

PRESSURE ON THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF TURKEY

Solidarity Publications



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CHAPTER I

From the very first day of the September 1980 Coup d'état in Turkey, the military junta, like all tyrants, exerted all kinds of pressure on the country's intellectual life. Mass media were subjected to censorship and self-censorship, Radio-TV was turned into a parrot of the military, hundreds of thousands of books were destroyed, hundreds of journalists, writers, translators and artists were prosecuted and condemned, and universities and schools were made the tools of the military's ideological brainwashing. This first chapter of the pamphlet on the oppression of intellectuals already appeared in the *Black Book on the Militarist "Democracy" in Turkey*, published by Info-Türk in 1986.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The military has responded to this very

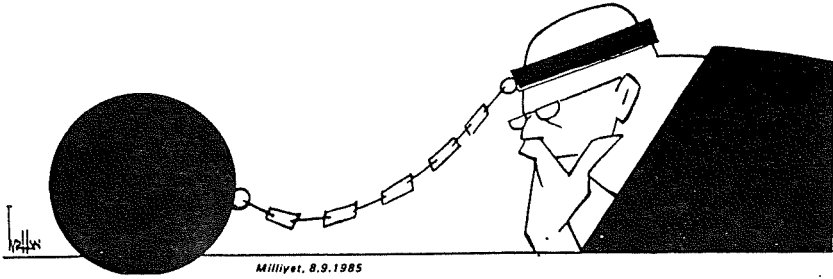
innocent petition by the Turkish intellectuals with new legal proceedings against all of them. On May 21, the military prosecutor of the Ankara Martial Law command started interrogating them one by one on order of the General Staff Headquarters.

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

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

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

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



Milliyet, 8.9.1985

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The trial opened on August 15, 1984.

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

The other intellectuals charged:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chomsky, Bibi Anderson, David Steel, Mikis Theodorakis.

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

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

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

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

Azis Nesin accuses General Evren

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

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

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

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

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



AZIZ NESIN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

COMPLETE TEXT OF INTELLECTUALS' PETITION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRIAL OF THE WRITERS' UNION OF TURKEY

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

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

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

On January 21, 1985, the military court

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

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

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

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

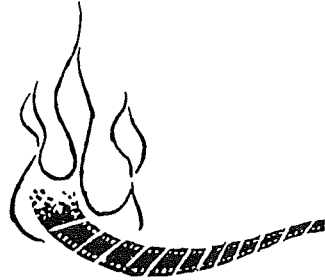
On October 13, 1985, he was invited by the National Union of Journalists (NUJ) of Great Britain to a closed conference on Media in Turkey. But the "civilian" government would not allow him to go abroad. Thereupon, *Aziz Nesin* sent a letter to General Evren and declared that if his letter was not answered,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

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

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

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

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



REPRESSION OF MASS MEDIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Condemned journalists

We are reproducing the list of these journalists, published in the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 3, 1986.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

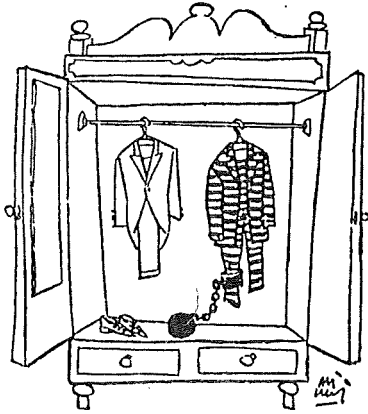
22. *Mete Dalgin* (periodical *Halkin Birliği*): condemned to 30 years in different cases.

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

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

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

26. *Candemir Özler* (periodical *Savas*



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

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

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

Sadi Ozansu (translator):

7 years and 6 months.

Enis Rıza Sakızlı (translator):

7 years and 6 months.

Leyla Yurdakul (journalist):

9 years and 6 months.

Lütfü Oflaz (journalist):

1 year and 6 months.

Cavit Tuncer (translator):

7 years and 6 months.

Ali Bahadır (journalist):

4 years and 8 months.

Orhan Senyüz (author):

7 years and 6 months.

Tamer Kayas (journalist):

1 year and 6 months.

Aydın Engin (journalist):

1 year and 6 months.

Fatih Yıldız (poet):

4 years and 2 months.

A. Turgay Fisekli (journalist):

1 year and 6 months.

Aydın Senesen (journalist):
3 years.

Abdullah Gelgeç (journalist):
3 months.

Seydali Gönel (cartoonist):
3 months.

Okay Gönensin (journalist):
3 months.

Oktay Akbal (journalist):
3 months.

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

Siar Yalçın (translator):
6 months.

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

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

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

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

Nazlı İliçak (journalist):
12 months.

Erol Gözmen (journalist):
8 years.

Nihat Behram (writer):
6 months.

Aydoğdu İler (journalist):
Fine.

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

Demirtaş Ceyhan (journalist):
6 months.

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

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

Bektaş Edoğan (journalist):
9 years.

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

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

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

Cezmi Kırımlı (journalist):
4 months.

Metin Tokar (journalist):
3 months.

Doğan Heper (journalist):
3 months.

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

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

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

- Aydin Senesen* (journalist):
18 months.
- Ramazan Güntay* (journalist):
6 months.
- Fehmi Isiklar* (author):
6 months.
- Osman Sahin* (author):
18 months.
- Ferhat Akdag* (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
- Mehmet Ali Kutlu* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Yüksel Erdogan* (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
- Osman Yesil* (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
- Cezmi Kirmli* (journalist):
1 year and 4 months.
- Güzel Aslaner* (journalist):
31 years.
- Hikmet Hüris* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Durmus Ali Aydin* (journalist):
16 months.
- Attila Tanilgan* (publisher):
7 years and 6 months.
- Yalçin Dogan* (journalist):
1 month.
- Mehmet Özdemir* (journalist):
5 years.
- Riza Olgun* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Unviye Kayserilioglu* (journalist):
6 years.
- Ibrahim Arik* (journalist):
15 years.
- Zeki Araç* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Saban Bilgin* (journalist):
8 years and 6 months.
- Mehmet Cerit* (journalist):
19 years.
- Nurettin Baydar* (journalist):
6 years.
- Yilmaz Dinçberk* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Mustafa Sular* (journalist):
7 years and 6 months.
- Taner Akçam* (journalist):
8 years.
- Naci Ali Özer* (journalist):
27 years.

Pressure on foreign press corres- pondents

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

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

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

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

Imset was drafted for military service in September 1984.

NEW REPRESSIVE PRESS CODE

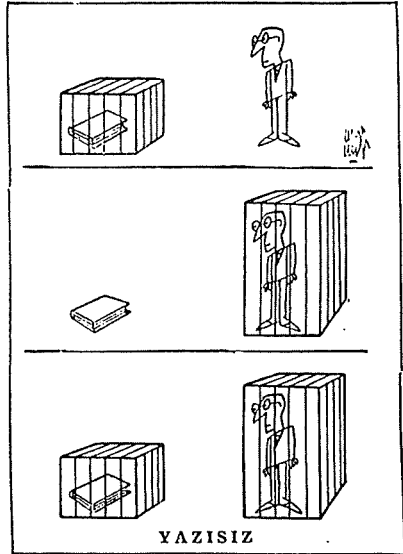
To render constant the control on the Press, the NSC adopted, just before the legislative elections of 1983, a new press code. According to this new law:

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BOOK-HUNTING

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

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

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

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

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

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

Some other significant practices:

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

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

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

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

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

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

RADIO TELEVISION

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

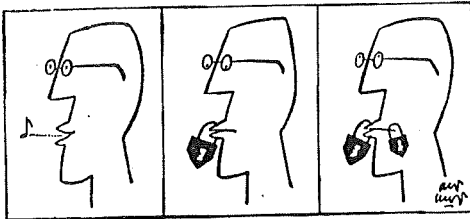
and Municipal Theatres and other public cultural institutions; shooting or projection of cinema films were subjected to a previous control and many internationally renowned film directors and artists were prosecuted.

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

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

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

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



YILMAZ GÜNEY'S TORMENTING ORDEAL

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

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

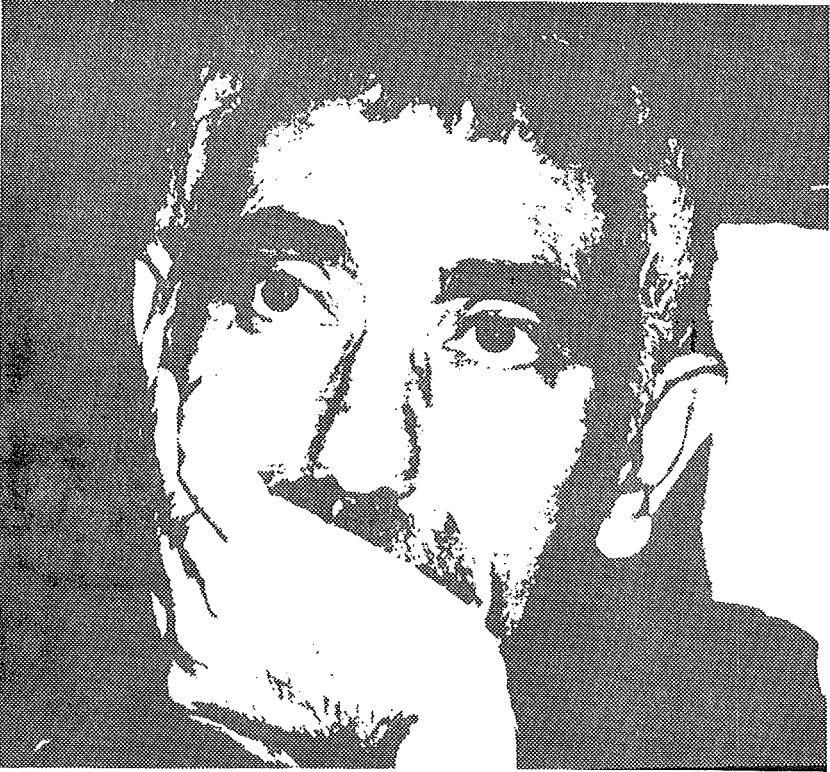
Güney, the son of a landless Kurdish peasant, was born in 1931 in a little village. He worked his way through high school in the southern town of Adana and entered Istanbul University's school of economics. He spent two years in jail, in 1960-1962, on charges of making communist propaganda in a magazine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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

sored by Greece and France on the Greek island Hydra.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"Farewell Robin Hood! Turkish film-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Ruhi Su's torment

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

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

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



Folk Singer Ruhi Su

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

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

OTHER EXAMPLES OF NARROW-MINDEDNESS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

20. 3.85: The theatrical performance of a

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

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

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

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

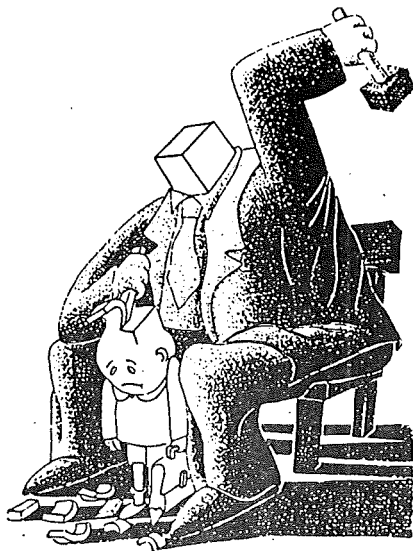
CLAMP DOWN ON UNIVERSITIES

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

According to this law adopted on November 7, 1981:

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

Before the adoption of the Law on YOK,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

As for the new teaching staff, new univer-

UNBELIEVABLE BUT TRUE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1985: Year of Bans for the Turkish Youth

Despite the so-called "return to civilian rule," the *Year of Youth, 1985*, was a Year of Bans for the youth of Turkey. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 26, 1985:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Academic bodies headed by the military

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

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

circles as fervent advocates of reactionary views.

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

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

PROSECUTION OF TEACHERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A COURAGEOUS ACADEMIC: ISMAIL BESIKCI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

About a hundred university professors have also been prosecuted and tried before military tribunals. Many of them are accused of having participated in the actions of DISK, the Turkish Peace Association or the petition action of 1.256 intellectuals.

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

For example, *Professor Yalcın Küçük* was condemned on April 25, 1984, by a military tribunal of Istanbul, to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment. He was accused of having made communist propaganda in his work entitled "Toward a New Republic". His sentence was overruled by the Military Court of Cassation, and he was condemned again by the lower court, but this time to an 18-month prison term. Since he already stayed in prison for 10 months and 16 days during his trials, he was not incarcerated again.

The prosecuted professors include *Sadun Aren*, *Alparslan İskli*, *Gencay Gürsoy*, *Osman Nuri Koçtürk*, *Metin Ozek*, *Gencay Saylan*, *Melih Tümer*, *Cunhur Ertekin* and *Ercan Eyüboğlu*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER II

This second chapter of the pamphlet groups the information given from April 1986 up to September 1987 in the monthly Info-Türk newsletters.

As it will be seen in the following pages, even after Ankara's application for full membership of the European Communities on the claim that Turkey has achieved the passage to a full democracy, censorship on the mass media, prosecution of writers, journalists, translators and artists, barrack discipline on universities and other educational institutions are still being carried on by the so-called "civilian" rule. Thousands of Turkish and Kurdish intellectuals still suffer from the inhuman conditions in Turkey's military or civilian prisons.

Book-Hunting in "Democratic" Turkey

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of February 19, 1987, since the transition to civilian rule, with a 3.5-year period, 240 publications have been the object of legal proceeding and their all copies confiscated. All copies of those publications of which legal proceedings ended in condemnation have been sent to the paper mill in Izmit for destruction. The last operation of destruction occurred on December 18, 1986. That day, five lorries transported books of 39,028 Kg in total to the paper mill which immediately used them as raw material for producing paper.

Among the confiscated publications are also "*Map of the World*" and "*Map of Europe*" published by The Penguin; "Academic American Encyclopedia" by the Grolier International Inc.; "*National Geographic Atlas of the World*"; "*Atlas de Poche-Larousse*"; the Turkish edition of the "*Encyclopedie Britannica*" and "*Nouveau Petit Larousse Illustré*". All of them are declared "means of separatist propaganda" by the Turkish authorities for containing articles or maps related to the history of the Armenians and the Kurds.

Even the copies of socialist reviews published 15 years ago such as ANT, Türk Solu, Aydinlik were also confiscated and destroyed.

57 Publications declared "Harmful"

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of September 28, 1987, since the adoption of the Law on Protection of Minors against Harmful Publications, within a 18-month period, the number of the indictments against printed media has risen by 65 percent. In 124 different cases 200 editors, journalists or writers have been brought before the Court of Istanbul of First Instance.

Thirteen books and three monthly reviews have already been classified harmful and their sale, because of the said law, must be made in opaque packages.

The daily *Tan* is pursued for 19 different

issues, *Sabah* for 9, *Günaydin* for 5, *Günes* for 2 and *Hürriyet* for one issues. All of them take place at the top of the list of best-seller newspapers of the country.

Of monthly reviews, *Playboy* is tried for 5 issues, *Playmen*, *Erkekçe* and *Bravo* for one issue each. The Turkish edition of *Playboy* has already been fined 7.7 million dollars for its issues of May and April 1986, and *Playman* was fined 3.85 million dollars.

Of weekly magazines, *Hafta Sonu* and *Sabah Yildizi* are pursued for 4 issues each. *Nokta*, *Yeni Gündem*, *Video Haber*, *Süper Gazete* and *Haftanın Sesi* are the object of one proceeding each.

According to the Milliyet of October 24, 1986, the special board of censorship, made up of 11 members, has taken under examination 173 video cassettes, 22 cinema films, 120 daily journals, 10 weekly reviews, 35 monthly revues, 152 books, 33 music cassettes and 13 calendars or post cards.

Governments New Censorship of the Media

The government issued on September 15, 1986, a new decree ruling on cinematographic and musical works. This new document provides for the attribution of subsidies to works of value on one hand, but imposes a new system of censorship on the artistic life of the country.

According to this ruling, all the musical and cinematographic works, including video-cassettes, will first of all be controlled before their marketing by a special committee composed of representatives of the concerned ministries. If this committee considers a work to have aspects harmful to the public interest, to State Security or morally, it will be referred to a larger higher Council. The latter will have all powers to ban the distribution of a musical or cinematographic work. The ruling does not foresee any recourse against this council's decision.

Press Giants' Censorship on Opposition Periodicals

1987, that they would distribute no more 30 monthly reviews published by left wing groups. Two giants have also urged all their vendors throughout Turkey that their contracts for the distribution of high-circulation newspapers would be annulled if they continue to sell these 34 periodicals in question.

The periodicals in the black list are *ABECE, Bilim ve Sanat, Broy, Çağdas Yol, Edebiyat Dostlari, Felsefe, Feminist, Fotograf, Gelenek, Gün, Güneşe Çağrı, İşçiler ve Toplum, Kara, Karsı Edebiyat, Mayıs, Mülkiyeliler Birliği Dergisi, Öğrenci Postası, Öğretmen Dünyası, Toplumsal Kurtuluş, Türk Dili, Vardiya, Ve Sinema, Yarin, Yasasin Edebiyat, Yeni Asama, Yeni Çözüm, Yeni Demokrasi, Yeni Öncü, Zemin.*

The Turkish Writers' Union (TYS) had earlier announced that all these monthly publications as well as the three weekly news magazines, *Nokta, Yeni Gündem* and *2000'e Doğru*, were very often subjected to legal proceedings and their many issues confiscated by police.

Army's Ban on 39 Authors

The Land Forces Headquarters circulated on March 2, 1987, a list involving the names of 280 books written by 96 authors of which the reading by army officers, NCOs and soldiers were banned. Among the banned authors are the world-famous novelists like *Orhan Kemal, Sabahattin Ali, Yasar Kemal, Fakir Baykurt, Aziz Nesin, Kemal Tahir*; academics like *Hifzi Veldet Velidedeoglu, Niyazi Berkes, Server Tanilli* and *Dogan Avcioglu*

Bans and Confiscations in Brief

17.4.1986, a new film entitled "the Vengeance of Snakes", directed by Serif Gören, is banned by the Censorship Board. A first film with the same title, shot 25 years ago by Metin Erksan, was also banned but freed on the intervention of the President of the Republic of the time. Both films treat the social injustice in the countryside.

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

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

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

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

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

27.6, all the films of anti-establishment filmmakers such as Yilmay Güney, Atif Yilmaz and Lütfi Akad were excluded from cinematography archives by order of martial law according to the daily *Cumhuriyet*.

28.6, the Special Commission declared

"obscene" seven books published by Dr Emin Deger harmful. They were sold henceforth in a package. Following this decision Dr Deger said he would burn all his books and close down his doctor's office. As for the Union of Turkish Doctors (TTB), it interpreted the Commission's decision as a mortal blow to science.

4.7, the magazine *Erkekçe* was confiscated on order of the Special Commission on "obscenity".

21.8, the Administration of Turkish Radio-Television forbade the showing of the film "Mission to Moscow" although it was announced in TV programme. The motive: The exaggerated appreciation of the Soviet Union in the film. The spokesman of the administration declared that the projection of such a film would be against the foreign policy of the State.

3.9, a weekly review, *Karacadag*, is banned for an indefinite duration by the governor. Same day, in Sanliurfa Province, the local newspaper *Karacadag* is banned by the governor. This journal revealed that an army captain had tortured peasants during an investigation.

27.10, a book titled "*Homosexuality of Yesterday and Today in Turkey*" is classified harmful. Its author Dr Arslan Yüzgün has administrative recourse against this decision.

11.11, the broadcast of a film by George Roy Hill, titled "Hawaii", is banned at the last minute by the directors of Turkish TV, on the pretext that this film contained Christian propaganda.

In December, new year cards have been the subject of repressive practices. Police makes many raids to publication houses, printing houses and bookshops with the purpose of confiscating the cards containing the poems of anti-establishment poets like Nazim Hikmet and Ahmet Arif or white dove pictures symbolizing Peace.

14.12, a fascicle of the Turkish edition of *Encyclopedia Britannica* was confiscated by police on the pretext that it contains some texts incompatible with the safeguard of national feelings? The prosecutor opened a legal proceeding at the State Security Court against the editors.

23.12, in Denizli, three booksellers were condemned each to 6-million TL fine for selling new year cards with the picture of a "topless" women. During these raids, some twenty booksellers were arrested and about 30 thousand cards were confiscated by police. Abusing their authorization for this seizing operation, police confiscated also 136-title socio-political books without court warrant.

26.12 a novel entitled "Unfinished Love" of Pinar Kür was confiscated for "obscene descriptions of making love". The author and her editor have been brought before a criminal court. On the same day, the director of a musical show entitled "Harmful Show", Mr Ferhan Sensoy was brought before tribunal for slandering religious values. He face a prison term up to one year and a fine of up to 10 million TL.

15.1.1987, the Board of Censorship bans the projection of the film entitled "The Woman To Be Hanged", produced by film-director Basar Sabuncu after a novel of the same title by Pinar Kür. The film is labelled "incompatible with the moral norms of the country".

21.1, the book entitled "The Disappeared Under Arrest", written by the journalist Kürsat Istanbulu, is confiscated by the virtue of criminal court's decision.

22.1, the poems collections of renown poet Can Yücel, "Poems Deprived of Their Voice" is confiscated on the pretext that it contains obscenity.

20.3, in Istanbul, political reviews *Zemin* and *Yeni Gündem* are confiscated by the decision of the State Security Court. Both are accused of communist or separatist propaganda.

24.3, Pinar Kür's novel entitled "Woman to be hanged" is confiscated by the decision of a criminal court. The novel have been printed five times since 1979.

27.3, in Istanbul, a criminal court decided to destroy all copies of the Turkish translation of Ilya Ehrenburg's novel, "Wave coming from depth".

28.3, in Istanbul, a book on the Chinese way of making law is confiscated by criminal court's decision.

30.3, another issue of the political review *Yeni Cozum* is also confiscated by court decision.

2.4, in Istanbul, Dr. Haydar Dumen's book on sexual problems is confiscated by criminal court's decision. The book had been printed 15 times since 1967.

1.5, police raided a bookshop in Ankara and confiscated 3.500 publications and detained three booksellers, Beyhan Senol, Suat Tekeli and Vahit Aras, for selling banned publications.

29.5, in Istanbul, the periodical *Vardiya* was confiscated on the order of the State Security Court for some articles hailing May Day.

7.7, copies of a novel entitled *Burgu* (Auger) are confiscated for praising and encouraging "adultery" while the author, Mrs. Füsün Erbulak, and the publisher, Ramazan Yasar, are being condemned to a fine of 4,500 TL each.

6.9, the day of referendum, the Peace Court of Istanbul decided to confiscate throughout Turkey all copies of three daily newspapers, *Hürriyet*, *Günaydin* and *Bulvar*, for having published articles and headlines which may influence voters.

7.9, the State Security Court of Istanbul issues a warrant for the confiscation of the monthly review *Yeni Cözüm*, on grounds that an article entitled "Political detention and Class struggle" ignores Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.

15.10, the Court of Peace No.4 of Istanbul, conforming to the prosecutor's request, decides that all copies of Dr. Haydar Dümen's work, "Sexual Culture", confiscated earlier, should be destroyed on grounds that its contents are immoral and provoke sexual desires.

Aziz Nesin's Never-ending Ordeal

one of the main targets of State terrorism.

While he was tried before the State Security Court as the leading member of the Bilar Cultural Society for having organ-

Aziz Nesin, the renowned humorist and President of the Writers' Union of Turkey (TYS), still remains

ized cultural soirées without authorization, his speech during the party in honor of Olof Palme, organized on July 11, 1986, in Dikili, was banned at the last moment by the local authorities.

Further, Nesin's family can no longer escape pressure.

His son, Ali Nesin has been arrested and tried before martial law court for having gone against military discipline while he was doing military service. Ali Nesin, university professor in the USA, has served with the colors for some months.

Another university member of Armenian origin, Nesevan Bedrtos Nisanyan, has also been arrested and tried before martial law court with the young Nesin on the same charge.

Determined to fight the arbitrary practices of the military, Nesin sued "President of the Republic" Kenan Evren at a civil court in Ankara on February 5, 1987, claiming the head of state had insulted him as "traitor" during a speech in 1984. Evren, in that speech, described intellectuals who had presented him with a petition calling for improvement in Turkey's human rights on May 15, 1984, as "traitors".

Nesin demanded that General Evren should pay him compensation worth TL 500,100 (\$ 625) and that the decision of the court be broadcasted on radio and TV.

However, the tribunal immediately refused to deal with the case on the pretext that the "President of the Republic" has constitutional immunity. Moreover, his lawyer in this case, Emin Deger, is indicted by the prosecutor of the Republic on the charge of insulting the "President of the Republic" in the petition of the legal proceeding he had opened against Evren.

A 79 Year-old Lawyer Sentenced

A 79-year old lawyer, Mr Saffet Nezihi Bölükbaşı, was sentenced on September 24, 1986, by a criminal tribunal to a term of six months for having used aggressive language in one of his addresses to the Court of Cassation.

A 79-year old lawyer, Mr Saffet Nezihi Bölükbaşı, was sentenced on Sep-

The tribunal, taking into account his age, commuted the sentence to a fine.

Mr Bölükbaşı is renowned in Turkey as the lawyer of poet Nazim Hikmet. Victim of State terror, Hikmet himself had been sentenced to a prison term of 18 years. After having served 13 years of his sentence, he received amnesty, but under the treat of being assassinated he was forced to leave Turkey and died in exile in 1963.

Second Case Against "Ekin"

The officials of the cultural society EKIN were tried before the tribunal for having organized activities before the statutes of this society were approved by the Ministry of Commerce. The first hearing in this case took place on November 27 at the Ankara Tribunal of First Instance. The accused included the president of the Writers' Union of Turkey, Aziz Nesin.

Another case against them is still being pursued before the State Security Court in Ankara on the charge of having organized soirees without the governors authorization.

EKIN was formed as a commercial organization for several intellectuals of Turkey, following the banning of democratic organizations by the military.

Doubtful Fire at a Theater Theater which stage plays considered by authorities "harmful" face not only exaggerated fines and banning from performance, but also menace of destruction.

On February 8, 1987, historical San Theater, got fire after the performance of a play entitled "Harmful Musical" and completely ruined in a very short time.

The theater building belonged to an Armenian foundation in Istanbul and was rented by the theater group "Ortaoyunculari" for staging the said musical which ridicules religious fanaticism. Since the beginning, the theater director and players had received many anonymous telephone calls and letters of threat.

The play has also been the object of a legal proceedings in the virtue of the Law against Harmful Publications. The theater director, Ferhan Sensoy, is still being tried by a tribunal.

Another play staged by the Istanbul Municipal Theater, "The Thousand and One Nights" is also pursued by public prosecutor.

Dr Ismail Besikci Released

Famous Turkish sociologist Dr Ismail Besikci, after having been imprisoned for six years, was released on May 25, 1987, from the Prison of Gaziantep. Dr Besikci, after having served another prison term for defending national rights of the Kurdish people, had been arrested again on June 19, 1981, by a military tribunal for criticizing the Turkish regime in a letter that he sent from prison.

In his academic career, Besikci has been arrested and condemned three times for his anti-establishment stand and stayed in prison for ten years and ten day in total.

After his release, Dr Besikci said that he shall never give up his opinions and shall continue to criticize the repressive policies against the Kurdish people.

No Passport to Tarik Akan

Mr. Tarik Akan, principal actor of the Cannes prize-winner film "Yol" of Yilmaz Güney, was refused to get a passport for participating in the Moscow Film Festival in July 1987. Police authorities said that he could not go abroad for the reason that the justified decision of the military tribunal on the trial of the Turkish Peace Association was not yet written. Mr. Akan was one of the defendants of this trial, but was not founded guilty. In spite of this acquittal, his right to travel abroad is not yet recognized by police.

On the other hand, the public prosecutor has initiated, on June 2, 1987, a new inquiry about "Yol" for having in some scenes the word of "Kurdistan".

Ban on Anti-nuclear Doctors

The activities of a group called "doctor against nuclear war" was banned on May 25, 1987, on grounds that the issue is for experts. Police wrote to the 53-member group, founded this year, that individual initiatives on the subject might alarm the public. The issue was the responsibility of the Atomic Energy Authority and the Interior Ministry's Civil Defense Department.

Awards to the poet in Jail

Poet Nevzat Celik, still under arrest for a political trial, has been declared "honorary member" by the International PEN and awarded the "Persecuted Poet" prize at the International Poetry Festival in Rotterdam.

A 20-year old student of graphic art when he was arrested on 29 March 1980 accused of involvement in the terrorist activities of the Revolutionary left-wing organization Dev-Sol, Nevzat Celik has spent the last seven-and-a-half years in prison, awaiting a trial which will arraign several hundred members of the organization and the outcome of which could be a death penalty. Celik has always denied involvement in terrorism.

While in prison, Celik started writing poetry, and he has now had two volumes of verse published in Istanbul. The first volume, *Safak Türküsü* (Dawn Song) has appeared in eight editions; his second collection, *Müebbet Türküsü* (Lifer's Song) came out in May this year and was printed five times.

Nevzat Celik was born in Sinop (northern Turkey) in 1960, the son of illiterate workers who moved to Istanbul when Nevzat was a small boy. He was brought up in the ghettos of the Turkish capital.

When his first collection of poems became a best-seller, the prison authorities asked him to write poems in support of the official ideology, but Nevzat refused. Since then, his mail has been stopped and

he has not received letters from friends and family. In April this year he went on a hunger strike in protest. After 22 days his gums swelled and he was in danger of losing his teeth, as well as suffering from stomach cramps. He has since been sent to hospital and had an operation on his gums, his general health being fair although his teeth are still not in a good condition.

His lawyers requested on 3 August that he be released and the case against him dropped, but their request was turned down by the authorities.

Celik was recently adopted as an honorary member of the US Pen Club. Unlike mail from his family and friends, the letter sent by the Pen Club in New York, which also contained his membership card, has been delivered to Celik in prison.

TO CRY

*In one hand my death sentence
in on hand my love
clenching my hands together
I walked
one night time
the dirty yellow light of the street lamps
and well-known eyes of darkness
following me
at the bottom of the walls the workers'
footsteps leave tracks on their way home
in an apprehensive fearful flow
and in the freezing evenings
the snatching of children from the arms
of the women at the doors
the city's arterial streets
are deserted
blood's deserted them
soul's deserted them
the arterial roads of the city don't carry
through
this city is Istanbul
seven curved daggers on seven curved
peaks
cannot be brandished on every wind
does not smile easy
mourning envelops the skirts of its hills
and Istanbul city's
rollicking songs contain lies
what makes me wander step by step*

*along the streets of the city
do I want to be alone
or to mix into the crowd?*

*perhaps
or perhaps not
but what use is it to deny
it's definitely you I'm searching for
you the young mother of resistance
you the black of my eyes
while ready to break the forbidden
and before weaving the shame of crying
into my eyes
like children in pain
putting my head on your breast
pouring out my heart
I want to cry
I want to cry
to cry*

March 1982

A Journalist Condemned to Hunger

One of the most tragic consequences of the application of new legislation on the Turkish press was revealed following a cry of alarm from a handicapped journalist.

Mr Özcan Özgür had been sentenced to prison term of 13 month several years ago. After having served his sentence, Mr Özgür was employed again by his journal. But, some weeks later, the editor of the journal Yeni Mugla was tried before a criminal court for having employed him. In fact, by virtue of the new law, employing a convicted journalist is categorically forbidden.

Deprived of all means to earn a living, Mr Özgür, after dispatches of September 4, 1986, was obliged to address a letter to the governor of Mugla, requesting Funds to Aid the Poor and Deprived make him an allocation in order to survive.

Turkish Journalists' Congress

The annual Congress of the Turkish Journalists' Union (TGS) met on October 4, 1986, in Istanbul. This congress, gathering dele-

gates of working journalists of the country, formulated the following demands:

- o All laws inspired by hostility vis-avis workers, notably the 1982 Constitution, the Code of Unions, Strike and Collective Negotiations, the Turkish Penal Code, should be modified.

- o May First should be proclaimed anew Labour Day as it is in other countries.

- o The case against DISK should be ended and DISK should be authorized to resume its activities.

- o It is shameful in the last quarter of the 20th Century not to have freedom of opinion and to arrest journalists for their opinions; It is also shameful that no respect for the freedom of the press in Turkey remains on the agenda of the International Federation of Journalists.

- o The Confederation of Turkish Unions (Türk-İs) to which TGS is affiliated should leave its immobility and resume effective union activities.

On the other hand, the world Congress of the International Federation of Journalists IFJ, held on June 3, 1986, in Denmark, declared that pressures on the Turkish press was continuing despite the government's declarations to the contrary.

Prosecution of the Media in Brief

12.4.1986, in Istanbul, two record producers, Abdülkadir Demirtürk and Mehmet Isik, a song words writer, Giray Elmali, two singers, Sema Sevinç and Aynur Tekin, are brought before a criminal court for having made a music record entitled "The Plump's song". Accused of having insulted Premier Turgut Özal, each of the defendants faces a 6-year term.

13.4, in Ankara, a video club is condemned to fine of 2 million Turkish Lira (3,500 US \$) for having distributed an obscene video-cassette. This is the first application of the new censor law adopted on March 6. On the other hand, the Turkish edition of Playboy is declared "harmful" and ordered to be sold in non-transparent bags with the indication of "harm-

ful to minors" by Commission attached to the Prime Minister's office.

16.4, the responsible editor of the daily Serhat Kars, Mrs Baki Karakol is arrested for having slandered the governor of Kars in an article. He faces a 6-year prison term

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

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

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

9.5, in Aydin, philosophy professor Adnan Feyzioglu is subjected to an administrative inquiry for having given his students a home work on peace.

15.5, in Istanbul, Mr Hüseyin Kivanç, publisher of the publishing house Eylem-Hasat is arrested for having published translations of Lenin's and Mao Tse-Tung's work.

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

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

10.6, In Izmir, two theater actors, Kemal Kocatürk and Can Dogan, are arrested for having done an improvisation during the representation of a piece.

25.6, the 8-year prison sentence given to the journalist Oral Calislar is ratified by the military Court of Cassation.

26.6, in Izmir, 23 people who were arrested on May 1 for having distributed tracts are tried before the State Security

Court. In Ankara, four renowned intellectuals, Aziz Nesin, Cevat Geray, Yalçın Küçük and Mehmet Ozsucu, are tried by the State Security Court. They are accused as leaders of the Ekin-Bilar society, of having organized "cultural evenings" without authorization. This company was formed by several intellectuals with the aim of organizing cultural actions, but the Ministry of Commerce had refused to approve the statutes for months.

30.6, two university professors, Fevzi Sahlanan and Fazil Saglam are indicted for courses that they gave to members of a union of bank employees.

3.7, in Izmir, Kemal Kocatürk, actor of the State Theater, is tried before the State Security Court for having said "there is neither hammer nor sickle" during a presentation. He faces a prison term of up to 15 years.

27.8, Mr Hasan Selim Açıkan, responsible editor of the political review Halkın Kurtuluşu, is condemned to a prison term of 307 years and a half in total for the publication prior to the coup.

30.8, the renowned theater actor Ilyas Salman is arrested and tried before a tribunal for having taken part in a soiree, organized in Karabük by the SHP opposition party. Salman had read some poems at this meeting, poems which the police consider insults to state institutions. He faces a prison term of two years. Two other artists, Mr Ali Ekber Eren and Sadık Gürbüz, who participated in the same soiree are also sought by the security forces for representations which displeased the police authorities. An open exhibition at the same soiree has also been the object of a judiciary inquest. This exhibition grouped together cartoons done by political prisoners in prison and titled "From inside to Outside, with our Sympathies..."

5.9, the responsible editors for a humor review, *Limon*, are tried before a criminal tribunal for having ridiculed Prime Minister Turgut Özal.

20.9, theater actor, Müjdat Gezen, is charged by the State Prosecutor for having ridiculed broadcasts of the State Radio-Television.

19.10, in *Senirkent* (Isparta), two journalists of the daily *Yeni Senirkent*, Esat Topçu and Mahmut Topçu are arrested for publication defamatory to a State functionary.

25.10, in Ankara, journalist Cüneyt Arçayürek is tried before the State Security Court for a series of articles which he had written for the daily *Cumhuriyet*. He is accused of going against the protection of higher State interests by publicizing the contents of certain meetings of the National Security Council while took place before the 1980 coup. He faces a prison term of three years at least.

31.10, the editors of the weekly *Yeni Gündem*, Cengiz Turhan and Vedat Cakmak are charged with having published a study on the situation of homosexuals in Turkey. They will be tried before a criminal tribunal for having broken the law on the protection of minors from harmful publications.

10.11, journalist Sadik Albayrak is sentenced by the Konya State Court to six years and three months. On the accusation of writing a book contravening the principle of secularity, he was already tried and acquitted by a military tribunal. Albayrak, after having served the prison term, will be kept under surveillance for two years and one month.

12.11, two editors of the daily *Hergün*, Veyis Sözüer and Mustafa Karapinar are sentenced to a 10-month prison term each for having insulted the government in an article published in 1978.

16.11, the state prosecutor launches a judiciary inquest against journalist Ziyad Ebuzziya for a conference he gave in the Foyer of Intellectuals. He is accused of having criticized the reform of the alphabet.

In December, the responsible editors of two dailies, *Günes* and *Günaydin*, as well as of two magazines, *Playboy* and *Sürpriz*, were charged by prosecutors with "publication harmful to minors".

23.1.1987, public prosecutor claims a prison term of 22 years and 6 months in total for publisher Hüseyin Kivanc who is tried for having translated and published seven books which, according to the

prosecution, contains communist propaganda.

28.1, in the district of Tavas in the province of Denizli, three café-keepers are condemned to pay each a fine of 2 millions TL for having projected "harmful" video-cassettes in their cafés.

30.1, the State Security Court of Istanbul condemns Hasan Bakirci to a prison term of 6 years and three months for anti-secular propaganda by the means of musicassettes.

31.1, in Ankara, the responsible editor of the magazine *Gökyüzü*, Mr Deniz Ögüt is arrested for having organized a cultural soiree with the participation of some anti-establishment artists.

16.2, the responsables of the cultural organization BUFSAD are interrogated by public prosecutor for having projected Alan Parker's famous film "The Wall" during the "Cinema Days" in the city of Bursa.

19.2, in Izmir, a cafe-keeper, Memis Yildiz, and his son are detained by police for showing to their clients a video-film of famous actor Kemal Sunal. They face prison terms of up to 15 years for "communist propaganda" because of a scene in which some leftist slogans appear on the wall.

25.2, in Istanbul, public prosecutor files a proceeding against the authors of a 8-year old film, *Whore of the rushes covered roof*, for "containing harmful scenes".

3.3, in Istanbul, a criminal court begins to try Mr. Nejat Bayramoglu, responsible editor of *Playboy* (Turkish edition) for "publication harmful to minors".

8.3, in Ankara, 46 teachers are condemned to 2-month prison term each for their participation in a protest action in 1978.

29.3, in Denizli, three booksellers face prison terms up to 23 years for having sold some postal cards considered "harmful to minors".

2.4, in Istanbul, publishers of political review *Yeni Cozum*, Ertugrul Mavioglu, Nihat Aslanturk, Nezir Karakus and Cemal Ates, are brought before the State Security Court on the charge of reorganizing Dev-Sol, a pre-coup left-wing organization.

7.4, in Istanbul, author Kursat Istanbulu and his publisher Isfendiyar Erzik are brought before criminal court for the book entitled "Those disappeared in detention." They face prison terms up to 7 years.

8.4, the responsible editor of the Turkish edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Hilda Hulya Potuoglu is tried before the State Security Court of Istanbul. She faces a prison term up to 15 years for having published the map of historical Armenia.

10.4, Mrs. Fatma Yazici, responsible editor of the weekly *2000'e Dogru*, is brought before a criminal court in Istanbul on the charge of insulting the "President of the Republic" in an article concerning an apartment bought by General Evren.

15.4, in Diyarbakir, Mehmet Senol, correspondent of the weekly *Yeni Gundem*, is condemned to one-year prison term for writing "inaccurate news".

21.4, novelist Pinar Kür and her publisher Erdal Oz are tried before a criminal court of Istanbul for the former's novel entitled "*Unfinished Love*".

4.5, in Pervari, journalist Ali Bilgili is arrested for having photographed the beating of a student by his teacher.

7.5, in Istanbul, two responsables of the monthly review *Ilk Adim*, Hakan Gülay and Kemal Kök, are indicted by the prosecutor of the State Security Court for communist propaganda. They face prison term of up to 20 year each. Same day, author Kemal Oztürk and publisher Cemal Sen were tried on the same accusation.

15.5, in Ankara, responsables of the review *Abece*, Ali Bozkurt, Nazim Bayata and Hasan Ünel, were indicted by the prosecutor of the State Security Court for having published articles hailing May Day. They face prison terms of up to one year. Same day, the Prosecutor of Istanbul opens a proceedings against author Hasan Kiyafet for his articles on Turkish officers in the US Bases, appeared in the newspaper *Cagdas*. He is accused of slandering Turkish officers.

16.5, in Istanbul, the responsible editor of the periodical *Gökyüzü*, Mr Ender Helvacioğlu is brought before a criminal court

for having organized unauthorized meetings with the review's readers.

21.5, in Erzincan, two tradesmen, Mümtaz Avcı and Bekir Yalcin, are indicted for communist propaganda by transforming the letter of "S" into hammer and sickle in a commercial advertisement.

27.5, the trial of two journalists from the weekly *2000'e Dogru*, Mr Dogu Perincek and Mrs Fatma Yazici, begins at criminal court of Istanbul. They are accused of slandering the personality of Atatürk. Same day, the publisher of *Yazin Yayincilik*, Mr Necdet Saraç was brought before the State Security Court of Istanbul for an article on "Nuclear War and Socialism".

9.7, he responsible editor of the weekly *2000'e Dogru*, Mrs. Fatma Yazici is condemned to a prison term of one year and four months for publishing a news about the fact that General Evren bought two flats for his daughters. The criminal court No.2 of Istanbul judges that this information had a purpose of discrediting the "President of the Republic".

The same court condemns same day also three other journalists from the humorous magazine *Limon*. Responsible editor Kemal Murat Kürüz and two cartoonists, Ahmet Sükrü Yavuz and Birol Vural, got prison terms of 11 months and 2 days in total for the cartoons treating the subject of misuse.

29.7, Mrs. Nihal Dogan, producer of the Dutch TV programs for Turkish migrant workers, is detained in Izmir. Political police says that her entrance in Turkey was banned by the Interior Ministry.

10.9, eight members of the editorial board of the weekly *Yanki*, Nimet Arzik, Kurtul Altug, İlhami Soysal, Turhan Temucin, Argun Berker, Haluk Öncel, Metin Cattan and Atilla Bartinlioglu are indicted by the State Security Court of Istanbul, for having published a detailed article on Iranian leader Khomeiny's private life. Accused, according to Article 128 of the Turkish Penal Code, of provoking hostility between Turkey and a foreign country and retaliation against Turkish citizens, eight journalists risk prison terms up to 10 year each.

EDUCATION IN FIGURES

While the YÖK pursues its obscurantist practices at the universities, hundreds of thousands of young students are still deprived of the right to higher education.

496,490 young recipients of secondary school diplomas sat the university entrance examinations for the 1986-87 academic year. Of them, only 140,153 were authorized register, with 356,337 others refused entry.

At present time, 600,000 young people pursue higher education in Turkey in several branches of 27 universities. The number of professors and other teachers of higher education is only 25,000. Thus the number of students to teacher has risen to 24, while that number was 21 the previous year.

On the other hand, in the only private university *Bilkent*, founded by YÖK president İhsan Doğramacı and available only to the youth of privileged families who can pay a high registration fee one teacher takes care only five students.

Furthermore, the daily *Cumhuriyet* of October 15, 1986 reported that 1,200 villages in Turkey are still lacking primary schools and that the primary schools in 700 other villages have been closed due to the absence of teachers. Consequently, more than 500,000 children of school age cannot be students.

The number of primary school in Turkey has risen to the present 47,402 and they have 6.68 million students in all.

The number of students in lower secondary school is 1.17 million.

The number of students to teacher is 32 for primary school and 45 for lower secondary school.

3.10, police arrests the President of the Turkish Writers' Union Mehmet Dogan for having placed a black wreath in front of the Tunisian Embassy in Ankara in protest against the condemnation philosophy professor Rachid Gannushi. Along with him are also taken under custody a lawyer and another member of the union.

Troubles in the Universities of Turkey

Considering all repressive measures that it has taken since 1980, the Higher Education Council (YÖK) announced that all university professors would be subjected to a school practice that doubtlessly they had forgotten since they finished secondary school: School homework. In fact, due to a YÖK directive, all professors, whatever their position, will have to do homework on those themes which were doubtlessly

imposed by General-President Evren: the ideas of Atatürk, the reforms of Atatürk and the foreign policy of Atatürk.

Besides, he Turkish press announced on July 7, 1986 that more than 40 thousand university students had been excluded from universities by order of the YÖK, during the 1984-85 school year alone.

University students are often prevented from forming their own associations to express their demands and to defend their interests. Those who have obtained authorization to form an association consequently are submitted to preventive measures.

On May 11, 1986, in Ankara, 16 university students were arrested for having tried to form student associations.

In Izmir, on May 21, the leaders of 8 student associations were indicted for having published a communiqué criticizing the higher education policy and the shocking situation of the dormitories in the university.

A group of student who made a long march from Izmir to Ankara to protest against the teaching policy were arrested on May 23, 1986, in Polatli.

On June 6, still in Izmir, a young university student, Deniz Nencan, was beaten by a policeman at the entrance at his faculty for having a low-necked robe. A group of students protested the police brutality, but they were immediately tried before the disciplinary Council.

Following these repressive practices, on June 27, more than two thousand university students addressed a common petition to the political leaders and demanded the removal from office of YÖK President İhsan Doğramacı.

The unbearable conditions of the university dormitories led to the death of a student at the end of June 1986. Accusing the university leaders of not having taken the necessary hygienic measures, the students organized a protest demonstration in Izmir on June 30, 1986. In retaliation, eight of them were barred from the dormitories.

The suicide of another student, İsa Tanrıverdililer, following his failure because of the coercive ruling of higher education, elicited great reaction within student circles in Istanbul. On October 28, 1986, some thousand university students gathered before the Administration of the Marmara University to protest against the university policy imposed by the Higher Council of Education (YÖK). The action resulted in the arrest of nine students.

Besides, in Erzurum, a group of university students started a hunger strike to protest against the arbitrary expulsion of certain university students. Three days later, they had to end this action because of police pressure.

Students' Protest Actions Grow

On the fifth anniversary of the new law on higher education, university students launched a series of protest actions against the arbitrary practices of the Higher Education Council (YÖK). On

November 3, 1986, nine students from the universities of Izmir and a parent began a protest march towards the capital Ankara. This action was followed by another group the next day, a group from the universities of Istanbul.

The two groups joined on November 15, in Eskisehir, and reached Ankara on November 16.

During the march, the security forces intervened very often and exerted pressure on the students so as to intimidate and dissuade from maintaining their action.

When they reached Ankara, some 200 students from the Technical University of the Middle East (ODTU) waited at the border of the capital to welcome them. Suddenly, the security forces attacked and took them all to the police station. After beating, the police arrested 30 of them and released the others.

The marchers from Istanbul and Izmir went to the National Assembly and presented the Speaker of the Assembly with a petition signed by more than eight thousand students and parents, calling for the annulment of anti-democratic articles in the law on higher education.

The signers complained particularly of the arbitrary expulsions from university on the pretext of academic failure.

While the students marched towards the capital, on November 5 in Ankara, the leaders of student associations deposited a black wreath in front of the headquarters of YÖK. They stated on this occasion that the five-year application of the law on higher education showed that this anti-democratic and arbitrary system did not correspond to the realities of the country.

The same day, several professors who had been fired from universities by YÖK announced that they had formed an association to mobilize all avenues to change the arbitrary system.

After the beating and arrest of the students in Ankara, on November 7, a group of students began a hunger strike as a sign of protest against police brutality. This action was followed later by similar actions from students in Istanbul, Izmir, Muğla and Bolu.

The police did not hesitate to intervene to intimidate and dissuade the hunger strikers. First of all, the students in Istanbul were forbidden to continue their hunger strike in their university areas. Thereupon, they were forced to continue their acting at the home of a theater actress.

On November 10, the Minister of the Interior declared that all the protest actions by the students had been provoked by subversive forces so to weaken the government and prepare for a Marxist plot.

As for the president of YÖK, İhsan Doğramacı, he affirmed that the protest actions had been the work of a handful of "atypical students".

Under pressure from the police, the hunger strikers had to end their action on November 23.

Two days later, on November 25, the press announced the expulsion of 420 more students from the University of Erzurum.

On December 20, in Edirne, a young university student committed suicide by shooting himself for protesting against the arbitrary disqualification and elimination of students of which he was also a victim. The tragical death of Yusuf Ziya Ünlü provoked a spontaneous protest action by his comrades of class. Police immediately intervened in for preventing the extension of this movement and detained six students.

On December 27, twenty-nine students of the Hacettepe University in Ankara launched an action of "silence". Next day, this action was followed by the refusal of meal by students of Istanbul University.

The end of the year of 1986 was marked by a series of hunger-strikes started by students at different universities of the country: 47 students were on hunger-strike in Ankara, 34 in Izmir, 34 in Istanbul and 29 in Bursa.

During the student action in Ankara, on December 24, police detained many students as well as the theater critic Yılmaz Onay and the responsible editor of the youth review Yarin. All detainees are accused of acting under the incitement by a an underground political party.

After their release, Yılmaz Onay, during at a press conference held by the Association of Human Rights on December 27 in Ankara, said that he was subjected to falaka (beating on the soles) and electroshock by police during his interrogation.

On the other hand, in Konya, two students of the Veterinary Faculty were arrested on November 29 for communist propaganda.

Mass Resistance of University Students

The protest action of university students against the arbitrary practices of the Higher Education Council (YÖK) continued in 1987 in many university cities.

According to official data, in the academic year of 1985-86, out of 449,405 university students, 14,291 were expelled from 27 universities of the country.

The hunger-strikes of 38 students in Istanbul and 28 in Bursa ended on January 4. However, on January 12 in Adana, 28 students of the Cukurova University stated another hunger-strike after a petition of 768 students was not taken in account by the direction.

On January 6 in Istanbul, police arrested 12 leading members of the Technical University Students' Association and confiscated their books. At the end of the month, two students were still under arrest.

On the day Turkey applied for full membership to the European Community, April 14, 1987, thousands of students throughout the country refused their lunches in protest of the lack of democratic practices in the country and in the universities. In Izmir and Istanbul, groups of students started a protest march towards capital in hopes of submitting a letter to the Speaker of the National Assembly which consists of the complaints of students.

The unrest among the students reached to a big dimension because of draft law which stipulates that all student associa-

tions will come under the control of the university deans and in each faculty students will have only one association.

Four days earlier, a group of the Middle East Technical University (ODTU) students had gathered in front of the university presidential building and continued their protest with a sit-in in the garden. When a student started to sing a protest song, he was taken away by the gendarmerie. His comrades trying to prevent this harassing were also clubbed and taken to police stations.

Protest actions have rapidly spread to six university cities: Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Bursa, Eskisehir and Adana. On April 15, in Istanbul, police used clubs to disperse more than 1,000 students and detained 73 among them. In Eskisehir, university students boycotted lunch and poured their food trays into the garbage. They also marched for 800 meters and carried banners which said they want a democratic university rather than rifle butts and police clubs. Eskisehir was the meeting place for the students marching from Istanbul and Izmir to Ankara.

On growing actions the government bowed to students' demands. Premier Ozal personally intervened in the matter and the Education Commission in Parliament withdrew the draft law. Ozal said that the government was not prepared to counter any students' protest at this stage. He claims also that the students had been provoked by various groups who saw some advantage in creating the unrest and warned against the "possible subversive aims" of these people.

Despite the government's step back, on April 16, students continued their protests and about 250 of them were detained in the capital after a march.

In Istanbul, the police used clubs to break up a demonstration with more than 1,000 students. Hundreds of students in different university cities of Turkey were taken into custody for holding unauthorized demonstrations.

As for the marchers coming from Istanbul, Izmir and Eskisehir, they were halted

by the police at the entrance of Ankara.

State Security Courts ruled for the arrest of 52 students in Ankara, 31 in Istanbul and 300 in Izmir. While they were being questioned by courts, their comrades again went on hunger strikes for protesting against police terror. "The oppressive regime in Turkey is trying to keep the students from speaking out against its policies. We want the release of our friends. We want the government to show respect toward civil liberties and freedom of thought," said the strikers.

It is the first time since the military coup of 1980, on May 16, 1987, students of the Aegean and the 9th September Universities in Izmir organized an open-air meeting for protesting against the anti-democratic decisions and practices of the Higher Education Council (YÖK). The Governor of Izmir allowed this meeting under the condition of not shouting slogans of political sense. During the meeting, students protested also the assassination of university student by Islamic fundamentalists in Van. Police detained six students by accusing them of shouting banned slogans.

Same day in Ankara, a group of university students started a long march to Samsun, but were forced to stop the action on the pressure of police.

On May 13 in Ankara, a final year student of Law School chained himself to the Atatürk statue on campus to protest university fees. Police, after having cut the chain, took him to detention house.

On the other hand, the trials of the university students indicted for the protest actions of April started at state security courts of Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir.

In Istanbul, 63 students of whom 31 under arrest face prison terms of up to 3 years. The arrested students were brought before the tribunal in chains.

The number of indicted students raised to 141 in Ankara and to 18 in Izmir.

During the trial at the State Security Court of Ankara, students and their lawyers stated that all detainees had been tortured by police during their interrogation.

OBSTACLE TO LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION

The Governor of Ankara banned on July 4, 1987, the activities of the Language Association (DD), newly founded by prominent academics and intellectuals, after the closure by the military of the Turkish Language Institute (TDK).

TDK was personally established by Kemal Atatürk and was a beneficiary of his will.

The new association aimed at "enriching and enhancing the language reforms instigated by Atatürk." The Governor's Office wrote to the 35 founders of the association that these aims were already catered for in Article 134 of the 1982 Constitution.

DISMISSAL OF A SENIOR TEACHER

On June 18, 1987, a 61-year old teacher of Robert High School in Istanbul, Mrs. Rükzan Günaysu was dismissed, at the 34th year of her service, by the Ministry of National Education for having made her students listen to the registered music of folk-singer Ruhi Su.

Ruhi Su was one of the distinguished folk-singers of Turkey and deprived of his passport by the military because of his anti-establishment stand. For this reason he could not go abroad for treatment and prematurely died in 1985.

WARLIKE SCHOOL BOOKS

The daily Milliyet of June 24, 1987, draws attention to the warlike contents of the books distributed to schools by the National Education Ministry.

One of these books entitled "Turkish rights in the Aegean Sea" reads: "The principles adopted ten years ago by Turkey have turned out obstacles rather than developing ones. Forgetting the principle of 'Be ready to war if you wishes peace and order' and adopting the principle of 'peace at home, peace in the world' has been the reason of Turkey's losses."

Indoctrination in Universities The National Security Council (MGK) has launched a new campaign of introduction in universities by organizing a series of conferences on "External menaces, terror and anarchy." The first of these conferences was given in Istanbul University on May 4, 1987, and all professors were obliged to attend it.

Following the Rector's opening speech, two lieutenant-colonels from the General Staff and a high ranking police chief made briefings in their relative subjects. The orators claimed that Turkey is surrounded by hostile forces for which Greece pretends to the Western Anatolia, Bulgaria to the north-Western the "separatist" to the East-

ern Anatolia and the Soviet Union concentrates its troops at the Turkish border in the East. They also accused Syria of supporting "separatist" forces.

"Classical wars have been replaced in our epoch by cold war," said Lt. Colonel Turgut Erol. "In cold war the hostile foreign forces resort to provoking terror and anarchy in Turkey."

Police chief Yavuz Kizilgöl, claiming that all underground organizations infiltrated again in universities and asked professors to educated students so as not to fall in the trap of hostile forces.

The Secretary of the University Teachers' Association accused the University administration of yielding to the pressure of the military to organize these conferences.