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TRACING THE GREY WOLVES IN EUROPE

- So far the Trial in Rome gives much more substance to the "Grey Wolves Trail" than to the Bulgarian Connection.
- How did the Turkish Neo-fascist activists organize themselves in Europe?
- Attempts by the Ankara Regime to group together Turkish rightist organizations abroad
- In Belgium, a Turkish Islamic Foundation was set up grouping together both the Grey Wolves and Turkish militants of the Christian Trade Unions
- Since their leader's release from jail, the Grey Wolves are becoming again increasingly aggressive.

"The attempt on the Pope's life is linked with the third secret of Fatima. In the name of God the almighty, I announce the end of the world. I am Jesus Christ reincarnated. The whole world will be destroyed during this generation..." (May 27, 1985)

"I was an ideologist rather than a terrorist. I used to make plans and schemes against the system, but I have never killed anybody..." (June 5, 1985)

"The orders to kill the Pope came from the Soviet Embassy in Sofia. We Grey Wolves acted with the complicity of three Bulgarian officials in Rome. For the assassination attempt, the first secretary of the Soviet Embassy in Sofia paid three million Deutsche Marks through Bekir Celenk..." (June 11, 1985)

These crazy words pronounced by Mehmet Ali Agca marked the opening of the trial of the "Bulgarian Connection" which is being held in Rome. That sort of "reincarnation" of the Turkish terrorist inside a kind of "bunker", that was specially built for the trial of the Red Brigades, have given rise to serious doubts about the psychic state of this "Grey Wolf", who is the main witness for the prosecution in the present trial against the Bulgarian citizen Serghei Antonov and two of his fellow countrymen.

As noted by the Belgian daily *Le Soir* of May 28: "How could we trust this not very commendable person, who is so eager to make confessions, to create confusion and whose views are subject to frequent sudden reversals? And now he is even making statements worthy of a village idiot?"

Obviously, after Agca's recent statement, the "Bulgarian Connection" is in serious danger... In contrast, Agca's cross-questioning –as well as that of Omer Bagci, another defendant at the Rome trial– is giving substance much more to the "Grey Wolves Connection" than to the "Bulgarian Connection".

Just after the attempt on the pope's life, the Grey Wolves Connection had been disclosed by Info-Türk Bulletin, in its May 1981 issue:

"One of the most ferocious murderers of the fascist movement that brought about the coup d'état of September 12th in Turkey, Mehmet Ali Ağca shot the Pope, the spiritual leader of the Catholic World.

"This tragic event shows once again the dimension and the international connections of the Turkish fascist movement that murdered more than 5,000 people over a 5-year period and provoked the installation of a dictatorial regime in Turkey...

"The complicities of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) and the "Grey Wolves" are not limited to Turkey, but have ramifications in many other European countries, notably among the neo-Nazi organizations in the Federal Republic of Germany. Türkeş, the leader of the MHP had close contacts with Adolph Von Thadden, the NPD leader, and Joseph Strauss, the CSU leader... All activities of the "Grey Wolves" in European countries have been covered by local neo-fascist organizations.

"Mehmet Ali Ağca is only one of the numerous fascist murderers who found protection and shelter in the FRG. After having escaped from Turkey, he was tried by default and condemned to death in Turkey. An international arrest-warrant was leveled upon him through Interpol, but no serious effort was made to find and catch this ferocious murderer. He was not troubled by police during his travels through several countries and had the opportunity to perpetrate one of the most daring assassination attempts known in modern history."

In the same issue we had given considerable evidence of the Grey Wolves ties and complicity with the German neo-fascist movement.

But certain media have started a campaign to publicize the "Bulgarian Connection":

Four or five days after the assassination attempt, it was presented as a Soviet plot by the Italian daily *Giornale Nuovo*.

On September 5, 1981, British TV network ITV claimed that the assassination attempt had been hatched by the Bulgarian and Soviet secret services.

On September 4, 1981, British TV network Thames Television designated this affair as the "Bulgarian Connection".

In September 1982, *Reader's Digest* magazine published a story by Claire Sterling on the "Bulgarian Connection".

Whereas between May 13, 1981, and May 2, 1982 no element whatsoever that could be considered relevant from a legal point of view, had been found to support the argument in favor of possible Bulgarian involvement, —examining judge Martella started a new investigation late in 1982, following Ağca's claim regarding the "Bulgarian Connection". In the meantime, Ağca had been given a life-sentence for attempting on his own to murder the Pope.

Since then, these claims and the accusations leveled by the examining judge at the three Bulgarians have been refuted by several jurists and more recently by Belgian lawyer Jules Chômé who has held a press conference in Brussels on May 29. At present, we have to wait for the jury's opinion.

Without trying to be controversial, we now set out to outline the present state of the Turkish extreme right in Europe.

TRACING THE GREY WOLVES

Since the early seventies, the "Grey Wolves", activists of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP),

headed by former Colonel Türkeş, got themselves organized in all European host countries for Turkish migrant workers. They first set up local branches of the MHP, but given that in Turkey at that time, under the Political Parties Act, parties were forbidden to organize themselves abroad, Turkey's Constitutional Court had warned the MHP that, unless it closed down its foreign branches, it was in danger of being banned definitively.

Thereupon, from 1977 onwards, the Grey Wolves closed down their branches abroad and got organized within parallel organizations such as the "Home of Idealists" (Ulku Ocagi) or the "Turkish Cultural Association" (Türk Kültür Derneği).

Following several visits of their leader Türkeş, all these Grey Wolves associations grouped together round the Frankfurt based "Türk-Federasyon".

Shortly after these events, the West German Metal Worker Union (IG Metall) published in its periodical (Metall, No. 2 of January 23, 1980) an overall survey on the Grey Wolves' organization, strategy and tactics in West Germany.

Under the headline "Grey Wolves calling to the Holy War", this article, which was published shortly after a Turkish member of IG Metall, Celalettin Kesim, had been assassinated in Berlin on January 5, 1980 by extreme-rights assailants, highlighted a great many other bloody incidents provoked and perpetrated by the "Grey Wolves" in West Germany.

According to *Metall*, all activities of Turkish fascists in Germany were directed by the Türk-Federasyon. Its chairman Serdar Celebi, now on trial in Rome, was a member of the Turkish neo-fascist party. The financial means of this organization were provided by drug traffickers and by owners of "night clubs".

One month earlier, Info-Türk Bulletin had reported that on November 27, 1979, two progressive migrant workers had been assaulted and injured by "Grey Wolves" in Frankfurt, as they refused to accept fascist leaflets.

"Following this incident, the German police searched the headquarters of the Türk-Federasyon (headquarters of the Grey Wolves in Federal Germany) in Frankfurt and arrested the chairman of their local association and another suspect.

"On the other hand, there are some indications that extreme-rightist terrorist Mehmet Ali Ağca is operating among the "Grey Wolves" in Europe, since his escape from a Turkish prison.

"Recently, on December 15, 1979, during an incident between leftist and rightist Turkish students in Paris, gunmen opened fire on the leftist students in a coffee-house, wounded five of them as well as three French waiters. There are rumours that this ambush was planned and directed by Ağca who escaped from Turkey. But this claim was not confirmed yet by the police authorities." (Info-Türk Bulletin, no 38, December 1979.)

At that time, Grey Wolves activities in Belgium were directed by a group established in the city of Namur. This group, who had a very close relationship with Turkish intelligence officers who were on an assignment at NATO headquarters near Mons, as well as with certain fascist-minded people at the Turkish Consulate in Brussels, —had been developing its activities in Brussels since April 1978. A man named Hasan Bilge from Namur, had organized a first meeting on April 8, 1978 at a cinema in Schaerbeck (Brussels), with Grey Wolves activists from other countries taking part. At the end of the meeting, an association was founded under the name "Turkish Cultural Association in Brussels-Home of the Idealists.. (Düyük Ulku Derneği-Türk Ocagi).

By exploiting the religious feelings of the Turkish migrant workers, born in a country with a socialist majority, the Grey Wolves managed to develop at the same time their activities under cover associations promoting Islamic culture. In Belgium about 500 people joined the Brussels based Association for Islamic Culture (Brüksel İslam Kültür Cemiyeti), founded by Hasan Etilge and his associates. This association had bought for one and a half million Belgian francs a house located at 80-82, chaussée de Haecht in Brussels, with the view of turning it into a mosque.

The links of this association with the MHP in Turkey were insured by one İhsan Mierdanoglu who used to travel each three months to Turkey at the head of a four cars convoy. Then the same convoy came back to Belgium with a load of fascist propaganda.

Afterwards, associations for "Islamic Culture" had been set up in other Belgian cities in close relationship with the Brussels based association. All these associations were supported by the Center for Islamic Culture, founded in 1978 with the backing of 21 Islamic countries. After Islam gained official recognition in Belgium in 1975, a committee made up of the ambassadors of 21 Muslim countries, rented with a 99-year lease an oriental-style building located in the Cinquantenaire Park. Then it was turned into a mosque and a Center for Islamic Culture. The Opening ceremony was attended by the King of Saudi Arabia, the King of Belgium and also by the Turkish Ambassador in Belgium.

Another important activity of the Turkish fascists in Belgium was aimed at developing Coran courses. On the pretext of teaching them the Coran, children under 12 of migrant workers were forced to attend these courses either after school or during week-ends.

In its May 1979 issue, Info-Türk Bulletin reported a series of aggressive actions by Grey Wolves against progressive workers. According to the daily *Milliyet* of December 8, 1978, an official of the Belgian DSR (the equivalent of the American FBI) declared that he was aware of the growing importance of Turkish extreme-right activities in Belgium. Insofar as they proved harmful both to Turkish and Belgian communities, necessary measures should be taken, he added.

According to the same newspaper, representatives of Turkish workers said "that they don't trust the Turkish authorities and that photocopies of letters sent to the authorities were being passed round in the pubs" Therefore, they explained, "we cannot make written complaints to the authorities, because our security and life are in danger."

Already in 1979, the Grey Wolves associations were affiliated to the Frankfurt based Türk-Federasyon. Moreover, their new boss, Salahattin Saygın, was elected member of the Board of Directors of this association.

NEW GROUPING OF RIGHTIST ASSOCIATIONS

After the 1980 military coup, following the dissolution of the neo-fascist party and the detention of their leaders in Turkey, the Grey Wolves slowed down their public activities in Europe and became cautious not to get into trouble during the next period.

As to the military who had seized power, in view of the fact that all political aims of the neo-fascist party were identical to those of the National Security Council (MGK), they ordered Turkish diplomatic missions abroad to group together all pro-governmental immigrant associations into one single federation in each country. It should be noted that, besides the Grey Wolves associations, thousands of religious Turkish workers had got themselves organized in the frame-

work of associations aiming at building mosques and at repatriating the bodies of the dead. By 1982, there were about sixty associations of that kind in Belgium.

By order of the military government, the Turkish Embassy in Belgium has imposed to the leaders of the associations it has recognized, the idea of setting up a federation on a national level. First, the leaders of several associations were summoned to the Turkish General Consulate in Brussels in March 1982. Next, the official of the Turkish Embassy in charge of social affairs Ahmet Ersoy, three officials in charge of religious affairs and two teachers of Turkish language and culture—all of them commissioned by the Embassy—held a constituent congress in Brussels on May 30, 1982. With this in view, they called on all associations which have been recognized by the Embassy, to take part in this constituent congress. Although this congress was given quite a lot of publicity by the Turkish newspapers on sale in Belgium, nevertheless it did not result in setting up a federation, because of differences of opinion in the religious circles.

After the first attempt at setting up a federation ended in failure, a second attempt was made in the city of La Louvière in April 1983, by another official of the Turkish Embassy in charge of social affairs, Osman Kurt, who is at the same time chairman of the Turkish Workers Cultural and Mutual Assistance Associations in La Louvière. But this time, it was a regional initiative grouping together initially only four associations in Hainaut province (South-West Belgium), although it was designated as "Federation of Turkish Workers Associations in Belgium".

At the same time, a second federation was set up by the religious associations in Antwerp and designated as "Federation of Turkish Islamic Cultural Associations in Belgium".

Furthermore, in addition to these two federations, a third one was set up in early April 1984, grouping together the Grey Wolves associations: the Federation of Turco-Islamic Associations with ramifications in Antwerp, Ghent, Brussels, Liège and in Limburg province (Heusden, Zolder, Beringen, Eidsen).

The chairman of the constituent committee, Salahattin Saygın, who is also a member of the Board of Directors of Türk-Federasyon in Frankfurt, was elected unanimously chairman of the new federation.

Apparently, despite the fact that the common aim of these three federations is to promote Turkish chauvinism and Islamic traditions to the detriment of the Turkish workers' integration into the host country, mutual mistrust between the Grey Wolves and the fundamentalists, on the one hand, and the Grey Wolves' stronger attachment to their leader Alparslan Türkeş than to Turkey's present rulers, on the other hand, has doomed to failure the attempt to set up a single federation.

That is why Turkish Ambassador Fahir Melek did not conceal his disappointment in an interview with the daily *Hürriyet* published on April 21, 1984: "I would like to say with regret that, despite our efforts so far it has not yet been possible to achieve a union. This is regrettable."

TURKISH ISLAMIC FOUNDATION

And yet, already in 1982, the Turkish military government had launched another initiative aiming at getting control over at least the religious activities of the rightist associations. On December 29, 1982, the Turkish press reported the setting up of the "Turkish Foundation for Islamic Religious Affairs" (Türk İslam Diyaner Vakfı) in Belgium.

The founding members of this foundation which

groups together 23 Turkish mosques in Belgium, included notably the chairman of the Religious Affairs Department of the Turkish Republic, Tayyar Altıkulaç, the Religious Councillors at the Turkish Embassies in Bonn, The Hague, Berlin, as well as the officials in charge of religious affairs at the Turkish Embassy in Brussels. At the first meeting of the Foundation, Turkish Ambassador in Brussels Faik Melek was named honorary president, while the Religious Councillor at this Embassy, Abdülbaki Keskin, was elected chairman.

This foundation had a religious center built at Boulevard Général Jacques 38 - 1050 Brussels. It costed 18 million BF.

The opening ceremony of this center took place on May 11, 1985 in presence of Turkish State Minister Kazım Oksay, chairman of the Religious Affairs Department of the Turkish Republic Tayyar Altıkulaç, Turkish Ambassador Faik Melek, along with the leaders of the three rightist federations, including Salahattin Saygın, the leader of the Grey Wolves in Belgium.

During the ceremony, State Minister Oksay declared: "In the heart of Europe, amidst one of the world's most important Christian communities, you are conducting activities in order to promote our values. All other ideas are inferior in comparison with ours and they are doomed to disappear in the future, whereas Islam will live eternally." (*Tercüman*, 13.5.1985)

On the same day, the leaders of the Foundation went to Limburg province and inaugurated there new Turkish mosques in Heusden, Zolder, Waterschei and Winterslag.

What is astonishing is that shortly after the opening of the premises of the Turkish Foundation for Islamic Religious Affairs, the Association for Solidarity with the Turkish Workers in the city of La Louvière (TIDD), led by militants of the CSC (Confederation of Christian Trade Unions), decided to join this pro-

governmental Foundation. According to the daily *Hürriyet* of June 8, 1985, the congress of this association which resulted in the decision to join the Foundation, was attended by Turkish Consul Selçuk İncesi and by Rıza Selimbaoğlu, Religious Councillor at the Turkish Embassy. The names of most leaders of this association appear also on the list of founding members and staff members of Türk-Danış, an association which was set up by the CSC.

In this way, the Turkish Embassy has managed to offset its failed attempt to set up a single federation, by grouping together in the Islamic Foundation all rightist associations as well as CSC militants.

As regards the Grey Wolves who had also joined the Islamic Foundation, they became again increasingly aggressive, after their leader Türkeş was set free in Turkey. The congress of Türk-Federasyon was held in Castrop-Rauxel, West Germany, on May 18, that is to say on the eve of the opening of the Trial in Rome. On this occasion, they adopted a resolution in support to their former chairman Serdar Celebi, one of the defendants at the trial. Ali Batman was re-elected chairman, while Salahattin Saygın, the leader of the Grey Wolves in Belgium, was re-elected to the Board of Directors.

Next, the Grey Wolves passed a further stage at the opening of the Trial in Rome: about fifty members of the Türk-Federasyon managed to get into the court room chanting slogans in favor of their former chairman.

Already on January 7, the Grey Wolves had displayed their force by injuring in Hannover a Turkish migrant worker Zeki Sonraç. This active member of the West-German trade union IG Metall had refused to accept a leaflet edited by the Türk-Federasyon.

So the time has come for public opinion to pay as much attention to the Trail of the Grey Wolves as to the "Bulgarian Connection"...

COMPETITION BETWEEN BUSINESSMEN AND BROTHEL-KEEPERS

Each year Turkey's business tycoons compete with one another for the title of highest taxpayer. Nobody believes the tax paid is an accurate reflection of the Tycoon's real yearly gains, still it gives the tycoon satisfaction to appear on the top of the list of taxpayers. Sometimes the competition involves the top names in Turkey's show business too.

But Turkey never had it so exciting as this year when the top businessmen had to compete with Sümbül, the notorious brothel owner who says she is happy to contribute in this way to the prosperity of the country.

Sümbül, after paying the first installment of the 93.7 million TL income tax for 1984, said she has lived up to the standards of some of Turkey's top businessmen, alluding to Sakıp Sabancı, who is third on the list of highest taxpayers, with roughly 452 million TL paid this year.

Sabancı has been generous in his praises of Sümbül, who he said, should be a good example to some of Turkey's businessmen.

While the issue was being debated even at the National Assembly, the newspapers of May 14, 1985 published the tax data concerning this year. According to the official communiqué of the Tax Administration, the income tax to be paid by Sümbül rose in 1985 to 104.1 million TL, while another brothel boss, Matild Manukyan is declaring a 98.8 million TL tax.

As reported in the March 1984 issue of Info-Türk Bulletin, as a result of rapid impoverishment in the lower social strata, the number of victims of prostitu-

tion has increased by 100 pc over the past ten years. According to extensive research, 238,000 women have been driven to choose prostitution as a way of life. 1,724 of these women practice this "profession" in brothels licensed by the State, about 25,000 in illegal brothels and the rest as "call girls".

TURKEY'S RICHEST MEN

The weekly *Nokta* has recently published a survey spotlighting Turkey's richest families. Out of the country's 100 richest families, ten hold each a fortune of over 200 billion TL (400 million dollars), namely Koç, Sabancı, Karamehmet, Yasar, Eczacıbaşı, Dinkök, Yazıcı, Haznedaroğlu, Koçak and Ercan families.

Contrary to this classification, in the list of taxpayers for 1985, some new names appear as record-breakers, namely Mehmet Ali Yılmaz (814.6 million TL), Yüksel Titanoglu (758.6 million TL), Sarık Tara (600.2 million TL).

As for the companies, Akbank (a private bank belonging to the Sabancı family) comes first with 5,511 million TL, followed by Turkish Airlines (5.068 million TL), IBM (3.860 million TL), Shell Company (3.496 million TL), Turkish Foreign Trade Bank (2.909 million TL) and US Citybank (2.822 million TL).

Another category of taxpayers, that of show stars, is led by singer Emel Sayın with 20.7 million TL, followed by movie actor Kemal Sunal with 13 million TL.

The daily *Hürriyet* of May 26, 1985 pointed out

that, even if the declared income taxes are considered reliable, there is still a colossal gap between the net incomes of the businessmen and wage-earners.

After deduction of taxes from their gross revenues, the annual net income of five top businessmen has been calculated as follows:

Mehmet Ali Yılmaz 534.4 million TL, Yüksel Titanoglu 506 million TL, Sarık Tara 400.4 million TL, Ali Osman Sönmez 354.6 million TL and Ali Rıza Carmışkılı 310 million TL.

As for the wage-owners, annual minimum net salary is only 199 thousand TL and it can rise to 471 thousand TL for qualified workers. So, the annual income of a worker getting the minimum salary is 2,721 times less than the annual income of the record-holder in tax payment.

Furthermore, according to OECD statistics, of all member countries the greatest amount of contributions deducted from gross salary is in Turkey. The reason for this is that the income tax, social security contributions and excise tax totalize 32.4 percent of gross salary in Turkey. This percentage is only 5.9 in Luxembourg, 7.1 in France, 7.8 in Austria, 9 in Japan, 10.8 in Belgium, 11.7 in Switzerland, 18.2 in Britain, 19.9 in Italy.

ISLAMIC BANKS IN TURKEY

Turkey, whose commercial relations with Islamic countries have increased tenfold over the past years, has recently authorized two Turkish-Arab Islamic financial establishments to operate in the country: Al-Baraka and Faisal Finance, of which the principal shareholders are Saudi Arabian businessmen.

"Different ways, different forms..." is the slogan of the advertisement campaign launched by Faisal Finance, Turkish branch of the renowned Dar-al-Maal-Al-Islam, set up in 1981 and based in Geneva. Faisal Finance does not promise interest to its future investors since leading at interest is forbidden by Islam, but "a share in profits or losses".

On the opening day of the Istanbul branch, quite a few bearded investors wearing a beret rushed the counters; young secretaries covered with a kerchief in conformity with Islamic rules, answered telephone calls asking for an appointment with the bank officials.

This exceptional event in Turkish business circles was commented by Artun Unsal in the Swiss daily *le Journal de Genève* of April 13-14, 1985 as follows:

"Muslim at 98 pc, Turkey has been proclaimed a secular state. But certain Kemalist circles (who stick to the principles of the founder of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal) have recently become alarmed at the spectacular rush of financial sources coming from Islamic regimes: Arab dignitaries can be seen very often in Istanbul where they come in order to buy or to get built residences at the shores of the Bosphorus.

"The presence of Arab investors in Turkish business circles is, in fact, not a new phenomenon. This could already be observed in Turkey at the time when the pro-Islamic party MSP was influent in Turkish politics (prior to the coup d'état of 1980). It seems that the formula of profit-sharing has already met with success. The Ozal Government has already succeeded in attracting the savings of Muslims by selling some big public properties such as the suspension bridge over the Bosphorus or the Keban Dam in Eastern Anatolia. In principle, the shareholders will never get an interest for their investment, but they will take their shares in the profits coming from these properties.

"For the Faisal Finance or Al-Baraka, the essential is to mobilise and channel to investments the capital of the faithful. For the Turkish Government, it

is a matter of attracting foreign capital mainly coming from the Arab countries, and since Turkey is no longer a society based on fundamentalist principles, there will be no danger for the secular myths of the State. For a good Muslim, it is the source of an additional income. So, everyone can find in this affair his own interest..."

FABULOUS PROFITS OF BANKS

Mainly because of high interest rates and amendments in foreign exchange regulations, Turkish banks and also foreign banks operating in Turkey made tremendous profits in 1984.

All Turkish banks exceeded their planned targets and broke their former records. Even banks that suffered losses previously, have recovered and made substantial gains. According to data provided by banks, the gain realized by Turkish banks was approximately 173 percent, Is Bank's profit amounted to 125 percent and Akbank's 198 percent.

BANKS	1983 Profits (million lira)	1984 Profits (million lira)
Is Bankası	10,300	23,500
Akbank	8,000	23,200
Halk Bankası	2,000	10,000
Dışbank	2,500	7,500
Türkbank	2,000	5,500
Uluslararası Bank	3,100	5,200
Sekerbank	1,700	2,300
Yapı ve Kredi	80	1,200
Garanti Bankası		702
Pamukbank	344	520
Iktisat Bankası		491

(Source: *The Turkish Daily News*, April 8, 1985)

PROFITS OF FOREIGN BANKS

The daily *Hürriyet* of May 13, 1985 reported that the past year had been a year of fabulous profits for the foreign banks operating in Turkey as well. According to the daily, the number of foreign banks allowed to have branches in Turkey has reached 13. The comparative list of their capital and profits in 1984 reads as follows:

BANKS	CAPITAL (million lira)	PROFIT (million lira)
American Express	5,149	4,066
Arab-Turkish Bank	240	2,004
Citybank	3,787	3,480
Banco di Roma	3,304	1,395
Habib Bank	2,382	1,256
The Chase Manhattan	1,965	23
First National	2,219	108
Hollantse Bank	2,100	13
Bank Mellat	2,103	4
Manufacturer Hannover	2,394	81
Trust Company	499	426

TURKISH CONTRACTORS ABROAD

One of the indicators of the development of economic ties between Turkey and Arabic countries is the increasing volume of contracts held by Turkish contractors operating in the Middle East and North Africa.

According to a survey by the *Financial Times*, the Turkish companies operating in these countries,

with contracts totalizing 14 billion dollars, have overtaken Italian, West-German, French and South-Korean contractors operating in the same area.

According to the data of 1982, Turkish contractors obtained a total of \$ 10.3 billion in Libya, \$ 3.4 billion in Saudi Arabia, \$ 1.2 billion in Iraq, \$ 48 billion in Jordan, \$ 34 million in UAE, \$ 25 million in Kuwait, and \$ 19 million in Senegal.

However, in the years of 1983 and 1984, Turkish firms suffered a decrease in contract volume, due to the financial problems of Libya.

"GUERRILLA WARFARE IN EASTERN TURKEY"

Although Turkey's rulers have been trying to underplay the armed resistance of Kurdish militants in the south-eastern part of the country, the clashes between them and the security forces which began on August 15, 1984 have already caused, according to official figures, more than 150 victims.

What is more, following a visit to the operation area, on May 23, the Interior Minister of Ozal's Government, Mr Yıldırım Akbulut, referring to the resistance of Kurdish militants, said: "This is a warfare, a guerilla warfare... All imaginable measures have been taken against them. Specially trained teams are on the spot. Gendarme units and police forces are also there. But, this is a guerilla affair. They hit and escape. It is very difficult to estimate when and from where they come."

This statement by the top official in charge of internal security has aroused strong reactions from those circles who seek to minimize the resistance. In its editorial, the daily *Günes* of May 24, 1985 said: "This statement, besides being regrettable, is not factual. Brigands who desire to imitate rural guerillas have thus been given an exaggerated status... To state "this is a guerilla war" is a tacit acceptance of a state of civil war in Turkey. Especially when the words belong to a person of authority such as the minister of Internal Affairs. It should not be expressed, even if it were true..."

At the National Assembly, a spokesman of the Nationalist Democracy Party (MHP) approached the question from another point of view. He said: "If a minister of the Turkish State designates the incidents as a guerilla warfare, our State will be obliged to act according to international conventions and to treat the captured persons as war prisoners."

As reactions broke out at his minister's statement, Prime Minister Ozal was forced to contradict him, on May 29, 1985, stating that: "Their total number is about 400-500. Half of them have already been captured, the other half have surrendered. This is a matter of a few pillagers. I do not attach importance to them. This is not an affair to be exaggerated."

Nevertheless, the figures given by different sources, official or unofficial, are not in conformity neither with Ozal's claim nor with each other.

The total number of those who fell in armed clashes since the beginning of Kurdish attacks on August 15, 1984, has been presented by different dailies as follows:

CUMHURİYET (May 3): 2 officers, 7 NCOs, 19 soldiers, 13 civilian citizens and 12 Kurdish militants.

HURRIYET (May 14): The number of Kurdish "separatists" operating in the area is estimated at about 1,800, 56 of whom have been shot death and 569 captured alive. As for the number of those who have been killed by them: 5 officers, 17 NCOs, 30 soldiers and 2 policemen.

CUMHURİYET (May 27): The number of captured "separatists" rose to 707, 115 of whom are accused of having participated in armed operations, 130

of being armed by them and 360 of having given shelter to them. As for the number of victims: 4 officers, 6 NCOs, 25 soldiers, 2 policemen, 44 civilian citizens and 62 Kurdish militants.

In addition to the monthly data on the number of victims and captured, we are giving below the figures of the last month:

4.5, in the town of Mutki in Bitlis province, 2 NCOs, 2 sergeants and one soldier were shot dead by Kurdish militants, three of whom fell in the same clash and two were captured wounded. On the same day, in the district of Eruh of Siirt province, 17 presumed Kurdish activists were captured by the security forces.

5.5, in Siirt, two Kurdish militants were shot dead and a third one escaped after being wounded.

11.5, in Eruh, an army lieutenant and 2 soldiers were fatally injured by Kurdish militants, four of whom were also killed during the clash.

15.5, in Tunceli, the security forces shot dead 2 Kurdish militants and wounded another one.

19.5, in the district of Silopi in Mardin province, a Kurdish militant was shot dead, another wounded and a third one managed to escape.

20.5, in the same area a soldier was shot dead by Kurdish militants.

22.5, in Tunceli, 20 Kurdish militants were captured by the security forces.

23.5, in the province of Sanliurfa, five Kurdish militants were fatally injured in an armed clash, during which a policeman and a civilian were also shot dead.

31.5, in the district of Idil in Mardin province, a Kurdish militant was shot dead by security forces.

As for the fate of captured militants or those who are being accused of being their accomplices, they are put on trial by military courts, the majority of them facing the death penalty.

The first mass trial concerning the Kurdish armed resistance had already begun in Diyarbakır, on December 25, 1984, with 84 defendants all facing death sentences. It was followed by another trial of 19 defendants, 8 of whom are liable to capital punishment.

Recently:

15.5, in Diyarbakır, 16 new defendants were brought before a military tribunal. 14 face the death penalty.

19.5, in Diyarbakır, a new trial was opened against 12 presumed militants, three of whom face death sentences.

The vast majority of the defendants are presumed militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK).

In fact, hundreds of PKK members or presumed members of this Kurdish political organisation have been put on trial by different military tribunals since the military coup d'état, and 121 of them have already been sentenced to death. According to the February 1985 issue of this party's press organ *Serxwebûn*, the distribution of death sentences is as follows:

Birecik: 7, Diyarbakır: 35, Viransehir: 5, Urfa-merkez: 5, Halfeti-Bozova: 1, Suruç: 4, Elazığ: 3, Batman: 10, Adıyaman: 14, Iskenderun: 2, Erzurum: 1, Ankara: 1, Mardin: 22.

According to press reports, the secretary general of PKK is abroad and presumed in Syria. At the end of May 1985, the Turkish Government applied to the Syrian Government for the extradition of Secretary General Abdullah Ocalan.

On the other hand, a Kurdish lawyer, Hüseyin Yıldırım, who is a political refugee in Europe, was detained by the police on May 21st, 1985 in Sweden. He had been imprisoned in Diyarbakır in 1982, and subjected to torture for defending Kurdish political prisoners. After a 10-month detention, he fled Turkey and got political asylum in Sweden.

He gave his eyewitness account of torture practice and state terror in Turkey, and was subsequently invited by the European Parliament, the Council of Europe, the European Commission on Human Rights and by scores of human rights organizations to give his testimony.

The arrest of Hüseyin Yıldırım in Sweden has given rise to strong reactions in democratic circles in Europe.

The Swedish Government has claimed that the Kurdish lawyer had been arrested in accordance with Article 30 of the Anti-Terror Act, but has not yet specified the real motive for his arrest.

In protest at Yıldırım's arrest, in many cities in Europe, Kurdish groups have occupied Swedish embassies, calling for the release of their fellow countryman.

OTHER ARRESTS IN MAY

10.5, in Ankara, 7 left-wing militants detained.

18.5, in Istanbul, 4 left-wing militants detained.

22.5, in Ankara, 18 left wing militants detained.

25.5, security forces detained 28 left-wing militants in Istanbul; 14 in Mus and 11 in Ankara.

28.5, a total of 20 militants were detained in Izmir, Aydın, Ankara, Siirt and Bitlis.

621 WORKERS CONDEMNED

One of the biggest mass trials ended on May 17, 1985 in Amasya with one death sentence, 12 life-sentences and 608 prison terms of up to 20 years.

The trial of 901 workers of Yeni Çelteç lignit mines started three years ago before a military tribunal in Amasya. All defendants are members of the Mine Workers' Union (Yeraltı Maden-İs), affiliated to the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK).

Prior to the military coup d'état, the miners had gone a few times on strike. When the employer decided a lock-out, they organized on their initiative the mining and marketing of lignit.

Following the military intervention, all workers who had gone on strike and the leaders of their trade union were arrested and subjected to torture.

It should be underlined that one of those who were condemned to 20 year's imprisonment is a 65-year old woman who is accused of having participated in the workers' action.

The Chairman of Yeraltı Maden-İs, Cetin Uygur, is being tried simultaneously at the main mass trial of DISK leaders in Istanbul.

OTHER CONDEMNATIONS

11.5, in Diyarbakır, 22 presumed members of two Kurdish organisations, Rızgari and Alarızgari, were condemned to prison terms of up to 12 years.

22.5, in Erzincan, a mass trial of Kurdish militants ended with 2 death sentences, one life-sentence and 67 prison terms of up to 13 years.

TIP CONDEMNATIONS APPROVED

The military Court of Cassation approved on May 29, 1985 the condemnations of 72 officials of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP), while it was overruling the condemnations of 31 other defendants.

TIP was one of the legal socialist parties prior to the military coup d'état and was closed down by the National Security Council along with other legal parties. Although the arrested members of the party's Central Committee rejected the military prosecutor's accusation that the party had adopted a marxist-lenin-

ist policy, the military tribunal of Istanbul Martial Law Command condemned the defendants according to Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.

NEW MASS TRIALS

4.5, in Istanbul, 113 presumed militants of Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol) were brought before a military tribunal. 15 of them face the death penalty.

15.5, in Ankara, the trial of 27 persons, presumed members of the workers's Party Kurdistan (KIP) and Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PPKK) began at a military tribunal. They face prison terms of up to 15 years.

TORTURE ALLEGATIONS

During the trial of KIP and PPKK defendants in Ankara, on May 26, Behçet Cantürk said that the depositions had been obtained by the police under torture. Another defendant, Korkmaz Cöldoğu said: "We were tortured at the police center. The depositions were written by torturers and we were forced to sign them. Later on they threatened us by saying that if we refused to sign these depositions, we would be subjected to worse."

On the other hand, on May 20, the Populist Party (HP) Chairman Necdet Calp held a press conference and said: "There are in Turkey both torture practice and political prisoners. In view of the extension of torture practice we have urged the government to take necessary measures to stop it and to take legal proceedings against those who are responsible for torture."

MAYOR DIED IN PRISON

The main defendant of the mass trial of Fatsa, Mr Fikri Sönmez was found dead in his cell in Amasya military prison. He was being tried along with 734 other defendants on charges of having attempted to destroy Turkey's constitutional order. He faced the death penalty.

Although the prison authorities claim that he died of a heart attack, his comrades say that his death occurred due to the inhuman prison conditions to which he had been subjected.

In 1979, ex-tailor Fikri Sönmez was elected independent Mayor of Fatsa, a town of 15,000 inhabitants on the Black Sea coast (dependent on the province of Ordu) in 1979. Sönmez embarked on an original experience in municipal administration. Through a network of district committees he worked out a form of local self-government.

His success in solving, in a very short time, problems relating to highway maintenance, cleanness and public health, and his success in the field of transportation brought upon him the sympathy of all local organizations and political parties even that of the right-wing ones (except, of course, the neo-fascist MHP).

In a national context where, like in many developing countries, the problems of daily life remain unresolved, Fatsa's achievements aroused a lively interest in the other parts of the country. For this very reason, the military do not forgive him. Besides, before the military coup d'état of September 1980, army units, operating within the framework of Operation Point, had raided the town of Fatsa and had detained Fikri Sönmez as the leader of this experience of local self-government.

He died at the age of 47. His mortal remains were carried to his native village Kabakdağı and buried with a modest ceremony despite the efforts of rightist circles to prevent it.

PRESSURE ON INTELLECTUALS

- Turkish prizewinner actor Genco Erkal and his fellow actor Avni Yalçın were detained on May 10 in Bursa for using a switchblade while performing a play. Accused of "carrying publicly deadly weapons", he was released a few days later.

- A women preacher, Emine Senliklioglu, was condemned, on May 5, to 7 years and 6 months prison term for making anti-secular propaganda in a book which she had recently published. She was immediately imprisoned.

- On May 21, the military prosecutor took legal proceedings against Oktay Akbel, columnist of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, for stirring up people in one of his articles.

- On May 31, two journalists of the review *Maya*, Unal Yalçırık and Mehmet Necmettin Onder were brought before a military tribunal for having published torture allegations. Both of them face 8 years in prison.

RIGHT TO VOTE FOR IMMIGRANTS

More than 350,000 immigrants in Holland will be allowed to vote at the coming local elections. Dutch Members of Parliament have recently adopted by an overwhelming majority (143 out of 150) the bill giving immigrants inhabiting for more than five years in this country the right to vote. Seven "noes" came from the deputies of a few small right-wing parties.

In France, the President of the Republic has declared that he is in favour of giving immigrants the right to vote.

SAVINGS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

According to a survey published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 3, 1985, the annual income of Turkish migrant workers in the FRG is estimated at about 16-18 billion DM in 1984. Out of this total, Turkish immigrants have saved in 1984 about 4 billion DM and invested them in German banks. While the Turkish nationals were saving 23 pc of their total income in 1984, the saving rate was 14.6 pc for the German citizens. Nevertheless, the saving rate of Turkish nationals has dropped in comparison with 1978 when it was 23 pc.

The same survey points out that 24,000 Turkish nationals in the FRG have engaged in business using their savings. In 1984 they employed more than 60,000 persons.

Many Turkish workers have invested their savings in 322 commercial and industrial companies operating in Turkey. But quite a few of these companies founded with the partnership of more than 155,000 Turkish workers, turned out to be rather unsuccessful and some of them are in danger of going bankrupt.

NEW TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

While the industrialized European countries were closing their borders to new migrant workers, since 1980 Turkey has sent 232,033 workers abroad, especially to the Islamic countries of the Near East and North Africa.

According to the daily *Tercüman* of May 8, 1985, the number of Turkish workers who have left their country was 41,599 in 1983 and 35,821 in 1984.

ANTI-IMMIGRANT ACTS

6.5, in Krefeld (FRG), a Turkish family was assaulted by two Germans hitch-hikers whom they had picked up on the highway. The head of the family, Avni Söğüt was badly wounded by the assailants.

8.5, in Berlin, a Turkish woman Cevale Manda, 33, was attacked and wounded by five German youngsters while she was going to her workplace.

11.5, in Brussels, a Turkish taxi driver, Hikmet Kaplan, 46, was shot by an unknown person in his cab.

12.5, in Erlenbach (FRG), a Turkish national, Altan Alev, 42, was found dead. The police found out that he had been beaten at his head with something heavy.

22.5, in Rotterdam, a 36-year old Turkish citizen S. Tas, was shot dead by unidentified persons.

24.5, in Strasbourg, a 14-year old Turkish girl was found murdered in a forest. According to the police, she had been raped by her assailants before being killed.

SUICIDES OF IMMIGRANTS

A collective suicide of four youths, among whom a Turkish national, has caused considerable emotion in FRG. A 19-year old Turkish national, Y. Hürkan and his three friends of the same age were found dead in a garage. They had committed suicide by gassing themselves.

According to his friends' testimony published in the newspapers of May 20, 1985, this young Turk, after having finished his high-school education, had worked for some time in a zoo, but he had been fired later on. Prior to this collective suicide, he frequently used to complain about his hopeless situation.

In Belgium, on May 5, 1985, a 15-year old Turkish girl, Meliha Sürer was found dead. She had committed suicide by hanging herself in her room in Berchem.

On May 22, in Hannover (FRG), a Turkish national, Osman Esmer committed suicide by throwing himself through the window of the third floor of the hospital where he had been sent for treatment.

On May 23, in Zaandam (Holland), a 18-year old Turkish girl, Zubiye Durak died after falling from the 13th floor of a building. Her parents guess that she has committed suicide as a result of a nervous breakdown.