

STATE TERRORISM IN TURKEY II

Pressure on intellectuals
Censorship on mass-media - Persecution
of journalists, writers and artists
Barrack discipline in universities

COUNCIL
OF EUROPE

INFO-TURK

The European
Convention on Human

CONSEIL
DE L'EUROPE

Convention
on Human Rights

STATE TERRORISM IN TURKEY III

Pressure on intellectuals
Censorship on mass-media - Persecution
of journalists, writers and artists
Barrack discipline in universities

INFO-TURK

Brussels, September 1986

INFO-TURK is a working group founded in 1974 by a number of progressive people with a view to informing world opinion of the political, economic, social and cultural life of Turkey and of Turkish immigration.

Denouncing the repression in that country, it contributes also to the struggle for democracy in Turkey.

INFO-TURK has the honour of publishing the only bilingual periodical on Turkey which has been appearing abroad without interruption for more than ten years: The monthly newsletter INFO-TURK.

Copyright - Info-Türk 1986

*INFO-TURK
Rue des Eburons 38
1040 Brussels - Belgium
Tel: (02) 230 34 72*

*Photocomposition:
COMPOSA - Brussels*

Layout: Info-Türk

*Printing:
ACCO - Leuven*

D/1986/2198/57

PREFACE

On September 12, 1986, while the European Community was preparing for its first official meeting with the Turkish delegation, the democratic forces of Turkey marked, for the sixth time, the black anniversary of the Turkish generals' coup.

The putsch of September 12, 1980, was a ferocious attack on the acquired democratic rights of the Turkish population, setting loose an unprecedented wave of terror in this member country of the Council of Europe, the Atlantic Alliance and associate member of the European Community.

In fact, it was a sinister plot well prepared with instigation and support from the IMF, on one hand, and on the other, from the Pentagon, which opened the way for the establishment of a militarist "democracy".

The present regime "à la turque", despite its relative softening, is characterized by the constant violation of all human rights guaranteed by the European Convention. Particularly:

- the keeping of thousands of progressive and democratic people in jails,
- the innumerable mass trials continuing before military tribunals or in the State Security Courts,
- the systematic practice of torture in interrogation centers and the inhuman treatment of political detainees in prison,
- the exclusion of all political parties of the working class and the Kurdish people from political life,
- the depriving of their political rights of all the former political leaders,
- the restriction of social and trade union rights,
- the exclusion from labour relations of the progressive trade union center DISK, of which more than 1,500 members are still being tried before military tribunals,
- the constant harassing of journalists which has led to self-censorship of the press,
- the absence of academic autonomy in the universities which are submitted to the barrack discipline of the Higher Education Council (YOK),
- the absence of national, cultural and religious rights of the Kurdish population and Christian minorities,

- the endless repression in the Turkish Kurdistan which is occupied by two thirds of the Turkish Army's troops and still submitted to martial law or the state of emergency, - the constant intimidation of Turkish nationals abroad under the threat of being deprived of Turkish nationality in the case of opposition to the regime.

All these practices show that the wounds opened during the three years of the military dictatorship (1980-1983) —marked by the arrest of more than 200 thousand opponents, the execution of 27 political militants, man-hunts resulting in hundreds of assassinations, exclusion of innumerable people from public services and the 50 percent fall in the buying power of wage-earners— are still very far from being healed.

What is disappointing is that several European and international institutions such as the Council of Europe, the UN Human Rights Commission and the International Labour Organization, have already given their support to the Ankara regime, without taking account of these realities in Turkey.

While representatives of the regime sit side by side with other European representatives at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs began to chair the Council of Ministers since September 17, 1986.

Moreover, the EEC, in spite of the fact that the conditions set by the European Parliament have still not been met by Ankara, resumed on September 16, 1986, its relations with Turkey which had been suspended since the 1980 coup.

Encouraged by the European capitulation, the Turkish Government has already announced its intention to pose Turkey's candidacy to the EEC.

Several European political leaders have even said they are in favour of Turkish accession as the 13th member of the European Community.

Doubtlessly, it is the right of the people of Turkey, if they judge it necessary and useful to be integrated in the European Community, to pose Turkish candidacy to the EEC. Given that Turkey is already an "associate member" of the European Community, such candidacy would not be surprising if the economic, social and political conditions had been met by this country.

Whereas, the gross national product per inhabitant is still dragging along below 1,000 \$ in Turkey, while it surpasses 10,000 \$ in several member countries of the Community. Furthermore, Turkish industry is so precarious that the lifting of all the custom barriers could lead in some years to its destruction. Consequently, the unemployment rate, presently 20 percent, could become still more serious.

For all these reasons, Turkish candidacy to the European Community should first be debated by all the political forces of the country in a truly democratic regime.

Besides, the establishment of a democratic regime conforming to all the criteria defined in the European Convention of Human Rights is a *sine qua non* condition for integration into the Western European family.

The presence of a parliament and certain political parties does not signify the establishment of a democratic regime in Turkey.

First of all, the present parliament is composed only of those elected from the political parties which were formed within the context of the militarist and anti-democratic system. The present government is a result of this parliament and the prime minister of this government is one of the masterminds who was in the service of the military junta as vice-premier.

Furthermore, according to the Constitution imposed by the military, whatever the government might be, it is General-president Evren who, thanks to his extended powers, has the last word on all the affairs concerning the internal and external policy of the country.

By abusing these extended powers, the Evren-Ozal tandem, without asking the approval of "Parliament", ordered the Turkish Air Forces to bomb the Iraqi territory on August 15, 1986, under the pretext of "pursuing separatist militants".

Just before the first meeting of the Turco-European Association Council, so as to

create a more democratic image, the government organized partial elections for September 28, and authorized twelve political parties to participate in these elections: two center-left and 10 right-wing parties.

But the political organizations of the working class and the Kurdish people are still banned, and former leaders such as Demirel and Ecevit are still deprived of their political rights. Whatever the number of the political parties participating in the partial elections, this balloting is no proof of a restoration of democracy in Turkey.

As long as the 1982 constitution is not changed, political parties of the working class and the Kurdish people are not allowed and General-president Evren is not replaced by a President of the Republic elected democratically, no one can speak of a democratic Turkey.

To better illustrate the real face of the present regime of Turkey, Info-Türk has already published a 408 page documentary evidence: BLACK BOOK ON THE MILITARIST "DEMOCRACY" IN TURKEY.

In this pamphlet we reproduce the BLACK BOOK's chapters concerning the pressure on intellectuals, censorship on mass-media, persecution of journalists, writers and artists, and the barrack discipline in universities.

At the end of the pamphlet take place the most recent examples of anti-democratic practices in Turkey.

All these facts show once more that the fundamental human rights are still being violated despite warnings coming from international human right organizations.

In brief, the resumption and the improvement of Europe's relations with the present Turkish militarist "democracy" is not a contribution to democratisation in Turkey but serves only to consolidate a despotic regime in the southeast of Europe.

NEVER-ENDING PERSECUTION OF INTELLECTUALS

From the very first day of the coup, the military junta, like all tyrants, exerted all kinds of pressure on the country's intellectual life. Mass media were subjected to censorship and self-censorship, Radio-TV was turned into a parrot of the military, hundreds of thousands of books were destroyed, hundreds of journalists, writers, translators and artists were prosecuted and condemned, and universities and schools were made the tools of the military's ideological brainwashing.

It was the time of summer holidays in 1984. Four years after the military coup... Everywhere in Northern Europe attractive gaily-coloured advertisements were full of praise for the sunny Mediterranean countries which were racing with one another to welcome foreign tourists. Among them was Turkey, a country which had been integrated, after a 3-year interval, into the Council of Europe on the conviction that "the timetable for a return towards democracy has been formally respected..."

While Northern Europeans were preparing themselves for a joyful holiday in Turkey, 1,383 distinguished Turkish intellectuals were summoned to interrogation centers for having signed a very innocent petition addressed to the "President of the Republic."

This was the most spectacular manifestation of the "witch-hunt" to which Turkey's intellectuals had been subjected for four years.

The petition, submitted to the Presidential Palace on May 16, 1984, on behalf of 1,260 leading intellectuals (the number subsequently rose to 1,383) called for an end to torture and the restoration of political freedom.

Among the signatories of the petition were world-famous authors such as *Aziz Nesin*, chairman of the Union of Turkish Writers, and *Yasar Kemal*, who was recently made a member of the Légion d'Honneur by French President Mitterrand.

A very great number of academics have signed it: former professors who have resigned or who were dismissed after the universities were subjected to the law of the Higher Education Council (YOK) imposed by the military; or professors in office who were forbidden by the military to engage in any way in politics. One of them was Professor *Hüsnü Gökse*, a world-famous cancerologist, and Professor *Fehmi Yavuz*, a former Minister of Education.

The movie world was also represented by one of Turkey's most popular actresses, *Türkan Soray*, and by *Serif Gören*, director of the film "Yol" (Production by Yilmaz Güney, "Palme d'Or" at the 1982 Cannes Festival) and by many others.

The press world was represented by, among others, *Mr. Nadir Nadi*, owner of the center-left daily *Cumhuriyet*, *Mr. Oguz Aral*, who runs the humoristic weekly *Girgir*, and several journalists who were members of the International Press Institute.

The military has responded to this very

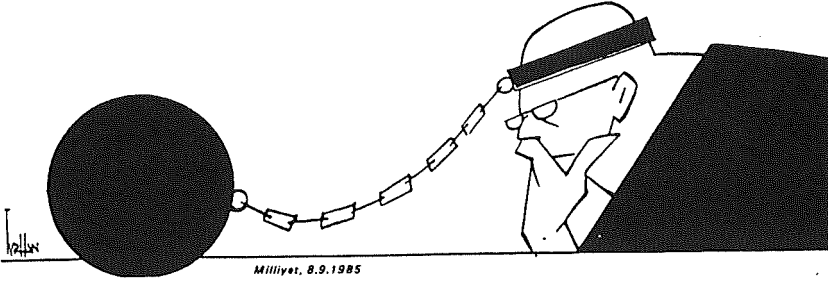
innocent petition by the Turkish intellectuals with new legal proceedings against all of them. On May 21, the military prosecutor of the Ankara Martial Law command started interrogating them one by one on order of the General Staff Headquarters.

Two weeks later, on May 28, General-President Evren unleashed a fierce attack on the signatories. Speaking in his home province of Manisa, in western Turkey, Evren accused the petitioners of trying to embarrass Turkey internationally with their allegations of disrespect for human rights. He said the "self-styled intellectuals upheld the right of free association so that all the former (pre-coup) wickedness could be resumed under the roofs of innocent-looking associations, trade unions or professional bodies."

"If they are so interested in politics why don't they find themselves a place in one of the political parties? I stand as a guarantor for the Constitution and I will oppose to the end any changing of the Constitution.

"These pseudo-intellectuals in Turkey become traitors in the end. They say that human right are being violated in Turkey. They forget the fact that the country is still under martial law. They say that torture is a crime committed against humanity. We do not say any differently. Torture is a crime and that is why we punish offenders. These pseudo-intellectuals carry on with this campaign and try to belittle Turkey in the eyes of the world. In fact, this is what they are really after. We are quite aware of their real intentions, and have evidence against them. They say that capital punishment should be lifted and those already sentenced should not be executed. But they forget that the death sentence exists even in the United States. They have the electric chair there.

"One of their aims is to force us to announce a general amnesty which would include all those terrorists who brought us to the point of destruction. We knew that there would be such groups making demands: therefore, we felt the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the way for these terrorists to enjoy amnesty. These same thieves, murderers and rapists used to return to prison a few days later (after their release from prison) for the same crimes. How can we be sure that they will not commit the same mistakes again. Has anyone asked the relatives of those who



suffered whether they have pardoned them or not? Those who call themselves intellectuals do not want amnesty for these people. They want anarchists to be pardoned.

"They ask for the production of ideas. What they really mean by this is that they want books on fascism, marxism, leninism, maoism to be published freely. All they want is the new generation to be poisoned by reading such publications. Other things they want is freedom of the press and the autonomy of the Turkish Radio and Television. First of all, I would like to point out that we do nothing against the freedom of the press, but we are now under martial law. The whole nation witnessed how the communists made good use of the TRT before September 12 (1980).

"A third thing they want is that the universities be autonomous. They do not want State interference in their work. We have witnessed also how these universities turned into dens of anarchy in the past.

"These people who define themselves as 'intellectuals' claim that only their views are right. Your thoughts and my thoughts are not important for them. Only they know best. We have seen too many such intellectuals who chose to flee to foreign countries in the end... Some even died there... What can I do with such intellectuals?"

This speech of General Evren was in fact aimed at influencing the legal proceedings against the petitioners. All of them had already been summoned before the martial law prosecutor for questioning. Each of them faced a prison term ranging from one year to 3 years.

By condemning in advance the signatories of this very innocent petition without waiting a judge's decision, Evren made it clear that he did not respect justice at all.

Neither did he respect popular will... The views expressed in the petition were shared completely by the major opposition party. The Chairman of the Social Democracy Party (Sodep), Professor *Erdal İnönü*, in reply to a question on May 28 said that these views were in harmony with the ideas contained in the program of his party. He pointed out the need for the democratic mechanism in the country to start working as soon as possible and stated: "Just because Turkey is recovering from a long illness, it should not stop us from touching on certain vital issues. In fact I believe that politicians have a bigger responsibility during this recovery period. If we stop speaking at this time, it may be too late afterwards. Democracy in Turkey will flourish, as our economic, social and intellectual life flourishes."

But the chief of the junta took no heed of statements by a political party... which obtained a fourth of the votes in the recent local elections.

At the end of the inquiry, 59 of the signatory intellectuals were charged by the Ankara military prosecutor who asked for prison terms of up to one year for each of them for having criticized the administration.

The trial opened on August 15, 1984.

Those charged included humorist Aziz Nesin; journalists Ugur Mumcu, Mustafa Ekmekçi, İlhan Selçuk; university professors Hüsnü Göksele, İlhan Tekeli, Bahri Savcı, Yalçın Küçük, Mete Tuncay, Serafettin Turan, Yakup Kepenek, Murat Belge, Korkut Boratav, Gençay Gürsoy, Veli Lök, Cumhur Ertekin, Berna Moran, Muhiittin Yavuz.

The other intellectuals charged:

Erbil Tusaip, Dr. Haluk Gerger, Mahmut Tali Ongören, Halit Celenk, Emin Deger, Tahsin Saraç, Nurkut İnan, İnci Güraral, Güler

Tanyolaç, Güngör Aydın, Haldun Ozen, Bülent Tanık, Güngör Dilmen, Vedat Türkali, Ozay Erkiliç, Talip Sencan, Kemal Demirel, Veddi Sayar, Sururi Sönmez, Onat Kutlar, Umit Erdogan, Mine Inkaya, Emre Kapkin, Cahit Taner, Yılmaz Tokman, Sinasi Acar, Ali Oral Basin, Rüsen Hakkı Özpençe, Hayri Tütüncüler, Güngör Türkeli, Atif Yılmaz Batibeki, Basar Sabuncu, Sahap Balcioğlu, Erdal Oz, Turgut Kazan, Talat Mete, Ercan Ulker, Ahmet Kocabiyik, Yılmaz Bolat, Güney Dinç, Cemal Nedret Erdem.

At the opening session, foreign journalists were barred, although the Ankara Martial Law Command had pledged previously to allow them. The same happened to the observer delegated by the West-German Embassy in Turkey.

Aziz Nesin, called General Evren's statement anti-democratic prior to the opening of the trial. Evren had branded the intellectuals "Turkey's internal enemies."

Then cancerologist Hüsni Göksel denounced the total lack of democracy within the universities subjected to the mighty Higher Education Council (YOK), which is directly attached to the office of the "President of the Republic".

As Turkey's intellectuals were being hit by a wave of repression, Portugal's former President of the Republic F. da Costa Gomes, three former Premiers, A. Jörgensen (Denmark), Dr. B. Kreisky (Austria), M.M. Pintasilgo (Portugal), and over 2,000 Members of Parliament, authors, journalists and academics from a dozen European countries and the United States issued an appeal in support of the petitioners.

Along with Turkey's intellectuals, these prominent figures insisted on the abolition of "the laws and practices conflicting with the Universal Declaration on Human Rights," of which Turkey is a signatory.

Those who signed the petition also included N. Kinnock, chairman of the British Labour Party; G. Spitaels and K. Van Miert, Chairmen of two Belgian Socialist Parties; E. Glinne, Chairman of the European Parliament's Socialists Group; M. Hinterscheid, General-Secretary of the ETUC; Raymonde Dury and Annemarie Lizin, Belgian members of the European Parliament; Ramsey Clark, former US Attorney-General; Laurent Schwartz, Pierre Vidal-Naquet, Günter Grass, Alan Ginsberg, Noam

Chomsky, Bibi Anderson, David Steel, Mikis Theodorakis.

On September 12, 1985, the 5th anniversary of the coup, an outstanding group of intellectuals from all over Europe said: "We hereby declare our full solidarity with writers, artists, jurists or scientists in Turkey who are being persecuted for 'crimes' that, had we been in Turkey, we would very probably have committed ourselves..."

In this declaration made public by Prof. Server Tanilli, in name of the Initiative for Solidarity with the 1,256 Intellectuals in Turkey, the group has underlined his refusal to be part of the "conspiracy of silence" surrounding the brutal repression of their colleagues in Turkey and called upon intellectuals all over the world to join their voices to theirs.

The signatories of this declaration include Bibi Anderson, Amar Bentoumi, Pieter Dankert, Max Frish, Costa Gomes, Yannis Ritsos, Antoine Sanguinetti, Otto Schilly, Alain Tanner, Mikis Theodorakis, Per Wastberg and Jean Zigler.

They demand that "all cases involving 'crimes' of thought and the press be dropped, that all persons being held under arrest on such charges be freed and that all curbs on the freedoms of thought, press and association be lifted."

Azis Nesin accuses General Evren

During the defence phase of the trial, on July 12, 1985, Aziz Nesin, the Chairman of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS), declared that he was going to lodge a complaint with the courts against General Evren, who had accused the signatories of treason.

The 70-year-old Nesin, also Turkey's most famous humorist, had suffered a heart attack during the campaign to collect signatures for this petition.

Mr. Nesin also accused the military prosecutor of falsifying the facts.

In Turkey the publication of Nesin's defence speech was banned by a Court-ruling given on the same day.

This defence speech, of which we are reproducing an excerpt below, is also an indictment of General Evren and his regime:



AZIZ NESIN

"Even before we were brought before the Court and interrogated, the Head of the State, in his speech delivered in Manisa and subsequently broadcast three times by the TRT (Turkish Radio and Television), accused us of treason.

"Is there anything worse for a human being than to be considered a traitor? As a man is entitled to live in dignity, it is my duty to defend my honor against anyone.

"The President of the Republic, he too, is a citizen like any other. Moreover, his penal responsibility is just as great as that of any other citizen. In democratic societies, the President of the Republic enjoys immunity from certain responsibilities, given that his powers are entrusted to Parliament and the Government. On the other hand, in our country, by virtue of the 1982 Constitution, wide-ranging powers are vested in the President of the Republic; consequently his responsibilities are wide-ranging too.

"In short, I solemnly declare that I will lodge a complaint with the courts against Head of State Kenan Evren who branded us traitors before the very eyes of the Turkish nation. I will institute actions for damages in accordance with articles 41 and 49 of the Code of Obligations and article 24 of the Civil Code. In addition, if, for the time being, it were impossible to institute a penal action because of his immun-

ity, I will do so by virtue of articles 480-482 of the Penal Code, as soon as his immunity is lifted. If I do not live long enough, I leave it to the judgment of history, which is the supreme and most impartial judge.

"According to the Head of the State, the signatories of this petition are allegedly so-called intellectuals.

"By signing this petition we expected no benefit, nor did we try to benefit from the advantages inherent to our being intellectuals. We who, knowing perfectly well the present administration's unfair way of behaving, were expecting to be sentenced, but not to get advantages, to be punished but not to get a reward, we are proud to consider ourselves intellectuals.

"Those who signed this petition include artists, writers, journalists, scientists, jurists and former ministers who have a reputation not only on the national level, but also world-wide. If they weren't intellectuals, there would no longer be intellectuals in Turkey, except the province of *Aydın* (a Turkish word meaning "intellectual"-Ed.).

"The Head of the State has said: 'I will oppose to the end any change in the 1982 Constitution, for which I act as a guarantor. I will never tolerate that holes are being made here and there in the Constitution, for which I act as a guarantor.'

"This *Doctor honoris causa* of YOK University (Higher Education Council-Ed.) surely knows that a constitution is the main guarantee a country's citizens have at their disposal. Apart from dictatorships and monarchies, nowhere can any citizen, not even Kenan Evren, act as guarantor for the Constitution; and in world history there is no record of someone who regarded himself as guarantor for a constitution. As far as changes in the Constitution are concerned, since the Head of the State considers himself vested with the mission to tolerate by no means holes being made here and there in the Constitution, it is our duty to strive to modify this constitution. This constitution will be amended in accordance with the procedure provided for in the same constitution. The final victory always belongs to Old Father Time.

"We have seen a great many intellectuals turning traitors. What can I do with intellectuals of that sort?" he said. We did not become intellectuals in order that the Head of the State,

who is used to speaking always in the first person singular, would do anything with us.

"We quite agree with a phrase he has pronounced: 'You really needn't be an intellectual in order to be able to rule over this nation.' On the contrary, if you take the present political

situation into account, you have to be a non-intellectual in order to rule over the nation. For intellectuals never rule over the nation, they serve the nation; because in a democratic society sovereignty belongs only to the nation.

"The Head of the State has said: 'The last

COMPLETE TEXT OF INTELLECTUALS' PETITION

Democracy lives through its institutions and principles. When institutions, notions and principles that are the foundation of democracy are being destroyed in a country, suppressing the resulting damages becomes all the more difficult.

To alienate democracy from its inherent values and institutions, to preserve it in form while emptying it of its contents, is as dangerous as destroying it. For these reasons we uphold institutions, notions and principles preserving the structure of the state founded on historical experience, and defend their strengthening in a democratic environment.

Our people deserve all human rights existing in contemporary societies and should enjoy them without any restriction. We consider it humiliating that our country has been reduced to the position of a country whose human rights guarantees are being debated abroad.

The right to life as well as a life worthy of a human-being is the main aim of existence within an organized society, which in our time should not be suppressed for any reason whatsoever, it is a natural and sacred right. That this right acquires a content, depends on whether opinions can be freely expressed and developed and whether it is possible to organize oneself on the basis of them. In our view, the fact that in our society individuals come forward with new and distinct ideas, is not - as some people try to present it - the cause of crisis, but a prerequisite essential to society's vitality.

Justice, man's ultimate refuge, is at the same time the main support of an existence worthy of a human being. In a contemporary state based on law, existing means to achieve justice require that the search for justice be hindered in no way and that, in the course of judicial procedures, no use be made of exceptional judicial ways nor of extraordinary methods. We consider it incompatible with the contemporary conception of democracy, when exceptional forms of administration become permanent in times that are termed normal.

Restricting citizens' rights without any judicial procedure, making up offenses through unilateral administrative modes of procedure that are not subject to discussion, stripping people of their political rights and levelling accusations of merely general nature brings whole sections of society to the point of destruction. When membership to associations, co-operatives, foundations, professional unions and political parties, as well as opinions that at the time they were being expressed were not punishable, are afterwards labelled offenses depending on the views that are dominating, then this is incompatible with the notion of a state based on law.

The democratic system itself cannot be held responsible for the wave of terrorist actions Turkey went through.

It is the inevitable duty of any organized society to combat acts of violence. But a basic characteristic inherent to state power is adherence to legal norms in the fight against terrorism. In the face of terrorism, this can never justify resorting to identical methods by the state.

Torture, the existence of which has been proved by court decisions as well, is a crime against humanity. We fear that it may have become habitual for torture to be used as an extra-judicial, prior and primitive form of punishment. Moreover, we regard prison conditions, exceeding their purpose to restrict freedom, as a form of ill treatment and torture.

All necessary measures should be taken for the complete eradication of torture. If, during an investigation preliminary to an inquiry, a hearing of a case or, as far as the defence is concerned, the norms of a state based on the law are abandoned; if, as regards procedure methods, universal guarantees stressed by the principle that "in any case a defendant should be presumed innocent until his conviction", are regarded as null and void, then the reign of the arbitrary becomes - especially in political trials - a basic element of the procedure.

In view of the fact that all sections of society share responsibility in the emergence of terrorist actions, we believe that it is necessary to stop carrying out executory death sentences and to abolish capital punishment so as to sweep aside once and for all the idea that killing might be a solution.

Starting from the universal fact that delayed justice is an injustice, we consider that all trials in progress should be brought to completion as quickly as possible.

Offenses are brought about by social and political conditions. As regards the instable phase prevalent at that time in Turkey, one should not forget the responsibility attributable to society. For these reasons, and in order to contribute to social peace, we consider indispensable a comprehensive amnesty. Politics as a means enabling to tell good from evil, right from wrong in public life, should allow society as a whole to take part in the management of the country.

The failings of everyday politics which occur in any country and which are inevitable, cannot be a reason for preventing people from serving society by engaging in politics - which should be within the reach of

Padishah (monarch in the Ottoman Empire-Ed.) was an intellectual. But he made the country capitulate to the enemy. What use can such an intellectual really be? Thus, he makes a comparison between himself and us, who are being accused of treason by him for submitting

a petition to him. Treason is a relative notion that changes according to the era and according to each person's assessment. *Padishah Abdülhamit* ('The Red Sultan'-Ed.) had *Mithat Pasha* (a 19th century reformer who is now regarded as one of the greatest heroes in Turk-

everyone - and for reserving this exclusively for certain strata, for one person or for a certain group of persons. Politics cannot be exclusively reduced to administrative decision-making.

The will of the nation acquires a content only in those types of societies where all sections of society can organize themselves freely. In countries where nobody is indicted for his political convictions and philosophical conceptions and where no citizen is reproached with his religious beliefs, the will of the nation is the supreme power. The legitimacy of this supreme power depends on the latter's attitude towards fundamental rights and liberties.

Circumstances preventing the will of the majority from determining itself freely, are contrary to democracy. Likewise, suppressing basic rights on the pretext that there exists a majority will, is incompatible with democracy.

In the process of historical development, the aim of democratic constitutions is to guarantee the rights and liberties of the individual. Provisions that tend to weaken the individual's position vis-a-vis the state, mean - no matter under what name they are introduced - a departure from democracy. In such a situation, the Constitution which ought to be the source of democratic life, becomes an obstacle to democracy.

Trade unions, professional associations, but above all political parties, are the indispensable pillars of democratic life. In as much as it is their duty to defend the economic interests and solidarity of their members, professional organizations must protect, along with the political parties, the democratic liberties of both individuals and groups and must be a means and a driving force enabling them to participate in management. Therefore we believe it is necessary to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution contain the largest guarantees for both the right of organizing and the right of participation.

In the life of any society, the existence of elements such as liberty, variety and renewal is necessary for the future and for the capacity of development of society. From this point of view, any intellectual production of whatever kind must be protected and it should be possible to present freely new proposals to public opinion.

A free press is one of the basic elements completing the democratic regime. To achieve this, society needs to be informed on itself independently, without any control and in a diversified way; moreover, it is necessary to enable free circulation of ideas and to ensure that any kind of criticism be referred in the press. Educating a diversified public opinion and controlling democratically management of society can solely be achieved through such a press. Just for these reasons, and provided their neutrality is guaranteed, we believe that it is necessary to grant autonomy to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT).

The main aim of education is to raise freethinking, learned, capable and creative people. Contrary to this, it is incompatible with the evolution of our time and with pluralistic democracy to produce a one-type man. The aim of contemporary democracy is to develop people who are able to view the world critically.

When the universities, as the best educated section of society, are stripped of their autonomy and when it is alleged that they do not deserve to run themselves, then that leads to denying that in our country democracy could work. Subordinating all higher education institutions to the imperative rule of a council with disproportionate power which has been set up through appointments, - rouses great concern for the country's future inasmuch as now already it hinders the young from being well educated and hampers scientific life. Therefore we consider that the structure of the Higher Education Council (YOK) needs to be altered without delay in the sense of an autonomy based on the principle of election.

We would like to stress the fact that a prerequisite essential to civilisation is to abolish both legal and actual restrictions hampering the emergence of intellectual and artistic productions, and to provide thinkers and artists, as well as all citizens, with the universal guarantees. Prerequisites to a sound development of society are:

- to be free to produce and circulate artistic works of whatever kind
- to abolish censorship completely which hampers in the extreme cultural creativeness,
- that no subject should be tabooed,
- that criminal responsibility should be established exclusively by the normal judicial authorities.

In view of these facts, we, being aware of our responsibility towards society, believe in all sincerity that contemporary democracy, even though it shows differences in the various countries depending on specific situations, has nevertheless an unchangeable fundamental basis; that our nation too has adopted the institutions and principles that constitute this fundamental basis; that it is necessary to suppress by democratic methods all legal and practical provisions that are contrary to it, and that in this way a sounder and safer solution to the crisis we are going through, will be found.

ish history-Ed.) condemned by accusing him of treason. Now that so much time has passed since then, let us think it over: which was a traitor? Abdülhamit or Mithat Pasha?

"As one of our friends said, one can discuss *Vahdetin's* (the last Padishah-Ed.) capacity as an intellectual, but one thing is indisputable, namely that he was Head of State.

"Recently, two prominent foreign writers, *Arthur Miller* and *Harold Pinter*, came to our country. Our leaders did not take particular interest in their visit. As a matter of fact, the cultural level of the leaders under *Ozal* - who said in an interview given to the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper prior to his designation as Prime Minister, that he hadn't time to read books, except for Tom Mix and Texas (comic strips-Ed.) - will of course never enable anyone to take an interest in Miller or Pinter. I am going to quote an excerpt of Arthur Miller's article which appeared in *The Nation* of May 18, 1985:

"But some observers, including Süleyman Demirel, the Prime Minister at the time of the coup, find it suspicious that although seemingly helpless to curb the violence for two years, the military brought an amazing peace within a matter of weeks after taking power. In Demirel's view, the generals deliberately allowed the chaos to expand until their intervention would be gratefully accepted. Support for the military government is still based on fears that the violence will return."

"A great many citizens share the misgivings Demirel expressed to Miller. I, too, feel anxious about it. Since all of us are responsible for what happened, I strongly deny the assertions of the top people in charge that they were dispensing justice by hanging youngsters who allegedly committed crimes, youngsters hardly 17 or 18. A statement concerning the executions, which Mr Evren addressed to western intellectuals through the TRT and newspapers, is also very interesting: 'They oppose executions in our country. This is an internal matter that concerns us. Do we criticize them to dissuade them from executing death sentences?'

"In the course of history, scores of statements have been made for or against the death penalty, but no one has ever thought of advocating it in this way.

"What is the typical feature of regimes that are completely contrary to democracy? To burn books. In today's Turkey, hundreds of

thousands of books are burnt without a warrant issued by a judge. With regard to these books, no legal proceedings have ever been taken. The publisher of these books has got no compensation. Can we call this democracy? In Turkey, films are also burnt, even those films that were produced by the TRT at the cost of millions. Can we call this democracy?

"The appalling practice of torture since September, 12th, 1980, has even been documented by State officials. As soon as law 2969 is lifted - banning any criticism as regards the practice of torture - all these practices will be publicized. Thus, all people will learn that we have experienced practices that are a disgrace to our time.

"While writing this defence, I don't know if I will be permitted to pronounce it entirely. Yet, I have written it, hoping to be allowed to do so. Nevertheless, this defense is not intended for only the tribunal and the prosecutor. I wish it be read, above all, by those who should read and benefit by it."

TRIAL OF THE WRITERS' UNION OF TURKEY

Another significant collective prosecution of Turkish intellectuals was the trial of the *Writers' Union of Turkey* (TYS). Chairman Aziz Nesin and 17 other leading members of this union were brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on January 6, 1983.

Aziz Nesin, Bekir Yıldız, Aydın Özyalçın, Sükran Kurdakul, Demirtas Ceyhan, Alpay Kabacalı, Osman Saffet Arolat, Atilla Özkirimli, Ataol Behramoğlu, Hasmet Zeybek, Orhan Apaydın, Asim Bezirci, Tekin Sönmez, Aziz Çalısar, Emil Galip Sandalci, Kemal Sülker, Vedat Türkali and Mehmet Ali Sebük have been accused of transforming the YYS into a clandestine organization and the military prosecutor requested prison terms of up to 15 years for each.

The indictment was based on the Union's cooperation with DISK and the organisation of a soirée to honour the memory of the greatest Turkish poet Nazim Hikmet who had died in exile in 1963.

On January 21, 1985, the military court

concluded that the military prosecutor's accusations were groundless and acquitted all the defendants. Moreover, the tribunal declared that it was incompetent to give a ruling regarding the request for banning the TYS.

Nevertheless, the Martial Law Command of Istanbul appealed to the Military Court of Cassation with the demand to overrule the acquittal.

TYS Chairman *Nesin* was included also in the Turkish Peace Committee Trial. Beside three collective trials in which he has been tried, *Aziz Nesin* was brought before a military tribunal for a novel which he wrote 29 years ago. This humoristic work entitled "*Az Gittik, Uz Gittik*" had been reprinted six times since 1956 and never been subjected to legal proceedings. The military prosecutor ordered the confiscation of all copies of the books and asked the tribunal to condemn the world famous Turkish humorist to imprisonment of up to ten years.

During these trials, *Aziz Nesin* had a heart attack on November 26, 1983, in Istanbul at the age of 69, and part of his body was paralyzed. The military also denied him the right to travel abroad while he was in need of treatment in a foreign country where cardiology is more advanced than in Turkey.

On October 13, 1985, he was invited by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) of Great Britain to a closed conference on Media in Turkey. But the "civilian" government would not allow him to go abroad. Thereupon, *Aziz Nesin* sent a letter to General Evren and declared that if his letter was not answered, he would be obliged to inform the NUJ of the Turkish authorities' arbitrary attitude.

Nesin, 71 years old in 1985, is the author of 72 humoristic books. He has always been one of the principal targets in the campaign against intellectuals in every period of repression. Since the beginning of his career, prosecutors - civil or military - have started more than a hundred legal proceedings against him, and he has already been kept under arrest at different times for various periods totalling 5 years.

Nesin has a great reputation in the world and his humoristic works have been translated and published in more than 30 different languages.

His defence text in connection with the trial of 59 intellectuals, of which the publication

is banned in Turkey, is a historical document putting General Evren's regime in the docks. (See: *Aziz Nesin accuses General Evren*).

A new experiment: Ekin-Bilar Inc.

Nesin's ordeal did not end with his numerous legal prosecutions; neither did that of thousands of intellectuals. The best proof is the obstacles the government put before a very legitimate enterprise started by intellectuals.

Since the military coup d'état, thousands of intellectuals and university professors have been dismissed from their posts. Most of the victims of repressive measures are living under very difficult conditions, all the more since private companies do not dare to employ them.

In order to overcome this obstacle, a group of intellectuals, including *Aziz Nesin*, tried to set up a "share company" with a view to promoting a number of cultural activities.

Whereas under the ultra-liberal Ozal Government businessmen are being favored by every possible means and private enterprise of any kind - provided it has a commercial purpose - is being given incentives, this initiative, *Ekin A.S.* (*Ekin Inc. Co.*), has been rebuffed by the Ministry of Trade. In its answer to the founders, the Ministry claimed that this initiative did not fit the requirements of article 271 of the Turkish Commercial Code.

The intellectuals did not give up and reestablished their company under the name of "*Ekin-Bilar A.S.*," *Nesin* being the chairman and Professor *Yalçın Küçük*, one of the victims of the repression, the director. This time, the company was registered.

Küçük said: "The country was being culturally sterilized. Thus, we wanted to open a new coffee-shop as part of our tradition, a place where people from all walks of life could come to read, play games or have discussions. The venture we aim for is to establish culture clubs where there will also be music."

One of the most successful activities of this self-styled company has been the cultural nights called "*Ekin's Wedding parties*." On organizing these, the administrators of the company were questioned for 11 hours by the State Security Courts on accusations of organizing illegal political rallies.

HOW A PUBLISHER WAS ASSASSINATED UNDER TORTURE

Another flagrant crime committed by the military against the freedom of expression was the assassination of a publisher under detention. *Mr. Ilhan Erdost* and *Mr. Muzaffer Erdost*, publishers of the Sol Yayinlari Publishing House in Ankara, were taken into custody by the military on November 7, 1980, for having published marxist classics. After their interrogation, when they were taken to the Mamak Military Prison, *Ilhan Erdost* was beaten to death with butt of rifle. Below we are reproducing the testimony of his brother, Muzaffer Erdost:

A certain notification issued in my name was left at my cousin's bookstore on "Zafer Çarsisi" by the authorities, indicating that an investigation file was opened on me by the Political Section of the Ankara Department of Security. Furthermore, it was stated that the subject file was at the Press Affairs Branch of the Political Section and I was requested to phone the authorities at the said departement as soon as possible. Upon receipt of the notification, I phoned to the given number on the morning of November, 3, 1980 and talked to a certain Mr. Cevat, the senior superintendent of "the Press Affairs Bureau". He told me that it was necessary for me to report to the Department of Security. When I asked him on what subject, he answered that he knew nothing about the subject and added something about the existence of an official notification from the Martial Law authorities requesting them that they find me for further investigations. During the morning of the same day, I reported to "the Press Affairs Bureau" of the Political Section. I was asked why my brother Ilhan Erdost was not with me. In their notification, the authorities had not requested Ilhan's presence and we knew nothing about that matter. There was a piece of paper on the desk, containing my and my brother's home addresses. Under our addresses, there was a short handwritten note saying, "Even if no concrete proof is found, a profound investigation should be made..."

The same day, a search took place in my and my brother's homes and work places as well. No evidence of guilt was found during the

search. The searchers made a complete list of all the books we had at our dwellings. Most of those books were published by our publishing house, "Sol Yayinlari". The subject list was turned over to the Political Section in order to find out whether any restricted books were among them. After checking the list, they stated that three of those books were already banned by the authorities (Ministry of Internal Affairs); therefore, they confiscated them. That night, I stayed in the security chamber on the 6th floor of the Main Security Building (Emniyet Sarayi). Next morning, the senior commissar of "the Press Affairs Bureau" took my deposition. He asked me full details about my place of birth, my parents' and my brothers' occupations, where I attended elementary and high school, my student years at the university, my married life and my children. He also interrogated me about evolution in my political ideologies, my cultural and political points of view, religious beliefs and similar subjects. He did not put forward any question accusing me of any specific crime. In my deposition, I stated fully that the interdiction on those three books were never finalized. Furthermore, we had published new editions of the books in question. I also stated that the confiscation order was issued for certain other books which were published by other publishing houses under the same titles.

The morning of November 5, 1980, Ilhan had come to the Department of Security and reported to the Press Affairs Bureau of the Political Section. His deposition was also taken in the same manner but much more briefly. Ilhan was the owner of "Onur Yayinlari - Onur Publications" and "Ilkyaz Printing House" as well. Since he had lost a considerable amount of money in the business of "Ilkyaz", Ilhan decided to liquidate the printing house by the New Year and closed it in June 1980, terminating his employees' services. Since the activities of "Ilkyaz" had come to an end, the electricity of the building was disconnected and the printing machines were put on sale. Although he was the owner of the printing house, Ilhan hardly came to the office. The place was run by a certain manager who was responsible for all aspects of the business. Copies of all books printed by this enterprise were forwarded to the appropriate offices of the Department of Security and of the District Attorney as well, always within the legally designated period of



time. The legal responsibility of a printing house stops with the delivery of the appropriate copies of each printed matter to the authorities designated by the Law within the designated period of time. These obligations were always fulfilled without delay or failure. Furthermore, there was no "Decree of Confiscation" given by any tribunal and no interdiction or restriction ever issued on any book that was printed by the said printing house.

After completion of his deposition, my brother İlhan was brought around noon of the same day, to the same security chamber where I was kept. There, he told me briefly about his deposition and added that he made his interrogator write down exactly in his deposition, everything concerning the printing house.

In the afternoon, we were taken to the "Public Relations Bureau" of the Martial Law Headquarters at Mamak under escort by a plainclothes police officer. When we arrived there, it was 3.10 p.m. The NCO on duty told us that telephone instructions had been received from the Legal Advisory Bureau at 3 p.m., requesting them not to admit and/or register any more new cases for the day. Therefore, we returned to the main building of the Depart-

ment of Security, accompanied by the same police officer, and we spent the night at the same security chamber on the 6th floor. The next morning, at 9.30, we were taken back to the Martial Law Headquarters. This time a certain Ziya Bey from the "Press Affairs Bureau" escorted us. Our written depositions and an official letter from the Department of Security were turned over to the "Legal Advisory Bureau" of the Martial Law Headquarters, together with four of the books confiscated from our homes; one (*Dialectic of the Nature* - Engels) belonging to İlhan and the other three belonging to me (*Dialectic of the Nature* - Engels; *On the Youth - Lenin*; *Socialism or Anarchism?* - Stalin).

The "Legal Advisory Bureau" is responsible for studying and investigating all the files submitted to it, and the judge who makes the preliminary study of or investigation into a file can decide either to release or detain the suspect or to transfer the suspect's file to the civilian legal authorities, namely the "District Attorney's Office", when he believes that the case is not a subject for the Martial Law Jurisdiction. He can also decide to return the file to the Department of Security for additional legal

elements when he thinks that the file is incomplete.

Concerning our cases, we believed that they should be transferred to the civilian District Attorney's Office. Furthermore, we thought the judge at the "Legal Advisory Bureau" should release us free of the charges brought against us for "keeping restricted publications at our residences" since such a deed was not classified as a crime within the Law, although the books had been banned by the authorities. There was no legal reason whatsoever for our detention. Normally, within 1 or 2 hours at most, a certain decision would have been made on our cases. However, no decision was reached on us until mid-day. At 3 p.m., the officer who escorted us there went to the "Legal Advisory Bureau" and checked with the duty NCO about our cases. He was told that the judge had just started to review our files. When we went back to the same office again at 5 p.m., we were told this time that the judge had left his office to handle another matter. We were also told that the judge would definitely return to his office later on and come to a conclusion on our cases by 8.30 p.m. However, at 7 p.m., our escort was called and he was told that the judge could not return to his office for the rest of the day. Therefore, they requested us to be taken back to the Department of Security.

That night, we stayed at the Security Chamber of the Department of Security. Next morning, November 7, 1980, we were taken again to the Martial Law Headquarters. We were kept waiting there until evening. At 5.30 p.m., after normal working hours, our escort officer was asked for by the "Legal Advisory Bureau". When he returned a little later, he told us that we were going to be detained. Generally, on every detention order issued by judges, the number of the Penal Code Article is shown as reference for the accusation. When we asked our escort officer which Article was referred to on our detentions, he replied that no Article number was mentioned, but "keeping restricted publications" was shown as the motive.

The penitentiary is located in the same military compound, on a small hill. During our case, my uncle had been waiting for us outside the Martial Law Headquarters. When he heard the news, he came with his car to drive us to the penitentiary. My wife Rana was with him. Under the police officer's escort, we drove to

the penitentiary. Ilhan and I got out of the car near the gate. Since I had been in and out of penitentiary a few times before, my wife was accustomed to such scenes. She knew how to be strong under such circumstances. When we got out of the car, we saw that my wife was crying. Smiling, Ilhan said, "Rana Sister, this is the first time I see you crying at the penitentiary gate." Rana replied "Ilhan, it seems to me that this time, there is something else in the whole thing!" We tried to console her.

While we were waiting outside, the prison authorities were completing the necessary formalities for our incarceration. They booked us for the "C-Block". Since I had been at the same penitentiary previously, once for 2 years and the last time for 15 days, I told Ilhan that "C-Block" was much better than the other prison buildings. From "C-Block" we could see the surrounding territory and nature. For the first time in his life Ilhan was entering a penitentiary.

There are three separate block-buildings inside the compound of Mamak Military Penitentiary. "A-Block" is the newest one and was built after the March, 12, 1971, Coup d'Etat. "B-Block" is located just beside "A-Block". It is the old penitentiary building. Approximately, within a 10-minute walking distance from "A-Block", there were some dormitory barracks for soldiers. Later on, these barracks were transformed into prison quarters and were named "C-Block". Four more dormitory barracks on the same line were also transformed into prison quarters and were connected to "C-Block" as C, D, E, F and G sections. Before we entered the prison compound, they asked us about our political tendencies so as to indicate it on our detention forms. We said "leftist" and they wrote "leftist" on our forms.

First, they took us to "A-Block", to a small room with a stairway in one corner, for registration and taking our pictures. There were three other detainees in the room who had been brought there before us. While we were there, they brought two more detainees. They lined us up on the steps of the stairway, standing with our backs against the wall. First, they took our pictures, with our hair and mustache. Then, they cut our hair and mustache with an electric razor. This time, they took new pictures, one from the front, one from the side. They gave each of us an inscription card and we filled it out. Our physical descriptions were also entered

on our inscription cards by one of the soldiers on duty. He was getting us in front of him one by one and asking questions, either keeping us standing or ordering us to turn left or right or to bend over. Whenever they thought that someone was not executing their orders properly, they insulted that person and beat him with their truncheons or fists or kicked him all over. While we were lined-up, the soldiers hit my and my brother's palms with their truncheons for no reason at all. Then, they separated us from the others.

Afterwards, the soldiers who wrote down our physical descriptions on the cards phoned somewhere. He said on the phone that there were two detainees to be taken to the "C-Block" and he asked a big vehicle. The person on the other end must have told him that there was no big vehicle available, for the soldier replied "No little vehicle!" After a short conversation, the soldier asked again "Do you have Reo available. Reo is O.K. Send it over." Then he phoned to "C-Block" and informed them that there were two detainees for their block and he had already asked for a vehicle. He also added that one of the NCOs in duty should come and pick up the detainees.

After a while, an NCO entered the room. "Which ones?" he asked the soldiers. They showed him me and my brother. After him, another soldier entered the room. There were two other soldiers standing by the door. We (my brother and I) were standing up with our backs against the wall where the door was. The soldier behind the NCO asked us what we were accused of. "Keeping restricted publications", we said. "What about?" he asked. At first, I could not understand what he meant by that. This time he asked me if they were "leftist or rightist publications?". "Leftist", we said. They took us from the room. In the hallway leading to the entrance of "A-Block", they searched our belongings again. Pushing our toothbrushes and toothpaste with his foot, the NCO told the soldiers they could give them to someone. In an insulting manner he said, "you have poisoned 10-year-old children. Inside is full of those whom you poisoned. Because of you, we can't have peace." Pointing to the other soldiers, he added "these soldiers cannot even go to sleep at night because of your people!" When we were entering in the vehicle, they started to kick us and hit our backs with their truncheons. I rushed into the prison vehicle. My brother also

rushed into the vehicle after me. We sat on the seats facing each other.

The inside of the prison wagon was divided into two sections, one for inmates, the other for guards. There was a door with a sliding security latch on separating the two sections. Our military guards were holding rubber truncheons in their hands. As soon as they got in the prison wagon, they ordered us to take a "stand-up!" position. Two of the guards started to hit my palms with their truncheons and at the same moment, the other two were doing the same thing to my brother. They were merciless and were hitting us very hard without stopping. After a while, I started to scream, but my brother did not. Our military guards, were clubbing, kicking and punching us from every side. Once, during their attacks, I was pushed forward with my back against the front side of the wagon. There, I saw my brother falling on his face to the floor and then trying to stand up. He was having great difficulty staying on his feet but two of the guards were still clubbing and punching him. I remembered that my brother had undergone an operation about six years ago for his backbone. A discus bone was removed from his spine. Therefore, I shouted to the soldiers that "his spine was broken once!" Please do not hit him. You'd better beat me instead!". I begged the soldiers to stop beating my brother. Nobody was listening to my plea. They were punching and slapping my face so hard that I saw stars around my head and I simply could not see my brother any more. There were no lights inside the prison wagon and it was dark. While the wagon was taking us to the prison building, from time to time, I saw lights coming through the windows of the wagon which were covered with iron bars. The prison wagon was moving very slowly, like an ox-cart. For a while, I saw again that the guards were beating my brother while he was standing. I thought their harassment lasted about half an hour. Then, the wagon stopped. The back door was opened. While they were getting us out, they were still clubbing us with their truncheons and were punching us all over as well. When we started to walk towards the prison building, they shouted at us to "stop!". The NCO and his soldiers attacked us again and started beating. This time, their harassment lasted about five minutes. My brother and I hardly had any strength to stand up on our feet. We begged the NCO to stop

beating us. "You should think of and realize everything before you came here, not now!" he replied. His words encouraged the guards and they continued hitting us even harder. After a short while, my brother fell on the ground. He tried, but he could not stand-up. They went on kicking and clubbing him. Finally, he barely stood on his feet. Then, they ordered us to take a "stand-up" position without moving, but we couldn't. We were tottering. Our hands were swollen, therefore we couldn't keep our hands at our sides. They shouted at us "keep your arms straight at your sides and stay properly in a stand-up position!".

"They burst every organ in your bodies but not your testicles yet!" the NCO shouted. "They will now burst them too!" he continued. Then, the beatings went out. After a while, the NCO ordered the soldiers to stop beating us. We were brought to the gate of the prison building. We passed through two iron-barred gates. There was a courtyard towards the entrance of the dormitories. They stopped us and pointed to another door on the right side of the courtyard. They ordered us to go by that door. When we arrived there, they started to beat us up again. They were shouting and giving orders. They brought us back to the entrance of the dormitory, clubbing and kicking us. There my brother fell on the ground once more. He could barely stand up again. They ordered us to take "stand-up" positions. One soldier was standing on each side of us and shouting, "stand-up, man!" "Keep your arms straight at your sides, man!"

Then, the soldiers called for some people from the dormitory. Three "senior" inmates came out running. They took "stand-up" positions in front of the soldiers and replied to them by shouting "yes, my commander? Ready for your orders, my commander!"

Our military guards asked them whether there was any place available for us at the dormitory. "We have place," they replied. Then, they opened the door and we went inside. We were placed in the dormitory on the right side. Some of the inmates there came beside me and some were helping my brother to stand-up and walk. For a moment, I came eye-to-eye with my brother. Part of his face was covered with blood. His eyeballs were completely red. We glanced at each other without saying a word. Then, my brother tried to walk behind me. After taking 2-3 steps, he said, "my

stomach is upset, I think I am going to vomit." He could not stand up any longer, but, when he was falling to the ground, the other inmates helped him by holding his arms. They lay him down on a bed. They also put me in a bed at the inner part of the dormitory. Later on, I saw that some inmates had taken off my brother's shirt and underwear. They brought him to the bed next to the one where I was lying.

There, in the bed, my brother was kneeling on one knee with his head and his mouth open. I called out his name "Ilhan! Ilhan!". He did not reply at all. "Ilhan, Ilhan!" I repeated,

"It is nothing important" the other inmates replied to me. For a moment, I thought he had fainted. They lay him on the bed. There was a 40-50cm space between our beds. One of the inmates helping him said "His legs have no feelings".

"My goodness, he is paralysed," I said to myself. I could not think that he might be dead. Among the inmates, there was a medical student who was nicknamed "doctor". He started to give him artificial respiration. I told him that my brother might already be dead. "No, no," he replied. "It is not very serious. His pulse is a little weak and we are trying to strengthen it." About a quarter hour later, an NCO came into the dormitory and asked for a medical doctor. About 15 minutes later, a medical NCO (hospital technician) came to the dormitory and, after seeing my brother, asked for an ambulance. Then they put my brother on a stretcher and took him away. When he was lying on the stretcher, his eyes were half-closed and his mouth was wide open. I wanted to kiss him but the other inmates prevented me from doing so. My brother was dead and he had passed away right there. How difficult it was for me to accept the reality that he was dead. Just a short while ago, other inmate friends were trying to give him artificial respiration. All of those efforts to keep him alive came to nothing. However, when they were helping him, I still had some hopes that his life could be saved. Only two hours before, when we were waiting together at the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" for our case, he was so alive. From time to time, he got up from his chair and walked around the waiting room. How handsome he looked! His cheeks had been reddish due to his excitement. His mustache was gorgeous. His beautiful eyes were smiling. When were still there, I was thinking that, if both of us were detained, I would

look after him and take care of him. But he was dead now. What could I say to his 3 year-old daughter, Türküler? What could I tell her if she asked me the whereabouts of her father? I knew how much he loved Türküler and also how much Türküler loved her father. What would I do now? How would his other 5 month-old daughter learn to say "father" any more? What could I tell Gül, his wife now? We were so close to each other. They took our prison photos together and they also beat us together. Now he was dead, but I was alive and was mourning for him.

All the inmates were standing in a straight line beside their beds for the name call. I heard some people crying from the ranks of the progressive detainees and more and more people were crying as the time passed. Then, they took me from the dormitory.

My body was wet all over from sweating. My clothes were untidy and a cold wind was blowing. They took me from the "F-Section", and, on the way, I was shivering. I had a kind of feeling my body would become stiff and would fall to the ground. They covered my head with my vest. They made me walk 300-400 meters. They took me to the Officers' Mess. The NCO who brought me and my brother from the "Judicial Advisory Bureau" to the prison quarters was there, watching television. When he saw me there, he asked:

"Muzaffer Bey, why didn't you tell us that your brother was suffering from a weak heart?"

I knew that my brother never had any heart problem before. I was conscious enough to know that a brain haemorrhage could cause my brother's death. I kept quiet and said nothing. I drank some water.

Then, they took me to an empty room in "G-Section". They put an old mattress on the floor and, later on, the inmate friends from the dormitory sent me 5 or 6 blankets. They also sent me some milk, water and yoghurt. Then, they gave me an injection with tranquillizers. I fell asleep for a while. I was talking to my brother all the time and I also saw that the guards were observing me through the window while I was trying to sleep. I thought I slept for days. Then, it was morning.

On Saturday, the 8th November, they asked me to get ready. Two inmate friends had come to my room and helped me to get dressed. My arms, wrists and hands were swollen. The handcuffs did not fit on my wrists.

"We cannot take you from this place without being handcuffed!" said the military guard. Then, he just placed the handcuffs loose around my wrists and did not fasten it. They took me to "A-Block" in a small prison vehicle.

I would like to point out two important things that I noticed later on:

The military guards did not handcuff us when my brother and I got in the vehicle which took us to the prison. However, in accordance with the prison regulations, an inmate and/or a detainee must be handcuffed when he is transferred from one building to another even inside the prison compound. That means all their moves had been premeditated. They knew that if we were handcuffed, we could somewhat defend ourselves with our handcuffs. Secondly, when I got in the small prison vehicle on the way to the Public Prosecutor's Office, I realized that it was a small vehicle and a minimum of 10 people could be loaded on it. Since the vehicle was not very high, it would be impossible to stand-up in it without bending the body. Moreover, the small vehicle was not large enough for 4 guards to beat-up someone so easily. The movements of the guards would be too limited in a small vehicle; therefore, we could not be beaten so much. That was why they had asked for the big wagon. This also proves that they had planned beforehand to beat us on the way to prison.

At the Public Prosecutor's Office, the authorities treated me with understanding. First, I could not hold myself and started to cry. They waited until I was calm again. They wrote down everything, exactly what I said. They were honest.

I was back there again next day. This time, my deposition was taken by the prosecutor to whom my file was sent.

I completed my deposition with some facts which were omitted during the previous interrogation. The prosecutor told me that, according to his investigations, only 3 military guards were supposed to be on duty in the prison wagon and he was now investigating the identity of the 4th guard who was allowed to get on the vehicle. Later on, the prosecutor confirmed his identity to me.

During the interrogation, the NCO had stated that he had not actually seen that we were beaten up by the soldiers, but he heard about the incident later on. The military guards stated that they had never beaten us. I was

taken back to the prosecutor's office on Monday. This time it was for my testimony. I asked the authorities whether my family was informed about the incident. They told me that it was the obligation of the Martial Law authorities to inform them. Then, they asked me through which person or persons I wished to inform the family about my brother's death, in case the Martial Law authorities had not yet done so. I suggested Mr. Halit Çelenk who had been a friend of the family for long years and represented us as our attorney in court.

My brother's death was made public with an official communiqué published by the Martial Law Authorities. Next day, Mr. Halit Çelenk came to the prison to see me. I talked to him in a room where we were separated by a wire fence. He informed me that he had already applied to the authorities for my release. He added that the Military Prosecutor's Office was in favour of my release and my papers were sent to the commanding Officer for his approval. That same night, around 9 p.m., right after the evening name call, they asked me to get ready and said I was going to be released.

I went by the same route where my brother and I were brought to the prison together. They brought me to the main gate. My uncle was there waiting.

"We went there together, but I came back alone," I said to my uncle.

When I arrived home, the family members told me that the Martial Law authorities had banned further publications of the "Cumhuriyet" in which news of my brother was published in six columns. My family decided to arrange a funeral ceremony for the next day. Therefore, a funeral notice was sent only to the "Cumhuriyet" for printing. However, publication of the "Cumhuriyet" was already banned by that time. I had some friends working for other newspaper organisations. Through them, we were able to give a short funeral notice to the Ankara editions of the "Milliyet" and "Hürriyet".

Next morning, I went to the mortuary. The mortuary imam was washing my brother's corpse when I arrived there. His eyes were slightly opened. His upper lip was stretched as though his complete body was in pain. His beard had grown a little longer. The imam washed his corpse and I mourned. When the imam finished his work, I kissed my brother's eyes and his face again and again.

His coffin was brought from the mortuary to "Hacı Bayram Mosque". We followed his coffin to the mosque. His funeral was attended by some progressive, patriotic and revolutionary writers, newsmen, teachers, intellectuals and others... who ever had learned of his funeral by the time. We buried my brother with a quiet but dignified ceremony.

Even if İlhan Erdost had died in his bed from natural causes, it would normally have been news in all the news media. However, not a single newspaper, except "Dünya", gave even his funeral as news although there was no prohibition on this matter. "Dünya" also gave my release in headlines. It is my wish that the death of İlhan should be known by everyone who has respect for the principles of freedom and democracy.

REPRESSION OF MASS MEDIA

Repression of the mass media has been carried out through different means over the course of the 5-year period of military rule: Ban on publications, theatrical performances, musical representations; censorship for the surviving media; persecution of journalists, writers, translators and artists... All these anti-democratic practices were "crowned," just before the passage to a "parliamentary period" by the adoption of a new press code.

As a matter of fact, the ban on the press and the arrest of newspapermen had already started before the military coup, just after the proclamation of martial Law in 13 provinces, in 1978. But the target of this first wave was the politically engaged media and their editors. After the coup, a few remnants of the politically engaged press continued to be the object of persecution. In the beginning, the junta did not resort to the same methods for the commercial media. Although censorship was applied all over the country and especially in *Babiali* (the Fleet Street of the Turkish press), the military did not start proceedings against members of the circulation press because they wanted the support of the high circulation newspapers and did not wish to provoke reaction from European institutions.

Applauding all the military junta's practices, big media gave tacit approval to the prosecution of the politically engaged press.

But prosecution of the circulation press was not long in coming. After the European Parliament and the Council of Europe changed their stand and began to criticize the anti-democratic practices of the regime, the military, thinking that there was no longer any use in being prudent, extended prosecution to the circulation press as well. Bans on the publication of dailies and periodicals and proceedings against their directors became more frequent.

In the meantime, the NSC adopted a law according to which sentences for political or opinion crimes of up to 3 years of imprisonment cannot be taken to the Court of Cassation, and the convicted person is immediately incarcerated.

Another step taken against the Press was the imposing of the obligation to demand preliminary permission from the martial law commander to publish a new newspaper periodical.

According to a survey made by the *Contemporary Journalists' Association*, within a 3-year period, martial law commanders: 41 times ordered the banning of newspaper or periodicals for a definite or indefinite time. The dailies *Demokrat*, *Aydinlik* and *Hergün* as well as more than 20 political periodicals were closed down for good.

The names of the dailies whose publication was suspended for definite periods are as follows:

Milli Gazete (4 times):	72 days
Cumhuriyet (4 times)	41 days
Tercüman (twice):	29 days
Günaydin (twice):	17 days
Günes (once):	10 days
Milliyet (once):	10 days
Tan (once):	9 days
Hürriyet (twice):	7 days

According to the same survey, over the same period, the Council of Ministers or military tribunals banned the introduction into Turkey of 927 publications printed abroad. They included *Info-Türk* publications.

The ban or suspension of publications did not end after the legislative elections. This anti-democratic practice was still in force by the end of 1985. Below is the list of publications hit in this last period by a ban for definite periods:

- 2.10.1983: Daily *Tasvir*
- 30.10.1983: Daily *Hürriyet*
- 30.1.1984: Monthly *Somut*
- 5.9.1984: Daily *Tercüman*
- 16.10.1984: *Video-Sinema*
- 22.10.1984: Bimonthly *Yeni Gündem*
- 16.12.1984: Daily *Tan*
- 22.7.1985: Weekly *Hafsa Sonu*
- 24.7.1985: Daily *Günes*
- 26.1.1986: Monthly *Erkekçe*

According to the same survey by the Association of Contemporary Journalists, in the course of the first 3-year period, Turkish journalists were condemned to prison terms totalling 316 years, four months and 20 days. This number does not include sentences passed on journalists who are accused of being involved in political actions.

The distribution of the sentences, according to the main daily newspapers, is as follows:

Aydinlik (banned):	27 years and 6 months
Hergün (banned):	20 years and 8 months
Politika (banned):	13 years and 6 months
Milli Gazete:	2 years and 8 months
Demokrat Izmir:	1 year and 8 months
Cumhuriyet:	1 year and 7 months
Tercüman:	1 year
Demokrat (banned):	1 year
Milliyet:	6 months
Dünya:	6 months
Others:	245 years and 9 months.

Of these sentences, prison terms totalling 184 years, 4 months and 15 days have been inflicted on the responsible editors.

The distribution of the number of legal proceedings, according to the main publications, is as follows:

Cumhuriyet:	28
Tercüman:	27
Hürriyet:	14
Milliyet:	11
Milli Gazete:	4
Dünya:	4
Aksam:	3
Son Havadis:	3
Hergün (banned):	2
Arayis (banned):	2
Hayat:	2
Nokta:	2
Yanki:	1
Demokrat (banned):	1
Politika (banned):	1
Adalet:	1

However, the number of legal proceedings and the sum of prison terms would be higher than these figures, if the prosecution of politically engaged publications were taken into consideration. Since the Army's takeover, military prosecutors have started 404 legal proceedings against 27 responsible editors of these publications, and military tribunals have condemned them to a total of 3,000 years of prison. Curiously, neither the Turkish press nor foreign colleagues consider them "professional journalists". Their cases are considered as part of the trials against "political activists". However, all these people have been condemned for publishing articles the likes of which can be read in any newspaper or periodical published in any member country of the Council of Europe.

Condemned Journalists

We are reproducing the list of these journalists, published in the daily

Cumhuriyet of March 3, 1986.

1. *Aydoğan Büyüközden* (daily *Aydinlik*): 91 different legal proceedings. Condemned to a total of 38 years in prison in 27 cases. Eighteen cases ended in acquittal. In 33 trials still pending he risks further prison terms of up to 150 years.

2. *Tamer Kayas* (daily *Politika*): 9 different legal proceedings. Condemned to 7 years and 6 months, and to fines totalling 416,000 TL. Two cases ended in acquittal.

3. *Hasan Basri Çiplak* (daily *Demokrat*): 7 different legal proceedings. One case ended in a prison term of one year and a half.

4. *Isik Yurtçu* (daily *Demokrat*): 4 legal proceedings. Condemned to 2 years and 7 months in all, but the sentence was commuted into fines.

5. *Veyis Sözüer* (daily *Hergün*): 25 legal proceedings. All the prison sentences in 13 cases were commuted into fines. Three trials still go on.

6. *Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan* (periodical *Halkin Sesi*): 26 legal proceedings. Condemned to a 66-year prison term in 16 trials. He risks another 64-year sentence in 10 other trials.

7. *Alaaddin Sahin* (periodical *Halkin Yolu*): condemned to a total of 108 years in 25 cases. He faces another 163 years in 19 other cases.

8. *Feyzullah Özer* (periodicals *Ilke* and *Kitle*): condemned to a 12-year prison term in

3 trials. He risks another 7-year term in one other case.

9. *Mehmet Özgen* (periodicals *Bagimsiz Türkiye* and *Devrimci Militan*): condemned to 33 years and 6 months in 6 cases.

10. *Erhan Tuskan* (periodicals *Ilkerici Yurtsever Gençlik* and *Gençlik Dünyası*): condemned to 48 years and 10 months in 10 cases.

11. *Mustafa Tütüncübası* (periodical *Halkin Sesi*): condemned to 42 years in 14 cases and acquitted in 6 cases. He risks 90 more years in 12 other cases.

12. *Dogan Yurdakul* (periodical *Aydinlik*): condemned to 18 years in 6 cases. He risks 120 more years in 16 other cases.

13. *Ali Haydar Yıldırım* (periodical *Militan Gençlik*): condemned to 14 years and 6 months in three cases and acquitted in 5 cases.

14. *Ersan Sarıkaya* (periodical *Güney*): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

15. *Ali Duman* (periodical *Yurtsever Devrimci Öğretmen*): condemned to 7 years and 6 months in one case.

16. *Veli Yılmaz* (periodicals *Halkin Kurtuluşu* and *Halkin Kurtuluşu Yolunda Gençlik*): condemned to 1,170 years in all in 79 different cases.

17. *Mustafa Yıldırım Türk* (periodical *Halkin Kurtuluşu*): condemned to 215 years for different articles.

18. *Osman Tas* (periodical *Halkin Kurtuluşu*): condemned to 770 years in different cases.

19. *Nevzat Açan* (periodical *Halkin Kurtuluşu*): condemned to 20 years and 6 months in different cases.

20. *Irfan Asik* (periodical *Partizan*): condemned to 111 years in 13 different cases.

21. *Galip Demircan* (periodicals *Halkin Kurtuluşu* and *Halkin Kurtuluşu Yolunda Gençlik*): condemned to 20 years in different cases.

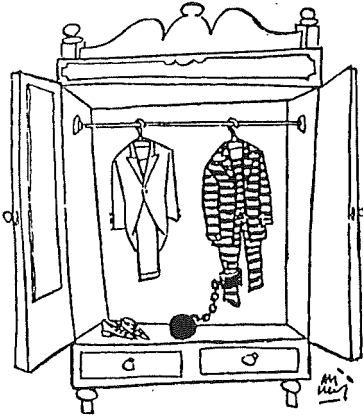
22. *Mete Dalgin* (periodical *Halkin Birliği*): condemned to 30 years in different cases.

23. *Haluk Seçkin Meriç* (periodical *Baris ve Sosyalizm Sorunlari*): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

24. *Ali Rabus* (periodical *Birlik Yolu*): condemned to 18 years in different cases.

25. *Muhtin Göktas* (periodical *Kivilcim*): condemned to 7 years and 6 months.

26. *Candemir Özler* (periodical *Savas*



Yolu): condemned to 23 years and 10 months in different cases.

27. *Hüseyin Ülger* (periodical *Genç Sosyalist*): condemned to 8 years and 3 months.

The following is the list of the other journalists, authors and translators who have been condemned by the military since the coup d'état:

Sadi Ozansu (translator):
7 years and 6 months.

Enis Rıza Sakızlı (translator):
7 years and 6 months.

Leyla Yurdakul (journalist):
9 years and 6 months.

Lütfü Oflaz (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.

Cavit Tuncer (translator):
7 years and 6 months.

Ali Bahadır (journalist):
4 years and 8 months.

Orhan Senyüz (author):
7 years and 6 months.

Tamer Kayas (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.

Aydin Engin (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.

Fatih Yıldız (poet):
4 years and 2 months.

A. Turgay Fisekli (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.

Aydin Senesen (journalist):
3 years.

Abdullah Gelgeç (journalist):
3 months.

Seydali Gönel (cartoonist):
3 months.

Okay Gönensin (journalist):
3 months.

Oktay Akbal (journalist):
3 months.

Ahmet Tastan (journalist):
11 years and 3 months.

Siar Yalçın (translator):
6 months.

Selçuk Ilgaz (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Nahit Duru (journalist):
2 months and 15 days.

Kazım Kara (journalist):
2 months and 15 days.

Sadık Albayrak (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.

Nazlı İlicak (journalist):
12 months.

Erol Gözmen (journalist):
8 years.

Nihat Behram (writer):
6 months.

Aydogdu İter (journalist):
Fine.

Erhan Taskin (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.

Demirtaş Ceyhan (journalist):
6 months.

Aydin Engin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Ayşe Nuran Saygılı (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Bektas Edogan (journalist):
9 years.

Yalcın Yusufoglu (journalist):
9 years and 9 months.

Ahmet Kardam (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.

Nadir Nadi (journalist):
3 months and 20 days.

Cezmi Kirimli (journalist):
4 months.

Metin Tokar (journalist):
3 months.

Doğan Heper (journalist):
3 months.

Durmuş Ali Aydın (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.

Ali Kocatepe (journalist):
3 months.
Necdet Sevinç (journalist):
1 year.
Abdurrahman Pala (journalist):
1 year.
Ali Bademci (journalist):
1 year.
Erol Toy (author):
1 year and 4 months.
Hayati Asilyazici (journalist):
Fine.
Alkin Simav (journalist):
10 months.
Necdet Onur (journalist):
10 months.
Metin Culhaoglu (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Ilhan Akalin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Salahattin Duman (journalist):
12 months.
Ugur Tekin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Ayhan Erkan (journalist):
11 years and 8 months.
Saffet Tekin (translator):
15 years.
Murat Cano (journalist):
8 years.
Orhan Tastan (journalist):
10 years.
Ismail Besikçi (academic):
10 years.
Ugur Kökten (author):
7 years and 6 months.
Idris Çelik (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Yunus Er (journalist):
1 year and 6 months.
Ahmet Telli (poet):
1 year and 3 months.
Metin Eray (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Riza Zelyut (author):
1 year and 4 months.
Akin Kivanç (journalist):
8 months.
Ozcan Özgür (journalist):
1 year and 2 months.
Yalçın Küçük (academic):
8 years.
Atilla Tanılğan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.

Recep Marasli (publisher):
27 years.
Arif Damar (poet):
3 months.
Rahmi Saltuk (singer):
3 months.
Müsfik Eren (author):
6 years and 3 months.
Ayşe Uzundurukan (journalist):
3 months and 18 days.
Can Yücel (author):
Fines.
Emine Senliklioglu (author):
6 years and 3 months.
Cevabi Sönmez (journalist):
8 months.
Rukiye Fatma Bursali (academic):
6 years and 8 months.
Samiye İnci Ataberk (academic):
6 years and 8 months.
Mustafa Kurtalan (journalist):
16 months.
Mehmet Cerit (journalist):
18 years and 11 months.
Saban Bilgin (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
Candemir Özden (journalist):
19 years.
Ertugrul Okuyan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
Fettah Ayhan Erkan (journalist):
11 years and 8 months.
Esref Tutak (journalist):
6 months and 20 days.
Ömer Faruk Oba (journalist):
6 months and 20 days.
Necati Sag (publisher):
6 months and 20 days.
Ugur Tekin (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Atif Yılmaz (film director):
4 months.
Ali Bahadır (journalist):
2 years.
Ahmet Kabakli (journalist):
3 months and 15 days.
Unal Sakman (journalist):
3 months and 15 days.
Mustafa Sayim (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
Sadik Albayrak (journalist):
16 months.
Ibrahim Arik (journalist):
15 years.

Aydin Senesen (journalist):
18 months.

Ramazan Güntay (journalist):
6 months.

Fehmi Isiklar (author):
6 months.

Osman Sahin (author):
18 months.

Ferhat Akdag (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.

Mehmet Ali Kutlu (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Yüksel Erdogan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.

Osman Yesil (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.

Cezmi Kirimli (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.

Güzel Aslaner (journalist):
31 years.

Hikmet Hüris (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Durmus Ali Aydın (journalist):
16 months.

Atilla Tanilgan (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.

Yalçın Dogan (journalist):
1 month.

Mehmet Özdemir (journalist):
5 years.

Riza Olgun (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Unviye Kayserilioglu (journalist):
6 years.

Ibrahim Arik (journalist):
15 years.

Zeki Araç (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Saban Bilgin (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.

Mehmet Cerit (journalist):
19 years.

Nurettin Baydar (journalist):
6 years.

Yilmaz Dinçberk (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Mustafa Silar (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.

Taner Akçam (journalist):
8 years.

Naci Ali Özer (journalist):
27 years.

Pressure on foreign press correspondents

Turkish citizens working for Western papers or news agencies were also put under pressure by the Turkish authorities. Some of them received warnings relating to their articles; others were beaten up by police and threatened.

Since 1979, İsmet İmset had been working as a reporter at the UPI desk in Ankara. In February 1983, UPI headquarters in New York proposed that he go to work at the UPI desk in London, but he had no passport. It should be pointed out that he had been writing many detailed and revealing articles on the current military regime and, in particular, on human rights in Turkey. Just like some other journalists, he had been warned in connection with his articles.

When he asked for his passport, he was asked to go to his birth-place, Istanbul, "in order to comply with certain formalities". When he reported to the Gayrettepe police station in Istanbul, he was arrested on the spot. He was blindfolded and beaten up as he was questioned. He was released after an important personality intervened in his favour, but he was forbidden to leave the country and has lived in permanent dread of the political police.

In a letter dated July, 1, 1983, to general Evren, the International Journalists' Federation expressed its indignation on the incomprehensible harassment imposed on their colleague İmset and urged that effective orders be given to make sure that his passport was returned to him.

İmset was drafted for military service in September 1984.

NEW REPRESSIVE PRESS CODE

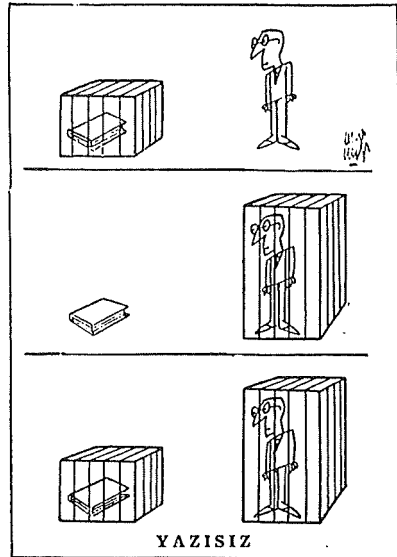
To render constant the control on the Press, the NSC adopted, just before the legislative elections of 1983, a new press code. According to this new law:

- prison terms which may be imposed on journalists and chief editors for press offences are much heavier than before;
- chief editors and journalists may be prosecuted for non-published documents;

- the indefinite concept of "secret information" is abundantly used;
- the prosecutor may call for the ban or the seizure of any publication which has allegedly infringed any of the 23 articles of the Turkish Penal Code, dealing with opinion offences and interference in State security and integrity. He is also authorized to confiscate and seize all the facilities owned by an editor. In both cases, the prosecutor's decisions are liable to reconsideration, but the editors fear that this provision may enable officials to stop and search lorries transporting newspapers, and may make owners of printing houses feel obliged to resort to censorship;
- the Collective Press Court will be suppressed and replaced by only one judge;
- the responsible editor, i.e. the staff member responsible for the newspaper, will be entrusted with more important responsibilities. "As far as information, photographs or cartoons are concerned, if the author is not clearly indicated, the responsibility is incumbent upon the responsible editor". Prison terms will be the penalty for numerous offences and the possibility of changing them into fines is restricted;
- in order to become a newspaper's responsible editor, one has to meet the same conditions as those required for being a deputy in Parliament: one should be above 30 years of age, one must not have been sentenced to a prison term of more than one year, one must never have been sentenced for offences relating to the disclosure of State secrets, to involvement in ideological or anarchic activities, and to incitement or encouragement to similar activities...., even if the offence has been pardoned.

After the "return to parliamentary regime," prosecution of journalists continued as before. Although newspapers, especially after the lifting of martial law in Istanbul, have been allowed to criticize the "civilian government", a law adopted by the NSC on its last day of legislation, still forbids all criticism with regards to the practices of the military.

On May 16, 1984, the Justice Ministry announced that there were at that time 160 arrest warrants issued by civil prosecutors against journalists. One hundred and nineteen of them were sued for "disregard" for the new Press Law, 20 for obscene publications, 20 for



writing insults against individuals and one for a publication aimed at overthrowing the regime.

According to a recent survey published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 13, 1986, after the constitution of a civil government, within a 2-year period, 313 legal proceedings had been taken against journalists in Istanbul only. The number of banned and confiscated publications in the same period rose to 154.

In addition to these new cases, 182 journalists, writers or translators still were tried for communist propaganda, anti-secular propaganda or for slander of the government in 121 different proceedings which had been started before the military intervention.

The number of cases against the Press for obscene publication reached 109 at the end of 1985.

After cracking down on political publications, the military started repressing publications which the fundamentalist oriented majority of the present government considered "hazardous for children".

According to a new law adopted by the National Assembly on March 7, 1986, an 11-member committee made up mostly of government officials and one press representative will decide whether a publication is "obscene". Any

publication deemed "obscene" by this committee, will have to be sold wrapped in non-transparent plastic. Bookstores and news vendors will not be allowed to display these publications at windows, and publishers will not be allowed to advertise in news media. Violators face fines as high as 10 million TL (about 16,600 dollars), a significant amount in a country where annual per capita income is 1,000 dollars.

If an obscenity case goes before the courts for prosecution, the government committee will be the source of authorized expert opinion.

The Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) opposed the bill, saying it would amount to unlimited press censorship and the government would be able to destroy any newspaper by labelling it "obscene".

BOOK-HUNTING

The stand of the military and its "civilian" government on printed cultural material has not been so different from that of Hitler's regime. Confiscation of books and reviews and even audio-visual materials is one of the security forces' main tasks.

This practice has been very well put in evidence by a left-wing publishing house which had 133,607 books destroyed by the military.

According to evidence from *Mr. Süleyman Ege*, owner of the publishing house "Bilim ve Sosyalizm," the books (30 different titles) were immediately declared "banned" by the military and between August 28 and September 9, 1982, they were taken away in 7 trucks. Many of these books had already been the target of judicial proceedings prior to the coup, but the civilian tribunals had not found any "crime" in them and had acquitted Ege.

On the seizure of his books, Ege approached the martial law authorities several times and, producing the acquittal judgments for each title, requested the return of the books. Finally, on June 1985, just before the lifting of martial law in Ankara, the Direction of Ankara Police informed him that all the seized books had been destroyed, but refused to give details about the means and place of the destruction.

All the following protests against this measure to the "President of the Republic" and the

Prime Minister were without response up to the end of 1985. At this point, Ege lodged a complaint with a tribunal against the martial law authorities and requested an indemnity of 115 million TL (about 240,000 dollars).

Some other significant practices:

28.8.82: The Ministry of National Education bans the reading of 272 titles in schools.

1. 9.82: On the orders of martial law authorities, all copies of 210 titles are confiscated in Izmir. They include books on drama, fiction, essays and poetry.

12.12.82: Martial law authorities order the confiscation of all books imported from the Soviet Union in 1979. This importation was made on a 60,000 dollars trade agreement between the two countries.

22. 1.84: The Daily *Cumhuriyet* reports that 118,000 copies of books published between 1972 and 1979 by the Cultural Affairs Ministry are still kept in bond. They were confiscated by the military after the coup on grounds that they contain harmful propaganda.

19. 1.85: The Ministry of Justice, in return for a receipt, distributes, to all bookshops and libraries a complete list of all publications whose circulation and sale have been banned either by decision of the courts or by order of the Council of Ministers. This list includes the titles of approximately 1,500 publications: books, periodicals, booklets, communiqués, postcards, albums, encyclopaedias, information bulletins, etc., as well as those publications which have been banned by governmental decrees from entering Turkey.

As a result of the Turkish regime's obscurantist policy, the book-printing industry has fallen into deep crisis. Because of paper shortage, many printing houses cannot print new books which had already been composed. The State-owned paper mill SEKA systematically refuses to supply printing houses with paper and forces them to buy it on the black market at twice the normal price.

RADIO TELEVISION

Following the coup d'état, audio-visual media, too, were put under very strict censorship; progressive people were dismissed from their posts at the State Radio-TV (TRT), State

and Municipal Theatres and other public cultural institutions; shooting or projection of cinema films were subjected to a previous control and many internationally renowned film directors and artists were prosecuted.

The administration of the Radio-TV was taken over by the military on the very first day of the new regime. While they were reorientating the radio and television programs within the ideological framework imposed by the military, all program producers considered "suspect" were dismissed or transferred to posts inconsistent with their profession. After putting the Radio-TV under its absolute control, the military started Color TV to draw attention to chauvinist and fundamentalist programs and to reinforce brain-washing through the means of this most influential mass medium.

One of the military's most striking practices at the Radio-TV was the burning of a TV-film considered "harmful to national interests." This film based on *Kemal Tahir's* novel, "The Tired Fighter", had been made by *Halit Refig*, on request of the former TV administration. But the National Security Council gave control of this film to a special committee. On the negative opinion of this rubber-stamp committee, military prime minister *Bülent Ulusu* ordered the General Director of the TV to burn the film.

After the legislative elections, the military retired from their posts in the Radio-TV, but they were replaced by extreme-rightwing people. The new government's choice for the position of Director General of the TRT was *Tunca Toskay*, a university assistant-professor renowned for his relations in the past with the neo-fascist party of Ex-colonel *Türkes*.

One of the new director's first practices was to ban the utilisation of several thousand words considered "not worthy of belonging to the Turkish language," and to increase the number of programs praising historical figures admired by chauvinist and fundamentalist circles.

YILMAZ GÜNEY'S TORMENTING ORDEAL

Two most striking examples of the crimes committed by the military junta in the cultural field are undoubtedly the deaths of two world renowned artists: *Yilmaz Güney* and *Ruhi Su*.

"Palme d'Or 1982" Prize-winner, Yilmaz Güney, and Turkey's most eminent folk singer *Ruhi Su* suffered from all kinds of repressive practices such as legal prosecution, interdiction of public performance, prison, interdiction of travel abroad, etc., and respectively died in 1984 and 1985, from illnesses that they could not treat because of the interdictions imposed on them by the rulers.

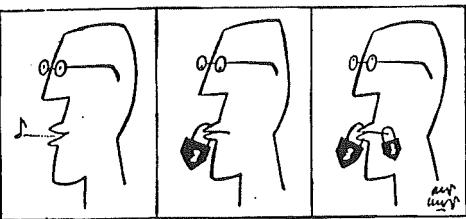
Güney, the son of a landless Kurdish peasant, was born in 1931 in a little village. He worked his way through high school in the southern town of Adana and entered Istanbul University's school of economics. He spent two years in jail, in 1960-1962, on charges of making communist propaganda in a magazine article. After his release, he drifted around, working at odd jobs for two years, and eventually ended up in the movie business. His early film career was as an actor in macho roles. In the 1970s, he developed into Turkey's most widely acclaimed screen writer and director. He received a number of international prizes, including the Golden Leopard, the Golden Apple and the 1979 Berlin film festival awards. In 1981, his film *Sürü* (Herd) won the first prize of cinema critics in Brussels.

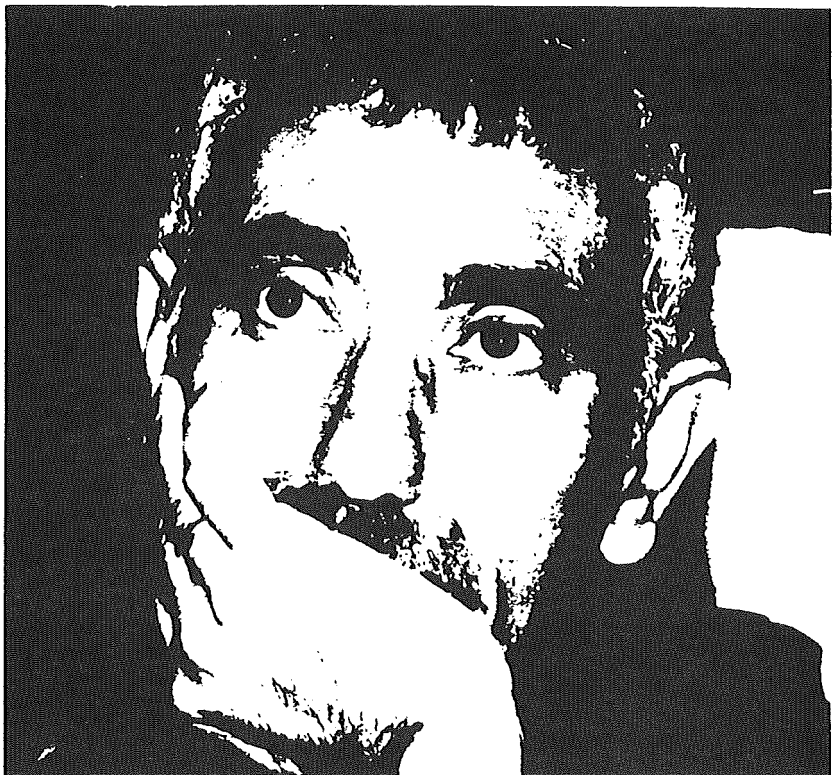
During the period of 1971-1973, he was detained for his progressive ideas by martial law authorities, and later released along with other political detainees in a general amnesty.

But his longest jail term of 19 years was the result of the fatal shooting of a judge at a restaurant in Yumurtaalik. In fact, there was extreme provocation by the victim, who used highly abusive language to Güney and his wife. Although there was not a shred of evidence against Güney, he was condemned to the maximum prison term.

While in prison, he wrote articles, scenarios and even oriented from his cell the realization of many films. For his articles, he was condemned by military courts to 19 years imprisonment in total.

When he fled Turkey, in 1981, Güney was accused of being a "traitor". In fact, all Turkish





Turkey's renowned film director Yılmaz Güney, who died in exile .

intellectuals who were obliged to flee the country because of the repression have always been charged in the same way... The most striking example of this drama is Nazim Hikmet, the greatest Turkish poet who, after serving a 13-year prison term for his opinions, fled Turkey in 1951 and died in exile in 1963.

Yılmaz Güney's "*Yol*" (Path) shared the Golden Palm top prize with Costa-Gavras' "*Missing*" in the 1982 Cannes film festival. The success of Turkish film-maker Güney, while crowning Turkish cinema was a blow to the Turkish military junta.

When Güney came out of hiding in Europe to show his latest film at Cannes, the Turkish military asked for his extradition from France. Before an official answer was given, Güney attended a conference of intellectuals spon-

sored by Greece and France on the Greek island Hydra.

As the award were announced in Cannes, the Turkish Government disclosed that protest notes had been delivered to both Greece and France for their refusal to extradite Güney.

Yılmaz Güney died on September 9, 1984, in Paris after a long illness. He was 53. His early death came just after he completed his last film, "*The Wall*."

He could have lived longer if his illness had been treated in time. But the severe living conditions, in prison and in hiding for years, did not give him opportunity to take the necessary measures for his health.

The whole world was deeply distressed by the news of Güney's death, except for Turkey's oppressors.

France's Minister of Culture, *Mr Jack Lang*, paid tribute to Güney. "He was a courageous creator who devoted his life to defending the oppressed... In 1981, he honored us by accepting the hospitality I offered him on behalf of the French Government... Güney's work and struggle are an example of powerful art in the service of liberty."

Surrounded by raised fists and to the sound of the "International" sung in Turkish, Güney was buried at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, on September 13. For an hour, his remains were accompanied by a silent crowd of several thousand people from the Kurdish Institute (of which he was a founding member) to the cemetery. Prior to the funeral, several international figures, including Mr Lang and representatives of European governments and international and national organizations, came to pay their last respects at Güney's coffin inside the Kurdish Institute.

Most people in the funeral procession were Kurds and Turks living in France, but others had come specially from various European countries.

In spite of the fact that the Turkish mass media had been warned by the junta not to refer to individuals stripped of Turkish citizenship who are accused of activities harmful to state interests, all Turkish newspapers seized the opportunity to draw a portrait of the filmmaker and published the news of his death, each of them in its own way.

Whereas the pro-governmental press rejoiced over his death, saying that he was nothing more than an ex-convict, only the center-left daily *Cumhuriyet* highlighted Güney's great talent, but still voiced some reserves. Its columnist wrote that "the torrent flows past, but the sand will remain."

As for the European press, it has, on the contrary, paid tribute to Güney by valuing his fine talent as well as the political struggle he waged against the dictatorship in his native country:

"In retrospect, Yilmaz Güney's too-short life has been a permanent struggle for the defence of human rights and liberty, for creating a cinema meant to oppose the forces of social and political oppression that were weighing heavily on the Turkish people, while opposing at the same time some ancestral traditions." (*Le Monde*, 11.9.1984)

"Farewell Robin Hood! Turkish film-

maker Yilmaz Güney who died at the age of 53 in Paris, was a great artist, militant and charmer." (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 14-20.9.1984).

"Yilmaz Güney, the war waged by a man alone. The only picture of Turkey we have, we owe it to him. By turns on the stage, in exile, the prize-winner of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival just died in Paris." (*Libération*, 10.9.1984)

"Because of his popularity, his enemies were forced to resort to other methods: presenting him as a criminal... Prison did not break his spirit, but his body. Telling the truth may entail fatal risks." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.9.1984)

"He was accused of being a communist. The consequence: imprisonment. 'I'm struggling against every kind of oppression,' he used to say, 'the sole ideology I acknowledge is human dignity.'" (*Die Welt*, 11.9.1984)

"The subject of his films is less a personal story than the story of a whole ethnic group and, consequently, no other cinema of the Third world - subjected to so fierce a dictatorship - did succeed in presenting pictures as forceful as those of Güney's cinema." (*El Pais*, 10.9.1984)

"In a cinema which has always remained confined to merely domestic consumption, Yilmaz Güney has been the sole genuine example of an artist who succeeded, though with some delay, in forcing the world to focus its attention and admiration on him." (*Corriere Della Sera*, 10.9.1984)

"For the Turkish regime, his early death still does not ensure that a serious headache has been completely removed. Video copies of his films are still being showed clandestinely all over the country. Abroad he is regarded as one of Turkey's major artists." (*NRC Handelsblad*, 10.9.1984)

"Güney was a man of strong left-wing convictions who had a long history of conflict with the Turkish authorities." (*The Times*, 11.9.1984)

"For the time being, Güney remains amid us a filmmaker who has been the hero of a unique experience in film history. His sudden death is all the more tragic since it deprives us of a work, inspired by a fighting spirit that we fervently expected to be able to overcome the rigours of exile." (*Le Matin*, 10.9.1984)

"Always on the run, always violent, always rebellious: a vehement man and filmmaker." (*Le Quotidien de Paris*, 10.9.1984)

"Turkish idol in exile... Exile, he agreed,

was merely exchanging one form of prison for another..." (*The Guardian*, 10.9.1984)

Ruhi Su's torment

As for Ruhi Su, he was born in Van in 1912 and graduated from the Ankara State Conservatory in 1942. He was distinguished as one of the best singers of the State Opera. He was taken under arrest in 1952 because of his political views and sentenced to a 5-year imprisonment.

After his release, he totally committed himself to Turkish folk music and had a worldwide reputation. His ultimate aim was to universalize Turkish folk music.

After the 1980 military coup, he was deprived of the right to travel abroad, like other contesting intellectuals of the country. He suffered from cancer and his doctors declared that he should be hospitalized in a foreign country where treatment methods are more developed than in Turkey. But the Turkish Government, disregarding the medical reports, refused until July 1985 to give him a passport. On protest from many German personalities, his passport was delivered when his condition became

desperate. It was already too late... He died on September 22, 1985.

More than five thousand people attended his funeral in Istanbul and turned it into a protest march against the repression. Police arrested about 150 people.

OTHER EXAMPLES OF NARROW-MINDEDNESS

To better illustrate the pressure on Turkish cultural life, we are reproducing some items which appeared in *Info-Türk Bulletins* over the past five years:

4. 4.81: The performance of a ballet based on a play by *Nazim Hikmet* is banned.

10. 5.81: Performance of the play "Each Day once again," presented by famous actor *Genco Erkal*, is forbidden by martial law.

17. 5.81: Thirty-one members of a jury who awarded the Grand Prize of the Foundation of Turkish Language to poet *Yasar Miraç* for his literary work, are prosecuted on the pretext that the book contains insults against representatives of public order.

30. 5.81: Folk singer *Selda Bağcan* is taken into custody for making communist propaganda in her songs taped on a cassette in 1978.

3. 6.81: Movie star *Tarik Akan* is arrested at the Istanbul airport when he returns from Germany where he had protested against censorship in Turkey.

21. 6.81: The Martial Law Coordination Department bans the introduction of musicassettes suspected of including communist propaganda.

7. 10.81: Famous author and teacher *Mehmet Basaran* is prevented from flying to Sweden at Istanbul Airport. Although he has to visit his daughter, seriously ill in Sweden, the authorities stated that his right to travel had already been suspended in 1971.

29. 12.81: Movie director *Ali Habib Ozgen-türk* is detained in Istanbul during a work of montage. He is an international prize winner for his film "Hazar."

8. 2.82: The Information and Tourism Ministry announces that all film and theater directors will be obliged to get permission from



Folk Singer Ruhi Su

a special board of examination before shooting or staging any scenario.

14. 2.82: Famous composer and folk-singer *Sadık Gürbüz* is brought before a military tribunal in Istanbul on charges of communist propaganda.

28. 2.83: The Military prosecutor of Ankara started proceedings against *Mrs. Isik Yenersu*, actress at the Turkish State Theatres, for having read the poems of Nazim Hikmet in an evening performance organized in Paris on the poet's 80th birthday.

31. 3.83: A government decree makes it necessary for foreign individuals and companies wishing to make films in Turkey to get authorization from Turkish embassies abroad.

1. 3.83: "A season in Hakkari", a Turkish film, shot by *Ender Kiral* in the remote south eastern province of Hakkari, in Turkish Kurdistan, collects top awards at the Berlin International Film Festival. The Turkish Board of Censors banned public projection of the film in Turkey on grounds that it shows Turkey in pitiful conditions. The principal actor in the film, *Genco Erkal*, who was invited to the United States, is denied a passport for travelling abroad.

1. 9.83: Martial Law Authorities ban and seize many films and video-cassettes made abroad. They include the prize-winner film *Gandhi*.

19.10.83: In Istanbul, the military prosecutor files a lawsuit against *Zafer Can Çiçekoğlu* for having musi-cassettes of two popular Turkish singers, *Melike Demirag* and *Cem Karaca*, who have been stripped of Turkish nationality for their activities abroad. Çiçekoğlu risks a one-year prison term.

28.11.83: The Military prosecutor of Istanbul starts proceedings against 13 leading members of the *Retired Actor's Union*, founded in 1978, by a number of famous Turkish actors. They are accused of conducting "marxist-leninist activities" and face up to 20 years in prison.

24.12.83: Seven famous actors of the Istanbul Municipal Theater are fired by the theater administration on order of the Istanbul Martial Law Command. *Avni Yalçın*, *Oben Güney*, *Çetin İpekçaya*, *Aliye Uzunatagan*, *Taner Barlas*, *Savas Dinçel* and *Aslan Kaçar* are considered "dangerous" to cultural life.

24. 2.84: Public showing of the prize-winning film "A Season in Hakkari" is banned

again by the military prosecutor of Istanbul. During a soirée organized by the Turkish-German Friendship Association in Istanbul, martial law officers take over the hall and seize the film while the ambassadors of the FRG and the Netherlands are waiting for its projection.

23. 3.84: Actor *Tarik Akan* is interrogated by a military prosecutor for his participation in the Turkish Peace Committee's actions prior to the coup.

19. 4.84: Folk singer *Selda Bağcan* is detained by the military for a song she composed before the coup. She faces up to 15 years in prison.

9. 5.84: Singer *Rahmi Saltuk*, after performing more songs at a concert than scheduled in the programme previously submitted to the military authorities, is sentenced to 3 months imprisonment, but the sentence is commuted into a fine.

8. 7.84: The Interior Ministry bans the showing of 937 films shot in Turkey and abroad. The measure is also extended to video-cassettes of the same films. They include the films directed by Cannes prizewinner *Yilmaz Güney*.

19. 9.84: Singer *Erol Büyükburç* is indicted by the military prosecutor of Istanbul for slandering the Armed Forces. He faces a one-year prison term.

10. 1.85: The recitals of *Rahmi Saltuk*, scheduled for January 11 and February 17 in Istanbul, and for March 10 in Ankara, are banned at the very last moment by martial law authorities.

16. 3.85: The Board of Censors bans the showing in Turkey of "Memed, May Hawk," recently produced by *Peter Ustinov* after the novel of the same title by Turkish author *Yasar Kemal*.

17. 3.85: Famous singer *Rüçhan Çamay* is banned from leaving the country on order of the martial law authorities because she is the mother of another famous contesting singer, *Melike Demirag*, who has been stripped of Turkish nationality and lives in exile in the FRG.

18. 3.85: Famous movie director, *Mrs. Bilge Olgaç* is banned by police authorities from travelling abroad. She applied for a passport in order to attend a film festival organized in France by a number of female filmmakers.

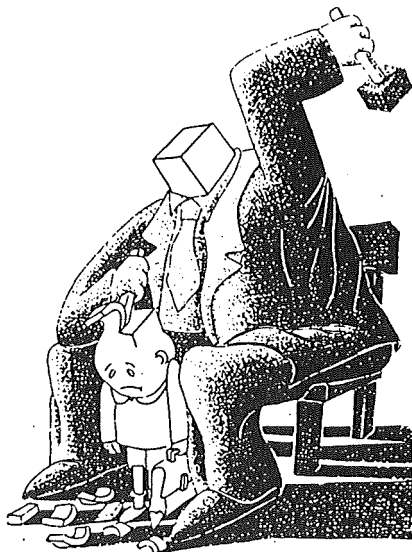
20. 3.85: The theatrical performance of a

play by *Erhan Bener*, "The Bureaucrats", is banned in Antalya by decision of the governor.

10. 5.85: Prize-winning actor *Genco Erkal* and his colleague *Avni Yalçın* are detained in Bursa for carrying a switchblade, an accessory for a theatrical performance they are to make the next day.

23.11.85: Five programme producers on Turkish TV are indicted for putting on television in 1977 *Ali Özgentürk's* film titled "the Ban".

By the end of 1985, the "civilian" government had taken some new measures to curb cultural life. According to a new law adopted by the National Assembly, a new system of censorship on films, video-cassettes, musicassettes and records has been established. A nine-person control commission consisting on representatives from certain ministries and the National Security Council will have complete authority to censor any realisation considered "against the safe-guarding of the State's interests, national sovereignty, public order, public interest and national morality."



CLAMP DOWN ON UNIVERSITIES

Trouble arose in Turkish universities on the adoption of the controversial law founding a 25-member *Higher Education Council* (YOK), which exercises centralized authority over Turkey's 27 universities, their more than 6 thousand professors, 12,000 teaching assistants and instructors and an estimated student-body of 350,000.

According to this law adopted on November 7, 1981:

- The Higher Education Council consists of 25 members; 8 of them appointed by the Chief of the State, 6 by the Council of Ministers, 8 by the Ministry of National Education and one by the Chief of General Staff. This council has complete administrative and executive powers over all the universities.

- The boards of faculties and universities are no longer the representatives of the university bodies, since only some of the professors have the right to sit there. In addition to this,

these boards have only a consultative and symbolic status. All the power belongs to YOK.

- The university rectors are appointed by the Chief of the State from four candidates nominated by YOK. The rectors may be elected from the university. The deans are named by YOK from three candidates proposed by the rector. Their power is limited to the administrative functions laid down by YOK, which holds the administrative, financial and political direction of the universities.

- University members and students no longer have the right to be members of political parties.

This anti-democratic law caused violent criticisms in university circles.

After the adoption of the new law, Professor *Ihsan Dogramaci* was named YOK's chairman. In fact, *Dogramaci* is known as a member of *Evren's* brain-trust and it was this US educated doctor who was the real author of the new law on universities.

Before the adoption of the Law on YOK,

- 901 professors from Ankara University,
- 400 professors from Aegean University,
- 1,447 professors from Istanbul University protested against this anti-democratic project and some of them resigned from their posts.

On November 10, 1982, YOK began to liquidate all university professors and assistant professors who were considered "unacceptable" by the military regime.

Within a few months, about 450 university members were dismissed from their posts on a decision by YOK. Nevertheless, not satisfied enough with YOK's practice, martial law commanders, using their authority provided by law, ordered 259 more university members to be dismissed. In protest against this practice, 535 others resigned or asked for early retirement.

About a thousand university teachers were transferred from higher education to secondary education institutions.

Besides, on August 21, 1982, new disciplinary regulations were announced and consequently university members and students were forced to abide by YOK's rules on clothing and appearance. All bearded professors had to

make a choice between two alternatives: either to get a shave or to lose their university posts.

In 1983, YOK purged 2,642 students from universities on ground that they did not abide by the new regulations or that they had been involved in political actions.

On the other hand, university students were obliged, from the beginning of the academic year 1984-85 to pay a charge of 150 dollars which constitutes another obstacle for high school graduates in a country where annual per capita income is about 1,000 dollars.

After the 1983 general elections YOK's practices gave rise to much controversy. Even among the deputies of Ozal's party, YOK was branded an antidemocratic institution. But General Evren reacted immediately, declaring that YOK is a constitutional institution and it will stay in force unless the Constitution is changed.

As for the new teaching staff, new univer-

UNBELIEVABLE BUT TRUE

27. 5.81: Worker Fethullah Saçlı is arrested for having smiled during the performance of the Turkish national Anthem in Erzurum.

24. 6.81: Worker Naci Aslan is arrested for remaining seated during the performance of the national anthem.

28.10.81: A military court in Konya condemns teenager Nazan Aycan to 4 years and 2 months in prison for communist propaganda.

5. 3.82: Fifty school children between 11 and 15 years old are brought before a criminal court for having mailed 80 TL (1 DM) to a pen-friends club in Finland for the exchange of letters.

25. 3.82: The martial law authorities ordered the confiscation of all children books published by the Spor Toto Administration prior to the coup. The former director of the administration is accused of making leftist propaganda.

25. 3.83: Luthansa director Franz Reissig is brought before a military tribunal for having published a guide indicating some eastern areas of Turkey as "Kurdistan" and "Greek Pontus."

30. 2.82: Publisher Nurettin Bolluk is arrested for having published a touristic map indicating the areas where Armenians and Kurds have lived.

25. 4.83: The text-book entitled "History of Civilizations" is banned in Turkish universities on order of the NSC. The author of the book, Prof. Server Tanilli was shot and paralyzed in 1978 by the Grey Wolves. He is currently at Strasbourg University as guest professor.

30.10.83: Publication of the daily *Günaydin*, one of Turkey's highest circulation dailies, is suspended for not having published on its front-page Atatürk's photo on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic.

1. 2.84: Nazim Hikmet, Turkey's most distinguished poet who died 20 years ago in exile, is wanted by the Turkish authorities. A police court in Ankara decided to confiscate a collection of Hikmet's poems and issued a warrant to summon the author before the court.

1. 8.84: The military bans publication of Ecevit's reminiscences on the Turkish Army's Cyprus operation. Ecevit was prime minister at that time, in 1974. Although he insisted on the "rightfulness" of that operation, political observers in Ankara estimate that in the military commanders' opinion, this publication served Ecevit's personal propaganda campaign, playing down the military's role in that operation.

24.12.84: In Malatya, the public prosecutor starts proceedings to change the name of a 12-year old boy called "İhlial" (Revolution). The father, who fled for fear of being persecuted, is wanted by the security forces.

24.11.85: In Ankara, two high school students, 17 and 18 years old, are tried before the State Security Court, on charges of spreading communist propaganda.

6.12.85: In Ankara, 19 teachers are tried before a tribunal for having changed certain words in the national anthem when they sang it

sity rectors and faculty deans have been chosen by YOK from right-wing people.

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of September 2-5, 1982, published some documents proving that Prof. Tarik Somer, rector of the University of Ankara; Prof. Erol Güngör, rector of the University of Konya Selçuk; Prof. Nihat Nirun, rector of the University of Malatya Firat; Prof. Halin Cin, rector of the University of Diyarbakir Dicle; Prof. Ahmet Sonel, dean of the faculty of Medicine of Ankara; Prof. Ahmet Akkoyunlu, dean of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Erceyis had close relationships with the neo-fascist MHP before the military coup of September 12, 1980.

1985: Year of Bans for the Turkish Youth

Despite the so-called "return to civilian rule," the *Year of Youth, 1985*, was a Year of Bans for the youth of Turkey. Accord-

ing to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 26, 1985:

- In many cities, university students who get together in coffee houses, or clubs are being forced by the police to leave these places and to return home.

- Thousands of students have been expelled from universities on the pretext that they are not successful.

- In all universities, all students are denied the right to organise themselves in youth associations.

On April 5, 1985, twelve university students who gave some opposition deputies in Parliament a petition about repressive measures were taken into custody by the police. They are accused of having made an unauthorized demonstration.

Moreover, the Higher Education Council (YOK) decided not to admit to universities those who work part-time to finance their studies. So, the children of poor families are automatically excluded from obtaining a university education, even if they had succeeded in entry exams.

For the academic Year 1985-86, YOK adopted new regulations concerning university education. University staff are charged with giving their students "a uniform formation in philosophical and ideological plans so as to make them fight against subversive and separatist currents."

The application of these new regulations are permanently controlled by special units to be set up in each faculty.

Whatever his academic capacity, nobody is allowed to have a university post unless he obtains a previous OK from the intelligence services.

According to a declaration by the National Education Minister, *Vehbi Dinçerler*, university students are allowed to organize only in sport and leisuretime clubs, and all kinds of organizations aimed at defending their proper interests or expressing their opinions on the country's problems are strictly forbidden.

As for international relations of sport and leisuretime clubs, they are allowed to collaborate only with touristic and sportive organizations of other countries.

According to a regulation issued on July 22, 1985, by the Ministry of National Defense, university graduates who are "suspected" by the intelligence agency will be assigned, during their military service, to special activities. As for the military academy cadets, if one is ousted from the academy, he will never be allowed to enroll in civilian higher education institutions.

One should remember that, having no confidence even in the universities purged by YOK and martial law commanders, the military put in the Constitution a provision entitling the Armed Forces to establish their own universities and higher education institutions.

Academic bodies headed by the military

To complete the new structure of the academic and cultural life of Turkey, another new established institution should be mentioned: *Atatürk High Institution of Culture, Language and History*. This public corporate body, provided by the new Constitution, is under the authority of the President of the Republic and charged with developing scientific research and disseminating information on Atatürk's thoughts, principles and reforms, on Turkish culture, Turkish history and on the Turkish language.

In November 1983, General Evren appointed a chairman and four members of this institution's board. The first chairman of the institution is the *Retired General Suat Ilhan*. Four other members are known in Turkish academic

circles as fervent advocates of reactionary views.

In January 1984, by order of General Evren, the State Ministry drew up a new 30-year policy of scientific research. One of its main points is the implementation of all necessary measures to advance scientific research by reinforcing Turkey's military power.

This new policy in the field of scientific research is put in practice by another new institution set up by order from General Evren: The *Supreme Council of Science and Technology* which is chaired personally by the Prime Minister.

PROSECUTION OF TEACHERS

Besides university professors, thousands of primary and secondary school teachers have also been dismissed from their posts and many of them legally prosecuted.

Within the first one-year period of the military regime, more than 6,000 teachers were

prosecuted for "having been involved in ideological actions" prior to the coup.

The *Teachers' Association of Turkey* (TOB-DER) was one of the Junta's choice targets. Chairman Gültekin Gazioglu and his 15 comrades were sentenced to 18 months of imprisonment and other trials were started against 55 leading members of the association with request for prison sentences of up to 15 years. In the meantime, Gazioglu was stripped of his Turkish nationality while he was abroad.

On November 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that 1,254 teachers were still under arrest and 1,311 teachers were fired from their posts.

On June 26, 1982, the National Education Ministry announced that the number of dismissed teachers had risen to 4,968.

According to a survey published by an Austrian review, *Forum* (April-May 1984 issue), the number of legal proceedings against primary and secondary school teachers reached more than 50,000 within a 3-year period.

Turkish teachers charged abroad with teaching Turkish immigrant children have also been hit by repressive measures. The National Education Minister declared in 1982 that "all

A COURAGEOUS ACADEMIC: ISMAIL BESIKCI

Famous Turkish sociologist Dr. Ismail Besikçi was condemned to a 10-year prison term on March 25, 1982, by the military court of Gölçük Navy Command. He was accused of having defamed the Turkish State by sending a letter to the Swiss Writers' Union, in which he criticized the September 12 coup. At the moment of this writing, Dr. Besikçi was still in prison and his health was steadily worsening.

This was not in fact the first condemnation of this courageous academic. He had been condemned many times for defending the national rights of Turkey's Kurdish population.

Besikçi himself is not Kurdish. He was born in Çorum in 1939. While serving his military duty in the Kurdish area, he was interested in the Kurdish people's unfavourable situation and later he wrote his first book, "*Structure of Eastern Anatolia - Socio-economic and ethnic bases*", based on his doctoral dissertation thesis at Atatürk University in Erzurum. When the book appeared, he was dismissed from assistantship at this university.

In 1971, he restarted his academic work in the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. But a few months later, during the preceding coup d'état, he was arrested and condemned to 13 years and 2 days imprisonment by the military for his articles and lectures on the national question.

As a result of the general amnesty in 1974, he was freed along with other political prisoners. While other pardoned academics were returning to their university posts without any problem, Besikçi's demand in the same sense was denied mainly for political reasons.

On September 7, 1979, Besikçi was again condemned by a court in Istanbul to a 3-year prison term and immediately incarcerated. His research entitled "*Turkish Thesis on History (The Theory of Sun Language)*" was considered separatist propaganda by the tribunal.

Besikçi's book focuses mainly on the nature of the *theory of Sun Language* that had been put forward in 1930s by Turkish scientists with the guidance and contribution of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, President of the Republic at the time. The theory could be exemplified as such: "The Hittites, Sumerians, Egyptians, Aegeans, Romans, Indians, Chinese all came into existence from the Turkish race. Their culture and language were created by Turks. Arabs and Jewish people are also from the Turkish race. Prophet Mohammed is a Turk also... And all the languages of the world originated mainly from the Turkish language, Turkish is the mother of all



ISMAIL BESIKCI
Permanent target of the military

Turkish teachers engaged by the *Länder* of the FRG, are under surveillance. Preliminary investigations have been initiated against 253 of them. Our aim is to bring teachers from Turkey to replace those who have been engaged."

The Turkish Ambassador in Brussels put pressure on the Brussels City Administration to dismiss *Inci Tugsavul* from her Turkish language teacher post, but this demand was turned down by the Belgian authorities.

Even after the constitution of a civilian government, the prosecution of teachers did not end. On April 24, 1984, the National Education Administration of Adana Province announced through the daily press that 104 school teachers were still wanted for legal proceedings pending against them. They, too, are accused of having participated in 1979 in a boycott by teachers.

On January 17, 1985, a military tribunal condemned 21 teachers to 2 months imprisonment each for taking part in the same boycott. They have been banned from teaching for an additional 2-month period.

About a hundred university professors have also been prosecuted and tried before military tribunals. Many of them are accused of having participated in the actions of DISK,

languages. There is no language such as Kurdish; Kurdish is only a degenerate dialect of the Turkish language. The Kurdish nation actually consists of Turks living in the mountains."

Ismail Besikçi who studies the formation and development of official ideology (Kemalism) discusses in his book the unscientific, racist, chauvinist nature of this ideology and exposes the political document denying the national existence and the basic democratic rights of the Kurds as well as the process of their being oppressed.

During his trial, Besikçi rejected the Istanbul Public Press Court as follows:

"This court is functioning just like the gendarme, the police, the national security organizations. To reject the reality of the Kurdish nation which is an objective fact beyond the will of persons and institutions, the court is trying to establish the hegemony of the official ideology based on fraud. Turkish universities enslaved by the official ideology depart from the scientific truth by denying the reality of the Kurdish nation. Your court tries to prevent criticism by professors who obtain material and moral advantages through political charlatanism on threat of punishment.

"Your court is preventing us from telling the truth. It puts barriers before free thinking and requests that we close our eyes to the social reality and become political charlatans. It defends racism and colonialist policy and tries to prevent and suppress the struggle waged against these policies. We cannot call it a Court when it accepts a lie without further ado and forces us to lie as well."

After serving two-thirds of his imprisonment, Besikçi was released in August 1981. But the military arrested him again on October 21, 1981, for informing Europeans of his prison conditions. The accusation is based on a copy of a letter he had sent to Switzerland. The military claimed that this copy had been found in his cell after his release. He was condemned according to Article 140 of the Turkish Penal Code which stipulates a 10-year prison term and 5 years compulsory residence for those "who are leading activities harming the State's prestige and interests abroad."

Since then, he was given an additional - though less heavy - prison sentence. He has been adopted by Amnesty International. According to the Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad* of February 26, 1985, he was transferred from Canakkale prison, where he was permitted to read and to write, to Gaziantep prison (in south-eastern Turkey) where conditions of detention are based on the prisoners' isolation.

the Turkish Peace Committee or the petition action of 1.256 intellectuals.

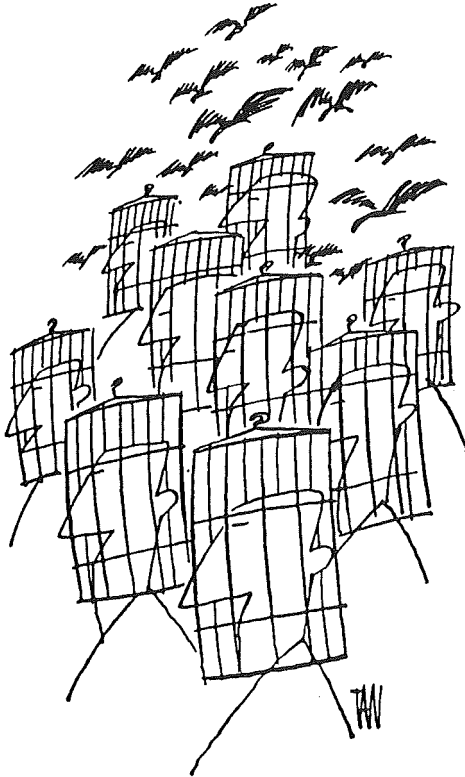
Some of them have been tried for their opinions or writings.

For example, *Professor Yalcin Küçük* was condemned on April 25, 1984, by a military tribunal of Istanbul, to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment. He was accused of having made communist propaganda in his work entitled "Toward a New Republic." His sentence was overruled by the Military Court of Cassation, and he was condemned again by the lower

court, but this time to an 18-month prison term. Since he already stayed in prison for 10 months and 16 days during his trials, he was not incarcerated again.

The prosecuted professors include *Sadun Aren, Alparslan Isikli, Gençay Gürsoy, Osman Nuri Koçtürk, Metin Özek, Gençay Saylan, Melih Tümer, Cumhuriyet Ertekin, and Ercan Eyüboğlu.*

But the most significant is the case of Assistant Professor *Ismail Besikci.*



STATE TERRORISM 4

REPRESSION OF KURDS AND CHRISTIANS

Pursuing a chauvinist policy, the military have reinforced all measures with a view to suppressing the national identity of Kurds and forcing Christian minorities to leave the country. All Kurdish militants and intellectuals defending their community's national rights have undergone mass arrests, tortures and condemnations. Two thirds of the Turkish Army's effective strength have been concentrated in the Turkish Kurdistan. Turkish troops entered Iraqi and Iranian territories in order to pursue Kurdish militants. The Kurdish population is deprived of the right to say "I am a Kurd" and to use its own language.

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

More than a third of the political prisoners in Turkey are Kurdish militants guilty of claiming cultural and national rights for their people. In this latter part of the 20th Century, Turkey, which occupies an important part of Cyprus in the name of defence of the rights of the Turkish minority on this island, and demands teaching in the Turkish language for Turkish workers' children in Europe refuses to recognize any cultural right of the Kurdish people who constitute one fourth of its population. It even denies the existence of the Kurds as a people having their own language, their own culture and their own history.

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

"Besides they do not fail to accompany this exemplary cultural genocide with large-scale and violent physical repression. Two-thirds of the total strength of the Turkish Armed Forces keep the Kurdish Provinces under close control and there regularly indulge in combing operations."

The Kurdish People have to fight on three fronts: first, against the military dictatorship in Turkey; secondly, against Baath's chauvinism in Iraq; and finally, against national repression in Iran, increasing day after day.

These repressions are in fact the result of a policy that consists in "dividing to reign," applied by imperialism for years on a large scale in the Middle-East. The monopolies, denying people the right to self-determination, dividing the Middle-East according to their own interests, have carved up the Kurdistan in a political plan since the beginning of the century. Each parcel of Kurdistan has been under the control of a state that does not correspond to the voluntary union of peoples, and the Kurdish people have suffered from chauvinism, assimilation and repression applied by the dominant classes of those countries.

The situation of the Kurdish people in Turkey is even more painful.

During the war of independence against imperialism, the Kurds fought within the

worker and peasant masses of Turkey, but at the end of the war, they faced one of the biggest perfidies in modern history. While non-Moslem minorities were recognized to have cultural, religious and social rights, the Kurds were deprived even of the right to say "I am a Kurd", to read and write in his mother tongue and to live according to national particulars.

The fact that in the Treaty of Lausanne non-Moslem minorities, such as Armenians, Greeks and Jews, were recognized as having some limited rights, does not change this truth. As a matter of fact, non-Muslim capitalists within the grand bourgeoisie of Turkey have always had some privileges... However, the toiling strata of these minorities such as workers, handicraftmen and little tradesmen, have always felt discrimination and national repression. Many of them have been obliged, especially after the events of September 6-7, 1955, to leave Turkey, the homeland where they were born and where they grew up. As a result of the repression, the number of the non-Muslim population in Turkey fell to less than 100,000.

Even the Moslem minorities have been touched by repression and discrimination. The Moslem Alevites, who constitute an important part of the population of Turkey, are still suffering from repression and massacres.

But for the Kurds, the Kurdish people, the situation is completely different.

Today, more than ten million people of Kurdish origin are living on the entity called Kurdistan, united through a link of language, culture and economic factors. That is the Kurdish people, the Kurdish nationality.

After the military victory against imperialism, the alliance between the young bourgeoisie and the big landowners of Turkey (who seized power by eliminating political representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the Kurdish people) have exercised two forms of repression throughout the history of the republic: class repression on the working class and national repression on the Kurdish people. While political and trade union organizations of the working class were forbidden, national repression on the Kurdish people became, in certain periods, massacre... on the pretext of "suppressing Kurdish riots."

The jingoist representatives of the Turkish bourgeoisie have even qualified the Turkish race as a "superior race, the origin of all other

racess" and treated the Kurds as "highlander Turks."

During the period of expanded liberties in the Sixties, along with the national question also came to the agenda of political discussions the organization of the working class on a political plan. After an interruption of more than half a century, Kurdish intellectuals attempted, with the risk of heavy punishments, to found cultural organizations.

During the semi-military repression period which started on March 12, 1971, the target of imperialism and its local collaborators was once again the working class movement and the Kurdish national democratic movement. The Workers' Party of Turkey was closed down for defending the democratic rights of the Kurdish people.

Another victim of the repression was the Organization of Progressive Culture of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO), whose leaders were also condemned to heavy punishments.

Since the coup d'état of September 12, 1980, the same play has been staged. With the military exercises code-named "Flying Gendarme," a dress rehearsal for national repression was already staged, even before the coup. After the proclamation of martial law, national repression was put into practice in the Kurdistan of Turkey. Kurdish villages were shelled, mass arrests reached the greatest dimensions in this area and those who resisted were either assassinated or jailed.

According to the International League of Human Rights, 81,634 Kurds were arrested, within the two-year period of September 1980 to September 1982. Many of them were subjected to torture at interrogation centers.

Turkish Army's Expansionism

A well-planned raking operation against the Kurds in Iraq was launched on May 26, 1983, when two brigades of the special forces of the Turkish Gendarmerie and parachute forces entered Iraqi territory. The troops were reinforced by two border-guard brigades and got "reduced" support from the Turkish Air Forces and some helicopters, according to Iraqi diplomatic sources.

The seven-day operation ended on June 2, "after being led successfully," the Turkish Foreign Office announced in a press release. The

Turkish authorities asserted that "talks have taken place on this action with the government of friend and neighbour Iraq."

This "right to pursue" is provided in the framework of a "co-operation" developed four years ago after an agreement between the Iraqi President Saddam Huseyn and General Evren, Chief of the General Staff of that time.

Both had decided to "co-ordinate their plans in order to control Kurdish minorities in the two countries".

The Iraqi Ambassador to Turkey, Mr Taha Mahmoud Al-Kaysi, said that the operation by the Turkish forces had "likely resulted in the arrest of about 1,500-2,000 separatist adventurers".

According to an alarm-cry of the Democratic Party of Kurdistan in London, the Turkish Army surrounded about 20,000 or 30,000 civilian Kurds, of whom a majority were women, children and old people, who had taken refuge in DPK camps.

Diplomatic sources in Ankara also confirmed the size of the operation, which had obviously passed beyond a "simple chase of a few Kurdish separatists." According to these sources quoted by the AFP, 15,000 Turkish soldiers reinforced by Iraqi troops penetrated 40 km inside the Iraqi border. Antipersonal bombs were reportedly dropped on the region.

The only "balance sheet" made public by the Turkish military sources noted the 6 military men killed and did not breathe a word about the victims of the operation or the prisoners, estimated between 1500-2000.

The Turkish newspapers reported the operation with victory cries. The daily *Tercüman*: "Execrable Nests Broken", *Hürriyet*: "Traitors Crushed", *Milliyet*: "Our Army Cleaned up Armed Groups Based in Iraq". On the other hand, they by no means mentioned how many people had been killed in the course of this "cleaning up" and "crushing" operation.

Many observers in Turkey asserted that by initiating this "police action", the Turkish military regime had taken the first step to realize an old dream that it discreetly cherishes: to recover the north of Iraq, the "Vilayat of Mosul" inhabited by Kurdish people.

At the end of the First World War, Britain forced the Kemalist regime to give up this province, and a British mandated state, Iraq, was created. Many of the Turkish military take it for granted that this region with rich petroleum

reserves should fall to them by full right, especially because of an important Turkish speaking minority living among Kurds.

According to *The Times* of May 28, 1983, "last year an article in the *New Statesman*, alleging the existence of a Turco-American plot to seize northern Iraq, aroused great interest and anxiety in the Arab World. Such a notion seems extremely farfetched, given the amicable cooperation existing between the Turkish and Iraqi governments, and it is most unlikely that what happened has anything to do with such a plan. But it does remind us that some hitherto unthinkable things might become thinkable in the event of a complete collapse of central government in Iraq."

Just after the raking operation, it was announced in September 1983 that the Headquarters of the 2nd Turkish Army had been shifted from the Central Anatolian city of Konya to Malatya in the Turkish Kurdistan. This headquarters commands two-thirds of the Turkish Army's effective forces controlling this region.

Kurdish Armed Resistance and "Sun Operation"

Despite all the military control over this area, The PKK militants started an armed resistance in 1984, and on the night of August 15, they attacked many garrisons and gendarmerie stations in the Siirt Province. In retaliation, Turkish commandos launched a new combing operation code-named "Sun Operation." The Chief of General Staff went immediately to the operation area and extended the combing to other provinces.

In addition, Turkish troops crossed the border and once more entered Iraq. The agreement for this operation was reached following a sudden visit to the Iraqi capital, on October 14, by the Turkish minister of Foreign Affairs Mr. Vahit Halefoglu, accompanied by Deputy Chief of Staff General Necdet Ozturun.

According to the European press, several reasons led the Iraqi President Saddam Hussein to allow Turkish troops to cross the border. As the war with Iran deprived him of several of his outlets, he was determined to stay on the best of terms with his northern neighbour who offered him facilities for exporting his oil and conveying supplies. In domestic policies, the war with Iran

and the army's mobilization along the border also furthered a reawakening of the Kurdish opposition which suffered a fatal blow in March 1975, when the Shah of Iran and Saddam Hussein signed the Algiers agreement. However, the Barzanist PDK continued to wage armed struggle against the Iraqi regime. So, the regime of Saddam Hussein was "in such a state of weakness and powerlessness that he was forced to use foreign troops in order to quell the Kurdish rebellion on his territory."

Contrary to what had happened a year before, Iran now was opposed to the Iraqi-Turkish agreement aimed at fighting Kurdish guerrillas. Talks between Teheran and Ankara on a possible penetration of Turkish troops into the border area with Iran collapsed.

The Iranian Minister of Foreign Affairs on October 19 condemned the aforesaid agreement on "coordinated struggle" between Iraq and Turkey, considering that it "jeopardized the security of the region as a whole".

"We warn that this kind of move is likely to aggravate the crisis in this sensitive part of the world," a communique from the Iranian Foreign Affairs Ministry said.

In fact, Tehran actively supported the Iraqi Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP) led by Massud Barzani. Contrary to the Kurdistan Patriotic Union (KPU) led by Jalal Talabani, which was more inclined to collaborate, the KDP was a staunch opponent of the Iraqi regime. Unlike the KDP, the KPU of Talabani negotiated for several months with the Iraqi government in an attempt to reach an agreement enabling it to rally, while President Saddam Hussein was making concessions as well. Therefore, Saddam Hussein, angry with Iranian assistance to the PDK, gave his support to the Kurds of Iran, rallying under the banner of the Iranian Kurdish "Democratic Party" (KDP) headed by Mr. Ghassemlu, and the banner of Komala (Kurdish Communists).

Faced with the Iranian Government's opposition, the Turkish regime did not hesitate to disown the Turkish press' triumphal headlines reporting the Turkish Army's penetration into Iraqi territory, while at the same time "Operation Sun" was actually going on on both sides of the Turco-Iraqi border.

Indeed, the combing operation unleashed in Turkish Kurdistan in August 1984 turned into a bloodbath. Since the regular Turkish Armed Forces remained powerless before the

Kurdish combatants who had a thorough knowledge of the mountainous regions, the Turkish Generals themselves were mobilized and went to the operation area to incite the Kurdish population to inform against the "peshmerge".

During a 5 days' journey to Turkish Kurdistan, ending on October 5, 1984, General-President Kenan Evren tried hard to persuade the local population that the Turkish Government did not contemplate remaining passive in the face of increasing activities by "separatists," without, however, mentioning the word "Kurd". The Turkish Government did not intend to abandon "the population in the hands of armed adventurers," he said.

During the same journey, the General-President referred with satisfaction to the "loyalist attitude" of the local population and launched the idea of distributing weapons to "carefully selected" peasants in order to drive "separatist" militants out of the villages. The Army commanders, however, regarded as quite dangerous the idea which had suddenly occurred to Evren, because the distributed weapons could be transferred by the "selected persons" to the Kurdish militants. Thereupon the idea was dropped.

Instead of this, the following decisions were taken:

- intensifying raids in Kurdish villages,
- clearing Kurdish border villages of their inhabitants and deporting them to the western part of the country,
- gunning down without warning anybody looking like a "separatist",
- mining border zones to prevent people in Iraq or Iran from crossing the Turkish frontier.

These exceptional measures were immediately carried out by Turkish commando troops.

During the combing operation, the West-German daily *Tageszeitung* reported, the villages of Pervari, Genzag and Zorova in Hakkari province were bombed and shelled, as the Kurdish tribe of the Jirki, living in this region, refused to collaborate with the military. According to the Turkish daily *Hürriyet*, the five tribal chiefs who fled into the mountains (apparently followed by their tribesmen) are wanted by the security forces. Furthermore, a prisoner camp was set up in the village of Esgrik, near Hakkari province, where prisoners were flown over by helicopter.

On May 23, 1985, the Interior Minister in

Ozal's Government, Mr Yildirim Akbulut, referring to the resistance of Kurdish militants, said: "This is warfare, 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 aroused strong reactions from those circles who sought 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 that '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..."

In the National Assembly, a spokesman for the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) approached the question from another point of view. He said: "If a minister of the Turkish State designates the incidents as 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."

As the Ankara regime proved unable to quell the armed resistance of Kurdish militants, it stepped up the deployment of military units all over the Turkish part of Kurdistan. At the same time, Ankara signed an agreement with the Iranian Khomeiny regime to join their efforts in army operations against Kurdish combatants.

This new scheme by the Turkish Generals, playing the part of "wielding the big stick" in the Middle East while seeking at the same time to take advantage of the prevailing conditions in this part of the world, was disclosed and exposed in a press release issued on May 21, 1985, by the Foreign Delegation of the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iran:

"According to information that we have just received, several talks have taken place between the Turkish and Iranian authorities, in particular on May 9, 1985, at Gavar (40 km from Urmieh), where a commander-in-chief of the 64th division at Urmieh had discussions with a high-ranking Turkish commander. At this meeting, the Turkish and Iranian authorities signed an agreement regarding the repression of the Kurdish peoples' movement in Iranian Kurdistan: this repression was to be carried out by their joint forces.

"Subsequently, units of the Turkish Army have entered Iranian territory, on the request and with the agreement of the mullah regime; after joining the Iranian forces, they have launched operations together against the bases of the Kurdish combatants. According to recent information, Iran and Turkey have landed forces in the region of Galibardarach, as part of a common plan. They have occupied a part of territory held by Peshmerga fighters of the PDKI.

"This attitude is in contradiction with national sovereignty and with territorial integrity so dear to the authorities of the Islamic Republic."

While the combing operation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan was going on, the Turkish government decided on June 28, 1985, that in 13 provinces mainly inhabited by Kurds, "Countryside Protectors" could assume their functions. According to a special law, these "Countryside Protectors," to be designated provisionally, should first be trained intensively and then provided with arms. About one thousand people assumed this function in the Siirt area. This province is due to be followed by Van, Agri, Kars, Mus, Bingöl, Tunceli, Bitlis, Urfa, Diyarbakir, Adiyaman, Mardin and Hakari.

On the other hand, the Government launched a new campaign to build "Roads of Peace" in Kurdistan, so as to track down Kurdish militants more easily. All these roads, to be built along the Iraqi and Syrian border, will be permanently floodlighted by means of electric poles to be erected at regular intervals of 48 meters.

Moreover, all village heads throughout Kurdistan have been provided with transmitter-receivers, to allow them to inform on suspects as soon the latter are spotted.

The strained situation in the Turkish part

of Kurdistan roused some anxiety in Washington. According to a statement by the U.S. Foreign Secretary, published by the daily *Milliyet* on August 2, 1985, the U.S. Government advised its nationals to avoid the eastern area during their stay in Turkey "because the terrorist separatists are a scourge there and any kind of violence is to be feared there. In case a U.S. citizen still goes to that area, he should collaborate with the local authorities."

According to the General Staff's communiqué of December 31, 1985, the total number of those killed in armed clashes since August 15, 1984, amounted to 279, including 118 Kurdish militants, 74 military and policemen, and 77 civilians.

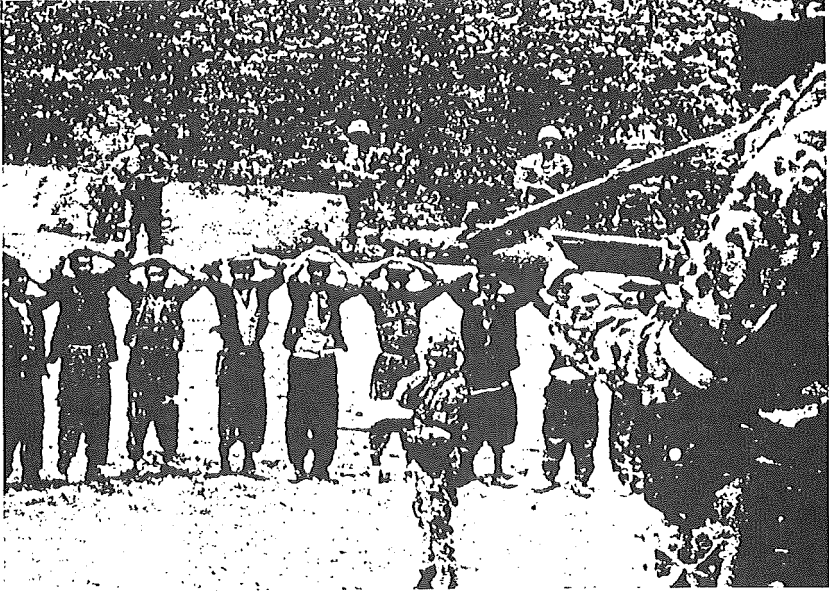
Other details concerning the military operation carried out in the Turkish Kurdistan in the same period:

Captured militants	309
Identified and wanted	641
Kurdish attacks	102
<i>Seized arms:</i>	
Pistols	836
Machine guns	8
Rifles	860
Automatic rifles	11
Hand grenades	157
Anti-tank mines	43
Anti-personnel mines	48
Small arms	47,314
Rocket launchers	2

Dimensions of the armed clashes in Kurdistan are getting more and more alarming for Ankara. The Armed forces recently, to better prepare their units for further sweeping operations, started on September 4, 1985 a big military exercise in the Turkish Kurdistan. These exercises were attended by general Evren himself, as well as the Chief of General Staff Necdet Urug, the National Defence Minister Yavuztürk and all commanders of the Army.

On the other hand, the Kurdistan Committee in Paris on August 28, issued a press communiqué in which it declared: "The Turkish General Staff, which has been silent until now on the war developing in Kurdistan, distorted in its press release all facts concerning the one-year period of actions, military operations, arrests and assassinations.

"All actions carried out in this period have been led by the HRK (Liberation Unity of Kurdistan), founded on August 15, 1984. Today it exists on a line of 1000 kilometers, from



Semdinli and Yüksekova (in the province of Hakkari) up to the north-west, passing through south-west, where fierce combats are being carried on. The following cities are in this fighting zone: Hakkari, Siirt, Bitlis, Mardin, Van, Mus, Bingöl, Diyarbakir, Elazig, Urfa, Adiyaman, Kars, Agri and Dersim (Tunceli).

"In all, 117 attacks, ambushes and clashes have occurred and 402 military personnel, policemen, guards and high-ranking officials (of whom 30 pc are Army officers or NCOs) have been shot dead and 188 others wounded in these operations.

"130 Turkish GIs were captured. They were later released, after being disarmed.

"46 well-known denouncers have been punished by death."

Since the very first day of the proclamation of martial law in Kurdistan, tens of thousands of Kurds have been taken into custody and tortured at interrogation centers, and thousands of them have been tried by the military courts and hundreds condemned to capital punishment.

As can be seen in the Table published in the chapter "Mass Trials", different Kurdish organizations have been hit, in different degrees, by the State terrorism.

The vast majority of the defendants are presumed to be militants of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK). In fact, the armed resistance of the last two years was launched by this organization.

According to the February 1985 issue of this party's central press organ *Serxwebûn*, up to that date, 121 party militants had already been sentenced to capital punishment.

After August 15, 1984, the date of the armed resistance's beginning, about 300 party militants have been arrested and brought before military tribunals. Ten of them have been sentenced to death, while others face the same punishment.

Ideological brainwashing in prisons

The prison conditions in Kurdistan are much worse than in other military prisons in other regions of Turkey. Besides the physical and psychological tortures which are common in every military prison, the prisoners in Kurdistan are subjected to a special treatment aimed at annihilating their national conscience.

To better illustrate this ideological condi-

tioning, we are reprinting below some excerpts from a report written not by an opponent of the present regime, but by one of its notorious propagandists, Tokay Gözütok; this report was published on August 2, 1983, by the rightist daily *Tercüman* with the permission of the military authorities:

"In the military camp of special confinement in Diyarbakir, over two thousand prisoners belonging to eighteen different organizations are being held. As ornaments, everywhere there are Turkish flags and Atatürk's portraits, which have been hung up by prisoners.

*Treacherous thoughts pass through my
body,
I am a descendant of brave heroes,
Pain and disgust oppress my heart,
Your enemies are not brave people,
Only a Turk is a friend for a Turk;
he has no other friends.*

"These words, which were heard in the camp at Diyarbakir, resound in our ears. We had thought these were soldiers singing marching songs while training. We were mistaken. We met these people who serve their prison terms here, as they were striding along like soldiers, singing in unison. Previously, they used to display marxist, leninist and separatist ideologies and wanted to divide our country and our people. We moved step by step forward through the prison's corridor, restraining our emotions. We lived history over again while moving forward from the canteen to the dormitory. Turkish flags had been hung on the ceiling as well as banderoles describing the part played by Turks and their greatness. No part of the wall had been left uncovered. What we were seeing helped us to relive history, and through what we were reading, we get to know the greatness of the Turks. We read catchwords such as: '*One Turk is as strong as the world*' - '*I am so happy to be able to say that I am a Turk!*' - '*Oh young Turk, what strength flows through your veins!*'"

Political prisoners have resorted many times to resistance actions such as hunger strikes in protest against this humiliating treatment, which very often have resulted in death.

On February 8, 1986, during the PKK trial before a military tribunal in Diyarbakir, the military prosecutor confirmed that 32 detainees died in the military prison of the same city. According to him, eight of these 32 victims committed suicide, six died after a hunger

Does the Kurdish language exist or not?

Despite the fact that the Turkish authorities deny the very existence of the Kurdish people and the Kurdish language in Turkey, a military court in Diyarbakir was obliged on August 26, 1983, to yield to reality.

Twenty-eight persons, mainly Kurds, were brought before the military tribunal on the accusation of having been involved in arms traffic. During their interrogation, most of them were unable to answer the questions in Turkish, because they knew only the Kurdish language. Thereupon, the judge was forced to interrogate them with the help of a Kurdish interpreter.

strike, and as for the sixteen others, they died from natural causes.

Taking into account that the majority of the detainees are young militants, the pronouncement of "natural" death is far from convincing. The defendants at trial said that the number of the victims is higher than 32 and most of them had been killed either through torture or because of ill-treatment in prison.

Although some Kurdish prisoners are accused of having resorted to armed actions, the great majority are tried only for having defended the fundamental rights of the Kurdish people or simply for saying that they are Kurds.

One of the most significant examples of this kind of prosecution is the condemnation of Turkish sociologist İsmail Besikçi. As has been detailed in the preceding chapters he has been condemned many times for writing articles or books proving in a scientific manner the existence of a Kurdish nation and a Kurdish language.

Many distinguished Kurdish intellectuals, such as Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, author of a Kurdish Alphabet, publishing house director Recep Maraslı, lawyers Mümtaz Kotan, Hüseyin Yıldırım and Serafettin Kaya, have been pursued and condemned for having made publications in the Kurdish language or on Kurds, or for assuming the legal defence of Kurdish prisoners.

The former Mayor of Diyarbakir, Mehdi Zana, has been in prison since the very first day of the military regime and has been sentenced many times. Diyarbakir is the chief town of Turkish Kurdistan. Zana is the first Kurdish mayor of a Kurdish town asserting his national identity. But, in addition, he is the first socialist mayor of an important city of the country. In

DOCUMENT

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

The International Writers' Reunion was held on June 15-19, 1981, in Lahli, Finland. During this meeting, Mr. Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, Kurdish author of Turkey who is actually in Sweden, gave the following speech on the oppression of the Kurdish language and literature in Turkey:

"Please let me first ask you some questions:

"Can you imagine a language in which it is completely forbidden to write?"

"Can you imagine a literature which is not allowed to be written or read?"

"Can you imagine a culture that has been threatened by extermination for more than half a century?"

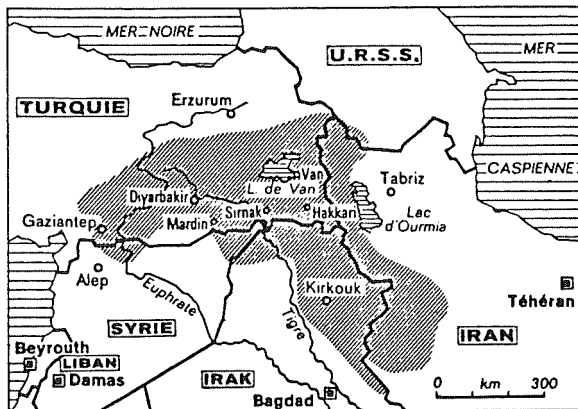
"Can you imagine a people with a population of more than 10 millions, that is not allowed to use its own language, its literature and its culture?"

"Can you imagine millions of children who are not allowed to study in their own mother tongue in school, but have to use a foreign language?"

"Can you imagine a nation that has signed even international law and treaties on Human Rights but yet tries to exterminate a culture, kill a literature and forbid a language before the rest of the world with all its democratic and Human Rights organisations?"

"Perhaps these questions and their implications seem unbelievable and untrue. Perhaps you begin to think that these questions belong to some ancient mythological tales from some barbarian days of long ago.

"But neither those questions nor their content belong to prehistory. They belong to our days, the twentieth century, and they are about the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and the Kurdish literature, that has been totally forbidden by the Turkish state against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish language, the Kurdish culture and Kurdish literature.



A Totally Forbidden Language

"The Kurdish language is an Indo-European language that is one of the three old major languages in the Middle East (the two others being Arabic and Persian). After 1701 when Turkish tribes began to settle in Anatolia, the Turkish language became the fourth major tongue in the Middle East.

"The Kurdish language is spoken by about 20 million people living in Kurdistan, that has been divided between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria. Kurdish minorities also exist in the Soviet Union and Lebanon. Since the middle of the 1960's many Kurdish immigrants live in every country of western Europe and Australia.

"About 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan, a Turkish colony since 1923. That is more than half of the total Kurdish population. There are also about 1 million Kurds living in different parts of Anatolia because they were exiled from Kurdistan by the old Ottoman empire and the Turkish republic. Some of them also moved there during recent years in search of employment.

"As I have already said, about 10 million Kurds live in northern Kurdistan although their language has been completely forbidden since 1923. During the feudal Ottoman empire, every language spoken within the territory of the empire, including Kurdish, was allowed. But when the Turkish republic was formed, the Kurdish language was forbidden throughout northern Kurdistan. This situation has continued until today, and the Kurdish language is still forbidden.

"It is not allowed to write or to publish books in Kurdish. It is not allowed to do any research on the Kurdish language.

"The Turkish government has continually attempted to exterminate the Kurdish language and assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks. The Turkish government also uses all possible facilities, such as education, mass media and different kinds of oppression, to fulfil this aim.

The Only Forbidden ABC-Book

"In my country you are not even allowed to write and publish an ABC-book in Kurdish. I am fully aware that it is not proper to use oneself as an example. But since in northern Kurdistan there is only one example of an ABC-Book and this example involves myself, I simply have to use myself as an example. And this is the case:

"As a Kurdish author I felt a responsibility to my people and my language and I decided in the middle of the sixties to write an ABC-book in Kurdish for Kurdish children and illiterates. The book called ALFABE was published in 1968 in Istanbul, Turkey. This was a great event for the Kurdish people and the Turkish government. Because this book was the only Kurdish ABC-book in northern Kurdistan, every Kurdish child and adult greeted it with great joy. On the other hand the Turkish government reacted strongly towards me and the book. After two days, two courts, one in Istanbul, the other in Diyarbakir (the main city in Kurdistan), banned the book and declared it illegal throughout Turkey. Also, the Turkish authorities accused me of trying to split Turkey and form an independent Kurdish state with this little ABC-book of only 64 pages. Because of this accusation I was kept in prison for four months. The book is still forbidden in Kurdistan and all of Turkey. All this for only one reason: the ABC-book is written in Kurdish and the Kurdish language is forbidden in Turkey.

"So, this Kurdish ABC-book is, as far as I know, the only ABC-book in the world that has been forbidden. I have never heard of anything like it anywhere in the world, not even in South Africa. This is a scandal and a black sin against Humanity and Human Rights and the responsibility rests on the Turkish government.

"Last year the second edition of this ABC-book was published in Sweden, thus becoming the only Kurdish ABC-book in Europe. Kurdish children and adult analphabets in Europe began to use it too.

Oppression of the Culture

"It is not only the Kurdish language that is suppressed in northern Kurdistan and all of Turkey but also the ancient Kurdish culture. Like all people throughout the world, we too have special traditions and folklore, which the Turkish state is trying to exterminate. Because of the Turkish government's racist policy, a Kurd is even not allowed to say 'I am a Kurd'.

"Because the Turkish government decided to assimilate the Kurdish people with the Turks, they want the Kurdish people to forget their culture, their traditions, their folklore and lose their national identity in order to feel like Turks.

"This is another crime that the Turkish government commits against Humanity and Human Rights.

"We consider all cultures to be common goods, belonging to all human beings throughout the world. Everyone, regardless of country and culture, can learn to know each other by giving and taking from each other's culture and by knowing and studying each other's traditions and folklore. Thus culture forms a very big part in creating friendship and a wider understanding between people from different countries.

"This is why the crime committed by the Turkish government against the Kurdish people is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings in the whole world.

The Forbidden Literature

"Kurdish literature is forbidden in northern Kurdistan as well as in the rest of Turkey. We have a very rich folk literature and a very old classical literature. Folk tales and classical poems are the two basic elements in Kurdish literature. But it is not allowed to develop the old literature and create modern Kurdish literature. The younger generations are not allowed to write short stories, novels or poems in Kurdish.

"If a Kurd does write and publish in Kurdish, he or she will risk prison, oppression, etc. The Turkish authorities will immediately ban the Kurdish publication and the Kurdish people will not have the opportunity to read it.

"In recent years some collections of Kurdish poems and short stories have been published, but they were all banned and burned by the Turkish police. There are some Kurdish books published abroad, for instance in Europe, but the Kurdish people in Kurdistan are not allowed to import and read them. It is not only forbidden to publish Kurdish books in Turkey, but it is also forbidden to receive Kurdish books, papers, records, cassettes, etc. from abroad. The Turkish government decided in 1967 to forbid the import of anything of Kurdish origin published abroad.

"This suggests that the Turkish government has decided to exterminate Kurdish literature. This is a crime against Humanity and Human Rights. We all know that literature, any literature, is an important platform where people meet, learn to know one another, understand the problems of one another and explore the traditions of other people. Through literature there is a creative exchange of cultures between nations, and therefore literature is of common interest for every human being in the world. Because of this, the crime committed by the Turkish government by forbidding and attempting to exterminate the Kurdish literature is a crime not only against the Kurdish people but against all human beings.

The Children Have to Study in a Foreign Language

"Kurdish is the mother tongue and spoken language throughout Kurdistan. Every Kurdish child uses it at home with his family and in the streets with his friends. But when they become seven years of age and begin school, they are forced to talk and read in Turkish, although Turkish is a completely foreign language to them. Kurdish and Turkish are two entirely different languages. Kurdish belongs to the Indo-European language family while Turkish is like that of English and Arabic or French and Swahili.

"I do not think that it is very hard to understand how difficult it must be for the school children to be forced to talk and read in a completely foreign language. This is a severe form of torture against children and this is another crime against humanity. It is hardly to be found anywhere else in the world, but this is the situation the Kurdish children have to face in northern Kurdistan. This crime is committed against them before all peoples in the world and before all organisations defending democracy and Human Rights."

1979, he was elected mayor as the independent candidate supported by all left-wing and Kurdish movements. While he was at the head of the municipality, 20 buses were granted to Diyarbakir by left-wing municipalities of France. On the arrival of the military, he was arrested on the charge of "separatism". He has been tortured, and the death penalty is being requested for him. The Mayor of Nantes (France), M. Alain Chénard, in an open letter published by *Le Monde* of February 9, 1982, drew attention to the trial of Zana by claiming that he had been brutally tortured by the military during his detention.

Christian Minorities in Turkey

During the 5-year period of military dictatorship, the subject of Christian minorities in Turkey has been one of the main topics in the international mass media as well.

First of all, a series of politically motivated attempts on the lives of Turkish diplomatic representatives abroad, carried out by young Armenian people, have drawn world attention to the demands of the Armenian population in diaspora.

Secondly, the massive arrival in European countries of Christian asylum seekers from Turkey has given rise to questions on the Christian minorities in this country, mainly Armenians, Assyrians, Nestorians...

According to a survey entitled "Christian Minorities in Turkey," published in 1979 by the *Churches Committee on Migrant Workers in Europe*, different Christian communities of Turkey comprised at that date an estimated 100,000 people. This was only a small remnant of the communities present at the end of the 19th century, when the Christians amounted to 30% of the total population of the Ottoman Empire. The distribution of the 100,000 into different Christian groups was estimated at 10,000 Greeks, 42,000 Armenians, 44,000 Assyrians and 4,000 Arab Christians.

While Armenians once constituted the major population of Eastern Anatolia, historically their fatherland, their number fell from more than 1.5 million to a few ten thousand today, because of genocides and deportations carried out by the Ottoman rulers at the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th cen-

tury. The majority of this population now lives in Istanbul.

In Eastern Turkey we find mainly Christians belonging to the so-called Syrian Church. Known as *Süryaniler* in Turkey, they are called *Assyrians*. They live in the area between the River Tigris in the north and east, the Syrian border in the south, and the Diyarbakir-Nusaybin-Mardin line in the west. This area is an important part of Kurdistan. Also within Kurdistan there lived another Christian minority, the *Nestorians*.

The majority of each ethnic group of Christians belongs to the original Orthodox Church. A small group within each ethnic community has united with the Roman Catholic Church.

A small Greek Orthodox minority still exists in Istanbul.

Of the aforementioned groups the Armenians and the Greeks, along with the Jews, are the only religious minorities having non-Moslem minority status in Turkey. The other Christian denominations are not considered to be non-Moslim minorities, and therefore do not enjoy the protection of the Turkish State.

Whatever their particular status, all Christian minorities, without exception, have been submitted to discrimination since the foundation of the Republic.

First of all, they do not have the right to jobs as public servants, except degrading work, despite the fact that they, like other Turkish nationals, do military service and pay taxes.

During the 18-month military service, they are generally ill-treated by their commanders because of their ethnic or religious origin.

As for those who live in the south-eastern part of the country, they are under the absolute and arbitrary domination of the local power structure. The big landowners, called *Aghas* in Turkish, very often have control of the whole village and its population, and they exploit the people who work for a minimal wage or share of products. Acts of violence against Christian minorities are a daily practice carried out by the *aghas'* gangs. Legally, some Christian families are the official owners of the lands that they cultivate, but the *aghas* resort to every means of violence and intimidation to force them to leave the region in order to take over their land and other properties. Because of this pressure, tens of thousands of Assyrians have been for-

ced to flee Turkey and to seek asylum in neighbouring countries or in Europe.

As for the Armenians, a recent draft report drawn up on June 26, 1985, by *Mr. Vandemeulebroucke*, reporter for the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament reads:

"Seventy years after the dramatic events concerning the Armenians, the Armenian question is kept alive both by the Armenians and by the Turks because both 'parties' are literally diametrically opposed to each other in terms of current relevance as well as with regard to the historical analysis of the events in question.

"This conflict is accentuated by the unacceptable phenomenon of Armenian terrorism, by the Turkish denial of massive Armenian deportations in time of war and the official Turkish justification of such deportations and by the unique existence of an Armenian identity that has remained a link throughout the entire world.

"The first phase of the emigration of Armenians from the Ottoman-Turkish empire occurred at the end of the 19th century and the second phase as a result of the tragic events of 1915. Those who dispersed throughout the world after this date have, together with the first wave of Armenian emigrants, introduced the concept of the 'Armenian diaspora'. In most of the host countries, the Armenians have been given the status of refugee as laid down by the United Nations.

"In Turkey, there are today 50,000 Armenians, which is all that remains of what was once an intellectually and economically advanced 'nation' of the Ottoman Empire. Most of the non-Russian Armenians now live scattered throughout the world:

- 575,000 in the Middle East (mainly in Lebanon, Syria and Iran)
- 335,000 in Europe (mainly in France),
- 600,000 in North America (mainly in the United States),
- 170,000 in Latin America (mainly in Argentina),
- 50,000 in other parts of the world.

The 'diaspora' thus amounts to some 1,730,000 persons.

"The events of the First World War forged a new link between the first generation of Armenian refugees and the refugees that survived the Turkish deportation. Religion, language and culture have remained the bond linking the

'Armenians in the diaspora' despite the fact that they have plainly become assimilated in the host country.

"According to the minimalist Turkish position, there were still 1,300,000 Armenians in the Ottoman Empire in 1914. Today the Armenian presence in Turkey must be estimated at 50,000. As a minority, their identity, education and religion are recognized and relatively well safeguarded by the Turkish authorities.

"A younger generation in the diaspora, which can be called the third generation, is again stressing the Armenian identity. This generation harks back to the harm done to the Armenian nation, and to the promise of a separate Armenian State stipulated in the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), which was however reversed by the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

"Some of them recognize objectively the reasons for the Armenian nationalists' failure to form a separate Armenian state. These are threefold. There was the *moral reason*: the young nationalist intelligentsia, educated in the mission schools, was too isolated from the masses. Then there was the *political reason*: Russia incited a number of Armenians to revolt in order to weaken Turkey, although it had no interest at all in their emancipation. Finally, there was the *geographical reason*: Armenian nationalism always lacked the geographical framework needed to foster the struggle for independence. The Armenian nation was too dispersed between the stronger Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the diaspora a distinction is still made today in peoples' mind between the pan-Armenian nationalists, the Soviet Armenians and the non-Communist Armenians. Other Armenian young people of the third generation, with the moral support of older generations and keenly aware of the harm done to their own families, want the Turkish State to recognize the events of 1915 to 1917 as genocide. Their first demand is for the moral recognition of the fact of genocide for them-

Condemnation of an Armenian Priest

An Armenian priest, Hrant Küçüküzelyan, was condemned by Military Tribunal No. 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Command to a 16-month prison term. He is charged by the military prosecutor with "having made racist propaganda and having weakened national feelings." (*Cumhuriyet* February 27, 1982).

MOTION ON ARMENIAN QUESTION

On behalf of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament, Chairman Ernest Glinne and Mrs Dupont tabled on September 20, 1983, a motion for a resolution on a political solution to the Armenian question.

"Having regard to the upsurge in terrorist attacks organized by groups of Armenians, who claim responsibility for them,

"whereas the necessary suppression of terrorism will not eliminate the injustices on which these groups base their actions,

"whereas violence is not the principal means of expression of the Armenian communities, their major political organizations having proposed other solutions which have so far been rejected,

"whereas the right of cultural and linguistic ethnic minorities to recognition of their identity presupposes recognition of their history,

"whereas the Armenian people have been deprived of their history by the Turkish Government, which, by refusing to admit to the genocide of 1915, is obliterating the historical reality of Armenia,"

The Socialist Group proposes:

"To protest strongly at the attacks which discredit the cause they claim to support,

"To express solidarity with the victims of these attacks;

"To call on the Council of Ministers of the EEC

a) to declare its recognition of the genocide,

b) to obtain recognition by the Turkish Government of the historical fact of the 1915 genocide,

c) to convince the Government of Turkey that a just and lasting solution to the Turkish-Armenian problem can only be found by establishing a political dialogue, and

d) to obtain an identical declaration from the UN."

selves and for the victims of the events of the First World War. Their moral demands become more vociferous the more the Turkish Government minimizes the Armenian reality or questions their loyalty towards the Ottoman Government. Lastly, there is the other 'third generation', a faction of which engages in acts of terrorism against everything emanating from the Turkish State. The main terrorism army movement is called ASALA. It has carried out many attacks and, according to reports, lost all links with the Armenian nationalists in the Diaspora after the attack at Orly in 1982."

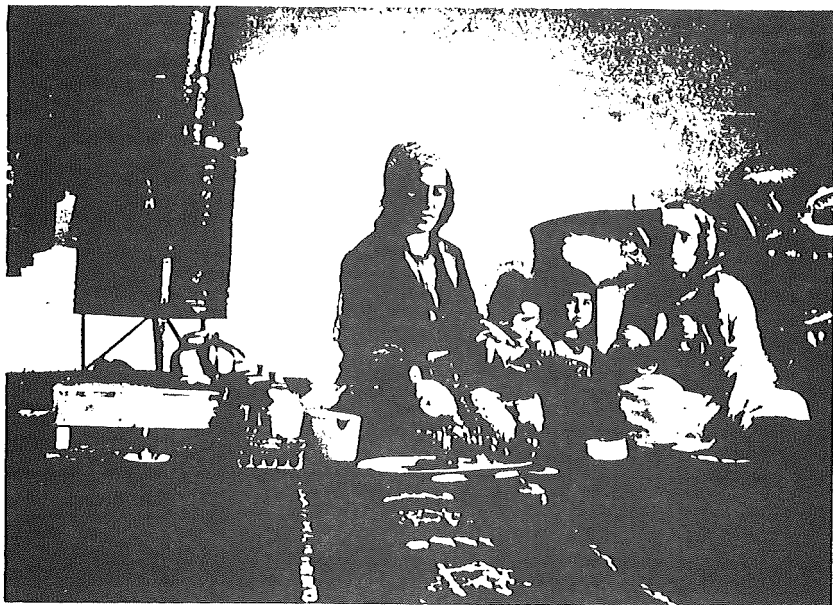
After analysing the positions and arguments of the different parties, the rapporteur comes to the following conclusion:

"The events in Turkey affecting the Armenians during the war period of 1915-1917 must be described as *genocide* within the meaning of the UN Convention of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

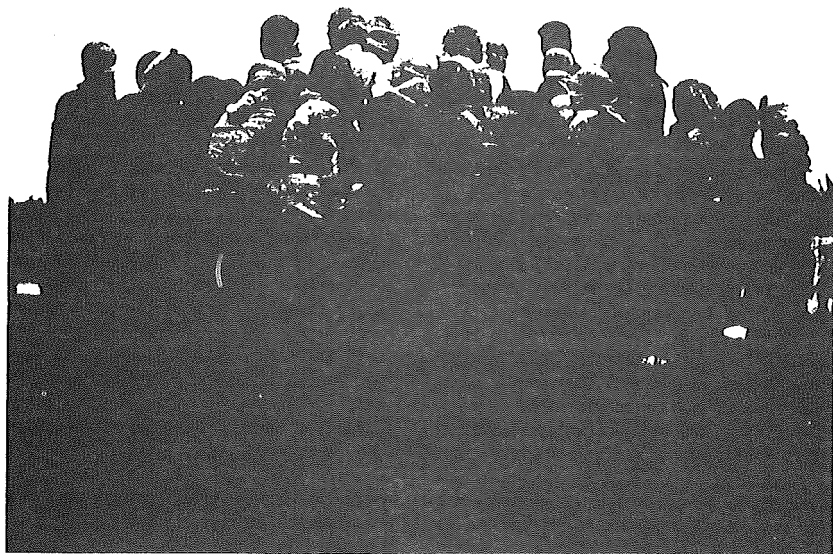
"Recognition of these facts by the European Parliament, as the only directly elected international parliament in the world, is in keeping with its mission to regard violations of human rights and rights of peoples as a matter of international concern and to expose such violations. It is plain that the present Turkish government cannot be made at all responsible for the acts of genocide committed by the Young Turks. The present rulers are, however,

the heirs of the Turkish State on the territory of which these events occurred. In view of this fact, the Turkish Government can no longer deny the history of the Turkish-Armenian question and the element of genocide. Recognition of these events will of course only have moral consequences but Turkey would thereby implicitly play a special preventive role in consolidating respect for human rights in the international community. Moreover, such recognition would eliminate one of the main reasons for the senseless, desperate and inexcusable acts of terrorism committed by splinter groups from the Armenian diaspora.

"In this process of recognition the various states also have a special, albeit indirect, responsibility on account of their interests at the time which did not do enough to prevent the crime or even indirectly facilitated the crime. Furthermore, the role of the European Community should not be confined solely to moral recognition of the Armenian genocide. Within the framework of European Political Cooperation, the Ten should speak out with one voice in the United Nations to ensure that the Human Rights Committee includes the Armenian genocide in its report on the prevention and punishment of genocide. This is the appropriate international forum where, seventy years after the events, a political solution is possible to the Armenian question."



In Eastern Anatolia, whatever their origin, all people, Kurd, Turk, Armenian or Assyrian, live in an absolute poverty while a handful landlords are getting richer and richer by mercilessly exploiting them



STATE TERRORISM 3

PRESSURES ON THE OPPONENTS ABROAD

During the repression, even the regime's opponents abroad have not been immune from the regime's pressure. In order to prevent them from informing world opinion of the violation of human rights in Turkey, the military government has refused to renew passports or has deprived them of Turkish nationality. Their properties in the country were seized by the State. These repressive measures also aim to keep about two million Turkish migrants under the control of the military regime. Political refugees from Turkey have undergone mistreatment in European countries as well.

State terrorism has taken as target not only opponents within the country, but also those Turkish nationals who attempted to raise their voices abroad against the violation of human rights in Turkey.

Since the military coup, 1,242 Turkish citizens abroad have been ordered to return and surrender to military authorities. They are accused of "having carried out activities abroad against the Turkish State's interests." One hundred and sixteen of those who refused to return to Turkey have been stripped of their Turkish citizenship. Fifteen have been apprehended as they were crossing the border and 29 surrendered themselves. The proceedings against 113 others have been stopped on grounds that their "innocence" had been proved afterwards.

Those who were stripped of their Turkish nationality include prize-winning movie director *Yilmaz Güney*, famous musicians *Melike Demirag*, *Sanar Yurdatapan*, *Cem Karaca*, *Sah Turna*, *Fuat Saka*; Info-Türk's editors *Dogan Özgüden* and *Inci Tuğsavul*, writers *Hüseyin Erdem*, *Demir Özlü*, *Yüksel Feyzioğlu*, *Mehmet Emin Bozarslan*, *Nihat Behram*, *Fuat Baksi*, *Kamil Taylan*, TIP Chairwoman *Behice Boran*, TOB-DER Chairman *Gültekin Gazioglu*, DISK representative *Yücel Top* as well as some leading members of political parties, trade unions or democratic associations.

By taking this repressive measure, the military regime also foresaw intimidation of more than 2 million Turkish migrants abroad. For the Turkish rulers, this mass of migrants is a very important source of hard currency.

According to the daily *Milliyet* of August 26, 1984, Turkish immigrants had sent back \$ 18,563 million to Turkey over the past 20-year period. However, the sums sent back in 1983 amounted to a mere \$ 1,553 million, against \$ 2,489 million in 1981.

Considering that the presence of migrant workers in Europe is getting more and more lasting, this downward trend is quite logical and easily understandable in view of the fact that they have to spend their earnings to cover growing needs and their children's education costs, instead of saving up and investing in their native country. The more they get integrated into the guest society, the less they send their money back to their native country.

To slow down this process and keep migrants attached to their country, Turkish

governments resort to every means. If the immigrant workers of Turkish origin still feel strongly attached to their customs and remain confined in their ghettos, it is not only because of the "big differences regarding culture, religion, mentality and behaviour in daily life" or because they "only think of going back to their country", but also because the Turkish authorities, with the backing of the Turkish mass media, the Islamic fundamentalists and the extreme-right, insist on their remaining in these ghettos.

Secondly, in the Turkish regime's view, which so far has remained isolated in the international arena on account of its anti-democratic practices, the only possible means to counter this isolation is to bring Turkish immigrants to defend the Turkish regime's position.

In addition to an indoctrination campaign to inculcate the supremacy of the Turkish race and Islam as well as the inferiority of all other nations and civilizations, the Ankara regime has been taking, ever since the 1980 military coup, several repressive measures aimed at intimidating Turkish immigrants abroad.

As a result of changed legislation with regard to the Code of nationality and the issue of Turkish passports, Turkish subjects who do not defend the Turkish regime's position are faced with two definite threats:

- Being deprived of the Turkish passport or
- Being stripped of Turkish nationality. This second measure envisages also the confiscation of all properties of the person in question.

So, this provision entails a grave threat to Turkish immigrants who have assigned all of their savings to purchasing real estate and goods in their country of origin.

In March 1981, General Evren launched a campaign of attack on the regime's opponents abroad. On a TV programme transmitted through the German TV-ZDF, Evren, addressing Turkish workers abroad, said: "The stateless people are now continuing their criminal activities in foreign countries. Because what is important for them is not being a Turk, but serving other countries for the sake of the perverted ideologies that they believe in. If they really had noble Turkish blood running in their veins, in Atatürk's words, they would have dared come to Turkey and give account of their deeds."

In another speech that he gave in Manisa,

Evren said: "How can we consider them our citizens? We have stripped them of Turkish nationality without any remorse; that is to say, the traitors and spies are deprived of noble Turkish blood."

In September 1981, the military began to oblige young immigrants who came back home temporarily for their military service, to denounce any opponents they happened to know among their relations abroad.

The Turkish regime has taken the following measures among others, to have its opponents abroad extradited and to intimidate potential opponents:

3.10.81: The Turkish Government gives the German Government a list of 15 political activists and asks for their extradition. Germany turns down the request because the persons in question are threatened with capital punishment.

22.12.81: The National Security Council establishes a new intelligence network by charging some Consulate functionaries and teachers sent by the Turkish State with obtaining permanent information about the anti-regime activities abroad.

April 81: The Prime Ministry issues a new circular to apply strict control on Turkish citi-

zens abroad. Besides, to prevent the regime's opponents from travelling abroad, all passports will be issued by a central office instead of local authorities. The Turkish Government also applies to the German Government to dismiss Turkish teachers in German schools appointed by German authorities and to replace them with those to be sent by the Turkish State.

4. 5.82: The German State Secretary announced that 8 of 65 Turkish citizens whose extradition was demanded by the Turkish Government had already been sent back to their native country.

July 82: The German authorities expelled 37 Turkish citizens from FRG territories.

Sept. 82: The Turkish government requested the extradition of 118 Turkish citizens known to be in European countries.

28.10.82: Prize-winning Turkish filmmaker Yilmaz Güney is stripped of his Turkish nationality.

17. 1.83: The Turkish government asks the Greek Government to extradite Yilmaz Güney who came to Athens for the gala night of his prize-winner film "Yol." The Greek Government turns down the request.

Feb. 83: A law suit is brought against con-

INFO-TURK'S EDITORS STRIPPED OF TURKISH NATIONALITY

Within the framework of repression on the regime's opponents abroad, two editors of Info-Türk, Dogan Özgüden and İnci Tugsavul, have also been stripped of their Turkish nationality by the military government.

To begin with, on May 14, 1982, the Turkish Consulate in Brussels informed them that they could no longer obtain Turkish passports, this right being refused to them for their activities abroad, considered "harmful to the Turkish State's prestige and interests."

On November 11, 1982, the Turkish Embassy asked the Brussels City Administration to dismiss İnci Tugsavul, who also teaches Turkish language and culture in primary school, on the grounds that she leads activities against the Turkish State's interest. But the City Administration turned down this demand.

On December 14, 1982, the military government announced that Özgüden and Tugsavul should return to Turkey by December 31, 1982, and surrender to military authorities. This appeal accusing the two journalists of carrying out activities against the Turkish State was announced by the Turkish Press and Radio. They refused to return and give themselves up.

On July 8, 1983, the Turkish Government decreed that they be stripped, along with 24 others, of Turkish citizenship. The decree also announced that the properties of those who were deprived of nationality would be confiscated by the State.

Another governmental decree dated June 11, 1983, announced that all writings or other artistic works of those deprived of nationality were declared "banned." Whoever keeps or distributes these writings or works would be subjected to legal proceedings.

The two journalists had been obliged to flee Turkey during the period of the preceding military regime of 1971-73 because of political indictments for publications which they edited. They got political refugee status.

At the end of 1977, on pressure from the Turkish Government, they were banned from entering Germany by an arbitrary decision of the German authorities. However, this decision was overruled by a German tribunal.

On the constitution of a left-wing government in 1978, they renounced their status and obtained Turkish passports. But after the 1980 coup they have become again the target of the military.

Özgüden and Tugsavul, after the decision of the military government, were given political refugee status for a second time.

testing singer Melike Demirag and composer Sanar Yurdatapan for "activities demeaning Turkey abroad."

23. 7.83: During his visit to Turkey, the German Interior Minister was given a list with 150 names of persons whose extradition was being asked for.

22.11.83: The Police Administration announced that a new index-book with the names of 11,487 foreigners had been distributed to all entrance points into Turkey. All these foreigners are accused of carrying out activities hostile to Turkey. According to another statement by the same administration, the total number of Turkish citizens whose right to travel abroad had been suspended was reduced from 500,000 to 250,000 following up-dating of the registers.

24.11.84: The *Hürriyet* announces that since the military coup, 110,000 Turkish citizens have applied for political asylum abroad; 6,511 of the applicants are wanted by the security forces on account of their political opinions or activities.

12.12.85: It is reported that even the relatives of those wanted by the authorities are systematically refused passport.

Suicide of a political refugee

While the Turkish authorities were resorting to every means of repression and intimidation against the regime's opponents abroad, the European governments, not respecting the International Convention on political refugees, have applied many restrictive and even punitive measures against those Turkish nationals who request political refugee status.

Just after the military coup, on the other hand, all European countries, except Italy and England, imposed visa obligations on all Turkish citizens, whether tourist or working in these countries as immigrant workers.

According to official figures, 110,000 Turkish nationals requested political asylum, in European countries between September 12, 1980, and the end of 1984.

Many of these refugee candidates in Germany have been interned in special camps. They have not been allowed to work for two years, but have been forced to carry out all kinds of jobs such as digging graves, cleaning streets, etc. for an hourly wage of 0.75 dollar.

CEDRI (European Committee for the Defense of Refugees and Migrants) announced on April 14, 1983, that the FRG used every means to frighten and discourage those who asked for shelter. Within a 2-year period, competent courts accepted only 450 requests, but the Ministry of Interior gave notice of appeal for 300 of them. The German authorities have refused to acknowledge the obvious fact that, in Turkey, torture and execution were quite usual.

Because of the systematic refusals and extraditions, some political refugee candidates have committed suicide.

One of the most striking of these dramatic cases is that of Cemal Kemal Altun. This young political activist asked for refugee status in 1982. The Turkish Government demanded his extradition on the grounds that he had allegedly taken part in the murder of a former far-rightist minister in 1980. Thereupon, the German authorities in Berlin held him in jail for extradition for one year. As a result of thousands of protest telegrams and solidarity statements by well-known personalities and organizations, his extradition was cancelled in March 1983, at the very moment when the plane bound for Turkey was taking off. The personalities showing solidarity included European Parliament Speaker Piet Dankert and many European parliamentarians.

In June 1983, the highest authority for the recognition of political refugees, the Federal Office at Zindorf, decided that in Turkey Altun would quite probably be exposed to political repression, and therefore awarded him the right to political asylum.

Despite this stand, the Court of Appeal of West-Berlin decided on June 21, 1983, that Altun was to be held in jail for extradition.

On August 30, 1983, when he was brought again for interrogation to the Police Center, Altun, completely desperate, committed suicide by throwing himself from the 5th floor of the building.

Six months after Altun's suicide, the Administrative Tribunal of West-Berlin announced on February 17, 1984, that Altun had been granted the status of political refugee. This decision was the epilogue of a tragic affair.

The suicide of Altun was followed by a UN report highly critical of the treatment of political refugees in West-Germany.

GREY WOLVES START THEIR ACTIONS AGAIN

The prosecution of Colonel Turkes and Grey Wolves after the coup was a political manoeuvre of the military with a view to proving that they were determined to crush the right-wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones.

While left-wing intellectuals and militants were being tried and condemned in mass, all neo-fascist leaders were released later on and allowed to start their actions again. Despite the findings on their relations with smugglers and European extreme-rightist organizations, Grey Wolves carry on their sinister activities in Europe.

After the military coup d'état, the generals desperately tried to present themselves before domestic and international public opinion as being determined to crush the right wing extremist organisations as well as left-wing ones, and, as "proof" of this "even-handed" policy, put Türkeş on trial along with a few hundred members of the MHP and its side organizations.

The Junta's intention was to neutralise large sections of the people, especially the middle classes, by using the rhetoric of being "against fascists as well," and to weaken resistance and protests against their acts of oppression and terrorism towards the working class, trade unionists and socialists.

The events that have taken place in the MHP trial from its beginning strongly indicate that it is only a show, whatever its outcome may be. All leaders of the MHP, including Ex-colonel Türkeş, have already been released from prison.

Türkeş, in a letter he wrote to Junta head General Evren, told him that the policies of the Junta since it came to power had for many years been put forward by the MHP; and the "ideology" and "spirit" announced by General Evren in the September 12 "operation" were the same as the "ideology" and the "nationalist-Atatürkist principles" of the MHP. He went on to say that they would continue to support the Junta to the end.

During the trial Türkeş repeated these views and added that many of the generals in the top echelons of the Armed Forces or in the 5-man Junta, were his old friends, class-mates and colleagues. He said that he could not understand why he and his party were put on trial at all. The friends he referred to included the commanders of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th Armies and last, but not least, General Evren himself... and General Ersin, another member of the 5-man Junta.

Vice-president Agah Oktay Güner, also, said, "The seven principal economic decisions taken by the new power were in reality formulated by us. While our ideas are in power, we are kept in prison." Somuncuoğlu, another defendant in the MHP Trial, added: "We are accused of advocating the idea of measuring the skulls of citizens in order to determine their races. But it is a fact that Atatürk, too, measured skulls. At Anıtkabir (mausoleum of Atatürk), among the personal belongings of Ata-

türk there is also a compass used for measuring skulls."

There was a possibility that the MHP leaders might reveal their connections within the Armed Forces, secret police and various state organisations. In fact, Türkeş used this as a threat during the trials. To prevent this happening, the military prosecutor, "in order not to put the security of the State in danger"; demanded some court hearings to continue in secret. It is also known that some written documents related to the relationship between the army, secret police and the MHP have not been included in the prosecution's case.

While all the arrested leaders of the neo-fascist party were being released one by one, many notorious "Grey Wolves" were placed in key posts in the administration and formed a hard-core within the governing party, the ANAP.

According to *The Times* of September 11, 1984, "In particular they have taken effective control of the State Radio and TV Corporation (TRT), whose new director was formerly a senior figure in the Nationalist Action party (MHP) of Türkeş. Another former MHP member is secretary of the Ministry of Employment. The last development, even more sinister, is the appointment of two deputy directors of the National Police Force, one of whom was in charge of the torture center in Ankara during the previous military regime in 1971 and had since then been kept out of sight, while the other's name was found among the secret documents of the MHP as the future director of the National Police Force had the MHP captured power. Such appointments raise the question whether the 1980 intervention was really a comprehensive defeat for terrorism as its authors claimed."

Within the first "civilian government", well-known sympathizers of the defunct MHP are State Minister Halil Sivgin, State Minister Kazim Oskay, State Minister Mesut Yılmaz, Minister of Communication Veysel Atasoy and Under-Secretary Hasan Celal Güzel.

The Secretary-General of the ANAP, Mustafa Tasar, is also a renowned MHP sympathizer.

Besides, neo-fascist activists have been elected mayors in many important cities, such as Ankara, Erzincan, Erzurum, Adapazari, Bingöl, Elazığ, Yozgat, Gaziantep, Antakya, Kastamonu.



Agca and Grey Wolves

After Turkes' release, the "Grey Wolves" began to reorganize within a newly founded political organization: the *Nationalist Labour Party (MÇP)*, founded by some former MHP members and sympathizers.

As for the foreign links of the neo-fascist movement, they drew the attention of all world opinion on the occasion of the failed attempt against Pope Paul John II in 1981.

This tragic event showed 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...

"Grey Wolves" have branches in many other European countries, notably among the neo-nazi organizations, in the Federal Republic of Germany. Turkes, the leader of the MHP, had close contacts with *Adolph Von Thadden*, the NPD leader, and *Joseph Strauss*, the CSU leader... All activities by the "Grey Wolves" in

European countries have been covered by local neo-fascist organizations.

Mehmet Ali Agca 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 though several countries and had the opportunity to perpetrate one of the most daring assassination attempts known in modern history.

Since the early seventies, the "Grey Wolves", activists of the neo-fascist Nationalist Action Party (MHP), headed by former Colonel Turkes, 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 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 MHP branches abroad and got organized within parallel organizations such as the "Foyer of Idealists" (Ulku Ocagi) or the "Turkish Cultural Association" (Türk Kültür Dernegi).

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

Shortly after these events, the West German Metal Workers 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 for Holy War", this article, 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 "night club" owners.

One month earlier, on November 27, 1979, Info-Türk Bulletin had reported that two progressive migrant workers had been assaulted and injured by "Grey Wolves" in Frankfurt when 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 indication that extreme-rightist terrorist Mehmet Ali Agca is operating among the Grey Wolves in Europe, since his escape from a Turkish prison.

"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, wounding five of them as well as three French waiters. There are rumours that this ambush was planned and directed by Agca who escaped from Turkey. But this claim has not yet been confirmed."

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.

During all these attempts to organize, "Grey Wolves" benefitted from the support of local fascist organizations and persons. The following press excerpts give evidence of these relations:

Ties with German fascists

A letter Adolph Von Thadden wrote to Turkes was published in the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet

on September 19th, 1979:

"Dear Turkes,

"I enjoy receiving your letters. I thank you for your appreciation of me and my party. Even more, I am glad to learn of your position concerning the identity between both our parties (...) There are common basic principles we

share. I am sure that you wish to expand and reinforce these friendly relationships. So, I accept enlarging the relations between both our parties. We decided unanimously to do an exchange of youth sections groups (...) Would you be kind enough to accept the invitation as my personal guest. It would be nice to have an exchange of views on both our countries and to scrutinize the means of mutual assistance."

Excerpt from a report written by Enver Altayli, general inspector of the MHP in the Federal Republic of Germany, to Türkes, April 28, 1976:

"... Dr. Kannapin will be in Köln on May, 4, 1976. He intends to introduce me to the president of the Turkish section of the organization. According to Dr. Kannapin this person is a member of the CDU and a former officer in the German Army, a real anti-communist."

Excerpt from Enver Altayli's report to Turkes, Köln, June 24, 1976:

"At the end of May 1976 we had nearly 20,000 DM on our bank account... My target is to get 40,000 DM before the end of September... Our relationship with Dr. Kannapin protects us against investigations by the German security organisations; he uses every means so that those organisations do not shackle our work, but support them."

Excerpt from the letter written by Turkes to Enver Altayli, July 22, 1976:

"Having that in mind, each month you can withdraw 2,000 DM from my personal account at the Köln BFG for your needs."

Excerpt from the Cumhuriyet, September 23rd, 1979:

"Despite the decision taken by the Constitutional Court (June 28, 1976), the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) did not close its organisations in West Germany. A week later, Turkes, who was appointed vice-premier in the second rightist coalition headed by Demirel, sent a note to the presidency of the MHP's executive committee in West Germany, asking them to work under cover of association to avoid curiosity from the authorities and to benefit from the collaboration with the NDP on this subject." (From page 56 of the Türkische Rechtsextremisten d'Amnesty International).

Excerpt from the daily newspaper Hürriyet, December 15, 1980:

"The Department of the Interior Ministry in Baden Württemberg is scrutinizing the files concerning the rightist extremists trained in

RISE OF RACISM

Encouraged by the military regime's chauvinist orientation, the theorists of Turkish racism started to appear in the pages of high circulation newspapers.

One of them, Reha Oguz Türkkan (Türkkan means "Turkish blood" in Turkish), put forward the following theses in his article which appeared in the daily Hürriyet of January 9, 1983:

"Some Western historians claim that the present people of Anatolia (Asian part of Turkey) is a mixture of different races; the Ottoman Turks, after arriving from Western Asia, were mixed with the peoples present in Anatolia at that time.

"By the order of Atatürk, the Ministry of Health carried out a countrywide survey, measuring skulls, noses, eyes and hairs of about 40,000 persons in Anatolia. This survey proved that the characteristics of the human being of Anatolia are identical to those of Central Asian man. The Turks who arrived in Anatolia in the year 1071 brought not only their wives and children but also their language, religion, music and even their dogs and herds. They swept away the Greek language.

Furthermore, Swiss anthropologist Prof. Pittard pointed out that the Hittites, contrary to general belief, were not of Indo-Germanic origin... The oldest Anatolian people, the Proto-Hittites were the near kin of the Proto-Turks."

This racist writer announced in the same article that the majority of participants in the 1st National Culture Conference, held in 1982 in Ankara, had adopted a resolution based on the same thesis.

Germany. A Turkish group of 18 persons is being trained in the foothills of the German Alps."

Excerpt from IG Metall, January 23, 1980:

"The Grey Wolves are calling for a holy war. All the activities of the Turkish fascists are run by the Türk-Federasyon, established in Frankfurt. The chairman of this federation is Serdar Celebi, and the secretary general is Ramazan Öz. Both are members of the neo-fascist party of Colonel Turkes."

Excerpt from Der Spiegel (February 1980):

"Being so anti-communist, Franz Josef Strauss has contacts with the ultra right and all kinds of fascists all over the world, not only as an adviser but also supplying funds..."

"Strauss had an appointment with the extremist Turkes in München on April 28, 1978."

Excerpt from Cumhuriyet, November 11, 1980:

"Isa Armagan, sentenced to death for having killed 5 people, has escaped from Mamak prison and fled to Germany on July 26, 1980."

Excerpt from le Drapeau Rouge, March 7/8, 1981:

"The National Commission on Law Enforcement declared that Interpol had been headed by a former SS officer, Paul Dickopf,

between '68 and '72. Many ex-nazis are still occupying key-posts..."

According to the military prosecutor's indictment, Turkes had an account in Germany, opened in the Bank für Gemeinwirtschaft in Köln. Account No: 10243246 - BLZ 47010111 - 5 Köln.

On a paper with Turkes' handwriting:

The account
of Enver Altayli: 225.000 DM
77.000 DM
and then: 13.000 DM

Moreover, 15 American-Express money orders issued by the San Diego Trust-Saving Bank were seized. They were drawn in the name of Alparslan Turkes and sent to the seat of the Nationalist Action Party. Proof was obtained that the money transfer was made from California by a certain W.J. Pferisch, Jr. with a card mentioning the National Fascist Party. (May 1981).

Farce in the Rome trial

"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 was 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 can we trust this not very commendable person, who is so eager to make confessions, to create confusion, and whose views are subject to frequent and sudden reversals? And now he is even making statements worthy of a village idiot?"

Obviously, after Agca's 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".

The foreign connections of the "Grey Wolves" have not been limited to local fascist people or organizations in Europe, but they also had contacts with arm and drug dealers.

A former Turkish Interior Minister, Mr. Hasan Fehmi Günes, revealed before the coup that several "Mafia" type families had collaborated with the "Grey Wolves". Sixty-six deputies of the CHP called for a parliamentary investigation into drugs and arms smuggling and said:

"Enemies of democracy and of our people have started to put into practice their bloody

conspiracy planned underground. Drugs and arms smuggling is one of the main factors of anarchy and terror, which have reached today's dimension in our country. It has been said, written and testified repeatedly in courts that a political party's militants, side organizations and aggressors trained in camps, are taking a significant part in the terrorist incidents. Two thousand million liras (67 million DM) worth of illegal arms have been seized within the last two years, and perhaps ten times more arms than this amount is now being used by enemies of democracy and people against Turkey's future and our democracy."

During the investigation into the arms and drug smuggling and on the attempt against the Pope, much proof was obtained about this collaboration.

In 1982, former CIA agent Frank Terpil declared on British Television how he sold guns, explosives and poisons to clients, including the now-toppled Ugandan dictator Idi Amin, the late Shah of Iran... and the Grey Wolves.

Despite all the evidence of the Grey Wolves' ties and complicity with European fascists and smugglers, certain media started a campaign to publicize the "Bulgarian connection".

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

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".

However, 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 Agca's claims regarding the "Bulgarian Connection". In the meantime, Agca had been sentenced to life for attempting to murder the Pope. The verdict said he acted on his own.

Since then, the claims and the accusations



Agca, author of the attempt against the Pope, and Serdar Celebi, Chief of the Grey Wolves Organization in Europe, at the Rome Trial

leveled by the examining judge at the three Bulgarians have not been proven by the facts, but the complicity of Grey Wolves has been more evident.

Grey Wolves start their actions again

As the leaders of the Nationalist Action party (MHP) are tried before military tribunal in Turkey, their accomplices abroad enjoy open support and protection of the Turkish diplomatic missions. According to the report given by *Demokrat Türkiye*, the chiefs of the Türk-Federasyon (Federation of Grey Wolves organizations) organized a meeting in Hannover on May 8, 1982. The Turkish Consulate allotted them the Turkish House (Türk Evi) for the meeting. But on protests by Turkish and German progressives, the meeting could not be held.

The 4th congress of the Türk-Federasyon was held in May 1984 in Koblenz. Serdar Celebi, Ali Batman and Enver Altayli, who are

accused by the military prosecutor of having organized Grey Wolves abroad, addressed the congress. At the end of the meeting, Serdar Celebi, who would be arrested later in connection with the Agca Trial, was re-elected chairman of the federation.

The Grey Wolves again started their assaults against progressive Turkish citizens in Europe in 1985. On January 7, at around 6 pm, Turkish worker Zeki Sonraci was assaulted and badly wounded in Hannover, FRG, by eight activists of this Turkish extreme right movement. Shortly before, these eight persons had been distributing leaflets edited by the Frankfurt-based "Türk-Federasyon" (i.e. the European Federation of Turkish extreme right organizations). Sonraci had refused to accept this leaflet.

The victim had lived for 13 years in West Germany and had taken an active part in the activities staged by the West German trade union IG Metall.

On the other hand, on January 12, 1985, 24 Turkish and German associations staged a

demonstration in Munich in protest against a meeting due to be held at Schwabingbrau Hall the next day on the Grey Wolves' initiative. These associations sent a letter to the mayor of Munich, Social-Democrat G. Kronawitter, calling for a ban on the Grey Wolves' meeting. This letter included a statement that Munich was increasingly becoming a center for the Grey Wolves' drug trafficking and arms dealing...

The congress of Türk-Federasyon was held in Castrop-Rauxel, West Germany, on May 18, 1985, 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.

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 courtroom chanting slogans in favour of their former chairman.

In short, Grey Wolves have entered 1986 restructuring their organizations and restarting their violence. Since all their notorious leaders have already been released, it will not be a surprise to see Grey Wolves again playing their provocative role in future if there comes a relatively more democratic period in which left-wing forces have a chance to regain power.



Propaganda material of the neo-fascist MHP, with the portrait of Türkeş, the three-crescent emblem of the party and the names of the party's nine principles.

RECENT EXAMPLES OF STATE TERRORISM IN TURKEY

**The preceding pages
exposed numerous cases of
State terrorism until May 1986.
In the following pages, we are
reproducing the recent examples
of the unrespect to human rights in
Turkey which appeared in the
Turkish press, in August and
September 1986.**

12.4 in Istanbul, two record producers, Abdülkadir Demirtürk and Mehmet Isık, a song words writer, Giray Elmalı, two singers, Sema Sevinç and Aynur Tekin, are brought before a criminal court for having made a music record entitled "The Plump's Song". Accused of having insulted Premier Turgut Ozal, each of the defendants faces a 6-year prison term.

13.4, in Ankara, a video club was condemned to a fine of 2 million Turkish Lira (3,500 US \$) for having distributed an obscene video-cassette. This is the first application of the new censor law adopted on March 6 under the pretext of protecting minors from "harmful" publications. According to this law, publishers of such publications are obliged to pay a fine that will be five to fifteen times higher than their sales revenue. On the other hand, the Turkish edition of Playboy was declared "harmful" and ordered to be sold in non-transparent bags with the indication of "harmful to minors" by Commission attached to the Prime Minister's office.

16.4, the responsible editor of the daily Serhat Kars, Mr Baki Karakol is arrested for having slandered the governor of Kars in an article. He faces a prison term up to 6 years.

17.4, a new film entitled "the Vengeance of Snakes", directed by Serif Gören, is banned by the Censorship Board. A first film with the same title, shot 25 years ago by Metin Erksan, was also banned but freed on the intervention of the President of the Republic of the time. Both films treat the social injustice in the countryside.

19.4, the projection of an Argentine film, "Tangos or Gardel's Exile", produced by Fernando Solanas, is banned by the Censorship Board. This projection was to be made on the occasion of the closure of the film festival organised in Istanbul by the Turkish-German Cultural institute. Another foreign film participating in this festival, "Camada Negra" of Spanish film director Manuel Gutierrez was banned as well by the same board on March 18.

29.4, renown poet Can Yücel was brought before a criminal court in Istanbul for his recent book, "Rengahenk". He is accused of immoral propaganda.

30.4, in Usak, the principal of a village school, Mr Tahsin Cetin, is deprived of his functions by the governor, for having pronounced the words of "revolutionary martyrs" during a ceremony. He faces also a legal proceeding.

6.5, writer Kemal Sulker, who is also former secretary general of DISK, was tried before the Ankara State Security Court for a conference he gave the 13.9.1985 to members of a union.

7.5, a painting by the famous Polish artist Dubkozski was taken from the open exhibition in Turkey, part of the Asia-Europee biennial. This scandalous decision was made by the Ministry of Culture following a remark by President-general Evren on his visit to the exhibition. According to him, the painting in question was erotic and devoid of artistic value. Another painting, by artist Bogdan Krisc, received the same treatment some days later, under the same pretext.

9.5, in Aydın, philosophy professor Adnan Feyzioglu was the object of an administrative inquiry for having given his students an assignment on peace.

15.5, in Istanbul, Mr Hüseyin kıvanç, publisher of the publishing house Eylem-Hayat was arrested for having published translations of Lenin's and Mao Tse-Tung's works.

22.5, a book entitled "Taoist Love and Sex" was declared "obscene". From henceforth it is sold in a package.

3.6, in Ordu, the director of a primary school, Mr Yeman Celebi, was also the object of an administrative inquiry by the Ministry of National Education for having mounted an exhibition in the school on the Year of Peace.

3.6, the world Congress of the International Federation of Journalists IFJ, held in Denmark, declared that pressures on the Turkish press was continuing despite the government's declarations to the contrary.

8.6, in Elazığ, Mr Hasan Görel, a functionnary who has been in government service for 31 years, was arrested for having said the words "my dear" while he was speaking on the telephone with the state prosecutor.

10.6, in Izmir, two theatre actors, Kemal Kocatürk and Can Dogan, were arrested for having done an improvisation during the representation of a piece.

13.6, the popular work by Dr Haydar Dümen entitled "Sexual Life" was declared "harmful" and confiscated by the police. This book had been reprinted three times since 1979.

15.6, a book titled "Best Jokes About Sex" was declared obscene.

18.6, in Istanbul, two journalists of the daily Cumhuriyet, Erhan Akyıldız and Okay Gönensin, were fined for having published a survey on the drug problem.

18.6, eleven functionaries of the National Statistics Institute were tried before the State Security Court on the charge of "separatism." They were held responsible for having introduced the Kurdish language among languages under the heading of "What languages do you speak?" on the forms which had been used during the 1980 and 1985 censuses. The state prosecutor accused them of listing "a dialect of the Turkish language" as a distinct language of itself. In Turkey, the authorities deny the existence of a Kurdish people or language.

20.6, it was announced that within three months, since the entry into effect of the law on "harmful" publications, seven cases had been started against three publications and 27 judiciary inquests against 10 newspapers and revues. The Turkish edition of Playboy was fined 7.7 million dollars for its issues of May and April 1986, and Playman was fined 3.85 million dollars.

24.6, Professor Abdülmecit Dogru, president of the Alpinism Federation, was forced to resign from his post for having given guide certificates to militant Kurds and for having assigned them to the Ararat Mountain.

25.6, the 8-year prison sentence given to the journalist Oral Calışlar was ratified by the Military Court of Cassation.

26.6, in Izmir, 23 people who were arrested on May 1 for having distributed tracts were tried before the State Security Court.

26.6, in Ankara, four renowned intellectuals, Aziz Nesin, Cevat Geray, Yalçın Küçük and Mehmet Özsucu, were tried before the State Security Court. They were accused as leaders of the Ekin-Bılar society, of having organized "cultural evenings" without authorization. This company was formed by several intellectuals with the aim of organizing cultural actions, but the Ministry of Commerce had refused to approve the statutes for months.

27.6, all the films of anti-establishment filmmakers such as Yılmaz Güney, Atif Yılmaz and Lütfi Akad were excluded from cinematography archives by order of martial law according to the daily Cumhuriyet.

28.6, the Special Commission declared seven books published by Dr Emin Deger harmful. They were sold henceforth in a package. Following this decision Dr Deger said he would burn all his books and close down his doctor's office. As for the Union of Turkish Doctors (TTB), it interpreted the Commission's decision as a mortal blow to science.

30.6, two university professors, Fevzi Sahlanan and Fazıl Sağlam were indicted for courses that they had given to members of a union of bank employees.

3.7. in Izmir, Kemal Kocatürk, actor of the State Theatre, was tried before the State Security Court for having said "there is neither hammer nor sickle" during a presentation. He faces a prison term of up to 15 years.

4.7, the magazine Erkekçe was confiscated on order of the Special Commission on "obscenity".

9.7, in Istanbul, the daily Bulvar was confiscated for having published the opinions of a religious fanatic. Two journalists from the newspaper, Yalçın Kamacıoğlu and Nazlı Ilıcak, each face a prison term of up to 15 years on the charge of "publishing to weaken the national sentiments of their readers."

10.7, the responsible editor of the daily Cumhuriyet, Okay Gönensin, was tried before a tribunal for having criticized the practices of the Commission on "harmful" publications.

11.7, two journalists of the weekly Hafta Sonu, Hüseyin Olcay and Vedat Levent Aras, were each sentenced to three years in prison for having criticized the Minister of Communication.

17.7, the responsible editor of the daily Sabah, Metin Yılmaz was tried before a tribunal in Istanbul for discrediting the government. He faces a prison sentence of six years.

18.7, in Ankara, correspondents of the daily Milliyet and the UBA Press Agency were beaten by policemen when they photographed the case against six torturers in a tribunal.

18.7, the prosecutors opened 10 new proceedings, three against Günaydin, six against Tan and one against Hafta Sonu, for "obscenity".

24.7, two officials of Playman magazine, Mahmut Yakup Yılmaz and Savas Kalafat, were tried before a tribunal for "obscenity".

25.7, the young novelist Ahmet Altan and his publisher Erdal Oz were tried before a tribunal for obscenity for the novel titled "The Trace in the Water." The publishing house faces a fine of 10 million Turkish Lira.

7.8, the publisher of Güteryüzlü, Mr Adnan Akfırat was arrested for certain articles published in this monthly review.

8.8, in Usak, a primary school director, Tahsin Cetin, was fired by the Ministry of Education for having said the word "revolution" in a speech during a ceremony.

17.8, a concert by the popular singer Rahmi Saltuk, organized in Bodrum citadel, was forbidden on the last day by the local authorities. This singer has several times been subjected to the same sort of practice and tried before tribunals.

21.8, the Administration of Turkish Radio-Television forbade the showing of the film "Mission to Moscow" on television although it was announced in the programme. The motive: The exaggerated appreciation of the Soviet Union in the film. The spokesman of the administration declared that the projection of such a film would be against the foreign policy of the State.

AZIZ NESIN'S NEVER-ENDING ORDEAL

Aziz Nesin, the renowned humorist and President of the Turkish Writer's Union (TYS), still remains one of the main targets of State Terrorism.

While he was tried before the State Security Court as the leader of the Bilar Cultural Society, for having organized cultural soirees without authorization, his speech during the party in honour of Olof Palme, organized on July 11, in Dikili, was banned at the last moment by the local authorities.

Further, Nesin's family can no longer escape pressure.

His son, Ali Nesin has been arrested and tried before martial court for having gone against military discipline while he was doing his military service. Ali Nesin, university professor in the United States, has served with the colours for some months.

Another university employee of Armenian origin, Nesevan Bedros Nisanyan, has also been arrested and tried before martial court with the young Nesin on the same charge.

TROUBLE IN THE UNIVERSITIES

While the Higher Council of Education (YOK) continues its obscurantist practices in the universities, hundreds of thousands of young students are deprived of the right of access to higher learning.

This year, 496,490 young holders of diplomas of secondary studies presented them-

selves for entry examination to university. Among them, only 140,153 were authorized to register; 356,337 others were refused entry. Taking account of the very high unemployment rate in Turkey (20 percent of the Work force) and the non existence of unemployment benefits, these 356,337 young students have to endure life in tough and, for the most part, miserable conditions.

Those accepted to university are not happy either because the militarist discipline and chauvinistic conditioning have already transformed universities into Barracks. Some 1,000 professors have been fired from the universities because they are opposed to these practices.

The Turkish press announced on July 7 that more than 40 thousand university students had been excluded from universities by order of the YOK, during the 1984-85 school year alone.

University students are often prevented from forming their own associations to express their demands and to defend their interests. Those who have obtained authorization to form an association consequently are submitted to preventive measures.

On the 11.5, in Ankara, 16 university students were arrested for having tried to form student associations.

In Izmir, on May 21, 1986, the leaders of 8 student associations were indicted for having published a communiqué criticising the higher education policy and the shocking situation of the dormitories in the university.

A group of students who made a long march from Izmir to Ankara to protest against the teaching policy were arrested on May 23, 1986, in Polatlı.

On June 6, still in Izmir, a young university student, Deniz Nencan, was beaten by a policeman at the entrance at his faculty for having a low-necked robe. A group of students protested the police brutality, but they were immediately tried before the disciplinary Council.

Following these repressive practices, on June 27, more than two thousand university students addressed a common petition to the political leaders and demanded the removal from office of YOK President Ihsan Dogramaci.

The unbearable conditions of the university dormitories led to the death of a student at the end of June. Accusing the university leaders of not having taken the necessary hygienic measures, the students organized a protest demonstration in Izmir on June 30, 1986. In retaliation, eight of them were barred from the dormitories.

...AND THE LAST DAYS OF THE 6th YEAR

27.8, Mr Hasan Selim Açı, responsible editor of the political review *Halkın Kurtuluşu*, was condemned to a prison term of 307 years and a half in total for the publication prior to the coup.

3.9, a weekly review, *Karacadag*, is banned for an indefinite duration by the governor.

10.9, in Ankara, a 79 years old lawyer, Mr Saffet Nezihi Bölükbaşı was brought before a criminal court for having insulted the Court of Cassation in his request. He faces a prison term of up to 30 months.

10.9, in Izmir, a tourist guide was indicted for having in his office an historical map indicating the regions inhabited by Armenians and Kurds. He faces a prison term up to 15 years.

