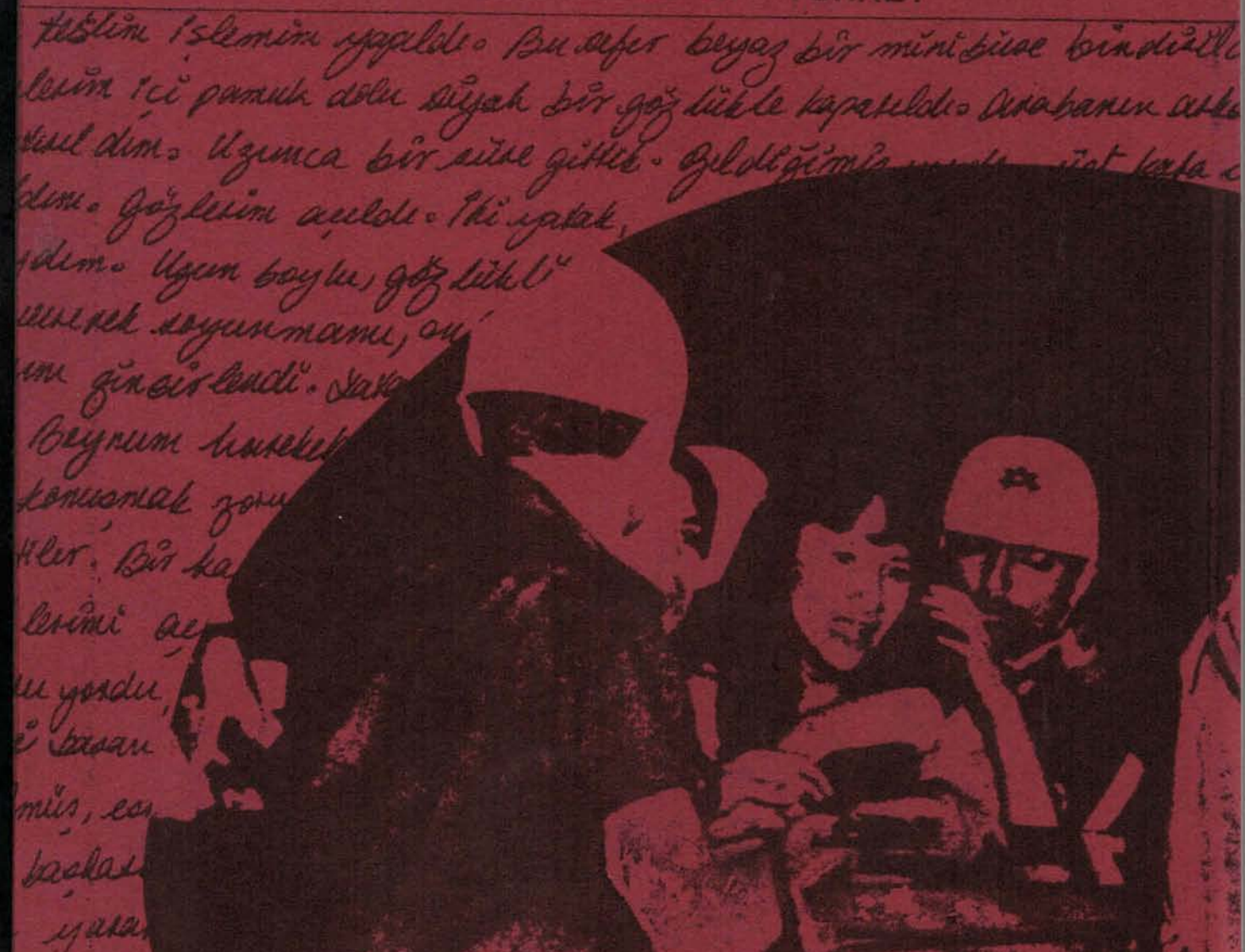


Turkey on Torture

DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE OF TURKEY



teslim istemim yapıldı. Bu defa beyaz bir mini süse bindiğim
kesim içi pamuk dolu süyah bir göz lükle kapatıldı. Derahalen arka
kaldım. Uzunca bir süre gittik. Geldiğimize burada saat kafa
kaldım. Gözlerim açıldı. İki şoför,
adım. Uzun boylu, göz lüklü
süyah soyunmamı, su
süyah girerlendim. Saka
Beynum hareket
konuşmak zor
Her. Bir ka
lerimi aç
u yordu,
i basan
müs, eor
beclas
yasa

Democratic Resistance of Turkey

TURKEY
ON TORTURE

Two Years of
the Military Rule

May 1973

TWO YEARS OF THE MILITARY RULE IN TURKEY

For 40 years Portugal,
For 35 years Spain,
For 6 years Greece,
And for 2 years Turkey,

All these members of the European community are being governed by the dictatorships who seized power by deceit in the interest of domestic and foreign enemies of peoples. They have wiped out every vestige of liberty, and have gagged the peoples who have given countless sacrifices at the altar of freedom and democracy.

It is a historical paradox that while certain countries of the European community are trying to reach an integration based on freedom and democracy, the peoples of Europe, observing the insolence and boldness of the anti-democratic rules of four countries tolerated and even supported by the governments of other European countries, are obliged to ponder on the burning question:

Which country will be the next?

Who can blame the ones pondering on this question since the representatives of the fascist rule of Turkey still keep their seats at the round tables of the Council of Europe and of the EEC?

Unless to take an effective measure against a repressive regime which has dared to violate all human rights and freedoms mentioned in the European Convention and unless to suspend its membership to the Council of Europe and its associate membership to the EEC, every human being living in Europe obviously has the right to be anxious on the possibility that one day he himself might fall under a similar anti-democratic rule.

a "european" country without european democracy

At the second anniversary of proclamation of martial law, what point have the military rulers of Turkey reached today?

In August 1972, the Democratic Resistance of Turkey had issued a full report, File On Turkey, addressed to the world opinion who needs a convenient compilation of the socio-economic and historical back-ground and the basic facts about the current military rule in Turkey. That volume includes detailed documentary and statistical information on tortures, illegal trials before the military courts, oppression of the working class, intellectuals, press, universities, teachers, the arts and the Kurdish people.

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And later, in October 1972, the second volume of this work, Man Hunts in Turkey, including the alphabetical list of the victims detained, arrested, condemned, executed or killed by the military rule was published.

Today, after six months, the crime of the military rule has gone beyond all estimates and reached its utmost.

Although Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe and has signed European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights guaranteeing Turkish citizens' rights to life, to liberty and security, respect for private and family life, home and correspondence and freedom of thought, conscience, belief and associations, since the inception of martial law, thousands of intellectuals, university professors, teachers, workers, peasants, youth leaders have been detained, tortured and killed in the military camps, all progressive publications have been forbidden and all democratic organizations have been closed down.

victims of man hunts more over 15 thousand

While suspending all these rights and freedoms, on May 1, 1971, just four days after the proclamation of martial law, military-backed Prime Minister Erim had informed foreign journalists of that "the number of persons 'creating anarchy' is not more than two hundreds. So as to put them under control, martial law has been proclaimed for only two months."

Not only for two months, but for 24 months martial law has been in force in Turkey, and the number of persons detained on the pretext of "creating anarchy" has reached, not only 200, but over 15 thousand.

It is because the real reason of the proclamation of martial law was not to crackdown on a handful "anarchists", but to suppress all democratic forces of the country. An examination of the eleven provinces affected by martial law reveals the following facts:

a) Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Eskişehir, Adana, Kocaeli, Zonguldak and Sakarya are the most industrialized regions of Turkey and form the progressive unions' strongest bases.

b) As for the provinces of Hatay, Diyarbakir and Siirt, they represent the largest concentration of Kurds.

Being authorized by the special Law No. 1402 enacted on May 15, 1971, the martial law authorities have carried out the "Sledge Hammer Operation" by using all repressive measures.

The subject law has authorized the martial law commanders:

a) To search all dwellings, all buildings of political parties, associations, trade unions, clubs, all offices and workshops, all establishments (including autonomous ones), to search individuals and to confiscate their belongings and personal correspondence without obtaining a court order;

b) To maintain individuals in custody for a one-month period without a court warrant. Whereas the 1961 Constitution limited the period of detention without any court warrant to 24 hours,

c) To order the security forces to shoot on sight.

Although the martial law was imposed for only eleven provinces, the martial law commanders have never limited themselves to eleven provinces, but have put anyone and everyone from all corners of the country in the military jails of six martial law headquarters.

Interior Affairs Minister Ferit Kubat said on October 25, 1972 at the National Assembly that within the period of martial law 3,336 "suspects" have been apprehended and there were still 1,135 arrested in the military prisons. Whereas, the figures given by local martial law authorities and the news appeared on daily newspapers contradict this official statement.

According to the news passed through the censorship and appeared on daily newspapers, the total number of persons detained, arrested and tried was calculated as 7,733 up to the end of April 1973. Only the names of 3,829 out of these victims have been appeared in the newspapers from time to time, others have been disclosed only as numbers on the official communiques or press releases of the local martial law headquarters.

Obviously, the real number of victims detained and arrested throughout Turkey is actually much higher than even this figure. According to the official communiques of martial law headquarters, 5,117 cases had been brought before the military prosecutors in Ankara by August 1972; 3,099 in Istanbul as of May 28, 1972; and more than 5,000 in Diyarbakir as of April 27, 1972. Moreover, the martial law headquarters of Adana, Izmir and Eskişehir have never disclosed the figures concerning legal cases. In only three martial law districts, Istanbul, Ankara and Diyarbakir, the total number of the persons brought before the military prosecutors reached about 15 thousand. Together with the cases in other martial law districts, this total number reaches above 15 thousand.

Although many of these cases have not been subjected to legal proceedings, detainees have been held in police or military headquarters for days or weeks on end. For example, Cetin Yilmaz, Member of Parliament, disclosed on October 4, 1972 that during the period of the Sledge-Hammer Operation 3,500 teachers had been detained, but many of them had been released after a few days or a week. Whereas only the names of 322 out of those appeared on the daily newspapers.

Even if released after a short while, all of the detainees have been labelled by the authorities and isolated. For this reason many of them have lost their posts and have been obliged to leave Turkey with the purpose of finding work abroad, but then the authorities have refused to grant them a passport.

Besides, the military rulers have created a network of informers by promising a 8,000 \$ award for each "suspect" in a coun-

try where the annual per capita national income is only 321 \$. All the news media, the state owned radio stations, even the loud-speakers of the mosques are used by the military authorities to call citizens to denounce "suspects". Doormen, drivers and shopkeepers have been forced to become informers and police agents. Because of this denunciation campaign, all left or liberal minded persons live under a permanent fear of being arrested.

Yes many of the detainees have been released after a short while, but in fact for thousands victims of the man hunts and even for their relatives Turkey itself has been turned into a huge prison.

On the other hand, within the frame of this man-hunt, the military authorities have deprived more than thirty persons of their lives without court sentences. In the course of the man-hunts, they have used barbarous methods and provoked many "suspects" into clashes with well-trained firing squads and shot them on sight. (See: Supplementary List No. 1)

tortures and ill treatments

The military rule has also applied all kinds of ill-treatment and tortures to the political detainees. As other military rulers in other countries have done, the military have consistently denied all torture allegations and qualified them as "lies fabricated by international communist conspiracy". Whereas, there are more than one hundred affidavits, statements, protocols and witnesses in the files of the Democratic Resistance of Turkey that indicate torture is directly ordered from above and applied by high-ranking army officers themselves.

Immediately after the martial law was imposed, the military regime detained thousands of people and beat them up in order to obtain information about the resistance against the regime and/or to discourage them and others from resisting the new regime. The phase of systematic torture against those suspected of being engaged in resistance began a month after the coup.

The organizations that carry out the torture are the civilian police forces -the security police and the gendarmerie-, the armed forces, the military police (merkez komutanliklari), the army intelligence service subordinated directly to the Chief of General Staff, and the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) subordinated directly to the Prime Minister. There is close cooperation among different services. There are undeniable affidavits which declare that the martial law commanders, the military prosecutors and military judicial advisors have given orders to torture the political detainees, that they have even supervised the torturing personally. Moreover, the military courts have decided that any prisoner might be tortured with the aim of obtaining the "truth". (See: File On Turkey; p. 104)

Not only is torture widespread, but identical techniques are reported from different torture centers:

- a) Brutal arrests carried out between midnight and dawn without any court warrant;
- b) The methods which make the prisoner feel that it is futile to resist consisting of taking away all the elements of his daily life which give him security, holding him incommunicado until he speaks in the desired way under fear of torture;
- c) Physical tortures as falaka (bastinado on the soles), electro-shock, burning, sexually oriented tortures;
- d) Non-physical methods as assaulting the prisoner by obscenities, lies and threats from the very first moment, exposing him to noise, stripping him or her naked, exploitation of psychological weaknesses, obliging the prisoner to listen to others, even to his relatives being tortured, mock executions, destroying the detainee's sense of reality and forcing him to sign declarations against his beliefs;
- e) In addition, some detainees have been tortured before his or her family;
- f) In certain cases the conditions of detention can be considered as a form of torture. Detainees are deprived of food, water and sleep. Locked in filthy, verminous, solitary confinement cells, they are not allowed to the toilet. (See: Supplementary Documents No.VIII).

amnesty international refutes
turkish foreign minister's objection

The controversy over torture began just after the coup, but the military rule did not permit a public debate on this subject in Turkey. Even following the latest debates on torture at the Turkish Parliament and some publications by the Turkish newspapers, the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, General Faik Türün, immediately issued an official communique on February 4, 1973 and forbade not only debates or publications on torture allegations, but also using the word of "torture". The same general confessed a year earlier, "I made an investigation on the allegations and I saw that they are not more than few blows on the soles and a few slaps." (Daily Milliyet, May 29, 1972).

Despite all attempts of the military rule to veil the medieval-like tortures and ill-treatments, the fact has been evidenced, not only by affidavits which the tortured victims themselves, at the great personal sacrifice, had the courage to give, but also by the statements of police chiefs, by the decisions of military judges, by the observations of the foreign journalists and lawyers. Internationally known newspapers like Le Monde, Sunday Times, Expressen, Stern, Der Spiegel, Vrij Netherland have published different articles on tortures applied in Turkey.

Thereupon the question was raised at the Council of Europe by Dutch Deputy Pieter Dankert on December 12, 1972. In spite of

the existence of many affidavits, Turkish Foreign Minister Haluk Bayülken insisted that political prisoners have not been tortured in Turkey and all allegations were the fabrication of international conspiracy.

Being informed of Bayülken's accusations, Amnesty Secretary General Martin Ennals held a press conference on December 16, 1972, in London and refuted statements made by Bayülken. Mr. Ennals said that a three-men Amnesty International Mission led by British lawyer Mr. Muir Hunter visited Ankara and Istanbul at the end of October 1972 with the prior agreement of the Turkish Government to investigate torture allegations. However, although the Turkish Government had agreed in writing to allow the mission to interview 32 prisoners whose names had been submitted in advance, actually only one was allowed to be seen. This prisoner, Mrs. Ilkay Demir, confirmed that a number of men and women, including her husband, had been tortured by Turkish authorities. Referring to Bayülken's statement that the Turkish Government had fully investigated the torture allegations and decided they were unfounded, Mr. Ennals said that the Turkish authorities had not fulfilled their promise to give the mission a copy of the report of their inquiry. Consequently, Mr. Ennals disclosed Amnesty International's opinion:

"We are satisfied that torture has taken place in Turkey and have no evidence that it has ceased."

And here are the findings of Dutch Deputy Pieter Dankert's private mission to Turkey between February 28 - March 10, 1973:

"Notwithstanding declarations by the Turkish Government I have not the slightest doubt that torture on a rather large scale has taken place. (...) It is impossible to obtain statistical information on the total number of people tortured in the 11 (now 9) Martial Law Command areas. Istanbul lawyers told me that in the Courts in Istanbul over 600 persons had made a detailed declaration of torture. All the declarations are in the Court files. On the basis of the Istanbul figures it is safe to assume that in Turkey in the last two years more than 2 to 3,000 people have been tortured. The figure may be considerably higher because of the great number of people who are liberated without appearing in court after a 30-day detention period in the hands of M.I.T.

"Who are the tortured people? (...) A very important part of Turkey's intellectuals (from center to extreme left) and artists came so in the hands of M.I.T."

And the following is the findings of Prof. Noll, International Commission of Jurists Mission to Turkey between February 27 - March 6, 1973.

"The civil police, the secret police and the military police have tortured many persons, especially students and other young people. I met several persons who were themselves tortured and many others who saw persons who have been tortured. The paper 'Yeni Ortam' published reports given by tortured persons on 2 and 3 February, 1973. Since that date the military authorities have forbidden the publications of reports on torture."

Article 3 of the European Convention says: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment."

Article 14 of the Turkish Constitution says: "No one shall be subjected to ill treatment or to torture. No one shall be subjected to degrading punishment."

And Article 15 of European Convention says: "No derogation from Article 3 shall be made even in time of war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation."

Despite all efforts by the democratic and humanitarian forces to prevent torture, the military rule does in no way take into consideration and torturing political prisoners goes on in Turkey as a matter of policy.

unconstitutional and illegal trials

Being authorized by the Law No.1402, martial law commanders have brought anyone and everyone before the military courts of martial law for the acts and omissions which did not constitute a "criminal offence" under law at the time when it was committed, moreover have not limited themselves to the eleven martial law districts, they have brought thousands of defendants from all corners of the country before the military courts of six martial law headquarters.

First of all, Law No. 1402 authorizing the designation of military judges and military prosecutors by the National Defence Ministry, that is, by the government itself is in direct contradiction to articles 7, 132 and 138 of the Constitution which stipulate that courts and judges must be independent and sovereign. It is also a mockery of the very principle of the "normal presiding judge".

The title given to the military courts is also unconstitutional and illegal. The law courts can only exercise "their rights to judge offenders" in the name of the Turkish Nation and not on behalf of any headquarters or commanders. In naming the court "the Military Court of Martial Law Headquarters (Sıkıyönetim Komutanlığı Askeri Mahkemesi)" proof is given that this court comes under the jurisdiction of the martial law commanders.

This fact is so clear that, for example, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was immediately dissolved because of not applying a certain article to two mass cases in spite of the will of high generals. While the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters was condemning 18 young offenders to death under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters contradicted this sentence by refusing to apply the same article to two other mass cases whose defendants had been accused of same "offence". Today all military courts of martial law headquarters are under the threat of being dissolved and apply the orders given by high-level generals.

The trials before the military courts are not held in open court. Only those who are able to obtain special permission from the headquarters can attend the trials. In addition, press is being subjected to censorship for giving news on the trials and thus the public opinion can be informed of the details of trials only within the limits permitted by the army generals.

The minutes of trials do not present the full record. The military judges have prevented the dictation of certain statements made by defendants and of events which occurred in the court room.

The courts did not examine the cases of torture and consistently rejected requests to inform the authorities concerning the practice of torture.

The courts have restricted the offenders' right to defend themselves by not permitting them to put questions to witnesses, by banishing their lawyers from the court room and in not providing access to their files.

The military judges have displayed their hostility towards the offenders and their lawyers throughout the entire trial period. Even many lawyers have been arrested and condemned by the military courts on the pretext of insulting the Government, the Armed Forces, the military judges or prosecutors in their objections or defences.

new restrictions on right to defence and freedom of fair trial

In addition to the arbitrary attitudes of military judges, the Military Code of Criminal Procedure was also modified by Parliament; new law came into force on June 26, 1972. The amendments of 23 articles of the code have completely violated the right to defence at the military courts, as follows:

- a) The military prosecutors and military judges are put directly under the authority of local military commanders. These military commanders are also authorized to intervene in the investigation at any time.
- b) Defendants, even if civilians, are considered military personnel by the military courts of martial law and are to be tried under the Military Code of Criminal Procedure.
- c) Defendants are deprived of the right to reject a military judge and to demand other judges, even if the military judge displays partiality.
- d) It is no longer possible to inform public opinion of the partiality of a military judge, since the latter is authorized to impose censorship.
- e) If a defendant or his lawyer insists on an objection, the military court can remove either or both from the court room and even put them under arrest. In this case, trial can be held

without the presence of the defendant and/or his lawyer, and verdict can be given by default.

f) If there is only one witness in any given case, the military court is not obliged to hear him in the court room. The military judges are authorized to accept written statements of witness obtained and put into file during the preliminary investigation. That is to say, the military judges can take a decision on the basis of a false statement. The defendants do not have the right to verify the authenticity of the statement or even if the witness actually exists or not. According to this amendment, military prosecutors and military judges can send someone to jail without any concrete evidence.

g) Military courts are authorized to restrict the time allotted to defence, as they wish.

h) The obligation to prove an offence has been withdrawn from the prosecutor and the defendant is obliged to prove innocence of the charge.

Taking these amendments into consideration, lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç who had defended many offenders and whose two books on tortures and on the illegality of the military courts had been confiscated, wrote to his clients being tried at the military courts of martial law headquarters in Istanbul on July 24, 1972, explaining the amendments and their unavoidable consequences. In conclusion, Mr. Amaç states:

"As it has now become impossible to defend someone in a military court of martial law, I am obliged to inform you with regret that I can no longer attend the trial. I therefore suggest that you appeal to the Bar for appointment of another counsel."

mussolini's articles and retroactive cases

The military prosecutors and military judges have used the articles 146, 141, 142, 312, 158, 159 of the Turkish Penal Code against the victims of the regime.

It should be noted here that these articles were copied in the thirties from the Italian fascist example. Despite the fact that since the Second World War these articles have not been applied in their place of origin, the Turkish authorities consistently use them with the aim of suppressing all progressive or liberal opinion.

Article 146 relates to trying to overthrow the present constitutional regime; Article 141 refers to the establishment of organizations aiming to overthrow the existing social order or to bring the domination of one class over others; Article 142 is about propaganda in favour of the domination of one social class over others. Articles 158 and 159 relate to "defamation" of the president of republic, the prime minister, the government, the security forces and the armed forces. Article 312 is about

instigating one social class against another or to create hostility between different social classes.

Actually even before March 12, 1971, many journalists, writers, etc., have been persecuted under these articles, but the percentage of convictions was rather limited and the article from the Press Code, that charges could be brought from maximum three or six months after publication, was generally respected. Furthermore, articles 146 and 141 had not been used.

After the coup d'etat thousands of offenders have been persecuted under these articles for "offences" committed even prior to martial law and their cases held by civil courts were immediately transferred to the military courts.

Great majority of the retroactive cases ended with aggravated punishments up to death or life-term. Whereas, before the coup d'etat "propagandizing for the domination of one class over others" or "propagandizing for communism", with a few exceptions, was generally punished with 6 months to 1.5 years and the Court of Cassation generally overruled even these sentences. Now sentences up to 6 or 7.5 years are rather rule than exception.

According to the figures given by the Interior Affairs Ministry on October 25, 1972, within the period of martial law, 1,842 cases have been brought before the military courts. 1,047 out of them ended with condemnation and 337 with acquittal.

Up today military prosecutors have demanded death sentences for 140 defendants. Military courts have condemned 25 defendants to death, the Military Court of Cassation approved 4 of them and ordered new trial for four defendants under capital punishment who had been condemned to imprisonment by the lower court.

The death sentences of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Arslan and Hüseyin İnan were executed on May 6, 1972 in Ankara and the death sentence of Ziya Yılmaz is still on the agenda of the National Assembly for approval.

The military prosecutors have brought 49 different mass trials before the military courts for 2,254 defendants. 24 out of these mass trials including 1,206 defendants relates to retroactive cases. (See: Supplementary List II).

Besides, hundreds of individuals including Professor Mümtaz Soysal, Professor Ugur Alacakaptan, university assistant Ismail Beşikçi have been brought before the military courts because of retroactive cases. Among those individuals are also the ones condemned for personal letters written to their fiances or for having placed flowers on the graves of some victims, even the ones condemned on the charge "insulting the armed forces" while consoling his son condemned to death.

While these illegal trials were being carried out by military courts, on February 15/16, 1972, the Constitutional Court of Turkey decided that the Law No.1402 was unconstitutional both because it purports to give a discretion to the martial law com-

manders to decide before which court a defendant should be tried, and because it is retroactive in effect.

On this decision; International Commission of Jurists, sent a letter to the Turkish Prime Minister on January 31, 1973 and called him to take the high court's decision into consideration:

"In view of the widespread interest in many cases which have been tried before military courts under this unconstitutional law, the ICJ respectfully urges your Excellency to consider making provision for a review by civil courts of all convictions by military courts under Law No. 1402, and in particular convictions for crimes alleged to have been committed before the institution of martial law."

Besides, Mr. Peter Noll, representative of the International Commission of Jurists, following his mission to Turkey, disclosed the following findings on the trials in Turkey:

"The trials are not held in public in reality.

"The large number of defendants made it impossible to ensure a fair appreciation of the case against each individual defendant.

"The prosecutor's demand for the death penalty against young defendants, aged 20 - 25, is shocking.

"The military courts are not really independent.

"Often those arrested are not informed of the grounds of their arrest and held for long periods in detention before being brought before a judge."

International Commission of Jurists is an international organization like Amnesty International having consultative status with the Council of Europe.

Article 7 of the European Convention says: "No one shall be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence under law at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the criminal offence was committed."

And Article 15 of European Convention says: "No derogation from Article 7 shall be made even in time of war or other public emergency threatening the life of the nation."

The military rulers of Turkey have never paid attention to such kind of warnings, moreover following every warning or criticism they have brought heavier measures or amendments.

Let alone to make provision for a review by civil courts of all convictions by military courts, according to the second modification of the Constitution brought by the Government and passed through Parliament, all the cases under the jurisdiction of martial law commanders will be taken to end by the military courts of martial law headquarters even if the period of martial law terminates. That is, the military courts of martial law will exist even after the martial law. This is the reply to International Commission of Jurist by the Turkish authorities.

a constitution not luxurious for turkey

Another historical paradox, as the young defendants mentioned before military courts, is that while 140 youth were being tried under capital punishment and three of them executed on the charge of "attempting to overthrow the constitutional regime", on the other hand the military rule itself forced Parliament to amend the Constitution twice and succeeded it.

Just after the proclamation of martial law, military-backed prime minister stated that the 1961 Constitution was a luxury for Turkey and had many loop-holes; unlimited conditions of freedom created considerably large operational fields for the extremists as well as a constant state of anarchy.

Whereas, the basic purpose of the 1961 Constitution was the "establishment of a constitutional state based on social and legal principles". The situation described as "anarchy" was not created as a result of the exercise by the people of their classic rights and freedoms, but on the contrary, was the natural consequence of withholding their social rights from the people.

The first amendments of the 1961 Constitution put into force on September 22, 1971 received the approval of 357 members of parliament being rejected by only two independent members. Even the center-left wing of the Republican People's Party (CHP) stated on August 19, 1971 that, the new text of the Constitution would ensure the continuation of democracy in Turkey keeping the sacrifices at a minimum level.

What were the sacrifices kept at a minimum level:

1. The junta began its amendments with article 11, since the modification made within the framework of this article constitutes the basis for all the other limitations of freedoms and rights and also for the bills to be introduced to secure such limitations:

"Basic rights and freedoms can be restricted by law, in accordance with the spirit and text of the constitution, for the purpose of protecting territorial and national unity of the state or the Republic, national security, public order, public interests, the general welfare and morality as well as for the particular reasons indicated in other articles of the Constitution."

Most important of all, the following paragraph of the amended article makes it impossible to form political parties and organizations, to issue publications, or to undertake any political activity based on a "distinction between the social classes". In other words, the junta has created a constitution without a left.

2. Amendment to Article 114 restricted the authority of the Council of state to revise decrees or executive orders.

3. Amendment to Article 149 authorized only those political parties which have groups in parliament or those which receive at least 10% of the legal vote at a general election, to apply

to the Constitutional Court for annulment of laws. Because during last ten years the Turkish Labour Party had succeeded to annul hundreds of antidemocratic laws through this channel.

4. Amendments to Article 138 increased legal attributions of military tribunals and authorized them to try civilians.

5. Amendment to Articles 140 and 141 took the authority for the control of the legal aspects of appointment or promotions of military personnel from the Council of State and gave to a special body coming under the Military Court of Cassation.

6. Amendments to articles 15, 16, 22 and 29 authorized the administrative body to disband all sorts of associations, to confiscate newspapers and periodicals, to search houses, individuals, their belongings and personal letters and to confiscate them without obtaining any court order.

7. Amendment to Article 30 extended the period of detention to 48 hours for offences committed by a single person and to 7 days for offences committed jointly by more than one person.

8. Article 32 stating that no person could be put on trial by an extraordinary or special tribunal without a decision from his normal presiding judge, was amended by inserting a phrase stating that "no obstruction exists within the law for establishing special courts."

9. Amendment to Article 22 actually enabled the executive power to limit the freedom of press with the motive mentioned in Article 11.

10. Amendment to Article 46 deprived state employees and teachers of the right to establish labour unions. Furthermore, the right of workers to establish unions can be restricted for the same purpose mentioned in Article 11.

11. Amendment to Article 29 authorized the executive power to close down any organization or association without obtaining a court order.

12. Amendments to articles 120 and 121 liquidate the autonomy of universities and of the Turkish Radio Television Broadcasting Corporation (TRT).

13. Amendment to Article 124 constitutionalized many articles of Law No. 1402 authorizing martial law commanders.

second modification of the constitution

But military junta was not, however, satisfied with all these amendments. Because the following articles of the Law No. 1402 were still unconstitutional.

a) The article which authorized the martial law commanders to maintain an individual in custody for thirty days without a proper court warrant. The amendment to Article 30 of the Constitution extended this period to seven days.

b) The article which authorized the military courts to try non-military personnel even after the period of martial law had been terminated.

The Constitutional Court canceled these articles of Law No. 1402 on February 15/16, 1972.

Thereupon the military-backed government brought second modification of the Constitution and the National Assembly approved the following listed constitutional amendments on February 15, 1973:

1. Amendment to Article 30 extending the period of detention up to 15 days.

2. Amendment to Article 136 authorizing the executive power to establish Emergency State Security Courts.

3. Amendment to Article 138 authorizing the military officers to exercise the duties of judges in full extend at the military tribunals during the time of war and to annul the constitutional obligation as to the majority of court judges to be formed of professional lawyers.

4. Provisional Article 21 authorizing military courts of martial law to continue their duties even after the martial law period is terminated.

So, even when the martial law is lifted, the military will be able to keep the authority to try political offences. Let alone the amendment to Article 138 and the Provisional Article 21, even the Emergency State Security Courts will be dominated by the military judges and these courts will try everyone under the pretext of committing an offence against "territorial and national unity of the state or the republic, national security, public order, public interests, the general welfare and morality".

As a price of these amendments, the military permitted the parliament to pass also the following amendments in favour of the political parties:

1. In accordance with the amendment to Article 57, the Constitutional Court will not control financial books, accounts and/or status of the political parties.

2. Amendment to Article 148 obliges the Constitutional Court to hold an open trial when a case concerns closing and/or banning an existing political party permanently.

3. Provisional Article 22 obliges the State's treasury to give financial help to the political parties which have groups at the parliament.

Since the only leftist party, the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) was banned, all these amendments will work for the interests of rightist or center parties.

antidemocratic laws and amendments

Not being satisfied with simply modifying the 1961 Constitution and providing martial law commanders with arbitrary powers,

the military junta has ordered the government and the parliament to change more than twenty laws to bring them into line with the amendments of the Constitution:

1. Turkish Penal Code
2. Turkish Press Code
3. TRT (Turkish Radio-Television) Act
4. Associations Act
5. Expropriation Act
6. Regulation of the Grand National Assembly
7. State Personnel Act
8. National Security Council Act
9. Council of State Act
10. State Employees Union Act
11. Universities Act
12. Judges and Prosecutors Act
13. Military Criminal Procedure Act
14. Military Court of Cassation Act
15. Supreme Council of Judges Act
16. Constitutional Court Act
17. Election Act
18. Political Parties Act
19. Duties and Authorities of Police Act
20. Military Criminal Code
21. Criminal Procedure Code
22. Control Act
23. Meetings and Demonstrations Act

Through the amendment to the Associations Act came into force on December 3, 1972, governors and police chiefs were authorized to permanently control or ban any association without a "court order". As a first step all student organizations were outlawed and banned. Associations have been obliged to obtain the approval of the public prosecutor in order to issue any announcement or press release whatsoever. The radio-television and the press cannot bring to the public's attention any announcement without the approval of a public prosecutor. All associations have been forbidden to have international relations, to be affiliated to any international organization. It has been forbidden to declare any political view on behalf of an association. Within the frame of these restrictions, about 50 thousand associations in Turkey are under the threat of being closed down.

The amendments to the Political Parties Act makes it impossible for a socialist party to be founded on a class base, in other words on a working class base. In addition, the leaders of political parties banned by the authorities cannot form a new political party or become members of another party. Moreover, university professors and assistant professors are also deprived of the right to be affiliated to a political party.

According to the amendment to the Meetings and Demonstrations Act, any meeting not in line with the policy of the executive authorities can be postponed for thirty days by the Interior Ministry. Besides, organizers of any unauthorized meeting or demonstration can be sentenced to imprisonment up to 10 years.

With the amendment to the Duties and Authorities of Police Act, the police forces have been empowered to ignore the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. The police can close down any association, can search houses and the personal belongings and correspondences of any individual and can confiscate them without obtaining any proper court order. Besides, in accordance with the Law dated September 8, 1971, the police has also been authorized to shoot at sight if a wanted person did not surrender within one month to authorities.

Amendment to the Architects and Engineers Chambers Act, passed through the National Assembly on February 16, 1973, abolishes the obligation of being registered to these chambers in order to exercise the profession. Also the chambers cannot issue any political view. So these democratic organizations which had taken an important place in the struggle against anti-democratic attitudes of the political power will be turned into dead bodies.

According to the amendment to the Criminal Procedure Code passed by the Parliament, the offences committed for the purpose mentioned in Article 11 of the Constitution need not be subjected to a preliminary investigation in order to decide whether they can be prosecuted or to determine the identity of the "offender". Public prosecutors will directly proceed with the case by indictment. Moreover, public prosecutor may bring any such case to felony court of any province. Besides, the obligation to prove a crime has been withdrawn from public prosecutor and the defendant is obliged to prove innocence of the charge.

The Military Criminal Procedure Code was also changed in the same spirit by parliament on June 8, 1972, as explained in Chapter "New Restrictions on Right to Defence and Freedom of Fair Trial". (See: Page 8)

The amendment to the Military Criminal Code which became in effect on February 15, 1973 strictly forbids military personnel from taking part in political activities or conversations, even from reading a political book or from recommending it to another person in the military. Punishment for such crimes is 5 years. It can easily be understood that, by passing such an amendment, the military junta seeks to disassociate especially younger army officers from the political arena. For the junta itself, let alone to talk on politics, high generals directly exercise politics by issuing ultimatums to parliament, by stating confidence or non-confidence to governments and by giving political interviews, or by imposing the army chief as candidate for the President of the Republic.

violation of freedom of press, opinion and the arts

Under the military rule, the life of the press, culture and the arts in Turkey has been turned into a desert.

At the outset of martial law, all progressive and liberal

periodicals were closed down, hundreds of thousands of books confiscated, daily newspapers compelled to change their policy, the radio-television network placed under the control of army generals and theaters, movies and all cultural activities subjected to censorship. Hundreds of writers, journalists, editors, actors, actresses, artists, novelists and poets were detained and even some of them tortured. Tried before military courts, formed by martial law headquarters, and threatened with long periods of imprisonment, many of them have already been condemned.

In fact, the freedom of opinion had already been violated for the last six years under the Justice Party rule. But the 12th March coup d'etat is a turning point in the extermination of free expression. Although all kinds of repressive measure against the press and the arts had been taken by the Justice Party power, courts of the independent judicial system had been able to act as a brake preventing the execution of these measures maintaining the right to freedom of expression.

But with the imposition of martial law, this stricted guarantee also was lost. Furthermore, the amendments to the 1961 Constitution limits the legitimate authority of the courts of law.

Especially in the recent months, the military authorities have applied a strict censorship to the press. For example, newspapers have been compelled to use the word "bandit" in describing not only the urban guerillas, but also all left or liberal minded persons. It has been forbidden to supply any information on the mass arrests or trials outside that contained in official communiques. Not only news on the debates about torture allegations, but even the use of the word "torture" was forbidden.

Within the period of 24 months of martial law 38 daily newspapers or periodicals have been closed down for a certain period or indefinitely by the martial law headquarters on the pretext of "having made publication against the national security" or of "violating martial law censorship". (See:Sup.List III)

Number of the journalists, writers, translators, editors or artists detained, arrested or condemned by military or civil courts reached 165. (See: Supplementary List IV)

In spite of these facts, Turkish Foreign Minister Bayülken and Member of the Council of Europe Turhan Feyzioglu did not hesitate to tell the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe on October 23, 1972 that there had been no journalist in Turkey condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment for his opinion.

As clearly seen on the supplementary list, Publisher Süleyman Ege was condemned totally to 30 years imprisonment and 12 years banishment for having published four books and put in chains at the prison. That is to say, 7.5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment for each book.

Beside these detentions and condemnations, martial law authorities have prohibited every type of film and theater performance on the charge of "discrediting the government and/or aiming at the overthrow of basic institutions or inciting to rebel-

lion" and announced that any person selling a forbidden book would be detained and punished. Thereupon, the security forces started a book-hunt and confiscated every type of book, forbidden or not. The booksellers, in fear of being detained, began sending back all leftist books to the publishing houses and some intellectuals were obliged to burn their own books.

The martial law headquarters have issued lists of "forbidden books" from time to time. On July 1, 1972, the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters decided to confiscate 138 title books on the pretext of "containing propaganda for communism and having played a most important role in leading the country towards anarchy".

According to the Press Code still in force, no book can be confiscated six months after its publication date. The military rulers, however, ignored the law and confiscated not only socialist literature, but even a history book written 350 years ago, Serefname, as well as books entitled the Invisible Government CIA.

On July 28, 1972, some 3,000 policemen headed by civil authorities empowered by a decision of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters raided 30 publishing houses in Istanbul and confiscated almost half a million books - 650 titles including even the books of Einstein or Agatha Christie.

And on January 28, 1973, the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters decided to destroy all confiscated books by dispatching them as a raw material to the SEKA Paper Factory in Izmit province. (See: Supplementary List V)

In spite of protests from international organizations, the military rule is still continuing to increase the pressure on the press. On September 11, 1972 the Convention of the International Journalists Federation was held in Istanbul and the Turkish Government seemed to welcome the representatives of foreign press. Although the FIJ Convention adopted a resolution suggesting the Turkish authorities to free the detained journalists and to lift heavy measures, the Turkish Government has paid no heed them.

Also the International Pen Club protested against the attitude towards intellectuals by giving up to hold its convention in Istanbul.

The martial law authorities also compelled many theaters to stop showing some plays like Hans Magnus Enzensberger's Havana Trial or Peter Weiss' play on Portuguese colonialism, on the pretext of "inciting the people to rebellion".

While Yilmaz Güney, the most famous movie director and star of Turkey, was in military jail, his film, Baba (father), won the first prize at the Adana Film Festival. But just one day after, the Martial Law Commander of Adana compelled the jury to change their decision and to withdraw the prize from Yilmaz Güney. Besides, the government brought a draft bill before the parliament amending the Film Control Act. The bill authorizing the administrative body to outlaw the making of any film or to ban its performance, was approved on October 5, 1972 at the parliament.

With the amendment to the Duties and Authorities of Police Act, the police forces were empowered to close down any theater or cinema, to raid the offices of newspapers and publishing houses without obtaining a court order, and the administrative authorities were empowered to confiscate any publication or to censor any correspondence.

Also an amendment to the Press Code has been prepared to authorize public prosecutors or governors to close down any newspaper without a court order.

pressure on the universities and teachers

Following the proclamation of martial law, universities and school teachers have been subjected to all sorts of repression. Teachers have been detained in large groups, hundreds have been kept in military prisons and in police dungeons for months at a time. According to Mr. Getin Yilmaz, M.P., during the period of the Sledge-Hammer Operation 3,500 teachers had been detained and many of them had been released after a few days or a week. Whereas the names of only 322 appeared on daily newspapers.

Even if released, they have been labelled as "enemy of the state" by the authorities and reactionary circles and lost their jobs. Since they no longer have any social and economic guarantees, teachers have started migrating to Europe as workers. According to the official statement of the Labour Minister, there are more than ten thousand of Turkish teachers in Europe.

In accordance with the amendment to the 1961 Constitution, like all state employees, teachers have been deprived of the right to establish trade unions. Thereupon, the Teachers Union Of Turkey (TOS) representing 100,000 teachers was closed down. Moreover, TOS leaders were brought before military courts and condemned to heavy imprisonments. (See: Supplementary List II).

Although immediately after and in accordance with Article 119 of the Constitution, the teachers have established an association under the name of TOB-DER, aiming "to protect and improve their interests with respect to their professions", this association does not have the right to collective bargaining or to strike, which are the necessary means to protect and improve their economic and social status. Besides, the military rule has not welcomed even such kind of an association and Prime Minister Ferit Melen said on September 25, 1972 at the Parliament that the greatest fight to communism would be started in the education field and would liquidate all leftist teachers by enacting a new law, and new legal proceedings were started in order to close down the TOB-DER. On December 6, 1972, the National Education Minister disclosed that since the proclamation of martial law 848 teachers have been punished in different ways and legal proceedings against 567 teachers were still being carried on.

On the other hand, the rightist groups all over Turkey tolerated and even supported by the authorities have increased their

attacks on progressive teachers. Many teachers were brutally beaten and obliged to leave their posts.

While these pressures are going on, National Education Minister Mr. Ozbek himself disclosed on August 26, 1972 that there was need of 17.000 secondary school teachers. Besides 13,000 villages are still deprived of primary schools, 2.5 million children at the primary education age are not able to attend schools and half of the population is still illiterate.

These contradictions can only be qualified as a shameful display on the part of the rulers of Turkey.

Another blow to members of the educational profession is the abrogation of the university autonomy. The amendment to Article 120 of the Constitution has placed the universities under the strict control of the executive power. Police forces have been authorized to enter university buildings or annexes with the purpose of pursuing a criminal, without obtaining authorization from the university administration. The Council of Ministers has been authorized to take over the administration of the universities if "freedom of education is endangered or if the administrative bodies of the universities are unable to meet this danger". University professors and assistants have been deprived of their right to affiliation to political parties.

In addition to this amendments, the Council of Ministers has brought a new Universities law to put these restrictions into practice. In spite of strong reaction from university circles, the parliament is passing the law. Even a member of parliament, Mr. Kadri Eroglu from the Democratic Party, went so far as to say in parliament on February 21, 1973: "Is it worthwhile to fight 20 years old children? To overcome the anarchy? Let's send 25-30 university professors to gallows, it is over!"

Not to gallows, but to military prisons and military courts hundreds of university professors, assistant professors and assistants have already been sent.

Professor Mümtaz Soysal, Dean of the Political Sciences Faculty, was condemned to 6 years, 8 months imprisonment; Professor Ugur Alacakaptan to 6 years, 3 months imprisonment; Assistant Ismail Beşikçi to 13 years imprisonment by military courts for their books, articles or lectures. (Supp. Lists VI).

military rule is the enemy of the working class

As mentioned above, the military regime's first cudgel blow fell on the socialist movement of the working class. Eight of eleven provinces subjected to martial law -Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adapazari, Izmir, Zonguldak, Eskişehir and Adana- are the most industrialized districts of Turkey and form the strongest bases of progressive unions. Just after the proclamation of martial law all socialist or left-wing organizations, including the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) were dissolved and banned. From the very start of the martial law regime, strikes were forbidden and

union leaders and workers arrested and brought to mass trials before the military courts. Armed troops were sent to wherever groups of workers were fighting for their rights.

And now as a result of the Constitutional amendment, it is no longer possible to form a new political party having a social class as its base as required by scientific socialism.

In this climate of terror, progressive unionism has been cut off from all possible forms of action. The Progressive Unions Confederation of Turkey (DISK) is continuing in name only. The leaders of the Trade Unions Confederation of Turkey (Türk-İş) have supported the military rule until the last day.

In order to keep Turkish industry at a level competitive with that of EEC countries, the capitalists are calling for a ceiling to workers' wages and intend to make strike and union contract legislation inoperative.

The military rule, with its concessions to the capitalists, is incapable of finding a solution to the unemployment crisis threatening the labouring masses. It has been admitted by the regime's own ministers that there are two million unemployed in Turkey. 400,000 enter the labour market each year, of whom 150 thousand are not able to find work. Within the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens.

Instead of creating new employment fields in the country, the military rule is very proud of practicing a policy of "labour export", and the official target of the "export rate" has been stated as 100,000 workers per year. At the beginning of 1973 the number of Turkish workers who got work in Europe through official channels has reached 650,000 and together with their families this official figure reaches 1,000,000. 34% of these are skilled workers. But this figure goes far beyond 1,000,000 if they include workers without official work or contract and those who leave the country clandestinely.

The military rule is also attempting to restrict the social rights of the working class. The Social Security Administration has disclosed a new project to raise the minimum limit to receive old-age pensions from 55 to 60 for men and from 50 to 55 for women. It must be remembered that the average length of life in Turkey is 52.5 years for men and 56.3 years for women.

Although some martial law headquarters lifted the ban on strikes in recent months, the Council of Ministers still uses its authority to suspend a strike. On the other hand lock-outs have been tolerated by the authorities. Labour Minister Uzuner disclosed on January 26, 1973 at the Parliament that within 1972 workers had been able to go on only 15 strikes while employees had announced 120 lock-outs.

On the other hand the living conditions of poor peasantry also went worse after the military rule was imposed. Although the land reform had been put on the government program, 2 years after, this reform has not yet passed through parliament. In spite of the fact that prices have increased with a great speed, the Council of Ministers has consistently refused to increase the mi-

nimum prices of agricultural products and millions of poor peasants have been left in poverty.

Besides, half a million poor peasants have been deprived of their only income source by the banning of opium poppy agriculture under the pressure of the U.S. According to the State Planning Organization, because of this ban, Turkey annually loses 6 thousand million Turkish Liras (400 million dollars). The United States promised to indemnify only one twelfth of this loss.

In parallel with the attitude of the military junta, the majority of the parliament also is looking forward to bring more restrictions on the rights of workers. On October 2, 1972, at the parliament, Mr. Zekeriya Kürsüd, M.P. on behalf of the Justice Party said: "Workers' right to strike must be restricted".

And with the purpose of elimination progressive unions completely from the social scene, the military rule is preparing to alter existing labour legislation on unions, strikes and lock-outs.

the oppression of the kurdish people

Although a huge terror has always been felt by the Kurdish people since the proclamation of the Republic, repressive action against the Kurdish people became open brutality after martial law. Even if there was no guerilla activities in south-eastern Anatolia, the military-backed government imposed martial law to Diyarbakir, Siirt and Hatay where Kurds live. The martial law commanders of Diyarbakir, Siirt and Hatay have not, however, limited themselves to these three provinces, but applied repressive measures throughout eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

On the very first day of martial law, April 27, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara banned the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO), in quick succession, other martial law commanders took similar measures, banning the local sections of the DDKO.

On May 1, 1971, Prime Minister Erim stated: "We accept no other nation as living in Turkey other than Turks. In accordance with our understanding, there is only one nation in Turkey: The Turkish nation. All citizens living in different parts of the country are content to be Turkish."

Later a mass arrest campaign was applied to Kurdish leaders and intellectuals, hundreds of them were brought before the military courts of Diyarbakir Martial Law and condemned to imprisonment up to 20 years. Also the Turkish Labour Party was closed on July 20, 1971 for adopting a resolution on the democratic rights of the Kurdish people and the party leaders also were condemned to imprisonments up to 15 years. (See: Sup. List II).

According to an official communique issued by the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters, during the period of one year, the military and police forces have brought more than 5,000 cases be-

fore the military prosecutors in Diyarbakir-Siirt area where the Kurdish people live. Moreover, the martial law authorities have never disclosed the real number and names of the detainees. The publication of information on the arrests and trials in this area has been forbidden by the authorities, so as not to reveal the gravity of the repression to which the Kurdish people has been subjected.

But the following two news are enough to understand the gravity of the repression in this area:

- Burhan Tan of Siirt was taken into custody by the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters for possession of a Kurdish folk song record. (Daily Cumhuriyet, August 22, 1971)
- Folk singer Ramazan Karagöz was taken into custody by the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters for singing one Kurdish folk song in a casino in Diyarbakir. (Cumhuriyet, Aug.29,971)

resistance against the dictatorship

As clearly seen, the military dictatorship in Turkey has consistently violated all the fundamental freedoms and rights guaranteed under the European Convention of Human Rights pertaining to:

- A) right to life (Article 2)
- B) right to liberty and security (Article 5)
- C) right to immunity from torture and ill-treatment (Article 3)
- D) freedom of fair trial (Article 6, 7)
- E) right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence (Article 8)
- F) freedom of thought, conscience and belief (Article 9)
- G) freedom of expression (Article 10)
- H) freedom of association and trade-union (Article 11)
- I) freedom of effective remedy (Article 13)

Nevertheless, the more repression increases, the more the resistance of masses grows like a rolling snowball.

a. The masses of workers, peasants, state employees, teachers, professionals and artisans are against this corrupt order because their democratic organizations either have been closed down or put under strict control, their leaders have been detained, jailed, tortured and murdered by the military and an overwhelming majority of the politicians have supported these crimes, let alone manifest any reaction. Moreover, the military rule had tried to pay for its dictatorship at the poor toiling masses' expense by increasing prices and indirect taxes, on the other hand by stabilizing wages and by forbidding collective bargaining and strikes and by banning unions of state employees.

In spite of the increasing repressive measures, the military rule cannot defeat the working class. Because the working force is about 15,000,000 and approximately 2,000,000 of this force is engaged in industrial sector, 8,800,000 at agricultural

sector and 3,200,000 at services sector. Moreover, about two million unemployed form the most decisive resisting force who has already nothing to lose.

In most recent months industrial workers have started to go on strikes in succession all over Turkey.

Seeing that the land reform has not been put into practice yet, poor peasants have started to occupy lands appropriated by landlords risking to be shot by security forces.

According to the official figures disclosed on September 11, 1972, the number of workers affiliated to trade unions reached 2,088,000. Under the pressure of the grass-root level, even the leaders of the Türk-İş Confederation have been obliged to change their attitudes towards the military rule and started to attack the government.

Furthermore it must be remembered that, besides its quantitative force, the working class, even within a limited democratic period of last ten years, is organized in trade unions and the labour party and has gained the capability of fighting exploitation. Furthermore, more than half a million workers are now in developed countries; they can see the huge gap between these countries and their own, they can learn how to live as a human-being and how to fight for their rights. Especially when working forces of the EEC countries and their associate partners unite in a labour bloc, the experience and will of Turkish workers abroad will much more strengthen.

b. Intellectuals, writers, artists, professors, teachers and students have carried on their struggle for democracy without being terrified of the terror. In spite of censorship and prohibition of progressive publications, new periodicals, daily newspapers and publishing houses are entering into the field of struggle and even though within limits imposed by the military they try to reveal the facts to the public opinion.

Also within the limits brought by new laws, journalists unions and professional associations raise their voices against anti-democratic measures.

Although in minority, patriotic elements of the parliament and high-bureaucracy do not keep their mouths shut and show their resistance against death sentences, illegal trials and tortures. Thousands of them -including members of supreme courts, judges, prosecutors and administrators- protested death sentences by giving their signatures.

c. In spite of repeated liquidations, young radical army officers who have kept their ties with the poor people continue to fight secretly against the military rule. That is why the military junta have very often shifted them from one post to another and high army generals run from one military unit to the other to inspect low-ranking officers and compel the parliament and the government to enact new laws to increase financial possibilities of the army officers.

d. And every day in another corner of Turkey a new resist-

ance group is formed even including their own sons and daughters. They know very well that the progressive youth of Turkey, who have seen their friends sent to gallows for "attempting to overthrow the constitution" while the military junta itself was committing the crime of abolishing the constitution, will not forget to give the enemies of the people.

reaction from the democratic forces of the world

In the second year of the military rule, the very well sophisticated plan of ruling circles aiming to deceive the world opinion by keeping a puppet parliament completely went bankrupt.

Today all democratic forces of the world know very well that despite the existence of a parliament, all strings are in the hands of big capitalists, landowners and high-military and civilian bureaucrats; and the dictatorship of them, let alone "to crack down on a handful of anarchists", is aiming to exterminate all progressive forces in Turkey.

In 1972, main newspapers and periodicals of the world including Le Monde, Sunday Times, Guardian, New York Times, Observer, Der Spiegel, Stern, Vrij Netherland, Expressen, Aftonbladet, etc., concentrated their criticism against the military rule. Dutch, British, Swedish, Norwegian, Belgian, German radios and televisions have made documentary broadcastings revealing tortures and other crimes against human rights.

International organizations like Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, International Journalists Union, International PEN Club and the World Assembly of Youth have issued documents on the violation of human rights in Turkey, on the other hand hundreds of thousands people all over world have given their signatures to protest the death sentences or the oppression of intellectuals in Turkey.

Besides in some countries like Holland, Norway, Sweden and Belgium national committees have been formed with the purpose of solidarity with the people of Turkey and same kind attempts are being carried on in Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Denmark and Finland.

One of the most important steps taken abroad has been to raise the Turkish Question at the Council of Europe. It is very well remembered that some European parliamentarians like Mr. Reverdin (Switzerland), Mr. Blumenfeld (Germany), Mr. Leynen (Belgium) consistently defended the military regime of Turkey in spite of the fact that the same regime has violated all human rights guaranteed by the European Convention.

First, Mr. Pieter Dankert (Holland) brought the violation of human rights in Turkey to the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe in May 1972. Later many deputies from different countries criticized the Turkish Regime at the Consultative Assembly of the Council and obliged the Turkish Foreign Mi-

nister to give account before the Political Affairs Committee. Despite the existence of concrete proofs, Foreign Minister Haluk Bayülken, in answer to the questions of Mr. Dankert and Mr. Frank Judd (Gt. Britain), refused all allegations and claimed that all documents were the fabrication of international communist conspiracy.

Finally, at the Council of Europe, 20 deputies from different countries brought a motion for a resolution on the situation in Turkey on January 23, 1973. (See: Sup. List VII).

The motion requests the Consultative Assembly to resolve that a representative group be appointed by the Political Affairs and Legal Affairs Committees to study the present situation of martial law and political trials in Turkey.

Although the Turkish representative at the Council of Europe said: "...if such a committee is formed and sent to Turkey, it will not be welcomed by the Turkish Government," the Bureau of Assembly decided to put the motion on the agenda on March 22, 1973.

the military rule must be isolated.

In spite of these attempts, the attitude of the governments of the Council of Europe members and the EEC partners towards the military rule of Turkey is still encouraging. While Greece was obliged to withdraw from the Council of Europe to pre-empt expulsion and the EEC Commission decided to limit the application of the Athens Treaty to Greece's "current administration", the Turkish Question has so far not been taken up by the European governments with a comparable zeal.

It is a very well known fact that the external pressure from the Council of Europe or from the EEC will be more efficient for Turkey than for Greece. Because the Greek colonels are very well aware of the fact that even if being expelled from European institutions, Greece is still a European country. But it is not so easy for Turkish generals. Because for them the European image and status are particularly delicate. The risk of expulsion from European institutions could be a serious blow, upsetting the remaining balance between military and parliamentary wings of the present rule.

Since the Turkish rulers violated human rights guaranteed by the European Convention, any government of the Council of Europe member countries can bring the Turkish Question before the European Human Rights Commission and can oblige the Turkish Government to give account.

The EEC Commission can propose a new attitude towards the present rule of Turkey and the Council of Ministers of the EEC can take a decision to freeze the relations with Turkey.

Otherwise, the Council of Europe and the EEC will turn into bodies ignoring the democratic principles mentioned in the Human Rights Convention and in the Rome Treaty; and after accept-

ing to keep this Trojan Horse in these bodies, the way of membership will be open to other dictatorships like Greece, Spain and Portugal too.

It is very clear that even a few criticisms at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe became enough to shake the alliance between parliamentary and military wings of the present rule. Being encouraged by the external pressure, the parliamentary wing could dare to resist against the nomination of the Army Chief as President of the Republic and to force the military junta to hold the general elections in time.

But in any case, because of constitutional and legal amendments and of the crack down on all progressive forces of the country, the general elections will be held under martial law, without a left party and without democratic organizations. Furthermore, the military will keep the strings in its own hands through the National Security Council, even if the government is handed over to the political party which gains the majority at the general elections in October 1973.

In accordance with the amendments to the Constitution, the military courts and newly established "extraordinary state security courts" will continue to try and condemn anyone and everyone.

Therefore, even if a general election is held and even if the military seems to be withdrawn from the political arena, all democratic forces of the world must consistently defend the following demands of the people of Turkey:

- To prevent death sentences, tortures and ill-treatments;
- To free all political prisoners;
- To put an end to martial law and to all kinds of military interference;
- To restore all freedoms and rights brought by the 1961 Constitution;
- To annul all anti-democratic laws and amendments passed after 12th March;
- To liquidate the hegemony of the United States and its collaborators who impose and back "parliamentary" and/or military fascism in Turkey.

This is not only a matter of solidarity with the people of Turkey, but also a matter of protecting other countries against the danger of falling under a similar anti-democratic rule.

This is a matter of proving the will of European peoples and their representatives to defend fundamental human rights and freedoms.

SUPPLEMENTARY
DOCUMENTS

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST I

Victims of Man-Hunts

1. ADIL KARTAL (teacher)- Burnt himself with gasoline in front of Atatürk's statue on May 4, 1971 in Bursa to protest against the regime.
2. IBRAHİM ÖZTAŞ (student)- Shot to death on May 22, 1971 in Izmir.
3. SINAN CEMGİL (student)- Shot to death on May 31, 1971 in Elbistan.
4. ALPARSLAN ÖZDOĞAN (student)- "
5. KADIR MANGA (student)- "
6. HOSEYİN CEVAHİR (student)- Shot to death on June 1, 1971-Istanbul.
7. DERYA MAVİLİ (unemployed)- Shot to death on June 3, 1971-Istanbul.
8. HIKMET KIVILCIMLI (physician and socialist writer)- Wanted by the military authorities and had to flee Turkey just after having a delicate cancer operation. Died of cancer on October 16, 1971 in Belgrad.
9. IBRAHİM BAĞIŞ (state employee)- Beaten to death on October 17, 1971 at Elazığ Police Headquarters.
10. ALI AKHAN (peasant)- Shot to death on October 30, 1971 in Mardin.
11. KADIR PEKER (worker)- Killed by the henchmen of the employee during a workers strike on December 12, 1971 in Istanbul.
12. AHMET AVSAR (peasant)- Shot to death on October 30, 1971-Mardin.
13. ULAŞ BARDAKÇI (student)- Shot to death on Feb. 19, 1972-Istanbul
14. KORAY DOĞAN (student)- Shot to death on March 9, 1972 in Ankara.
15. MAHİR ÇAYAN (student)- Killed by the military forces on March 30, 1972 at Kizildere.
16. CİHAN ALPTEKİN (student)- "
17. HÜDAİ ARIKAN (student)- "
18. SINAN KAZIM ÖZÜDOĞRU (student)- "
19. AHMET ATASOY- "
20. SAFFET ALP (lieutenant)- "
21. ERTAN SARUHAN- "
22. SELAHATTİN KUNT- "
23. NİHAZ YILMAZ- "
24. ÖMER AYNA (student)- "
25. AHMET NİAZI YILDIZHAN (student)- Shot to death on May 4, 1972 in Ankara.
26. DENİZ GEZMİŞ (student)- Executed on May 6, 1972 in Ankara
27. YUSUF ARSLAN (student)- "
28. HOSEYİN İNAN (student)- "
29. VEDAT GEVREK (student)- Tortured to death on June 28, 1972 in Ankara Police Headquarters.
30. MEHMET BALTAÇI (peasant)- Tortured to death in June 1972 in Diyarbakır Military Prison.
31. MEHMET MARANGOZ (employee)- Beaten to death on December 16, 1972 in Siverek Police Headquarters.
32. MEHMET ÖSTÜN - Beaten to death in Nov. 1972, at Camlidere Police.
33. ALİ HAYDAR YILDIZ (student)- Shot to death on Jan. 23, 1973-Tunceli.
34. AHMET MUHARREM ÇİÇEK (student)- Shot to death on March 19, 1973 in Istanbul.
35. AVNİ GÖKOĞLU (student)- Shot to death on May 2, 1973 at Syrian border.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST II

Mass Trials Before Military Courts

A) Retroactive Cases:

1. POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY OF TURKEY (THKO): 23 defendants were tried under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code for the "offences" committed between December 29, 1970 and March 16, 1971. Despite the fact that they had never killed anyone, the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters condemned 18 youth to death. The Military Court of Cassation approved three death sentences and Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Arslan and Hüseyin Inan were executed on May 6, 1972 in Ankara. Other 13 defendants were condemned to imprisonment up to 15 years.

2. YOUNG NAVAL OFFICERS: 84 defendants brought before the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters (MLH) under Article 146. But the court refused to apply this article to the case and condemned only 14 defendants several prison terms on May 3, 1972. 70 defendant were acquitted. Whereas the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences for 41 persons. On the objection by the military prosecutor, the file of the case is still at the Military Court of Cassation. If the sentences are overruled, the defendants will be tried by another military court owing to the fact that the First Military Court was immediately dissolved for not applying the orders from above.

3. TURKISH LABOUR PARTY (TIP): 20 leaders of the party, including the president, Mrs. Behice Bdran, were condemned to 15 years imprisonment by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH under Article 141 for the party program adopted in 1964 and a resolution on the democratic rights of Kurdish people passed by 1970 party convention. The Military Court of Cassation approved the sentence on April 26, 1973.

4. "TURKISH COMMUNIST PARTY": 33 intellectuals were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on a charge of "having been affiliated to the clandestine Turkish Communist Party". Although the court could not find any evidence to prove their affiliation, punished 16 defendants with prison term up to 8 years on December 15, 1972 for their speeches or articles prior to martial law.

5. TEACHERS UNION OF TURKEY (TOS): 51 out of 143 defendants were condemned up to 10 years imprisonment on February 23, 1972 by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH, under Article 141. President Fakir Baykurt and vice-president Dursun Akcam, who are also famous novelists of Turkey, were condemned to 8 years and 11 months imprisonment.

6. TOS ADANA SECTION: 8 out of 17 teachers were condemned to imprisonment up to 8 years on February 23, 1972 by the Military Court of Adana MLH under Article 141.

7. PROGRESSIVE YOUTH FEDERATION OF TURKEY (Dev-Genç): 236 defendants are still being tried before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH under Articles 146 and 141. The military prosecutor demanded 19 death sentences.
8. PROGRESSIVE CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF EASTERN ANATOLIA (DDKO): 66 out of 86 Kurdish intellectuals were condemned to jail terms up to 16 years by the Military Court of Diyarbakir-Siirt Martial Law Headquarters under Article 141 on December 12, 1972.
9. STUDENTS OF THE POLITICAL SCIENCES FACULTY: 48 defendants are being tried before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on a charge of "attacking the police forces" prior to martial law. 14 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 4 years 2 months on March 7, 1973.
10. STUDENTS OF HACETTEPE UNIVERSITY: 60 out of 65 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 4 years and 2 months on July 16, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on the charge of "attacking the police forces" prior to martial law.
11. PROGRESSIVE TRADE UNIONS CONFEDERATION (DISK): 29 trade union leaders were brought before the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on December 6, 1971 on a charge of "inciting the people to rise against the government" during the workers movement of 1970.
12. WORKERS OF OTOSAN AUTOMOTIVE FACTORY: 85 defendants were brought before the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on December 8, 1971 on a charge of holding an illegal demonstration in June 1970.
13. DEV GENÇ - ISTANBUL SECTION: 154 defendants are being tried before the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since July 31, 1972 under article 146 and 141 for their acts prior to martial law.
14. DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KURDISTAN: 24 out of 36 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 7 years on February 27, 1973 by the Second Military Court of Diyarbakir-Siirt MLH under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.
15. KOCAELI WORKERS - PEASANTS ASSOCIATION: 7 out of 16 members were condemned to imprisonments up to 8 years on December 28, 1972 by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH under Article 141 for their activities prior to martial law.
16. KADIRLI CULTURAL CLUB: 5 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 8 years by the Adana Military Court of MLH under Article 141 for their activities prior to martial law.
17. 11 STUDENTS were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on October 11, 1972 on a charge of killing another student from counter ideological group prior to martial law and the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for two defendants under Article 146.
18. DEV GENÇ - ERZURUM AND KARS SECTION: 27 out of 32 defendants were condemned to jail terms up to 10 years on November 23, 1972 by the First Military Court of Diyarbakir-Siirt MLH under Article 141 for their activities prior to martial law.

19. STUDENTS OF THE MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY: 19 students were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on December 21, 1972 for student movements prior to martial law. Four defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to two years on February 28, 1973.

20. THE AYDINLIK GROUP: Vahap Erdogan, editor of monthly review Aydinlik, and his 39 friends were brought before the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on January 25, 1973 under Article 141 for their publications and activities prior to martial law.

21. MADANOGLU CASE: 25 defendants including two senate members and four journalists, were brought before the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on February 6, 1973 for their activities prior to martial law. The military prosecutor considers their activities relating Article 146 and demanded jail terms up to 12 years.

22. FIVE INTELLECTUALS FROM KARADENIZ EREGLI: Writer Sina Cilar dir and his four friends were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on January 18, 1972 under Article 142. Whereas they had been subjected to legal proceedings by civil prosecutor prior to martial law.

23. TRT CASE: Two board members and five program producers of the Turkish Radio Television Broadcasting Corporation were brought before the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH under articles 155 and 311 for some previous programs.

24. TIP - ZONGULDAK SECTION: Seven leaders of this section were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on July 16, 1971 on a charge of "attempting to annihilate national feelings".

B. Other Mass Trials:

1. POPULAR LIBERATION FRONT OF TURKEY (THKC): 26 defendants were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on August 16, 1971 under Article 146. Two of them, Mahir Çayan and Ulaş Bardakçi, were killed following their escape from the military prison. One defendant, Ziya Yilmaz, was condemned to death on March 15, 1972 and the verdict was approved by the Court of Cassation. The file is still awaiting for the approval of the parliament. Other 5 defendants were condemned to life-term and 15 defendants to imprisonments up to 15 years.

2. POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY - ISTANBUL SECTION: 19 defendants were brought before the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH on October 6, 1971 under Article 146. Two of them, Cihan Alptekin and Omer Ayna, were killed following their escapes from the military prison. The court refused to apply the Article 146 to the case and condemned the defendants to imprisonments on April 22, 1972. The Military Court of Cassation overruled the decision and ordered a new trial before another court under Article 146 with the demand of death sentences for 4 defendants and imprisonments for 13 others.

3. THKO - IZMIR SECTION: 10 defendants are being tried before

the Military Court of Iwmir Martial Law Headquarters under articles 146 and 141 since November 3, 1971.

4. LAWYERS OF THKO DEFENDANTS: 10 lawyers were condemned to imprisonments up to 6 months on June 30, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on the charge of insulting the armed forces and the government during the trials of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends.

5. LAWYERS OF THKO - ISTANBUL SECTION: Three out of 5 lawyers were condemned to 6 months imprisonment for each on June 19, 1972 by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on the charge of "insulting military judges and prosecutors."

6. MILITARY PERSONNEL OF MALTEPE MILITARY PRISON: 19 officers, NCOs and private soldiers are being tried before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH since July 17, 1972 on the charge of "helping the members of the THKO and the THKC to escape from the military prison".

7. POPULAR LIBERATION ARMY - ANKARA SECTION: Two defendants, Fevzi Bal and Safa Asim Yildiz, were condemned to death on February 2, 1973 under Article 146 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH, one defendant was condemned to life-term and 26 others to imprisonments up to 15 years.

8. ROBBING ZIRAAT BANKASI (Agriculture Bank): 30 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 26 years on September 15, 1972 by the Military Court of Izmir MLH.

9. RISING AT THE MILITARY PRISON: 27 defendants, who had been charged also of other offences, were condemned to imprisonments up to 4 years by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on February 2, 1972 on the charge of "rising against the authorities of the military prison".

10. SAMANDAG GUERILLA OPERATION: 14 defendants were condemned to imprisonments up to 20 years on October 5, 1972 by the Adana Military Court of MLH for having attempted to start a guerilla operation in the Samandag district of Hatay Province.

11. HIJACKING CASE: 9 defendants are being tried since October 22, 1972 before the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on the charge of helping the urban guerillas hijacking a Turkish plane to Sofia in April 1972. The prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years under Article 141.

12. "PRAISING DENIZ GEZMİŞ": Eight defendants were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on December 7, 1972 on the charge of "praising Deniz Gezmiş and other urban guerillas".

13. "KURTULUŞ": Publisher of periodical Kurtuluş and his six friends were brought before the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on December 7, 1972 under Article 141.

14. REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS-PEASANTS PARTY OF TURKEY (TIKP): 267 defendants are being tried before the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH since January 10, 1973 under article 141 on the charge of forming a clandestine organization.

15. "SAFAK": 51 defendants were brought before the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on January 31, 1973 under Article 141 on the charge of "forming a clandestine organization and making clandestine publications under the name of Safak".

16. "PAPATYA": 9 defendants are being tried before the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH since January 31, 1973 under Article 141 on the charge of "forming a clandestine organization under the name of Papatya (Daisy)".

17. RISING AT THE MILITARY PRISON: 25 female defendants who had been accused also of other offences, were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on February 5, 1973 on the charge of rising at the military prison and of insulting the authorities.

18. 18 DEFENDANTS were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on February 26, 1973 under Article 146 for taking part in various sabotage and subversive activities against the state. The military prosecutor demanded death sentences for six defendants.

19. "ESCAPE FROM PRISON": The military prosecutors initiated legal proceedings against 256 persons on the charge of "helping Mahir Cayan and other urban guerillas to escape from military prison and to attempt the Kizildere Kidnapping". Majority of the defendants were detained one year ago and tortured for months at counter-guerilla bases. Despite the official communiques stating the trial to start in February 1973, the defendants were brought before the military court on April 16, 1973. Ten defendants of the case are facing the capital punishment.

20. "SABOTAGE" CASE: 22 defendants were brought before the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on March 5, 1973 on the charge of "performing acts of sabotage against some ships and buildings". The military prosecutor demanded death sentences for 17 defendants.

21. "TOB-DER" CASE: Ali Bozkurt, the President of the Teachers Association of Turkey (TOB-DER) and its 11 other leaders were tried at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on the charge of "violating censorship imposed by the military authorities", but all of them were acquitted on April 5, 1973.

22. "MURDER" CASE: 13 defendants were brought before the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on April 12, 1973 on the charge of "murdering a student leader". The military prosecutor demanded death sentence for one of the defendants and imprisonment up to 24 years for others.

23. "SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES" CASE: 53 defendants were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on April 13, 1973 on a charge of "attempting subversive activities" and the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for 12 defendants.

24. "PROFESSORS" CASE: Two professors, an assistant professor and two assistants of the Faculty of Letters of Ankara University were brought before the Military Court of Ankara MLH on April 18, 1973 under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST III

Dailies and periodicals closed down by the military on the pretext of "having made publication against national security" and "violating censorship"

1. Cumhuriyet (daily) - 28.4.1971 (for 10 days)
2. Akşam (daily) - 28.4.1971 (for 10 days)
3. Devrim (weekly) - 28.4.1971 (indefinitely)
4. İşçi-Köylü (bi-weekly) - 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
5. Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik (weekly) - 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
6. Türkiye Solu (bi-weekly) - 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
7. Aydınlik Sosyalist Dergi (monthly) - 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
8. Dagyeli (daily - Kirikhan) - 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
9. Ant (monthly) - 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
10. Bugün (daily) - 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
11. Babıalide Sabah (daily) - 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
12. Emek (monthly) - 2.5.1971 (indefinitely)
13. Vatandaş (daily) - 27.5.1971 (for 20 days)
14. Çukurova (daily) - 27.5.1971 (for 20 days)
15. İttihad (daily) - 8.6.1971 (indefinitely)
16. Dünya (daily) - 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
17. Yeni Asya (daily) - 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
18. Bizim Anadolu (daily) - 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
19. Halkın Dostları (monthly) - 13.9.1971 (indefinitely)
20. Hüryol (periodical) - 17.9.1971 (indefinitely)
21. Adalet (daily) - 17.9.1971 (indefinitely)
22. Vatandaş (daily) - 17.9.1971 (for 7 days)
23. Ortam (weekly) - 8.10.1971 (indefinitely)
24. Ege Ekspres (daily) - 12.10.1971 (for 7 days)
25. Günaydin (daily - Izmir edition) - 12.10.1971 (for 7 days)
26. Bizim Anadolu (daily) - 24.10.1971 (for 10 days)
27. Yanki (weekly) - 8.11.1971 (for 30 days)
28. Demokrat Izmir (daily) - 23.11.1971 (for 7 days)
29. Akşam (daily) - 17.2.1972 (indefinitely - but one week after, the publishers declared that they had fired all left-minded personnel and promised to fight communism. Thereupon the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul permitted the publication.)
30. Barış (daily) - 13.3.1972 (indefinitely)
31. Günaydin (daily - Ankara edition) - 16.3.1972 (indefinitely)
32. Son Havadis (daily - Eskişehir distribution) - 2.5.1972 (for 10 days)
33. Yeni Gün (daily) - 7.6.1972 (indefinitely)
34. Toplum (weekly) - 10.11.1972 (indefinitely)
35. Yeni Ortam (daily - Ankara edition) - 14.10.1972 (for 30 days)
36. Türkiye (daily) - 15.12.1972 (for 10 days)
37. Hürriyet (daily - Adana edition) - 4.1.1973 (indefinitely)
38. Yeni Halkçı (daily - Ankara) - 29.4.1973 (indefinitely)

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST IV

Detained, arrested, tried and condemned journalists, translators, editors, publishers and artists in Turkey

1. ÇETIN ALTAN (Columnist of daily Akşam) - Detained on April 28, 1971 - Condemned to one year prison in Ankara on July 8, 1971 - Condemned again to 1.5 years imprisonment and 4 months banishment on August 1, 1971 in Istanbul - Incarcerated at Istanbul Sagmalcilar Prison for 2.5 years on July 18, 1972.
2. EROL TÜREGÖN (Responsible editor of daily Akşam) - Detained on April 28, 1971 in Istanbul - Condemned to one year imprisonment and 4 months banishment on June 16, 1972 in Istanbul.
3. İLHAN SELÇUK (Columnist of daily Cumhuriyet) - Detained on April 28, 1971 in Istanbul - Condemned to one year prison term on July 5, 1971 in Istanbul - Detained again on October 19, 1972 in Istanbul - Freed on December 29, 1972 - Condemned to 6 months imprisonment on February 12, 1963 in Istanbul - Still tried by the military court in Istanbul.
4. OKTAY KURTBOKE (Editor of daily Cumhuriyet) - Detained on April 28, 1971 - Condemned to 6 months imprisonment on February 12, 1973 in Istanbul - Still free.
5. GAFSAN SEYFETTİNOĞLU (Editor of daily Döğyeli) - Detained on May 5, 1971.
6. SÜLEYMAN GALİOĞLU (Editor of daily Döğyeli) - Detained on May 5, 1971.
7. BÖLENT BALAKOĞLU (Player of Defile Theater) - Detained on May 7, 1971.
8. FAKİR BAYKURT (Novelist) - Detained on May 9, 1971 - Condemned to 8 years, 10 months and 20 days imprisonment by the military court of Ankara MLH on December 25, 1972 - Still free.
9. AŞIK FERMANI ALTINOĞLU (folk singer) - Detained on May 12, 1971 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment on Dec. 31, 1971.
10. MUZAFFER ERDOST (Director of Sol Publishing House) - Detained on May 19, 1971 - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment on January 25, 1972 and the verdict was approved by the Court of Cassation on December 16, 1972. His two other condemnations for 7.5 years imprisonment each are still at the Court of Cassation - He is now in prison.
11. DOĞAN AVCIOĞLU (Editor of weekly Devrim) - Detained on May 19, 1971 - Detained again on October 23, 1972 and freed on December 29, 1972 - Still tried by military court in Istanbul.
12. YAŞAR KEMAL GÖKÇELİ (Novelist) - Detained on May 19, 1971 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment and 4 months banishment on July 8, 1971 in Istanbul - The Court of Cassation overruled the decision on November 17, 1972 - Free.

13. SAMIM KOCAGOZ (Novelist) - Detained on May 19, 1971 - Free.
14. ILHAMI SOYSAL (Columnist at daily Akşam) - Detained on May 19, 1971 - Detained again on October 20, 1972 and freed on December 29, 1972 - Condemned to one year and 4 months imprisonment on June 16, 1972 in Istanbul.
15. YILMAZ GÜNEY (Movie director and star) - Detained on May 24, 1971 - Detained again on March 27, 1972 - Tried in Istanbul by civil court for sending his prize winner film Umut (Hope) to abroad - Acquitted - Still on trial under arrest on the charge of supporting urban guerillas.
16. TURHAN SELÇUK (Caricaturist) - Detained on May 24, 1971 - Free.
17. AZİZ NESİN (Humorist) - Detained on May 24, 1971 - Free.
18. NEVZAT ÖSTÜN (Writer) - Detained on May 24, 1971 - Free.
19. HASAN İZZETTİN DİNAMO (Novelist) - Detained and tortured on May 24, 1971 - Free.
20. FAZİL HÜSNÜ DAĞLARCA (Poet) - Detained on May 26, 1971 - Free.
21. METİN ERKŞAN (Movie director) - Detained on June 1, 1971 - Free.
22. NURETTİN PİRİM (Editor of monthly Emek) - Detained on June 3, 1972 - ?
23. ERDAL ÖZ (Writer) - Detained on June 6, 1971 - Detained again on May 25, 1972 - Still being tried by the military court in Ankara - Free.
24. ALİ SİRMEN (Foreign news editor of daily Akşam) - Detained on June 22, 1971 - Tried still by the military court in Istanbul - Free.
25. TANJU CİLİZOĞLU (Journalist) - Detained on June 22, 1971 - Free.
26. ALTAN ÖYMEN (Journalist) - Detained on June 22, 1971 in Ankara - Detained again on May 25, 1972 in Ankara - Free.
27. MUAMMER SUN (Composer) - Detained on June 26, 1971 - Detained again on December 10, 1971 - Free.
28. SÖLEYMAN EGE (Director of Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House) - Detained on June 23, 1971 and later put in chains at Ankara Prison - Condemned to totally 30 years imprisonment and 12 years banishment in Ankara on September 14, 1971; October 20, 1971; May 4, 1972 for publishing four books, Lenin's "State and Revolution", Marx and Engels' "Communist Manifest", "History of the Communist Party of the USSR" and the official documents of the People's Republic of China. First two condemnations were approved by the Court of Cassation and others are still on the agenda of the supreme court.
29. SEÇKİN SELVİ (Translator) - Detained on June 23, 1971 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment for having translated Stalin's book on Lenin - Incarcerated at Sıgmalçılar Prison in Istanbul on January 7, 1972 - Condemned again to 9 months imprisonment on December 15, 1972.
30. OSMAN SAFFET AROLAT (Editor of review Ant and later weekly Ortam) - Detained on June 23, 1971 - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment and 2.5 years banishment on June 30, 1972 and again to 7.5 years imprisonment and 2.5 years banishment on

- August 1, 1972 for having published two articles in Ant - Still under arrest and tried by the military court in Istanbul.
31. ZEKI ÖZTÜRK (Director of Öncü Publishing House) - Detained on June 23, 1971 - Condemned to 5 months imprisonment on July 29, 1971 - Detained again on July 28, 1972 and on trial since February 21, 1973 - Free.
 32. SEZİ ÇOLAKOĞLU (Program producer at TRT) - Detained on June 23, 1971 - Free.
 33. DURSUN AKÇAM (Novelist) - Detained on July 4, 1971 - Condemned to 8 years, 10 months and 20 days imprisonment and 3 years banishment on December 25, 1972 by a military court - Free.
 34. ABDULLAH NEFES (Translator) - Detained on July 8, 1971 in Ankara - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment on Dec. 31, 1971 for having translated Mao Tse-tung's Quotations - Incarcerated.
 35. VEDAT GÜNYÖL (Director of Çan Publishing House) - Detained on July 11, 1971 - Free.
 36. SABAHATTİN EYÜBOĞLU (Writer and critic) - Detained on July 11, 1971 - Later acquitted and freed.
 37. MATİLDA GÖKÇELİ (Translator) - Detained on July 11, 1971 - Free.
 38. AZRA ERHAD (Writer) - Detained on July 11, 1971 - Free.
 39. MAGDALENA RUFER (Pianist) - Detained on July 11, 1971 - Free.
 40. TAHSİN SARAC (Writer) - Detained on July 16, 1971 - Free.
 41. SEVGİ SOYSAL (Writer) - Detained on August 5, 1971 in Ankara - Detained again on April 5, 1972 - Condemned to 10 months imprisonment and 100 days banishment on August 3, 1972 by a military court in Ankara - Prison term terminated - Free.
 42. MEHMET KESKİNOĞLU (Theater actor) - Detained on August 5, 1971 - Condemned to one month imprisonment on Aug. 31, 1971 - Free.
 43. ELA GÜNTEKİN (Program producer at TRT) - Detained on August 10, 1971 - Condemned to one month imprisonment on Aug. 31, 1971 - Free.
 44. EMİL GALİP SANDALCI (Writer) - Detained on August 10, 1971 - Detained again on May 25, 1972 - Free.
 45. ESİN TALU ÇELİKKAN (Program producer at TRT) - Detained on August 10, 1971 - Free.
 46. ŞAHABETTİN KALGAY (Translator at TRT) - Detained on August 10, 1971 - Free.
 47. SEMİH ŞERMET (Translator at TRT) - Detained on Aug. 10, 1971 - Free.
 48. VASİF ÖNGÖREN (Director of Birlik Theater) - Detained on August 10, 1971 - Being tried before the military court in Ankara.
 49. NİHAT BEHRAMOĞLU (Editor of monthly Halkın Dostları and poet) - Detained on September 13, 1971 - Being tried under arrest before the military court in Istanbul.
 50. İLHAN KALAYLIOĞLU (Director of Kurtuluş Publishing Firm) - Detained on December 9, 1971 - Detained again on May 25, 1972 - Being tried under arrest before the military court in Ankara.

51. YAŞAR UÇAR (Editor of weekly Ant) - Detained on December 14, 1971 - Condemned to 6 years prison on February 11, 1972 - Condemned again to 23 months and 10 days prison-term on April 24, 1972 - Incarcerated.
52. MEHMET EMİN BOZARSLAN (Writer and translator) - Detained on December 14, 1971 - Condemned to 5.5 years prison on December 11, 1972 by the military court in Diyarbakir.
53. MUSA ANTER (Writer) - Detained on December 17, 1971 - Condemned to 4.5 years imprisonment on December 11, 1972 in Diyarbakir.
54. AYHAN KARAPARS (Program producer at TRT) - Detained on March 1, 1972.
55. VAHAP ERDOĞDU (Editor of weekly Türk Solu and monthly Aydınlık) - Detained on May 16, 1972 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment and 6 months banishment in default on June 9, 1971 - Condemned again to 7.5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment on October 11, 1972 - Being tried under arrest by military court.
56. METE DURAL (Editor of periodical Öncü İşçi) - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment on May 16, 1972 in Ankara.
57. ERKAN YÜCEL (Theater actor) - Detained on May 22, 1972 - Being tried by a military court in Ankara under arrest.
58. AYŞE SEMRA ERDOĞMUŞ (Theater actress) - Detained on April 18, 1972 - Being tried under arrest by a military court in Ankara.
59. PENINA BENCUYA (Theater actress) - Detained on April 17, 1972 - Being tried by a military court in Ankara - Under arrest.
60. ÖZER ESMEK (Journalist) - Detained on May 25, 1972 - Free.
61. AŞIK MAHZUNİ ŞERİF (Folk singer) - Detained on July 23, 1972 - Condemned to 6 months imprisonment on August 17, 1972 - Prison term is terminated.
62. FATMA İPEK ERKELLER (Correspondant at TRT) - Detained on May 23, 1972 - Being tried under arrest in Ankara.
63. DOĞAN KOLOĞLU (Editor of daily Akşam, later daily Yeni İstanbul) - Condemned to one year imprisonment and incarcerated at Sağmalcılar prison in İstanbul on July 18, 1972 - Condemned again to 7.5 years imprisonment and one year banishment on December 9, 1972 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment and 4 months banishment on August 1, 1971 and the Court of Cassation approved this sentence on January 5, 1973 - Condemned again to 7.5 years imprisonment and one year banishment on January 8, 1973 in İstanbul.
64. FAİK MUZAFFER AMAÇ (Lawyer) - Detained on July 30, 1972 for having published a book on the illegal trials by the military courts - Free.
65. ALPAY KABACALI (Editor of weekly Ant) - Condemned to ten months prison term and incarcerated at Sağmalcılar prison on July 31, 1972 in İstanbul.
66. ÇİĞDEM ÖZGÖDEN (Director of Yöntem Publishing House) - Detained on July 28, 1972 - Detained again on October 15, 1972 and freed after 32 days - Being tried before the military court since February 21, 1973.
67. KEMAL KARATEKİN (Director of Tekin Publishing House) - Detained on July 28, 1972 - Being tried before the military court since February 21, 1973 - Free.
68. NECDET SANDER (Director of Sander Publishing House) - Detained on July 28, 1972 - Being tried since Feb. 21, 1973 - Free.

69. RAMAZAN YAŞAR (Director of Ararat Publishing House) - Detained on July 28, 1972 - Being tried since Feb. 21, 1973 - Free.
70. BÜLENT HABORA (Director of Habora Publishing House) - Detained on July 28, 1972 - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment and 2.5 years banishment for having published Trotsky's "Permanent Revolution" on Dec. 25, 1972 - ?
71. CENGİZ ÇANDAR (Editor of monthly Aydınlık) - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment and 2.5 years banishment on June 9, 1971-?
72. MEHMET TURGUT (Writer) - Condemned to 13 months imprisonment for an article appeared on daily Yeni Gün and incarcerated in Ankara Prison on Nov. 23, 1971 - Prison term terminated.
73. AHMET TÖMEL (Editor of daily Yeni Gün) - Condemned to 13 months imprisonment - Incarcerated on November 23, 1971 in Ankara - Jail term terminated.
74. UĞUR ÇANKOÇAK (Editor of periodical DISK) - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment on December 8, 1971 - ?
75. AHMET HAMDİ DİNLER (Editor of periodical Sömürücüye Yumruk) - Arrested on June 7, 1971 - Condemned to 8.5 years imprisonment on March 30, 1972 for an article - ?
76. MUSTAFA İLKER GÜRKAN (Writer) - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment and 3 years banishment on October 11, 1972 for an article - Detained on June 23, 1971 - ?
77. TEKTAŞ AĞAOĞLU (Writer and translator) - Detained on May 27, 1971 - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment on Dec. 31, 1972 for having translated Marx and Engels' works on "Politics and Philosophy" - Free.
78. RASİH NURİ İLERİ (Translator) - Condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment on October 27, 1972 for having translated Henri Lefebvre's book on Lenin - ?
79. TURHAN DİLLİGİL (Editor in chief of daily Adalet) - Incarcerated at Ankara Prison in August 1972 for his articles and put in chains - Condemned again to 3 months imprisonment on December 7, 1972 - Condemned again on December 20, 1972 to 21 months and 5 days imprisonment - Still in prison.
80. SABRİ YILMAZ (Editor of daily Bugün) - Incarcerated at Sığırcılar Prison in Istanbul on August 31, 1972 - Still in prison.
81. GÜNEY DİNÇ (lawyer) - Detained on December 28, 1971 - Condemned to 4 years two months imprisonment and 1.5 years banishment on August 15, 1972 - In prison.
82. MAHMUT ÖZEN (Program producer at TRT) - Detained on September 15, 1972 - ?
83. YALÇIN AKDENİZ (Translator) - Detained on September 19, 1972 - ?
84. ULUÇ GÜRKAN (Editor of Devrim) - Detained on June 14, 1971 - Condemned to 12 months imprisonment on Nov. 14, 1972 - ?
85. HASAN CEMAL (Editor of Devrim) - Condemned to 12 months imprisonment on November 14, 1972 - ?
86. CAN YÜCEL (Translator) - Condemned to 7.5 years prison-term for having translated Che Guevara's book "Man and Socialism in Cuba" and incarcerated at Toptaşı Prison in Istanbul on Nov. 29, 1972 - Condemned again to 6 months prison on Feb. 1, 1973 - His other condemnation for translating a book on guerilla warfare is still at the Court of Cassation.
87. İHSAN AKSOY (Writer) - Condemned to 11 years, 4 months imprisonment on Dec. 13, 1972 by a military court in Diyarbakır - In prison.

88. KEMAL BURKAY (writer and lawyer) - Detained on June 7, 1971 - Condemned to 6 years and 8 months prison-term on December 11, 1972 - Wanted.
89. CANIP YILDIRIM (lawyer) - Condemned to 3 years and 9 months imprisonment by the military court in Diyarbakir on December 11, 1972 - ?
90. TARIK ZIYA EKINCI (Physician, writer, former deputy and the secretary general of TIP) - Detained on May 18, 1971 - Condemned to 2.5 years imprisonment on December 11, 1972 - ?
91. NURTEN TUÇ (Director of Dostlar Theater) - Detained on May 23, 1971 - Detained again on May 24, 1972 - Still being tried by a military court in Istanbul - under arrest.
92. MUSTAFA EKMEKÇI (Ankara representative of daily Yeni Ortam) - Condemned to 25 days imprisonment on Dec. 14, 1972 - Free.
93. RAGIP ZARAKOLU (Writer) - Detained on August 14, 1971 - Detained again on March 20, 1972 - Condemned to 8 years imprisonment on December 15, 1972 in Istanbul - In prison.
94. FARUK PEKIN (Writer) - Detained on December 21, 1971 - Detained again on October 14, 1972 - Condemned to 5 years imprisonment and 20 months banishment on December 15, 1972 - In prison.
95. IRVEM KESKINOGLU (Writer and translator) - Condemned to 5 years imprisonment and 20 months banishment on December 15, 1972 in Istanbul - Incarcerated on the same day.
96. ŞIAR YALÇIN (Public prosecutor and writer) - Detained on May 12, 1971 - Condemned to one year imprisonment on Dec. 15, 1972 - Free.
97. ŞADI ALKILIÇ (Writer) - Detained on May 12, 1971 - Condemned to 1.5 years imprisonment on Dec. 15, 1972 - Free.
98. BABÜR KUZUCU (Translator) - Detained on June 29, 1972 - Condemned to 7 months term on December 15, 1972 - Free.
99. ZEYNEP SAGNAK (actress) - Arrested on July 16, 1971 - Condemned to 6 months imprisonment on Dec. 15, 1972 - Free.
100. AYDIN ENGIN (actor and responsible editor of daily Yeni Ortam) - Detained on Oct. 8, 1971 - Condemned to 6 months on Dec. 15, 1972 - Military prosecutor brought a new case against him on February 6, 1973 - Free.
101. MEHMET ALI KISLALI (Editor in Chief of weekly Yanki) - Condemned to 25 days imprisonment on December 23, 1972 - Free.
102. ABDÜLKADIR BILLURCU (Editor in chief of daily Bizim Anadolu) - Condemned to 49 months - Incarcerated on January 4, 1973.
103. BEHİCE BORAN (Writer and Chairman of the Turkish Labour Party) - Detained on May 27, 1971 - Condemned to 15 years on Oct. 17, 1972 - Her sentence was approved by the Military Court of Cassation on April 26, 1973 - In prison.
104. ERDAL ORHAN (Journalist) - Detained on June 19, 1971 - Condemned to 6 years and 10 months on Oct. 17, 1972 - Sentence was approved on April 26, 1973 - In prison.
105. HOSEYİN ERGÜN (Editor of monthly Emek) - Detained on May 23, 1971 - Condemned to 6 years and 10 months imprisonment on Oct. 17, 1972 - Sentence was approved on Ap. 26, 1973 - In jail.
106. SABRİ ERYILMAZ (Editor of Sömürücüye Yumruk) - Detained on May 18, 1971 - Condemned to 5 years on Feb. 1, 1973 - ?
107. OGUZ HODANLI (Writer of Sömürücüye Yumruk) - Condemned to 5 years imprisonment on Feb. 1, 1973 - ?
108. HAYATI ASILYAZICI (Editor of daily Yeni Ortam) - Military prosecution initiated against him on Feb. 6, 1973 - Free.

109. KEMAL BISALMAN (Publisher of daily Yeni Ortam) - Military prosecution was initiated against him on Feb.6,1973 - Free.
110. ALI FAIK CIHAN (Judge and writer) - Detained on Dec.1,1971- Released - Arrested again on Ap.3,1973 under article 141/1- Still in prison of Ankara MLH.
111. NAZIM SOKMEN (Editor of daily Batmanin Sesi) - Condemned to 9 month prison-term on Ap.17,1973 - Sentence was suspended.
112. SINA CILADIR (Writer) - Detained on June 7,1971 - Being tried since Jan.18,1972 under article 142 - Still in prison.
113. MUSTAFA COŞKUN (Actor) - Detained on June 30,1971 - Condemned to one year prison-term on Dec.27,1971 - His prison term was already terminated under arrest - Free for the time being.
114. KADRIYE EZEL INCILI (Painter) - Detained on March 25,1972 - Still under arrest and on trial.
115. AVNI YALÇIN (Actor) - Detained on July 10,1971 - Condemned to one year on Dec.27,1971 - His prison term was terminated.
116. ERDOĞAN ADANIR (Bookseller) - Detained on June 6,1971 - Free.
117. KEMAL ANADOL (Writer) - Detained on June 7,1971 in Karadeniz Ereglisi - Still Being tried - ?
118. MELİH CEVDET ANDAY (Writer) - Detained on May 23,971 - Free.
119. ZEKAI BOSTANCI (Poet) - Detained on Dec.27,1971 - Still being tried in Istanbul MLH court - Free.
120. MUSTAFA BARUT (Bookseller) - Detained on May 7,971 in Antakya-?
121. BEKLAN ALGAN (Theater actor) - Detained on May 23,1971-Free.
122. HÜSEYİN ÇEBİ (Bookseller) - Detained on Dec.1,1971 - Free.
123. METİN ELOĞLU (Poet-painter) - Detained on May 23,971 - Free.
124. RAMAZAN KARAGÖZ (Folk singer) - Detained on August 28,1971 in Diyarbakir - ?
125. MUAMMER ÖZER (Movie producer) - Detained on May 23,971-Free.
126. ÖMER PARLAR (Theater actor) - Detained on April 17,1972 - Being tried under arrest since January 10,1973.
127. AHMET SOMER (Movie director) - Detained on May 23,971 - Free.
128. ATIF YILMAZ (Movie director) - "
129. CELİLE TOYON (Theater actress) - "
130. ALI GEVGİLİLİ (Journalist) - "
131. ORHAN SUDA (Translator) - "
132. FETHİ NACİ KALPAKÇIOĞLU (Writer-publisher) - "
133. HASAN ALİ EDİZ (Writer-translator) - Detained on May 23,971 in Istanbul - Died.
134. SAVAŞ GÜVEZNE (Journalist) - Arrested on Oct.2,1971 - Detained again on May 20,1972 and tried on June 15,1972 - Free.
135. EDİP KARAHAN (Journalist) - Arrested on May 22,1972 in Diyarbakir - ?
136. CANER KARŞIT (Bookseller) - Detained on June 2,1971 - ?
137. ARSLAN KAYNARDAG (Bookseller) - Detained on May 2,971 - Free.
138. MASİS KÖRKÇÜGİL (Publisher) - Detained on June 11,1971 - Still being tried before the military court - ?
139. BERTAN ONARAN (Translator) - Detained on May 23, 1971 - Free.
140. HAŞMET ZEYBEK (Play-writer) - "
141. ABİDİN NESİMİ FATİNOĞLU (Writer) - "
142. TEOMAN AKTOREL (Poet) - "
143. AHMET SAY (Writer) - Arrested on Sep.26,971 - Being tried - ?
144. SEMRA SÜRENDALLI (Journalist) - Detained on December 3,1971 - Condemned to 4 month prison-term on April 24,1972 - ?
145. HASAN TARKAN (Journalist) - Detained on May 18,972 in Kayseri.

- 146. AYDIN EMEÇ (Publisher) - Detained on July 28,1972 - Being tried since February 21,1973 - Free.
- 147. ALI GAZETECI (Publisher) - "
- 148. SALIH VURAL (Writer) - Detained on June 7,1971 in Karadeniz Ereğlisi - Still being tried - ?
- 149. ERDOGAN ARDUMAN (Actor) - Detained on Jan.29,1973 in Ankara.
- 150. ALPARSLAN BATU (Writer) - Detained on Oct.22,1973 in Ankara - ?
- 151. HALIL İBRAHİM ERGÖL (Actor) - Detained on Jan.29,1973 - ?
- 152. GARİB AKER (Publisher) - Detained on July 28,1972 - Still being tried since February 21,1973 - Free.
- 153. REMZİ AKTUĞ (Publisher) - "
- 154. ERDOGAN ÇAKIN (Bookseller) - "
- 155. SENCER ÖZTUNALI (Bookseller) - "
- 156. KOÇALI GAZETECİ (Bookseller) - "
- 157. ADNAN MARMARA (Bookseller) - "
- 158. CAHİT DUMDUL (Bookseller) - "
- 159. DOĞAN HIZLAN (Publisher-writer) - "
- 160. SÖREY YAKIVILCIM (Publisher) - "
- 161. MUSTAFA KEMAL AĞAOĞLU (Publisher) - "
- 162. AHMET HABORA (Bookseller) - "
- 163. HAYK BİNAYON (Bookseller) - "
- 164. MUSTAFA KILIÇ (Bookseller) - "

journalists and writers wanted
by the military and not apprehended yet

- 1. AHMET ARAS (Writer) - Military prosecutors demand imprisonment for him over 20 years.
- 2. MIHİRİ BELLİ (writer) - Condemned in default to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment on February 11,1972 and his other cases are still on trial.
- 3. BORA GÖZEN (Editor of weekly Türk Solu) - Military and public prosecutors demand imprisonment for him about 100 years.
- 4. DOĞAN ÖZGÜDEN (Editor in chief of monthly review Ant and director of Ant Publishing House) - Public and military prosecutors demand imprisonment for him up to 200 years totally.
- 5. İNCİ ÖZGÜDEN (Responsible Editor of monthly review Ant) - Public and military prosecutors demand imprisonment for her up to 100 years.
- 6. ÖMER ÖZER TURGUT (Editor of bi-weekly İşçi-Köylü) - Military and public prosecutors demand imprisonment for him about 100 years.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST V

Books and Reviews Confiscated and Destroyed

- Not Anarchy, Great Gathering (Anarşi Yok, Büyük Derleniş)
- Aydinlik Sosyalist Dergi (monthly review)
- Proleter Devrimci Aydinlik (weekly review)
- Ant (monthly review)
- Socialism in Underdeveloped Countries (Az Gelişmiş Ülkelerde Sosyalizm)
- Military Works (Askeri Yazilar) - Mao Tse-tung
- Origin of Family, Possessing and State (Ailenin, Mülkiyetin, Devletin Kökeni) - Friedrich Engels
- Anti-Dühring - Engels
- What is Anarchism? (Anarşizm Nedir)
- German Ideology (Alman Ideolojisi) - Friedrich Engels
- Birth of Scientific Socialism (Bilimsel Sosyalizmin Dogusu)
- Quotations - Mao Tse-tung (Başkan Mao'nun Sözlere)
- Autobiography of a Revolutionary (Bir Devrimcinin Otobiyografisi)
- Theoretical Problems of the Chinese Revolution (Çin İnkilabının Teorik Meseleleri)
- Chinese Revolution (Çin Devrimi)
- Socialist Construction in China (Çinde Sosyalizmin Kuruluşu)
- Revolutionary Strategy (Devrim Stratejisi)
- Revolution in Revolution? (Devrimde Devrim) - Regis Debray
- Dialectical and Historical Materialism (Diyalektik ve Tarihi Materyalizm) - Kuusinen
- Democratic Popular Revolution (Demokratik Halk Devrimi)
- Actual Crisis of the World Capitalism (Dünya Kapitalizminin Bugünkü Buhrani) - Arzumanyan
- National Liberation Movement in the East (Doguda Ulusal Kurtuluş Hareketleri)
- On Religion (Din Üzerine)
- Listen Yankee (Dinle Yankee) - Wright Mills
- State (Devlet) - Lenin
- Progressive Education Council (Devrimci Eğitim Şurası)
- One, Who Does Not Work For Revolution, Cannot Be Named Communist (Devrim İçin Çalışmayana Komünist Denmez)
- Political Economy (Ekonomi Politik) - Nikitin
- Struggle Against Imperialism (Emperyalizmle Mücadele)
- Preliminary Principles of Philosophy (Felsefenin Başlangıç İlkeleri) - Politzer
- Contribution to the Criticism of Political Economy (Ekonomi Politigin Eleştirisine Katkı) - Karl Marx
- Poverty of Philosophy (Felsefenin Sefaleti) - Karl Marx
- Transition From Feudalism to Capitalism (Feodalizmden Kapitalizme Geçiş)
- Evolutions and Revolutions (Evrimler ve Devrimler)

- Imperialism (Emperyalizm)
- Imperialism, Higher Stage of Capitalism (Emperyalizm, Kapitalizmin İleri Aşaması) - Lenin
- Guerilla Warfare (Gerilla Harbi) - Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara
- On Youth (Gençlik Üzerine) - Lenin
- Guerilla Warfare and Marxism (Gerilla Savaşı ve Marksizm)-Pomeroy
- Journal of Bolivia (Gerilla Günlüğü) - Ernesto Che Guevara
- Plans of Popular War (Halk Savaşının Planları) - Hikmet Kıvılcımlı
- General Tactics in Popular War (Halk Savaşında Genel Taktikler)
- Popular Culture (Halk Kültürü) - Maxim Gorky
- 1938, Military Academy Affair (1938, Harp Okulu Olayı)
- On the Democratic Regime of the People (Halkın Demokratik Düzeni Üzerine)
- Workers-Peasants Alliance (İşçi-Köylü İttifakı)
- Human Sketches From My Country (Memleketimden İnsan Manzaraları)
- Primitive Society and Slave Society (İlkel Toplum - Köleci Toplum)
- Feudal Society (Feodal Toplum)
- Quotations (Seçmeler) - Mao Tse-tung
- Socialist Turkey (Sosyalist Türkiye) - Ali Faik Cihan
- Socialism and War (Sosyalizm ve Savaş) - Lenin
- Selected Works (Seçme Eserler) - Mao Tse-tung
- Latest Works (Son Yazıları) - Stalin
- History of the Communist Party of the USSR (Sovyetler Birliği Komünist Partisi Tarihi)
- "Left-Wing" Communism - an Infantile Disorder (Sol Komünizm - Bir Çocukluk Hastalığı) - Lenin
- Political Works (Siyasal Yazılar)- Mao Tse-tung
- History of Socialism and Social Struggles (Sosyalizm ve Sosyal Mücadeleler Tarihi) - Max Beer
- On the Stalin Problem (Stalin Meselesi Üzerine)
- Urban Guerilla (Şehir Gerillasi) - Carlos Marighella
- Dilemma of Social Democrats (Sosyal Demokratların Çikmazı)
- Socialism (Sosyalizm)
- Socialist Defences (Sosyalist Savunmalar)
- The City Which Lost Its Voice (Sesini Kaybeden Şehir)-Nazim Hikmet
- History, Revolution and Socialism (Tarih, Devrim - Sosyalizm)
- Türk Solu (weekly review)
- Theory and Practice (Teori ve Pratik - Mao Tse-tung
- Struggle in Turkey and Dev-Genç (Dev Genç ve Türkiyede Devrimci Mücadele)
- On Turkey (Türkiye Üzerine) - Karl Marx
- Agricultural Problems (Toprak Meseleleri) - Lenin
- In Order to Enlighten One Must be Enlightened (Uyarmak İçin Uyanmalı, Uyanmak için Uyarmalı) - Hikmet Kıvılcımlı
- Value, Price and Profit (Ücret, Fiyat ve Kâr) - Karl Marx
- Self Determination (Ulusların Kaderlerini Tayin Hakkı) - Lenin
- Wage, Labour and Profit (Ücret Sermaye ve Kâr) - Marx
- Jewish Question (Yahudi Meselesi) - Karl Marx
- Captain Mihalis (Ya Hürriyet Ya Ölüm) - Kazanchakis
- Long Live the Victory of Popular War (Yaşasın Halk Savaşının Zaferi) - Lin Piao
- New Democracy (Yeni Demokrasi) - Mao Tse-tung
- Romantics (Yaşamak Güzel Şey Be Kardeşim) - Nazim Hikmet
- New Colonialism (Yeni Sömürgecilik) - Nkrumah

- Socialist Revolution of Vietnam (Viet Nam Sosyalist Devrimi)
- Either the Country or the Death (Ya Vatan Ya Ölüm)
- Şerefname, Kurdish History - Şeref Han
- Fascism and People's Front (Faşizm ve Devrimci Halk Cephesi)
- Capitalisation and Class Struggles in Turkey (Türkiye'de Kapitalistleşme ve Sınıf Kavgaları) - Snurof and Rozalief
- Popular War in Palestine and the Middle East (Filistin'de Halk Savaşı ve Ortadoğu) - Nayif Havatmeh
- Permanent Revolution (Sürekli Devrim Çağı) - Trotsky
- Czechoslovakian Question (Çekoslovakya Sorunu) - Fidel Castro
- From Bloody Sunday to the October Revolution (Kanlı Pazar'dan Ekim Devrimine)
- Marxism in the 20th Century (Yirminci Yüzyılda Marksizm)
- Fidel Castro Speaking (Fidel Castro Konuşuyor)
- Socialist Construction in the USSR (Sovyetler Birliğinde Sosyalizmin Kuruluşu)
- Peasant Wars in Germany (Almanya'da Köylü Savaşları) - F.Engels
- National Liberation Movements in Africa (Afrikada Ulusal Kurtuluş Savaşları)
- Black Power (Siyah İktidar) - Stokely Carmichael
- CIA, Workers' Movement
- Havana Trial (Havana Duruşması) - Hans Magnus Enzensberger
- Greek Tragedy (Yunanistan Dosyası) - Constantin Tsoukalas
- Theory of Relativity (İzafiyet Teorisi) - Einstein
- Alienation and Humanism (Yabancılaşma ve Hümanizm)
- Manuscripts (Elyazmaları)
- State and Revolution (Devlet ve İhtilal) - Lenin
- History of the Working Class (İşçi Sınıfının Tarihi)
- Two Tactics (İki Taktik) - Lenin
- Housing Problem (Konut Sorunu)
- Capital (Kapital) - Karl Marx
- Special World of Karl Marx (Karl Marx'ın Özel Dünyası)
- Communist Manifest (Komünist Manifestosu) - Marx and Engels
- Socialism and Man in Cuba (Küba'da Sosyalizm ve İnsan) - Che Guevara
- Precapitalist Economy Forms (Kapitalist Öncesi Ekonomi Şekilleri)
- Cultural Imperialism (Kültür Emperyalizmi)
- Kurdish Problem (Kürt Sorunu)
- Capitalism and Value (Kapitalizm ve Değer)
- Capitalist Society (Kapitalist Toplum)
- Kerensky and Russian Revolution (Kerenski ve Rus İhtilali)
- Culture, Art and Literature (Kültür, Sanat ve Edebiyat)
- Social Classes in Capitalist Society (Kapitalist Toplumda Sınıflar)
- Woman and Communism (Kadın ve Sosyalizm) - Bebel
- Party Works Within Masses (Kitle İçinde Parti Çalışmaları)
- Lenin's Life and Struggle (Lenin'in Hayatı ve Mücadelesi)
- Either Leninism or Social Imperialism? (Leninizizm mi, Sosyal Emperyalizm mi?)
- Principles of Leninism (Leninizmin İlkeleri) - Joseph Stalin
- Lenin's Life and Works (Lenin'in Hayatı ve Eserleri)
- National Democratic Revolution (Milli Demokratik Devrim)
- 27th May and Criticism of the Yön Movement from the Class Point of View (27 Mayıs ve Yön Hareketinin Sınıfsal Eleştirisi)
- Complete Works of Nazim Hikmet (Nazim Hikmet'in Bütün Eserleri)
- What is to be done? (Ne Yapmalı) - Lenin

- Marx and Engels
- Marxism and Nationalities Question (Marksizm ve Milli Mesele)
- Materialism and Empricocriticism - Lenin
- Introduction to Marxism (Marksizmin Temel Kitabı) - Emile Burns
- Marxists (Marksistler) - Wright Mills
- Origin of Marxism (Marksizmin Kaynagi)
- Maxim Gorky Tells: Lenin 1924 (Maksim Gorki Anlatiyor: Lenin 1924)
- Our National Liberation War (Ulusal Kurtulus Savasimiz)-Ho Chi Minh
- Marxism and Language (Marksizm ve Dil) - Stalin
- Fundamental Problems of Marxist Thought (Marksist Düşüncenin Temel Meseleleri)
- Marxist Economy (Marksist Ekonomi Elkitabı) - Ernest Mandel
- Marxism and Existensialism (Marksizm ve Varoluşçuluk) - Sartre
- April Theses (Nisan Tezleri-Ekim Devrimi) - Lenin
- Courses on Marxist Philosophy (Marksist Felsefe Dersleri)
- What is Oportunism? (Oportunizm Nedir?) - Hikmet Kivilcimli
- Capitalist Development in Russia (Rusya'da Kapitalizmin Gelismesi) - Lenin
- Political Work is the Key of All Works (Politik Calisma Bütün Calismaların Candamaridir)
- Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky - Lenin
- Problems of the Socialist Economy - Stalin
- ABC of Socialism (Sosyalizmin Alfabesi) - Léo Huberman
- Origin and Developlent of the Disputes Between the Leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR and Us (Sovyetler Birliği Komünist Partisinin Yönetimi ile Aramızdaki Ayrimin Kökeni ve Gelismesi)
- Right and "Left" Deviation (Sag ve Sol Sapma)
- Reminiscences of Cuban Revolutionary War (Savas Anilari)-Guevara
- What Intellectual Heritage We Denounce (Biz Hangi Fikir Mirasini Reddediyoruz) - Lenin
- My Friend, Guevara (Arkadasim Guevara)
- Philosophy of Hegel (Hegel'in Felsefesi)
- People's Democracies (Halk Demokrasileri)
- People's Communes in China (Cin'de Halk Komünleri)
- New China - Yesterday and Today (Yeni Cin - Dün ve Bugün)
- Economic Content of Populism (Halkçiligin Ekonomik Muhtevasi)
- 1848 Revolution (1848 Devrimi) - Karl Marx
- Kemalist Revolution and Bulgaria (Kemalist Devrim ve Bulgaristan)
- Revolutionary Mexico (Ihtilalci Meksika)
- On Culture and Cultural Revolution (Kültür ve Kültür Devrimi Üzerine)
- Marxism and Nationalism in Asia (Asya'da Marksizm ve Milliyetçilik)
- Marxist Theory of Value (Marksist Deger Teorisi)
- Socialist Cuba (Sosyalist Küba)
- Imperialist U.S. and Turkey (Emperyalist Amerika ve Türkiye)
- Sociology of Marx (Marx'in Sosyolojisi)
- Religion and Ideology (Din ve Ideoloji)
- Liberalism (Liberalizm)
- October Lessons (Ekim Dersleri) - Trotsky
- What is Guerilla (Gerilla Nedir) - Alberto Bayo
- Soviet Russia, Azeribaijan and Uzbekistan - M. Cevdet Anday
- Trotsky on Stalin (Trotsky Stalin'i Anlatiyor)
- How Cuba Became Communist? (Küba Nasıl Komünist Oldu?)

- Unfinished Revolution (Bitmemis Dövrüm) - Isaac Deutscher
- Socialism and Peasants in Underdevelopped Countries (Az Gelismis Ülkelerde Sosyalizm ve Köylüler)
- Civil War in France (Fransa'da Ic Savaş) - Karl Marx
- CIA, Invisible Government (CIA, Görünmeyen Hükümet)
- Partizan (monthly review)
- Labourers of all the World, Unite! (Bütün Ülkelerin İşçileri Birlesiniz!)
- Standard Man (Standard Adam) - Sidney Lens
- Foreign Capital Investments (Yabancı Sermaye Yatırımları)
- Yeni Çağ (monthly review)
- Emek, (monthly review)
- Fear of Hunger (Açlık Korkusu)
- Montage Industry and the EEC (Montaj Sanayii ve Ortak Pazar)
- Foreign Capital (Yabancı Sermaye)
- Correspondance of Marx (Marx'in Mektupları)
- Social Order of the Eastern Anatolia (Dogu Anadolu'nun Düzeni) - Ismail Beşikçi
- Village Problem in Turkey (Türkiye'de Köy Sorunu)
- Trotsky in Istanbul (Troçki İstanbul'da)
- Secret File (Gizli Dosya)
- Nazim Hikmet's Life (Mavi Gözlü Dev) - Zekeriya Sertel
- Red Star Over China - Edgar Snow
- Fundamental Questions of the Marxist Thought - Plehanov

(The list above includes all forbidden and confiscated books whose names appeared on the communiques issued by Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on October 22, 1971; May 13, 1972 and by Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on July 1, 1972. Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters disclosed on January 28, 1973 that all these confiscated books would be DESTROYED.

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST VI

Detained, Arrested, Tried and Condemned University Professors and Assistants

1. MUMTAZ SOYSAL: This is one of the most controversial retroactive cases which had created a great reaction from the world opinion. Professor Mümtaz Soysal, one of the main constitutional law authorities of Turkey and the Dean of the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" by the military prosecutor and was arrested on May 19, 1971. The prosecution produced his book "Introduction to the Constitution" published three years ago as evidence for "offence" because of including some references to socialist thinkers.

The trial began on September 30, 1971 and the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters sentenced him to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment and two years banishment under Article 142 on December 3, 1971. His right to teach or to work in public services was also suspended indefinitely.

But thanks to external pressure exerted on the military regime, the Military Court of Cassation was obliged to cancel the verdict on March 9, 1972 and to release the defendant after having held him under arrest for ten months. But the lower military court insisted on its first verdict on April 26, 1972. Thereupon the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation overruled the verdict again on July 15, 1972 and ordered a new trial because of the lack of an expert's report on the book.

The Third Military Court of Ankara MLH appointed well known rightist professors -Ayhan Onder, Nevzat Yalçınbaş, Sabahattin Zaim, Ziyaettin Findikoglu and Selçuk Özçelik- as experts to give a scientific report on the book. On October 21, 1972 these experts gave a report stating that the book had been written under marxist influence and the military court arrested Prof. Soysal immediately.

On October 24, 1972, Prof. Soysal once again condemned to the same prison-term. However, on February 26, 1973 the Military Court of Cassation overruled once again the lower court's decision and decided to release Prof. Soysal.

The file of the case handed over again to the same lower court and it insisted on the condemnation on March 29, 1973. For the time being the final decision will be given by the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation.

The fascist-minded staff of the Ankara MLH have never satisfied with the pressure on Prof. Soysal, they arrested also his wife, novelist Sevgi Soysal two times. First time Mrs. Soysal was acquitted, but the second time she was condemned to 10 months imprisonment and three months banishment. She has already terminated her jail-term and banishment.

2. UGUR ALACAKAPTAN: He is one of the main criminal law authorities of Turkey and Dean of the Law Faculty of Ankara University. Prof. Ugur Alacakaptan and seven other defendants were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on the charge of "supporting the various organizations which intended to abrogate the Constitution and the present regime, also sharing the same ideals with the extremist groups," on June 7, 1972.

But it is very well known that the real reason of this case is the anger of the military authorities towards Prof. Alacakaptan who was also the defence lawyer of Prof. Mümtaz Soysal.

Although in April 1972 he had told Mr. Van der Stoel, Dutch Deputy and member of the European Parliament, during the latter's visit to Turkey that the military courts were honest and neutral, one of the same military courts condemned him on December 23, 1972 to 6 years, 3 months and 15 days imprisonment; one year 11 months, ten days banishment plus lifelong ban in teaching and in public services. He is still in prison and the file of the case is at the Military Court of Cassation.

3. ISMAIL BEŞİKÇİ: He is a university assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University. Prior to martial law he had made many researches on the social and economic structure of the Eastern Anatolia, published a book under the title of "Doğu Anadolunun Düzeni (Social Order of the Eastern Anatolia)" and many articles in different newspapers and periodicals. Just after proclamation of martial law, on June 25, 1971 he was arrested by Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters. Military prosecutor accused him of "making propaganda for communism and separatism" in his scientific researches and books and asked the Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH to punish him under article 141.

On August 14, 1972, the military court condemned him to 8 years and 4 months imprisonment and three years banishment on the charge of "making propaganda for communism" for his lectures at the Atatürk University of Erzurum. On the same date he was also sentenced 4 years, 8 months and 7 days prison-term on the charge of "making propaganda for separatism" in his article on the Kurdish Problem published in the monthly review Ant. His right to teach or to work in public services was suspended for all the rest of his life. The Military Court of Cassation approved the condemnation on March 27, 1973. He is still in prison.

4. CETİN ÖZEK (Assist. Prof. - Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on 12.5.1971 - Condemned to 2.5 years on 15.12.1972 - Free.

5. İSMET SUNGURBEY (Prof. - Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.1971 - Free.

6. MUAMMER AKSOY (Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.1971 - Detained again on 26.7.1971 - Free

7. BAHİRİ ŞAVCI (Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.1971 - Tried before the military court - Free.

8. TARIK ZAFER TUNAYA (Prof. - Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.1971 - Free.

9. BOLENT TANOR (Assist. - Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.71 - Expelled from the faculty - Condemned to 5 years imprisonment on 6.12.1972 for "propagandizing for communism" - Wanted by the military.
10. YUCEL SAYMAN (Assist. - Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on 18.5.1971 - Expelled from the faculty - Condemned to five years on 6.12.1972 for "making propaganda for communism" - Wanted by the military.
11. UGUR MUMCU (Assist. - Ankara Law Faculty) - Detained on May 18, 1971 - Detained again on 7.7.1972 - Condemned to 5 years and 10 months imprisonment on 23.12.1972.
12. DOGU PERINCEK (Assist. - Ankara Law Faculty) - Detained on 26.5.1972 - Expelled from the university - Being tried at military court under article 141.
13. SAHIN ALPAY (Assist. - Ankara University) - Wanted since 18.5.1971 on the charge relates to article 141 - Not apprehended.
14. CAHIT TALAS (Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) - Detained on 20.5.1971 - Free.
15. ERGIN GUNCE (Assist. - Middle East Technical University) - Detained on 20.5.1971 - Still being tried by military court.
16. BOLENT NURI ESEN (Prof. - Law Faculty of Ankara) - Detained on 21.5.1971 - Free
17. RAUF NASUHOGLU (Prof. - Ankara University) - Detained on May 21, 1971 - Free.
18. BURHAN CAHIT UNAL (Assist. Prof. - Ankara Sciences Faculty) - Detained on 21.5.1971 - Free.
19. AHMET ABDIK (Assist. Prof. Ankara University) - Detained on May 21, 1971 - Free.
20. MAIDE ORUC (Assist. Prof. - Ankara University) - Detained on May 21, 1971 - Free.
21. NIHAT SİSLİ (Prof. - Ankara University) - Detained 21.5.1971 - Free.
22. ETHEM TOKMAKÇIOĞLU (Assist. Prof. - Ankara University) - " " "
23. ATTILA ELMASLI (Assist. - Ankara University) - " " "
24. NAİF TÜRKTEM (Assist. - Ankara University) - " " "
25. OGUZ AKSU (Prof. - Ege University) - " " "
26. OGUZ CATALOĞLU (Assist. Prof. - Ege University) - " " "
27. MUKBİL ÖZYÖRÖK (Assist. Prof. - Ankara University) - Detained on 21.5.1971 - Tried and acquitted - Detained again on July 7, 1972 - Free.
28. ADIL ÖZKOL (Assist. - Ankara University) - Detained on 21.5.1971 - Detained again on 7.7.1972 - Condemned to 12.5 year prison term on 23.12.1972 - Sentence was approved by the Military Court of Cassation on April 26, 1973 - He is in prison.
29. GÜLSEREN AKDER (Assist. - Istanbul Technical University) - Banned out of Istanbul martial law frontiers on 13.5.1971.
30. SADUN AREN (Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) - Detained on 23.5.1971 - Condemned to 12.5 years imprisonment on 23.12.1972 - Sentence was approved by the Military Court of Cassation on 26.4.1973 - He is in prison.
31. YASAR GURBUZ (Prof. - METU) - Detained on 23.5.1971 - Free
32. ADİL KAHYA (Assist. - METU) - " " "
33. MUAMMER SOYSAL (Assist. - METU) - Detained on 23.5.1971 - Detained again on 1.9.1972 - Tried by military court in Ankara under arrest.

34. OYA KOYMEN (Assist. - METU) - Detained on 28.5.1971 - Free.
35. OYA BAYDAR -Sencer- (Assist. - Hacettepe University) - Detained on 28.5.1971 - Condemned to 4 years and 2 months imprisonment on 25.12.1972 - Still free.
36. ORUC BILGIC (Assist) - Detained in Istanbul on 1.6.1971
37. MEHMET SELIK (Assist.Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) Detained on 12.6.1971 - Free
38. OZER OZANKAYA (Asist.Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty) Detained on 21.6.1971 - Free.
39. METE TUNCAY (Asist.Prof. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty)- Detained on 23.6.1971 - Free
40. ERDOGAN GUCBILMEZ (Asist. - Ankara Political Sciences Faculty)- Detained on 23.6.1971
41. IDRIS KUCUKOMER (Prof. - Istanbul Economics Faculty) - Detained on 3.7.1971 - Free.
42. AYDIN KARAGOZOGLU (Assist. - METU) - Detained on 5.7.1971
43. SABAHATTIN EYOBOGLU (Prof. - Istanbul Technical University)- Detained on 11.7.1971 - Acquitted - Died.
44. FERHAN PAYDAK (Assist.-Diyarbakir Medicine Fac.)-Detained on July 30,1971
45. MUZAFFER SIPAHIOGLU (Assist.-Diyarbakir Medicine Faculty)- Detained on 30.7.1971
46. CAGLAR KIRCAK (Assist.-Diyarbakir Medicine Fac.) - Detained on 30.7.1971
47. ERTAN ACAROGLU (Prof. - METU) - Tried by a military court on 5.8.1971 in Ankara and acquitted - Free.
48. AYSEL OGUT (Assist.- Ege University) - Detained on 16.8.1971
49. METIN YELDAN (Assist.Prof.-Ankara Agriculture Faculty) - Detained on 1.10.1971
50. SELAMI SOZER (Assist. - Ankara Agriculture Faculty) - Detained on 1.10.1971
51. MUSTAFA ARLI (Assist. - Ankara Agriculture Faculty)- Detained on 1.10.1971
52. ABDURRAHMAN KORUKCU (Assist. - Ankara Agriculture Faculty) - Detained on 1.10.1971
53. GOHER KARACAVUS (Assist. - Istanbul Technical University) - Detained on 16.11.1971 - Condemned to 3 years imprisonment by a military court on 24.4.1972 in Istanbul - In prison.
54. YUSUF KARACAVUS (Assist. - Istanbul Technical University) - Detained on 16.11.1971 - Condemned to 3 years imprisonment by a military court on 24.4.1972 in Istanbul - In prison.
55. TUFAN ALYORUK (Assist) - Detained on 18.11.1971 in Izmir.
56. EDIP YAZGAN (Assist.Prof. - Karadeniz Technical University)- Detained on 1.12.1971 in Trabzon - Free.
57. PERVIN YAZGAN (Assist. - Karadeniz Technical University) - Detained on 1.12.1971 in Trabzon - Free.
58. ERDEM AKSOY (Assist.Prof. - Karadeniz Technical University)- Detained on 1.12.1971 in Trabzon - Free.
59. KEMAL ERDOGDU (Assist. - Karadeniz Technical University) - Detained on 1.12.1971 in Trabzon - Free.
60. EYUP CUNEYT AKALIN (Assist. - Ankara Pol.Sc.Fac.) - Detained on 16.12.1971
61. SEDAT OZKOL (Assist.Prof. - METU) - Detained on 23.1.1972 - Still being tried at military court under article 141 - He is under arrest in Ankara.

62. HALIL BERKTAY (Assist.-Ankara University) - Detained on 26.5.1972 - Still being tried under arrest at military court in Ankara under article 141.
63. NURI ÇOLAKOĞLU (Assist.-Ankara University) - Detained on May 26,1972 - Being tried under arrest at military court in Ankara under article 141.
64. OMER MADRA (Assist.-Ankara University) - Detained on 26.5.1972 - Being tried under arrest at military court under article 141.
65. AYSE MELİH KUTLAR (Assist.-METU) - Detained on 20.9.1972 - Being tried under arrest at military court under article 141.
66. MUZAFFER TUNÇAG (Assist.-State Academy of Architecture and Engineering in Elazığ) - Arrested on October 3,1972.
67. HOSEYİN BATUHAN (Assist.Prof. - Faculty of Letters in Ankara)- Been tried by military court and acquitted on 1.12.1972.
68. SAMUEL SIVİL (Assist.-Ankara Medicine Fac.) - Arrested on 12.9.1972 - Being tried by a military court in Ankara under article 141 - In prison.
69. SEYHAN ERDOĞDU (Assist. - METU) - Arrested on 17.8.1972 - Still being tried by military court in Ankara under article 141 since January 25,1973.
70. ŞERAFETTİN TÜRAN (Prof. - Ankara Faculty of Letters) - Brought before the military court in Ankara under article 146 on 19.4.1973.
71. MUSTAFA AKDAG (Prof.-Ankara Faculty of Letters) - Brought before the military court in Ankara under article 146 on 19.4.1973. He died on the same day because of stomach bleeding.
72. MUSA ÇADIRCI (Assist.-Ankara Faculty of Letters)-Brought before the military court in Ankara under article 146 on April 19,1973.
73. ATTILA ELDEM (Assist.-Ankara Fac. of Letters)-Brought before military court in Ankara under article 146 on 19.4.1973.
74. ÖZDEMİR NUTKU (Assist.Prof.at the same fac.) -Brought before military court in Ankara under article 146 on 19.4.1973.
75. MURAT BELGE (Assist.-Istanbul Literature Fac.) - Detained on 19.3.1972 - Still being tried under arrest in Istanbul.
76. AZİZ EKŞİ (President of University Assistants Union -ÜNAS)- Detained on 13.10.1971
77. ALİ CENABI NURHAT (Assist.-Ankara Pol.Sc.Fac.) - Detained on 5.4.1972 - Still being tried under arrest in Istanbul.
78. FATMA ARDA (Assist.-Istanbul Literature Fac.) - Detained on 21.12.1972 - Still being tried under arrest in Ankara.
79. KAMIL PINARCI (Assist.-Hacettepe University) - Condemned to four years two months imprisonment on 16.7.1972 - ?
80. ERGÜN ATASO (Assist.-Hacettepe University) - Detained on August 29,1972-Being tried since 22.10.1972 in Ankara - Free
81. SEZER TANSUG (Assist.-Istanbul University) - Detained on February 23,1972 - Free.
82. AHMET KARDAM (Assist.-METU) - Detained on 26.7.1971 - Being tried since 25.1.1973 - Free.
83. AYDOĞAN BOYUKÖZDEN (Assist.-Istanbul Technical University) - Detained on 5.4.1972 - Being tried since 10.1.973 -In prison.
84. ORHAN YILMAZ SILİER (Assist.-METU) - Detained on 28.5.971-Free.
85. ESAT EŞKAZAN (Assist.-Cerrahpasa Medicine Fac.) - Detained on May,23,1971 - Detained again on May 5,1972 - Free.

86. ATAMAN TANGÖR (Assist.-Istanbul University) - Detained on May 20,1971 - Free.
87. ÖGET ÖKTEM (Assist.-Istanbul Literature Faculty) - Detained in June 1971 - Free.
88. ERSİN ÖNLÖER (Assist. - Istanbul Chemistry Faculty) - Banished from Istanbul martial law territory.
89. ERSAN İLAL (Assist.- Istanbul Law Faculty) - Detained on May 23,1971 - Free.
90. ÖLKÖ AZRAK (Assist.-Istanbul Law Faculty)- Detained on May 23,1971 - Free
91. BAKİR ÇAĞLAR (Assist.-Istanbul Economics Faculty) - Detained on May 23,1971 - Free.
92. CEVAT ÇAPAN (Assist.Prof.-Istanbul Literature Faculty) - Detained on February 20,1972 - Free.
93. RÜCHAN BOZER (Assist.-Ankara University) - Detained on August 18,1972 - Being tried under arrest since 25.1.1973.
94. HAYDAR KAZGAN (Prof.-Istanbul University) - Detained on May 23,1971 - Free.
95. AHMET GÖRAN (Assist-Ankara Law Faculty) - Detained in May 1972 - Being tried under arrest since 10.1.1973 in Ankara.
96. NURKALP DEVRİM (Assist.-Istanbul Economics Faculty) - Detained on May 23,1971 - Free.

SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENT VII

Motion for a Resolution on the Situation in Turkey

23 January 1973

Doc.3251

Consultative Assembly
Council of Europe

The Assembly,

1. Recognising the very grave crisis in Turkey and the dangers it threatens to democratic institutions;

2. Noting the assurances given by Turkey's representatives in the Assembly that the derogation of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms and the use of martial law in some areas are directed only at persons who, with the intention of destroying parliamentary government, resort to violence and undemocratic measures;

3. Reminding the member countries of the Council of Europe that, as a condition of membership, each has a solemn duty to uphold and guarantee the right of its peoples freely to organise in democratic political parties, trade unions and other associations, and to guarantee their right freely to express and publish opinions in accord with democratic principles;

4. Believing that it is the undoubted wish of the Turkish people and their freely elected parliamentary representatives to maintain the rule of law in accord with the Constitution, to return completely to parliamentary government, and to bring to an end as speedily as possible the imposition of martial law and military courts;

5. Asserting that any member country that abrogates the Human Rights Convention has a duty to give proof of a declaration that the abrogation is not prejudicing the legal rights of persons who have not resorted to violence or undemocratic means of opposing the government, and a duty also to demonstrate the measures to be introduced to restore constitutional law and parliamentary government;

6. Resolves that a representative group be appointed by the Political Affairs and Legal Affairs Committees to study the present situation on martial law and political trials in Turkey and to keep under review the progress towards the restoration of constitutional law and parliamentary government, as indicated in the speeches of Turkey's representatives, with the hope that this end to a crisis which all the friends of Turkey deplore will be achieved when the jubilee of the modern Turkey is celebrated.

Signed: G.Darling (England), P.Dankert (Holland), K.Frydenlund (Norway), K.Czernets (Austria), J.Aano (Norway), A.Bergegren (Sweden), S.Radinger (Austria), D.Fisher (England), L.Aasen (Norway), F.Cluskey (England), W.Molloy (England), F.Judd (England), J.J.Voogd (Holland), R.Fletcher (England), K.Björk (Sweden), H.Bauer (Germany), U.Hedström (Sweden), M.Stewart (England), A.Johanson (Norway), W.Renschler (Switzerland).

SUPPLEMENTARY DOCUMENTS VIII

On Torture

Affidavits, protocols, court minutes and witnesses on tortures applied to Necmi Demir, Ilkay Demir, Kadriye Deniz Özen, Rüçhan Manas, Jülide Zaim, Necati Sagir, Ayşe Emel Mesçi, Irfan Uçar, Ömer Erim Süerkan, Abdullah Ceceloglu, Tülay Tad, Ömer Güven, Mustafa Coşkun, Oguz Öder, Avni Yalçın, İsmail Yüksel Erdoğan, Rasim Özkan, Abdurrahman Türe, Muhamrem Yanar, Mustafa Aynur, Erdoğan Kamışoglu, Ömer Ayna, Cihan Alptekin, Tayfur Cinemre, Osman Bahadır, Elif Gönül Tolon, Rukiye Dülger, Zerruk Vakıfahmedoglu, Ali Aydın Çig, Rifat Güney, Cemil Tatlibal, Tayfun Demir, Yavuz Yildirimtürk, Sarp Kuray, Attila Keskin, Masis Kürkçügil, Turhan Selçuk, Kadir Çağlı, Aziz Erkmen, Nurten Tuç, Nusret Gülal, Murat Ates, Hasan Özgür, Mehmet Adnan Celayir, Hasan Çetin, Salman Kaya were published in the File On Turkey by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey. The following new affidavits were selected among hundreds smuggled from military prisons.

Name and Surname : Penina Bencuya (female)
Father's Name : Hayim
Place and Date of Birth: Izmir, 1950
Profession : Theater Actress
Date of detention : April 17, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest : May 22, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial : January 10, 1973 - Ankara

A P P L I C A T I O N

REFERENCE: Methods of Interrogation

TO THE ATTENTION OF THE MILITARY COMMAND

BY THE CHANNEL OF ANKARA MARTIAL LAW N° 3 DETENTION HOUSE'S DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR TO THE PRESIDENCY OF THE GREAT NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF TURKEY.

During the debates at the National Assembly, on prolongation of the martial law for two months more, on Thursday January 25, 1973, Mr. Ferit Melen, prime minister, have denied all torture allegations. Also on January 29, 1973, at the National Assembly, responding criticisms on behalf of prime minister, Mr. Mehmet Izmen, minister of national defence, had refuted all torture allegations stating: "Torture allegations do not go beyond rumors. Such a serious allegation, claiming any concrete treatment applied to any concrete person does not exist." Prime Minister Ferit Melen has said the followings in his statement at the Senate on February 1, 1973: "None of the torture allegations is based on facts. Few concrete examples might be exist, but not very many. And all of them had been investigated, however, none of them had been proved. Those allegations, claiming the martial law justice is based on torture, are totally deprived of the reality."

As a matter of fact, in the buildings of MIT (National Intelligence Agency), in the military buildings which are named by torturers "counter-guerilla organizations" under the command of the General Staff and in the police headquarters, all of the detainees and some of the arresteds have been subjected the following tortures: Falake (beating the soles); fustigation; inserting truncheon into vagina and into anus and sometimes the truncheon was loaded with electricity; putting out cigarettes on the head; burning nails; pulling nails out; inserting pistols into mouth with its safety unlocked; applying electroshock continuously for hours, for days through head, ears, throat, temple of the head, teeth flesh, tongue, breasts' points, heart, back, navel, hands, feet, wounds of former operations and sexual organs; beating; pulling out hair, barbs and mcustaches; hanging to the roof then stripping naked and then applying electroshock accompanied with beating; pumping air into body through anus and mouth; beating with chains; pricking needles all over the body.

On this subject, many applications of complaint have been handed over to martial law authorities, to martial law tribunals, to military prisons' authorities and physicians and the military

court have been informed of the torture practices both in writings and orally. The detainees are still taken away for torture from military prisons and still the above-mentioned tortures are applied.

The Article 62nd of the Turkish Constitution states:

"All citizens have the right to apply, in writing, individually or collectively, to the competent authorities and to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey, on the subject of requests and complaints, concerning themselves or the public. The result of the appeal which concerns the applicant himself is communicated in writing."

Using my above-mentioned constitutional right, I send my attached application to the Grand National Assembly of Turkey concerning the tortures applied to myself. I request an investigation on this subject and demand the result of appeal be communicated to me in writing.

(signed)

Penina Bencuya

SUPPLEMENT TO APPLICATION

In the night of April 17, 1972 at 11 p.m., a crowded group have come to my door and stated that they were martial law officials. Since I have delayed in opening the door, they have entered shouldering the door. They were about ten and addressing each other by their military ranks such as: my major, my lieutenant colonel. Among them there were non-military police officers too. They have asked my name just after they enter and then have said: "Let us know if you are virgin or not! Mind you, it is obligatory to answer these questions!" Till the end of the interrogation such questions were continuously asked without any decrease and with much more loathsome terms. In the house they have slapped and insulted me in several ways. I was suggested that the constitution, the laws and the state were themselves, that I had to forget about the human rights, that my life was in their hands. I have been threatened to be tortured and raped. Thus, they have put me up into a minibus after a while. They have wound my overcoat around my head. We have entered a building, descended two groups of stairs. My overcoat has been taken away when we have entered a room. Having seated me on the floor, fastened my arms and legs to stakes. My stocking had been taken off. Two commando soldiers have been holding the stake to which my feet were fastened. They have attached electric cables to my fingers and toes. They were beating my soles with truncheon and in the meantime giving the electricity. After a while they have told that they were going to rape me (they used exactly these words: "We'll fuck you!"), and taken my pants off. Letting forth very disgusting words, they were pressing my hips with truncheon, meanwhile Omer Parlar have been brought into the room and he has seen me in that state for a while. I do not remember for how long this torture went on. Could be approximately two or three hours. I was not in full conscious. But following this operation, for many days my arms have trembled, my voice become hoarse, left side of my face become numb and could

not come back to its senses for months, and even now, from time to time it becomes again numb. Eight days after this torture, that is to say when I have been fairly recovered, my blood pressure -which is regularly so low between 8 and 9- have been 17. Although I have appealed several times to the detention house's physician, he has avoided to give me any medical report on my state saying I would get better in the course of time.

On April 18th, towards noon, they had brought Ayşe Semra Eker. Taking me out of the torture room where I have been kept in, they had put her in instead and I have heard the noises created by blows and electroshock for 12 or 13 hours uninterruptedly. Once they have shouted: "Bring the pump!", and another time asked for an axe-handle. They have said me, they violated Ayşe Semra Eker with a truncheon loaded with electricity. They have said, the same truncheon has been also inserted into her anus. By this manner, I have learned what that cry "truncheon!.." -accompanied with applauses and yells- that I have heard meant. The same day I have been brought face to face with Nuri Çolakoglu. He was unrecognizable. Once, I have gone to lavatory after him, the floor was full of blood. I have recognized that he was not able to stand on one of his legs, because he was trying to walk jumping on the other.

Now, I meet Erkan Yücel in the court-room. He is completely different than the one whom I have met in MIT.

My interrogation have been led by an army colonel in plain clothes. I can identify him if I see again. At the doors (of the torture place tr.) commando soldiers were on guard. Because of the strong sounds of wind I recognized that the place was established in an open area, besides, I was hearing continuously the voices created by the helicopters taking off. One of those leading the interrogation was dark curled haired, medium height and carrying spectacles; he was in civilian clothes but very probably could be a major. He said me, he was my national defence teacher at Private Turkish College in Izmir where I have been educated between 1964-1968; and also his wife had been teaching English courses there he said. He has asked me if I have remembered him. I also can identify him if I see.

They have been trying to create an atmosphere of terror in the room. I think they were transmitting screams uninterruptedly through tape-recorders. Sometimes they did not let us sleep in the nights and not permit to sit on the bed in the day-time. We have been insulted all the time.

A policeman from the security department has been brought when the deposition would officially be written on the typewriter. A woman, whom they classified as an army officer, has typed my deposition. Another official who was among my interrogators during 8 days has also been present.

Afterwards I have been put up into a minibus, again blindfolded. We have been handed over to police headquarters together with Erkan Yücel, Omer Parlar and Bumin Güneri. Some of the security polices have told me that I was being brought from the

"counter-guerilla base's camp" that they have also been to there when my deposition was being typed. I have met the tall, big, dark curled haired man, who personally tortured me, at the security police too. I have been handed over to martial law headquarters after being kept at the police two days.

I present this information to your knowledge.

Penina Bencuya
(signed)

Name and Surname : Sadik Akincilar
Profession : Lawyer
Date of detention : April 3, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : April 30, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

My Interrogation and the Tortures Practiced on me
While I Have Been Under Custody

I am Sadik Akincilar, defense lawyer of Mahir Cayan, Deniz Gezmiş and his friends.

On the 3rd of April, 1972, at noon, plain-clothes policemen came to my office when I was working and told that they would do a search there. In fact, two days earlier both my home and office were already searched by police as nothing was found (and latter was rather an ambushlike search as they had entered by breaking the main gate of the commercial building where my office has been located). Nothing was found in this search either, and they picked up two of the defense texts I had prepared for the trials, and they also took me away. I was kept staying at the security police till the evening and then taken into a car as two policemen in plain-clothes were accompanying. Thus I was taken to the Kadiköy Police Station. I was kept waiting there, in car, in front of the building, until the darkness. Then they took me out of that car and transferred in a small truck. Immediately after I got in, I was handcuffed and blindfolded.

The vehicle was driven to somewhere, and they got me off as blindfolded into a building. When they removed the blindfold, I found myself in a room where a man who took me in was giving orders to some soldiers. My photographs were taken immediately, and then, after taking all my belongings, they undressed me and put a pair of filthy pair of pyjamas on. My hair and moustaches were shaved off completely. My hands and feet were tightly bound with heavy chains.

Afterwards, they blindfolded and took me downstairs (to somewhere I perceived a smell of basement). They made me sit somewhere and then unblindfolded.

In the room, facing me, there were a man in civilian suit and a major general in uniform. Also some others were present, but those were behind me and I was told I should rather not look at behind otherwise I will be killed. I have been very confused.

The general asked first if I knew where I was. I said I was at MIT (National Intelligence Agency). Answering me, they said that not in MIT, but I happened to become a captive in hands of counter-guerilla organization. They said I was their prisoner and there exists neither the Constitution nor things like law or legal rights; for them, my life had an inferior value even to that of a dog; and their staff would decide on as to whether I could survive anymore, and if they would decide to do death with me, then I shall be killed and my corpse will be thrown to the sea. Then they insulted me in several manners.

Afterwards, the general said: " I am telling you just one word: SEBIL". (This is the name of a place, where I had supposedly happened to meet the fugitives as I have later had to accept). I answered him that I knew nothing about a person named Sebil. The general, upon my reply, said that: "This will be your last chance. You sheltered the fugitives; you organized their escape; you established contacts within and among the organizations; you subversively led many people; and you met the fugitives at Sebil. Accept all of these and save your life. Otherwise I shall leave you to the group Commando B, and you shall be tortured to death." (Later, they accused me with having contacts with several organizations and illegal activities.)

I insistently rejected such accusations and these went on for sometime. During that time they were saying that my client defendants had already yielded depositions against me and these were numerous, and also saying that my colleague lawyer Yalçın Öztürk too had yielded a deposition of this sort. They even said that Mahir Çayan (one of Kizildere massacre's victims who was killed on March 30, 1972, that is to say four days before Akıncılar's detention. tr.) was alive. I rejected all the accusations. And then, the general left the room ordering that I must be handed over to the commando group. I was blindfolded again. My hands and feet were chained. Thus they began beating and swearing. Their blows were skilled karate hits. My face was scarcely hit, though they were uninterruptedly blowing against my body. Since I rejected the accusations once more even after that practice, I was overthrown for f a l a k a. For a long time, they fustigated me with frequent intervals during when I was raised for walking. In fustigation, they were carefully doing friction to my soles by the club and stimulating my nerves. This was to prevent my feet from torn. Thus, my feet were swelling and bruising, but were not torn. Being subjected to falaka, meantime I was continuously being kicked and insulted. For a long time, they beat my soles but despite this practice they were not able to make me accept their accusations. Thereupon they connected my body to electricity. Current was applied to several parts of my body by two electrodes (that is, they were connecting the cables to two different parts of my body). During this torture, I was being tied to an arm-chair with chains and ropes. My eyes were kept blindfolded during all these interrogations and tortures. When they began connecting electricity to my head through the ears, I felt I was about to go mad. It was such a suffering that as if one's brain would explode. They were never interrupting the practice, instead, sustaining it without any interval no matter that I was throwing myself to end

on the floor together with the arm-chair as I was tied on it. Even a couple of them were hardly capable to keep me from doing that although they had managed holding the arm-chair. During this electroshock practice, they caused me to drink some fluids I did not realize what, for my mouth became swollen senselessly after I was beaten, and I was blindfolded. They were also pouring water on my head when they applied current to my ear to increase the transmission. Under these tortures, sometimes I was getting so breathless as almost to die. At these moments, I realized that their threats of killing me was hardly a bluff. And, I thought that it would be in vain for me to insist refusing the self-accusation, what was wanted from me. I told the torturers that I might accept their terms, but if I concede something, then they surely would ask more. They, in a way, promised that no more questions or interrogation would be held if I would concede what they wanted. Thus, I conceded that I saw the fugitives after they escaped from prison, as torturers demanding.

I had to lie on the bed in my room at those times when I was not taken downstairs to the torture and interrogation. I was chained in that bed, and a lamp with its strong light never turning off was hanging just over my head from the ceiling. Nothing was existing there, either on me or around there, to remind the time or the outer world. Through a hole on the door someone was peeping me continuously and when I fell asleep the door was being opened as if I would again be taken down to the torture. During that time, I had to listen to the voices coming from torture practices. These were the voices of some others being tortured and I guess even my screams once tape-recorded. To take me downstairs for interrogation, every time they were blindfolding me. This way of living and interrogations lasted for 23 days. They also asked me to give statements against some other lawyers and persons, and I was accused with such acts I had never committed and I was beaten by reason of my behaviour in court. They were revengefully beating me uttering that "how could you insult the dignity of court and prosecutor? How could you leave the court as a protest? How could you assume the defense?" I spent the last two days there in a small underground cell (smaller than my stature), full of insects. Meanwhile, I was again taken to the interrogation, as usually blindfolded and chained. Earlier they had dictated depositions. Those were full of what I became conceded under duress. When they took me back to my room upstairs, they were giving pencil and paper and demanding to write down deposition. They were, furthermore, demanding other statements as well, by saying that I should think well and write what were asked from me if I want to get free from there. In cases I had not happened to write at all, or had written something false, as they considered it that way, I was being taken downstairs and received punishment. After such practices, they were taking me back to upstairs to my room, and saying that I should properly write then. This went on as long as I stayed there.

I saw "my" deposition after signing it, when they had forced me to read it to a tape-recorder. That was such a deposition written as if I delivered it by inserting some facts; these

were meant to make it sounds like a true statement. When they returned my clothes, I realized that I lost about 10 to 12 kilogram of my weight during the last 23 days. This was due to the torture done without even letting me to sleep and the very meagre amount of food given. However, they forced me to obtain a written statement that "I was treated nicely" and they got it.

After the interrogation, they remind that I should better not mention the torture and should speak of proper things to the prosecutor. Otherwise, they could take me back from the prison I was going to, and would punish through their own methods. They added that they shall be able to reach to and take me back from everywhere, and after I would serve my prospective term in prison, I should rather not carry on this kind of lawyership, otherwise I should be killed. In other words, I had already been condemned before I have sit for trial.

Later, I was blindfolded again and put up into a vehicle. After sometime, I realized that the vehicle had come to Selimiye Caserne. There, I was imprisoned in a very small and moist cell, so damp that even a cigarette could not light. But, this cell was surely a "heaven" to me. First I remained there for two days, and then brought before a prosecutor. But, since I rejected the deposition; I was returned down to the cell. And, I happened to be kept in that cell about three months. During that time, I had no opportunity either to take a bath, or to conversate with someone, or to see the daylight. All the time I had been kept in there, the exception was going to toilet at the accompaniment of two soldiers, one carrying a rifle with bayonet and the other having a club. During that time, my teeth became infected, and that caused my face to swell. I then asked a doctor, but nobody came to the visit. The reason behind their refusal was to avoid any possibility of torture marks on me to be identified. During that time, I saw none of my relatives, or of my several counsellors.

In this statement I put down the happenings without even a slight exaggeration or imagination, or overstatement, or an addition. I am writing these experiences even briefly. Under those practices, I witnessed and lived through so many things that a man, as a human being, cannot come to believe. As a lawyer, I was terrified when I had listened to the description of tortures practiced on my clients. But, those, I met with, has far surpassed what I had heard from my clients. In this statement I described them rather briefly, without details. But, I think, even in this form, it would suffice for those who have human personality. At the moment, I am under arrest in Sagmalcilar prison, and still awaiting for a trial.

September 11, 1972

Sadık Akıncılar, Lawyer

(signed)

P.S. Name of the police chief who took me away from my office was Yılmaz. I identified the major general from his photograph I have once seen in magazine Hayat. His name is Memduh Ünlütürk, and as I learnt, he holds a post in MIT (National Intelligence Agency).

Name and Surname : Necla Ölkü (female)
 Father's name : Tahsin
 Date and place of birth: Sinop, 1950
 Occupation : Last semester student of Ankara
 Faculty of Letters
 Date of detention : July 18, 1972 - Istanbul
 Date of arrest : August 31, 1972 - Ankara
 Date of first trial : February 26, 1973 - Ankara

REFERENCE: Torture

On 18 July 1972, I was taken by five policemen to the Headquarters of the Police First Division in Gayrettepe (security ty police - tr.). I was searched for one and a half hour during which both my clothes and the lining of my handbag were torn. I was later shut in a cell in the basement which was so small that a person could hardly fit into it and it had no windows. In the night, after 8 p.m., a policeman by the name of Habib opened the room and came in. He told me to accept everything I was told, that I would otherwise not get out of the place alive, and that everyone who was brought there had talked.

In the morning I was taken from the cell and my eyes were blindfolded with a piece of cloth and cotton wool. A police officer took me by the arm and led me to a flight of stairs. As I instinctively reached for the railings someone hit my hand with a truncheon. Someone cried out to me "you, son of an ass (this expression in Turkish replaces more or less 'son of a bitch' tr.), do you think this is your father's house?" and started dragging me. Later, someone hit me on the head and I was told to squat. For a while I moved on my hands and knees. Then I was told to stand up. I did so. Then someone said "turn that whore around!" They made me turn around three or four times. Then I was taken into a room and sat in a chair. My eyes were still blindfolded but I could guess from the voices that there were seven or eight people in the room. They told me "explain!" I did not know why I was brought to the security police and what I was supposed to explain. "What should I explain," I asked. A man with a harsh voice and of my stature (1 m 70) told me to stand up. As I did so he slapped me on the face fifteen or twenty times. "Now sit down," he said. In the meantime I heard the followings spoken to me: "We shall teach you how to talk. Your family does not know you are here. They cannot even find your corpse." Someone with a harsh voice kept on saying: "you son of an ass, what do you take us for?" Another one asked me "are you virgin or aren't you?" I gave no reply. They started hitting me. I fell of the chair. The same harsh voice said "lay her down. Open her ass and let us see!" I heard someone else saying "how many men have you fucked with. I guess now it is our turn." They started beating me again, shouting about my fiance Ergun Aydinoglu "how about Ergun? When did you last fuck? How many times a day were you doing it?" I was brought to my feet. Someone whom they addressed as "my general" asked me: "Have you done your military service?" I did not know what to answer. He started kicking and boxing me; in the meantime shouting: "Answer, you, whose father I have fucked!"

I said "no". "And why did you not? Now let me start training you!" I received a blow on my chin. Later someone said: "My general, this one will not talk; let us take her to your room." I was made turn around several times again and made to walk on my hands and knees to another room. They tied me to a chair around my shoulders and my ankles. They attached cables to the forefinger of my left hand and the second toe on my right foot. All of a sudden I heard myself screaming. I felt as if I was struck by lightning and started screaming. "We are feeding you some live electric current," they said "it is very good for you. You are not tied too tightly so that you can have a jolly good shake." As they passed the current through my body, I felt a terrible pain and my body kept on striking against the chair. Once in a while they would stop and say "all your friends have confessed everything. So you better accept it." I kept on crying "you will kill me," in response to which they said "die you whore. Die, so what!" And one said "do not worry, we shall not kill you. If we really wanted to kill you why should we be as careful as we are. This is an art itself. You shall notice that this method of torturing will not leave a single mark on your body." They continued with this torture of giving increasing amounts of electric current for about two and a half to three hours. In the end I felt my muscles relax and began vomiting. I felt a wetness on my legs. After that, the only thing I remember is that I was groaning. When I came to myself, I was still sitting on the chair. My whole body was shaking and contracting. They slapped my face and boxed me; and then uncovered my eyes. I saw four people. One was a very strongly built man with blue eyes; another, to whom they referred as "father" was a bald man of about forty five; and another one was the police inspector whom they called Zeki bey. The fourth was a short, fat man with a round face and fat eyelids. He later told me he was an army officer. The one they called "general" was not in the room anymore. They showed me my fiancé's picture and started insulting me again. Then, the big man with blue eyes said "if you say one word different from the other, I will shit right into your face." I fainted again. They took me to the toilet. There I saw that I was covered with vomit and urine and that my left cheek was swollen and bruised.

Afterwards, from downstairs they brought Caner Güçal who was taken into custody on July 12th. His face was bruised and swollen. His fingertips and nails were red. He was in a terrible state. They told him "tell Necla what we did to you. Tell her we can do the same to her." He could not speak, but nodded his head. Then, two policemen took him away. Then they turned to me "look, we have shaken you quite a bit. We can do much more. We are not yet through with you. This is only the beginning." Then the strongly built man with blue eyes spoke "do not think it is all finished. We shall take it up from where we left when we like. You complete your thirty days, we let you go; and then take you in for another thirty days and make your mother cry over it." Two policemen dragged and shut me into the cell again.

My physical and psychological health was so bad that I fainted again. They made me come to, and went away insulting.

There was not even an air hole in the cell. The heat and the lack of air made me faint several times. They took me to another cell with a translucent glass on top, the size of a newspaper sheet. At night I would hear the policemen on guard, on top of this translucent glass, insulting me. I could not move my chin for six days. All this time I had nothing but water. During this time, the policemen would frequently come and say "come on. Are you ready for the second act? They are calling you from upstairs." One of them said "a few days ago Banu Erüder was here. They put a truncheon into her ass. The whole place was covered with blood. Let me see if they put a truncheon through you too!" At night the policeman on duty would come into the cell after nine p.m., and make me obscene proposals. One of them came in and shouted "let me fuck you once!" Following this I had a second shock.

In the morning of July the 24th, I was taken upstairs to the room of the chief of the security police. As soon as he saw me he shouted: "Are you the one that used to sleep with Ergun Aydinoglu? Listen to me now. I have got my men in your apartment. You will now write a letter to Ergun and call him to your apartment." I did not answer. He started shouting "you, son of an ass, you whore, you prostitute." I remembered his hoarse voice. When they started to beat me I agreed to write such a letter to my fiancé. They also made me write a letter to my family saying, they have found about everything. Whenever I hesitated in writing, they beat and insulted me and tortured me. I was thoroughly bruised with their kicks and fists. I put down everything they said. My nerves were so bad that I kept on thinking that they would start beating me again when I finished each sentence. I frequently fainted. My whole body was contracting. After the letter was written, they took me down to the cell back. That night I fainted and could not come to myself for three and a half hours. When I came to, I was in the hospital (Beyoglu First Aid Hospital). The policemen that brought me, told the doctor to just give me an injection and that they would take me back. They took me back to the cell.

In the morning of 25th July, I was again taken to the investigation room with my eyes blindfolded. When my eyes were uncovered, I saw the same people. They took my deposition in six days. I frequently fainted. I was physically very weak too, since I could still not move my chin and could only eat yoghurt and drink water. I accepted everything they said hoping to put an end to the torture. I answered all their questions. When my answers were not satisfactory to them, they would start beating me again. This made me create imaginary people and events for them. The one, they called "father" would threaten me "look you here. Don't let us start again!" I told them my kidneys were sick. They made fun of me: "Oh dear, oh dear. Is that so? Your kidneys are sick!" During my investigation I heard shrieks from the adjoining room. The "father" laughed: "You hear? There is someone singing in there. You did the same, remember." In my cell I heard shrieks continuously. One night I heard Yaprak Zihnioglu being questioned. They kept on telling her "oh yes? Let your fiancé play havoc in Istanbul, and let us not torture you. Is that right?" I heard immediately after this her screams. They would

say "talk, or you will die," from time to time. The next day Tarhan Özgür who was in the cell opposite mine tried to commit suicide by cutting his wrists with his eyeglasses. In another cell his mother cried and wailed "my son, did they kill you?" He answered "Mother, my only one, it is better to die this way than let them kill me." I saw streaks of blood coming out from under his door. Despite this they bandaged his wrists in the hospital that evening and continued with torturing the next morning. They would take him in the morning, after breakfast, bring him back and toss him into the cell at noon and come back for more at one thirty or two. There was frightful screaming all day. I heard a man and a woman being tortured together. First I would hear the man, then the woman. That day, I heard Siper Güvenç cry as she was being taken down: "They are killing my fiancé. Kill me I would rather die than watch him being killed." I heard the police tell her to shut up. Then I heard slaps and the crying stopped.

There was a foreigner in another cell whom they would beat and order to sing and dance.

I was transferred to the Selimiye Caserne on August the 8th. When I began to think that this was the end of the torture I was transferred to the security police headquarters in Ankara. As I was entering the building at 1 a.m., I heard one policeman saying "what delight it is to put a truncheon right into her cunt" caressing his truncheon at the same time. I was with Asuman Aray. They made us to sit on a bench in the corridor. A colonel and a middle aged police inspector came and looked at us. The colonel said "take good care of these two. We'll take them to interrogation in the morning." In the morning a very well dressed man by the name of Ümit came. He cursed us and made us sit on different benches. For three days we were handcuffed like this. In the night we would hear screams. On the fourth day Ümit called me to his room and said "I am not at all satisfied with your deposition. They must have been too nice with you in Istanbul. But that is a city on the shore, and therefore the people are soft; but this, here is a mountain city, Ankara. I am not at all like the shore people." I was handcuffed to the bench again. That night I heard a terrible scream. In the morning, I asked the policeman as to who had been tortured the previous night. "We do not work at night," he said laughing, "the set up operates only during daytime." The set up was referring to was of course the torture table. Then he continued "look here you, you better write your deposition properly. The laws does not rule here. Once we take you to Hasandag (a nearby mountain top) and put the cold steel on your forehead, you would sing like a bird."

I was in a terrible state from the effects of torture, beating, sleeplessness and nervous tension. I was taken to the clinic at the back of the police headquarters. When I was brought back they said "do you think you can escape us by being sick? You are in our hands even if you rot." That night I fainted again and was taken to the hospital (Ankara Numune Hospital). Two doctors examined me for one and a half hour. I was taken back to the police headquarters despite the fact that they were told that my heart was very weak and that I was in a terrible state.

Finally I was handed over to martial law authorities on August 19th.

As a result of torture:

1. My kidney ailment has recurred. For seven months I have been having kidney pains and have continuously been taking medicine.
2. My ovaries are still infected.
3. I can still not use my left jaw.
4. As a result of the electric shocks, my gums are infected where I had previously had an operation. This infection has not been cured despite the fact that I have since had one tooth pulled.
5. My left eye is constantly watering and I do not see enough well with it.
6. I have occasional spasms of shivering on my arms and legs. I fell and injured my ankle three times in two months because of these occasional shiverings.
7. I have patches of wounds and red coloring that appeared after the electroshock.
8. I have other side effects of the electroshocks.

February 6, 1973

Necla Ulkü

(signed)

Name and Surname : Murat Belge
Father's name : Burhan
Profession : University assistant
Date of detention : March 19, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : April 7, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On March 19, hearing the police had wanted me, I did not return my home and directly went to the Police Headquarters. They kept me in a room for a while and phoned to somewhere. In accordance with the order given by telephone, I was driven to the Kadıköy Police Center in the company of two plainclothes policemen. There we waited in the vehicle. Later a camionette arrived. A tall plainclothes and two soldiers with automatic weapons got off. I was made to get on the vehicle. Following me the plainclothes also got on and chained my wrists, then put an eyeglasses covered with cotton on my eyes.

After having been driven in this fashion for a certain time, the vehicle was stopped. I was set to get off without uncovering my eyes. We entered a building. After having advanced a few steps, my feet set to a wooden floor. They said that I was permitted to uncover my eyes. We were in a small room. There were not furniture other than a bed in the corner of the room and a chair beside it. The two windows of the room were covered with paper from both sides. In addition the curtains were drawn. The plasters of the walls had fallen out because of the dampness. It

was too cold. A plainclothes policeman ordered me to undress. When I took off my clothes and only my underclothes remained, they gave me a pair of pyjamas to put on. It was too dirty and there were spots of blood on it. They did not leave anything with me. Although they left some cigarettes, but took all matches. They said me to call the guard on duty if I need to lit my cigarette. Later, they chained my wrists again and ordered to lie in the bed, not to move and especially not to approach to the windows. I was threatened to be shot if I would walk in the room or approach to the windows.

Just after the plainclothes and the armed soldiers left the room, two other plainclothes entered. Both of them said that they were army officers. The one, who said that he was an army colonel, spoke more than the other and said:

"First, I shall explain to you what this place is. This is the Counter Guerilla Base of the Turkish General Staff. All rooms here are full of your friends. If you want to leave here alive, tell us the truth. Never forget that you are a prisoner of war. The matter with you is to live or to die!

"Forget the law and the Constitution. Never think that the period of custody is limited within 30 days. Don't hope that after having been arrested we cannot bring you here again. In any moment we can bring you back. As you know, today Turkey is under the rule of the military. Although there is a civil government, it does not have any function. We can do whatever we want. Even we can kill you and later announce that you were shot to death while trying to escape. In fact, maybe you are aware of it, we do not apprehend alive anymore, we kill them. Many persons will be hanged on streets. Don't think that we are in hesitation. If the half of Turkey's population die, the other half will live on the way of Atatürk as we want.

"We have no doubt about your patriotism. But you are not Kemalist. On the contrary, we are Atatürkists. Neither a single centimeter to left, nor a single centimeter to right. We are perfect Atatürkists. We are worry about you, because there are some like you among our own relatives too.

"Look, you are a lively man. We had been pursuing you for months. We recognize you very well. You are a good looking man. Talk, otherwise..."

They said some more in the same fashion and went out. They said the following day I was going to be interrogated and meet with the General. But I was not brought to interrogation on the following day. Only the younger one of those plainclothesmen came and left paper ordering me to write down whatever I know.

They had brought a spoonfull of very badly cooked dish (it could not be soldier's food; they probably cooked it on purpose) in the bottom of a metallic pot and a very thin slice of bread as a food. This was being brought three times a day. My eyes were being blindfolded when I was living the room for toilet. The colonel and his young friend had chained my feet before leaving the room. I was feeling cold under two thin blankets, but al-

though I demanded several times they never gave a third one. They have got my writings and said they disliked them.

I had been brought there in Sunday evening. On Wednesday, the army officer who brought me there came in. He put the covered glasses on my eyes and delivered me into another room. Leading me to hold the back side of a chair he ordered me to stay there. I had understood that I was brought to be tortured. Since I came there I was hearing different kinds of men's and women's screams several times in night and in the day-time.

After a while somebody came in. He ordered me to uncover my eyes and sit down. He asked me few questions. I really had not know those he asked. He called the soldiers and ordered: "Overthrow him down!" They set me lie down on my back. The wooden falaka (the apparatus to bastinado the soles+tr.) was set to my feet. He lifted my legs up and started to beat. It continued for a while, then he freed my feet from falaka and said "stand up!" I got up standing hardly on my soles. He gave me four boxes on the ears one after the other. Meanwhile I must have been bleeding in the nose, because I felt a liquid was flowing on my face. My hands were also smeared with it. But in the meantime the covered glasses were put on my eyes since they were taking me out. He said "set him to wash his face." I left the room together with the soldiers. I washed up my face. According to my estimation we were in the corridor of toilets. They set me to walk in the water on the cement floor. Meanwhile one of the soldiers had mounted on my shoulders.

I once more was brought into the same room after this first aid. My feet were tied to the falaka again and the beating started once again. While the stick was beating my soles I unconsciously was bending my tumbs. The officer who was beating me suggested: "Don't twist them, otherwise they are going to be brokeen," and kept on beating. From time to time he was prodding and tickling my soles with the point of the stick. This was very probably being done in order to prevent the feet to be stretched. All of a sudden a bass voice shouted: "I had even beaten my class mates, why should I not beat you, son of a bitch!" The voice's owner took over the fustigation. The falaka was untied again after a while, we again went out. I walked once more on the water. Then we returned to the room. "Overthrow him," they ordered. They led me down and the falaka started again. I think the late-comer was beating at the beginning. Once a while they changed the turn. At the beginning of this third phase, one of them kicked my flanks while another was bastinadoing me.

The falaka was untied third time and again I went out to walk on water. When we came back I was thinking that I approached to the phase that my soles be burst open. But they did not applied the falaka. They started fastening me to a low chair. I felt that it was the turn of electroshock. But it could also be another thing too. I was tied up firmly. The covered glasses were still on my eyes. A wire was put to my ear. They began to apply the electricity. They probably were giving it for certain seconds and regulating its dose at such level that the heart can accept, but the period of seances were seeming to me too long. My body was

entirely stretching. They were asking nothing, only mocking and swearing. They were applying the shocks frequently. They changed their methods after a while. They started to give it with longer intervals and for shorter period. They were asking something and giving the current when I said I was ignorant on that subject.

This operation continued for a long time. Additionally my body had become numb since I was fastened firmly with ropes. But I had not know whether this insensibility was caused by electro-shock or by the ropes.

Finally they untied me and left the room leaving paper and pencil by me. I was going to be kept in this room now. They set a bed down, which was leaning against the wall. They also brought a pillow. This bed was even dirtier than the one which was in my first detention room. It was a spring mattress. It was carrying a label "U.S. Army". The label was entirely faded and its edges were burnt. The springs of the mattress came out at many points and it was rather difficult to lie on the bed in such a position that the springs will not hurt. The room was also terribly dirty. One night something had fallen with a big noise onto my pillow. It was one of those big spiders which has very long legs. It had fallen down from the ceiling.

In addition to the bed, there were one chair beside the bed, two armchairs and a table in the room. Walking around in the room was strictly forbidden for me. I think the dampness was also heavier in this one. The bed was absolutely wet. To describe the dirtyness of the bed is really difficult. But I remember the following story: One day, they brought me half a portion very badly cooked macaroni. I cast the macaroni onto the pillow when I was trying to eat it with my chained hands. I talked to myself "for goodness sake, the macaroni became dirty!" And I throw the macaroni instinctively. Whereas I was rather hungry as always.

The day, following the torture and the interrogation, the same persons came in again in the afternoon. They set me to get up and leaned the bed against the wall. The falaka was started again. For a while I was set to walk in the water. The second stage did not continue for a long time. While the torture was going on, I remembered the screams I had heard until that time and wondered how my screams got on the nerves of the others.

Later, I was tied again to the little chair. In the same fashion the electroshock started again. So I could comprehend the differences of the screams I had heard. A person being subjected to falaka was shouting at intervals. Screams caused by electroshock were beastly, hoarse and reminding of strangling of a man.

From that day, I was able to estimate the kind of applied tortures according to the screams of the victims. However, two times I could not estimate the reason of the screams, because they were harrowing and looked like howling. He must be in an unusual pain. Apparently his nails were being pulled up. I do not know how they apply this kind of torture. Nevertheless, one day two army officers in civilian suits came to my room and I saw a metal rectangular box with a supplementary part like a penknife, in the hand

of one of them. Having seen this strange thing, just after the officers left my room, I instinctively started to bite my nails as deeply as possible.

The electroshock continued rather a long time. Later they untied me and uncovered my eyes. There was an unimportant event which I had not told until that time. They had learned it and tortured me in order to make me confess it. Whereas, if they said that they have been informed of it, they would obtain the same result without subjecting me to torture.

After having untied, they made me to sit at the table. An army officer, who was at the ages of a major or a lieutenant colonel, told me that he had beaten also his own classmates, stayed with me. He started to threaten by talking on my wife. Probably they knew my devotion for my wife. Because just from the beginning they had threatened me in the same fashion. The colonel who had come on the first day, had asked my wife's maiden name. On the following day one other had come to my cell and giving a piece of paper ordered me to write her name and address on it. Whereas there was not necessity to ask that. Probably they wanted me to think that my wife was in danger. (In fact, one day after me, they had also detained my wife, but had not tortured her. I could learn this fact when my wife was also arrested and put in the prison.)

The army officer who set me sitting down before himself said "if you do not tell me everything, I will order to bring also your wife here." (Whereas, the same person had previously stated that my wife had not contacts with the organization.) He continued: "These cells you are kept in, I know, are too bad; but here are also others worse than these ones. In proportion to them, these can be considered as hotels. Think for a moment that your wife is in such a cell. Furthermore, I do not allow her to see you, but you can see her. We can bring and make her to lie here and you look on at her..."

This was a vague threat including torture and other things. It was more effective than the torture applied to me. Just at that moment the other one entered the cell and said: "Your wife is being interrogated now at the police headquarters." Thereupon, the one interrogating me added "the police headquarters is a paradise! Tortures practiced there are nothing at all." There was nothing I could do. Because nothing remained to tell. But, would they believe me? Otherwise, would they bring my wife to torture? Or, as they have said, was my wife being tortured at the police?

I passed the following days in this fear. As a matter of fact I was very often hearing screams of women. Finally I fell in so embarrassing situation that I started to jump up out of my bed when I hear a whistling or creaking.

During the period of these interrogations, also a funny thing happened: Just after the second and the last phase of the torture was finished, when we were sitting at the table, the army officer who had tortured me a very short time ago, knocked his leg slightly to my knee and said "I beg your pardon!"

They left me in the same room again. From time to time some of them came and asked different things.

One evening the major-general also came to my room and said:

"After the Altinordu State collapsed, the only Turkish state is ours. We do not admit it to be destructed. We are surrounded with enemies. If we weaken, Russia, Greece, Bulgaria, Syria, Barzani, all of them attack on us. Deli Petro (Czar Peter I - tr.) had made testament saying to occupy Turkey. This testament is still in force. Since the Prut War, we have had a war with Russia. In accordance with this geo-politics, we cannot admit the socialism. If we were in a place like Central Europe, it may be possible, but it is impossible here. Therefore, we will crush all of you."

He told that there is a heavy poverty in Russia and Bulgaria, they compelled even the invalid persons to work and gave only a ration card in return for their daily wage; in Moscow all workers are gathered by lorries being full to the brim and driven to the fields; after having worked all day, they are brought back by the same lorries in the same way. And he asked: "Please, my brother, I ask you, do you want to offer your wife to anyone else?" I said that there is not any connection between such kind of behavior and the socialism. The men beside him who had claimed to be an army major burst in upon my answer and said, "perhaps there is no connection in theory, but there is in practice." Saying that everyone in Russia were adulterous he went on: "Look, I will tell you how Ilhan Selçuk became a communist." He alleged that in Moscow's hotels there were special mirrors. The persons in the room could be seen by those outside the room through these mirrors. The Russians had made Ilhan Selçuk to get drunk and had left a beautiful girl with him. While they had been in the bed, the Russians had shot their photos through the mirrors. Later by threatening him with the distribution of these photos they had forced him to write articles in favor of communism. "So does Catin Altan," he said, "both of them were made communists by the same trick!"

After that I was not tortured more. But they repeated the same threats. They said that they could kill me during the trials or in the prison, even too later than them. Furthermore, all of them coming to my room mentioned that the military courts were not independant on their decisions, we would be punished according to the reports arranged by themselves.

Their behaviour towards me was seen tolerable in the last days. They left a box of matches beside me. But after having finished it, they did not accede to give a new one. In fact, a matches box could not be used more than two days because of the dampness of the room. On the second day, when I requested a new matches box, they gave only a single match. As a result of increasing tolerance, they started to give me two portions of food. One day, they transferred me to a better room. There was a more or less clean and soft bed. But after few hours, they came and brought me back to the former room. I esteemed that they did it in order firstly to encourage me and after to demoralize by ruining my hope. For two days I gave my official statement to the police and later I was sent to Selimiye Caserne. So I spent 17 days at the Counter Guerilla Base.

Name and Surname : Füsün Gökmen (Yavuz Gökmen's wife)
Profession : Council of State's Reporter
Date of detention : March 3, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest : March 23, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

I am a reporter for the Council of State, the High Administrative Court of Turkey. Since I have the status of a Judge, according to the Constitution, to the Act of Council of State and to the Act of Martial Law, any interrogation about me can be done only with the permission of the Council of State authorities. However, I was taken away by force from my father's house, where I was staying, by two soldiers armed with Thompson submachine guns, a Lieutenant Colonel and a civilian. The civilian escorted me to a red minibus parked outside and told the Lieutenant Colonel that he was taking over. I was blindfolded on the way. He told me that he was a MIT officer on duty and showed his card, covering his name. I was led into a building and the bandage was removed from my eyes in a small room. I was seated and handcuffed to a chair. Seven or eight people, hovered over my head and told me that they had been notified of some people, sought by the martial law authorities who were hiding in my household; and that I should give information on this; if not I would have to talk by some other means. For an hour or two they insisted that I should confess. And that I would be freed if I did! First I told them that I was under judicial guarantees and that I could not be interrogated. They mocked me and said, "we do not respect the constitution and the laws. No one would know even if we kill you. Even if they did know, no one can blame us." They repeated the questions, shouting, "speak! Confess!" I told them that I did not know of anybody hiding in my house and since I had applied to court for a divorce from my husband, I stayed with my father and not at my home.

"Well, you won't talk then," they said and pulling an old pair of trousers over my head, they led me down the stairs into a room in the basement. A white-haired man entered this room whom they called "colonel". He insulted me and asked where my husband was. I told him he could be at home and that I had not seen him for a long time. "Now you'll know where he is," he said, and ordered me to take off my boots. I did so. I was forced to lie on the floor and my arms were tied to a piece of timber, as if to a cross, tightly with nylon rope. They tied the pair of trousers, which was previously pulled over my head, around my ankles and tightened it with a thick rope that passed through a thick stick. Two persons lifted the wood to which my feet were tied while another started hitting my soles. Then, tearing my stockings, they connected a wire to my toe and another to my finger and sent electric current through my body. After sending the current at short intervals, for 8 to 10 times, they untied me and said, "well, tell us now where he is!" I repeated that I did not know because we lived seperately. "In that case, tell us where he could be and give us the names of his friends," they said. They put down the names of all his colleagues and asked me which of their addresses I knew. I knew the address of one person whom we used to visit.

At one o'clock in the morning, I was put into the same minibus and was taken first to the Ankara Military Police Headquarters and we started off again with a few lorry-loads of commandos. They raided and searched the home of my husband's colleague while I was kept in the minibus with two guards. Later, they searched another friend's house whose address they had learned from that colleague. They returned at 3 a.m., put me back into the same room and threatened me saying, "if we do not find your husband, we will tear you to pieces." I sat there until morning. A civilian guard was watching me. He said his name was Arman Köklü. There was a tick in one of his eyes. He said he was an army officer and that he was here on temporary duty. The next morning they restarted the interrogation. They kept asking the same things and when I said I did not know, they insulted and threatened me. My husband had learned from his friends whose houses had been raided during the night that he was being sought and he had gone to the Military Police HQ to see why he was wanted.

In the afternoon, they brought my husband into the same building. I was confronted with him and asked whether I knew him. I told them it was my husband, they laughed and said, "you see, he is in our hands too!" They carried me back to my room and started torturing him. I could hear his screams, from my room. Those people who refused to give me food until then, brought in a meal and forced me to eat it. I told them that I could not eat when someone was being tortured. "Did you not want to divorce your husband? Well he is being beaten, he is being subjected to electroshocks. I bet he used to give you a hard time. Now is your time to be glad," saying these words and mocking me, they tried to make me eat.

Later they brought wires to my room and connected them to my hands and feet after tying me. They applied the electric current. "Speak, tell us," they were saying. When I said I knew nothing, they laughed. A blond, curly-haired man leading the tortures -whom I later learned to be Ömit Erdal- was asking me while applying the current, "tell me, do you believe in God?" In a country where the Constitution embodies the principle of secularity, they surely had found a valid reason for torture.

Furthermore, they said, "if you don't talk, we will bring in your mother and your 4 year-old child and repeat the same tortures on them in front of your eyes." They insisted on this repeatedly. Finally connected the wires starting the current again. Although I was firmly tied to a board, I was violently jerking from one side to another because of the strong current. They were holding my hair tightly, so that my head would not be damaged. At last, "shall we go on or shall we bring your mother and kid," they asked. I told them to continue rather than bringing them. Then a white-haired man with a pot belly who was called "lieutenant colonel" ordered them to untie me and bring in my mother and child instead. I lived with the fear of seeing my mother and my child being tortured for 5 - 6 hours. But they were not brought in. Then they said, "let us make her sign a statement, then leave her, there is not much room left here." In fact, voices I heard outside made it clear that more people were being brought in for tor-

ture continuously. Once a torturer came in and told me that a new girl had been brought in and that soon I would hear her screams. For 3 days and 3 nights I heard cries of people being tortured. Then I was led out, again blindfolded, and spent 13 days in the General Police HQ in a small, stuffy cell. I was subsequently taken to Yıldırım Regional Military Jail. Afterwards I was transferred to Selimiye Caserne in Istanbul and kept there 5 days. After an interrogation by the prosecutor, I was put into the cell No. 1 with two other friends.

I was brought before the court at 9 o'clock the same night, arrested by the military judge without being informed of the grounds for accusation. That night we were kept in cell No.1. There was so much dampness that our dresses were completely wet by morning. Afterwards I was taken to Sıgmalcılar Jail where I am presently detained. For 11 months, exactly, I have been waiting to be taken to court without any knowledge of the charges.

Born in 1949, Council of State's Reporter,

Füsun Gökmen (signed)

Name and Surname : Füzünan Yavuz Gökmen
Profession : Program maker at Turkish Radio
Television Broadcasting Corp.
Date of detention : March 4, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest : ?
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

I was taken away blindfolded. It was on 4th March, 1972 at about 5 p.m. They put me into a minibus. They were holding both my arms. The moment I got in, they blindfolded me. The engine started and the minibus moved. We stopped. I do not know how long we had travelled. They led me out holding both my arms. "Careful, you will climb some stairs." I stop. "...Be careful, stairs." I walk carefully. "Stop, you will climb down!" I climb down. "Turn left!" I stumble. Still climbing down. We stop at last. They are taking the blindfold off. I am looking around. This is a large room. It is all concrete, there is a bench at one corner. A table, a chair...Typical basement windows. Low, like port-holes. My eyes stop on the falaka. We are not only three in the room. there are also a few soldiers. Also a grey-haired, middle height, civilian. Those who brought me in, are strongly built men. One is dark, the other fair. They are calling each other "major". The one with grey hair, I learn, is a lieutenant colonel. He has clear blue eyes. He is looking at me his eyes screwed up. The strongly built one with fair hair tells me to lean against the wall. I am leaning. My heart is beating fast. At that moment my only thought is my wife. I wonder what they have done to her. She had been detained a day before I was. They have taken her away in front of my child's eyes. "Where can she be now," I wonder, "how is she?" I hope they have let her go... The strongly built one with fair hair says, "you, tell us where such-and-such is!" I feel relieved. How should I know? I am at a loss as if he had

asked me something about the Theory of Relativity. "I do not know, I know not such person." He is coming closer. A terrible blow on my stomach. My inside comes to my mouth. I double up. I cannot catch my breath. Grasping my arms, they straighten me up. The shower of blows starts. Fists and slaps... I am calm. I am bending. Then coming up-right. My head hits one of them in the face, with all its strength. I wait. They are not late in response. "Talk, where is he?" They start to shove me back and forth. "Where?" This word is getting engraved in my brain. "I do not know!" They stop. I am standing up. How long since it started? I have no idea. Someone is approaching. The monster of Frankenstein is a sweet child compared to him. Dracula can only be his apprentice. They call him "colonel". He is a short one with dark hair. "I will bring your 70-year-old mother here and torture her," says he, "your father too." He is talking. Talking about my whole life since 1964. I am feeling depressed. It does not last long. I think of my mother, my father. They could not stand it, they would die. They would kill them. They are not human. "I will bring your mother here," he says, "talk. You will be hanged anyway. If not, you will get at least 30 years. You are finished. If you talk, you may save something." I laugh spontaneously. They become very agitated. "Sit down, you bastard!" I sit down. Then stand up immediately. I am looking at the windows. The Colonel is startled. "What is this pimp looking at? What are you looking at?" I say, "it is none of your business." "What a swashbuckler he is, isn't he," he says, "I'll let you have it, you bastard!" He orders: "Take him down!" The soldiers are coming to take me down. I am struggling with all the strength I can muster. In the end, my feet are tied to the falaka. They tie my arms. I cannot move a finger. And... And they are taking my trousers off. The strongly built major with the fair hair takes a truncheon in his hand. He is looking down at me. For the first time I am frightened to death. I shout: "What are you going to do, you bastard? What?" In reply he is stretching his arm and hitting my soles. I am relieved. One, two, eight, ten, twenty. I cannot scream. He stops. They untie me. I am on my feet. "Walk," and I walk with a soldier on my back. "Get off mate," I am saying to him, "I do not feel like carrying you." They are swearing at me. The major with the dark hair can be considered as tender. His voice is not so monstrous. I have my trousers on, I am O.K. They are bringing in someone. She is blindfolded. I recognize the face. My wife! They take the blindfold off. Her eyes are shining. She is looking at me. She is having difficulty when she walks. Something deep inside me starts vibrating. "What they have done to you," I shout, "what they have done to you?" She does not answer me. To the executioners I ask this time: "What have you done to her?" No answer. She says, "my husband." They are taking her away. I will never forget this gait. She brings me a new determination to resist and she goes.

The same story is starting all over again. "Talk!"... "What do you want me to tell?" Swears... "Take him down!" This time I offer no resistance. Falaka... It does not last very long. He stops. A moment of relief. It seems as if I am going to be frightened again. No, I should not! A cable approaches. Now I

realize. Fear and curiosity is mixed. It is tied to my sex organ and also to my foot. They are pouring water on me. He is asking, "talk!"... "I,..." They do not let me finish. As if I am being torn into pieces. From time to time I hear a horrible scream. These are my screams. How many times? How long? They are now showing me photographs. Now there are 6 - 7 people around me. I am screaming. I cannot identify my own voice. They are pressing on my mouth. My heart is beating very fast. A terrible pain. My stomach has gone absolutely stiff. They stop. Someone is taking the wire off, no he is tying it again. To somewhere much closer to the former. The pain is undescrivable this time. Are they pointing out something? I cannot see. The Colonel is standing beside me. He is swearing. I am swearing back at him. He gets mad. They continue torture. I know I should have keep silent, but I cannot swallow their swears. I cannot take it anymore. I am stiff all over. My throat is so dry. I loss consciousness. They are pouring buckets of water over me. Someone is coming, a new figure. Slim, middle height, dark, has spectacles. "Stop," he says. They are untying me. Lifting me up. I am again blindfolded. They are taking me upstairs. A cell, a table, a chair. I sit down. They are handcuffing me to a hotwater pipe. My head is falling on the table. A soldier is bringing a chair in and sitting on it. I ask the time. "11.45 p.m.," he says... A civilian comes in. The soldier leaves. "Son of a bitch," says the civilian to me, "we are deprived of our sleep because of you!" I answer, "I am terribly sorry, I never meant to cause any discomfort." He is looking at my face like a cow. I put my head on the table again.

They bring in a plate! In it cheese and bread. I start eating. The cheese is very salty. Never mind. I gobble it up in two minutes. "Water!" Perhaps I repeat fifty times. In the end they give me water. "Cigarette?" No... The civilian leaves. The soldier comes in again. Secretely he is giving me a cigarette. I smoke it. First quality soldier cigarette. Full of flavour. (Translator's note: The cigarettes issued free to servicemen are the very worst cigarettes one can imagine.) The major who has stopped the torture comes in. He loosens my handcuff. I want to go to sleep. Impossible. They never leave me alone. The major looks very affectionate. He is telling me what they have done to my wife. What a relief. What I feared most had not happened after all. She could not stand it, I could not stand it. "She loves you very much," he says, "your screams nearly drove her mad." I feel terribly grieved. How can I know that a few hours later I will be made to listed to her screams.

Horrible screams are coming from downstairs. "They are caressing someone again," he says. "The boy whom I saw, the boy who had cut his wrists open?" I ask. "That is him," he says, "talk, tell me everything! We will not torture you any more if you do so." I say, "I do not know." Dissapointed he is leaving.

They bring me some bread and cheese. It must be morning then. I want to go to the toilet. They take me there blindfolded. It is very difficult to do it. Anyway, I do it. My feet do not look like feet. They have a very funny shape. They come, ask

something and go. We are again going downstairs to the basement. Someone says, "look, do not let us start making music again. Talk!" I think to myself how much I like music. Music... Unavoidable... So that is what they mean by music. We start making music. "Morning concert," I say to myself, certainly it is not recital. Because they never stop talking. They are always asking. It goes on. The colonel is asking. It is noon now. I am taken upstairs. This time no food.

I want to sleep. I need to sleep. I must be in good shape. Impossible. They never leave me alone. The major comes back. He says, "listen very carefully, it will start before long!" I listen. And... And, the most tormenting experience of my life starts. They will repeat it again.

My wife! She is screaming, she is crying. The voice I know so well, the voice I love so much is in my ears. She is screaming. I am going mad. I want to hit myself against the floor. I cannot, I am handcuffed to the hotwater pipe. Her screams are getting louder and louder in my ears. Her screams are making echoes in my heart. Her screams are making my blood drip deep inside me. "Take me instead but leave her! Leave her! Let her go," I cry. "Calm down," the major says. And it is over. She does not scream anymore. There is a horrible silence now. Finally I hear some foot steps. I hear her moaning. A door opens, then closes. Silence. Obviously they put her in the cell opposite. I later saw it. There was a sign on the door saying that it was the place where soldiers' outfits are made. They put her there.

The colonel comes. Whenever I see this guy, I feel my blood freeze in my veins. "This is nothing. We will do the same thing to your child," he says. I believe him. I realize that there is nothing they would not do.

It goes on the same way for many days. Upstairs, downstairs, upstairs. After listening to my woman's screams, I undergo electric current smiling. Then they take me upstairs. I am tied with belts on my wrists. They hang me naked. My feet cannot reach the floor. Some sort of crucifixion. Terrible screams keep coming from the torture room. "We have apprehended such-and-such. You fool, if you had told us where he was, you would not have suffered," they say. Screams of such-and-such are very loud. He is screaming hours and hours. I am going crazy. I feel I am not the same man as before. "Kill me, kill me," I shout. They are coming in and going out. "We have sent a squad to get your child," the colonel says, "do not worry, you will soon see your child." There is only one solution. I will kill myself. I hit my head against the wall with all my strength. One, two, three, eight, ten... Something is happening. Finally I am dying. Then everything gets brighter. I am in the torture room again. Such-and-such is half dead. The boy who cut his wrists open is tied to the electrodes. There is another one, blonde, his hair is plucked. They are parallelly tied to the electrodes. They are working on four of us. First individually, then collectively. I gradually come to. My child is not in the room. I know they sent my wife away yesterday. They are taking me back to my cell. It is

very silent. Noon time. I want water. They are bringing something. I gulp it down. I wonder when they will take me downstairs again. I do not wait long. They are beating me just for fun. "Look at this swashbuckler, he became as mild as lamb," says someone. I cannot even scream. It is so difficult. Again we go back upstairs. They have brought a bench into the cell. This time I am handcuffed to the bench, not to the hotwater pipe. The major with dark hair comes in. I try to open my eyes. My lips are trembling. He says, "Yavuz, do not be angry with us, we are doing our duty." I smile. He insists, "We have not hatred of you."

They carry me to a car, blindfolded. They are leaving me on a bench. There are again two people escorting me. One of them says, "your troubles are over mister. Now you are in the hands of the police." Yes, I am not in the hands of MIT anymore, I am handed over to the police. Until then I have never realized how good it is to be in the hands of the police. Finally I am in the Police Headquarters. They take the blindfold off in the elevator. We are coming up to the 7th floor. They are taking me into a room. A woman is sleeping on a bench. My wife! She wakes up. She opens her eyes very wide. I take her in my arms. I put my head on her chest. Teardrops falling from my eyes. Warm teardrops. We are O.K. We smile at each other. They soon take me away from her. To the basement again. This time I know where we are going. They have difficulty in carrying me. They open the door of the detention ward. I am put in a cell. It is very large. It can accommodate 20-30 people! Very comfortable, it even has a wooden bench. I lie on it. Very cosy. I start singing. A am going to sleep after finishing the song.

Yavuz Gökmen
(Signed)

Name and Surname	: Ayşe Semra Eker (Erdogmus)
Profession	: Actress
Place and date of birth:	Izmir, 1949
Date of detention	: April 18, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: May 22, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: January 10, 1973 - Ankara

On 18 April 1972, I was attacked by several people in the street. My eyes were covered by a special black band and I was forced into a minibus. The vehicle did not move for a few minutes. During this time I noticed that the people around me were addressing each other with expressions like "my colonel", "my major". They started asking me questions from the first moment they put me into the minibus. When I did not answer, they started threatening me in the following manner: "You do not talk now," they would say, "in a few minutes, when our hands will start roaming in between your legs, you will be singing like a nightingale!" The vehicle travelled for quite a long while before it stopped in front of a building I could not recognize. When I got off the minibus, I realized that I was in a relatively high, open space. I was then taken into the basement of the building before which we had stopped,

and then into a rather spacious room. I was surrounded by people whom I guessed to be military officers from the ways they addressed each other. They asked me questions and kept on saying that unless I spoke it would be quite bad for me and that we would have to do "collective training" together. After a short while they forced me to take off my skirt and stockings and laid me down on the ground and tied my hands and feet to pegs. A person by the name of Umit Erdal beat the soles of my feet for about half an hour. As he beat my soles he kept on saying: "We made everybody talk here, you think we shall not succeed with you?" And insulting me. Later, they attached wires to my fingers and toes and passed electric current through my body. At the same time they kept on beating my naked thighs with truncheons. Many people were assisting Umit Erdal in this. One was a rather large man, tall, with curly hair and a relatively dark skin. A second was a small man with relatively dark skin, black hair and a moustache. The third was a young man with fair skin, dark hair and a moustache. The fourth was rather elderly, of middle stature, and dark complexion. He constantly wore dark glasses. The fifth was rather old, fat, of middle stature and with blue eyes and grey hair. At the same time, during the tortures, a grey haired, stout and elderly colonel and a grey haired, blue eyed, tall and well built officer would frequently come in and give directives. After a while, they disconnected the wire from my finger and connected it to my ear. They immediately gave a high dose of electricity. My whole body and head shook in a terrible way. My front teeth started breaking. At the same time my torturers would hold a mirror to my face and say, "look what is happening to your lovely green eyes. Soon you will not be able to see at all. You will lose your mind. You see, you have already started bleeding in your mouth." When they finished with electric shocks, they lifted me up to my feet and several of those I mentioned above started beating me with truncheons. After a while I felt dizzy and could not see very well. Then I fainted. When I came to myself, I discovered I was lying half naked in a pool of dirty water. They tried to force me to stand up and run. At the same time they kept on beating me with truncheons, kicking me and pushing me against the walls. They then held my hands and hit me with truncheons in my palms and on my hands, each one taking turns. After all this my whole body was swollen and red and I could not stand on my feet. As if all this was not enough, Umit Erdal attacked me and forced me to the ground. I fell on my face. He stood on my back and with the assistance of somebody else forced a truncheon into my anus. As I struggled to stand he kept on saying "you whore. See what else we will do to you. First tell us how many people did you go to bed with? You will not be able to do it any more. We shall next destroy your womanhood!" They next made me lie on my back and tied my arms and legs to pegs. They attached an electric wire to the small toe of my right foot and another to the end of a truncheon. They tried to penetrate my feminine organ with the truncheon. As I resisted they hit my body and legs with a large axe-handle. They soon succeeded in penetrating my sexual organ with the truncheon with the electric wire on, and passed current. I fainted. A little later, the privates outside brought in a machine used for pumping air in-

to people and said they would kill me. Then they untied me, brought me to my feet and took me out of the room. With a leather strap, they hanged me from my wrists onto a pipe in the corridor. As I hanged half naked, several people beat me with truncheons. I fainted again. When I woke, I found myself in the same room on a bed. They brought in a doctor to examine me. They tried to force me to take medicines and eat. I was bleeding a dark, thick blood. Some time later, they brought in Nuri Çolakoglu, who was in the same building as myself, to put more pressure on me. They wanted to show me into what state they had put him. I saw that the nails of his right hand were covered with pus. I realized that they had burned him with cigarette butts. They themselves later confirmed this. The sole of one of his feet was completely black and badly broken. The same night we were transferred to Istanbul together with Nuri Çolakoglu. The next morning, the colonel I have already described, came into my cell (I do not know where the cell was). He beat me and threatened me saying: "Tonight I shall take you where your dead are. I shall have the corpses of all of you wash. I will have you hanging from the ceiling and apply salt to your cut soles!" When he did not like the answers I gave him, he beat me again; then he had my eyes covered and sent me to another building. I was brought into a small room with my eyes blindfolded. I was tied on the ground to pegs from my arms and ankles and electricity was passed through my right hand and foot. They then administered falaka. During the whole time I was in Istanbul, my hands were tied to chains. Because of this and because my tongue had split, I could not eat. A doctor would occasionally come to look at me and suggest first aid. One night I heard the sound of a gun and the sound of a man falling and dying on the ground very close to me. I cried out "whom you have killed?" They answered: "It is none of your business. We kill whomever we want and bury him in a hole in the ground. Who would know if we did the same to you?" As I had already understood, there was no security for my life.

During the ten days I stayed at MIT, the same torture, insults, threats and pressure continued. On 28 April I was sent to detention house. Despite the fact that I went to the doctor of detention house and explained that I was badly tortured, that my right hand did not hold and that I had other physical complaints including the fact that I had no menstruation for four months in the following period, I was given no treatment. Some of the physical complaints still continue.

February 6, 1973

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Sener Sadi
Profession	: Lawyer
Date of detention	: March 27, 1972 - Patsa
Date of arrest	: April 28, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

It was the fourth day of my custody, that is to say the fourth day of torture. No part of my body had been left healthy. I was terribly thirsty since I had not been drinking water. While

they were giving me electroshock and beating all over my body, I was continuously groaning - water...water!.. "I shall tell you whatever you want, but only give me some water," I said. They accepted. At that time, my hands were bound very tight to a thick stick (one can say cudgel) and two soldiers were holding both ends of the cudgel. So I was in a crucified position. They untied my hands. One of them brought a glass of water. I took the glass from his hand with a great happiness. I have never had such a feeling of thirst and happiness when I saw the water. Therefore I immediately put the glass to my lips to drink the water, but I remember I just gave a big scream. The glass was thrown to one side and the water to the other. I was screaming as mad and knocking my head against the ground. I was mad. I had no control left over my consciousness. They had given me electricity just at the moment my lips touched the glass. At the moment of the great happiness when they gave me electricity, I was struck with madness. They wanted me to go through shock and become mad so that I could talk as much as they wanted. Still when I think of that moment I sometimes cannot pull myself together.

I was taken into custody on Monday, March 27, 1972 in Fatsa. I was arrested on April 28, 1972. But my custody situation continued after my arrest too. It is possible to write volumes on what I have seen and experienced. My feet still feel cold even if the weather is very warm. When I get the shivering fits I cannot get warm. I cannot sleep without nightmare any night. My nails which were pulled out are just now becoming normal again. To write down these things at this moment is unbelievably painful for me. Perhaps this is because I recall all those things again when I write. I may be able to tell, to write more in time, if I can get rid of the remnants. For the time being I can only write short and generally.

When I was taken into custody, they brought me to Ünye. They locked me in a latrine. Around 10 o'clock at night a colonel, the Gendarmery Commander of Samsun district, came. Everything started with him.

It might be better to divide my custody period in two groups: 1- The period in Ünye; 2- The period at MIT in Ankara.

Ünye period:

The torture was carried out by officers in this period until MIT came. When MIT arrived from Ankara, they continued.

The torture carried out by army officers started with the colonel I mentioned above. He was something of a swearing specialist. He beat me, swore and kicked and then I was brought to the seashore in front of the Çamlık Hotel, being told that I would be killed at midnight. Then one of them played as if he saved my life, and brought me back to the Gendarmery HQ in Ünye. They put me in the latrine. It was terrible cold. There was snow in the district. In the morning they confronted me with the lawyer Ali Kaynar. When they decided that I had cheated them, the ground moved under my feet. They were kicking and pulling my body in a confusion. When they were swearing, saliva ran from their mouths.

They dragged me into the other room. They were kicking and hitting me with the rifle butts. There were about 15 army officers, whose ranks were higher than major. They ordered 2 soldiers to lift me up. Soldiers were holding my arms. A colonel pressed the barrel of a rifle on my toes. Another officer helped him. When the barrel finally slipped to the floor, my nails fell off at the same time. My feet were covered with blood. I fainted. They made me to come round by pouring water. A lieutenant colonel started to kick me continuously between my legs. The target was obvious. The colonel stopped him, "we have to make him talk before killing. We can kill him later." I had fainted...

They told me that Tefvik Paşa (Gen. Tefvik Türün, Ankara Military Police Commander-tr.) had arrived from Ankara. This man was mentally sick, perverted. He played as if he was advising me. In reality he was full of hatred. He was a sadist. I understood that better later.

It was in the afternoon that I heard a sound in the corridor: "MIT had arrived!" Five minutes later the door opened and 5 men jumped on me suddenly. They stripped me completely naked in a second. They started to beat me with iron bars, truncheons and wooden sticks. I was no more able to move. I was lying face downwards and hardly managed to carry my head. Meanwhile one of them tried to insert an iron stick into my anus, which was for cleaning the stove, and he succeeded. I felt the iron in my body. I fainted with pain. One month blood run from that wound. I had fainted.

The torture in Onye period was not so methodic. They were beating and attacking at random without thinking, for only getting information about the Englishmen and the kidnappers. Still I cannot imagine how I stayed alive after that one week torture. They were beating continuously. When the MIT officers got tired, the army officers were taking over, when they stop, MIT was continuing. There was no part of my body that had not turned black. I was coughing blood, blood was running from my anus. Two of my ribs were broken. The bones on my ankles were visible. My ankles were full of open wounds, whose scars I shall carry for all the rest of my life. I shall not get lost any longer. Everyone can identify me from these scars. There is no difference between me and the animals with brands on their body.

In Onye 40 persons were tortured all together. Electroshock and falaka were largely used. Two of those forty persons were women. One of them was wife of Ahmet Atasoy who was killed during the incident, and she was pregnant. They tortured even this pregnant woman continuously. As a result of the torture, she gave birth in the headquarters. Ertan Saruhan's name (he is also a victim of Kizildere massacre-tr.) was given to the child. The braveness of this tortured woman who had lost her husband is a clear example of what a Turkish woman can do. I do not remember which night it was. They threw me into the latrine after falaka. I could not stand nor sit, so I just had to lay down on excrements. I slumbered. After some time someone tried to open the door. The door pushed me away so I slid into the hole in the latrine. Two times they poured water on me. I got wet to the skin. It was very

cold, but my body was burning and I was dying of thirst. They were not giving any food. At night the district commander wanted to go to toilet. He saw me there and told the soldiers to carry me down. The soldiers could not touch me. Two of ours brought me down. There were 5-6 persons down there. That woman was in a corner. I lay down on the wet concrete floor. The hands of the woman were not tied. She brought me water, cleaned me as much as she could. The other woman was old, however, she was also tortured. Those days, they searched everywhere to find my wife, but could not find. They would have tortured her in front of me to force me to talk if they had found her.

That night I was not able to stand even though they handcuffed me to Hasan Taş. I laid down on the wet floor in a suitable position for Hasan. A terrible stomach pain started. I managed to tell Hasan Pekbüyük with signs that I had to go to toilet. They asked permission for that and I was carried to toilet by two friends. They had to pull my trousers down. They held me in a hanging position, otherwise I would fall down. I came back to the same place and slumbered. At 7 a.m., in the morning a group came in from the torture team. They began to apply electricity and falaka at the same time. Falaka materials were used to be brought before they started to torture. Then they used to give orders to undress and lie down on the wet floor. First the hands and then the feet were bound. It was impossible to move. Two soldiers or two of the tortured ones were made to hold up the stick to which the feet were bound. So that the soles were facing up. Meantime the electro-shock team was also being ready to practice. The winding of cables was a job for another torture victim, who had to twist one end to a toe of the right foot and the other end to the genitals. Then, to both ends some water was poured. Thus, everything had become ready: While one team was practising the electricity, the other one has been continuing falaka. Soles were beaten by truncheons, steel wires and wooden bars alternately. The tired ones were being replaced by others, so that the falaka has been continuing without interruption. If the victim has happened to become fainted, they were beginning with another. Meantime, the fainted one was made recover by pouring water on him. Those who have come to, had to rise and walk on a wet ground as a soldier mounted on his back. That was preventive for the feet from getting swollen. Feet should not have swollen as that would prevent them from getting torn in the continuing tortures. However, that was not possible.

When they apply electricity, the body was suddenly stretching, and involuntarily the victim was terribly screaming. Shock was also burning and leaving a black mark on where the cable was connected. They were winding it to testicles and to ears respectively. When it was applied to the genitals, they were frightening the victim by telling that, "now, you shall lose your virility!" For the illiterate victims, the effect of these words was tremendous. Even Hüseyin the blind, 65, was one of those who had been in panic. He was a former village headman, and had been taken to torture for he (because of his previous post-tr.) was supposed to know whereabouts of someone in search, named Hasan the wool trader. As soon as they dragged the Hüseyin the blind in, the torture man-

ager -who was called as lieutenant colonel although he was wearing civilian suit- stroke a match and put it just before the blind eye of Hüseyin. As Hüseyin drew himself back, he shouted, "overthrow him! Bastard, he is not blind!" They quickly overhrew the old man, and took of his trouser off as if to tear it in pieces. And, they immediately connected the electricity. Meanwhile, one of them murmured that "now, let us remove his virility too". That was enough for Hüseyin the blind who had been wasting efforts like a duck to start shouting and begging. He even did not know for what reason was he taken in. They have started to practice torture before telling him why he had been taken. As after some time they have asked about Hasan the wool trader; Hüseyin naïvely answered, "were you beating me just for that? Why beating is necessary? I tell you, the wool trader is at the Sarı Halil village." Thus they released him after terrifying by threat of getting his virility removed.

The torturers were attempting in several ways to break the relationship of respect and friendship among the revolutionaries. They were getting them to wind the electric cables to each other, or to beat each other at falaka, or unnecessary and irrelevant confrontation to each other. Torturers were producing false testimonies and showing them to each of the victims by saying that, "he spied against you, thus saved himself".

During the tortures in Onye, Hüseyin Gümüş -teacher- and I were wanted to show a cave at the outskirts. We were taken there by vehicles. They made a search, but did not find what they were looking for, and did get so angry for that. Sergeant Ferhat from Onye Police Station fired on us from our back, but missed. He said, "bastards, you were lucky to escape it, but next time I will pierce your heads!" In fact, we were already almost extinguished to hear the noise of gunfire, for we were already tortured.

In Onye, during the torture practice, the building had been surrounded by troops and nobody had been let to access there. In spite of that, the screams of torture were reaching further beyond that cordon, and virtually everybody was hearing these. In that week-end, Saturday night, we were taken to Ankara as handcuffed in a bus. We were put in Mamak Prison No. 5, and thus started the Ankara phase.

It is proper to classify the Ankara phase of tortures in two groups: 1. Tortures practiced in MIT Center; 2. Tortures practiced in Mamak Broadcasting House.

Those who travel from Ankara to Samsun would know well that just outside Mamak, on the way to Samsun; there is an erected "Atatürk at Kocatepe" picture on a hill at the left-hand side of the road. Just next to this picture stands Mamak Broadcasting House. This building was designed as a torture house after March 12, 1971. I think, for such a purpose, its location is optimal because there is no building at all in the neighbourhood. After a series of formalities, they squeezed us, 34 persons, in a room. I needed to lie down, but I could not for my ribs were suffering an extreme pain. They were obliged to call a physician, for my feet as well as Hüseyin Gümüş's were in terrible condition. We were a

bit astonished supposing that their interest was for humanistic grounds. We were of course wrong as it turned out that we have been in preparation to endure the second phase of torture.

A few days after, a minibus stopped in front of the prison. And out of it came the torture team at Onye. Think of our morale. I was handcuffed and dragged into that minibus. I was blindfolded. The vehicle was driven to somewhere. Two men held my arms and we went up and down some stairs. I saw that I was in a cell in the basement when they removed the blindfold. This building was the MIT center. It was not possible to have an idea about the details of the building since we have walked through it as blindfolded. But, so far as I figured it out, we were in the basement. There were some 8 to 10 cells, and a bigger one had been arranged as a torture room. Also on one of the other floors, a big hall had been exclusively designed for torture practice, with its torture machines and its medical doctor.

The tortures practiced in this center were as follows:

- a. Electric shock,
- b. Falaka (beating soles in a special instrument),
- c. A machine called "roll",
- d. Forcing to drink salty water,
- e. Making to listen recorded torture shrieks,
- f. Cold war,
- g. Threatening with gun, preparing guns for shooting.

The time of torture is unknown. You are in the cell. After 3 o'clock midnight, you suddenly hear that some doors are opening and closing. And you hear a voice, "bastard, now I'll f... your ascendants and descendants! So you fool us..." You are blindfolded, then escorted to the torture room. The same story begins. This time they are careful not to push you till the fainting point. Their physician is present in his white shirt. His job is to assess your resistance to torture. He makes the torture lasted as long as he wants, so that sometimes he stops it. Then, you are escorted back to the cell.

I was marking the days by match sticks. They have changed my cell a couple of times. In my cell, there was bench fixed on the floor. My hands and feet have been chained to that bench. That was a bench which had been manufactured by a bank for advertisement purposes. It was carrying the cliches of such-and-such bank. This strongly stroke me as odd. May the ears of bankers be burning! (A Turkish idiom-tr.) They were given food regularly, though it was meagre and cold. At the beginning, I hesitated to eat what they had given, but afterwards I ate for I had had no choice. Of all the cells, I mostly stayed in what has been called "the engine room". That one had usually a bench and a hole of 10 cm. by 20 cm. I had to breathe through that hole only. Smoking was not wise, because smoke was staying inside. Smelling of the air inside must have been very bad, since those who happened to come in were pressing their noses. Each midnight, when I was trying to slumber on the bench, the voices of torture were beginning to come from the upper floors. These were the screams of men as well as women. These voices were making one getting out of his

mind. I should tell what was my preference at those moments: I would rather prefer undergoing to torture than listening to these voices.

There are two purposes of torture:

- a. To know everything that the victim knows,
- b. To get the victim sign a fabricated testimony.

In order to realize the first aim, it was important to keep the victim in his proper mental balance, and that was why they were so scarcely employing the machine what they called "the roll". The turning and the heat produced by the "roll" could cause one to become mad. Nausea, vertigo, and imbalance were the outcome of its working and these were causing the weakness of control on consciousness. At such a moment of weakness, the torturers were stopping it and offering cigaret and tea, and beginning to ask questions. Afterwards, that torture team who became to "friendly" terms was leaving the room and another but this time cruel and sadistic team was replacing them. They were attacking immediately and resuming the torture. That was going on till they would come to believe that they were provided with everything the victim knew and that they were accordingly preparing a testimony to be signed on the spot. Before to complete it, it was not possible to be released from the room.

The experienced torture victims were asked to give advice to the newcomers. Accordingly; I was asked to give advice to a woman working at the Council of State. I can never forget the expression of her face once I stepped in her cell. She almost happened to die of fear when she saw me. Afterwards, when I have been taken to the General Police HQ, and when I have had an opportunity to look at a mirror, I admitted that she was right. My beard have grown, and the bleeding marks out of the wounds on my both cheeks were dried (as these wounds are still there), and my appearance had become a terrible one. The purpose of sending me to the woman's cell was evident: They were implying that "we will do you the same as him if you do not speak!"

One day, they have brought Nuri Colakoglu; an assistant in the Faculty of Political Sciences, whose one eye is glass, and began to torture him. I was following the torture from the opposite cell by hearing, and sometimes by seeing. They wanted him to beat a stammering person who was brought together with him. Colakoglu refused to do it saying: "In our values, to beat a human being does not exist." They became very angry with him and beat him for that reason. Then they repeated the same demand but they could not succeed to get him to beat his friend. At last, they gave up. This event was moving.

The maximum time of stay under custody as it was stated in the law was about to terminate for my case. Thus they took me first to the General Police HQ, and afterwards to the Prison No. 5. There, every morning, the torture team was coming and picking up five prisoners from the jail and escorting them to the Broadcasting House, where they were practising torture till the evening, and returning the victims to the prison. They also took me there for a letter problem. In their practice of falaka there, the stick

was broken and they sent a soldier out who found a wooden bar with shoots on it. To be beaten by that one was much worse than before. There was a voluntary man in that team. He was a commando lieutenant. He had been appointed there after March 12, 1971, to assist the MIT. That sadist man, by rolling up his sleeves and by putting on the torture shirt, was offering his service. He was not getting tired no matter that he was beating from morning till the evening. The prison soon became almost a hospital. Later, there appeared an epidemics of louse reproduction. I happened to see louse first time in my life there. It is not a terrifying insect though. It does not let you to sleep, it is itching and sucking the blood, and terribly reproducing itself, that is all...

(Signed)

Name and Surname	: Türkan Şahin (Mustafa's wife)
Date of Birth	: June 15, 1947
Profession	: Civil Servant at Air Force Command
Date of detention	: February 13, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: March 14, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On the 13th February, 1972, I was taken away from the house of a friend and after staying in Ankara Police Headquarters for ten days, I was brought to the Police Headquarters of Istanbul. At that time, I had been pregnant for three months. While I was in custody in Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was continuously subjected to insults, threats and being sworn at. At different hours during the day, various people came in swearing, saying that if I do not "confess" they would make me talk as they had many ways of doing this. Although I had told them that I was pregnant, I spent a whole week sitting on a wooden chair and under this type of psychological torture; and occasionally was beaten as well. Pains and bleeding started at the end of the week. I demanded a doctor giving a petition which explains my state to the head of Security Police Mahmut Dikler. He called me into his room and asked what was wrong with me. When I told him that I was pregnant and that pains and bleeding has started he said, "nothing will happen and in any case we will take your deposition a week later." Meanwhile somebody in civilian clothes entered and said, "tell us whatever you know, and we will free you immediately." When I said that I did not know anything, they said, "you will see tomorrow, we will make you ashamed of being a woman. We have several methods to make you talk." They showed me my husband's and my friends' pictures, saying: "Look how they have been changed as a result of torture; tomorrow you will also be changed!" They sent me then back to the room where they were keeping me. (The state of my friends and my husband were terrible in the photos -they had become unrecognizable).

In spite of the fact that the bleeding was increasing, no doctor was called. At the night of the same day, 5 march, 1972, when the bleeding had increased too much, I told the policeman on duty that I was ill, and he went to the constable on duty. This was arpund 21.30 or 22.00 hours. Because he was woken up; the

constable was very angry and came before me in his underwear and asked, "what is wrong?" When I told him what the situation was, he turned to the policeman and told him to call a doctor if he could find one, and then went back to sleep. Although they looked for a physician from 22.00 to 03.00 hours, they could not find any. Meanwhile, because the bleeding and pain had increased severely, they were obliged to take me to Beyoglu Casualty Hospital. The doctor who examined me said to the policeman, "if you had not brought her now, we could not possibly have saved her. She has lost too much blood." On Monday, 6 March 1972, early in the morning, about 4.30 a.m., I had a difficult operation and I lost my baby. After staying in the hospital for two days, I was again brought back to Security Police. The constable who was on duty on the night I became sick, came near me, swearing and saying: "You seem to be very strong!"

The next day, my testimony was taken down. During my deposition was being written I was threatened in several ways, such as: "We can kill you, no one will ask us the account! We can do such things to you that you will be ashamed of being a woman. Your husband is in our hands. Act accordingly!" After staying one more week at the police, I was arrested and brought in Sagsmalcilar,

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Mustafa Şahin
Profession	: Air Force Lieutenant (dismissed)
Date of detention	: February 13, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: July 19, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On February 13, 1972 I was taken from one of my friends' houses and brought to Ankara Military Police Headquarters. I was interrogated there by Lieut.Gen. Tefvik Türün, military police commander, and by other army officers in a terrible insulting and threatening way. They tried to put me under pressure by saying: "Your wife is in our hands. Beware. Act accordingly." After being kept there 11 days, I was transferred to Istanbul Military Police HQ, and put in an extremely stamm cold and filthy cell. Four days later, I was carried away an unknown place as being blindfolded and my hands tied. In a cell where two blankets served the purpose of a mat and quilt, they took my clothes away. I was given a pair of filthy pyjamas with blood stains on them. My hands and feet were put in chains and afterwards I was beaten at random with fists until I had been bleeding all over my face. Before long I was transferred to torture room. I was subjected to falaka for about 2 or 3 hours. Then again I was brought back to my cold and filthy cell. The days began to pass with only enough food to survive and under the continuous threats of death and torture. At unpredictable times of day and night I was taken back to the torture room, beaten up sworn at and told that they were authorized to kill me at any moment they want. Torture was sometimes falaka, sometimes electro-shock. Electric was given through the cables either attached to my ear and hand or to my ear and penis. Torture

was over after about a week. But the psychological torture was still on practise. While they were swearing at my wife and my friends using the most loathsome words, they were making me to listen women's screams and telling with great pleasure how they were being tortured. My wife was pregnant since three months and there she had miscarried the baby.

Among the torturers, there were also a lieutenant general. Several times he gave order to the torturers like, "break his back; you are authorized to kill them!" During my stay at MIT, the chains on my hands and feet have never been unlocked. I had been obliged to urinate in the cell, but for the other, sometimes they have not taken me out even if I had been suffering for 3 or 4 days. At the end of the 16th day, again as my hands, feet, eyes bound, I have been transferred to the Detention House of Selimiye. My deposition was taken down by the military prosecutor. Although I had rejected the deposition I gave at the MIT saying that it was obtained by torture, I was forced to sign the same one there too under the threat of being sent back to MIT. At Selimiye, I had been kept in a damp cell for 50 days being deprived of sun. Later on I was handed over to Harbiye Detention House. There I have spent 16 days without any contact with the world. My cell was about the size of a bed. From there once again I was brought back to damp cells of Selimiye Caserne, and finally on the 158th day of my detention I was transferred to a ward which is dirty but anyway there were people in, whom I could talk.

Within all this procedure, I had been subjected to all kinds of insults a person can possibly stand. Torture have been applied physically and psychologically in a scientific way. They have done everything possible to degrade us.

Name and Surname	: Asuman Aray (female)
Father's name	: Abdullah
Date and place of birth	: Ankara, 1951
Profession	: Air stewardess at THY
Date of detention	: July 11, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: August 31, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: February 26, 1973 - Ankara

The night of July 11th, I was brought to the Istanbul Police Headquarters Security Department together with Selçuk Eralp and Caner Güçal. We were taken being considered suspicious during a traffic control. A person, who, as I learned later was from the Security Department and who had insulted us with offensive words in the car, said to me during my interrogation, "I shall fuck you downstairs, I shall put a truncheon into you." This man, whose name I do not know, was middle-aged, tall, had blue eyes and thin bony face. After our first interrogation, we were all taken down and put into different cells. The cell was dark and of such size that one could only stay standing in it. Towards morning, three plain-clothes dragged me out into a relatively bigger cell, the

cell No. 1. Here, they beat me with their fists and kicked me. Meanwhile, they were swearing and asking questions and insulting me telling what they would do to me. The traces which their fists and kicks left on my body passed only at the end of my thirty days stay at the police. Afterwards, they again shut me up in the cell. A big, dark policeman again dragged me out of the cell and blindfolded me. I could not see where I was, but I remember mounting steps. They then told me to get on my knees and go on walking like that. Meanwhile, I was continuously being beaten. While I was walking on all my force, with my eyes blindfolded, he was pulling my hair and dragging me on the floor. After taking me around like this for a while, they took me into a room and tied me to a chair without unfolding my eyes. Here, putting wires on my hand feet they made me undergo electric shock for a long time. When they gave current to my body I suffered terrible pains and felt my body stretching as tight as wire. Meanwhile, these persons whom I could not see as I was blindfolded and whose identities I therefore do not know, were asking questions and continuously beating me with their fists. Then they asked me whether I was a virgin or not and kept asking such debasing and insulting questions. After this, they said, "lay her down" and threatened to rape me. I remember very clearly hearing a voice, which afterwards from the conversations we had together I recognized to be that of the Chief of the Security Police. Here, they told me that in case I did not want to accept what they wanted, they would turn me over to a guerrilla organization, that I was yet very young and would probably be crippled etc. During all this, beating and kicking had not stopped. Afterwards, they took me back to the cell. From that time on, during a month, I was compelled to give a deposition under all sorts of threats and repression. Sometime, during one of my interrogations, they had mentioned Selçuk Eralp and said, "that boy is still resisting, but we shall get the better of him yet; everyone that has come here, we have made him talk." Once, when I was staying in the cell, when I looked out of its window, I had seen Caner Güçal being taken to interrogation. His face was full of scratches and blues. I think it was about fifteen days after I was put into the cell, that they threw in a woman, whose name as I learned afterwards was Necla Özgür. She had bruises all over her body and was in a terrible state. She had shown me the traces on her body and told me that they had applied electric shock and had beaten her. It was about half an hour after she was put into my cell that they again took her away and a few minutes later I heard her screams. When later she was brought back to my cell, she told me that they had made her watch her son undergoing electric shock. In fact, during the time I stayed there, I heard cries and screams day and night on. I stayed in that cell in unhealthy conditions and under all sorts of moral pressure until August 10th. That same day I was transferred to Selimiye Caserne. Presumably, two or three days after we were brought to Selimiye Caserne I was transferred to Ankara Police HQ Security Department together with Selçuk Eralp and Necla Ölkü. We stayed there until August 20th and lived with the continuous threat of being sent to MIT back. During all that time, we were not allowed to send any news to our families. Meanwhile, the Security Police Chief had come and had

us handcuffed to the wooden bench upon which we had been restrained to sit and sleep during our whole stay there. After days which we lived like this, on August 20th; we were transferred to the military detention house.

The defects that I have after the torture:

1. During four months I did not have my mensual period.
2. My hair fell after the electric shocks and I was obliged to have them cut.
3. From time to time some parts of my body becomes blue.

Name and Surname	: Aydın Diyarbakırlı
Profession	: Teacher
Date of detantion	: September 9, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: October 16, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

In the night of 8-9 September, 1972 at 0.30 a.m., I was taken away from my home. They searched the house thoroughly and took my books and papers related to my profession. They brought me to the police center at Gayrettepe. I waited there 18 days without cross-examination. In nights we were being awakened with shrieks of people who were taken away. Besides, these screams and moans, we used to hear the nonsensical babbling of our revolutionary friends who had lost their minds. On the 19th day I was blindfolded and taken to somewhere. When I was relieved of the blindfold, I saw four persons. One of them asked me why I have been taken to the security police. I said I did not know. They laughed and asked the question persistently. Since I really did not know why I was taken there, I said again I did not know. A dark complexioned one pulled my mustache which forced me to the floor. Since I am not tall and heavy I fell to the floor. I tried to stand up but did not have the chance. The tall and blond one had pulled me by the hair, turned me over, and spat in my face. His spit entered my eyes. Since they were holding my hands, I could not wipe this off. They pulled me by the hair and forced to stand up. With a punch, I fell onto the floor. They kicked me and one of my teeth was broken. My nose and mouth were bleeding and they took me away to the torture room. Therein, first I was subjected to falaka. They were continuously asking me why I had been taken there. My soles were bleeding. They said, "we will beat you till you wet your pants," in spite of the fact that I wanted to do so, my muscles did not allow it. They were beating me from my ankles to my throat, saying, "piss! You bastard, piss! We want to see how a teacher pisses!" and meantime they were using all kinds of swears.

Finally I opened my eyes in my cell. On the 20th, 21st and the 22nd days a physician came to examine me, but he did not have any equipment for this. He checked my pulse, looked at my tongue and my eyes. On the 23rd day some others took me to another room. There were a 45 year-old, kind-looking man and his secretary in the room. Initially he treated me with respect, order-

ing me a cup of tea. He asked how I felt, and asked about my profession, and my family. Then he showed me a bunch of photographs and asked if I knew any of them. I did not know them and I told him so. Thereupon he said his secretary, "the teacher is a good man, caress the teacher." The secretary blindfolded and took me to a place where they apply electric shocks. They made me sit on a chair and tied my arms and legs to a chair. They connected cables to my little fingers. They began to give current with intervals and I began to scream. They were asking whom I had sheltered in my house, whom I had contacts with among those in the pictures and how; and whom I had helped.

On the 24th day I was transferred to the cells in the Harbiye Military Police HQ. I stayed there for five days. On the sixth day a lieutenant and two military policemen covered my head with an army sack and put me in a jeep. The jeep drove around and around, in the same place or yard. I was then brought back to the same building, but to a different room. After three days without food I was given a slice of bread. They started the tortures in the night. Since all my body had become bruised they preferred to apply electric shock. They connected a cable to my penis and another to my toe. Later, they connected them to my both ears. I believe it is not necessary to describe the pain that this produced. It was a rather wide room. The walls were moist and wet. They were pouring water on the floor. I was naked and feeling very cold. It was forbidden to walk.

When I said I was thirsty, they pointed to the barrel in which I had urinated. They told me that I would die there if I did not admit the offence that they were accusing me of. I was then forced to admit the "crimes" that I have not committed. I signed a confession and was then transferred to Selimiye Caserne. I uncovered my eyes on the ferry-boat. Four days later, I tried to tell the prosecutor the facts and tried to show him the traces of the chains, the wounds and my broken tooth. But, he did not even look at them. He firmly told me, if I denied the confession that I had signed at MIT, I would surely be sent back. I was then obliged to admit the same confession since I knew that I would not be left alive if I would be sent back there.

Name and Surname	: Siper Güvenç (female)
Profession	: Advertiser
Date of detention	: July 27, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: August 30, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: January 25, 1973 - Ankara

On the 27th of July, 1972, when I entered my bureau, where I used to work, I saw a man sitting, waiting for me. (I later learned that his name was Turan.) He invited me to the First Division of Police (security police-tr.) saying that my testimony was necessary in connection with a small matter as a witness. When we reached the police station his attitude completely changed and he began to drag me down the stairs. At the bottom of the stairs

some other people joined him. They brought me to a small room, beating and slapping me at the same time. For the first five or ten minutes they did nothing but cry out "you whore" and beat me altogether. In the meantime, a person who I later learned to be Şükrü Balcı, the director of the First Division of Police, entered. They told me that in a short while they would bring before me a person by the name of Muammer Soysal, that I should repeat everything he would tell me, otherwise I would be tortured, and in this way they would make me accept everything anyway. They soon dragged in the person they claimed to be Muammer Soysal. He was covered with wounds and bruises, his eyes were black and swollen and he could not stand on his feet. They asked me if I had identified him. When I said no, they told me that I had to recognize him. They said, in the beginning, he too was like me, but now they had made him accept everything they wanted. They told me to write down everything they wanted; then I would be allowed to walk away. When I repeated that I had not recognized the person in question, Şükrü Balcı shouted, "tie the eyes of the son of an ass and begin to torture!" (Son of an ass is a vulgar expression in Turkish and rarely used for a woman). They tightly tied my eyes with a cloth and made me stand up. They hit me on the head and made me crawl on my hands and knees, over the stairs. They kept on kicking me wherever they could. Finally, they made me stop. One of them said, "yes, my commander, we have brought Siper, the son of an ass!" The person before me cried, "so, this is the two penny-worth whore" and started kicking my head. When he ceased kicking, he told them to tie me to a chair and begin the torture.

They tightly tied me to a chair from my wrists and ankles and around my waist. They began giving me electric shocks from my hands and feet. After a few minutes, the same person ordered them to undress me. When I told them that they could not do this and that it was immoral, the same person cried out that this was only the beginning, and that they would make the whole army to sleep with me. They stripped me completely naked and tied me in the same way. Then they began attaching wires to all parts of my body, first on my nipples and then what they called the diagonal. What they called the diagonal was as follows: They attached the wires to both my hands and to both my feet and held the other end on my abdomen. I felt a terrible pain cross my body when they started giving the current. The pain became absolutely unbearable when they held the end of the wire on my abdomen. Then, they began giving electric shocks to my ovaries. Then someone stepped on the piece of wood that they had placed on my knees and started pressing on my shoulders. I felt the electric current pass between my toes and knees. At the same time they were cursing at my sister and mother. When I told them not to curse at my mother, they answered "she too is a two penny-whore like you!" Then they started with my head and started giving electric shocks on my scalp, neck and face. Then they passed the current from my ears. (For over a month I bled in my ear). Then they put something in between my teeth and began giving me electric shocks through my mouth. I felt as if my eyes and brain were bursting out and they were tearing all my nerves.

They worked on my head for hours. Upon order from the man in charge of the torture, they placed something under my breast, in the vicinity of my heart. They also held something to my back facing my heart. When they started giving electric shocks I felt the whole current squeeze my heart. I screamed. They said, if I died, they would throw me down the window and that nobody would ask them any questions. All through the torture they kept on pouring water over my head. All these continued for over ten hours.

When I came to myself, I saw that I was thoroughly bruised, my tongue was so swollen I could not speak and my left arm did not move at all. There was a cut on my left wrist from one end to the other. (The scar of this is still on my wrist). I had a wet pair of trousers and a blouse on. My whole body and head was covered with blood. I later discovered that this blood was coming from my ovaries as a result of the electric shocks they applied there.

The next day, despite the fact that I was not able even to stand up, they tied my eyes and carried me upstairs. They opened my eyes in a room. There was only one person in the room. He told me the doctor would soon come to treat my wounds. (This person was of medium height with wavy dark hair and a dark complexion. I remember the same person taking me from the torture room to another room one day. When I slipped the bandage over my eyes, he had beaten me for long minutes for having seen him.) They blindfolded me, treated my wounds and then took me down to the cell. At noon, they blindfolded me and took me away again. They uncovered my eyes and tied me to a chair. The electric shock of the previous day was repeated. It lasted one hour. They kept on repeating what they wanted me to say and cursed at me. Then they took me to an adjoining room. They made me sit in this room with my eyes tied. Each person that would come into the room would ask me different questions and hit me indiscriminately. At night I was put into a cell again. Around three o'clock at night, I was woken up and brought to the room of Şükrü Balci, the security police chief. In the room, in addition to Şükrü Balci, there was a tall man with a dark complexion and wearing glasses. (Later, this person was continuously present at my interrogation). Şükrü Balci ordered the two men that had brought me upstairs, to beat me. After a few minutes he made me sit on a chair across from him and asked, "how many times have you gone to bed with Mihri Belli and the others that came to your house?" Then he shouted to the others around him, "take this whore and give her electric shocks until she tells how many times she slept with them!" They took me to another room and started torturing me. During hours of torturing the only question they asked me was, "how many times did you sleep with Mihri Belli and the others?" It was morning when they finally brought me down to the cell.

At noon they came for me again. They tied my eyes saying that I would soon witness a very enjoyable scene. They put me in a room and tied me to a chair. There were many people in the room and they all cursed at me. Suddenly, I heard a terrible scream. Someone pulled me by the head and said, "look, that is Muammer Soysal sitting across from you. Watch what we shall do to him!" He pulled the bandage over my eyes a little bit and made me watch

the torture. They were giving Muammer Soysal electric shocks. I could only see half his body and the feet of the others in the room. They were, at the same time cursing me and Muammer Soysal. They were kicking me on the head and legs. They kept on giving Muammer Soysal electric shocks and took me to another room. They kept on shouting that I should accept and say what they wanted me to say. At one point the door was opened and someone said, "my commander, let us not waste time on this one like this; you know our most effective method, let us apply this whore that!" The person who was addressed as the commander ordered those around him to undress me and they did so completely. When they opened my eyes I saw a half naked man bending over me. I remember feeling dizzy and vomiting at that moment and the man shouting, "the beastly woman, she fouled me all over," and beating me over the head. When I came to, I was in the cell and the guard called Habib was applying eau de cologne to my wrists. I can remember this person that attempted to violate me so distinctly that I can draw his picture today. (Rather fat, of middle stature, with green eyes and a bald patch on his head.) In the following days, as they were writing my testimony, whenever I objected to what they were writing, they kept on saying that they would bring back the same man and start the tortures over again. A couple of times they brought him before me. (On one occasion, Edip Sakarya was also in the room.)

On the sixth day, in the morning, they again tied my eyes and brought me upstairs. I was put in a room and tied to a chair. I heard a scream that resembled no human voice. They said, this time they would torture me with Edip Sakarya and made me watch him in the same way they had made me watch Muammer Soysal. They were giving him electric shocks from his sexual organ. At the same time they shouted, "from now on they will call you Edip the cocksucker. Did you know that this whore went to bed with everybody in your absence?" And laughed loudly. They continued the electric shocks on Edip Sakarya, doing the same to me from time to time. On another occasion they gave me electric shocks at the same time as they subjected me to falaka. They tied my feet to a pole and attached the wires to my two toes. In this way, they both beat me on the soles and gave the electric shocks.

All these, intermittently, continued for six days. One morning they told me to get ready quickly. Upstairs, someone who introduced himself as inspector Metin, met me. He told me to sign the paper which my interrogators had written, that this was not really my true testimony, that my true testimony would be taken in Ankara and that I would be sent to Ankara together with Muammer Soysal. (Later I learned that there was no such person as inspector Metin at the police HQ and that this was a false name.) I said I would not sign anything without reading it. I was slapped in the face and told that the tortures would begin again if I refuse to sign and was forced to sign.

In Ankara I was first kept in isolation for the first three days and then two days on the same floor of the Security Police. Here, they made me to write the same testimony threatening that I would be taken to MIT otherwise. Despite this, on the third day, two men carried me from there saying we were going to some place.

There was also another man. At the door they made me enter a black car and tied my eyes with a black cloth.

When we arrived someplace, they made me sit down and opened my eyes. All of a sudden, a large number of people filled the room. They told me that I could not escape from them, that there were five questions on the table and that I should answer those questions in the way they would tell me. They also told me that they knew I was heavily tortured in Istanbul, but that this meant nothing to them and they could start all over again. I was in the basement. I continuously heard the screams of people being tortured. Days passed with actual or threatened tortures. Then they copied out someone else's testimony. They told me to sign immediately so that I could be taken to the security police back, if not I would be kept there. I could no longer stand what was being done to me nor the screams of tortured people. My left arm was paralyzed and I could hardly stand up. The only thing I could think was to end these tortures. I signed the paper they wanted.

I went to the doctor of the detention house many times and wrote letters and applications to the martial law authorities and the director of the detention house, concerning the crippling aftereffects of the tortures. No answer came. I was, further, not taken to hospital for 5 months in order that the scars of torture would not be seen. When I told this to the prison doctor Metin (I cannot remember his surname), he told me that such treatment after torture was quite normal and that whether I would be sent to hospital was completely in the hands of the authorities. This continued until my bleeding took a dangerous form. The doctor at the hospital told me that it was imperative that I should be hospitalized but that such a thing was impossible before the trials.

I have been bleeding for the last six and a half months due to the electric shocks they applied to my ovaries. My left arm has lost its agility. My blood count and the high sedimentation in my blood is recorded in the prison health records. The results were so bad that the hospital authorities did not at first believe the results and conducted the tests from the beginning again. Furthermore, because of the electric shocks applied to my teeth, many of my teeth are broken, others are deteriorating.

I have submitted a detailed application to the martial law authorities on the repressions and torture applied at the detention house on January 22, 1973. Here, I have not repeated the events that took place at the detention house in order not unduly extend this report. These latter can be found in my application to the martial law authorities.

February 9, 1973

(signed)

Under arrest at
Military Detention
House, No. 3 - Ankara

Name and Surname : Yilmaz Salih Veyisoglu
 Profession : Air Force Lieutenant (dismissed)
 Date of detention : March 3, 1972 - Ankara
 Date of arrest : ? - Istanbul
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

3rd March evening, around 8 p.m., I was taken in together with a friend of mine. We were brought in the Military Police HQ after a short interrogation in the Palace of Security (general police headquarters in Ankara-tr.) They put us into two separate rooms. In the room, which was guarded by two armed soldiers, I waited until the next morning, handcuffed to the bench I was sitting on and without being able to sit up straight. Around 9 a.m., major general Tevfik Türün, military police commander, came in together with four colonels. After the interrogation -during which the colonels held my free hand firmly while the general struck me blows with fists and truncheons especially on my face and eyes who then got tired, and extinguished an American cigarette on my face which he lit his hands shaking with rage- I was left alone, handcuffed to the bench and deprived of food, cigarette, sleep, until the next afternoon. My cuffed hand swollen because of the bad blood circulation. Then at various guards, I was interrogated by several army officers who employed various psychological pressure methods. The state of my wife, who had been detained before, was especially used as the main threat among those repressive methods.

Then we were kept in military prison at Mamak, in the cells for two days. We were delivered to Istanbul by a squad commanded by a lieutenant colonel. We waited for a while in front of the First Army and Martial Law HQ, then the lieutenant colonel ordered to drive onto Erenköy following a van - licence plate number 34 AZ 034. When we arrived a deserted area on the way, as blindfolded and our hands firmly tied, we were handed over to a couple of plainclothesmen, sitting at the back of the van. Those plainclothesmen were MIT officers. Torture has started immediately in the van with the fists struck me on the face, on the ear-drum and with the loathsome swears. This continued until we reached their base, of which the location I still do not know. Inside, on the groundfloor in a corner I was punched continuously, still blindfolded and handcuffed. My hair was then cut quite arbitrarily, leaving some bits longer than others. They took away my clothes and gave me a pair of pyjamas. My hands and feet were shackled and then I was punched until I fainted. When I regained consciousness, I was taken upstairs. I saw a major general, a colonel and 5 to 6 plainclothesmen in the room when they uncovered my eyes. The general said, if I were not give the desired answers to their questions I would be handed over to "inquisition". As a matter of fact it happened so. I was laid on the wet floor, my chained hands were fixed and the purposely prepared falaka instrument was tied to my feet. The "inquisition" began to operate. All my body was being kicked and salty water was poured into my mouth which I had to open because of the great pain caused by kicks and blows. The falaka was loosened after a while. I was made to walk on the wet floor. Several times I was lifted up, then thrown to the floor on the beaten soles and being punched by the presents. They squeezed

and kicked my testicles. They started to beat my soles after keeping them for a while in a container of salty water. After the third session I was applied to electorshock through the cables attached to my ear and finger as being fastened firmly to a chair. Then again the falaka and again the electroshock... Towards midnight they gave my dresses back. I hardly put my shoes on my swollen and bruised feet. I was put into a Taunus car as my feet and hands were shackled. We again arrived to Ankara at dawn. That afternoon I was again tortured at MIT with falaka and electroshock. They applied the electric current through the cables attached to my head, chest and to my sexual organs. Torture was terminated towards the evening when they caught another one. I was left at a corner, listened for hours the screams of the next victim. At dawn, I was again undergone to torture. With the two other victims in the room, they, with their own expression, made parallel connection with cables and gave the current to three of us in the same time.

With the new day we started once again towards to Istanbul. Falaka was continued for a while in Istanbul too. To make it more effective, they were only beating on one sole. Blood gathered on my sole. The nail of my toe which was burst open, was fallen later and my teeth were broken with punches. I was kept at MIT some more after the torture ended. During this period they gave me very little food just enough for subsistance. Then I was delivered to Selimiye Caserne where I was interrogated by military prosecutor and kept 43 days in a damp and windowless solitary confinement cell. Then six of us were handed over to Harbiye Military Police HQ. There I vegetated 61 days in a cell, same lenght with a bed and one step larger than it, deprived of newspapers, books, conversation or radio. For a long time we could not even write letters. Then we were able but not longer than 3 to 4 lines, otherwise they would be torn up by the commander of detention house. Generally the summary (of letters-tr.) read to everybody was the cliché, "he sends his greetings, he is very well, if you need anything he will send you."

We were once again brought to Selimiye Caserne on the 67th day. Our heads were shaved again and we were put in cells, below ground level, in which the moisture caused continuous sexual leakages. I was kept there for 17 days. Then I was taken out from solitary confinement and delivered to a ward, still in very bad conditions but together with the other prisoners. It was so cold that the central heating on the corridors was on when I read about Istanbul being the hottest city of Europe. Later as a result of heavy rains, the wards which were 5 to 6 meters below the ground level were flooded.

To summarize, I can say that I was uninterruptedly under the physical and psychological torture after being taken in. When we were at the MIT, they cursed to our mothers, our wives and fun of our misshapen faces and our pain. We were continuously threatened with death. We were treated with arbitrary behaviour in every place we were taken later on. They did not allow us to wash for a long time. They insulted us because we smelled badly. We were punished in various ways with trivial reasons or without any reason.

I am alive at the moment. And my health is almost restored. When I hear about the existence of those people who died or who will not live long because of torture, I have to force myself to think that I was not tortured too much.

(signed) Detainee at Selimiye

Name and Surname : Selma Veyisoglu (Yilmaz's wife)
 Profession : Employee at Air Force HQ
 Date of birth : 1949
 Date of detention : February 13, 1973 - Ankara
 Date of arrest : March 15, 1972 - Istanbul
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On February 13, my house at Emek Quarter, 74th Street No. 25/2 was raided and I was taken in. The house was entirely surrounded, all of them wearing flak-jackets and there were many army officers among them. I was brought to the Security Department of Police HQ. I was kept in a small room, like a cell, until noon. Then they took my deposition. At 6 P.M., we started for Istanbul with two MIT officers. I was the only detainee in the car. They were interrogating me continuously during the journey and said that they would kill me if I did not answer and would say they shot me death while I was trying to escape. And they would not have to give the account of this to anybody. They also said that I was their captive; I was directing all the people who came to my house and that they would kill my husband. They were beating me continuously and pressing heavily on my shoulders and hands, so I was unable to move my hands. They did not let me sleep and were kicking me and swearing. They tortured me in this way for 8 hours of travel. When we approached Istanbul, in order to prevent me seeing anything, they made me lie down and covered me with a heavy cover. After we travelled a long while in this way, they let me come out of the car. They blindfolded my eyes, brought me to a room downstairs and then removed the blindfold. The windows were covered with newspapers, and there were also heavy curtains over them. They said they would do something bad to me if I sought to tear away the newspapers in order to see outside and then they left the room. The next day, they again blindfolded me and brought into a room upstairs. Someone interrogated me without removing the blindfold whom they addressed as colonel. He threatened me saying that if I did not talk, they would kill me and my husband. Whenever they transfer me from one place to another (either to lavatory or to interrogation), inside the building, they covered my eyes with glasses which had cotton wool inside. A few days later, two men came and asked some questions. They said, "it seems that she will not talk, but we know the way how to make her talk," and they decided to subject me to torture. They tied my feet to a special wooden tool. Two men were holding the falaka up and some others were continuously beating my soles with a thick stick. They were asking questions at the same time. My feet were swollen and became blue from the blows. They untied me and forced me to walk in order to increase the pain in the record time by increasing the

sensitivity. Since I was not able to walk, two soldiers held me from both sides and made me walk.

They put me in the falaka again, and repeated the same things many times. Then they set me on a chair and tied my feet, hands and body with thick ropes directly to the chair. They first gave me electricity to my fingers and my whole body violently vibrated and they increased the voltage. Then, they put the wire around my ears and repeated the same things, increasing the voltage. My brain became numb, my head was shaking continuously and I was losing the ability to think. Blood came out of my ears during the following days. Then, they beat, kicked and subjected the falaka again. They repeated these things many times. There were many blue spots over my whole body caused by blows and they lasted for many days. They were referring to each other as "lieutenant colonel", "captain", "major". They gave me so little food that it was just enough for subsistence and they said it was even more than enough for us. During the nights, they were awakening me at any time -at 3 or 4 a.m.- and asking more questions, and were advising me to think until the morning, otherwise they would take me to the torture room again.

They were forcing me to listen to the screams of other tortured people. They were beating our friends until they lost consciousness and then they poured cold water over their heads, brought them back to their consciousness and then they started again. As our friends said, "I do not know, brother," they were beating more, saying "50 more blows since you said 'my brother'". They said they would kill my husband, my friends and since there were 30 million people in Turkey, they were determined to kill 15,000 of them, they were permitted to do so and had no responsibility. After a few days, they covered my eyes and brought me to the room downstairs again. The next day, I was unable to walk, my feet were swollen and entirely bruised. Two soldiers were carrying me to the toilet. Since my feet were swollen I was not able to put shoes, therefore I was barefooted. The following day, they brought in a physician who treated and bandaged my feet. They were doing this in order to prevent signs of torture.

When I was not undergone to torture, I was forced to listen to the cries of my tortured friends. After a few days I was brought in, they chained my feet to each other, just giving the room for small steps. I was in chains all the time even when I was going to the toilet or lying on the bed. And a soldier was watching me all the time through the observation hole on the door and was provoking me by swearing. I stayed there 25 days under these conditions.

At last, they blindfolded me, put me into a car and brought to the police station where I was put into a cell (having no ventilation), which is called Mütferrika. There the policemen were opening the observation hole to swear and threaten. Finally, I was brought to Selimiye. During the interrogation by the prosecutor, I was obliged to admit the testimony that I had been given at the MIT, because I had been told that otherwise I would be carried back to MIT. Then I was arrested and sent to prison. Al-

though I am now in prison, I might go anytime back to MIT, because there are many friends who were taken back to MIT after they had been arrested.

(signed)

Name and Surname : Metin Bozdog
 Profession : State employee
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

It was after midnight when our door had been knocked. I opened it up, and some 40 civil policemen and MIT agents, all holding automatic guns, rushed in. They did a thorough search, but found nothing. Then, as if to take a revenge of that result, they locked me in a room and beat arbitrarily. Later, before the dawn, they took me, together with my wife and our 8 months old baby away. On our way to the Security Department, they started the first torture practice in a police station.

It happened this way:

They first read various kinds of torture practice from a torture book, and discussed among them on which one should be applied to me. Meanwhile, one of them said "let me, I get him," and overthrew me for falaka before the eyes of my wife. In that practice they were using the handle of a mattock to beat my soles as well as employing it as a roller to do friction sometimes when my soles were getting senseless (whereas the purpose was to keep them feeling the strikes). That practice went on until I fainted. During the falaka, their meanest words were accompanying their practice. These lasted for 6 hours without any interruption.

They applied the second operation to my wife. For us, during their tortures left from the barbarian times, cries of our 8 month old baby whom they had left on the concrete floor, was another psychological torture. Later, they blindfolded me and took into a small room. There, on the walls, were spots of blood. After I was shackled, they caused me to listen to the screams of my wife and cries of my friends under torture in the other room. Afterwards, I was taken to a greater room, as blindfolded. There they concentrated some high voltage lights on my eyes. I have later come to hear in Section I (security police-tr.) that all these tortures were applied to my friends after reading from a torture book.

There were several examples of torture done there. As an example from what I know, a friend was tied and his hair was shaved off on the top of his head to open a track there. Then they left louses (a blood sucking insect) to travel on that track. They were also telling us of their barbarian achievements by reading the assortment of tortures from their book, and at the same time, commenting that "we experimented that practice which turned out very effective", or "we applied this torture to someone who thus spoke of everything". Of course, this was another method of torture. Now, for these sadists, in this so called civilized country,

it has become a source of pleasure to rape our female comrades, our sisters, or our wives by truncheons. And if someone could speak of this question in parliament, the usual response to be heard of was that "they, communists, deserve it!".

(signed)

Name and Surname : Senal Sölpüker (female)
Father's name : Hüsamettin
Place and date of Birth: Sivrihisar, 1948
Profession : Teacher for Turkish Literature
Date of detention : September 6, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : October 6, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : January 10, 1973 - Ankara

On September 6, 1972, I was attacked by about 20 men before my door in the night. I was harassed and dragged away the house. I tried to run towards to my flat so as to get rid of them since I could not understand what was going on. I was carried into my house, beaten and insulted before my family. The same men warned me that the real operation will be held in the police headquarters. I felt that the real game has been just started: To create an offender. Accompanied by disgusting swears they put me down before the police headquarters. As if waiting for an important criminal, heaps of police officers marched against me crying: "Is the teacher this one? Well, now the entertainment begins!" I was taken into a room. Sükrü Balcı, whom they address "my commander", entered. The very first words he let forth were: "You whore, this room is not your rostrum! Stand up!" Nothing of my knowledge was asked to me. After a short interrogation I was taken into another room with the pretext of having a revolutionary outlook. I was blindfolded. Set to walk in a hall. Such orders, "bow, stand up... drag along the ground..." were given, in order to create the image that I was taken along into a medieval-like torture room. I said it was not necessary to play that game since I knew that we were in just an ordinary room and want to walk upright as well. They began to hit my head against the walls then. Finally I was taken into a room and tied to a chair. My shoes had been taken off. They attached some stuff to the fingers of my both hands and feet. This was the electric current. It was stopped from time to time and I was asked of the nationality of Engels, where was my "father" Karl Marx from and with whom I have had slept. The electroshock was applied through my breast, and through my navel. Then began to be given to my throat, teeth, ears and head. My screams caused by electroshock was mocked by Sükrü Balcı saying: "Well, you see... eh...eh...eh..." Afterwards I did not hear his voice again. Later a while my panty was taken off, electric current was applied to my ovaries and they told me: "You have lost your female function, you whore!" Following this torture I had bleeding. These men who could not get desired answers from me, loosened the ropes from the chair saying. "Take a rest a little bit," but all of a sudden I was laid down. Being half naked, subjected to falaka. I had been petrified. Ordered, "shout, scream," I was compelled to cry loudly.

Afterwards set to march in salty water while they were sprinkling water on me. At first I thought they try to make me be recovered, but soon realized that it had been done on the purpose of preparing me for electroshock and for whipping on the back and legs which would begin soon.

Torture was stopped in the night at 2 a.m. I could not put my shoes on since my feet were swollen and burst. My shoes, remained in my hands, were also used as a torture instrument.

My state was witnessed by Gökdere Candemir and Seval Sölpüker(°) when I was put in their cell.

I was subjected to the same kind of torture for several days having the seances at the shortest length of four hours. Without any sense of shame they asked me how do I feel and carried on torture saying "you have seven lives...We will see if you will be able to say you are all right after a while!", when I replied them I was O.K. The torture was carried on under the order, "go on till she says 'yes', till she says 'yes I know'".

One of those days they started the torture at 9 a.m. They demanded me to create an adress(°°). With this aim, I was taken out before the police department. I insisted not to go and demanded to be tortured before hand, since the result will not be changed and in any case I would be subjected to torture when we come back. I was beaten there before the people who came to look after their businesses. I was insulted before them and told: "Do not be itching for beat, you whore!" Again taken back in. Therein I was once again beaten by Sükrü Balci who was shouting, "dirty communist! Now, I also will bring the guy whom you were fucked with(°°°)" I was being thrown like a ball from one police to another. The electric torture began to be applied to my sexual organs. Meanwhile Latif Güvercin was brought into the room. We were subjected to torture together for a long time in turns. Being not able to obtain the desired confession, they attached Latif Güvercin to me by cables first from the feet then from the hands and gave the electroshock together. This method was being practised for the first time on us. They first discussed if the current will pass through. They gave the current to both of us on the back bones. From then on I was also a torture instrument there.

"Carry her out and shoot to death," ordered one of them and I was taken away. Threatened to be thrown out of the window, I was told this kind of practices were so often and nobody can ask an account for that.

The very day, they brought me out to street and carried from one quarter to another. Beat me before the public on the streets also in the ferry-boat. How the authorities dare to deny this fact today, since they have not had preserved it that time from the public?

(°) Seval Sölpüker: Victim's sister, who is also detained.

(°°) She means that they demanded an address where the revolutionaries supposed to be hidden.

(°°°) The police chief was talking about Miss Sölpüker's fiancé Latif Güvercin.

During my stay for 118 days at the security department, I had been deprived of any kind of security including the sexual one. As a result of torture, I was untouchable and unrecognizable. One night I was awakened by a guard on duty who entered my cell to molest me. I was not able to claim of this assault to anyone. My only possibility was to persuade him not to do so and I did it. I tried to explain him what kind of person I am and inform of the qualities of each victim brought here. "But, I was told upstairs that you used to sleep with your students," he said. From then on I prefer not to sleep in the nights to protect myself from such attacks. In order to cover the fact that the "confessions" were obtained under the torture, those men have had forced many of us to sign such depositions stating, "I was not subjected to torture".

They have had answered our families, longing for news from us that, "they are quite well, having camping life..." In fact it was really a camping life, but life of a torture camp...

For the time being, while you read this application, who else may know how many innocent people, screaming in the torture places, accepts such crimes that they have never committed.

Seval Sölpüker and Füsün Orhon, who were brought into my cell 10 days after the tortures, are the witnesses of torture scars on my body. That time also burns had been added besides the scars of whipping, electroshock, falaka and truncheon's. I do not remember how and when I received these burns. Also Mine Haksal has seen my state when I was in Selimiye. The officers on duty of those days are also witnesses of these. All my requests, to be examined by a physician were harshly refused. Also all friends in Ankara who were detained in the same days are the witnesses of the torture traces.

When I was examined at the hospital of Ankara Military Detention House No.3, I was been clearly told that the chronic pains in my chest is caused by the continuous and severe electric shock and I would never get rid of these pains. And I still carry the torture scars.

During the tortures, they also have shown me Gökdere Candemir whose hands burst open by torture and blood was spurting out. I am also the witness of Ömer Kömürçuoğlu's burst open eye, Lütfü Tınç's smashed head, Latif Güvercin's body swollen by pumping air and tortures applied to Füsün Orhon.

(signed)

Name and Surname : Bekir Yenigün
Profession : Trade-unionist and TIP Executive
Committee Member.
Date of detention : May 25, 1971 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : January 23, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : August 19, 1971 - Ankara
Date of verdict : October 17, 1972 - 12.5 years

In the evening of May 25, 1971, at 11.30 p.m., I was taken

from the house of my father-in law where I was staying as a guest, by five plainclothes who claimed themselves to be police officers. I was driven to my own house with a Mercedes car. They searched my house until 2.20 a.m. They confiscated 16 books which were never forbidden, 10 issues of the Emek Review, one issue of the Ant Review, one disk recorded by Cetin Altan, some letters and pamphlets mailed to me by the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) and drove me to the security department of the Istanbul Police HQ at 3 a.m., by dropping one of their friends at Rumelihisar. Before leaving my house I demanded to arrange a protocol including a list of publications confiscated by them. In return the one who was dropped later at Rumelihisar, swore at me, "you bastard! Catamite! Your penis shaped head cannot comprehend it! Shut up! Your all liberties are restricted from now on." Their insults went on during coming to my house and also returning. One of the five was the driver, another one was so drunk that during the search in my house he slept on a sofa placed in front of a window. The search was carried out by an agent who, I presume, was from the Criminal Department of the Police HQ and his name was Celal and another agent was from the security department. And they arranged a protocol stating that I was detained in the security department. Although I objected that they did not mention the names of the seized books and the numbers of the reviews, they forced me to sign the protocol without mentioning them. And I was taken to another department where other detainees had been kept.

On May 27, 1971, at 3 p.m., I was taken into a room facing the lavatories, on the door of which there was a sign written "Group K". There were six officers inside. The moment entering the room, a fat and short officer whose name, as I learned later, was Ismail said me: "You bastard, from where you are?" I told my birth place. He said, "that means to say that you are from Egin. Such kind of son of a bitch never comes from Egin! How could you come out of there?" and spit on my face. Later he started slapping me. His colleagues said him not to hit me on the face. The same person ordered me, "you, cocksucker! Lie down!" One of them whom I cannot remember, pushed me from back. I lied down. They took my shoes off, applied the falaka set to my feet. Again the same one said: "Put his trousers under the string." Another officer shouted, "do not strike! Leave him. He will talk," and loosened the falaka. I stood up. They showed me the photographs of mine and of my children shot at my house which I do not know how they had obtained and said: "You, bastard cocksucker! Talk about your connection with the Dev-Genç (Revolutionary Youth Federation of Turkey-tr.) Talk about the dynamites!"

On the one of the photos obtained by them Che Guevara's picture, which had been distributed as a supplement of the Ant Review, could be seen hanged on the wall of my room. They swore at me by pointing to it. I said that I had no connection with the Dev-Genç, I had not touched and seen any dynamite in my all life. Thereupon they set me to lie down and subjected my feet to falaka and started to beat my soles with barked knotty sticks 70-80 cms long. They beat uninterruptedly by resting in turns. Meanwhile they were unconsciously saying: "Talk, the damned cocksucker! Talk

about the General Consul! Talk about the Dev-Genç! Talk about the orders given you by the Baath Party! Talk about the dynamites you brought from Iraq! Enumerate the names of whomever you know in the party and in the trade union. Talk about your brother, member of Dev-Lis (Progressive Organization of High-School Students-tr) at the Pertevnihal Highschool. Tell us the surname of Ibrahim who is employed at the State Roads Administration and has connections with Dev-Genç! Talk about your relations with him!" They stroke by cursing and swearing at me. I could not count the number of blows after thirty. Then they had interval and poured water from a decanter on my feet. One of the officers reminded others the necessity of scratching my feet vertically with the handle of stick, they did it. They decanted water again and after setting me to stand up, poured the water on the floor. I was ordered to run in the room. I was so overwrought that was not able even to walk. By striking on my back and pushing me from one to each other they forced me to run six or seven times in the room and repeated same questions by cursing and swearing in the same mode. I said that I had not connection with the affair they investigated; they also knew everybody I knew; moreover all of them were booked in the archiv of the trade union, I could not remember neither their personalities nor their names, the new elected leaders of the trade union had been officially declared to the Security Police following every convention; I had gone to Iraq by carrying a legal passport together with four other persons; we had not held any political meeting there, but we had attended only a celebration.

Thereupon, assistant superintendant whose name I learned later to be Omer Arda, said, "this damned cocksucker does not talk! Whereas we had put a MIT officer tracing him while they were going to Iraq. We have the documents. I will compel him to confess everything!" They made me lie down again. Somehow, they were paying great attention to set my trousers under the string of the falaka and they were insisently urged each other on this point. While striking my soles, they set a chair on my chest and separated my arms in order to prevent holding my knees. Meanwhile the telephone rang. They stopped striking. The policeman named Fahri, whose name I learned later, answered the telephone and made a sign the others to continue. After saying, "yes we are having an entertainment," he hang the telephone off. Taking the stick he began to beat and say: "You, damned catamite! You would set scaffolds for us? Thanks to God, we can see today!" While he was striking the stick was broken. Another stick was brought. Its bark was taken off. They applied the operation named "stratching with the handle of the stick". Later they continued to strike by pouring water on my feet. They made me stand up, poured water on the floor and forced me to run again. The same questions were repeated. I said that I had replied the questions at the beginning. Thereupon they called the photographer and in front of the window facing the Vakif Is Hani my photos were shot in profile and in face. -Whereas, they had shot my photo on May 26, Wednesday, at 1 p.m.- Drawing the curtain of the window, policeman Ismail said, "shoot the photo before this red curtain. So it will be fit the ideal of this cocksucker." By posing me he strongly hit on both side of my

face and dislocated my jaw-bone. For three days I could not chew and yawn. My jaw-bone has still a defect.

After having shot my photos, they put a piece of paper and a pen in front of me and ordered to write my biography from my birth date until that day. I wrote it. By taking me by the arm, one of them brought me into the lavatory and ordered to wet my feet in a low wash-basin. Leaning on the wash-basin I did it. Later he ordered me to wash my face. I could do it only with my one hand.

They left me in the corridor where there were cells. On May 28, Friday, the policeman named Fahri came there and said, "Bekir, we did not settle accounts with you yet. We gave you an opportunity to think. Use your brain. We will settle accounts with you." I stood up and went towards to him and said, "I answered all of your questions correctly and told all I know. I have no more information besides them."

In the evening of May 29, Saturday, all of us were descended to Mütferrika (solitary confinement-tr).

On June 8, 1971, tuesday, Assistant Superintendent Omer Arda of the Security Police came and asked me why and by whom I had been brought to Mütferrika, whether or not I knew the officers having brought me there and what kind of a protocol had been arranged about me. He also stated that they could not find my books and documents there. Thereupon I said that I had been brought there on May 25, 1971 with 16 books, 11 reviews, one record and the letters mailed by the Turkish Labour Party and that my formal statement was not written down yet.

On June 10, 1971, Thursday, at 11.30 a.m., they brought me upstairs. When we arrived the Security Department, we turned to left at the top of the stairs and entered the second room. They had not admit me to shave for sixteen days, therefore almost 15 officials working at the desks looked at me by breaking their works. I was ordered to find my books in a pile of books, but then prevented searching. We came out into the corridor. I was taken into next room which, I presume, had been used as an archiv. Two policemen who had been present when I had been beaten, came into the room. The one named Fahri showed me a text with my own hand-writing on my biography and asked me: "Aren't you Bekir Yengün? You wrote this text, are you not?" I answered, "yes, you compelled me to write it down". Thereupon lifting up his head he said, "did you lose your mind, son? I have just come from Ankara and this is the first time that I see you," and turning to his colleague added, "did they beat him?" His colleague smiled by shaking his head. I objected, "yes, I was beaten. Moreover, you were there on May 27th". He talked to his friend, "this man probably lost his mind. Let us immediately send him to Bekirköy (lunatic asylum in İstanbul-tr)." Later by turning to me he added, "come to your senses, son! I see you for the first time. I just came today from Ankara. If you go on to talk nonsense, I cannot interrogate you and it will be unavoidable to send you to the hospital in order to check your mentality". I stated, it was possible to mistake him for another person, however, I remembered his shirt.

And they started to interrogate me.

In fact this man was present on May 27th. After having stopped the falaka, while checking my file, this man whispered to Omer Arda, sitting opposite to him, "he had Baghdad boild on his face. If had an opportunity he fucks all our mothers and hangs all of us."

On June 8, during my two page deposition was being typed, they were dwelling upon the bulletins of the trade unions which had been put in my file and I was being asked to explain them. I answer their questions. Nevertheless, during the interrogation they were permanently threatening me as follows, "talk, the damned cocksucker! Otherwise, I will crush your remaining lung and throw you out from the window!"

They were looking for a pretext in order to hit me. Meanwhile one of them stood up, took out a stick among the files and hit me at random on my head, back, hands, knees, elbows and points of shoulders while I was sitting. In this way they finished arranging my deposition at 1.30 p.m. I signed it. They brought me into the Criminal Department and obtained my finger print, "you read every kind of shit, but not the Kor'an," said one of them. I answered that I may read Kor'an too if it is necessary. He asked how we read it, I answered, "when we cannot agree on the meaning of the verses, we read its Turkish translation in order to understand it". He objected, "Do not try to lie, you damned ass! If you would read the Kor'an, why you would rise against the government?" Thereupon I said, "the Kor'an does not concern the affairs of state and the government; moreover, the statesmen always insist on getting the Kor'an and affairs of the state apart". The moment my fingerprint was obtained he ejected me by swearing and cursing. Later I was taken away to the photograph studio. In spite of my insistence on the fact that my photos had been shot once on May 26 and twice on May 27, I was again photographed as being unshaved for 17 days. In the evening of that day I was brought down to Mütferrika. Meanwhile we were infested with lice. In spite of our insistence, they did not admit us to order detergent and DDT with our own money.

On June 12, 1971, Saturday, they took me away with 6 to 7 of my books to the Judicial Advisory of the Martial Law HQ, at Se- limiye. From there I was brought the Justice Palace of Istanbul. On the same day at 4.30 p.m., my file was registered by the Public Prosecution Office under the number 71/18322 and I was released. (But he has later again taken in and arrested on 23.1.1972-tr.)

They did not write down the names of the books and reviews confiscated at my house. Thereupon, I myself tried to figure out the names as well as I remembered:

- Human Sketches From My Country - Nazim Hikmet (3 copies)
- Kuvayi Milliye (National Forces) (1 copy)
- Selected Works From Nazim Hikmet (2 copies)
- Nazim Hikmet - by Orhan Seyfi Orhon (one copy)
- The Workers Party is Not the Party of the Workers (1 copy)
- DISK and TIP (one copy) -Publication of Akbank

- Chinese Revolution (one copy) - Publication of Akşam
- I Will Write - Aşık İhsani
- Notes for Militants (Victor Sergel's-tr)
- Three other books the names of which I cannot remember
- Ant-Review (one copy)
- Emek Review (ten copies -from the first issue to the tenth issue except ninth issue)
- One disk recorded by Çetin Altan

Among the books alleged as mine and brought to the prosecutor's office, there was also Cement (of Gladkov-tr). Whereas during the previous search made at my house on March 22, 1971, this book had been seized and handed over to the prosecutor's office, but A. Bedii Soykan, the public prosecutor (registration number 12089), had examined the file numbered 971/1078-971/355 Hz., and decided on the unnecessary of starting a legal proceedings.

Besides, I realized at a glance that the books alleged as mine are not in fact belong to me.

During the period I had been at the Police HQ, I saw the detainees Dr. Hulusi Dosdogru, Zeki Öztürk, Hasan Özgür, Nida Kazancı, Tayfun Demir, Hüseyin (from Malatya Province, his surname I do not know), Savaşkan Oral as having been beaten in different ways. In addition, I heard the screams of the beaten victims from time to time while I was there.

I also confirmed that the one who had interrogated and beaten me was the superintendent named Fahrettin Benli. This protocol was arranged as three copies on June 14, 1971 at 11 a.m. (signed)

Name and Surname : Ulkü Ahmet Cafer (female)
 Place and date of birth: Cyprus, 1948
 Profession : Last semester student at Law Fac.
 Date of detention : May 25, 1972 - İstanbul
 Date of arrest : ? - İstanbul
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - İstanbul

I have been on the wanted list since four months. My friend who helped me for hiding have been apprehended. To learn where I was hiding, he had been sent under torture at 8.30 p.m., and tortured until 7 a.m., of the next day. He had been tied to a chair by his arms and feet and given electricity for 11 hours uninterruptedly. He had also received it through her ears, fingers and sexual organs. The same operation had been applied to her sister and brother.

My hiding place was raided by about ten plainclothes "creatures". Meanwhile the house have been surrounded by soldiers equipped with machine guns and flak-jackets. As soon as they came in, they attacked me; kicked and punched me with an immense hatred and revenge. Cursing and swearing, they dragged me outside. We all went to the police headquarters. For a while the process of beat-

ing continued in the office of the constable who caught me. He was a short, fat man. Because my spectacles were taken off, I could not see his face very well. Then I was put into a cell that had a wet mattress in it, which was squeezed up by folding. There too, the policemen and constables carried on swearing and beating me. This went on until night (I had been apprehended at 11 o'clock in the morning.)

At midnight, they took me away from the cell. I was blindfolded. Three or four people were pressing down on my shoulders, saying, "we are entering a narrow archway", "we came out", "we are entering again", pressing me down and lifting me up again. Meanwhile I was hitting my head on the walls because of my carelessness! Actually there was not any archway at all. Their aim was to prevent me estimating where I have been taken. We simply went into a room in the same storey with the cells. The room was an empty one with wooden floor. (Footsteps were highly echoing). Somebody whom they addressed Pasha (general-tr) immediately began his work by slapping me. When they got tired, they made me sit on a wooden chair. They tied me tightly to the chair (around my arms and legs). Cables were attached to my fingers. The interrogation had just been started... The current began to flow on me sometimes for long and sometimes for short periods. At first they gagged me to cover my screams. After a while I lost my breath and the gag was removed off on the suggestion of one saying it was not of much importance if my screams to be heard. How long the operation continued, that I do not remember. The ropes had cut my wrists as a result of the vibration of my muscles due to the force of the shocks. They loosened the ropes for a while and went on giving me shocks. When I was in a half-conscious state they poured water over my head. For a while they discussed if they should continue or not. Then they found it enough and finished for the night. I was dragged back into my cell. Somebody, saying he was a physician, came in and asked what my complaints were. I said I did not need a physician at all and I was quite well. He said, "as you wish," and went away. During the night groups of 5 to 6 policemen came back and forth to beat, to curse and to threaten. Specially those who were attached to the clash that took place in Levent, were attacking me with all their ambition and pathological desires. The constable on duty must have thought that any undesirable event that happened would reflect badly on him, so he prohibited anyone from entering the cell. People who wanted to "see" me could look through the observation hole on the door. This went on like this until the afternoon. In the meantime they had given me neither food nor drink.

Towards 5 p.m., I was taken out of the Police HQ and crossed to the other side (of Istanbul). In a police station near Göztepe, the procedure of handing prisoners over to two civilians took place. This time I was put in a white mini-bus. My eyes were closed with a pair of sunglasses, the inside of which was filled with cotton wool. They put me on the floor at the rear of the car. We went for a rather long ride. At the place where we arrived, I was taken upstairs. They opened my eyes. I was in a room with two beds, one table and closed curtains. A tall, fat spectacled officer gave me a pair of bloody pyjamas he held in his hand and

wanted me to disrobe and put them on. Then my hands and feet were shackled. I was put in bed. My right arm was in such a state that it did not function because of the shocks. I could not move my neck. After saying, "we have much better methods here. You will have to talk here. So be sensible," they went away. A few days later, they took me downstairs. There were 10 to 15 person in the room. They opened my eyes. A short skinny person with blond hair with white badges, was sitting opposite me. He said he was a colonel and one of those raided the place where our friend, Ziya Yilmaz was hiding and who was injured during that clash. A tall, bald, dark complexioned person, and another dark complexioned with thick black eyebrows, asked me several questions. They said that it would be for my own good, if I speak in the desired way, otherwise they would kill me and that they were totally authorized to kill me, etc. Then I was brought back upstairs and given paper and pencil. They should have not satisfied with those I have written that took me downstairs again three days later. This time the colonel came with an old, fat army officer who has thick eyebrows and a very fat neck. They threatened, "you cannot deceive us! We can hammer nails into your joints. You will talk!" I answered that all I knew was as much as I had written. They said, "we know very well how to remind you". However, they did not torture me then. I evaluate this as being a result of the fact that I was the last person captured belonging to the Popular Liberation Party/Front of Turkey. There was nothing left that they could learn from me. I do not know whether the fact that I was a foreign citizen effected it or not.

However, I was hearing the screams of my friends, whom they tortured day and night permanently. Sometimes, they made us listen to tone-bands of torture sounds. Groans of the victims were approaching to me from the next rooms. Those, who had been subjected to falaka downstairs, were being made to walk in front of my door. The torturer was commanding the soldiers, "pull his if he stops".

Once a friend attempted to commit suicide by cutting his wrists in order not to talk. I do not know whether he died or not. However, I heard shoutings and running abouts. "Who had seen it?" "It must be tightened with an elastic band!" "When did he do it?" And in the night we were ordered to keep our hands on the blanket.

My interrogation involved the transfer of the testimony of my friends who had been caught previously, and which had been taken by force from them, to me. While the screams of recently-brought friends were just starting, they (after making me sign a statement saying that I have been treated well) took me back to Selimiye, blindfolded.

The military counsul general threatened me with nail extraction, just in the same day that his statement, saying the claims of torture are completely lies and untrue, was published in newspapers.

Today, it is the January 16th, 1973 and still the MIT torturers carry on their duties(!) with great skill. Our friends at the military prisons are permanently taken back to MIT to be

tortured again; girls are beaten in jails collectively. They can dare to say to the lawyers who protest this repression that nobody was subjected to torture until today; nobody has died or carries torture scars; no one has made such complaints; and they add, "security forces know what they are doing, and are going to continue doing it". Besides, specially in regard to the ovary troubles of many of the female prisoners, resultant from the tortures, they do not give medical reports from hospitals. On the other hand, they say "they were already lunatic before," in regard to friends who have lost their mental balance as a result of tortures, and in this way seek to hide cases.

(signed) Jan.16,1973

Name and Surname : Nurettin Yakar
Place and date of birth: Antakya-Hatay, 1945
Profession : Tailor - also last semester student at Law Faculty, Istanbul
Date of detention : March 23, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : April 10, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

I was in a dentistry's clinics at Sagmalcilar on Thursday, March 23, 1972 at about 4 p.m.

Armed men, shouting and making noises, entered the room and suddenly I was pushed in front of a wall by a butt's blow. They ordered me to raise my hands over the head and stand close to the wall turning my face against it. While I was carrying out their order, they hit against me several times. While I stand close to the wall, they were giving me several orders such as, "up your hands higher", "lean your feet against the wall", etc., meanwhile they were beating me with kicks, fists and butts. I began to bleed in my mouth, my nose and my face because of the blows I got. I was kept there for a while as my hands up, my face against the wall and two armed men behind me whose automatic guns were directed to me and meantime receiving blows from time to time. My body was searched immediately and then set forth to the hall being treated roughly by two or three of them. They were keeping on hitting and cursing. Being descended the stairs I fell down because of the butts' and fists' blows. They lifted me up and kept on beating and swearing.

Two of them lifted me from my arms and I was put into an army vehicle being harassed by other automatic gunned men. I pointed out that I was barefooted and also wanted to take my coat and overcoat. This only caused me to receive some more blows. My hands were tied firmly at my back with a string. After tying my feet also firmly, one military police set on my right and another on my left and held me firmly on the arms. Three military police men took place in front of me and set down directing their automatic guns towards to me. Meanwhile several plainclothes and military officials were coming behind the vehicle, some of them were swearing at me while others were asking my name. The blood flow-

ing from my mouth have become coagulated on my teeth and lips. My lips were burst. We set out on the road on the convoy row. I was brought into Harbiye Caserne, shivering because of being barefooted and deprived of coat. My feet were untied under the superintendence of armed guards. I was locked first in a latrine then into a solitary confinement cell. It was a very narrow and extremely damp cell which had a half wet bed and an observation hole on its ceiling.

"I was sick that time and in addition to my illness, the blows I got made me strengthless and I fell asleep.

At night I was awakened after a while. My body was perverted and the beaten parts of it were suffering sharp pain. I was also caught cold. Again barefooted and carrying only a thin shirt, I was taken out of the cell. An army officer put me into a jeep cursing as, "you, the son of an ass!" They tied both my hands and feet again. Under the threat of two thompson-like guns I was brought into the Kadiköy District Military HQ. There a plainclothes man untied the strings which made my elbows swollen and handcuffed me saying, "let's change them with ours. They would not hurt you!" Then they put on my eyes spectacles covered with cotton wool. I estimated that they put me into a landrower. The same man ordered the soldiers, "fire at him if he moves!" We started off and advanced speedily for a while. Then we stopped. Two persons took me out of the vehicle holding me from the arms. We entered a building, climbed stairs. They brought me in a room and set on a chair. Some persons entered the room after a while and asked me "do you know what is this place, you are in?" I said I did not. So they stated, "this place belongs to the General Staff Headquarters. Nobody knows where this place is. We can even kill you here and nobody asks its account." They warned, "this place is not like police station". Then they ordered their men to lie me down. They put my feet through two things. They fastened two things so firmly that I was unable to move my feet. My feet were lifted up. As my head down, my feet up and my eyes blindfolded, they began to beat my soles.

They were beating me in the middle of my soles with sides of thin sticks. I was able to understand this from the way of blows hitting my feet. Shortly after I began to scream. From time to time, they were stopping and putting a liquid on my soles and starting to beat again. During the operation several sticks were broken on my soles. As I feel and remember, the men beating my soles were changed from time to time. Getting angry they were shouting at me, "do not cry!" To stop screaming was something that I was not able to do that time. Once I had fainted. They set me to come round by putting a liquid on my face. Then began to beat me again. They were stopping for a while putting a liquid on and keeping on beating.

Now my feet had become thoroughly insensible. I was no more feeling the pain on my soles, but feeling as if it was happening to my heart. I was feeling a sharp pain in my heart as if it was being plucked out over and over.

I do not know how long it continued. At last they quitted.

My feet had become swollen and numb. I was unable to move them and touch somewhere. I was forced to walk. I could not carry their order, due to the sharp pain it gives to me. They forced me again. They lifted me from my arms and tried to set me standing up, and then two of them held me under my arms and dragged out of the building. I was transferred into another covered place after a short walk. I was put into a cell. My eyes were uncovered. That was rather a small cell. In the cell there was a tap, a hand-basin, a bed which could be called wet, two chairs, at the top a barred window covered ground glass, a door on which there was an observation hole keeping the bed under observation. Inside the cell was smelling rather dampness and mould. Immediately after entering, it was not difficult for me to guess that, that was the place I was going to be kept in. My clothes had been taken off and a pair of pyjamas were put on me after the torture. I was laid on the bed in that state. My hands and feet were chained with padlocks. I was being spied on through the observation hole from time to time. Once I asked for some water. Because my mouth had withered. My lungs became as if they were burning and suddenly I felt terribly hot. They refused my demand saying, "water is harmful". The pain of my soles, my petrified body, the sharp pain of different parts of my body beaten at the first time I was apprehended and the high fever suddenly occurred, caused me to fall asleep.

I woke up towards noon. They opened the door noisily. I immediately asked for water. They gave me half glass of water. I asked for more. They refused. They gave me half a portion food accompanied with a very thin slice of bread. Since I was in such a state that I was unable to swallow any food, I could not eat. The blood which flew the night before became quite coagulated in my mouth and I was even unable to clean my mouth. I was deprived of strength even to move my chin. But even if it was too little I felt better than before after drinking the half glass water.

They came back again in the evening. They blindfolded me. Once more, I was carried in a small room. I think it was the same one as I was beaten in before. They uncovered my eyes. I was laid down again after a short interrogation.

There were two powerfully built men in front of me and their two aides. My feet were tied to falaka which was screwed on both sides, as if being put through a mangle. It was a special instrument. My feet were lifted. This time they were beating with thick, long sticks. They were not beating with the edges of sticks as they have done last night, but lengthwise.

The blows were beating my both soles in turns with same speed monotonously. After a while, my screams were added to the cracks of the sticks beating my soles. I was crying over and over. My feet had become immediately numb. My brain was throbbing with pain. And I was crying till being unable to breath. Insensibility was increasing towards to my legs. Blows went on with the same monothony. In spite of all my efforts and flutters it was impossible for me to free my feet from the blows. I began to hit my head against the floor. The lengthwise blows of the sticks on the same area was given me unbearable pains on the bony parts. The

bones were throbbing with pain at each blow. And at each blow, the pain of the bones were echoing into my heart, into my brain. That went on till my soles were burst open. They gave up then. I felt as if my feet were non-existent. They have thoroughly lost their vitality.

And my torturers' faces were carrying somehow dull expression. They were looking like as if everything they have done was quite natural. I realized rather good that torturing is pretty normal for them. I could not refrain from paying attention to their states although I was writhing. I was unable to move my feet owing to the fact that the slightest move was giving me huge pain. My feet had pins and needles and throbbing with sharp pain as if they were buzzing.

After a while, two persons lifted me under the arms, put the covered glasses on my eyes and brought me into the room at the basement. I was laid down on a bed. My feet and hands were again chained with padlocks. The bed was rather thick. The room and the bed were more dampy than the others a night before. That was a room, the plasters of which were fallen partly. Its two windows were firmly covered both from outside and inside. My feet and head were throbbing with pain. I was left in such a suffering state there.

I was awakened in the morning with the noise of indignantly opened door. They asked me if I was sick. That question was absolutely absurd. Answering them that I was sick and had pain at such-and-such parts of my body also seemed to me too senseless...

Later on somebody came in whom I conjectured was in charge of the cells. He stated that going out of bed (which was in fact exactly impossible for me) was prohibited, and I would be shot by the guard on duty at the door if the rule would be disobeyed. He also added that I could inform the guard on duty if I need to go to the lavatory. But such kind of needs were not a question for me within the first days.

The following day another man came in. Treating me better than the others, he asked how I felt and if I need anything. I had an unbearable headache. I asked if aspirine and cigarette could be obtained. He obtained them after a while. They were giving aspirine and cigarettes, and treating me better when that man was around. But during his absence, such kind of demands of mine were being refused or delayed.

Daytimes were passing in such manner. Nights, a far off whistle sound... Everything was deeply sunk into silence and nothing was heard except the noise created by the guard on duty when he was watching me through the observation hole. The echoing of the vehicles in the basement coming to the building was breaking the silence from time to time.

The nights were easy. Yet, the day times were uneasy with pain and distress: I was hearing far off screams and cries so often.

I remember the date I was brought there, but was unable to estimate since how many days I was there. I was thinking what the

day was, since when I was there... But it was impossible to make a right account... They used to give me food three times a day. But it was so little that, three plates food could even not be counted as one porsion. I thought it was another method of torturing.

During day times one of them -the one specially treating me, rather badly than the others- was opening the door with anger attacking me asking if I had looked out of the window and beat me from time to time.

I was being brought to lavatory, my feet and hands shackled and blindfolded. Those times I was only able to step so small that the chains permitted me and waddling with the clatters of chains as if being dragged. Meantime an armed guard was accompanying me with his automatic gun. I was seeing the guard while they were putting or taking of the blindfold.

One day they brought my clothes and ordered me to put them on. With the number 11 padlock key, they unlocked the two padlocked chains over my feet and the one on my hands. They again put the covered glasses on my eyes. I was taken off the building and again put into a vehicle which I guesses a landrower. Some others were also put in and all of us were then delivered to the Istanbul Police HQ.

At the Police HQ, I was locked into a cell for one night, then transferred into a room. The next day of which I was transferred into a room, somebody came in with anger and dragged me into another department. There I was beaten again with kicks, fists and slaps for a while.

Afterwards I was handed over to Sagmalcilar Prison, as a detainee. It must have been two days after when I was brought before a prosecutor and arrested on April 10, 1972. I was placed under arrest in Sagmalcilar Prison.

I had been kept in the prison for about a month. One morning, they came again and picked me up. I was put into a landrower which had a white awning. My eyes were again blindfolded, my hands were cuffed. I was delivered to "graweyard"! (We, who were tortured in that unknown place, were calling it as graweyard.)

I was taken in a room such as before. My clothes were taken, and a pair of dirty pyjamas were given. I have put them on, My hair was cut again. I was seated on a bed. And again my hands and feet were chained with padlocks. But this time there was one difference: I also was chained to the bedstead. The room in which I was closed was on second storey this time and there was not dampness. It had one window and cleaner than the others I had been in before. During my stay, they also gave me two plates of food but half a porsion of each.

It was about 4 to 5 hours after I was brought there when they came in and transferred me into another room as being blindfolded. I was subjected to falaka after a short interrogation. I again experienced one of those circumstances I explained before. Then they lifted me up and set me on an iron chair. They attached to me electrodes. They gave me electric first through my hands

and feet, especially through the fingers. Then they repeated it three times more: through my two ears and through one ear and a hand. I felt as if my organs through which the current flew were snapped. Especially when they applied it to my ears I thought I was dying. My body was stretched and petified. I felt as if the places where the current flew were being cut. And when it flew through my two ears, I thought my head snapped. It was like a shock. I was not sure if I would remain alive anymore. Then they stopped it suddenly.

When they completed that torture, I was again brought in- to my room, being blindfolded and chained. Few days later my clothes were brought, and I was ordered to put them on and to be shaved. My chains were removed. They said I was going back to prison. I suddenly felt extremely happy. I shaved and put my dresses on. They handcuffed me and ordered to wait. The door was shut, they have gone. The same officer came back at noon and said me my departure was postponed to afternoon. In the afternoon he came back and said I would be sent next day. Nobody came next day. Second day the same man came in and said I was being sent that day. But that day was also passed as the others. At last on the fourth day that man who treated me better came in and I was handed over to Selimiye Caserne. I was kept in a cell for three days at Selimiye. Then, they handed me over to prosecutor and Sagmalcilar finally.

I was extremely happy for being transferred to Sagmalcilar Prison. Being again in the prison created for me such a happiness as if I was liberated.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Fatma Ipek Erkeller (female)
Father's name	: Muzaffer
Place and date of birth:	Istanbul, 1947
Profession	: Correspondant at TRT
Date of detention	: May 23, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: June 19, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: January 10, 1973 - Ankara

On May 23, 1972, I was taken from my work and led to Ankara Police Headquarters. Saying that they had declarations against me, they asked me several questions. When I answered them that I did not know, they replied "we will see," and took me down to the sixth floor and put me on a chair. Meanwhile they blindfolded me with the scarf which they had taken from my purse. They kept me waiting for some time. Then the room became crowded and grabbing me from my arms they made me lie on the floor; lifted my feet up and tied them to wooden sticks. My hands stretched to both sides like on a crucify which also tied to wooden sticks. They started to beat my soles with sticks and truncheons. Meantime another kind of preparation was being made. One of them tore my stockings and tied some wire to my toes and also to the fingers of my right hand. They started to give current. During this, they wanted to make me accept that I was a member of an underground party. They

were asking questions one after the other. Afterwards they held the electric wires against my forehead, then they abandoned this idea and started to give the current from my temples and then they suddenly put the wires into my mouth and gave current to my mouth and tongue. While giving current on the one hand, they were continuing with the falaka on the other. As I had completely lost the sense of time, I cannot say how long this operation lasted. However, I was taken from my work in the morning and when they stopped the torture and took me upstairs, the people working there had started to leave the work for home. I stayed at the Police HQ until the 15th of June. For 4-5 days I stayed in the corridor on the 7th floor, and then in a room on the 6th floor. From time to time the person in custody who was in the room with a lift next to mine, would be taken out and a new one was taken in for torture. They made me to listen lots of torture practices.

On June 15th, together with Alp Orçun and Raşit Gürdilek, I was taken blindfolded, by a tall and thin man wearing spectacles and who had a tic on one eye, towards an unknown destination. When we arrived to the building, we had been taken one floor down and put into separate cells. The militaries were on guard here. Others although they addressed each other in military ranks were wearing plainclothes. The person who had taken us over from the police, said to me, "here you are not anymore under the protection of the constitution and the criminal procedure code. We have inscribed 'let free' to your registers at the police." My deposition on the basis of which I am being tried now was written down there during 2 days and a night. A plump man with blue eyes told me that as I had already had the training once, they would not for the time being torture me, but if on the other hand I did not accept what they wanted, then they would start over again. The young dark haired person who took down my deposition went from one room to the other where Alp Orçun was giving his "deposition" in order to make the two correspond and made pressure on me by saying, "it would be much better for you if you write these down too". At one moment he took me out of the room (this was a considerably big room with a bed, a table and a chair) and put me into the corridor. A person whom they called "colonel" then came and insulted me in such words that I cannot recall now. They took Halil Berktaş into that room I was taken out and began to give electricity to him. When at a moment they gave a pause, the colonel came in and scolded the torturers all. I also heard Raşit Gürdilek's screams when he was being tortured. I was never taken back to that room with a bed in it, as it was occupied for torture. The second day, towards evening a person addressed to as lieutenant colonel informed me that they were prepared to destroy all the declarations they made me write down if from time to time I would inform them of what I heard from friends, thus proposing me openly to work for them. I was warned more than once to think carefully about this. I finally had to explain to them that we belonged to different professions. That night, Raşit Gürdilek and I, both blindfolded, were taken away from that building. This time the person who had interrogated me and a young, tall, blue eyed police superintendant whose name I presumed to be Ersin were accompanying us. After staying two more nights at the Police HQ, I was handed over to

the martial law authorities. When I was at the police, Umit Erdal, one of the police chiefs on duty, kept repeating how sorry he was to have missed being present there when I was being tortured.

(signed)

Name and Surname : Yavuz Onen
 Profession : Architect
 Date of detention : March 10, 1972 - Istanbul
 Date of arrest : April 5, 1972 - Istanbul
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

One night with the written order of the Martial Law Commander, 8 to 10 bullet-proof vested soldiers and almost the same number of policemen in plainclothes with wireless sets in their hands and under the command of an army general raided my house. They searched everywhere in the house, especially the bookshelves. They confiscated all left publications, newspapers and periodicals freely published in the last years. I was taken away. The ward where the apartment situated was also surrounded by the soldiers equipped with sten guns. They raided two more houses besides mine. We were handed over to the Police HQ in the morning. We were two, other one was a theater player.

The narrow corridor of the Security Department was full of people detained previously. After having passed a week there all days and nights on a chair, I was also kept for three days in Müteferrika (solitary confinement cells-tr.), at the basement of the building. There was only a wooden bench inside. There was not any window. During nights the small room was full of thieves and pickpockets.

One day they said that when the police investigation would be terminated, I would be released. But the following day, I was blindfolded and transferred to another place by a military vehicle. After descending a few steps my eyes were unblindfolded. I was in a rather big room. There were a bed, a table and a chair. One of the two civilians who had taken me from the Police HQ gave me a paper and pencil and told me to write information about the wanted "anarchists" and my connections with them. At the end of the granted delay I did not write even a word. Thereupon he left the room. After a short while a group of eight civilian filled the room. They were addressing each other with military ranks. They ordered me to take off my clothes and shoes. I fulfilled it. They summoned four soldiers with thomson machine guns. I was subjected to falaka then. My feet were touching and my arms were separated. They tied a long stick to my feet. Meanwhile a fat and dark complexioned man with a truncheon in his hand said, "neither the God, nor the Constitution, that you always trust in, can enter here. It is not a problem for us to exterminate you. It costs a bullet. You are in the hands of the Turkish Army and with the orders of the Chief of General Staff, we have extraordinary authorities. Do not forget them and behave by taking these facts into consideration!" Following this speech, they started to strike blows. After a few

blows I was shouting at the top of my voice. During the fustigation they were also cursing and swearing at the leftists. When he told that the left movement also infiltrated to the army, he was using the truncheon with anger. After beating for half an hour, they untied my feet. They poured water to the corridor and wetted the floor. I was forced to run and to jump on the wet floor. Later a soldier mounted on my shoulders, I was obliged to walk for a while in this position. All of these were for deflating the swellings on my soles and to be able to apply the falaka to me again. As a result of my objection against the interrogation under these conditions, the fustigation was repeated five times and continued for five hours. From the 2nd phase of the fustigation they gave electric current at short intervals by attaching electrodes to the small fingers of my hands and my feet. I startled in a great pain whenever the electric current was given. I was permanently screaming and became wet to the skin because of sweating. Meanwhile the colonel, who was the highest ranking officer there, ordered to give electric through my genital organs and to bring also my wife. She had been in her ninth month of pregnancy. Therefore I accepted to tell everything I knew. They untied me and noted my statement. But I was subjected to electroshock again with the purpose of obtaining the addresses where the wanted ones hide themselves. They gave me electricity for an hour. Finally being convinced of that I had no information on this subject, they untied me again. They said, "it is enough for the time being," and locked me in a cell. My hand was shackled to the bench I sat on. They left the cell after saying me to reveal other things I knew until the morning. Next day, they wanted my statement with my own handwriting. I wrote it and gave them. Although the cell's door was locked from the outside, the soldiers with thomson machine guns mounted guard during all night by clattering the mechanisms of their guns. (Probably it was done for frightening me.)

The door was being opened only for serving food twice a day and for to admit us going to lavatory. I was watched by the guards on duty through a little window on the door. The moment I fell asleep, they awake me by knocking the door and did not admit me to sleep at all. Under these condition I passed four nights. The torture, applied on the first day, was the most inhuman, most terrible and most disgusting event I have ever met in my life. But the following three days seemed more frightful. The place I was brought in was a torture center active all day long. All people who were directly or indirectly connected with the wanteds were being passed through this place. Without considering any separation between man and woman or young or old, everyone was tortured there. During the torture, the screams of the victims and the swears of torturers went on without any interruption. A narrow corridor separated my cell and the torture room. I was able to hear the conversations there. The tortures applied to young girls and their screams were the most affecting ones for me. The genital organ of a fifteen years old girl (with whom I met later at the Police HQ) was forced with truncheon. She was entreating in vain, "don't you have daughters, sisters? Please, leave me! I told all I knew!" The torture was carried on for many hours. At the late hours of the night one of them shouted, "well, she will not talk!

Strip her naked and summon the soldiers! Let them to sleep with her! Perhaps then she comes to her senses! I myself will also sleep with her," and hurled himself upon the girl. Her screams made resounds. Because of an increasing fear she was obliged to give an address. It meant a new raid. While leaving the room one of them shouted: "Finally we found the arachists. We will bring all of them!" But they returned towards the morning without being able to find anyone. They rushed into the cells just as furious beasts and hurled especially upon the mentioned girl and used the truncheon again. For hours they cursed and swore at all detainees. All of us were threatened and kicked.

Once a young teacher was brought. Falaka, electric shock, kicking, slapping, swearing were applied without showing a bit of mercy. He was also forced from his back with a greasy truncheon. (I deduced it from the orders given to the soldiers for bringing the necessary material.) Thereupon he also gave an address.

They took me to another cell. They opened the door. The girl I mentioned above was sitting in wretchedness. I could not put on my clothes yet, they were in my hands. The major ordered to the girl, "undress! You shall sleep with this one!" I was petrified with horror. The young girl started to cry. But the major told that it was only a joke! That night I was subjected also a psychological and immoral torture besides the physical ones applied previously.

On the fourth day, my first affidavit was typed by being completely changed. At the end they added a paragraph stating that I gave this statement free from any pressure! I signed it. Because there was not any other way to get out of there. In the evening, I was taken back to the Police Headquarters.

After a few days, the period of detention ended and I was arrested. Since five months, being locked in a cell of the prison, I have been waiting to be tried in the "clutches of justice" at one of the martial law military courts.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Olker Akgöl (female)
Place and date of Birth:	Düzce, 1950
Profession	: State employee at Turkish Electric Institution (TEK)
Date of detention	: March 16, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: ? - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On the 16th March, policemen came to the office where I worked, and took me to the Department of Security without telling why. Since once I have had friendship with Mahir (Çayan-tr.), police was regarding me as informed about everything of him at the moment. I told them that it was a quite long time that I have not seen Mahir, but they insisted and answered that they knew how to get me speaking. They told me, "you know very well how to speak under the projector light!" Then they interrogated me by prec-

tising torture for 6 hours, during which they were telling me that I could not resist the torture since I was thin and I must accept everything of what they alleged. But I was insisently answering them that the torture would not change my words since I knew nothing. That night they stopped the practise saying that they shall see me next day. The next day, that is, 17th of March, 1972, about 5 p.m., two plainclothed took me into a car and banded my eyes. They said, "we are going to an entertainment now," and took me somewhere I have never been to. There, they first interrogated me. I repeated my testimony, and they said that I must be taken to the operation. They first beat me by falaka. -Before that they had showed me how Mrs. Nazan Alp appears after the torture was practised on her, and told me that I was going to be the same if I would not change my testimony- Falaka held out for two hours, though that practice did not change what I had said before. Then they applied electric current on me. They started to give electricity from my fingers and toes. For a long time they applied it with intervals, during which they were not asking me any question, but demanding that I should accept what they charged. They stopped this practice at midnight, but very early in the morning they took me back to falaka once more. Then they went further ahead, and took my panties off. They laid me down, and as my hands, my arms and my feet were tied, they raped me both from anus and front (she means regular way-tr) by police truncheons. And in the meantime, they were continuously swearing and insulting my personality with terrible words. During this operation, they made me to sign the testimony that they had prepared, and later, under the threat of the same practice of torture, they forced me to write it by my own handwriting, and I did so.

Afterwards, they kept me there for one week in order that the signs of torture could be removed and I could be recovered in the meantime. During when, they were maintaining the threats of torture, and saying me that they could easily madden me and nobody knew where I was and nobody could find me there even if I was sought and it was so easy to fabricate the reasons if they decided to kill me. All these threats continued for some ten days, and then I was taken back to the Security Police.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Riza Colak
Profession	: Taxi-driver
Date of detention	: February 17, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: March 17, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

About 8 a.m., I was apprehended by a crowded group with automatic weapons, in the shop at the lower storey of my flat. Although I had not stayed that night at my home, the policemen had raided the building and laid an ambush for me. In the house my all belongings had been torn and overturned. After having kicking and slapping, they took me to the Police HQ. In a room where seven or eight persons present, they began to interrogate me. In

fact during this first interrogation they behaved very humanly or tried to seem so. Even they offered tea and cigarette. At the beginning they asked questions in order to check my theoretical level. But in time their behaviour changed and they said that I would be made talking if I did not tell the truth. My answers did not satisfy them and they took me to another room by saying, "well, you must take the consequences!" I was brought before a person who was addressed as "my colonel". The colonel started slapping my face without waiting my answer to his first question. He was very nervous and his hands and feet were shaking even while beating me. The others pulled the colonel aside in order to pacify him, but he was still losing his self-control and was swearing at my mother and my wife. On the other hand he was also ordering others: "Force them to talk! We have every kind of authority," and was shouting at the top of his voice.

They took me away from there and locked in a narrow and dark cell, one and half steps long. After staying here for a short while, they came again and this time took me to a broad room the plasters of which had fallen out. The moment I saw the room, I estimated that they would fustigate me here. In fact, they pushed me from back and I stumbled and fell on my face. All of them attacked upon me. I was not able to protect myself from their fists and to stand up. One of them passed his hands through my armpits and clamped them together on my nape, another one threatened me by hitting with his fists, "talk, cocksucker! If you do not want to die! Now you are between death and life. Nobody will come to take your dead. In any case we will detain all of your family. You have no right to live in this country. You sold the country to the Reds!"

On the other hand two of them took up their guns in order to threaten me. Finally a new one entered the room and said, "do not loose time. If he does not talk, take him to the graveyard". Thereupon they fastened my hands with a string. My elbows were tightened and I was not able to move them. They put a blanket on me and took me by the arm sometimes by dragging and sometimes by carrying. They set me lying on my face in a vehicle. Then they covered me with the blanket. The road seemed to me as if it would not finish. Actually, I was not in a position to think the time. The blanket covering my body caused me to lose my breath. My attempts to take the air caused to lose strength and increased my need of air. While I was trying to take the air, they, who set around me, were continuously kicking my body. One of them also was stroking the blanket and was trying to cover the places opened. Under these conditions the only thing I could do was to thrust my head into my armpit and to content myself with the air there. I could not move anymore. I could not feel the pain caused by the strings fastening my wrists. The only thing I felt was a strong burning and I imagined that my hands became swollen as big as my head. When I remained motionless, they were confused and started to kick me by shouting, "did you die, you cocksucker!" But I did not feel the pain caused by kicking. How long time passed, I can not estimate. At last the vehicle stopped. When they were setting me to get off, I started to breathe freely again like a new-

born baby. I could not be satisfied with air. Meanwhile they put an eyeglasses covered with cotton wool on my eyes. They took me into a room and set me sitting on an iron chair. My hands were untied and I was stripped. Later, they put pyjamas on me. But I was not conscious yet. They were waiting at my side without talking meanwhile the door was opened and shut; some people were entering and going out, but they also were silent or were whispering some things which I could not hear. Hearing footsteps, I deduced that there were many persons.

Finally, my breath became regular, but the silence was still continuing. Only one of them was casting a stick in his hands on my body and was giving light blows especially on my neck, chin, head and calf. All these showed me that I was brought to the place where the torture would be technically practised. All factors, like being blindfolded and unable to see around, silence, footsteps, opening and shutting the door at short intervals, being fastened to a chair were negatively affecting me. At last the silence was broken and a deep voice started by asking, "Tell us Riza if you know where you are?" It was not a single person to ask the question, perhaps all of the persons in the room were asking. Naturally, the moment hearing my first "no", they gave a blow on my calf. The more the questions were repeated, the more blowings were increased. They were hitting even on my head but in a lower dosage. The beating continued until my calves became insensible. Then they immediately untied me, but this time they subjected me to the falka. They were beating and I was screaming. When anyone was tired, another one was taking over the stick. Finally I stopped shouting, because I was exhausted. Thereupon they set me to stand up. Two persons took me by the arm and made me to walk in the room by pushing my body down. My feet were swollen due to the fustigation, therefore they ached when I was forced to walk.

They did not satisfy even with this method and fastened me to the iron chair again. Meanwhile, one of them was permanently talking, "heat the skewers! Bring the instrument for nail extraction!" Another person offered, "firstly let us insert a truncheon into his anus". Someone said, "call the soldiers. Set them copulating with him!" Even before setting me to sit at the chair, they had completely undressed me. I was naked. One of them was trying to insert the stick in his hand into my anus. At last they gave up other methods and decided to apply electric shocks. They attached electrodes to my fingers, to my ears, to my penis and to my feet. They made this operation in a process. For example two electrodes were firstly attached to my thumb and my little finger and electric current was given. After a short while, one of them said, "put one also to his ear". Another one pretended to be against this proposal, "do not do it. He may be deaf". In spite of the existence of this possibility, they attached one electrode to my ear. The electroshock continued for ten hours and I was not permitted even to move on the chair while they were giving electricity. On the other hand, one of them was blowing on my shoulder-blades with regular interruptions. Another one was rubbing a hot thing against my hips. I could not comprehend what was that. But after the torture, this part of my body, especially my

bones would ache. I was unable to breathe because of accumulating blood in my gagged mouth. They did not permit me to freely breathe even when they stopped the current and another one at once started to turn the handle (of the generator-tr). Two times I wanted to drink water when my mouth was untied. They gave me salty water instead of drinking water. I felt too thirsty. The salty water increased my thirst, therefore I could not dare to want to drink water again. Once they removed the eyeglasses and I was confronted with one of my comrades. There was an eyeglasses also on his eyes. In addition they had cut his hairs on the top of his head to open a track there, which looked like being plucked there. He was so exhausted that I forgot my situation and worried for him.

Next day, in the morning they put me in a room and later brought another person. They set me lying on the bed, removed the blindfold from my eyes. I was unconscious and dreaming. I could not perceive the bed on which I was lying and thought that I was still in a torture place. When I came round, I was shivering. There was only one ragged blanket covered my body. During the period of 17 days I stayed there, I always shivered. We were two persons in that room, but never talked to each other. Only when leaving, we told our names. His name was Haldun (Haldun Yesil-tr) and his rank was army captain. The hands and feet of both of us were shackled. Only during daytime, they untied our hands. There were three windows in the room and they were covered with ground glasses. There were also two armchairs, a wardrobe and a table. The toe-thumbs of the captain's feet were covered with cotton. They took him away two or three times to the torture. After tortures, I vomitted blood for ten days. Blood was coming with a cough. They brought a physician. When he would come, they put the blindfold over our eyes. The physician said, "it does not very important. Only one of veins had burst". He gave a bottle of syrup and went away.

In this place, which is named Counter Guerilla Base and special torture methods were applied, I heard screams of men and women at nights. This was another kind of torture for me. I deduced the kind of torture from the screams. Sometimes screams were too different and I could not estimate the kind of torture. Everything were planned there. In the room we stayed, they permitted us only to sit in the bed. It was forbidden to stand up. When we want to go to lavatory, we had to knock the door. Thereupon, they used to take us to lavatory after blindfolding. There we removed blindfold, kept the door half open and relieved nature as being shackled. I was aware of the fact that not only me, but also others were vomiting blood into the closet.

One of the main peculiarities of this place was silence. The persons outside the room talked by whispering to each other or to us. This silence was breaking only by screams or whistlings of guards.

Their way of serving food was another kind of psychological torture. The portions were generally one plateful. Sometimes they were serving one plate to one of us and three plates to other.

Even the slices of bread given to prisoners were arranged outside of the room. Once the soldier on duty confused which portion would be given whom and asked the officer by making a sign. The officer also explained it in the same fashion.

We had cigarettes. But they permitted us to smoke only one cigarette after meals.

There were two different types. According to their behaviours one group were the type of involuntary yielding, other were exactly contrary to them. Even they could not endure seeing us to live. In fact, those in contact with us were a few. Others avoided being seen by us. Furthermore, the blindfolds were removed only when our statements were being written.

When being brought to the Police HQ back, we were two men and two women. But I could be aware of it only after our blindfolds were removed at the entrance of the headquarters. We stayed one week there. Later they brought us including women and men from other wards to the infirmary of Sagmalcılar Prison. We had been infested with lice at the Police HQ. All of us were disinfected with pumps used against agricultural diseases.

On the 30th day I was brought before the court. After having been arrested, I was put in a cell. In that part of the prison, there were forty cells. During the period of one month all of our comrades were placed in these cells. Nobody opened the doors of the cells for four months. They were giving daily three portions of meal prepared for criminals. These meals had no nutritional value, but only satisfied our hunger. Later they started to serve ration of soldiers. It was a little more tasty.

We are still in these cells. For one months, the doors of cells have been kept open until 7 p.m. But for five months I have not been permitted to meet any person from outside. They took me once again to the prosecutor. My comrades also were interrogated.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Sabri Karaoglu
Father's Name	: Yusuf
Place and date of birth:	Trabzon, 1950
Profession	: Worker
Date of detention	: March 23, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: April 11, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

I was apprehended by police on Thursday, March 23, at 8.30 p.m., at the dental clinics in Sagmalcılar, Demirkapı Caddesi No.72. They immediately searched me and started to beat me with rifle butts. At the same time they were swearing at me. This lasted 20 minutes. At 9 p.m., I was taken away the clinics to a police van. I was beaten up by the policemen in the van.

Then I was transferred into a police car, and therein con-

tinuously beaten up until we arrived at the Police HQ. It was 10 p.m., when I was brought into the Security Police. I made to wait there for five minutes, then taken to the room of the Department's Director. The moment I entered the room they started swearing at me. They asked some questions and I said I did not know. Then they brought a man in the room and asked me if I knew him. I said I did not. He was not able to stand on his feet. They dragged him out and started to beat me saying, "why do you not know him". I was lied down. A policeman was hitting at my head with his truncheon. In the Director's room, I was beaten up for about 20 minutes. Then I was transferred to another room, bleeding in my mouth and nose. There were about 20 policemen in that room. After swearing at me, they took me down and started the falaka. In order to keep me motionless, a chair was put on me on which a policeman sat. Another policeman put his heel into my mouth to prevent me from screaming. Every twenty minutes or so, I was made to walk on the wet floor. As I walked, the policemen made a circle around and punch me. Then they started the falaka again. It was near dawn when I finally became unable to walk anymore. My feet had been torn open. They put me in a cell. I wanted some water but I was not given.

There was another friend in the cell. He had been tortured too. The dimensions of the cell were 2.5m by 1m. On the floor there was a mattress fully covered with blood stains. There was a dim light. Lice were everywhere. The air was very foul, it smelled torture and blood. Policemen kept on coming and swearing at us. From the next cells moanings and cries came. It was not possible to tell what time of the day it was. When we were carried to the toilet because we could not walk the policemen in the corridor, always hit us with fists and kicks.

Some friends were not able to go to the toilet themselves. They were carried by the policemen who swore at them. They were not able to walk at all. The floor of the toilet had changed its color because of the blood stains. There was not any single night during which we did not hear the screams of the tortures. Some people attempted to commit suicide. We were not allowed to have any newspapers nor books. 20 days after my detention, I was arrested and handed over to a prison. In the prison there were friends who could not walk. They all had some defective organs. We could not recognize each other. We were put in solitary confinement cells.

Eight days after being arrested, I was blindfolded and taken to a place whereabouts I do not know. I was interrogated again, tortured again, locked in a cell and shackled again. The cell was damp and full of blood stains. The pyjamas I was ordered to put on were covered with blood stains. On the concrete floor there was a mattress and a blanket. In a corner and on the bed there was a considerable quantity of human hair. Bugs were walking on the walls. In the nights, screams of the tortured ones were approaching. From there I was brought back to the prison. We saw our families three months after having been arrested. It has been eleven months since we were arrested and still 80 of us are in cells.

(signed)
Jan. 6, 1973

Name and Surname : Ferdane Yurtsever
Place and date of birth: Bingöl, 1953 (a kurdish girl)
Occupation : Student at the Academy of Economic-
al and Commercial Sciences-Ankara
Date of detention : March 17, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest : April 14, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 18, 1973 - Istanbul

The night of March 17-18, at 1.30 a.m., the door was kicked with great noise. My mother who had come to visit me was there too. Before I had the time to understand what it was about, the door was broken open. Army officers, plain clothes, carrying arms and in flak-jackets entered, they told me put the lights on and searched the whole house. On not being satisfied with my answers to their questions they subjected me to falaka making use of their thomson's belts. They were beating my soles with their truncheons. They had bound my mouth to prevent me from shouting. While beating me before my mother, they were interrogating her under this psychological torture. After the falaka, they took me to the bathroom and forced to jump on my feet. Whenever I tried to resist, they were swearing at me and threatening me that I would be tortured in various ways.

Afterwards they took me out and put in a jeep. On the way they kept swearing and insulting me and kept saying, "we will shoot you and say that you were killed by communists". After about 45 minutes, they transferred me to a black car. They overthrew a coat on my head to prevent me to see. When they uncovered my head after about half an hour later, I was in a narrow corridor.

They put me in a room which its bed and table looked quite ordinary. Then without questions they said, "get undressed! You will go to bed with this soldier!" However, but for one, they all left the room. The one who stayed attacked me with his truncheon, he was at the same time trying to unbutton my coat. I resisted. The more I did the more he got mad and swore and insulted me with base words. Afterwards they took me next door and made me sit on the floor. They then brought two long sticks into the room to which they tied my hands and feet. Two of them lifted the stick to which my feet were tied. They started to beat me with truncheons on my shoulders, my arms and over my whole body. "She got used to the falaka," someone said, "let's apply others," and then took off my dresses stripping me naked below my waist and violated me with a truncheon. I do not really know what they did. The more I cried, the more they repeated this. I then lost my conscience. I recovered feeling some dirty yellow liquid poured over my head. Seven or eight of them around me were all laughing. They had also brought one of the soldiers into the room to let him watch what was going on. I do not know how long this lasted. Then someone said that it was 6.30 a.m. After this they untied the falaka and lifted me up. They took me to the corridor and forced again to jump on my feet. They then took me back into the torture room and put me in chains.

After a while they brought another girl into the room (Ulker Akgöl) and asked me if I knew her. When I answered I did not, they untied my chains and put me in a cell. During the day I was

beaten permanently by several at a time. There were 4 to 5 who kept coming and going and hit me at random all over my body, on my mouth and my nose. My face and hands were covered with blood. I had been put into such a state that one of my torturers cried, "look at you! Go and wash your face and comb your hair". They forced me to wash my face and then took me back into the cell and giving a pen and some paper told me to write everything down. One who was not pleased with what I had written started to slap me. They were threatening me saying, "next door your friend is having intercourse with the soldiers (they were referring to Ülker Akgöl). If you do not tell everything, we will put you there too. Do you know where you are? Neither the government nor the army can enter here. We are free to do whatever we want with you. What is more, we are going to bring your mother over here too". They also were mocking at me telling, "we will give electric current to your sexual organ and then you will never have children". In the afternoon, they left me in a cold cell where there was nothing but a bench. I stayed three days like this, listening to the screams of other tortured ones at nights. During my last interrogation one among them a so called Captain Ümit, said, "I could not get this girl to like me". When I answered, "on the one hand you are torturing me and on the other you are trying to have a chat," he got extremely angry and said: "Which torture are you talking about? We do not practice any such thing here. You fell down the stairs on your way here. That is why you look like that. You all keep saying things like that at the court too. That means nothing to us. However, this kind of rumors will lead you into trouble afterwards".

After my interrogation I was blindfolded and taken to the Ankara Police HQ's Security Department. There I saw a teacher about 60-65 year-old named Cemil (whose surname I do not know) whom they took to the MIT. When he was brought back, he was in such a state that he was not able to walk without the help of others.

Afterwards I was taken to the Mamak Military School together with Ülker Akgöl and from there to Ankara Yıldırım District HQ (another military base-tr). On April 14, 1972, I was arrested by the Istanbul Martial Law Court No.1. Two months later, the solitary confinement state was over and I was able to see my mother. She told me that after they had taken me away, military and the police had settled down in my house. They had not stopped insulting her and beating her on the head. My mother started to undergo a loss of memory since then.

At present, I am still in the Sıgmalıcağlar prison. (signed)

Name and Surname : Kamil Yüksel
 Profession : Air force cadet (dismissed)
 Date of detention : February 17, 1972 - Ankara
 Date of arrest : March 18, 1972 - İstanbul
 Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - İstanbul

I was detained in Ankara. They brought me firstly to the

Military Police HQ and later to the Security Police. I was put in a room without windows and always locked. There was not anything other than a chair and a bench. The lamp illuminating the room was abnormally shining. Although the room was locked and had no windows, they put handcuffs on my one arm and attached it to the bench. Nothing was given as food. They had kept a great deal of my money, therefore I could order only a quarters of a loaf, 100 grammes olives or halva (a kind of bugat) with my remaining money. Lack of air, food, a strong illumination and moreover lack of sleep. It was almost impossible to sleep. Because I was tied to the bench. I could lie only on my arm chained to the bench. The handcuff was already fastening my wrist, in addition to this when I gave my whole weight on it, my hand was turning to bright purple within 15 minutes. If I would sleep in this position, my hand might be gangrene. When I informed them of the danger on my hand, they gave a negative answer by kicking, slapping and swearing. It was then quite clear that my painful position was not a coincidence. In the same position I stayed for a week without any interrogation.

When they took me away for interrogation, I was so overwrought that neither speaking nor standing up was impossible for me. During the interrogation the fists and slaps of a few policemen were enough setting me to kiss the floor. But that time they did not apply too much torture. Because they would send me to Istanbul. After having a statement as a mere formality, on the next day I was sent to Istanbul.

In Istanbul, they locked me in a cell of the Security Police. The cell had a width of two spans more than a single bed. On the floor there was nothing other than a thin, bloody and greasy mattress. At the beginning, I could order my own food with my own money, but when my money came to an end I starved. Later then military began to send some food only enough not to cause to die. I stayed in that cell almost for 15 days. During this period I became infested with fleas. After 15 days they took me to interrogation. Although they did not torture me there, they said that if I did not talk, it would not be good for me, they would take me away from the Security Police to an unknown place, even there I might be killed. And all of what they said came true.

I was taken away on March 10th, at 11 a.m., from the Security Police. As I could see, the vehicle used to drive me was one of the Jeep's which had been recently imported for the armed forces. But to give a false appearance, it was turned grey. The persons who took me away were soldiers with automatic weapons and a plainclothed. The back part of the vehicle was completely covered with an awning. The moment I got on the vehicle, they shackled my feet and put spectacles on my eyes without lenses but covered with cotton wools. From then on it was impossible to see anything.

I could deduce from the shaking of the vehicle and the voices coming from outside that we passed to the Anatolian bank (of the Bosphorus-tr). Almost 30 to 45 minutes after I was taken out of the vehicle and entered a building being blindfolded. When my eyes were uncovered, I was in a small cell. They took my all dresses and gave me a dirty, bloody pair of pyjamas. Then a plainclothed

tried to shackle me to the rings on two walls, but another one prevented him from doing that saying my interrogation was not yet made. They urged me not to try to get out of the bed, to which I was then chained by my hands and feet, and they left the room.

The cell had a width of almost a bed's and there were only a mattress stuffed with straw and covered with spots of blood and a blanket. The dampness was so much that everywhere was wet. (Although later they would admit us to smoke cigarett, but a few matches would not burst into flame because of this dampness.)

The guard on duty was coming and looking inside through the door in every five minutes. He was carrying a German made rifle, remaining from the Second World War. I passed the first day by listening to the noise caused by the butt of this rifle knocking on the door. It was very cold or it seemed so because of the dampness. I was trembling like an aspen leaf. They did not give anything other than a thin slice of bread and a few spoonfull meal twice a day. They admitted me to go to the toilet when they wished. However, when I went to the toilet I could not clean myself because of being chained even at the lavatory. Therefore my whole body was in dirtiness.

On the next day they took me to another room for interrogation. There were various torturing devices in the room. For example, at least 10-15 falaka sets, the battery of electric-shock, a metal chair like an electric chair and some others which I could not identify. Two persons came to interrogate me. I deduced from their dialogues that one of these two plainclothes was an army colonel and the other was an army major. The colonel said that this secret place where I had been brought, was the Counter-Guerilla Base, they had no relations with the MIT or the Security Police, this base was under the command of the Turkish General Staff and was the only interrogation place of the military, who were the real rulers of Turkey. According to the colonel's introduction, even deaths were countless there.

Following this introduction, He gave a speech on the trinity of "Communism-Russia-Turkey". This kind of speeches were not very strange to me and it was true from their point of view.

Just the colonel finished his speech, the major who was almost two times bigger than me, and was standing just behind me, suddenly rushed at me by clamouring savagely, by kicking and slapping. This thrashing continued until I was unable to stand up. After a long while they took me to another room and cured my bleeding and blistered wounds. When I was brought again to the interrogation place, they said that it was just a beginning and started to interrogate me.

During the interrogation I tasted also falaka and electric shock. Thanks to my physical structure, the falaka was not affecting beyond a certain number of strikes. My whole body was deadening and I did not feel any more pain. Probably they deduced it from my screams that they started to give electric shocks.

I was tied to a special chair. One of the electrodes was attached to my left ear and other one to my left hand and another

one to my genital organ. They applied electroshock as frequent strikes sometimes for a long period and sometimes for a short one. I was not able to cry. I had only a rattle in my throat like a wounded man in the throes of death. During the torture, they did not ask any question. Even if I would say "I will talk," in order to breathe freely again and gain time, the major was carrying on the torture by cursing and swearing. The psychological effect of this situation on human being was too grave, even destructive. When they interrupted the torture, this time, I was hearing screams approaching from other rooms.

The following days also passed in the same fashion. On March 17, they brought me back to Selimiye Caserne. When I told about the tortures during my interrogation, to the military prosecutors, they only laughed at me with fascist gleams in their eyes.

(signed)

Name and Surname : Ibrahim Dikmeoglu
Profession : Taxi Driver
Date of detention : March 2, 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest : ? - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

2nd March 1972

I used to live at the ZeKibey quarter of Dikmen, Ankara. I am a taxi driver. On March 2, 1972, at about 10-11 a.m., I went out to take my cab to go to work. At that moment a colonel and two soldiers, who had got out of a military jeep, directed their guns towards to me and ordered to surrender. Then they took me into the jeep. The colonel told the soldiers to search me to see if I had a gun. I was searched, I had not any. They looked so determined to shoot me to death and leave my body in the middle of the road if I showed slightest resistance. I also got the impression that there were some other plainclothed officers about. They took me to the Military Police HQ of Ankara and put cuffs on my fingers (Obviously what he means is not the ordinary handcuffs-tr). After a while they drove me back in front of my house in a convoy of 3-4 military vehicles. They did not let me out of the jeep. Uniformed and plainclothed officers and soldiers in the other vehicles surrounded the house and then went inside to search. In the house there was only my old and ailing mother. When they were leaving the apartment, I saw them carrying my books out. I was brought back to the Military Police HQ. Another person named Mehmet Yüksel was also there. After a short wait they took me to the room of General Tevfik Türün, the Commander. He started to interrogate me.

"We have found some books in your house, what do you have to say?"

"I am interested in books, I read them. These books are freely sold in the market."

"They are all leftist books; why don't you read others?"

"I was a member of the Turkish Labour Party..."

He has suddenly interrupted:

"Shut up. Türkeş is an honorable commander. You cannot be a follower of Türkeş!" (Alparslan Türkeş is one of the 14 officers who were expelled from the National Unity Committee. He is a fanatical fascist and the leader of the National Action Party.)

I replied:

"I did not say, I am Türkeş's follower. I said that I am a member of the Turkish Labour Party. It is only normal that I read leftist books."

After that conversation, they took me to another room. A colonel registered my identity and then I was taken to a ward where there were soldiers. At about 4 p.m., they transferred me together with Mehmet Yüksel to the General Police Headquarters. They took the handcuffs off and handcuffed me to my chair. We spent the night there.

3rd March, 1972

At about 6 p.m., they handcuffed and blindfolded me. Turned me around and led me by the arm. An elevator took us to the ground floor. They again turned me around and then put me into a vehicle. The vehicle turned right to the Konya Highway along which we travelled for a while. Approximately near the end of the Emek quarter we turned left. To confuse me, they kept changing direction. It is possible that we again took the Konya Highway. The vehicle made a circle. This might have happened at the Balgat Flyover or around a square. After a while, we again changed direction and stopped after making another circle. They took me out and turned round again. I was led by the arm. We entered a building. Again I was turned around. Then we climbed down some stairs. I could hear people saying, "let him wait," "take the other one out..." We waited and then continued to climb down. Again I was turned around and led through a door. They took the blindfold off. I was in a room in the basement. I gathered that it was the torture room. Seven or eight people in plainclothes got around me. "We are all militaries. No one knows that we brought you here. We may kill you if we like," they said. They pushed me to the middle of the room. "Take off your coat," someone said, I did so. "Take off your jumper," I did. "Take off your trousers!" I did not know what to do. He shouted, "What are you waiting for, take your trousers off!" I did. "Take off your pants too," I did. I was naked from waist down. He said, "lie down!" I did. They opened my arms to both sides and tied them to the thick pole, passing behind my neck. It was like crucifixion. Then they brought another pole with a specially attached strap in the middle (falaka). They put my feet through the strap and twisted the falaka pole to make sure that my feet were tied tightly enough. (The scars of the wounds caused by the falaka strap are

°) In Turkish there is a very great similarity between the pronunciation of "Türkeşçiyim" meaning "I am Türkeş's follower" and the pronunciation of "Türkiye İşçi Partiliyim" meaning "I am Turkish Labour Party's member".

still on my ankles and they become permanent.) They called in two uniformed soldiers. One of them stood on my right and the other on my left. They knew very well what they were going to do. They turned their back to me; immediately bent and hold the falaka pole on both ends and lifted my feet up. One of the torture experts stood in front of me with a police truncheon in his hand. He lifted the truncheon and started to beat my soles with all the strength he got. These torture experts were specially selected big and strong men. The tortures they applied seemed as physical training for them. I got the impression that they did not become tired very easily. The one who started to beat me was permanently hitting my soles. Blows were unendurable. But it seemed quite normal for them. Not being satisfied with beating my soles, they attached two electric cables to my hand and to my toe; and meantime, another one started to give current. The first one finally got tired. He passed the truncheon to another one. He began to beat my soles. He too was a big and strong man. He was lifting the truncheon and striking it to my soles without stopping. He also got tired and gave the truncheon back to the first one. He again started to beat my soles. They were taking short brakes in that way to get some rest. On the other hand; I was being beaten and electrocuted without any break. I was wriggling in agony. Then they finally stopped, I was lifted up. I was not able to stand on my feet. One of them shouted, "send in two soldiers!" To one of the soldiers who just got in, he said, "pour some water on the floor." The other soldier was a small chap. "You get out, send..." he said to him. This time a strongly built one came in. To him he said: "Mount on his back," pointing at me. I already had considerable difficulty in standing up on my feet, but I was made to run on the wet floor with the soldier who weighed at least 80 to 90 kilos on my back. They told me to count how many laps I made. I counted as I ran. From time to time, someone came in and checked what I was doing. It was about the 800th lap when they all came back. They blindfolded and took me out of the torture room. I was turned around. They put me in what looked like a coffin. There was enough room only for one man. My hand was handcuffed to an iron bar above my head. The guard they posted was poking me with the truncheon in his hand. While I was there, I could hear the screams coming from the torture room. Then they came back to me and took the handcuffs off. I took 3 or 4 paces led by the arm. Then they turned me around. I took 3 or 4 paces more and entered a room. They took the blindfold off, I was again in the torture room. They again made me to lie down, my arms and feet were tied in the same manner; they again started to beat my soles. Then they stopped. They disengaged the electric cables from my hand. One of them asked if I was married. I said I was single. He said, "good thing too, Now I will apply the electric current to your penis, so that you will never be able to get married. Attach the cable to his penis!" They did so and began to give electricity. Simultaneously they were beating my soles and giving electricity. I shouted: "Kill me, but stop this torture!" In reply they became more savage, increasing the dose of the torture. They were taking short breaks by changing their turns, but I was being tortured all the time. The simultaneous application of electricity and beating of soles continued until 2 o'clock in the morning. A park bench was brought in the room.

They handcuffed me to it. They left a guard and told him not to allow me to fall asleep. They did not give me any water. I was so mutilated that my head kept falling. The guard immediately started to knock the door saying "you are not allowed to sleep".

4th March, 1972

They came in at about 1 p.m. Being lied down, my hands and feet were again tied in the same manner. One of them said, "attach the cable to his penis," which they did. They again gave electricity beating my soles at a time. One said, "now I will poke truncheon into your anus". Then he shouted, "bring in some grease!" A soldier came in and left a glassfull of grease on the table. The torture expert began to force my anus with the truncheon. To penetrate it, he was turning it; and meantime they kept giving electricity. He then started to beat my soles again. They continued the torture in that manner until evening. Then, taking out of the torture room, they led me to the central heating room. Mehmet Yüksel was there. They took him away and handcuffed me to a chair in there.

5th March, 1972

I heard screams during the night. At about 10 p.m., they brought me to the torture room. They pointed at a naked person and asked if I knew him. I said that his face was not a stranger's. (I then learned that his name was Yavuz Gökmen.) They took me out of the torture room. They also asked many names which I didn't know.

6th March, 1972

They took my written deposition in the afternoon. At about 9 p.m., I was blindfolded and put into a car. There was also a woman in the car. I then learned that she was Füsün Gökmen. They took both of us to the Police HQ. I was taken into a room in the basement. During the nights the number of people in the room was 15 to 20. They were all ordinary criminals. All were tortured.

Afterwards I was transferred to another room where I met Akın Yılmaz and later Yavuz Gökmen. Then we were delivered to Istanbul. We stayed in the Selimiye Caserne in a room with Mehmet Yüksel, Osman Cavit İyigün and some others. There were blisters under my feet. They were very much bruised and purple in color. During the time I was in Ankara, in the MIT centre where I was tortured, and in the Police HQ, I was kept hungry. The total number of meals I had including the one at MIT, is about 4 to 5. In the Police HQ, we were not given any food and not allowed to buy anything. At present I am imprisoned in the Sıgmalcılar Prison. I was told that I was a witness in the trial of Zeki Öruç Erel which is being heard in Ankara. The following is the account of an incident which took place while I was being taken to the Istanbul Martial Law Tribunal No.3 for interrogation:

On January 3, 1973 I was taken to the main gate of the Bayrampaşa Prison, from where I was going to be taken to the Selimiye Caserne. The Lieutenant (Adil) who had come from the Selimiye Caserne said in a nervous tone, "were you not told to come down, why

are you late?" I said I came as soon as I was told after getting dressed. He handcuffed me to a soldier. There were a sergeant and a corporal behind me with truncheons in their hands. The lieutenant was farther back and armed. As we started to walk out of the main gate, the lieutenant shouted, "let him have it!" The sergeant and the corporal began to beat me with truncheons. They were hitting at my back, shoulders, and legs. The lieutenant joined them and kicked me. I covered the 30 meter distance between the main gate and the vehicle under at least 50-60 truncheon blows. If I tried to resist, the lieutenant would surely shoot me. Then he would probably say that he shot me because I tried to escape. This incident occurred before the eyes of 40-50 gendarmes who were on duty, the civilians (probably inmates) in the garden, and the passers-by.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Cigdem Kömürçüoğlu
Date of Detention	: March 25, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of Arrest	: May 25, 1972 - Istanbul
First trial	: January 10, 1973 - Ankara

On March 25th, 1972, I was taken out noon by the police. Swearing and cursing began as soon as they put me into the car. My bag was torn out of my hand and searched for gun. When they could not find any, they brutalized me. When I asked where they were taking me and protested that they had no right to curse at me like this, the answer I received was, "you will see once you get there! You will see what we shall do to you, you bitch!" I was dragged up to the Security Police, there they attacked me and started asking questions. One of the questions they asked was whether I was a virgin or not. Then, they took me to the Director Mahmut Dikler's room. He told me that I should better beware, for otherwise those in the K group would be capable of tearing me to pieces, and slapping me on the face said, "take this bitch away". I was then taken back to the K group. They took off my skirt and made me put a pair of trousers on. I was laid down and my feet were attached to falaka stick and lifted up. A chair was put on me and a policeman sat on this chair. The other two were holding my arms. Then falaka began. They were hitting, hitting and the policemen on top of me swearing shameful words and spitting at my face. The rest were near my feet and when one got tired, the other one was taking over, changing from time to time the tools with which they hit me. As my feet got numb, they would pour water over my legs, force me to get up and jump on the floor, drag me by my hair, hit me with their fists and beat me on my back and buttocks. "Run you whore," they were crying. They would then put my feet into cold salted water and start the falaka over again. As the sticks and tools they were using were not enough, they took some of the wood which was in the room. In the end, they had lost themselves altogether, and become real monsters. They then started to cry, "she is getting pleasure out of it, the bitch, put that runcheon in her, so that she will see what it means". Meanwhile, the policemen around me were squeezing my breasts and body. At the same time they were also

hitting my palms with wood. Once, using a tweezers they pulled out my tongue and one of them tried to cut my tongue with a pair of scissors. This torture, repeated over and over, went on like this until my feet burst open and blood came pouring out of my nose. As I had lost my sense of time, I do not know how long it lasted. I was not in a state to walk; I was carried by the policemen and taken into a room. My legs had swollen and had turned completely blue. For hours, I listened to beast-like voices coming from the ceiling. Next day I was taken before someone whom they called colonel. He told me that I should stop being silly, otherwise they would put me in a bag and throw out into the sea, that no one would ever be able to find even a trace of me, that they were capable of sacrificing 6 millions without giving it a second thought. The Security Police doctor put me under treatment for my feet. He gave me some pills which, he said would prevent the inflammation of my wounds. One evening, I was again taken back to the K group, I was punched and subjected to collective beating. As a result of the blows I had received on my head and throat, my face got all blue and was smeared with blood. My voice was also became hoarse.

One evening, I was taken, my eyes blindfolded, and kept walking around for a while and finally put into a room. I was tied to a chair. They attached cables to my toes and fingers. They started to give electric current. At the same time, they were also giving current to my head. My chin was being thrown from side to side, beast-like grunts were rising from my throat. I was feeling the current run through all my body. My brain was throbbing. My eyes felt as though they would run out of their sockets. It was applied either as short severe shocks or continuously, for moments on end. Meanwhile, those around me were swearing and saying that my face would become paralysed, and that if I were to die, they would throw me out of the window. They then lifted my sweater and underwear and began to apply current to my nipples. This went on for hours on end, with the electrodes, all the time, attached to my head. They were also pouring water so as to increase the impact of the current. It was midnight when they finally left me. My hands and feet had become all numb and swollen. My tongue had also swollen and become sawy at the edges. I had been completely transfigured. Next day; I was again taken away. Again I was tied to a chair and told that they would apply current. They kept me sitting there, waiting with the electrodes tied to my hands and feet. However, I was in such a shape, that this time electric current was not applied. Yet, I was beaten while still blindfolded and tied to the chair. Moreover, I was beaten with a long stick on my legs, especially just under my knees, on my leg bones right where the leg nerves are. My whole legs, down from my buttocks had become all blue. Two days later, I was again blindfolded and taken away, and again electric current was applied as I described above. They went on repeating, "we have smeared salammoniac on your head and on your body, now you are really done for". At the same time they kept saying, "strip her panty and give it to her c...! Then she will understand. Maybe then she will also remember". In the same time, I again received innumerable slaps and blows. I do not know how long this one lasted too, it must have gone on for three or four hours.

Apart from this, nights on end, they would come and tell me to sit and wait, for they would come back for me. Meanwhile, different people would come in, look at me for a while and go out. After waiting for hours, another would come and say, "go to sleep now". Also, the whole time, I was being threatened with death. They were saying that they would give me an injection, which would make me lose my senses, then they would do whatever they wanted with me and say that I was insane and shut me up in an lunatic asylum and that I was a smoker and a whore. In fact, one night I was taken to a room for this and was asked how many times and with how many people I had gone to bed. One of them, whose name I think was Fahrettin (Benli-tr), and whom I would recognize if I saw him today, said to me, "look here, you, I do not like that look of yours, I shall see to it that you will never forget me". This person had been present during the tortures as well and in fact personally beaten me. For, although I was all the time blindfolded during the tortures, I could still recognize their voices. I also think that the person who had taken me to the police and who also was present during my tortures and from whom I had repeatedly received slaps and cursing, was called Enver Çakır. There was also Kemal, the policeman, whom they sometimes called Osman. He too was present during my tortures. Furthermore, during the whole time I stayed at the police, beside these threats and tortures, I have been threatened of being sent to a place on the other coast.

Ölkü Göker, Emine Büşra Ersanlı, Rıza Cenabi Nuhurat and Nuri Türkees, who were also at the police with me during the 32 days I stayed there have witnessed the tortures I have described above.

On the other hand, I myself know that electric current was applied to Nuri Türkees. Nergis Savran, when she was put beside me at the police had her arms all swollen and full of bruises.

(signed)

Detainee at the Military
Prison No.3

Name and Surname	: Haldun Yeşil
Profession	: Air Force Captain (dismissed)
Date of detention	: February 12, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: March 15, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On February 12, 1972 at 9 a.m., together with my friend Seyfi Akman, I was taken away from my house at Kızıltoprak - Sadberk Sokak No 7/1 and we were detained. Therein we were handcuffed and blindfolded with black sunglasses. I was in my military uniform. After a journey of about 10 to 15 minutes, we stopped at the Istanbul District HQ of the MIT. Still being blindfolded, we were taken into a room. I was given a pair of old pyjamas and taken into the torture room. Therein a group of 6-7 people subjected me to various physical and psychological tortures without removing the blindfold off. Falaka was tied to my feet. Being handcuffed, I have been beaten until my feet were swollen and my ribs were broken. I

have happened not to be able to walk and my feet have been entirely blistered. In addition to physical tortures, I was insulted with the most loathsome curses and I have paid a high price for being a patriotic officer. I remembered the principle of treating a prisoner of war according to his rank as laid down in international agreements. But I also remembered the nature of fascism and convinced myself that this was the proper treatment offered by fascism.

In the nights, as being handcuffed and shackled, we were listening the inhuman tortures applied to our friends (both male and female) and their screams caused by torture, through the internal intercom system. We were listening and waiting for our turn to come.

I spent one month there under the same conditions. Then electroshock was applied to several parts of my body. Afterwards, my swollen feet and broken ribs were treated by a physician who was brought in there. As a result of all those tortures, I was obliged to admit many offences which are so far from the reality and had to sign a deposition.

(signed)

Name and Surname	: Güner Durlanık
Profession	: Air Force Captain (dismissed)
Date of detention	: March 29, 1972 - Unye
Date of arrest	: April 9, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

I am Güner Durlanık, a captain in the Air Force. The day after the three Englishmen were kidnapped at Unye, I was taken from my military unit -by helicopter- to Merzifon and from there to Istanbul by plane which was being kept ready in Merzifon. They took me out of the plane at the air port and brought to MIT as blindfolded and the very day I was taken into the torture room. There were a lieutenant general and five civilians in the room. They were addressing each other as, "captain", "colonel". The general told me that I would be killed, that I must tell everything and asked me where Mahir (Çayan) was hiding, where the Englishmen were kept and they started to beat me with slaps and fists. As my feet and hands were chained, a couple of times I fell down. They could not get me to answer and subjected the falaka. After a while of beating, they transferred me to another room and began to beat again, all the while swearing and insulting my friends and making accusations. They connected electric wires to my fingers and ears and gave current to me, periodically varying the degree of voltage. The general was repeatedly telling me that there was no place that we could go to and complain, he would fuck the constitution, I would be killed and dropped into a ditch and give in a report that I was shot to death attempting to escape. The tortures went on for two days and a half. I was kept eight days at MIT in a cell with my hands and feet chained. They got my testimony and made me sign.

Military prosecutor Naci Gür told me to repeat the same

testimony and threatened me to be sent back to torture if I did not so. And the martial law court decided to arrest me without asking any question or stating anything to me. Then I was put into prison.
(signed)

Name and Surname : Ali Baykal Gürsoy
Father's Name : Mehmet Nuri
Place and date of birth: Kadirli-Adana, 1951
Date of detention : March 24, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : April 20, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On Friday, March 24, 1971 I was apprehended at Ornektepe, in the house where I stayed, as a result of a raid involving between 250-300 policemen and soldiers. The beating procession started as soon as I was apprehended. I was put into a military truck (GMC) together with the friend with whom I was caught. Together with us, four officers from the MIT entered the truck. They handcuffed each of us and started hitting us with rifles and kicks. This went on about an hour to an hour and a half. We were lying in the ~~garage~~ When I regained consciousness, I was bleeding in my mouth and my nose. As for my friend, his eyes were swollen shut and his face had become unrecognizable. During the beating, at the beginning our hands were cuffed in the front. Later they were handcuffed at the back as we had apparently protected our faces and stomachs with our cuffed hands, and the beating continued like that. Accompanied with threats and insults, we were brought to Harbiye Military Police HQ. Kicking us and slapping us they put into separate cells. They had tied my hands (at my back) and feet with jute. I stayed there till about 12-13 hours around noon. During this time, I was kicked with intervals. At noon, my friend and I were taken out of our cells to be transferred to the Police HQ. As soon as we entered the car, they started to punch us and to swear at. One of the civil policemen grabbed my penis and started to pull it. He was saying that he would castrate me. Until and after we arrived at Police HQ, this continued with intervals. I could not understand whether this policeman was a sadist or a pederast.

I was put into a cell after I was brought to Police HQ. A little later, the first inquiry started in a room where four persons were present. The name of one of them was Zeki, assistant director; and the two others were from MIT. One of them was a blond of medium height with spectacles, and a wide forehead; the other was short, dark and stocky. The first thing they asked me was, if I was a marxist-leninist or not. Immediately after that they added: "If you accept the Kemalist line and tell us where Yusuf Küpeli and his friends are, we will treat you well. If you insist in your old way of thinking, our attitude will be different. Then start to prepare yourself for all sorts of tortures from now on." When I said that I was a marxist-leninist and that I did not know where these friends were, they gave me time -until 19.00 hours- swearing at me. At the end of the given time, the same men re-questioned me.

When I repeated the same things, they started beating me and swearing at me. Meanwhile they were telling me that they were "humanists" but had "torture executioners" who could carry out torture skillfully. They handed me over -with their own expressions- to these "torture executioners" at about 20.00 hours. I was first taken to the room next to the Director's office. I was beaten there until I fainted. They poured water on my face and immediately woke me up. Taking me from there, they brought me to a place where there were 15-20 people and which was called "K" Group. They all looked like dogs, ready to sadistically tear their chase to pieces. They were mentally sick people whose eyes were frozen-matt with sadistic excitement. Without wasting any time, I was thrown to the floor for the falaka, and beaten until midnight without any interruption. When I said that I did not know where my friends were, I was again subjected to falaka. The more I said I did not know, the more they fiercely attacked me and hit harder and harder.

When I began to bleed on my feet, they got excited and hit me harder, in order to make the blood run faster. They were in a state like greyhounds that have smelled blood. They stopped for a while to allow my feet to swell. Meanwhile they took all my clothes off and started to beat me at random, hitting all parts of my body with their truncheons. As one of them got tired, he was replaced by another. The truncheons left marks all over my body. After half an hour, they convinced that my feet were sufficiently swollen and I was laid down for falaka again. At every 15-20 minutes, the question about where my friends were was repeated, and when I said I did not know, the torture was continued. During the falaka operation, 3 to 5 times I was taken to different places where torture went on. To stop me screaming, they pressed my mouth the the heels of their shoes and bruised my lips. Falaka was stopped a little before the morning shift began (I think it was 5.30-6.00 a.m.). It would start again in the evening. They dragged me out and put into a cell. I felt a great pain as if my brain was wrenched out of my head. During the torture, although I was dying of thirst, they did not give me a drop of water.

During the torture, they took me near the window and threatened to throw me out several times. They said, "we say that you committed suicide and no one can question us about it. It is the General Staff that deals with this". They would add to their threats that they would torture my mother, father and sisters before my eyes. They said that my life depended upon my friends seizure, that I would be subjected to torture until my friends were caught, and that it would continue until I die. During the actual torture, the one with spectacles, who did the first interrogation, used to come at every one hour and ask about the progress. Everytime he went away, he told them to continue the torture.

For two or three days I lay in the cell half-conscious. It was impossible for me to stand on my feet. Even sitting down was not possible without leaning back on my hands. I could go to the toilet only with the assistance of 1-2 people. While going or coming from the toilet, I was faced with insults and they intentionally stepped on my feet. When they stepped on my feet, blood rushed up to my brain, and I felt great pain. They took pleasure in

this. I was beaten and kicked all the time during the 28 days I was in this cell. Three to four days after the torture, when they took me out to the corridor in order to put my feet in salted water, for preventing the infection, a man whom I think was a superintendent beat me until I fainted, together with a policeman.

We were used to be taken to the toilet only once a day. If anyone wanted to go there apart from this, he was insulted and beaten. Usually they didn't give drinking water. Smoking was totally up to the guard. During this period, I was questioned many times, and at most of these sessions either insulted or beaten. Everything was signed without being read, for if you did not sign you would be taken back to be tortured immediately. On the 27th day, my testimony was taken by the people who had questioned me at the beginning. They tried to make me accept many things under the threat of torture. After my interrogation was finished, being taken out of the cell I was brought into a big room. In the evening, they interrogated me again. They forced me to accept certain things. When I did not accept, they first started punching and then blindfolded me. I was brought in somewhere after being made to walk a while. Here they tied my hands and feet to a chair. They gave me electricity on my fingers and toes. This was repeated several times. I should say that I did not feel as much pain as I did from the other torture. Electric shocks were much too light compared with falaka.

After several types of tortures had been applied over 28 days, I was arrested and brought to Bayrampasa Prison. As it is done to all other friends, I was put into a cell as well. For ten months, we wait for being brought before a court in these cells.

Even at present I have marks of the injuries that I received under torture. One and a half to two months after the torture, some of my toe nails have dropped off.

(signed)
January 5, 1973

Name and Surname	: Gönül Zileli (female)
Father's name	: Muzaffer
Place and date of birth:	Bursa, 1946
Profession	: Last semester student at Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara
Date of detention	: September 14, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest	: October 11, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial	: January 10, 1973 - Ankara

I was taken to the Security Police at Gayrettepe by the policemen who raided my house in Istanbul on September 14, 1972. There I was subjected to electric torture with intervals from 21 p.m., to 2 a.m. I felt that I was being tied with belts to a chair after taken out of the cell and brought into a room at the first flat. After receiving "warning shocks" on my wrists and fingers, I was told that "I was in the hands of a top secret organization". During this first torture practice, I was accused of using various false names. Once a while I was confronted with a

friend (Halil Lütüfi Tınç) who was apprehended a week before me. Tınç's head was in bandages, police told me that, they, themselves bungled his head. Although they had tried to camouflage, those bandages could be seen on Tınç's photographs of profile which are supposed to be in the police archives. Moreover, although I was blindfolded, I identified Kazim Koyun's voice, who used to share my flat, and deduced from his screams that he was being tortured; I also heard the policeman saying "attach it to his testicles". Same night I was asked -even though it is not related at all to the investigation- if I have had slept with those whom they knew I have friendship with; and the same time I was tortured and heavily sworn at. The next day when they found out those -whom, during the torture, I admitted that could come that night- have not come to my house, they punished me by giving electricity to my tongue and to my mouth.

Either that day, or in the following, they forced me to "confess" that I was involved in a sabotage case, which I still cannot understand what it was. Afterwards, when my blindfold was removed and when I have asked them what was that sabotage case, I was replied, "overlook it; we have been mistaken".

During the tortures, when I said them the electricity could stop my heart which is already weak, they answered me that they had practised it a lot, that shocks did not stop the heart, that even if it did, it had no importance for them. When I was at the Police HQ, I listened various times the screams of Kamil Erdem, Ömer Kömürçüoğlu, Osman Gürhan Ertür while they were tortured and very many others whose names I do not know. And I heard them moaning when they were brought back to their cells.

Towards the end of my custody period, I was given some papers to write my affidavit, but since they disliked what I have written, they carried me upstairs at midnight. I was slapped and kicked there by two persons, one of whose had armorial bearings of an American University on his coat. At this beating, three of my teeth moved from their roots and their treatment was started when I was put into Sıgmalçılar. But when I was transferred to Ankara the treatment was not finished. In addition to that, the fistula in my navel was opened because of the blows and got microbes. The ointment given by the detention house's doctor for this, should have been registered to the health files of the detention house.

Also in Ankara, to where I was sent one month after my arrest, I was taken away from the detention house, brought to MIT and forced to give a new statement. This event could be proved with the certificate, signed and given to me by Col. Kemal Saldıraner, Director of the Detention House, on my demand.

February 4, 1973
(signed)

Name and Surname	: Fatma Gül Baltalı (female)
Occupation	: Student
Date of detention	: April 1972 - Ankara
Date of arrest	: June 1, 1972 - Ankara
Date of first trial	: January 10, 1973 - Ankara

TO THE ATTENTION OF ANKARA MARTIAL LAW COURT NO. 3

Inhuman repressions and tortures have been applied to the political detainees in Military Detention House No. 3. The repressions are still carried on in various forms.

On December 14, 1972, the detention house's director has given an order to beat all political detainees in ward No 1, thereupon the soldiers, equipped with truncheons and bayonets, have entered the ward and beaten everybody including sick ones after forcing them to come out of their beds. The detainee Gülay Büyüközden has been dragged into a cell, her mouth fastened firmly. Also from the same ward, Penina Bencuya, Gülay Özdes, Türkan Sabuncu, Olca Altınay, Huriye Üstün, Gülay Çazkir, Nilgün Karagözoglu and Nur Üster have been taken away and locked into a place which firmly could be described as dungeon where they kept on beating them. Türkan Sabuncu has been beaten after being put into chains. Thereupon soldiers and non-commissioned officers have thrown stones at the detainees in the ward No 2 on the order of detention house's director and the director stated that he, himself, could also stone the detainees when it is necessary.

Suppression and fustigations have been carried on during the hunger strike, held by the female detainees to protest these illegal repression and tortures. Four detainees have been picked up from different wards and taken to a place named Ward No 3, together with the eight detainees who were kept in dungeon three days. Now, in that place, which is only large enough for 10 persons and deprived of ward qualities, 20 detainees are kept under terrible health conditions and they are subjected to the heaviest suppressions and insults. This execution by the detention house's administration aims to increase the pressure on the political prisoners which is already in practise. During and just after the hunger strike, prisoners have been deprived of open air for 15 days, their windows have been painted and nailed and they have been left without wood and coal in the winter. In addition to these illegal punishments, the prison executives also practised another illegal punishment: Deprive the prisoners of drinking water. The political detainees' appeals, brought before the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters by their lawyers, have been rejected and denied before the public. This rejection answer also claims that, not a single torture mark has found on anybody until today and nobody has appealed to the prison's physician on this subject. On the contrary, this statement is completely contradicting the reality. Many of the detainees still have the scars of torture on their faces and bodies. On this subject, detainees of the ward No 1 have appealed to the Martial Law Headquarters requesting to be examined by experts at the legal medicine. Moreover, Ayşe Semra Eker, Nergis Savran, Gülşen Attila and Siper Güvenç have appealed before hand to the detention house's physician several times requesting to be sent to hospital in order to verify the physical damages caused by tortures. But all of these applies have always been refused.

Female political detainees of the Military Detention House No 3, under inhuman repressions, are exactly deprived of the security of their lives. They can be taken away the detention house

any moment on the pretext of interrogation and carried into MIT and forced to "confess" once again under torture. As a matter of fact, when Ankara Martial Law Headquarters stating that the political detainees can be brought to the "necessary places" in the circumstances mentioned by law, but nobody has been subjected to torture, that is to say that on December 28, 1972, Ayten Canatan has been taken away to MIT and subjected to electric torture although her case's file was at the Court of Cassation. None of the laws has such an article that orders detainees to be carried to necessary places and be tortured. Detention house's executives, who are named "conscious" and "respectful of human rights" in the above-mentioned statement, insult and threaten the detainees on every occasion. Actually, the Director of Military Detention House No 3 can clearly say: "Neither the Constitution nor human rights exist here". He even can shout "that time, to kill you will soon arrive," as he has already shouted at female political detainees on December 14, 1972.

Ankara Martial Law Headquarters has denied all of these illegal practises of torture and supression of which competent authorities have been informed by female detainees' lawyers. This denial is the proof of the fact that, the illegal treatments in the martial law detention houses are purposely carried out within the competent authorities' knowledge and that, are the aspects of the repressive and terrorizing policy that already being practised on our people. This also clarifies that the martial law detention houses are not used for the purposes mentioned in the article 76th of the Law No. 353, but for suppressing and terrorizing those who are devoted to the liberation of their people.

The political detainees at the Martial Law Detention House No 3 are deprived of their right to live who are under the threat of being carried away to MIT any moment and to be tortured there or under the threat of inhuman treatments within the detention house.

I present this information to your attention.

January 13, 1973

(signed)

Political detainee at Ward No 2
of Military Detention House No 3

And the followings are, a letter of Ruşen Beyazit, Artillery Colonel, Commander of the Military Prison of Maltepe, to the Chief of the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters; and the application of Rasim Ozkan addressed to the same military court. The contents speaks for itself.

TURKISH REPUBLIC
ARMED FORCES COMMAND
KARTAL-MALTEPE

19.10.1971

THE HOUSE OF PUNISHMENT AND ARREST : 7020 - 196 - 71
SUBJECT : On Rasim Ozkan

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE MILITARY COURT NO 3 OF MARTIAL LAW
SELIMIYE

The nails of the feet (both feet) of the defendant whose identity is printed above have been pulled out on 18.10.1971.

He is given a six days repose. Therefore, he could not attend to the hearing of the court.

I submit it hereby for due processing.

(signature)

Kuşen Beyazıt
Artillery Senior Colonel,
Commander of the House of
Punishment and Arrest

His identity:

RASIM OZKAN

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TO THE PRESIDENT OF MILITARY COURT NO 3 OF ISTANBUL MARTIAL LAW HQ,
ITS SUBJECT: Exemption of my presence at court
APPLICANT: Rasim Ozkan

I have been heavily tortured in the Department of Security, and, during which, my toe-nails were pulled off which resulted with inflammation. (...)

I request that I should be exempted from being present at the court.

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