BBC muhabiri Yurdakul Fincancı ile bir söyleşi yaptı.

Cumhuriyet- 23 Nisan 1981

"Baştürk Bakırköy İş Mahkemesinde Savunmasını Yaptı"

"DİSK'i kapatılma davasına dün Bakırköy İş Mahkemesi'nde bakıldı. Hakim daha önce yetkili iş mahkemesinin bir genel kurulunda, genel merkezin Ankara'ya alınmış olması nedeniyle, Ankara olduğu yolundaki kararını bozan Yargıtay kararına uydu. Mahkeme ayrıca, savcılık iddianamesinde yer alan kapatma istemine ilişkin suçların niteliği gereği davaya sıkıyönetim mahkemelerinde bakılabileceği gerekçesiyle davanın sıkıyönetim mahkemelerine alınıp alınmayacağı konusunun sıkıyönetim savcılığına sorulması kararını da vardi. Mahkemenin eski kararında direnmesini isteyen DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, bu konuda yaptığı savunma konuşmasında , hukuki yanı değil, politik yapı ağır basan bir dava olduğunu söyledi. Bu dava, bir işçi oknfederasyonu olarak DİSK'in , ya da DİSK yöneticilerinn yasa dışı bir eylemi, bir kararı, bir planı, sonradan bulunup ortaya çıkarıldığı için açılmamıştır. Bu dava bir fiile, bir eyleme dayandırılarak da açılmamıştır. Bu dava, DİSK yöneticilerinin yıllardır, basında, televizyonda, toplu iş sözleşmeleri sırasında, toplantı ve mitinglerde, yani kamuoyunda herkesin gözü önünde açıkça ortaya konan görüş eksiksiz lerinden ötürü ülkemizin çıkarlarının savunulmasından ötürü, işçilerin hak ve özgürlüklerinin bir bütün olarak savunulmasından ötürü, görüş ve eylemleri sonradan suçlanarak açılmıştır, dedi. =

Savcı Baştürk'ün konuşmasında, savcılığa hakaret suçunun işlendiğini söyleyerek, .. Bakırköy savcılığına suç duyurusunda bulunulması , ve konuşmanın bir kopyasının verilmesini istedi. DİSK avukatları savcılığa hakaretin söz konusu olmadığını, savunma hakkının kullanıldığını bildirdiler. Mahkeme savcılığın istemi halinde, konuşma metninin incelemeye verilebileceğini karara bağladı. Kısa bir süre önce Türk-İş'in üyelik başvurusunu reddeden DİSK'in üyelik başvurusunu ise faaliyetinin askıda, ve yöneticilerinin tutuklu olması nedeniyle ,görüşmeyi erteleyen, AET ülkeleri sendikalarının oluşturduğu, Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu genel sekreteri ... da duruşmayı izledi. Mahkeme DİSK avukatları Ercüment Tahiroğlu, Halit Çelenk, Hasan Fehmi Güneş, ve 48 avukat adına hazırlanmış

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yazılı savunmayı, davanın esasına girilmediği gerekçesiyle dosyaya almayı reddetti. Savunmanın sadece, yargıtayın bozma kararına ilişkin, mahkemenin direnmesi gerektiği yolundaki bölümünün kısa bir özetini bapta geçirtti. DİSK avukatları mahkemenin daha önce, vermiş olduğu yetkisizlik kararını bozan yargıtayın mahkemenin gerekçelerini yanıtlamadığını ve kararında gerekçe koymadığını vurgulayarak, usulsüz olduğunu ve böyle usulsüzlüklerin bu karara karşı iş mahkemesinin direnme kararı vermesini istediler. Ancak, mahkeme yargıtayın bozma kararına uyma kararı verdi. Baştürk'ün savunması:

DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, mahkemenin eski kararında direnmesini isterken yaptığı savunmada, davadan amacın yalnızca, DİSK'in fiilen kapatılması, fiilen tasfiyesinin değil, sınıf ve kitle sendikacılığının tasfiyesi olduğunu söyledi. DİSK'in amaç ve çalışmalarınınkısa bir özetini yaptıktan sonra da, suçlamaların tümünü reddettiklerini söyleyerek, ... eleştirdi ve şöyle dedi. 1961 Anayasasının 46. maddesinde, temel bir hak olarak yazılı sendika kurma hakkına, ve 274 ve 275 sayılı yasaların öngördüğü, sendikal hak ve özgürlüklere dayalı olarak kurulan ve kuruluşundan bu güne kadar yasaların öngördüğü, sınırlar içinde hareket eden DİSK, bugün tüm yöneticileri ve üyeleri ile birlikte suçlanmak istenmektedir. Bu davanın ilerde talepnamede de belirtildiği gibi, 600 binden fazla işçinin yargılanmasını getireceğini, ve üyesi olunmak istenen AET içinde kullanılan sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin en asgarisini savunan DİSK'in yargılandığını öne süren Baştürk, savunmasını özetle şöyle sürdürdü. DİSK anarşi ve teröre, en açık bir biçimde karşı çıkmıştır. Fabrikadaki işçiden, DİSK'in genel başkanına kadar, DİSK üyeleri, faşist numlulara hedef olurken, DİSK her vesile ile, anarşi ve teröre karşı mücadele için ilgili kişi ve kuruluşlara çağrı yapmıştır. DİSK ülkenin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik bunalımın da sorumlusu olmamıştır. Bu bunalımın sorumlusu olarak işçiler, emekçiler gösterilemez. Nitekim sözde yüksek ücret almaları, grev yapmaları nedenleriyle, ekonomik bunalımın sorumlusu olarak işçilerin gösterilemiyeceği, işçi hareketlerinin, hiç olmadığı, ücret sorunlarının farklı bir biçimde çözüldüğü, 12 Mart sonrası açıkça kanıtlanmıştır. DİSK kurulduğu günden bu yana, ulusal bağımsızlık ve demokrasinin, en kararlı savunucusu olmuştur. Emperyalizme, faşizme, o nedenle karşı çıkmış, yoğun bir biçimde barışı savunmuştur. Açık açık söyledik, yazdık, uyguladık: DİSK'in temel özellikleri şunlardır, Kitle örgütü olması, sınıf örgütü olması, demokratik örgüt olması, bağımsız örgüt olması. Biz ne düşündük, ne yaptıksa, yasalara uygun olduğu için,

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bu kanaatta olduğumuz için yaptık. Şimdi de aynı görüşteyiz, görüş ve eylemlerimizin suç olmadığını açıkça söylüyoruz. Türkiye'de genelde demokratik hak ve özgürlüklerin, özelde sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin hayata geçirilmesi için, mücadele veren ve bugün bu yüzden sanık sandalyesine oturtulmak istenen DİSK'in üyesi ve yöneticisi olmaktan onur ve kıvanç duyuyoruz. Tarih en yüce hakimdir. Tarih işçi ve emekçi sınıfımız DİSK'i aklıyacaktır, bağımsız yargı organlarının da bizi aklıyacağına inanıyoruz. " Mahkeme kapatma davasına ilişkin = savcılık iddianamesi ve ek talepnamesinde, 141 ve 142'ye ilişkin suçların işlendiğine ilişkin iddiaların yer aldığını, devletin kişiliğine karşı işlenen suç niteliğindeki bu suçlara ilişkin davalara bakma yetkisinin se isterse sıkıyönetim mahkemelerinin olduğu gerekçesine dayanarak, bu konuda sıkıyönetime yazı yazılmasına karar verdi, duruşma 18 Mayıs saat 10.30'a ertelendi.

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Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu Genel Konseyi 1-3 Temmuz tarihleri arasında Budapeşte'de toplandı. Genel Konsey Kongreden sonra gelen en büyük organ. 63 ülkedeki sendikal örgütlerin en yüksek düzeyde yöneticileri katıldı. DİSK üyesi birçok sendikanın bağlı olduğu tarım, gıda, yapım, kimya, kamu, metal, yeraltı,maden tekstil, ulaşım işkollarındaki uluslararası sendika birlikleri ve FİSE de genel konseyde temsil ediliyordu. Ülkeler arasında SSCB ve tüm sosyalist ülkeler, Fransa, Finlandiya, Avustralya, Avusturya, Kıbrıs, Japonya, Filipinler, İran, Irak, Suriye, Filistin, Ürdün, Kuveyt, Lübnan, Yemen, Brezilya, Arjantin, Kolombiya, Hindistan, Afganistan, sayılabilir. Genel Konsey, yakın geçmişteki gelişmeler ve dayanışmayı yükseltmenin gerekliliği üzerine bir karar aldı. Oybirliğiyle alınan kararın son bölümünde şöyle deniliyor.

"Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu Genel Konseyi işçilerin ve halkların savaşımlarıyla militan dayanışması içine gir.. Ülkelerinin ve halklarının çıkarları doğrultusunda yiğitçe savaşım verdikleri için şu anda zindanlarda bulunan onbinlerce yurtsever demokrat ve sendikacıyı selamlar. İrlanda ya da Türkiye, Fas ya da Sudan, Endenozya ya da Benglades, Salvador ya da Bolivya'da olsun tüm savaşçılar, tüm dünya işçilerinin desteğine ve hayranlığına layıktırlar. Genel Konsey onların derhal serbest bırakılması ve bu ülkelerde sendikal ve demokratik özgürlüklere saygı gösterilmesini talep eder. Dünya Sendikaları ve işçileri arasında etkili ve sürekli dayanışma eylemlerini geliştirmek için DSF hiçbir şeyden sakınmayacağını, baskıya uğrayan ve savaşım veren herkese bir kez daha duyurur. "

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Merkezi Çekoslovakya'nın başkenti Prag'da olan Uluslararası Gazeteciler Örgütü'nün 15 günlük yayın organı News Letter (NiyuzLetır), Türkiye'de basın yayın organlarına ve ve gazetecilere karşı girişilen baskılara geniş yer verdi.

Ürün dergisi yazı işleri müdürü Ahmet Taştan'ın resminin de yer aldığı news Letter'ın Temmuz 1981 günlü ve 14. sayısında yayınlanan yazısında özetle şöyle deniyor:

Sıkıyönetim Mahkemelerinin son zamanlarda ilerici gazetecilere karşı kestiği hapis cezalarının kısa bir dökümü şöyledir:

Şimdi yasaklanmış olan aylık Ürün dergisinin yazı işleri müdürü Ahmet Taştan bir yazıda "Komünizm propagandası" yaptığı gerekçesiyle 9 yıl 9 ay hapis cezasına mahkum edildi. Savcılar, Ahmet Taştan için Ürün dergisindeki değişik yazılardan ötürü 500 yılı aşan hapis cezaları istiyorlar.

Yine Savaş Yolu dergisi yazı işleri müdürü Candemir Özler "Komünizm propagandası" gerekçesiyle 13 yıl 1 ay hapis cezasına çarptırıldı. 15 günlük İlerici Yurtsever Gençlik gazetesi yazı işleri müdürü Erhan Tuzkan, biri 9 yıl 5 ay 10 gün, öbürü 14 yıl olmak üzere iki kez ve toplam 23 yıl 5 ay 10 gün hapis cezasına mahkum edildi.

Politika gazetesi yazı işleri müdürü Aydın Şenesen 1977 yılında yayınlanan bir okur mektubundan ötürü 18 18 ay hapis cezası yedi. Aynı gazetenin yazarlarından Uğur Kökten, hükümete hakaret ettiği gerekçesiyle bir yıl hapse mahkum edildi. Geçirdiği ilerici derecede verem hastalığından ötürü akciğerlerinden biri alınmış olan ülkenin tanınmış mizah yazarı 70 yaşındaki Rıfat Ilgaz bu yılın Mayıs ayından beri hiçbir gerekçe gösterilmeden gözaltında tutuluyor.

Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu DİSK'e bağlı Genel-İş Sendikasının EMAS basımevi sorumlusu, eski Kurucu Meclis üyesi, 54 yaşındaki tanınmış yazar İlhami Soysal bu yılın Şubat ayından beri zındanda bulunuyor.

12 Eylül 1980'de askeriyenin erke el koymasından bu yana Türkiye'de yüzü aşkın gazete ve dergi askersel yöneticiler tarafından yasaklanmış bulunuyor.

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Sovyetler Birliği ile Türkiye'nin ilişkileri güçlü temeller üzerinde kuruldu ve öyle kalmaya devam ediyor

Sovyetler Birliği Bilimler Akademisi'ne bağlı Dünya Ekonomisi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Enstitüsü'nün aylık yayın organında yayınlanan "Uluslararası Politikanın Güncel Sorunları" başlıklı yazıda Türkiye'deki duruma da değiniliyor.

Sovyetler Birliği Bilimsel Akademisi'nin "Dünya Ekonomisi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler" adlı dergisinin Temmuz 1981 sayısında çıkan Babak,Kokeyev ve Oleşçuk imzalı yazıda Türkiye konusunda şöyle deniyor:

"Türkiye halkı, güç ve karmaşık bir dönemini yaşıyor. Bilindiği gibi 1980 yılı Eylül ayında ülkede ordu yönetime el koydu. Askerler, aşırı sağ neo-faşist ve aşırı sol maocu değişik türden ç çok sayıda terörist örgüte karşı kararlı bir savaşım başlattılar. 24 binin üzerinde insan terörist, eylemlere katıldıkları suçlamasıyla ya gözaltına alındı, ya da tutuklandı. Askersel yönetimin başı, Türkiye Milli Güvenlik Konseyi ve devlet başkanı Kenan Evren geçenlerde 30 Ağustos ile 29 Ekim tarihleri arasında bir Kurucu Meclis'in toplanacağını belirtti. Kurucu Meclis'in çalışmaya başlamasından sonra, parlamento seçimlerinin ne zaman yapılacağı açıklanacak.

Ülkenin ekonomik durumundaki istikrarsızlık sürüyor. Enflasyon hızının yüksekliği, yiyecek ve ana tüketim mallarının fiyatlarını artırıyor. İşsizlik ve dış borçlar artıyor. Türkiye askersel hükümeti dış politika alanında Kuzey Atlantik Paktı NATO'ya bağlılığını koruyor. Aynı zamanda hükümet, Sovyetler Birliği de içinde olmak üzere, komşu ülkelerle işbirliğini geliştirme niyetinde olduğunu belirtti.

10 Mart- 10 Haziran 1981 günleri arasında dünya politikasındaki gelişmeleri konu alan yazıda devamla şöyle deniliyor:

Mart ayında Sovyetler Birliği ile Türkiye arasında Leninci ilkeler temelinde imzalanan iyi komşuluk ve işbirliği ilişkilerinin kurulmasının 60. yıldönümü kutlandı.

Ülkede Mayıs ayında Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kurucusu ve ilk cumhurbaşkanı Mustafa Kemal Atatürk'ün 100. doğum yılı kutlandı. Türkiye devlet başkanı Kenan Evren'e yolladığı kutlama telgrafında Leonid Brejnev şöyle dedi: Sovyetler Birliği'ne göre, Lenin ve Atatürk'ün temellerini attığı iki ülke arasındaki barış, dostluk ve verimli işbirliği gelenekleri Sovyet-Türk ilişkilerini

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geliştiren güçlü temeller üstünde kuruluduğu ve öyle kalmaya devam ediyor. "

.....

Sovyetler Birliği Yüksek Sovyet başkanlığının yayın organı İzvestiya gazetesinde yayınlanan "Kuraklık felaketi" başlıklı haberde, Türkiye'nin güneydoğu bölgelerinin toptan susuz kaldığı belirtiliyor. 7 milyon sürümü olan İzvestiya gazetesinin 6 Ağustos 1981 günlü haberinde şöyle deniyor:

"Bugünlerde Türkiye'nin güneydoğu bölgelerinde kendini gösteren eşi görülmemiş kuraklık sonucu bölgede yaklaşık 4 bin yerleşim bölgesi susuz kalmıştır. Türk Haberler Ajansının belirttiğine göre ısının 40 derecenin altına genellikle düşmediği Diyarbakır, Mardin, Urfa illerinde, su depoları ve tankları toptan boşalmış, binlerce büyük baş hayvan ölüm tehlikesiyle yüzyüze kalmıştır.

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Merkezi Prag'da bulunan Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun haftalık yayın organı Flashes gazetesinin 20 Temmuz 1981 günlü sayısında: "Pragdaki Türkiye büyükelçiliği Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikasından bir heyeti görmeyi reddetti" başlıklı bir haber yayınlandı.

Haberde şöyle deniyor : 24 Haziran 1981 günü Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikasından bir heyet Prag'daki Türkiye büyükelçiliğine gitti. Heyetin amacı, 185 tekstil işçisine verilen ağır hapis cezalarını protesto etmek ve 9 ayı aşkın bir süredir zındanda tutulan sendika yöneticilerinin özgürlüklerine kavuşmasını istemekti. Uluslararası Tekstil İşçileri Sendikası heyeti, genel sekreter JanKril ve sekreter Antuan Herrero ile Anatoli Kolmakov'dan oluşuyordu.

Türkiye büyükelçisiyle elçilikteki diğer diplomatlar uluslararası sendikacılar heyetini kabul etmeyi reddettiler. Ayrıca Türkiye başbakanı ile Çalışma Bakanınan yazılan iki mektubu da almak istemediler.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun haftalık yayın organı Flashes'ın haberinde devamla şöyle deniyor: Bundan da Türk yetkililerin Türkiye işçi sınıfına ve halkına karşı baskı politikalarını haklı göstermek için herhalde ortalığa çıkacak yüzleri olmadığı anlaşılıyor.

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Genel

Guyana Tarım İşçileri/Birliği Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü genel direktörü Fransis Blanşard'a bir telgraf göndererek Türkiye'de 52 DİSK yöneticisinin ve militanının idamdan, işkenceden ve hapisten kurtarılması için genel direktörün derhal acil müdahalede bulunmasını istedi.

Madagaskar Devrimci Sendikalar Federasyonu FİSEMARE Birleşmiş Milletler Örgütü genel sekreteri'ne bir mektupla başvurarak 52 DİSK yöneticisinin idamdan kurtarılması için derhal Türkiye nezdinde genel sekreterin harekete geçmesini istedi.

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'na bağlı Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği'nin Temmuz ayında çıkan yayın organında uluslararası birliğin, bir genelge mektupla tüm üye örgütlerine ve dost örgütlerine başvurarak 52 DİSK yöneticisinin kurtarılması için eylemlerinin artırılmasını istedikleri bildiriliyor.

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Confédération Européenne des Syndicats

European Trade Union Confederation

Den Europeiske Faglige Samorganisasjon

Europäischer Gewerkschaftsbund

le 23 avril 1981
JIN/HL/PN

RAPPORT SUR LA MISSION DE LA C.E.S. EN TURQUIE, DU 18 AU 22 AVRIL 1981

par Jon-Ivar Nälsund, Secrétaire Général Adjoint de la C.E.S.

Contexte de cette mission

Suite aux discussions sur les développements en Turquie en 1980-1981 et devant la gravité de la situation à laquelle font face les syndicats en Turquie, le Secrétariat de la C.E.S. a décidé d'envoyer une mission officieuse en Turquie. Le but de la mission était:

a) d'informer sur la position de la C.E.S. concernant la situation dans ce pays;

b) de rassembler des informations sur la situation des syndicalistes en Turquie;

c) d'assister en observateur au procès contre les syndicalistes turcs de DISK, qui a commencé le 22 avril 1981 à Istanbul.

La mission n'a pas été entourée de publicité préalable et n'a pas été notifiée aux autorités.

Ce rapport est basé sur des observations personnelles que j'ai pu faire durant les quatre journées que j'ai passées à Istanbul et sur les conversations que j'ai pu avoir avec un grand nombre de syndicalistes, d'avocats et de quelques hommes politiques proches du Parti Populaire Républicain.
L'actuel gouvernement turc considère que c'est un délit grave de donner des informations sur le côté sombre de la société turque actuellement. Les gens que j'ai rencontrés couraient donc le risque d'une peine de plusieurs années d'emprisonnement pour m'avoir dépeint la situation telle qu'ils la voient, eux. Le présent rapport ne contiendra donc pas d'informations relatives aux noms ni aux fonctions des personnes rencontrées. Je pense qu'elles représentent une fraction importante des forces démocratiques en Turquie et que les informations qu'elles m'ont données donne un aperçu très utile des conditions actuellement en cours en Turquie aujourd'hui.

Observations générales

Istanbul a l'aspect d'une ville occupée. Il y a des soldats partout, armés de fusils automatiques, le doigt sur la détente; selon les gens rencontrés, les soldats ont l'autorisation de tirer s'il y a des troubles. Ils procèdent à des contrôles permanents des occupants des autobus ordinaires qu'ils arrêtent fréquemment, faisant sortir et fouillant les passagers, leur demandant de montrer leurs papiers d'identité etc. Les gens que j'ai rencontrés soulignent qu'après le coup d'Etat militaire, on pouvait à nouveau circuler en rue sans danger et que le terrorisme ouvert des dernières années avait disparu. Cette amélioration de la sécurité personnelle est contre-balancée par une nouvelle terreur exercée par les autorités contre quiconque tenterait de critiquer l'absence de droits démocratiques de ce pays. Les avocats, les politiciens et les syndicalistes que j'ai rencontrés admettaient tous largement que les autorités militaires de la région d'Istanbul ont consciemment laissé faire les terroristes avant le coup d'Etat, afin de mieux préparer celui-ci, le 12 septembre 1980. La suppression rapide et effective du terrorisme ouvert dans

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les rues a été réalisée grâce à des méthodes qui étaient déjà accessibles aux autorités militaires sous la loi martiale, laquelle était déjà en vigueur avant le coup d'Etat. Le gouvernement semble essayer systématiquement de contrôler toutes les organisations et institutions, soit en forçant les dirigeants des organisations à suivre sa propre ligne politique, en en changeant les chefs, soit en fermant les organisations et en en créant de nouvelles, sous son contrôle.

Droits syndicaux

Au niveau des entreprises, aucune activité syndicale ne peut être poursuivie, quelle que soit l'organisation à laquelle les gens sont affiliés. Les bureaux syndicaux des usines sont scellés et les tentatives de faire valoir des griefs ne portent pas. La négociation collective est mise hors-la-loi et les grèves sont interdites. Au niveau national, Türk-Is peut fonctionner, tandis que DISK a été fermé. Toutefois, les limites entre lesquelles Türk-Is peut fonctionner sont très étroites.

Situation de DISK

Presque tous les fonctionnaires de DISK sont soit en prison, soit ils ont pris le maquis, soit ils sont exilés hors de Turquie. Plus de 300 d'entre-eux sont incarcérés à Istanbul et un nombre inconnu de syndicalistes de DISK sont emprisonnés ailleurs dans le pays. Le gouvernement a désigné trois curateurs pour gérer les biens et les revenus de DISK. Selon des rapports que j'ai reçus, les bâtiments appartenant à des organisations de DISK ont été cédés par les curateurs, sans compensation. Ainsi, le grand centre de vacances du syndicat des employés communaux - GENEL-IS, sur la mer Egée - a été cédé à une Banque Turque du Tourisme pour une période de 10 ans. Les bureaux de GENEL-IS à Ankara seront aussi probablement cédés à des institutions gouvernementales, sans compensation. A cause du système des listes pratiqué en Turquie, les employeurs continuent à déduire les cotisations syndicales des salaires des travailleurs et les envoient aux curateurs de DISK. Cet argent est recelé dans des banques d'Etat et on peut aisément supposer qu'à la fin du compte, il émergera dans les institutions militaires. Les employés de DISK n'ont pas eu de salaire depuis le coup d'Etat, ils n'ont pas été licenciés et ne peuvent donc pas se chercher un nouvel emploi; ils dépendant donc totalement de l'aide d'amis et de parents. Un procès a commencé le 22 avril 1981, qui vise à fermer définitivement DISK. En voici quelques détails.

Traitement des prisonniers de DISK

La plupart des fonctionnaires de DISK, au niveau national et local, soit on été arrêtés, soit se sont rendus dans les jours qui ont suivi le coup d'Etat. Selon des rapports d'avocats et de parents, ils ont été sujets à de graves tortures durant les dix premiers jours. Les méthodes utilisées varient de l'application de courants électriques, d'abus sexuels, de simulacres de pendaison, au maintien à l'état de veille durant plusieurs semaines, aux coups, aux coups sur la plante des pieds etc. Durant les quatre premiers mois, les prisonniers n'ont pas pu voir leurs avocats ni les membres de leurs familles. A ce moment, leur état de santé s'est détérioré de façon marquante. Au début décembre, presque un mois après le maximum légal, ils ont comparu devant un juge, n'ayant ensuite aucun recours à une défense légale. Le juge a libéré la plupart des prisonniers, mais 68 ont été gardés lors de cette première audience. Devant cette attitude libérale, le juge a été démis de ses fonctions par les autorités militaires et un autre juge a été désigné. Les prisonniers libérés par le premier ont ensuite été réemprisonnés par le second. Mais depuis, les prisonniers ont pu recevoir des membres de leurs familles et leurs avocats à intervalles réguliers, même si c'était sous un contrôle strict. On leur a également permis de recevoir des colis de nourriture et leur état de santé s'est amélioré de façon notable. Durant le dernier mois, des restrictions ont à nouveau été imposées et actuellement les prisonniers peuvent recevoir de la visite deux fois par mois et pour dix minutes par visite. Lors de telles visites, il y a un grand espace entre le visiteur et le visité, occupé par un gardien. Les avocats opèrent également dans des conditions difficiles du même genre.

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Il n'y a pas de salle d'attente pour les parents qui doivent attendre dehors, quelles que soient les conditions météorologiques. Ceux-ci attendent fréquemment de 6 à 7 heures avant de pouvoir visiter le prisonnier. Les prisonniers sont gardés dans de grandes pièces, jusqu'à 30 par pièce. Le confort sanitaire y laisse fort à désirer et la nourriture y est mauvaise. Les prisonniers peuvent cependant s'acheter de la nourriture supplémentaire. Ils peuvent recevoir jusqu'à 3.000 Livres turques (soit 30 dollars US) par quinzaine. Ils ne peuvent lire aucun autre livre que les livres sur ou par Kemal ATATÜRK.

Certains prisonniers sont malades. S'il faut des médicaments, les parents doivent aller en acheter dans les pharmacies, sans aucune assistance financière officielle. Il n'y a pas de docteur disponible dans la prison. Dans les cas graves, les malades doivent être transportés dans d'autres prisons où l'aide médicale nécessaire peut leur être donnée. L'inconfort des méthodes de transport est telle que les prisonniers préfèrent souvent ne pas avoir recours à ce "service", sauf dans les cas très graves.

On n'a pas fait connaître les chefs d'accusation aux prisonniers, et ils ignorent quand aura lieu leur procès. Les chefs d'accusation portés contre le dirigeant de DISK, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK seraient semble-t-il la violation aux articles 146, 141 du Code Pénal, à l'article 1402 de la Loi Martiale, à l'article 171 de la loi sur les réunions publiques (Code civil), à l'article 274 de la législation sur les syndicats et à l'article 275 de la loi sur les grèves, les conflits etc.
S'il est reconnu coupable d'avoir violé l'article 146 du Code Pénal, il risque la peine de mort.

Défense des fonctionnaires de DISK

Jusqu'à la fin décembre, les avocats ne pouvaient pas rendre visite aux prisonniers. Après, ils ont pu les rencontrer un quart d'heure à la fois, en la présence d'un gardien et avec un large espace entre le prisonnier et son avocat. Les avocats n'ont pas accès aux dossiers de charges des prisonniers et ils n'ont pas été informés des charges précises qui pèsent sur leurs clients. Environ 100 avocats de Ankara et de Istanbul se sont portés volontaires pour défendre, à titre gratuit, les fonctionnaires de DISK, et on compte parmi eux Mr Hasan Fehmi GÜNES, Ministre de l'Intérieur du gouvernement social-démocrate de Mr Bulent Ecevit.
Les problèmes financiers de la défense sont très sérieux.

Le 27 avril 1981, le principal avocat de la défense, Mr Ercüment TAHIROGLU était arrêté.

Situation des familles des prisonniers

Durant toute la période qui a suivi l'arrestation des fonctionnaires de DISK, leurs familles se sont trouvées sans ressources financières, la plupart de leurs épouses n'exerçant pas de profession avant le coup d'Etat. En conséquence, ces familles dépendent maintenant totalement de l'aide d'amis, de parents et de collègues de leurs maris. Les pouvoirs militaires essaient d'empêcher que ces familles se réunissent et dans certains cas arrêtent les gens qui collectent de l'argent pour elles, les accusant de venir en aide à des organisations terroristes. La situation économique des familles des prisonniers est donc très précaire. Dans de nombreux cas, les amis et les parents craignent d'entrer en contact avec les familles des prisonniers, du fait qu'ils pensent que les autorités militaires pourraient interpréter cela comme une preuve de collaboration avec DISK. Cela conduit à un isolement social, qui rend la situation des familles absolument intenable. Les femmes que j'ai rencontrées ont souligné les problèmes qui résultaient de cette situation. Elles ne savent pas quand leur mari sera jugé, quelles sont les charges qui pèsent contre lui ni quelle est la peine qu'il risque. Elles ne savent donc pas à quoi s'en tenir. Elles ont souligné combien l'incertitude psychologique peut être bien pire que les difficultés économiques. Les familles propriétaires de biens se sont vues forcées de vendre maisons ou

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terres pour assurer leur subsistance quotidienne, mais dans de nombreux cas, les familles ne possédaient pas les biens qu'elles auraient pu vendre. La nécessité d'une aide extérieure est donc impérative. Le revenu net moyen au moment de l'arrestation était de 10.000 Livres turques environ, soit 100 dollars US par personne et par mois. Les chiffres officiels de l'inflation en Turquie avoisinnent actuellement les 40% l'an, et il faut en tenir compte lors de l'établissement du chiffre de l'aide à accorder.

Assistance Financière Extérieure

Les besoins financiers pour assurer la défense des prisonniers et la subsistance des familles sont considérables. Les possibilités de collecter de l'argent en Turquie même sont minces - tant en raison du danger personnel qu'encourent ceux qui collectent qu'en raison du niveau économique général des parents, amis et collègues ces prisonniers. Les moyens d'assistance existant en Turquie ont été utilisés durant environ 8 mois, et de nombreux sympathisans commencent à décliner. La situation devient donc critique. Recevoir de l'aide de l'extérieur (étranger) est considéré comme un délit grave qui peut être puni de fortes peines de prison. Les organisations étrangères qui voudraient apporter une aide financière sont donc priées:

a) soit de convaincre des autorités turques que leur attitude à l'égard d'une telle aide doit être changée et d'autoriser une assistance financière à transmettre par les voies officielles;

b) soit transmettre cette aide par des voies secrètes au risque d'être illégale.

Procès contre DISK

Le 22 avril 1981, le procès visant à fermer définitivement DISK a commencé au tribunal de Bakirköy. Jusqu'ici, DISK a vu ses opérations suspendues et les autorités militaires souhaitent que le verdict mette définitivement l'organisation hors-la-loi. Les charges sont très générales et sont fondées sur de très vagues preuves. Les charges les plus sérieuses se rapportent aux articles 146 et 141 du Code Pénal turc (dont une traduction se trouve en annexe).

J'ai pu assister au procès qui s'est déroulé dans une petite salle du tribunal, dans un faubourg d'Istanbul. DISK était représenté par son Président, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK. C'était la première fois que Mr Bastürk pouvait parler publiquement après son arrestation en septembre 1980. J'ai pu lui serrer la main et échanger quelques mots avec lui avant que le garde ne mette un terme à notre entretien. Il paraissait en bonne santé, et selon ses avocats, il ne souffre pas de maladie particulière. La défense a été préparée par 76 avocats d'Ankara et d'Istanbul qui ont tous signé le document de la défense. Nombreux étaient ceux d'entre-eux qui étaient au procès, mais moins de la moitié des avocats de la défense ont pu pénétrer dans la salle. Après l'ouverture officielle de ce procès, Mr Bastürk a pu faire une déclaration. Cette déclaration a été préparée oralement par Mr Bastürk et le principal avocat de la défense, Mr Ercüment Tahiroğlu, la défense ne pouvant pas échanger de documents écrits avec Mr Bastürk. Il a donc vu le manuscrit final pour la première fois au tribunal même. La défense a mis en question la compétence d'un tribunal du travail (celui de Bakirköy) pour traiter d'un cas d'une telle importance et elle a demandé que l'affaire soit mise entre les mains du Tribunal Civil d'Ankara. Ce que le juge a refusé.

Mr Bastürk a fait une puissante déclaration, et j'ai eu le sentiment qu'elle a produit une impression positive sur le public. Le texte de cette déclaration se trouve en annexe. Après lecture de cette déclaration, le Procureur de la République a déclaré que cette déclaration était une insulte contre sa fonction et que des charges seraient ajoutées contre lui.
Après l'ouverture formelle du procès, le juge a poursuivi en disant que comme il ne savait pas si la Cour Martiale accepterait de changer de juridiction, il ajournait l'audience jusqu'au moment où il serait certain de la position de la Cour Martiale.

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La défense a réagi et a demandé que les débats se poursuivent et elle a fait remettre au tribunal les documents préparés par la défense. Le juge a refusé de regarder les documents de la défense et a ajourné l'audience au 18 mai 1981.

Les charges principales contre DISK, que l'organisation a été créée pour abroger la constitution turque par des moyens violents, n'ont été établies jusqu'ici en aucune manière et la déclaration de Mr Bastürk contient une véhémente déclaration qui soutient les idéaux démocratiques des droits syndicaux fondamentaux. Ce procès doit être considéré comme une persécution politique des syndicats.

J'ai eu l'impression que le juge ne souhaitait pas être tenu responsable de la fermeture de DISK et plutôt que de prendre en mains les problèmes personnels en acquittant l'organisation, il a essayé de pousser la décision entre les mains de la Cour Martiale, qui comprend des juges militaires. Les avocats de DISK ont vu dans cette manoeuvre une évolution négative, car la possibilité d'un verdict négatif contre l'organisation est bien plus grande à la Cour Martiale et constituerait un dangereux précédent pour les procès ultérieurs contre des syndicalistes isolés.

Le 23 avril 1981, la C.E.S. a publié un communiqué à la presse (dont un exemplaire se trouve en annexe).
Le 27 avril, le principal avocat de la défense, Mr TAHIROGLU, était arrêté.

Détermination des politiques de la C.E.S.

Au cours des conversations que j'ai eues, j'ai pu reconnaître une opinion généralement positive pour le soutien politique que la C.E.S. a donné aux syndicats turcs dans ses différentes déclarations et décisions. La décision de rejeter la candidature de Türk-Is et de postposer la demande d'adhésion de DISK a été considérée comme un signe évident de soutien du syndicalisme libre en Turquie. Les opinions sont partagées quant à savoir si les demandes de rupture des relations entre la C.E.E. et la Turquie sont le meilleur moyen de faire pression sur le gouvernement turc. La plupart des gens que j'ai rencontrés ont eux-mêmes conclu que la C.E.S. était elle-même en meilleure position d'en juger qu'eux-mêmes. Ce manque de confiance en soi est probalement dû en partie au manque d'information causé par la censure turque. Il y a donc un souhait général que les gouvernements d'Europe occidentale fassent davantage pression sur le gouvernement turc, mais on ne sait pas quelles formes cette pression devrait prendre.

Recommandations

Me fondant sur les informations que j'ai eues durant cette mission et sur les informations reçues à la C.E.S. jusqu'ici par d'autres voies, je recommanderais ceci:

a) que l'on accélère les efforts visant à faire pression sur le gouvernement turc;

b) que l'on envoie d'éminents experts juridiques aux procès contre DISK et contre les syndicalistes individuels, afin de suivre les débats;

c) que l'on trouve les voies et moyens d'assurer que les familles des syndicalistes emprisonnés et les avocats de la défense obtiennent l'assistance économique nécessaire.

Jon-Ivar Nilsund

Secrétaire Général Adjoint

Annexes: I. Déclaration de A. Bastürk au procès de DISK, le 22 avril 1981
II. Extraits du Code Pénal turc
III. Communiqués à la presse C.E.S. des 23 et 28 avril 1981.

JIN/HL/TN

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TÜRKIYE SOSYAL TARIH ARASTIRMA VAKFI

EXTRAITS DU CODE PENAL TURC

Art. 141

1. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle, ceux qui entreprennent de créer, d'organiser les activités ou diriger de quelque façon que ce soit et sous quel nom que ce soit, des associations dont l'objectif est d'établir la domination d'une classesociale sur les autres classes sociales, ou de supprimer une classe sociale, ou de renverser n'importe laquelle des institutions économiques ou sociales fondamentales établies dans le pays, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

   Ceux qui dirigent plusieurs ou toutes les associations de ce type seront condamnés à la peine de mort.

2. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent de quelque façon et sous quelque nom que ce soit des associations dont le but est d'anéantir les institutions politiques et juridiques de l'Etat ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

3. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 8 à 15 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent des associations dont le but est contraire au système républicain ou vise à donner l'administration de l'Etat à un seul individu ou à un groupe, de façon contraire aux principes démocratiques, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en ces matières.

4. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 1 à 3 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui entreprennent de créer, créent, organisent les activités ou dirigent des associations qui ont pour but de supprimer partiellement ou entièrement les droits publics reconnus par la Constitution au moyen d'idéologies racistes ou qui ont pour objectif d'anéantir ou d'affaiblir le sentiment national, ainsi que ceux qui montrent la voie en la matière.

5. Seront condamnés à une peine allant de 5 à 12 ans de prison criminelle ceux qui adhèrent aux associations mentionnées aux paragraphes 1, 2 et 3 et de 6 mois à 2 ans de prison ceux qui adhèrent aux associations mentionnées au paragraphe 4.

6. Les peines de prison seront augmentées d'un tiers si les actes mentionnés aux paragraphes ci-dessus sont commis dans des administrations d'Etat, des municipalités ou des entreprises dont le capital appartient partiellement ou entièrement à l'Etat, des syndicats, des écoles ou des établissements d'enseignement supérieur ou s'ils sont commis par des fonctionnaires ou des employés de ces institutions.

7. Si l'un des auteurs des délits mentionnés dans cet article avoue le délit et dénonce les autres auteurs aux autorités compétentes avant que l'enquête finale ne soit ouverte et si cette dénonciation s'avère exacte, ce délinquant, selon le cas, les conditions et les particularités de l'affaire, pourra être condamné, au lieu de la peine de mort, à une peine d'au moins 10 ans de prison criminelle, ou sa peine de prison pourra être diminuée d'un quart.

8. Dans cet article, l'on entend par association toute réunion de deux ou plusieurs personnes ayant un même objectif.

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TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Article 146

Seront condamnés à la peine de mort ceux qui entreprennent par la violence de modifier, altérer ou abroger partiellement ou entièrement la loi fondamentale de la République de Turquie ou d'anéantir la Grande Assemblée Nationale constituée par cette loi ou l'en empêcher d'exercer sa tâche.

Seront condamnés à la peine de mort ceux qui, seuls ou en groupe, dans les formes et les façons mentionnées à l'article 65, commettent ces délits en créant des troubles par leurs discours, leurs écrits ou leurs actions, ou en prononçant des discours sur les places publiques, suspendant des affiches ou imprimant des publications, même si le trouble reste au niveau de la tentative.

Seront condamnés d'une peine de 5 à 15 ans de prison criminelle et à l'exclusion perpétuelle des services publics les complices impliqués dans le délit mentionné sous le paragraphe 1 d'une façon autre que ce qui est indiqué au paragraphe 2.

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TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CP 15/81

La C.E.S.: "Le procès intenté contre DISK est une violation des droits syndicaux fondamenteux"

Le procès visant à mettre définitivement fin à la centrale syndicale turque DISK s'est ouvert hier 22 avril à Istanbul. La C.E.S. était représentée au procès par son Secrétaire Général Adjoint, Mr Jon-Ivar NÅLSUND. Après la première journée, Mr Nålsund a déclaré que ce procès était une mascarade. "Les militaires accusent DISK d'organiser l'abrogation de la constitution par des moyens violents, alors que tout le monde sait parfaitement que ce sont précisément eux, les militaires, qui s'en rendent coupables depuis septembre 1980, et que DISK a défendu la constitution et la démocratie turques dans son pays".

Lors de son procès, le Président de DISK, Mr Abdullah BASTÜRK, a déclaré dans sa première déclaration publique depuis son arrestation en septembre dernier qu'il soutenait la démocratie et le droit des travailleurs de s'organiser en syndicats.

La défense était assurée par 76 éminents juristes turcs. Le juge a refusé de prendre en considération les éléments de la défense, sous prétexte qu'il devrait consulter la Cour Martiale sur la procédure à suivre dans ce procès. L'affaire est donc suspendue jusqu'au 18 mai 1981.

Entretemps, plus de 300 membres de DISK ont été emprisonnés durant 7 mois et demi et ils attendent quels sont les chefs d'accusation retenus contre eux. Jusqu'ici, aucune charge n'a en effet été publiée. De nombreux rapports font état de mauvais traitements et de tortures à leur encontre. Leurs familles sont laissées sans moyens de subsistance et les autorités turques s'opposent aux tentatives visant à leur venir en aide.

La C.E.S. dénonce énergiquement ces violations des droits humains et syndicaux fondamenteux et demande que tous les gouvernements européens et que les institutions européennes fassent tout ce qui est en leur pouvoir pour amener le gouvernement turc à mettre un terme à la sauvage persécution dont font l'objet les syndicalistes turcs et leurs familles.

23/4/1981

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CP 16/81

La C.E.S. dénonce l'arrestation du chef de la défense des syndicats en Turquie

Une fois de plus, le gouvernement turc a démontré le mépris qu'il a pour les droits syndicaux fondamentaux et pour les procédures légales en arrêtant l'avocat qui dirige la défense de plus de 300 syndicalistes appartenant à l'organisation syndicale turque DISK, Mr Ercüment TAHIROGLU.

Les syndicalistes de DISK sont en prison depuis 7 mois et demi, sans qu'on leur ait fait connaître leurs charges d'accusation. Ils sont détenus dans des conditions pénibles et ont été torturés. Mr TAHIROGLU dirigeait une équipe de quelque 100 avocats travaillant gratuitement dans des conditions très difficiles pour défendre les syndicalistes.

Le 22 avril, un procès s'ouvrait à Istanbul, visant à la fermeture définitive de DISK, dont les activités ont été suspendues depuis le coup d'Etat militaire de septembre 1980.

Hier, 27 avril, Mr TAHIROGLU a été arrêté par les militaires. Cela ne va pas faciliter la défense des syndicalistes de DISK.

Pour la C.E.S., c'est une preuve de plus que le gouvernement turc bafoue totalement les droits syndicaux les plus fondamentaux, comme les procédures légales et la société démocratique en général.

La C.E.S. demande une fois encore avec insistance que la Turquie soit suspendue du Conseil de l'Europe et que la Communauté Economique Européenne suspende sa convention de coopération avec la Turquie.

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JIN/MP/PN.
28/04/80

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

TEXTE INTEGRAL DU DISCOURS DE A. BASTÜRK

PRESIDENT NATIONAL DE LA CONFEDERATION

TURQUE DES SYNDICATS PROGRESSISTES (DISK)

le 22 avril 1981

au tribunal de BAKIRKÖY (Istanbul) concernant

les poursuites engagées en vue de la fermeture

définitive de DISK

(Traduction)

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Votre Honneur,

Le Procureur Général de Bakirköy a engagé des poursuites en vue de la fermeture de DISK. Nos avocats vous présenteront nos objections et les points de vue légaux en ce qui concerne les procédures. Cependant, je souhaite souligner certains points relatifs au fonds même de cette affaire.

C'est une affaire où l'aspect politique est prépondérant, et non l'aspect légal. Ce procès n'a pas été engagé suite à une activité secrète antérieure illégale, ou suite à un plan ou une décision de DISK ou de ses fonctionnaires qui auraient été découverts par la suite. Ces poursuites ne sont pas non plus fondées sur une action ou sur un mouvement qui auraient été lancés.

Non, ce procès nous a été intenté à cause des vues que les responsables de DISK ont publiquement émises, depuis des années, dans la presse, à la radio et à la télévision, lors de négociations collectives, de réunions et de manifestations. Il nous a été intenté en raison du fait que les responsables de DISK ont défendu les intérêts de notre pays, intégralement; en raison du fait que les responsables de DISK ont défendu les droits et les libertés des travailleurs en général, fidèles à leurs convictions et à leurs actions.

Ce procès ne cherche pas seulement à mettre un terme aux activités de DISK et à supprimer cette organisation. Son objectif premier, c'est de liquider la classe démocratique et le syndicalisme de masse qui s'est développé dans le sillage de DISK en Turquie, contre le syndicalisme jaune.

Que faut-il entendre par classe démocratique et syndicalisme de masse, à l'opposé de ce qu'en pensent certains milieux et le Procureur Général de Barkirköy?

+ Il faut entendre le respect réel des vues politiques, religieuses et philosophiques de tous les membres, sans aucune distinction, et avec l'approche la plus démocratique possible;

+ Il faut entendre la défense des droits démocratiques et des intérêts économiques des travailleurs en tant que classe, puisqu'ils se sont regroupés dans des syndicats pour la défense de leurs intérêts communs, c'est-à-dire de leurs intérêts de classe;

+ Cela veut dire qu'il faut voir la démocratie syndicale comme pierre de fondation de l'unité syndicale et veiller à ce que les droits de la masse d'avoir son mot à dire et de décider soient respectés;

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

+ Cela signifie organiser les activités des syndicats indépendamment de toutes les organisations et institutions, indépendamment des employeurs et des partis politiques;

+ Cela veut dire lutter contre ceux qui veulent détruire l'unité syndicale des travailleurs, contre le syndicalisme jaune, et réaliser l'unité syndicale des travailleurs;

+ Cela veut dire le respect des droits et libertés démocratiques en général et les droits et libertés syndicaux en particulier.

En un mot, cela signifie être une organisation de masse. De classe. Une organisation démocratique et indépendante:

DISK a été fondé en 1967, avec au départ 30.000 membres.

Très vite, le nombre de membres est passé à plus de 500.000, par suite de sa lutte pour les droits des travailleurs de s'organiser en syndicats, de négocier librement des conventions collectives et pour l'obtention du droit de grève. Suite aussi au fait que DISK a lutté pour la réalisation des droits et des libertés démocratiques, comme cela est prévu dans la Constitution et que DISK a lutté contre le syndicalisme jaune, et que notre organisation a fonctionné dans un esprit de démocratie syndicale entière et authentique.

C'est aussi grâce à la lutte de DISK que les principes fixés par l'OIT en matière de droits syndicaux et de libertés syndicales sont devenus une réalité. C'est aussi suite aux activités de DISK que l'expression "le travail est la plus haute des valeurs" est devenue une réalité.

C'est pour ces raisons que les gouvernements en place et les employeurs n'ont pas aimé notre organisation dès le jour de sa création. DISK s'est toujours opposé au syndicalisme servile, jaune. DISK n'a jamais reculé d'un pas, malgré les répressions des gouvernements, malgré les répressions anti-démocratiques et les actions entreprises par les employeurs et malgré les provocations des milieux fascistes. Puis DISK est devenu la centrale syndicale à laquelle tous les travailleurs et tous les employés ont souhaité s'affilier.

Cependant, les employeurs ont eu peur de ces luttes de DISK et de ce syndicalisme démocratique et de masse. Ils ont fait tout ce qu'ils pouvaient pour détruire DISK et mettre un terme à son combat démocratique par de coûteuses insertions dans les journaux etc.

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TÜSTAV TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Le procès qui nous fut intenté par le Procureur Général de Bakirköy dans ce tribunal, le 30 juillet 1980, est le résultat d'un tel développement.

Le Procureur Général déclare DISK coupable d'avoir agi contre les principaux articles de la Constitution, de former une organisation politique secrète et demande que DISK soit supprimé définitivement.

Nous n'acceptons aucun des chefs d'accusation lancés par le Procureur Général.

Tous les éléments de charges et les plaintes portées contre le Procureur Général sont vagues, sans aucun fondement et ce sont des formulations générales. Ces charges charges sont basées sur une logique de ressemblances et de comparaisons, et elles visent à donner des impressions basées sur des éléments subjectifs. Les documents présentés par le Procureur Général sont fondés sur des faux, des déformations, le recel de la réalité; ils sont pleins d'informations fallacieuses et de contradictions et dénués de toutes preuves et n'ont aucune valeur légale.

Je répète que c'est une affaire où l'aspect politique a énormément de poids, et où l'aspect légal ne compte pratiquement pas.

Cette affaire est contraire aux principes essentiels des lois actuelles; elle vise à créer artificiellement des crimes qui n'ont jamais été commis.

DISK a été jugé conforme aux principes du "droit d'association", établi par l'article 46 de la Constitution de 1961, et conforme aux libertés et droits syndicaux établis par les lois n° 274 et 275, et il a toujours mené ses activités dans les limites de la législation en vigueur, et cela depuis sa création. Et voilà maintenant que l'on essaie de dire que DISK et tous ses responsables et membres sont coupables.

Comme l'indique le document remis par le Procureur Général, ce procès va, à l'avenir, engager plus de 600.000 travailleurs et affectera négativement quelque 3 à 4 millions de personnes, y compris les familles. C'est une affaire qui aura un retentissement énorme et qui aura des effets sociaux et légaux qui ne pourront plus être corrigés après.

Au moment où la Turquie souhaite devenir membre à part entière de la Communauté Européenne, il est très regrettable que DISK soit mis sur la sellette pour avoir défendu le minimum des droits syndicaux qui est pratiqué par tous les syndicats des pays membres de la C.E.E.

Il est très grave de violer ainsi les principes et les Conventions de l'O.I.T., qui ont été ratifiés par la Turquie.

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Et il faut savoir que la classe ouvrière en Turquie n'est pas moins développée que la classe ouvrière des autres pays d'Europe et du monde.

Par suite de ses tâches légales, DISK s'est depuis des années intéressé de près aux problèmes sociaux, il a fait des déclarations basées sur des recherches scientifiques dans le domaine de l'économie, de la vie sociale et politique, notamment sur les problèmes relatifs à l'inflation, au coût de la vie, au chômage, à la répression et aux actions anti-démocratiques, au poids de la fiscalité et DISK a proposé des solutions dans ces matières. La situation actuelle a prouvé que DISK avait raison.

DISK s'est opposé sans réserves à l'anarchie et à la terreur. Alors que ses membres, des travailleurs des usines jusqu'à l'ancien président national, faisaient l'objet de meurtres fascistes, DISK a fait appel, à chaque occasion, aux personnes et aux organisations concernées pour qu'elles luttent également contre l'anarchie et la terreur.

DISK ne peut être tenu responsable de la crise économique qui frappe par ailleurs le pays. Les travailleurs non plus ne peuvent être tenus pour responsables. Il a été clairement prouvé que les travailleurs ne sont pas la cause de la crise économique due aux soi-disant hauts salaires qu'ils ont obtenus ou aux grèves qu'ils ont déclarées durant la période qui a suivi l'intervention militaire du 12 septembre, puisque durant cette période, il n'y a eu aucune action de la part des mouvements de travailleurs et les salaires ont été décidés d'autres façons.

DISK a toujours été le défenseur déterminé de l'indépendance nationale et de la démocratie, depuis le jour de sa fondation. Pour les mêmes raisons, DISK s'est opposé à l'impérialisme, au fascisme, et s'est fait le défenseur actif de la paix.

Oeuvrant activement à l'unité des travailleurs de Turquie, DISK, qui fait partie du mouvement syndical européen et mondial, s'est efforcé d'assurer l'unité du mouvement syndical international à tous les niveaux. A ce jour, DISK ne s'est pas encore affilié à une organisation internationale. Cependant, il a introduit sa candidature à l'organisation régionale qui a pour nom "Confédération Européenne des Syndicats".

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La C.E.S. couvre, avec ses 40 millions de membres et plus, les plus grandes centrales syndicales d'Europe occidentale dans des pays comme la Grande-Bretagne, la RFA, l'Italie, les Pays-Bas, la Belgique, le Luxembourg, la Norvège, la Suède, le Danemark, la France, la Finlande.
Des deux organisations qui ont présenté leur candidature en Turquie, la C.E.S. a refusé l'adhésion de TÜRK-IS et elle est en cours d'accepter celle de DISK comme seule organisation turque.

Les tentatives qui tendent à montrer que DISK est une organisation agissant contrairement à la consitution sont toutes vaines. DISK est une organisation indépendante, de classe démocratique et de syndicalisme de masse des travailleurs de Turquie. Depuis le jour de sa fondation en 1967, DISK a toujours défendu la Constitution, a toujours mené ses activités dans le cadre de cette Constitution et a la Constitution comme base. Les affiliations de DISK sont passées de 30.000 à plus de 500.000 membres en 13 ans, cela grâce au fait que DISK défend le contenu de la Constitution de 1961.

J'ai toujours écrit, déclaré et agi publiquement. Les principales caractéristiques de DISK sont que c'est une organisation de masse, de classe, démocratique et indépendante.

Voilà les principes qui ont fait de DISK ce qu'il est et ces principes sont ancrés dans le coeur de centaines de milliers de personnes.

A ce jour, DISK a exposé ses vues au grand jour. Il les a exposées oralement au Parlement, aux Premiers Ministres, aux Ministres, aux Commandants de la Loi martiale, chaque fois que cela a été jugé nécessaire.

DISK a défendu la Constitution dans son ensemble. Nous avons défendu la Constitution (1961) dans les conditions les plus difficiles. Nous la défendons encore aujourd'hui. Il est de notre devoir de patriotes de la défendre.

J'ai exposé clairement mes opinions lors du procès de Barkirköy en relation avec l'action du 20 mars 1978 comme suit:

"Dans une démocratie, on n'applique pas le principe d'imposer ses propres vues aux autres. Et surtout pas par le meurtre. Nous voulons que l'on mette un terme au meurtre de nos enfants. Notre action a été orientée dans cette direction. Si elle n'est pas conforme à la loi, nous sommes prêts à en assumer les conséquences, pourvu que nos enfants ne soient pas massacrés. Pourvu que la Constitution ne soit pas bafouée. Et aussi longtemps qu'une sanglante dictature fasciste ne sera pas instaurée".

La glorieuse histoire de la classe ouvrière turque remonte à 100 ans. Durant cette

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période, il y a eu des époques où les droits et libertés syndicales ont été abolis, où les syndicats ont été bannis, où des syndicalistes ont été jetés en prison et gravement torturés. Mais il n'a jamais été possible de détruire la classe ouvrière ni sa lutte.

Quels que puissent être les résultats du présent procès, on ne détruira pas les principes de la classe démocratique et du syndicalisme de masse de DISK. Parce que ces principes appartiennent maintenant aux travailleurs. Ils sont devenus partie d'eux-mêmes.

Quels que puissent être les résultats de ce procès, il n'est plus possible d'arrêter le développement syndical en Turquie. Après un certain temps, la classe démocratique et le syndicalisme de masse de DISK continueront à vivre, renforcés même.

Quoi que nous ayons pensé ou quoi que nous ayons fait, nous l'avons dait, parce que nous étions convaincus d'être dans la légalité et de penser dans la légalité. Et nous le pensons encore aujourd'hui.

Nous déclarons publiquement ici que nos opinions et nos actions n'ont pas été contre les lois. Nous continuerons à dire la même chose, malgré la lourde répression dont nous faisons l'objet, responsables syndicaux, représentants syndicaux et membres affiliés. Que l'on fasse passer nos vues pour des crimes, maintenant, après tant d'années, c'est cela qui est contraire à la démocratie, à l'ordre social, aux principes d'un Etat constitutionnel et à la loi elle-même.

Nous sommes fiers et heureux d'être des membres et des responsables de DISK, nous qui avons lutté pour que droits et libertés démocratiques en général, et droits et libertés syndicales en particulier et que l'on essaie de prouver que nous sommes coupables de l'avoir fait!

L'Histoire sera notre meilleur juge.
L'Histoire, la Classe laborieuse et les Travailleurs acquitteront DISK et nous jugera innocents.

Et c'est notre espoir que des tribunaux indépendants feront de même.

(s) Abdullah BASTÜRK

Président National
D.I.S.K.

(Prison militaire de Davutpasa - Istanbul)

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B. Réponse du gouvernement

268. Dans sa communication du 9 janvier 1981, le gouvernement déclare que le
icat de l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA, de Medellin, a demandé une enquête
nistrative sur les licenciements collectifs allégués par le plaignant, enquête
a été ordonnée immédiatement par les autorités du travail afin d'élucider le
et que cette enquête est encore en cours.

269. En ce qui concerne l'allégation relative à la prétendue "persécution
dicale" dans l'entreprise "Frigorifico Suizo" SA, le gouvernement déclare que
pection du travail a examiné quatre réclamations du syndicat de l'entreprise à
pos de la prétendue "persécution syndicale" et qu'après avoir procédé aux
uêtes et entendu les parties, elle a pris une décision qui exonérait l'entreprise
charges formulées par le syndicat, sans que celui-ci interjette aucun des
ours que prévoit la loi.

270. Enfin, le gouvernement indique que les entreprises "Gaseosas del Tolima"
"Gaseosas del Huila" SA et "Cerveceria Andina" ont conclu des conventions
lectives le 17 septembre, le 18 septembre et le 8 octobre 1980, respectivement.

C. Conclusions du comité

271. Le comité note qu'une enquête administrative est en cours sur les licenciements décidés durant l'année 1980 dans l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA. Le prie de lui transmettre les résultats de cette enquête, en incluant les motifs des licenciements, en particulier, en ce qui concerne les irigeants Luis Efrén Loaiza et Miguel Zea.

272. En ce qui concerne les allégations de tentatives de destruction par l'employeur du syndicat de l'entreprise "Frigorifico Suiza" SA, le comité note que ce syndicat a présenté quatre réclamations qui ont été examinées par l'inspection du travail qui a exonéré l'entreprise des charges portées contre elle sans qu'aucun recours n'ait été interjeté contre cette décision.

273. En ce qui concerne l'absence de réponse des entreprises "Gaseosas del Tolima" SA, "Gaseosas del Huila" SA et "Cerveceria Andina" SA aux demandes contenues dans le cahier des revendications des travailleurs, le comité observe que, peu de temps après la présentation de la plainte, des conventions collectives ont été conclues dans les entreprises en question. Le comité estime par conséquent que cet aspect du cas n'appelle pas un examen plus approfondi.

274. Dans ces conditions, le comité recommande au Conseil d'administration d'approuver le présent rapport intérimaire et d'inviter le gouvernement à lui transmettre les résultats de l'enquête administrative en cours au sujet des licenciements effectués dans l'entreprise "Productos Noel" SA durant l'année 1980, en ayant en particulier aux dirigeants syndicaux Luis Efrén Loaiza et Miguel Zea.

Cas nos 997 et 999

PLAINTES PRESENTEES PAR L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DU COMMERCE, L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DE LA CONSTRUCTION, DU BOIS ET DES MATERIAUX DE CONSTRUCTION, L'UNION INTERNATIONALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE L'ALIMENTATION, DE L'HOTELLERIE ET DES BRANCHES CONNEXES ET LA FEDERATION SYNDICALE MONDIALE

TURQUIE

A. Introduction

275. Par des communications respectivement datées des 9 septembre et 15 octobre 1980, l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs du commerce

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(UISTC) et l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs de la fonction publique et assimilés (UISTFPA) ont présenté des plaintes en violation des droits syndicaux en Turquie, dans le cas n° 997.

276. Par ailleurs, de nouvelles plaintes ont été présentées dans le cas n° 999 par la Confédération mondiale du travail (CMT), par l'Union internationale des travailleurs du bâtiment, du bois et des matériaux de construction (UITBBMC) et par la Fédération syndicale mondiale (FSM) les 17 septembre, 1er octobre et 17 octobre 1980 respectivement. La CMT a également fourni des informations complémentaires à l'appui de sa plainte les 24 septembre et 25 novembre 1980.

277. Le gouvernement pour sa part a fait parvenir ses observations sur ces deux cas dans une communication du 3 décembre 1980. Par la suite, la CMT et la FSM, les 6, 9 et 21 janvier 1981, ont présenté certaines informations complémentaires qui ont été adressées au gouvernement. Celui-ci a envoyé des observations supplémentaires les 28 janvier, 5 et 16 février 1981.

278. La Turquie n'a pas ratifié la convention (n° 87) sur la liberté syndicale et la protection du droit syndical, 1948; elle a, en revanche, ratifié la convention (n° 98) sur le droit d'organisation et de négociation collective, 1949.

B. Allégations des plaignants

279. Les deux cas présentant plusieurs points complémentaires, le comité se propose de les examiner ensemble. Ainsi, l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs du commerce, dans sa communication du 9 septembre 1980, se réfère à l'arrestation de deux dirigeants syndicaux de l'Union progressiste des travailleurs des banques, des bureaux, des bourses du commerce, des instituts d'éducation, des coopératives et des compagnies d'assurance de Turquie (BANKSEN), Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz.

280. Elle annexe à sa plainte une lettre publiée par la BANKSEN et datée du 26 août 1980, où il est expliqué qu'à la suite de l'assassinat de Kenal Turkler[1], président du Syndicat de la métallurgie et ex-président de la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes (DISK), un million de travailleurs ont déclenché un grève générale de protestation. Plusieurs syndicalistes ont été arrêtés puis, pour la plupart, relâchés, mais Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz, respectivement présidents d'une section de la BANKSEN d'Ankara et de Diyarbakir, auraient été emprisonnés dans une prison militaire sur ordre des commandants de l'état de siège de ces deux villes et accusés d'entraves au fonctionnement de certaines entreprises.

281. Par la suite, dans leurs communications, la Confédération mondiale du travail, la Fédération syndicale mondiale et l'Union internationale des travailleurs du bâtiment, du bois et des matériaux de construction ainsi que l'Union internationale des syndicats des travailleurs de la fonction publique et assimilés se réfèrent aux mesures prises à la suite du changement de régime survenu en Turquie le 12 septembre 1980. Elles dénoncent l'interdiction par les autorités de la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes (DISK) ainsi que celle de nombreuses organisations lui étant affiliées. Elles ajoutent que les locaux de ces organisations ont été fermés et que leurs comptes en banque ont été bloqués, et allèguent l'arrestation d'un très grand nombre de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux et l'interdiction générale des grèves.

282. La CMT joint à sa plainte la liste, publiée au Journal officiel turc du 18 septembre 1980, des trente-cinq organisations affiliées à la DISK et des quarante-sept autres organisations syndicales dissoutes, affiliées à plusieurs confédérations, par le Conseil national de sécurité composé de cinq généraux et ajoute que la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes (MISK) a également été interdite; seule la Confédération TURK IS, proche du pouvoir, peut, d'après la CMT, continuer ses activités, son secrétaire général Sadik Side étant devenu ministre de la Sécurité sociale.

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[1] Voir à cet égard le 204e rapport approuvé par le Conseil d'administration à sa session de novembre 1980, cas n° 985 (Turquie), paragr. 302-307.

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283. La CMT explique la situation syndicale par le contexte économique. Selon elle, le prêt du Fonds monétaire international de 1,6 milliard de dollars octroyé en 1980 à la Turquie pour une période de trois ans et les contraintes qui en résultaient, à savoir l'augmentation des prix, les restrictions à la consommation intérieure pour élargir le secteur de l'exportation, la suppression du contrôle des prix dans le secteur privé et la privatisation de l'économie, imposeraient implicitement l'austérité aux couches les plus défavorisées, la baisse d'un pouvoir d'achat déjà très faible et le maintien, même l'extension du chômage. C'est pour cela, allègue-t-elle, que le droit de grève et les syndicats combatifs et représentatifs ont été supprimés. A cet égard, ajoute-t-elle, 70 pour cent de hausse des salaires annoncée par le gouvernement turc depuis l'avènement du nouveau régime ne doivent pas faire illusion, l'inflation dans le pays étant de 100 pour cent. Elle dénonce par ailleurs les privilèges des sociétés multinationales, l'emprise du capital étranger et la force économique de l'armée qui, selon elle, développe ses activités non seulement dans l'électronique et la construction mais même dans l'industrie automobile, la pétrochimie, l'industrie de la conserve et les assurances.

284. D'une manière plus spécifique, la CMT déclare qu'en une seule nuit 935 militants de la DISK auraient été arrêtés; en outre, selon elle, à Istanbul seulement, un total de 5.000 personnes, appartenant à tous les niveaux des organisations syndicales, auraient été arrêtées. Parmi elles figurent, selon les plaignants, Abdullah Basturk, Fevmi Isiklar, Mukbul Zirtiloglu et Riza Guven, tous dirigeants de la DISK et Denizmen, président du Syndicat des banques (BANKSEN). Les syndicalistes arrêtés se trouveraient, d'après la CMT, dans des prisons militaires, tête rasée et en tenue de bagnards. Le délai de garde à vue aurait été porté de trente à quatre-vingt-dix jours, période pendant laquelle les prisonniers ne pourraient pas communiquer avec leurs avocats.

285. La FSM, pour sa part, fait état, dans sa plainte du 17 octobre 1980, de l'interdiction d'une grève de 60.000 ouvriers de la sidérurgie, du textile et de l'industrie du verre et se réfère aux déclarations du président de l'Organisation des employeurs (TISK) qui se féliciterait de l'interdiction générale des grèves qui, selon lui, allait permettre un gain à l'exportation de 150 millions de dollars.

286. Par ailleurs, elle allègue la mort d'Ahmet Hilmi Feyzioglu, conseiller juridique auprès du Syndicat des travailleurs de la métallurgie (MADEN IS), survenue, selon l'organisation plaignante, à la suite des tortures dont il aurait été l'objet. La FSM demande une commission d'enquête sur place étant donné le caractère répété et extrêmement grave des violations des conventions sur les libertés syndicales.

C. Réponse du gouvernement

287. Dans une réponse aux deux cas datée du 3 décembre 1980, le gouvernement donne de manière très générale des indications sur les motifs qui ont conduit à la prise du pouvoir par les forces armées turques le 12 septembre 1980. Le gouvernement explique qu'il s'agit d'une opération qui vise à instaurer les conditions nécessaires pour rétablir et faire revivre un régime libre et démocratique, basé sur le respect des droits et des libertés fondamentaux avec toutes les institutions que ceci implique. Les syndicats libres et les libertés syndicales font partie de ces dernières, ajoute le gouvernement.

288. Il déclare que le climat d'insécurité et de désordre qui régnait dans le pays et l'incapacité des structures existantes à faire face à l'escalade dangereuse de la violence accompagnée de graves problèmes d'ordre politique, économique et social ont rendu nécessaire et inévitable cette opération. Le gouvernement assure que les forces armées turques n'ont d'autre désir que de rendre le pouvoir à un gouvernement civil et librement élu. Le pays se trouve actuellement dans une période de transition où l'on entreprend la préparation de l'avenir. Cette tâche délicate de préparation nécessite parfois des restrictions d'exception provisoires, comme la suspension des activités de toutes les partis politiques et des associations. Ces restrictions ne proviennent pas de la volonté de supprimer ces institutions mais elles sont dictées par les exigences des conditions particulières.

289. Il se réfère enfin à diverses déclarations de principes relatives aux activités syndicales et aux intentions gouvernementales quant à l'évolution de la situation. Il indique notamment que le Chef de l'Etat, le général Kenan Evren, dans

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une conférence de presse du 16 septembre 1980, a expliqué que les syndicats vont continuer leurs activités conformes aux principes démocratiques, mais que ceux qui veulent exploiter et orienter les travailleurs en direction de leur propre idéologie et essaient d'abuser des droits syndicaux n'auront aucune opportunité pour réaliser leur but. Le programme du gouvernement du 21 septembre 1980 précise que, dans le but de restaurer la paix du travail, la législation sur la négociation collective, la grève, les syndicats et le travail sera révisée et que les amendements nécessaires seront réalisés.

290. Dans ce contexte général, ajoute le gouvernement, les principaux développements après le 12 septembre 1980 intéressant les activités syndicales peuvent être résumés comme suit:

a) les grèves et les lock-out ont été ajournés jusqu'à nouvel avis. Cette décision ne devrait en aucune façon être interprétée comme le déni du droit de grève. Elle est motivée par le souci de restaurer la paix sociale dont on a tant besoin et elle s'accompagne d'une série de mesures destinées à sauvegarder les droits des travailleurs en grève. Une augmentation de salaire de l'ordre de 70 pour cent leur est accordée et les licenciements contre le gré et sans la faute du travailleur ont été interdits;

b) pour les nécessités de la sauvegarde de l'ordre public, les activités de la DISK (Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs révolutionnaires) et de la MISK (Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes) ainsi que des syndicats qui leur sont affiliés ont été suspendues en attendant que leur sort soit décidé par les instances judiciaires. Il est à noter que les activités de ces organisations qui font l'objet d'une enquête judiciaire sont celles qui dépassent le cadre strictement syndical;

c) afin de sauvegarder les intérêts financiers et d'assurer l'administration des avoirs et des biens des syndicats dont les activités sont suspendues depuis plus d'un mois, une loi prévoyant la désignation des curateurs par des tribunaux du travail compétents vient d'être promulguée;

d) les travailleurs faisant partie des négociations collectives interrompues à la suite de la suspension des activités du syndicat qui les menait auront droit à l'augmentation du salaire de 70 pour cent, citée ci-dessus;

e) les dirigeants des syndicats dont les activités sont suspendues ont été invités à se soumettre à la surveillance des autorités. A la suite de l'instruction préliminaire, ceux contre lesquels aucune charge n'est retenue ont été relâchés le 11 octobre 1980. Les autres ont été traduits devant la justice. Les chefs d'accusation dirigés contre ces derniers portent notamment sur des délits de droit commun dans le cadre de la législation existante;

f) la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs de la Turquie (TURK IS), l'organisation de travailleurs la plus importante du point de vue du nombre de ses adhérents, ainsi que les syndicats qui lui sont affiliés continuent normalement leurs activités.

291. Le gouvernement conclut en se déclarant fermement attaché aux principes de la liberté syndicale et déterminé à oeuvrer pour la création des conditions propices à une jouissance effective et complète des droits syndicaux dans le cadre d'un régime démocratique basé sur la primauté du droit.

D. Compléments d'information

a) des plaignants

Allégations relatives à l'interdiction de la grève et de la négociation collective

292. Depuis lors, la CMT, dans ses communications des 6 et 21 janvier 1981, se réfère à l'interdiction du droit de grève et de négocier collectivement pour expliquer que le gouvernement se prépare à introduire un "arbitrage obligatoire". D'après elle, les syndicats qui seront autorisés à fonctionner de nouveau (et à

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mener des négociations collectives) et qui ne parviendront pas à un accord avec les employeurs devront s'adresser à un conseil supérieur d'arbitrage dont les décisions seront définitives. 350.000 travailleurs couverts par des conventions collectives signées avant le 12 septembre 1980 devaient, toujours selon la CMT, décider en trois jours, à partir du Nouvel An, s'ils allaient accepter les augmentations de salaires prévues dans les conventions collectives ou s'ils allaient faire usage des dispositions de la nouvelle loi fiscale.

Allégations relatives aux détentions de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux et à la dissolution de la DISK

293. Par ailleurs, la CMT déclare qu'une centaine[1] de dirigeants et de militants syndicaux de la DISK et de ses organisations affiliées ont été arrêtés sur ordre de la Cour martiale d'Istanbul, maintenus en prison pendant quatre mois sans pouvoir entrer en contact avec leurs avocats et inculpés de constitution et de participation à une organisation illégale ayant pour visée la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales. Le Tribunal civil de Bakirkoy (Istanbul) est, quant à lui, en train de procéder à l'instruction du procès relatif à la dissolution de la DISK, ajoute la CMT.

294. Sur ce dernier point, la FSM, le 9 janvier, confirme que les autorités ont procédé à l'ouverture des procès des membres du Comité exécutif de la DISK arrêtés au mois de mai 1980.

Autre question

295. De plus, cette organisation annonce l'envoi d'une mission de la FSM en Turquie, mission chargée de prendre contact avec les défenseurs des syndicalistes déférés devant les tribunaux, de contacter les personnalités compétentes du ministère du Travail et de suivre le déroulement des procès.

b) du gouvernement

Arrestation de syndicalistes

296. Le 28 janvier 1981, le gouvernement annonce, en ce qui concerne les actions judiciaires intentées à l'encontre des syndicalistes, MM. Mehmet Tandogan et Fevzi Karadeniz, que M. Tandogan, président de la quatrième région de la BANKSEN, détenu le 23 juillet 1980 à Ankara et inculpé d'incitation du personnel de certaines banques à la grève illégale par le tribunal qui a retenu l'accusation et décidé son arrestation, a été libéré le 17 décembre 1980. Pour ce qui est de Fevzi Karadeniz, président de la neuvième région de la BANKSEN, il est détenu depuis le 24 juillet 1980 à Diyarbakir pour avoir incité et forcé les membres de son syndicat à ne pas reprendre le travail en signe de protestation contre l'assassinat de Kemal Türkler, et traduit devant le tribunal compétent qui a décidé de son arrestation.

Droit de grève et négociations collectives

297. Le 6 février 1981, le gouvernement ajoute qu'après le changement de régime il n'y a eu aucune intervention législative pour limiter ou interdire les activités syndicales; la suspension des grèves jusqu'à nouvel avis constitue la seule limitation temporaire en la matière. Cette limitation, précise-t-il, est entreprise conformément aux dispositions de la loi n° 1402 sur l'état de siège, adoptée en 1971.

298. Pour ce qui est de la conclusion des négociations collectives en cours, une loi prévoyant l'institution d'une haute commission d'arbitrage sous la présidence du Président de la Cour d'appel et composée de deux représentants des em-

[1] Les noms des dirigeants et des militants syndicaux qui se trouvent en état d'arrestation, avec, pour la plupart, leurs qualités et leurs lieux de détention, sont reproduits en annexe.

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employeurs et de deux représentants des travailleurs vient d'être adoptée, déclare le gouvernement. Cette haute commission est chargée de prendre les décisions pour la conclusion des négociations collectives et de résoudre les conflits éventuels. Ainsi des négociations collectives intéressant quelque 450.000 travailleurs pourront être menées à leur terme. Le mécanisme n'est pas destiné à remplacer le système de négociation collective existant; il est conçu comme une mesure de recours dans des circonstances exceptionnelles, ajoute le gouvernement.

Suspension des activités de la DISK et de la MISK

299. Sur ce point, le gouvernement déclare que des indications très sérieuses auraient mis en évidence l'existence de liens organiques et d'une coopération entre certaines organisations clandestines illégales responsables des actes terroristes et certains syndicats, ainsi que les infiltrations constatées des milieux terroristes dans certaines structures syndicales. Ceci aurait conduit le gouvernement à suspendre les activités de la DISK. Il en aurait été de même pour la MISK infiltrée par l'extrême droite, ajoute le gouvernement, qui précise que ces affaires sont maintenant du ressort de la justice. Le gouvernement convient que les dirigeants de la DISK dont les noms ont été mentionnés par les plaignants ont été arrêtés par décision du tribunal compétent et accusés d'infraction aux articles 141, 142 et 146 du Code pénal et aux dispositions de la loi n° 1402 sur l'état de siège et à celles de la loi n° 6136 sur les armes à feu.

300. Le 16 février 1981, le gouvernement indique que la liste publiée au Journal officiel turc du 18 septembre 1980 ne représente pas les organisations syndicales dont les activités sont suspendues. Elle contient le nom de tous les syndicats qui existent en Turquie ainsi que les noms des confédérations auxquelles ils sont affiliés. Par ailleurs, les activités du Syndicat des travailleurs du pétrole (PETROL IS) affilié à TURK IS ont été suspendues, convient le gouvernement, le 18 octobre 1980, mais cette décision a été annulée le 9 janvier 1981 et, depuis, ce syndicat exerce normalement ses activités.

301. De plus, le nombre de syndicalistes qui font l'objet de poursuites depuis le 12 septembre 1980 s'élève à 1.744, dont 577 ont été traduits devant la Justice, 83 d'entre eux ont été arrêtés et les autres relâchés, conformément à la décision du Tribunal de première instance. Cependant, le Procureur a fait appel de cette décision au Tribunal d'instance supérieur qui a décidé l'arrestation par contumace de 223 personnes se trouvant parmi celles qui ont été relâchées, précise le gouvernement qui convient, d'autre part, que le délai de garde à vue de trente jours peut être prolongé par décision du juge pour des périodes de vingt jours, sans excéder un total de 90 jours.

2. Conclusions du comité

302. Le comité note que les plaintes contiennent des allégations d'une particulière gravité, faisant état de la mort, de l'arrestation et de l'emprisonnement de syndicalistes, de l'interdiction d'un très grand nombre de syndicats et en particulier de deux des confédérations syndicales turques, la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs progressistes ou révolutionnaires (DISK) et la Confédération des syndicats des travailleurs nationalistes (MISK), et du gel de leurs biens ainsi que de la suspension du droit de grève. Le comité prend note des explications fournies par le gouvernement au sujet des motifs qui ont conduit à de telles mesures.

303. Avant d'aborder les diverses questions soulevées par les plaignants, le comité tient à exprimer sa préoccupation devant la gravité de certaines des allégations et à rappeler le prix qu'il attache à ce que la liberté syndicale puisse se développer dans le respect des droits de l'homme et des libertés publiques.

304. Le comité note que le gouvernement n'a fourni aucune information au sujet de la mort alléguée à la suite de mauvais traitements dont aurait été victime Ahmet Hilmi Feyzioglu, conseiller juridique du Syndicat des travailleurs de la métallurgie. A ce propos, étant donné la gravité de l'allégation, le comité ne peut que demander instamment au gouvernement, s'il est exact que cette personne n'est plus en vie, de bien vouloir donner des détails à une enquête judiciaire indépendante

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305. A propos de la détention des dirigeants de la BANKSEN nommément désignés par les plaignants, le gouvernement indique qu'ils ont été inculpés d'incitation à la grève illégale et traduits devant les tribunaux, l'un des deux, Mehmet Tandoğan a recouvré la liberté le 17 décembre 1980, l'autre, Fevzi Karadeniz, est en détention depuis le 24 juillet 1980.

306. A cet égard, le comité constate avec préoccupation qu'un syndicaliste a été emprisonné pendant six mois pour faits de grève et qu'un autre se trouve en prison depuis huit mois pour les mêmes motifs. Le comité doit signaler que des mesures d'emprisonnement pour de tels faits comportent de graves risques d'abus et de sérieux dangers pour la liberté syndicale. Tout en notant que l'un des deux syndicalistes auxquels se réfèrent les plaignants a été libéré, le comité prie le gouvernement de revoir la situation en ce qui concerne l'autre syndicaliste.

307. En ce qui concerne l'arrestation de la centaine de dirigeants et de militants syndicalistes dont les noms sont mentionnés en annexe, le comité note que, selon le gouvernement, ils sont inculpés de délit de droit commun et plus particulièrement d'infractions aux articles 141, 142 et 146 du Code pénal et aux dispositions de la loi nº 1402 sur l'état de siège et à celles de la loi nº 6136 sur les armes à feu.

308. Les articles en question du Code pénal punissent de peines allant jusqu'à 15 ans de réclusion ceux qui établissent la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales et créent des associations visant à renverser l'ordre fondamental social ou économique du pays. Ceux qui dirigent plusieurs de ces associations encourent la peine de mort. La peine de réclusion sera aggravée d'un tiers pour ceux qui ont commis ces infractions dans les syndicats et les associations d'ouvriers (article 141 du Code pénal). L'article 142 punit ceux qui font de la propagande pour établir la domination d'une classe sur les autres classes sociales et renverser l'ordre fondamental social ou économique du pays de peines allant jusqu'à 10 ans de réclusion. Pour les actes en question commis au moyen de publications, la peine sera augmentée de moitié. Pour les syndicalistes, elle sera augmentée d'un tiers. L'article 146 punit de mort ceux qui tentent de faire un coup d'Etat contre l'Assemblée nationale instituée par la Constitution. En outre, la loi nº 1402 de 1971 sur l'état de siège punit d'emprisonnement les personnes qui participent à des réunions ou à des grèves illégales. Enfin, les syndicalistes arrêtés sont aussi, entre autres, poursuivis aux termes de la loi sur les armes à feu.

309. Le comité constate avec une profonde préoccupation que les militants et les dirigeants syndicaux emprisonnés encourent des peines extrêmement lourdes et qu'un renforcement desdites peines risque d'intervenir du seul fait qu'ils sont syndicalistes. Sur ce point, le comité tient à souligner, comme il l'a déjà fait dans des cas antérieurs, que, si le fait d'exercer une fonction syndicale ou une activité syndicale n'implique aucune immunité vis-à-vis du droit pénal ordinaire, de telles dispositions, qui sont de nature discriminatoire à l'égard des syndicalistes, constituent une grave atteinte à l'exercice des droits syndicaux.

310. En outre, en ce qui concerne le délai de garde à vue qui peut être porté de 30 à 90 jours, le comité doit en tout état de cause souligner l'importance qu'il convient d'attacher au principe selon lequel toute personne arrêtée devrait faire l'objet d'une procédure judiciaire régulière, conformément au Pacte international relatif aux droits civils et politiques, à savoir notamment que toute personne détenue doit disposer des facilités nécessaires à la préparation de sa défense et pouvoir communiquer avec le conseil de son choix. Le comité prie le gouvernement de continuer à fournir des informations sur l'évolution de la situation des personnes actuellement détenues, en particulier sur toutes mesures de libération qui interviendraient ou, en cas de condamnation, de communiquer les jugements les concernant avec leurs attendus.

311. En ce qui concerne la suspension des confédérations des syndicats de travailleurs progressistes ou révolutionnaires (DISK) et nationalistes (MISK) et des organisations syndicales qui leur sont affiliées, le comité veut souligner le principe selon lequel les organisations syndicales ne doivent pas être sujettes à dissolution par voie administrative. Le comité tient à insister particulièrement sur ce point, d'autant que, dans le présent cas, les mesures en question affectent deux des trois confédérations syndicales de Turquie et ont, par là même, des conséquences graves pour la défense des intérêts professionnels d'un nombre important de travailleurs du pays.

312. Les plaignants ont également fait état de la suspension générale du droit de grève et du droit de négociation collective. Il semble à cet égard que les

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négociations collectives aient été gelées pendant quelques mois et qu'une législation récemment adoptée permette à nouveau le développement de la négociation collective et l'intervention d'une haute commission d'arbitrage tripartite pour régler les conflits en cours en cas d'échec des négociations. Le comité ne peut se prononcer en toute connaissance de cause sans disposer du texte de la législation en question. Il prie en conséquence le gouvernement de communiquer ce texte.

313. Néanmoins, le comité tient à rappeler d'ores et déjà que, si, au nom d'une politique de stabilisation économique, un gouvernement considère que les taux des salaires doivent être fixés ou augmentés par décision unilatérale prise par les autorités et ne peuvent être fixés librement par voie de négociation collective, une telle restriction devrait être appliquée comme une mesure d'exception, limitée à l'indispensable; elle ne devrait pas excéder une période raisonnable et devrait être accompagnée des garanties appropriées en vue de protéger le niveau de vie des travailleurs.

314. Pour ce qui est de la suspension du droit de grève, le comité tient à rappeler en outre que des mesures de ce type constituent une restriction importante à l'un des moyens essentiels dont disposent les travailleurs et leurs organisations pour promouvoir et défendre leurs intérêts et qu'elles devraient être imposées exclusivement comme mesures temporaires dans une situation de crise nationale aiguë.

Recommandations du comité

315. Dans ces conditions, et pour ce qui est du cas dans son ensemble, le comité recommande au Conseil d'administration, d'approuver le présent rapport intérimaire, et en particulier les conclusions suivantes:

Le comité tient en premier lieu à exprimer sa profonde préoccupation devant la gravité des allégations et à rappeler d'une façon générale qu'un mouvement syndical réellement libre et indépendant ne peut se développer que dans le respect des droits fondamentaux de l'homme.

Le comité constate que les militants et les dirigeants syndicaux emprisonnés encourent des peines extrêmement lourdes et qu'un renforcement desdites peines risque d'intervenir du seul fait qu'ils sont syndicalistes. Il estime que de telles dispositions, qui impliquent un traitement discriminatoire à l'égard des syndicalistes, constituent une grave atteinte à l'exercice des droits syndicaux.

Le comité prie le gouvernement de continuer à fournir des informations sur l'évolution de la situation des personnes actuellement détenues, en particulier sur toutes mesures de libération qui interviendraient ou, en cas de condamnation, de communiquer les jugements les concernant avec leurs attendus.

Le comité prie instamment le gouvernement d'indiquer s'il est exact que Hilmi Feyzioglu n'est plus en vie et, soulignant l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à mener une enquête judiciaire dans les meilleurs délais, de lui communiquer les résultats de cette enquête.

Par ailleurs, le comité exprime le ferme espoir que les confédérations et organisations suspendues seront rétablies dans leur situation antérieure et que la nouvelle législation générale en matière syndicale envisagée sera conforme aux principes de la liberté syndicale et de la négociation collective.

Le comité note qu'entre-temps une loi instituant une Haute Commission d'arbitrage vient d'être adoptée. Il prie le gouvernement de communiquer ce texte pour pouvoir évaluer la situation en toute connaissance de cause.

D'ores et déjà, cependant, le comité tient à rappeler que la suspension de la négociation collective et de la grève constitue une restriction importante à des moyens essentiels dont doivent pouvoir disposer les travailleurs et leurs organisations pour promouvoir et défendre leurs intérêts.

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25 Temmuz 1981 günlü Sovyet Sendikalar Birliği'nin yayın organı Trud gazetesinde "Yeni Cinayetlere Engel Olun" başlıklı bir haber yayınlandı. Trud gazetesinin Prag muhabiri Stolpovski'nin haberinde şöyle deniyor:

"Bir yıl önce Türkiye sendika hareketinin önde gelen yöneticisi Maden-İş genel başkanı ve uzun yıllar DİSK'in başkanlığını yapmış olan Kemal Türkler alçakça öldürüldü. Bu trajik olayı anımsatan Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu bir açıklama yaptı. DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk ve bu ilerici sendika örgütünün öteki yöneticilerine karşı Türkiye hükümetinin baskı hazırlıklarıyla ilgiliduyduğu derin kaygıyı belirtti. Milyonlarca emekçi adına DSF, bir kez daha dünya kamuoyuna zorbalığın kurbanlarını savunmak için kararlı bir biçimde bir kez daha seslerini yükseltme çağrısında bulunuyor.

Britanya Komünist Partisi'nin yayın organı Morning Star gazetesi 52 DİSK yöneticisi hakkında idam cezası istenmesini şiddetle protesto ediyor. "Türk demokrasisi ölüm cezası tehdidi altında" başlığıyla 20 Temmuz günlü Morning Star gazetesinde yayınlanan Anne Douglas (En Daglıs) imzalı yazıda DİSK yöneticilerinin bir yıla yakın bir süredir işkence altında tutuklu bulundukları belirtiliyor.

"Ama ölüm tehdidi bile DİSK yöneticilerini Türkiye'de demokrasiyi ve işçi sınıfının çıkarlarını savunmada mahkemeyi bir platform olarak kullanmaktan alıkoyamamıştır.

Cinsel organlara elektrik şoku, sahte idam sahneleri, bir hafta boyunca uykusuz bırakma, falaka gibi işkence yöntemleri konusunda avukatlar daha önce açıklamalarda bulunmuşlardı. Duruşmanın ilk yargıcı kimi DİSK üyelerini serbest bırakınca, Ankara'da askersel patronlar yargıcı hemen işten attılar.

Türkiye Komünist Partisi, DİSK'e öteki demokratik kuruluşlara karşı temelsiz suçlamalarda bulunmak için işkenceler yoluyla zorla itiraf koparmaya kalkan askersel rejimi suçladı.

İşkenceciler hedef olarak halkın ilerici yığınsal örgütlerini seçtiler. Yalnız DİSK değil, aynı zamanda İlerici Gençler Derneği, İlerici Kadınlar Derneği, Köy-Koop, Töb-Der gibi örgütleri işkenceciler hedef aldı.

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Morning Star gazetesindeki yazıda daha sonra Türkiye'ye giden Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu genel sekreter yardımcısı John Nalsund (Con Nalsund) un sözlerine değiniliyor. Sendika binalarının kapısına mühür vurulduğunu belirten Nalsund, hemen her DİSK yöneticisinin ya hapiste, ya sürgünde, ya da gizlenmekte olduğunu öylüyor. Sırf 300'ü aşkın DİSK'linin İstanbul'da hapiste olduğunu belirtiyor.

Morning Star gazetesi sendikaların kayyum denilen değişik çıkar çevrelerine teslim edildiğini, toplanan sendika kesenekleri-nin askersel rejime gittiğini yazıyor. Darbeden bu yana sendika çalışanlarına ücretleri ödenmiyor.

Duruşmanın ilk oturumunda DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk'ün konuşmasını savcı mahkemeye bir hakaret saydı. Baştürk, konuşmasında bu davanın ana amacı, bu davanın Türkiye'de demokratik kitle ve sınıf sendikacılığına son vermektir dedi. 1967 yılında kurulduğu zaman DİSK'in sadece 30 bin üyesi vardı. Askersel darbe sırasında ise, üye sayısı 600 bini aşmıştı.

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12 Temmuz 1981 günlü Haravgi'de Türkiye Komünist Partisi Merkez Komitesi'nin 15 Haziran günlü bildirisi tam metin yayınlandı.

Yine Haravgi gazetesinde Türkiye Komünist Partisi Merkez Komitesi Genel Sekreteri İ.Bilen yoldaşın AKEL'in seçimlerden sonra kazandığı başarıyı kutlayan mesajı yayınlandı.

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Ülkenin sayıca ikinci sendikası olan DİSK'in aktivistlerinden biri olan Prof. Sadun Aren Ankara'da tutuklandı. Yerel basına göre Sadun Aren, İstanbul'da tutuklu bulunan büyük bir DİSK yöneticisinin duruşmasına devam edilen gürup gönderilecek. DİSK yöneticileri Türk Ceza Yasasının 142 . yasasına göre "komünist propaganda yapmakla" suçlanıyorlar. Öte yandan Türkiye Çalışma Bakanlığı emekçilerin güncel yaşamsal, toplumsal haklarını içeren bir yasa tasarısı hazırlamakta. Günaydın gazetesine göre, bu yasa tasarısıyla, işkollarının sayısı arttırılacak, grev hareketleri yasaklanacak. (Durum gazetesi, 28 Nisan 1981)

Çekoslovakya Komünist Partisi yayın organı Rude Pravo (4 Mayıs) ile Çekoslovakya Devrimci Sendika Hareketi'nin gazetesi de Türkiye'de 1 Mayıs'a değiniliyor ve şöyle deniyor.

"Daha önce resmen Bahar Bayramı olarak kutlanan 1 Mayıs bu yıl Türkiye'de yasaklandı. 1 Mayıs'tan önceki gece, yani 30 Nisan akşamı, Ankara, İstanbul ve öteki büyük kentlerin caddelerinde çok sayıda polis ve askersel birlikler devriye geziyordu. Bilindiği gibi geçen Eylül'de darbeyle yönetime el koyan Milli Güvenlik Konseyi Mart ayında çıkardığı yasayla 1 Mayıs'ı tatil olmaktan çıkardı. "

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'nun aylık yayın organı, "Dünya Sendika Hareketi"nin Nisan sayısında, Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu sekreterlerinden Jan ... "Sendika ve İnsah haklarını savunma, bu haklara saygı için güçleri birleştirmek" başlıklı bir yazısı yayınlandı. Yazıda "kapitalizm koşullarında işçi ve sendika haklarına karşı tekellerin ve gerici hükümetlerin saldırısından" söz ediliyor ve şöyle deniyor:

"Gericilik ve tekelci sermaye gittikçe daha çok kanlı kırımlara başvuruyor, sendika yöneticilerini öldürüyor. Bu amaçla yalnızca devlet hizmetinde baskıcı polis aygıtını kullanmakla kalmıyor, aynı zamanda gaddarca ve haince terörist çeteleri kullanıyorlar. Bu savaşımda kaç sınıf kardeşimiz, yoldaşımız kiralık kaatiller eliyle öldürüldü. Bunlar arasında örneğin Türkiye Devrimci İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu eski başkanı ve Maden-İş başkanı Kemal Türkler var. Bolivya'da alabildiğine süren terör, yüzlerce işçi ve sendika aktivistinin yaşamına son verdi. Salvadorda cuntanın paralı askerleri

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binlerce işçiyi öldürerek, ortalığı kana buladılar."Yazıda daha sonra dayanışmanın zorunluğu belirtiliyor ve şöyle deniyor.

"Belçika'da çeşitli dayanışma eylemlerini saptamak ve bunlar arasında bir eşgüdüm sağlamak için Türkiye'deki demokrasi güçleriyle dayanışma komitesi kuruldu. Bu dayanışma şimdi her zamankinden daha büyük önem taşıyor. 12 Eylül darbesinden bu yana Türkiye'de demokrasi güçlerine karşı baskı büyük ölçüde hızlandı. Cunta 60 bini aşkın insanı tutukladı. 500 bin dolayında işçiyi birleştiren DİSK ve ona bağlı 29 sendikanın çalışmaları yasaklandı. Aynı şekilde grev hakkına yasak kondu. Olağanüstü mahkemeler kuruluyor. Dayanışma konusunda DSF, değişik, büyük çapta girişimlerde bulundu. DSF uluslararası örgütlere, devlet ve hükümet başkanlarına, özellikle Bolivya, Salvador, Türkiye, Şili, Tunus, Guatemala hükümetlerine protesto ve yakınma mektupları yolladı. Bu arada Türkiye'ye araştırma komisyonu gönderdi. Bu komisyon, senidkal hak ve özgürlüklerin ayaklar altına alındığını gösteren verileri ortaya koydu." deniliyor.

Cumhuriyet. 28 Nisan.1981

"Bizim Radyo'nun yayınları için Doğu Almanya'nın dikkati çekildi. (8. sayfa).

Ankara-Cumhuriyet Bürosu: Türkiye, halen Madrit'te sürmekte olan Avrupa Güvenlik ve İşbirliği Konferansı izleme toplantısında "Bizim Radyo"nun yayınlarından dolayı Doğu Almanya'nın dikkatini çekti. Diplomatik kaynaklardan edinilen bilgiye göre, Konferans sırasında Türk temsilcisi söz alarak, Doğu Almanya'nın Bizim Radyo'nun yayınlarına izin vererek, Helsinki Nihai Senedi'nde yer alan ilkeleri çiğnediğini bildirdi. Türk tarafı bu görüşünü getirirken, Bizim Radyo'nun yayınlarıyla, Nihai Sened'te yer alan iç işlerine müdahalede bulunmama ilkesinin ihlal edildiğini belirtti. Doğu Almanya'dan Türkçe olarak yayın yapan Bizim Radyo, merkezi yurt dışında bulunan Türkiye Komünist Partisi'nin resmi yayın organı olarak biliniyor.

4 Mayıs'ta Türk Tarih Kurumu'nda yapıldı. 5 Mayıs'ta Bursa'da, 6 Mayıs'ta Konya'da, 8 Mayıs'ta Adana'da, 11 Mayıs'da Erzurum'da, 13 Mayıs'ta Trabzon'da bu konularda doktor Andrew .Mango BBC'nin Güney.. Başkanı konferanslar verecek. Dr. Andrew Mango, 14 Mayıs'ta yeniden Ankara'ya dönecek ve İngiliz Kültür Derneği'nde BBC'nin dış yayınları konusunda konuşacak. 15 Mayıs Cuma günü ise, İstanbul Üniversitesinde, Atatürk'ün Türk-İngiliz ilişki-

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lerine etkisi, akşam ise Nişantaşı'ndaki Türk-İngiliz Kültür Derneği'nde, BBC'nin dış yayınları konusunda konuşacak. İngiltere'den ayrılmadan önce, BBC muhabiri Yurdakul Fincancı ile bir söyleşi yaptı.

Cumhuriyet- 23 Nisan 1981

"Baştürk Bakırköy İş Mahkemesinde Savunmasını Yaptı"

"DİSK'i kapatılma davasına dün Bakırköy İş Mahkemesi'nde bakıldı. Hakim daha önce yetkili iş mahkemesinin bir genel kurulunda, genel merkezin Ankara'ya alınmış olması nedeniyle, Ankara olduğu yolundaki kararını bozan Yargıtay kararına uydu. Mahkeme ayrıca, savcılık iddianamesinde yer alan kapatma istemine ilişkin suçların niteliği gereği davaya sıkıyönetim mahkemelerinde bakılabileceği gerekçesiyle davanın sıkıyönetim mahkemelerine alınıp alınmayacağı konusunun sıkıyönetim savcılığına sorulması kararını da vardi. Mahkemenin eski kararında direnmesini isteyen DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, bu konuda yaptığı savunma konuşmasında , hukuki yanı değil, politik yapı ağır basan bir dava olduğunu söyledi. Bu dava, bir işçi oknfederasyonu olarak DİSK'in , ya da DİSK yöneticilerinn yasa dışı bir eylemi, bir kararı, bir planı, sonradan bulunup ortaya çıkarıldığı için açılmamıştır. Bu dava bir fiile, bir eyleme dayandırılarak da açılmamıştır. Bu dava, DİSK yöneticilerinin yıllardır, basında, televizyonda, toplu iş sözleşmeleri sırasında, toplantı ve mitinglerde, yani kamuoyunda herkesin gözü önünde açıkça ortaya konan görüş eksiksiz lerinden ötürü ülkemizin çıkarlarının savunulmasından ötürü, işçilerin hak ve özgürlüklerinin bir bütün olarak savunulmasından ötürü, görüş ve eylemleri sonradan suçlanarak açılmıştır, dedi. =

Savcı Baştürk'ün konuşmasında, savcılığa hakaret suçunun işlendiğini söyleyerek, .. Bakırköy savcılığına suç duyurusunda bulunulması , ve konuşmanın bir kopyasının verilmesini istedi. DİSK avukatları savcılığa hakaretin söz konusu olmadığını, savunma hakkının kullanıldığını bildirdiler. Mahkeme savcılığın istemi halinde, konuşma metninin incelemeye verilebileceğini karara bağladı. Kısa bir süre önce Türk-İş'in üyelik başvurusunu reddeden DİSK'in üyelik başvurusunu ise faaliyetinin askıda, ve yöneticilerinin tutuklu olması nedeniyle ,görüşmeyi erteleyen, AET ülkeleri sendikalarının oluşturduğu, Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu genel sekreteri ... da duruşmayı izledi. Mahkeme DİSK avukatları Ercüment Tahiroğlu, Halit Çelenk, Hasan Fehmi Güneş, ve 48 avukat adına hazırlanmış

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yazılı savunmayı, davanın esasına girilmediği gerekçesiyle dosyaya almayı reddetti. Savunmanın sadece, yargıtayın bozma kararına ilişkin, mahkemenin direnmesi gerektiği yolundaki bölümünün kısa bir özetini bapta geçirtti. DİSK avukatları mahkemenin daha önce, vermiş olduğu yetkisizlik kararını bozan yargıtayın mahkemenin gerekçelerini yanıtlamadığını ve kararında gerekçe koymadığını vurgulayarak, usulsüz olduğunu ve böyle usulsüzlüklerin bu karara karşı iş mahkemesinin direnme kararı vermesini istediler. Ancak, mahkeme yargıtayın bozma kararına uyma kararı verdi. Baştürk'ün savunması:

DİSK genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, mahkemenin eski kararında direnmesini isterken yaptığı savunmada, davadan amacın yalnızca, DİSK'in fiilen kapatılması, fiilen tasfiyesinin değil, sınıf ve kitle sendikacılığının tasfiyesi olduğunu söyledi. DİSK'in amaç ve çalışmalarınınkısa bir özetini yaptıktan sonra da, suçlamaların tümünü reddettiklerini söyleyerek, ... eleştirdi ve şöyle dedi. 1961 Anayasasının 46. maddesinde, temel bir hak olarak yazılı sendika kurma hakkına, ve 274 ve 275 sayılı yasaların öngördüğü, sendikal hak ve özgürlüklere dayalı olarak kurulan ve kuruluşundan bu güne kadar yasaların öngördüğü, sınırlar içinde hareket eden DİSK, bugün tüm yöneticileri ve üyeleri ile birlikte suçlanmak istenmektedir. Bu davanın ilerde talepnamede de belirtildiği gibi, 600 binden fazla işçinin yargılanmasını getireceğini, ve üyesi olunmak istenen AET içinde kullanılan sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin en asgarisini savunan DİSK'in yargılandığını öne süren Baştürk, savunmasını özetle şöyle sürdürdü. DİSK anarşi ve teröre, en açık bir biçimde karşı çıkmıştır. Fabrikadaki işçiden, DİSK'in genel başkanına kadar, DİSK üyeleri, faşist numlulara hedef olurken, DİSK her vesile ile, anarşi ve teröre karşı mücadele için ilgili kişi ve kuruluşlara çağrı yapmıştır. DİSK ülkenin içinde bulunduğu ekonomik bunalımın da sorumlusu olmamıştır. Bu bunalımın sorumlusu olarak işçiler, emekçiler gösterilemez. Nitekim sözde yüksek ücret almaları, grev yapmaları nedenleriyle, ekonomik bunalımın sorumlusu olarak işçilerin gösterilemiyeceği, işçi hareketlerinin, hiç olmadığı, ücret sorunlarının farklı bir biçimde çözüldüğü, 12 Mart sonrası açıkça kanıtlanmıştır. DİSK kurulduğu günden bu yana, ulusal bağımsızlık ve demokrasinin, en kararlı savunucusu olmuştur. Emperyalizme, faşizme, o nedenle karşı çıkmış, yoğun bir biçimde barışı savunmuştur. Açık açık söyledik, yazdık, uyguladık: DİSK'in temel özellikleri şunlardır, Kitle örgütü olması, sınıf örgütü olması, demokratik örgüt olması, bağımsız örgüt olması. Biz ne düşündük, ne yaptıksa, yasalara uygun olduğu için,

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bu kanaatta olduğumuz için yaptık. Şimdi de aynı görüşteyiz, görüş ve eylemlerimizin suç olmadığını açıkça söylüyoruz. Türkiye'de genelde demokratik hak ve özgürlüklerin, özelde sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin hayata geçirilmesi için, mücadele veren ve bugün bu yüzden sanık sandalyesine oturtulmak istenen DİSK'in üyesi ve yöneticisi olmaktan onur ve kıvanç duyuyoruz. Tarih en yüce hakimdir. Tarih işçi ve emekçi sınıfımız DİSK'i aklıyacaktır, bağımsız yargı organlarının da bizi aklıyacağına inanıyoruz. " Mahkeme kapatma davasına ilişkin = savcılık iddianamesi ve ek talepnamesinde, 141 ve 142'ye ilişkin suçların işlendiğine ilişkin iddiaların yer aldığını, devletin kişiliğine karşı işlenen suç niteliğindeki bu suçlara ilişkin davalara bakma yetkisinin se isterse sıkıyönetim mahkemelerinin olduğu gerekçesine dayanarak, bu konuda sıkıyönetime yazı yazılmasına karar verdi, duruşma 18 Mayıs saat 10.30'a ertelendi.

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Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu Genel Konseyi 1-3 Temmuz tarihleri arasında Budapeşte'de toplandı. Genel Konsey Kongreden sonra gelen en büyük organ. 63 ülkedeki sendikal örgütlerin en yüksek düzeyde yöneticileri katıldı. DİSK üyesi birçok sendikanın bağlı olduğu tarım, gıda, yapım, kimya, kamu, metal, yeraltı,maden tekstil, ulaşım işkollarındaki uluslararası sendika birlikleri ve FİSE de genel konseyde temsil ediliyordu. Ülkeler arasında SSCB ve tüm sosyalist ülkeler, Fransa, Finlandiya, Avustralya, Avusturya, Kıbrıs, Japonya, Filipinler, İran, Irak, Suriye, Filistin, Ürdün, Kuveyt, Lübnan, Yemen, Brezilya, Arjantin, Kolombiya, Hindistan, Afganistan, sayılabilir. Genel Konsey, yakın geçmişteki gelişmeler ve dayanışmayı yükseltmenin gerekliliği üzerine bir karar aldı. Oybirliğiyle alınan kararın son bölümünde şöyle deniliyor.

"Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu Genel Konseyi işçilerin ve halkların savaşımlarıyla militan dayanışması içine gir.. Ülkelerinin ve halklarının çıkarları doğrultusunda yiğitçe savaşım verdikleri için şu anda zindanlarda bulunan onbinlerce yurtsever demokrat ve sendikacıyı selamlar. İrlanda ya da Türkiye, Fas ya da Sudan, Endenozya ya da Benglades, Salvador ya da Bolivya'da olsun tüm savaşçılar, tüm dünya işçilerinin desteğine ve hayranlığına layıktırlar. Genel Konsey onların derhal serbest bırakılması ve bu ülkelerde sendikal ve demokratik özgürlüklere saygı gösterilmesini talep eder. Dünya Sendikaları ve işçileri arasında etkili ve sürekli dayanışma eylemlerini geliştirmek için DSF hiçbir şeyden sakınmayacağını, baskıya uğrayan ve savaşım veren herkese bir kez daha duyurur. "

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Avusturya Sendikalar Birliği ÖGB içindeki sendikal sol blok (links blok) Türkiye'deki gelişmeler karşısındaki tavrını belirledi ve bir [illegible] yaptı. Açıklamanın içinde yer alan bazı bölümler şöyle:

Avusturya gazetelerinin çoğunda ordunun yönetime el koyması lüzumlu ve haklı gösterilmeye çalışılıyor. Avusturya burjuva basını askeri darbeyi şu şekilde haklı göstermeye çalışıyor. Ancak bu yolla sol ve sağ teröre karşı mücadele edilebilir ve Orta Doğu'da buhran ocağı istikrarlı bir Türkiye ile ortadan kaldırılabilir.

Daha ilerki bölümlerde Amerika'nın İran'ı baş müttefik olarak kaybetmesinden sonra İran'ın Şah zamanında yüklendiği rolü, Türkiye'ye yüklemek ve Türkiye'yi komşu ülkelere karşı bir atlama tahtası, NATO ÜSSÜ YAPMAK ve böylelikle Amerikanın bu bölgede noksansız kontrolünü sağlamak için Türkiye, Amerika ve NATO açısından büyük bir önem taşıyor.

Daha ilerde ekonomik duruma değinilerek şöyle deniyor: Ekonomik zorlukların yükünü çalışan insanların sırtına yükleme siyaseti devam ettiriliyor. Uluslararası Para Fonu IMF tarafından Türkiye'ye büyük bir ekonomik baskı uygulanmış ve uygulanmaktadır. Tekelci patronların ekonomik buhran sırasında bile kârlarının artmasına karşılık hayat pahalılığı durmadan yükselmeye devam etmektedir. Daha ilerde sendikaların durumuna ilişkin olarak şöyle deniyor:

Türkiye işçi sınıfının ilerici sendikal örgütü DİSK'i yasaklamakla tekelci patronların saldırılarına karşı Türkiye işçi sınıfını en etkili silahından yoksun bırakıyorlar. DİSK'in ve ilerici sendikaların olanaklarına, binalarına el koymakla işçi temsilcilerini ve aktif üyelerini tutuklamakla uzlaşması ve işverenlerin güdümündeki sarı sendikaların konumunu sağlamaya çalışıyorlar.

Son bölümde ise şöyle deniyor:

Sendikal Sol Blok (Links Block) hakları için savaşan Türkiyeli meslektaşlarını ve onların tutuklanan temsilcileri ile tam bir dayanışma içinde olduğunu bildirir. Avusturya Sendikalar Birliği ÖGB'nin bir bütün halinde tutuklananların serbest bırakılması ve DİSK'e konan yasağın kaldırılması için çalış- tığımızı bu yolda girişim ve çabalarımızı daha da artıracağımızı bildiririz. Sol Blok-Links Block askeri cuntaya tüm yardımların durdurulması, sonuca vardırılmış kredi anlaşmalarının derhal geri çekilmesi için Avusturya hükümetine çağrıda bulunur.

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Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonuna bağlı Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği - ki bu örgüt, belediye hizmetleri, devlet hizmetleri, sağlık hizmetleri, PTT, bankalar, sigortalar ve diğer benzer işyerlerini bir araya getiriyor. Bu örgüte Türkiye'den Bank-Sen ve Sosyal-İş üye. Bu örgütün 1981 Mayıs ayı bülteninde Dayanışma adı altında Türkiye ile ilgili bir açıklama yer alıyor. Metin şöyle:

" Türkiyeli işçilerle dayanışma

Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün son toplantısının da ortaya koyduğu gibi Türkiyeli işçilerin üzerinde büyük bir baskı vardır. DİSK üyesi sendikalar kapatılmış, bunların lokalleri, binaları ordu tarafından işgal edilmiştir. Bu arada binlerce sendika militanı tutuklanmış, hapse atılmıştır ve bunlar çok ağır cezalara çarptırılma tehlikesiyle, bazıları ise ölüm cezasına çarptırılma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadırlar. Askersel diktatörlük böylece Uluslararası Para Fonu, kapitalist Avrupa ülkelerinin tümü ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile birlikte uyguladığı anti-sosyal gerçek bir taarruza karşı çıkabilecek her türlü tepkiyi böylece ortadan kaldırmak istemektedir. Durumda şunlar göze çarpmaktadır. Fiyat artışları, iç tüketimin kısılması, işsizliğin artması, ve çok uluslu şirketlere tanınan (uluslarüstü şirketlere tanınan) yeni imtiyazlar. Tanınan % 70 ücret artışı, % 200'ü aşan fiyat artışlarının son derece gerisinde kalmaktadır. Bu durumda tabii ki, grev ve toplu iş sözleşmesi haklarının askıya alınmasının şaşırtıcı hiç bir yönü yoktur. Sadece Türk-İş Konfederasyonu faaliyetlerine devam edebilmekte, bu örgütün genel sekreteri Sosyal Sigortalar Bakanı olmuştur. Örgütümüz Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği sendikal haklara karşı Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün 87 ve 98 no.lu anlaşmalarına karşı gerçek bir meydan okuma olan bu durumu yeniden mahkum etmektedir. Ve hapisteki tüm demokratların ve sendikacıların serbest bırakılmasını, sendikal ve demokratik özgürlüklerin derhal tekrar yerleştirilmesini talep etmektedir.

Kamu hizmetleri işkolundaki tüm sendikal örgütlere Türkiye hükümetine protesto telgrafları çekerek ve de Cenevredeki Birleşmiş Milletler Örgütü İnsan Hakları Komisyonu'na başvurarak dayanışmalarını dile getirmelerini önermektedir.Ayrıca yurt dışındaki Türkiye elçilikleri nezdinde de girişimlerin yapılmasını istemektedir. Tümümüz birden DİSK ve Genel-İş genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, İsmail Hakka Önal, Belgüzar Can, Cenip Altan, (G-İş yöneti.) Halis Düzgün (Dev.Sağlık-İş başkanı), Selahattin Sayın (Tek-Ges-

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İş başkanı), Mehmet Atay (Sosyal-İş yöneticisi), Mehmet Tandoğan ve Fevzi Karadeniz (Bank-Sen militanları)) ve tüm diğer tutuklula-rın derhal serbest bırakılması için davranalım. Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği durumun gerektirdiği düzeyde dayanışmayı bir üst düzeye çıkartmak için yürekli girişimleri al-maya devam edecektir. Ve Türkiyeli sendikacıların serbest bıra-kılması için daha etkin eylemlere hazırdır.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

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Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün son toplantısının da ortaya koyduğu gibi Türkiyeli işçilerin üzerinde büyük bir baskı vardır. DİSK üyesi sendikalar kapatılmış, bunların lokalleri, binaları ordu tarafından işgal edilmiştir. Bu arada binlerce sendika militanı tutuklanmış, hapse atılmıştır ve bunlar çok ağır cezalara çarptırılma tehlikesiyle, bazıları ise ölüm cezasına çarptırılma tehlikesiyle karşı karşıyadırlar. Askersel diktatörlük böylece Uluslararası Para Fonu, kapitalist Avrupa ülkelerinin tümü ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri ile birlikte uyguladığı anti-sosyal gerçek bir taarruza karşı çıkabilecek her türlü tepkiyi böylece ortadan kaldırmak istemektedir. Durumda şunlar göze çarpmaktadır. Fiyat artışları, iç tüketimin kısılması, işsizliğin artması, ve çok uluslu şirketlere tanınan (uluslarüstü şirketlere tanınan) yeni imtiyazlar. Tanınan % 70 ücret artışı, % 200'ü aşan fiyat artışlarının son derece gerisinde kalmaktadır. Bu durumda tabii ki, grev ve toplu iş sözleşmesi haklarının askıya alınmasının şaşırtıcı hiç bir yönü yoktur. Sadece Türk-İş Konfederasyonu faaliyetlerine devam edebilmekte, bu örgütün genel sekreteri Sosyal Sigortalar Bakanı olmuştur. Örgütümüz Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği sendikal haklara karşı Uluslararası Çalışma Örgütü'nün 87 ve 98 no.lu anlaşmalarına karşı gerçek bir meydan okuma olan bu durumu yeniden mahkum etmektedir. Ve hapisteki tüm demokratların ve sendikacıların serbest bırakılmasını, sendikal ve demokratik özgürlüklerin derhal tekrar yerleştirilmesini talep etmektedir.

Kamu hizmetleri işkolundaki tüm sendikal örgütlere Türkiye hükümetine protesto telgrafları çekerek ve de Cenevredeki Birleşmiş Milletler Örgütü İnsan Hakları Komisyonu'na başvurarak dayanışmalarını dile getirmelerini önermektedir.Ayrıca yurt dışındaki Türkiye elçilikleri nezdinde de girişimlerin yapılmasını istemektedir. Tümümüz birden DİSK ve Genel-İş genel başkanı Abdullah Baştürk, (İsmail Hakka Önal, Belgüzar Can, Cenip Altan, başta olmak üzere Genel-İş, Bankasen, Sosyal-İş, Tek Ges-İş, Dev. Sağlık-İş yönetim ve müfettişlerinin
(G-İş yöneti.)Halis Düzgün (Dev.Sağlık-İş başkanı), Selahattin Sayın (Tek-Ges-

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

İş başkanı), Mehmet Atay (Sosyal-İş yöneticisi), Mehmet Tandoğan ve Fevzi Karadeniz (Bank-Sen militanları)) ve tüm diğer tutuklulaların derhal serbest bırakılması için davranalım. Uluslararası Kamu Hizmetleri Sendikaları Birliği durumun gerektirdiği düzeyde dayanışmayı bir üst düzeye çıkartmak için yürekli girişimleri almaya devam edecektir. Ve Türkiyeli sendikacıların serbest bırakılması için daha etkin eylemlere hazırdır.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Başta DİSK olmak üzere baskıya uğrayan demokratik örgütlerle ve bunların yöneticileri, militanları ve üyeleriyle dayanışmanın geliştirilmesi ve genişletilmesi amacıyla DSF Sekreterlerinden Jan Nemondry'yle yaptığımız görüşmelerde iki öneri somutlanmıştır.

1- DSF ile birlikte, başta FİDEF olmak üzere Batı Avrupa'da çalışan Türkiyeli işçilerin demokratik kitle örgütleri tarafından ortak bir dayanışma hareketinin örgütlenmesi. Bu kampanyanın başlatılması ortak bir bildirinin çeşitli dillerde yayınlanması ve çeşitli ülkelerde, özellikle de Türkiyeli işçiler arasında dağıtılmasıyla ~~başlayabilecek~~ başlaması öngörülüyor. Tutuklu DİSK'lilerin ailelerine maddi yardım amaçlı kampanyanın önemli bir yanını oluşturacaktır. Bu amaçla DSF Cenevre'de bir banka hesap numarasını kullanacak.

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~~Aşağıda~~ DSF'nin bu hesaba ilk aşamada 10 bin dolar yatırması öz konusu. Kampanyaya yalnızca FİDEF'in değil, olabildiğince çok sayıda Türkiyeli işçi örgütünün katılması amaçlanmalı, aynı zamanda ~~bunlar aracılığıyla~~ Türkiyeli tüm ilerici politik akımların bunlar aracılığıyla hareketin yansımasına çalışılmalıdır.

2- DİSK'le dayanışma ~~kam~~ hareketinin uluslararası sendikal hareket ~~düzeyin~~ planında bir ileri düzeye yükseltilmesi DSF, DİK ve UHSK arasında bu konuda eylem birliğinin sağlanmasına bağlıdır. Bu üç örgüt de çeşitli biçimlerde DİSK'le dayanışmalarını belirtmişler, Türkiye'deki sendikal hak ve özgürlüklerin çiğnenmesine karşı çıkmışlardır. İlk ikisi UÇÖ'ye başvurmuş, UÇÖ Sendikal özgürlük komitesi Türkiye'deki rejimin uygulamaları hakkında bir rapor hazırlamıştır. Bu UHSK'nın

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temmuz ayı başındaki Yönetim Kurulu toplantısında, ~~da~~ bu örgütün de UŞÖ'ye başvuru kararı alması beklenmekteydi. Aynı toplantıda Türk-İş'in UHSK üyeliğinin askıya alınması da olası beklentiler arasındaydı. Bu arada Avrupa Sendikalar Konfederasyonu Türk-İş'in üyelik isteğini reddetmiş, DİSK'inkini ise kararа bağlanmayarak ertelemişti. ASK, Türkiye'nin Avrupa Konseyi ve AET düzeyinde askıya alınması istemini ileri sürmüştü. Görüldüğü gibi eylem birliği için gerekli ~~olak~~ çakışan tavırlar vardı. Ancak bilindiği gibi özellikle UHSK DSF'ye karşı sekter bir tutum içindeydi. Bununla birlikte, DSF'den bir sorumlunun 2-3 ay kadar önce DİK ve UHSK'nın bazı sorumlularıyla yapmış olduğu görüşmelerde, ~~ortak eylem~~ öneri**nin** bizzat DİSK'ten gelmesi koşuluyla, bunların DSF'yle birlikte ortak eyleme girebilecekleri belirtilmişti. DSF, sonunt

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST PARTİSİ ARŞİVİ

bir ortak eylem önerisi olarak
UHSK, DİSK, ASK, Uluslararası Demokratik
Hukukçular Birliği ve UÇÖ'nün katılmasıyla
~~de birlikte~~
Cenevre'de, Türkiye'de sendikal hak ve
özgürlükler üzerine bir forumun düzen-
lenmesini düşünmekteyiz. Demek ki,
gerek uluslararası sendikal örgütler
arasında eylem birliğinin sağlanmasına
katkıda bulunmak, gerekse DİSK'e
dayanışma hareketine özellikle Avrupa'da
önderlik etmek ve bunda başarılı
sağlamak için, DİSK adına hareket
edecek bir merkeze gereksinim vardır.
Böylesi bir merkez şöyle (Dış Büro) gibi
hareket eden birkaç DİSK uzmanı
Brüksel'de bulunmaktadır. Bunlar,
DİSK Genel Sekreter Yardımcısı ve Uluslararası
İlişkiler Dairesi Müdürü Sina Pamukçu'yla
birlikte UÇÖ'nün son toplantısına da
Cenevre'de katılmışlardır. Temsil
yetkisine sahip DİSK yöneticisi bir ya da
birkaç yoldaşımızın girişimi ve yönetici-
liğiyle oluşturulacak bir DİSK Dış Bürosunun

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST İŞÇİ PARTİSİ ARŞİVİ

~~dayetkan gelebilmenin sağlayacağı~~

ve bunun etkinliklerinin, ülkemizde demokratik sınıf ve kitle sendikacılığının izleyeceği gelişmeler ve burada komünistlerin yeri açısından sağlayacağı yararlar da son derece önemlidir. Şu anda hapishanelerde ve davalarda DİSK'in savunmasını başkanlık ve arkadaşları tarafından yapılmakta olması, birçok anti-komünistin ileride bize karşı suçlamalarda kullanabilecekleri "komünist sendikacılar sırra kadem bastı, ortada ~~gö~~rünmediler" formülü görünürde etkili olabilecek niteliktedir. Komünistlerin başını tuttuğu bir DİSK Bürosuyla bunun dengelenmesinin olanakları doğacaktır. Gerek dünyadaki tüm sendikal örgütlere, gerekse Türkiye'deki tüm sendikal örgütlere yönelik önemli bir yazışma faaliyeti de yürütebilecek olan ~~bu bu~~ böylesi bir Büromun kanımızca bir an önce oluşturulması gerekmektedir.

TÜRKİYE SOSYALİST PARTİSİ ARŞİVİ

1- UMSB
Ayhan Dümen (AŞKİ-İş Bşk.)
K. Daysal'ın yediği ~~Akşam~~

2- Petkim'İş'in üye olduğu Uluslararası
Kimya Sendikası
Mustafa Karadayı Denetim Kur-
ü yesi

3- Tarım-İşçileri-Sendikası'nın üye
olduğu uluslararası sendika
Dev. Top. İş. Bşk. Fuat Gedik

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

1- DISK'in son Genel Kurul
Karar taslağı

2- Maden-İş genel Kurul bülteni

3- DISK'in 1980 ekonomik raporu
(S. Aren)

4- Lenin (Fransızca takım)

5- Fransızca kitaplar

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Sendikal Dayanışma

1) DSF + FIDEF + B. Avrupa'daki ilerici örgütler = dayanışma kampanyası

2) DSF Dış Bürosu: DİSK yürütme + Yönetim k. üyesi + öteki ler

3) Broşür: DSF'nin dayanışması (döküm)

4) DİSK yöneticilerinin açıklaması (Bizimkiler + öteki ler katılarak) S. Uya, B. Şahin, H. Karahan, Y. Top

5) Dayasal'ın UHSİK, ASK, DEK, merkezlerini (Brüksel) ziyaret etmesi. Prag ve Brüksel'e veya Prag - Brüksel - Prag

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

CENTRAL DE TRABAJADORES DE CUBA
WORKERS' CENTRAL UNION OF CUBA
CENTRALE DES TRAVAILLEURS DE CUBA
SAN CARLOS Y PEÑALVER - CIUDAD DE LA HABANA - CUBA

Ciudad de La Habana
20 de marzo de 1981
XX ANIVERSARIO DE GIRON

Cos. del D. I. S. K.
Londra Asfalti Mester Sitesi
Ahnet Jutsi Tecer Cad No. 10
Kat 5 Aksaray, Istambul
Turquía

Estimado compañero:

La Central de Trabajadores de Cuba ha decidido invitar una delegación de vuestra organización sindical compuesta de 1 persona para que participe en los festejos que se llevarán a cabo en nuestro país con motivo del 1ro. de Mayo "Día Internacional de los Trabajadores".

Según nuestra programación proponemos que dicha delegación llegue a Cuba alrededor del día 28 de abril para una estancia de 7 días aproximadamente.

Rogamos nos informen lo antes posible, nombre y cargo del delegado, así como fecha exacta y vía por la que llegará a Cuba.

Aprovechamos la oportunidad para expresarle nuestro saludo fraternal.

Jesús A. Escandell Romero
Secretario Ejecutivo C. T. C.

RELACIONES
INTERNACIONALES

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu'na bağlı Uluslararası Tekstil Sendikaları Birliği'nden bir heyet - ki, Türkiye'deki Tekstil Sendikası da bu uluslararası örgütün üyesidir- geçtiğimiz hafta içinde Prag'daki Türkiye dış temsilciliğine gitti. Bu heyet, dış temsilcilik aracılığıyla, başbakan Bülent Ulusu ve Çalışma Bakanı Turhan Esener'e iletilmek üzere iki mektup verecekti. Ancak Konsolosluk önce kendileriyle görüşeceğini bildirdikten sonra, hasta olduğu bildirilmiş, ve arkasından da görüşmemiş, diğer görevliler ise mektupları kayd a bile almamıştır. Ancak başka kanalla bu açıklama Türkiye'ye iletildi. Açıklama şöyle:

" Türkiye'de 185 Tekstil işçisinin keyfi biçimde hapse mahkum edilmesini protesto ediyoruz. Tümü DİSK'e bağlı Tekstil sendikasının üyesi olan ve TARİŞ adlı sanayi-tarım kompleksinde da çalışan 185 Tekstil işçisi Türkiye'de bir askersel mahkeme tarafından iki ile 24 yıl araasında değişen ağır hapis cezalarına çarptırıldılar. "Yasa dışı bir grev yapmaktan ve işyerini işgal etmekten" suçlanıyorlardı . 1980 yılı başında adı geçen işyerindeki 11 bin işçi politik amaçlı bir kitlesel kıyım ve işten çıkarma tehdidine karşı koymak zorunda kaldılar. İşten çıkarılanların yerine faşist komandolar dolduruluyordu. 22 Ocak 1980'de işyerlerine girerek, polis kışkırtıcı büyük bir operasyon başlattı. Yönetimin planlarını bozmak, iş güvencesi ve kazanımlarını korumak için işçiler greve çıktılar. Güvenlik güçleri bu kez grevi şiddetle, sertlikle bastırdı. Sadece haklarını korumak amacıyla hareket etmiş olan 185 Tekstil işçisinin bugün mahkum edilmeleri 12 Eylül 1980 devirmesinden sonra ortaya çıkan askersel rejim tarafından sistematik olarak çiğnenen sendikal özgürlüklere karşı ciddi bir saldırıdır. Örgütümüzün üyesi bulunan DİSK-Tekstil sendikasının faaliyetleri bu tarihte askıya alınmıştır. Ve sendikanın birçok yöneticisi 9 ayı aşkındır askersel hapishanelerde tutulmaktadır.
Bize ulaşan ve yerinde edindiğimiz bilgilere göre Tekstil Sendikası başkanı ve DİSK yönetim kurulu üyesi Rıdvan Budak arkadaşımıza günler boyunca işkence edilmiştir. Uluslararası Tekstil Sendikaları Birliği hapisteki sendikacıların ve işçilerin serbest bırakılmasını, ve demokrasi ve sendika düşmanı her türlü hukuki kovuşturmaya son verilmesi, işçilerin demokratik örgütlerinin önceki durumlarında açılması, sendikal, demokratik özgürlüklere, insan haklarına Türkiye'de saygı gösterilmesi için, tüm üye örgütlerine, dünyadaki tüm tekstil sendikalarına Türkiye'li sendikacı ve işçilerle dayanışmayı her zamankinden daha ileri düzeyde etkinleştirmek için ivedi bir çağrıda bulunuyor.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

UNION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS DES TRAVAILLEURS DE LA METALLURGIE— (F.S.M.)

TRADE UNIONS INTERNATIONAL OF WORKERS IN THE METAL INDUSTRY— (W.F.T.U.)

UNION INTERNACIONAL DE SINDICATOS DE TRABAJADORES DE LA METALURGIA— (F.S.M.)

МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЕ ОБЪЕДИНЕНИЕ ПРОФСОЮЗОВ ТРУДЯЩИХСЯ МЕТАЛЛОПРОМЫШЛЕННОСТИ (В. Ф. П.)

Adresse: Moscou K-9, B.P.158
Rue Pouchkinskaya 5/6
Tel. Secrétariat—450-90-85
Administrateur—450-28-10

Télégraphique: UISMET, Moscou

Moscou 19/01/1981

Aux membres du Bureau

MADEN-IS TURQUIE

739/81/1981/PB/NZ

Chers Camarades,

Par la présente nous vous informons que la date de la réunion du Bureau de l'UIS qui aura lieu à QUITO Equateur a été fixée pour les 28 et 29 Mars 1981.

Le 30 Mars aura lieu une réuninn entre l'UIS et le Comité de Coordination de la métallurgie d'Amérique Latine (COCTAMEAL) avec la participation d'organisations de la métallurgie d'Amérique Latine, affiliées et non-affiliées.

Compte tenu qu'une partie des frais sera à la charge de l'UIS (notamment les billets d'avion des camarades d'Amérique Latine) nous vous demandons de bien vouloir examiner dans la mesure de vos possibilités de participer aux frais de séjour de votre délégation (Hotel).

Nous comptons sur votre compréhension et vous en remercions par avance.

Nous vous demandons de bien vouloir nous confirmer votre participation dans les meilleurs délais avec une copie au camarade Edgar Ponce Président de FEDELEC Ladron de Guevara 1315 y12 de Octubre Quito Ecuador.

Dans un prochain courrier nous vous ferons parvenir l'ordre du jour et le rapport soumis à la discussion.

Dans l'attente recevez, chers camarades, nos fraternelles salutations.

P.BAGHI
Secrétaire général

P.S.: Nous vous informons que la langue de travail sera le français néanmoins les traductions en Espagnol-français-espagnol, anglais-français-anglais et russe-français-russe seront assurées par l'UIS.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

REPORT OF A VISIT TO ISTANBUL TO ENQUIRE INTO LEGAL PROCEEDINGS BEING TAKEN BY THE AUTHORITIES AGAINST THE DISK CONFEDERATION

JANUARY 17th - 20th 1981

BY NICK BLAKE

HELENA KENNEDY

Members of the English Bar

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

REPORT OF A VISIT OF ENQUIRY TO ISTANBUL, JANUARY 17 20th

BY NICHOLAS BLAKE AND HELENA KENNEDY

I. Purpose of Visit

This visit to Istanbul was undertaken by two practising members of the English bar, at the request of the World Federation of Trade Unions. The purpose of the visit was to attend proceedings being taken against the left-wing federation of Turkish unions (DISK) in the Bakirkoy Labour Court, Istanbul, and to report on these and other measures that were being taken that might constitute a denial of the exercise of the right to belong to a trade union and to peaceully organise and associate in pursuance of this right, which is recognised internationally as a fundamental human right.

2. We attended at the Bakirkoy Labour Court on the 19th January when an interlocutory order was given by the presiding judge against the trade union and the proceedings were adjourned to be continued at Ankara. We had discussions with a number of lawyers, journalists and trade unionists from whom we were able to obtain a picture of the legislative and executive measures which had been taken against the DISK union. We do not propose to disclose the names of those we spoke to, as there was an uniform anxiety about reprisals from the present regime in Turkey for talking to foreigners. We were satisfied that those we spoke to were eminent and respected members of their professions and occupations.

3. Political Background to the Proceedings

In September 1980 sections of the Turkish armed forces under General Evren seized control of the state, thus putting an end to a period of approximately twenty years of civilian rule. The basic legislative

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and constitutional structure of the Turkish state derives from the Constitution of 1961 which had come into being after a previous generation of civilian Turkish politicians had failed to accomplish the tasks of modernising their society in accordance with democratic norms and the social expectations raised by the reforming regime of Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish state. The aims of the drafters of the 1961 Constitution are set out in its preamble which states (this and subsequent extracts are taken from Blaustein Constitutions of the World vol XIV updated 1976) that it is:-

"Guided by the desire to establish a democratic rule of law based on juridical and social foundations, which will ensure and guarantee human rights and liberties, national solidarity, social justice, and the welfare and prosperity of the individual and society".

The Constitution goes on to recognise fundamental human rights and in particular the right to belong to a trade union is acknowledged at both an individual and collective level. Article 14 states:

"Every individual shall enjoy the right to seek to improve himself materially and spiritually and have the benefit of personal freedom. The immunities and freedoms enjoyed by the individual shall not be restricted except in cases explicitly prescribed by law and in conformity with judgements duly passed by the courts."

Article 46 stipulates:

"workers and employers are entitled to establish trade unions and federations of trade unions without having to obtain prior authorisation, to enroll in them as members, and to resign from such membership freely. Forms and procedures to be implemented in the exercise of these rights shall be regulated by law. The law may impose restrictions for the purpose of safeguarding the integrity of the state with its territory and its people, national security, public order and public morality, The regulations, the management and the operation of trade unions and federations thereof shall not conflict with democratic principles."

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4. The two principal political parties prior to the military coup had been Bulent Ecevit's reforming Republican Peoples Party and Suleyman Demirel's conservative Justice Party. There were substantial parties representing Islamic revivalist and fascist groups. The Turkish communist party had been banned and it appears that political organisations adopting an avowedly marxist ideology were frequently suppressed as being unconstituional notwithstanding Article 20 of the Constitution which states:

"Every individual is entitled to have his own opinions and to think freely. He is free to express his thoughts and opinions individually or collectively , through word of mouth,in writing,through pictures or through other media".

One of the principal issues of contention between the two principal political parties in the past had been the strong support of the Republican People's Party for an amnesty for crimes of thought, which have included the sucessful prosecution of a publisher for merely printing an edition of Marx's works and the conviction of a law professor for writing a textbook on constitutional law. The last ten years of Turkish politics had witnessed a struggle between the reform programmes of the R.P.P. and its various opponents; outside of the National Assembly there had been a continual slide towards organised violence between the fascist right and several groups of the revolutionary left. The Turkish constitution provides for the declaration of martial law and the consequent trial of public order offences in martial law courts. Martial law had been uniformly in force in the early 1970's and had been sporadically applied in a number of the provinces since then as a result of escalating violence. The military coup came about as a result of a crescendo of violence under the government of Mr. Suleyman it was widely believed that some of the parties on the extreme right were preparing for a coup and the seizure of power by the military was greeted with some

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cautious relief by many of Turkey's partners in NATO as a regrettable but necessary step to prevent the degeneration towards civil war. One of the military junta's first acts had been to lay a wreath on the tomb of Ataturk to emphasis the continuity of a secular and reforming state, which was widely interpreted as a gesture against the Islamic revivalist parties who wanted to reunite religion and the state.

5. The present junta constituted themselves as a five man National Security Council. The National Sssembly was suspended and political parties were banned. Many leaders of the political parties and the trade union were taken into custody. The Constitution was supended but various parts of it and the various legal codes made under it have been reintroduced by the decree of the Council, which has the force of law. Thus although certain civil courts still exercise their function they do so at the will of and through the acquiesence of the National Security Council and both the independence of the judiciary and the rules that they apply are highly vulnerable to executive interference.

6. The DISK confederation was banned by the military shortly after the coup (alomg with most of the principal political parties, but not the rival trade union confederation). This banning, and the proceedings that have recently been initiated against those who were detained, were subsequent to the initiation of the proceedings which we were asked to investigate, although they have superceded them in importance, as will be seen.

7. Proceedings in the Labour Court

In about July 1980 the Istanbul public prosecutor commenced proceeding against DISK under Article 30 of the Trade Union Code. There are two principal trade union confederations in Turkey: Turk-Is with approximately one and a half million members, and the more left wing

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DISK with half a million members. DISK was founded in 1967; it represents workers from a variety of political parties and its leading members include a former Mayor of Istanbul (Ahmet Isvan) and a number of past and present deputies of the National Assembly. The President of DISK Abdulah Basturk who is 52 years of age, was a R.P.P. deputy in the National Assembly for 8 years.DISK is certainly the more militant of the two confederations and has taken industrial action to improve wages and conditions and pursue policies in the interests of its members. It has a prevailing ideology of the working class acting as a mass to pursue its interests.It appears to have been the committment to this ideology that has led to steps to repress it. As we understand it, the basic allegations leading to the application to repress were:-

i) organising illegal strikes (that is strikes beyond the strict definitions of the Labour Code which does not permit solidarity strikes, general strikes or strikes in breach of ~~conduct of~~ contract for political purposes)

ii) organising political meetings and demonstrations which were outside its alleged constitutional function.

iii) adopting an ideology and propagating ideas based on a class conception of society.

iv) that the above activities rendered it unconstitutional, both in the sense that it exceeded its jurisdiction under the Labour Code and was guilty of offences under various Articles of the Penal Code of 1936, including the vague political offences amounting to constructive treason under Article 146 of the Code.

8. The civil proceedings were against the confederation itself rather than individuals. If the public prosecutor is sucessful the result will be the banning of the confederation, the dissolution of its assets, and the proscription against a number of its members from holding trade union offices in the future. We were informed by one

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source that upon dissolution, its assets could be distributed to its rival confederation Turk-Is. The proceedings have continued notwithstanding the military coup, and there has been some conflict between the civil and the martial law authorities as to who should appoint a receiver to administer the union's financial affairs pending a final judgement. At the hearing we attended a civilian receiver was appointed; a temporary civil banning order was made until final judgement and the proceedings were transferred to Ankara, the seat of the government, on the basis of a construction of the union's constitution which ,we understand, will be challenged.If ormal criminal charges are later brought against DISK members, as seems inevitable, the civil proceedings will be stayed until the hearing of the criminal charges since the allegations are to a considerable degree co-extensive.

9. We did not have an opportunity of seeing the public prosecutor's case against DISK or discussing the matter with the Turkish authorities although we intend to pursue a request for information through the Turkish embassy in London, but it our understanding of the evidence and the reasons behind the prosecution that it is alleged that the pursuit of economic and political goals have had the effect of promoting instability and subversion, rather than that the trade unionists have engaged in violent or directly treasonable behaviour.Several previous attempts to prosecute DISK militants for unlawful strikes have failed, although these failures have frequently been overturned on appeal in recent months. A speech of General Evren's, reported on Saturday I7th January I98I in the English language Turkish Daily News, is indicative of the state's reasoning:

" General Evren said that the anarchists and terrorists created unrest in big cities such as Ankara,Istanbul,Izmir and Adana by way of agitating the people, thus aiming at spreading terrorism and

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communism. Their goal was to intensify economic crisis in Turkey (using means of going on strike) then have the citizens fed up with life and later come out with their own slogan "the only way is revolution, communism". They wanted to bring communism to this country."

It should be pointed out that inflation in Turkey has been something in excess of 100% during the past twelve months, which it might be thought has had something to do with increased activity for better material conditions. It is worthy of note that the entire direction of General Evren's speech (as reported) was aimed at opposition to communism, against which, the General said, the armed forces had intervened to save country. Before the coup the most prominent threats to the secular, progressive constitution had appeared to come from the fascist and Islamic revivalist groups, many of whom were in possession of arms when detained, and appeared to have been organising a coup d'etat. The information we received in Istanbul, suggested these groups were longer, if ever, the principal targets of the junta, and that if criminal charges were being brought against right wingers at all, they were relatively minor. It appeared to us that the use of repressive powers and the interpretation of the wide ranging penal laws were being directed against DISK members because of their political ideology of mass working class activity. We note that the 1961 Constitution recognises freedom of expression and by implication a diversity of ideologies and that Article 10 prevents the state from restricting these rights:

"Every individual is entitled, in virtue of his existence as a human being to fundamental rights and freedoms, which cannot be usurped, transferred or relinquished. The state shall remove all political economic and social obstacles that restrict the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual in such a way as to be irreconciliable with the principles embodied in the rule of law, individual well being and social justice."

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IO. Since the coup DISK has been banned; collective bargaining has been suspended; many DISK officials have been detained in military detention and more recently criminal proceedings have been begun against many of the leading elements.It appears that DISK militants have been especially singled out inthe process of repression.After the coup many thousands of people were detained, including the leaders of the principal political parties. The National Security Council promptly issued a decree extending the period of detention without judicial arrest permissable under martial law from I5 days (it having been increassd to that period from 48 hours in I973) to 30 days and thereafter to 90 days. Many of the two thousand DISK members were subsequently released, but many hundreds, including the leading elements, were ~~xxxx~~ not and remain in custody. We noted, whilst preparing this report that the British paper the "Guardian" reported on 25th January I98I that the leaders of a right wing trade union had been released that day, in contrast to the treatment meted to the DISK members.

II. It had become apparent to those on the outside that the detention of DISK members was not simply a case of preventative detention, but that the regime was planning to bring criminal charges. The detainees were not themselves aware of this as there was no preliminary investigation conducted by a civilian judge or access to lawyers as provided by the penal and martial law codes.In addition to these breaches of the law, well informed accounts were given to us, alleging that torture had been administered to many of the detainees. Apart from the general constitutional provisions prohibiting such practices, many of the senior trade unionists were elderly men for whom such treatment would have been exceptionally cruel.It was on the basis of confessions obtained during the period in military detention that the public prosecutor requested ~~xxx~~

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warrants of arrest. The precise charges have not yet been formulated but we understand that they will be likely to include a prosecution under Article I46 of the Penal Code which carries a possible death penalty. At this preliminary hearing the DISK defendants filed allegations that they had been tortured with the court and the presiding judge Ismet Aytug refused to issue arrest warrants in respect of 438 out of 506 defendants. We were informed that a member of the National Security Council visited Istanbul shortly after this decision and expressed displeasure at this result, with the judge protesting that he was not a mere secretary. The judge in question was shortly afterwards transferred out of Istanbul. On Wednesday 22nd January it was reported in the Guardian that the public prosecutor had sucessfully appealed to a higher court for the arrest of those whom the lower court judge had refused to initiate proceedings against. A number of the lawyers that we spoke to suggested that this was but the most blatant instance of judicial manipulation by the present authorities, who can hold the liberty and livlihood of judges and lawyers in the balance. Article I32 of the Constitution states:

"Judges should be independent in the discharge of their duties. They should pass judgementa in accordance with the law, the constitution, justice and their personal convcitions. No organ, office, agency or individual may give orders or instructions to courts or judges in connection with the discharge of their duties, send them circulars, or make recommendations or suggestions."

I2. Allegations of Torture :

We did not speak directly to any recent victim of torture but were informed of the allegations that were filed with the Martial Law Court in respect of the DISK defendants. It has been alleged:-

i) that all detainees were blindfolded throughout the time that they were in detention, including interogation sessions and when being asked to sign statements.

ii) beatings to the sole of the feet have been administered .

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iii) electric shocks have been applied to all parts of the body

iv) detainees have been kept standing at bayonet point for up to I4 days without sleep prior to interogation.

v) threats of assasination have been made to detainees. These threats have been carried through to the extent of arranging last rites with a mock iman, arranging final visits with family members and even the staging of mock hangings.

vi) blindfolded detainees have been made to stand on the ledges of windows and were told that they were many feet above the ground whereas they were only a few inches above it. One trade unionist was released with broken bones after he sustained injury during such an incident.

We were informed from other sources that apart from the DISK defendants, blindfolding and threats with weapons is a fairly routine mode of proceedings by the inexperienced and overburdened interogators of the military camps. At least IO people have died in military custody since the coup.

I3. Articles I4I and I46 Penal Code

We were under the disadvantage of not having translations of the Turkish Penal Code and have had to rely on resumes of the relevant sections by the lawyers we spoke to. Articles I4I and I46 appear to prohibit:-

i) subversion of the whole or part of the Constitution

ii) usurpation of the functions of the National Assembly

iii) endeavouring to establish the hegemony of one class over another

iv) organising meetings and distributing propaganda with the intention of achieving these objects.

These provisions date from the I936 Penal Code which was to some extent

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influenced by the provisions of Mussolini's penal code; the extent to which their vague wording and obvious opportunity for abuse by the repression of political opponents remain consistent with the provisions of the I96I Constitution, may be open to doubt. Much doubtless depends upon precisely how the wide wording is interpreted . Without seeking in any way to prejudge any proceedings which may be brought against DISK members in the future, we are of the opinion that the bringing of these sorts of charges against trade unionists on the basis of their militant activity in organising strikes and demonstrations amonnts to a strong prima facie case of partisan political repression and the denial of the right to associate guaranteed by the Constitution and the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation. It is indeed peculiarly ironic that charges of usurping the functions of the National Assembly could be brought against trade unionists by a regime that has itself suspended the NationalAssembly and abrogated all its powers to itself.

I4. The information that we obtained from various witnesses was augmented by the report(previously referred to) of General Evren's speech on the subject of trade unions. One part of this speech was apparently directed against a trade union affiliated to DISK and thinly disguises its hostility to the principle of organised labour by suggesting that the union abused the finances of its members:

" General Evren said that a labour union which once upon a time paid (£9to I2 per month) to workers on strike, owns a real estate worth (£400,000) ...there is a training hall for 800 persons by this building. We do not know what sort of training they will impose. Perhaps it was set up for training in communism.General Evren also disclosed huge summer camping facilities,printing works and more than I00 automobiles owned by the same union, but failed to give the name of the union, due to recent investigations filed against it. In order to eliminate such activities of the larger labour unions, they will be kept under the control of the laws."

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I5. Conclusions

We were not able to make a general investigation of human rights in Turkey , although during the course of our enquiries on the DISK trial, two points were repeatedly made to us :-

i) all lawyers we spoke to were very concerned about the arbitrary extension of the period of pre trial detention and the possibilities of torture and pppression that such extneded periods of incommunicado detentioj pro vided to the authorities.

ii) the task of obtaining accutate information was impeded by the fact that the authorities are implementing the provisions o Article I40 of the Penal Code punishing the supplying of information dereogatory to th state, and the penalties for this offence hase been increased by decree from six months to three years where foreigners and journalists are involved. A number of journalists working on the daily paper 'Hurriyet' have been detained on this charge for refusing to retract a report of proposed price increase by the junta.

The four days that we spent in Istanbul cannot form the basis of any decided opinion upon the legality of the measures taken against the DISK confederation. We would need to see translations of the relevant sections of the penal code, the evidence adduced by the authorities and seek the opinion of the prosecutor, before attempting any conclusion. Nonetheless we believe it is important to alert the international legal and trade union community at this stage that there are strong grounds for believing that fundamental democratic rights are under attack in Turkey, and that concerted international efforts are required to investigate further and bring pressure on the authorities to desists from such attacks.

I6. We conclude:

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i) that the present regime in Turkey has a strong hostility to the principle of socialist politics and the right of the working people to organise independently in trade unions to promote their interests.

ii) that the present regime is using its unlimited powers to repress militant trade unionism.

iii) that the repression of the DISK union amounts to a prima facie violation of those Articles of the Turkish Constitution and the Conventions of the International Labour Organisation that recognise the right of workers to freely organise in trade unions.

iv) that a prima facie case exists of interference by the military authorities with the independence of the judiciary and the rule of law, in breach of the Turkish Constitution and internationally recognised standards.

v) that a prima facie case exists of the violation of the individual rights of the members of the DISK confederation , including the right to free expression and not to be subjected to torture.

Nicholas Blake

Helena Kennedy

London 30th January 1981

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5 Şubat 1981 günlü Sovyetler Birliği KP.' MK yayın organı Pravra Gazetesi, Tass ajansına dayanarak verdiği Prag kaynaklı haberde, Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu adına Türkiye'ye giden İngiliz avukat Nikolas Blake'in yaptığı basın toplantısına yer vermiştir.

"Aktivistler baskıya uğruyor" başlıklı haberde şöyle deniyor:

"Kısa bir süre önce Dünya Sendikalar Federasyonu adına Türkiye-ye giden İngiliz avukat Prag'da bir basın toplantısı yaptı. Çekoslovak Telgraf Ajansı ÇTK'nın bildirdiğine göre, İngiliz avukat Türk yetkililerinin ülkenin en büyük sendikalarından DİSK'e karşı yürüttüğü davanın nasıl geçtiğini anlattı.

İngiliz avukat 12 Eylül 1980 de ordunun erke gelmesinden sonra ülkede 2000'i aşkın DİSK üyesinin tutuklandığını söyledi. Şu anda birkaç yüz DİSK üyesi hapiste tutulageliyor. DİSK yöneticilerine ve üyelerine karşı cezai koğuşturma başlamış bulunuyor. Basın toplantısında belirtildiğine göre, bu kişiler grevler örgütlemek, Türkiye'yi bölmeye yönelik eylemler gözüyle bakılan toplumda işçi sınıfının rolü konusunda propaganda yapmakla suçlanıyorlar.

İngiliz hukukçusunun dediğine göre, DİSK aktivistleri Türk Ceza yasasının ilgili maddesine göre ölüm cezasını öngören ihanetle suçlanabilirler. İngiliz avukata göre bu sendikanin yöneticileri sırf ilerici çalışmalarından ötürü kağuşturmaya uğruyorlar. 1961 Türk Anayasası işçilerin sendikalarda birleşmelerini ve görüşlerini özgürce ortaya koyma hakkını tanımaktadır.

Pravda 5 Şubat 1981

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

7 Nisan 1981 günü DSF'ye verildi.

NEXT DISK TRIAL: ON APRIL 22

The next DISK trial will be held on in Istanbul Bakirköy Labour Court on April 22, 1981. The Higher Court has recently turned down the decision of Bakirköy Labour Court that the trial should continue in an Ankara court on the ground that the Headquarters of DISK was taken to Ankara in its last General Assembly meeting. Thatswhy the the next sitting of the trial on the closure of the DISK will take place in Istanbul Bakirköy Court as it was before.

ISIKLAR, THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF DISK BEFORE THE COURT

Fehmi Işiklar, the General Secretary of the DISK, was tried before the No.2 Military Court in Istanbul on March 31. He has been tried because of a statement given to the newspaper Demokrat before September 12, 1980. The public prosecutor demands his imprisonment under the Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code allegedly "insulting the government". The trial of Işiklar and Hasan Basri Çiplak, the Editor of Demokrat, will continue on April 28 in the same court.

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TURKISH JOURNALIST HAS BEEN SENTENCED TO TWO YEARS' IMPRISONMENT

Mr. Ali Bahadir, the Editor-in-Chief the Uyanis (Awakening), a provincial newspaper in Zonguldak, Turkey, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment and eight months' exile by a military court. According to the newspaper Cumhuriyet, Mr. Bahadir was arrested after the military coup on September 12, 1980, and in the first session of his trial was sentenced under the Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code describing the previous Demirel government as being "reactionary". He has been denied the right to go to the Court of Appeal, because the sentences up to three years' imprisonment cannot be taken to a higher court for a reexamination ~~xxxxxxxx~~ according to the new regulations introduced after the military coup.

2 Şubat 1981 günü
Uluslararası Gazeteciler Örgütü'ne
verildi.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

5 Şubat 1981 günü
DSF'ye verildi.

"TÜRK-IS LEADERS HAVE A BIG CONTRIBUTION (or INFLUENCE)
IN THE STAND OF I.L.O."

According to a report, prepared by the Türk-Iş, which for the most part tackles with its international relations since the military takeover on September 12, 1980, the top leadership of the Türk-Iş played an important role in averting the International Organisation of Labour (ILO) and other international trade union organisations to take an anti-Turkey and anti-Türk-Iş decision. The report includessome letters sent by and some speeches made by Mr. Ibrahim Denizcier, the President of the Türk-Iş. The report states that the ICFTU to which the Türk-Iş is affiliated, and the Union of European Trade Unions, Confederation of World Christian Trade Unions and others are in favour of a sharp protest concerning the restriction of trade union activities, the ban on the trade unions and the arrest of the DISK leaders.

According to the Türk-Iş report, in the resolutions and proposals of the international trade unions, there were demands to protest Turkey, to suspend Türk-Iş from the membership of ICFTU and to ask Mr. Sadik Şide either to resign from his post in the government or from the General Secretaryship of the Türk-Iş. "All these negative proposals and resolutions are being averted thanks to the efforts of the Türk-Iş, to the speeches and letters of Mr.Denizcier. Türk-Iş leaders also objected these internatinal labour organisations proposals to send delegations to Turkey."

In reply to Mr. Otto Kersten, criticising the persecution o the DISK, Mr.Denizciersent the following letter:

"DISK has been banned, because of the reasons we had to several times. DISK, especially in recent years, because of i its policy, and its activities, has become no more of a wor nisation. Making use of rights and freedoms recognised by

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became an organisation financing the anarchy on the whole. It collaborated with the illegal organisations aiming to destroy political order and democracy. As you very well know, it is in close collaboration with the WFTU and became very close to affiliate to it. Due to all these facts, DISK has been closed."

Cumhuriyet, 23 January 1981

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DSF'ye bilgi için verildi.
26 Ocak 1981.

223 MORE LEADERS AND MEMBERS OF DISK HAVE BEEN ARRESTED IN TURKEY

Martial Law Court in Istanbul has recently arrested 223 more leaders and activists of the Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Trade Union (DISK) in Turkey. So, the number of the arrested DISK leaders and activists in the last 45 days has totalled to 306 in number. Among the recently arrested DISK leaders is Kenan Akman, former Member of the Parliament of the Republican People's Party.

Mr. Ahmet Isvan, former Mayor of Istanbul, has also been arrested and tried together with the DISK leaders, on the pretext that he had attented the May Day celebrations in 1977 and had helped the DISK in organising the celebrations.

26 January 1981

The Dates of the Next DISK Trials

9 February 1981: Istanbul Bakirköy No.4 Court of Assizes for 30th April 1980 events.

19 February 1981: Istanbul Bakirköy No.2 Court of Assizes for "Warning to Fascism" Day.

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5 Şubat 1981 günü
DSF'ye verildi.

THE TURKISH MILITARY WANT TO DEPRIVE THE DISK LEADERS OF THEIR NATIONALITY

On February 4, 1981 Turkish Radio in its news bulletins repeatedly broadcast the Communique of the Chairmanship of the Coordination of the Martial Law Command: According to the Communique, 34 members of the General Executive Committee of the DISK who are believed to be abroad, should come back to Turkey and deliver themselves to the military authorities till March 5, 1981. Otherwise they will be deprived of their Turkish nationality.

In the Communique it is also said that they are accused of "attempting to overthrow the constitutional system in Turkey and aiming to set up the dictatorship of the trade unions".

Some of the names among the 34 members of the DISK General Executive Committee are:

Kemal Daysal (Executive Committee member of DISK and Maden-Is), Mehmet Karaca (President of Maden-Is), Murat Tokmak (Executive Committee member of Maden-Is), Turan Ata (President of Bay-Sen, Construction Workers), Mustafa Karadayi (President of Petkim-Is, Petro-Chemical Workers Union), Ozcan Keskec (President of Sosyal-Is), Cetin Uygur (President of Yeralti Maden-Is), Metin Denizmen (President of Bank-Sen, Banking Employees Union), Ayhan Dumen (President of Aster-Is, Military Shipbuilding Union), Halit Erdem (General Secretary of Maden-Is), Bahtiyar Erkul (Executive member of Maden-Is), Halil Hayta (President of Tum-Has-Is), etc.

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5 Şubat 1981 günü
DSF'ye verildi.

Exclusive interview of Kluncker to Cumhuriyet

"THE MILITARY IS DETERMINED TO RETURN TO DEMOCRACY"

President of the International Public Employees Union (PSI), Mr.Heinz Kluncker, who also occupies an important place in the Federal German Social Democratic Party (SPD) gave an excluasive interview to Cumhuriyet after completing his three-day visit to Turkey. He said: "The military government in Turkey is determined to return to democracy."

"Military interventions in other countries were carried in getting rid of democracy. But I believe that the military in Turkey want to return to democracy. There is no such a situation in Turkey as in South American countries. I don't want to be mistaken in this issue. Terror reached to such dimensions in Turkey, that no authority of the state felt itself. I believe now that the authority or the state should be in force."

In his statement he also evaluated Prof. Milton Friedman.

"Friedman is either defending the interests of the super-rich or he is ideologically confused. I think, both are true in his case."

Cumhuriyet, 14 January 1981

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5 Şubat 1981 günü
DSF'ye verildi.

ALL MISK LEADERS WERE RELEASED

All MISK leaders under detention in Istanbul have been released.

In the communique issued by the Martial Law Command of Istanbul it is said that all the MISK leaders, incluading its President Mr. Omer Faruk Akinci, have been released, because the Haedquarters of this union is in Ankara, therefore there is no need for any proceeding in Istanbul.

MISK leaders were taken into detention together with the DISK leaders. They were kept under detention more than two months. But there were no judicial proceedings for them. There was also no demand from the Ankara authorities for any proceedings. That is why they were released.

There was no explanation in the communique about the number of the MISK leaders who were released.

Cumhuriyet, 23 January 1981

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

DISK LEADERS HAVE BEEN TORTURED IN TURKEY

According to the British newspaper The Financial Times, the leaders of the Confederation of Revolutinary Workers' Union (DISK) leaders had been subjected to severe tortures by the Turkish military regime.

Mr.Abdullah Baştürk, the President of the DISK, according to the Financial Times dated March 20, 1981, "was interrogated three or four times at Otag-i Humayun, an old Ottoman mosque at Davudpaşa converted into an interrogation centre, according to people questioned there. These people say that during one session Mr. Basturk was repeatedly hit around the head while a group of DISK members standing in a ring around him were forced to insult him. At one point, he seems to have lost control of his mental faculties and to have believed he had been speaking to a rally the previous day. Also interrogated at Otag-i Humayun, according to the same people was Mr. Fehmi Isiklar, secretary general of DISK. Reportedly, he was bastinadoed (beaten on the soles of the feet) and hung by his ankles from the ceiling."

The British paper also report that, Mr. Ahmet Isvan, the 58-year old former mayor of Istanbul, said that if being made to sit five days and nights bound and blindfolded in a metal chair was not torture, then he had not been tortured." On Turkish TV, the first part of his sentence was censored and only the second part was broadcast that "he had not been tortured."

Mr. Isvan, a member of the Republican People's Party, was arrested after the military coup on September 12, 1980. He has been tried together with the DISK leaders and activists "in helping to celebrate May Day demonstrations" in Istanbul.

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI