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## ÖZAL'S APOLOGY TO THE THIRD WORLD

"As a nation which has had led the same kind of struggle, we should back similar independence causes. Our nation stands by the Algerian people. It is unfortunate that the then government (at the time of the UN voting for Algerian independence) did not act in accordance with our people's wishes. Today we admit that this was an error, and admitting an error is a virtue."

These words of Turkish Prime Minister Ozal during his visit to Algiers on February 6 gave rise to many speculations in the Turkish press as well as abroad. While some editorial writers regarded this "apology" as a gesture likely to develop Turkey's relations with the Third World,

others claimed that it was disgraceful of a prime minister. The latter added that, despite this "apology" Algeria had given a cool reception to the Turkish delegation.

Ozal emphasized, however, just when he got back from this journey, that this was in no way a merely formal apology. "I did not apologize for what was done in the past. We merely acknowledged it was a gross mistake and set the record straight by recognizing this", he said.

After saying that his visit has now set the scene for better and more active relations between both countries, Ozal added: "I hope this has now been cleared up. As a matter of fact, the Algerian Premier Abdulhamid Brahimi hugged and kissed me so warmly during our farewell at the airport that I felt he was trying to make it clear that Algeria had actually given us a very good reception."

It is a fact that, during the visit the photos of premier Ozal and Algerian President Chadli Benjedid were hung side by side all over Algiers. According to an Algerian diplomat who denied the claim of cool reception, "the visit, compared with the recent trip of German Democratic Republic leader Erich Honnecker, was much more lively and the welcome given to Ozal much warmer."

Despite the very favorable climate being portrayed by the officials, observers say there is still a long way to go before the two sides establish economic cooperation based on a strong footing. Ozal expressed his desire that the current volume of trade between the two countries be increased to a more substantial amount, around \$500 million. "Turkey will purchase 800,000 tons of oil from Algeria in 1985 and this amount will rise to one million tons in 1986. Details of other projects will be discussed at the forthcoming Joint Economic Committee meetings," Ozal concluded. But according to press reports, the Turkish side could not obtain the guarantee of payment in cash for Turkish exports and contracting business to be under-



taken by Turkish contractors in Algeria. The Algerians, who have seen their oil revenues drop, are seeking to pay for their imports and contracting business on credit terms over several years, rather than in cash payments upon delivery. They have also said they will handle their housing contracts themselves and invite foreign tenders only for other projects.

It is a fact that in recent years, Turkey has been trying hard to expand its economic relations with Third World countries, particularly with Islamic countries, under the pressure of the country's deteriorating economic situation. It is worth noting that Turkey's economic relations with Islamic countries date back to some years before the oil shock of 1973. Until 1980, however, oil imports played an undeniable role in the increase of Turkey's trade volume with Islamic countries. This situation started to change in 1980; in particular, exports to Islamic countries began to catch up with those to European Community countries. Apart from this, Turkish contracting firms and businessmen undertaking projects in Islamic countries have provided Turkey with new and important sources of exchange and employment.

And yet, developing economic relations with Islamic countries proved more difficult than expected because of Turkey's pro-american position in the international arena.

After the Second World War, especially during the 1950-1970 period, Turkish governments had systematically supported US policies against the interests of the Third World countries.

The first indication of this stance, contradicting the traditional neutrality policy of the first Republican governments, was observed in 1951, on the Egyptian-British conflict. At that date, Egypt wanted to terminate the treaty concluded with the United Kingdom in 1936, which provided the latter with a base at Suez. The United Kingdom was seeking the agreement of the Egyptian government on a formula which would enable its forces to remain in Suez, perhaps at a reduced level, under a joint command to be open to all the countries of the region. This idea was approved by the Ottawa ministerial meeting of NATO where Turkey's membership had been approved and where this idea was also accepted by Turkey. The Egyptian government not only rejected the idea but also denounced the treaty. There is no doubt that this event cast a shadow on Turkey's image in Arab circles.

The more Turkey got involved in NATO's military and political structure, the more her credibility weakened in the Third World.

In October 1953, after the visit of a French governmental delegation, Turkey announced her support to France against the Maghreb nationalists.

The year 1955 was turning point in Turkey's relations with Arab countries. At Washington's instigation, the Baghdad Pact Treaty was first signed between Turkey and Iraq on February 24, 1955. During the same year, the United Kingdom, Pakistan and Iran joined the pact. The aim was to promote a "defense cooperation in order to deter the Soviet threat." However, other Islamic countries, especially progressive regimes in the Arab World were eager to have a better relationship with the Soviet Union. The late President Nasser regarded this initiative as a scheme against his policies. He labelled it an "imperialist" machine which would enable Western powers to further their aims with regard to the region.

As a result of this negative stance of the new revolutionary regimes in the Middle East, Turkish Premier Menderes who visited Syria with the aim of convincing the rulers of this country to take part in the new pact, was booed on the streets of Damascus.

The heaviest blow to Turkey's prestige in the Third World was entailed by the Turkish delegation's pro-american stance at the Bandung Conference held in April 1955. While the conference composed of the representatives of all Third World countries was taking an anti-imperialist and neutral stand, Turkey found herself, along with Iraq, Iran, Libya, Lebanon and Pakistan, in a pro-american minority.

The Turkish stance vis-a-vis the 1956 Suez crisis, which started with the nationalisation of the Suez Canal as a reaction against the US decision to withhold the financing of the Aswan Dam project and led to a war between Egypt and Israel and to the intervention of France and the United Kingdom, was further proof that Turkey's foreign policy towards the Middle East was as part of the Western powers' imperialist policy.

During the Syrian and Lebanese crises in 1957 and 1958, Turkey maintained her pro-american stance. In the Syrian crisis, Turkey and the United States on the one hand, and Syria and the Soviet Union on the other, came face-to-face. Syria accused Turkey of making troop concentrations and war preparations along their common border.

After the Iraqi revolution of July 14, 1958, when the United States landed its marines on the shores of Lebanon and the United Kingdom sent its troops to Jordan, Turkey allowed the United States to land 5,000 soldiers to Incirlik Air Base in the south to be used in "an emergency".

All these events coincided with the implementation of the Eisenhower Doctrine whereby the United States appeared on the Middle East scene to take up the roles of the United Kingdom and France on behalf of the "Free World". For this reason, the pro-american position of the Turkish Government in these crises increased the suspicions in Arab circles about the future role of the "joint defense installations" in Turkey.

The conclusion of the Regional Cooperation for Development Treaty between the members of the Baghdad Pact (after the Iraqi withdrawal following the Revolution it was renamed CENTO), in January 1957, was another cause of deteriorating Turco-Arab relations. It is in this process of deterioration that Turkey voted at the United Nations, in 1958, against Algerian independence and that the seat of CENTO (Central Treaty Organization) was transferred to Ankara in August 1958.

After the 1960 military coup, Turkish policy towards the Third World has undergone some changes. One of the main reasons of this was the fact that as a result of the country's total dependence on US policy, Turkey had found herself isolated in the international arena.

Thanks to the adoption of a more liberal Constitution, the press and some organizations could voice their opposition to this pro-american policy. Besides, the country's economic policy took a new course, planning was introduced.

Nevertheless, the review of foreign policy matters came much later than in all other fields. Therefore, as far as foreign policy is concerned, the first half of the 1960's can be described as a transition period.

The outbreak of the clash over Cyprus and the ensuing events precipitated this process of review as regards foreign policy with the following results:

1) Due to her past foreign policy, Turkey was being pushed into diplomatic isolation as was reflected in the UN voting on the Cyprus question in 1965. In fact, during this voting, even the NATO countries took an "impartial" position between Turkey and Greece whereas Makarios, who was known to be an influential figure in the non-aligned group, managed to get the support of a great majority within this group.

2) It became evident that the Cyprus question could hardly be settled in a manner satisfactory to Turkey against the opposition of the USSR, from whom Makarios was enjoying full support. Consequently, the Soviet attitude had to be softened,

3) Although it was perhaps too early to talk about "detente", the cold war was losing ground. In fact, following the Cuban crisis, the two superpowers accepted the necessity of avoiding a nuclear disaster and instead opted for a peaceful competition. Under such a political climate, a period of dialogue started between socialist and Western countries to sound out their mutual intentions and to increase possibilities of economic cooperation. It was only natural that Turkey took part in this endeavor as well.

4) During the Cyprus crisis of 1964, when the Turkish Government set out to use the Turkish Army for a military intervention, US President Johnson sent a letter to Premier İnönü reminding him that, according to bilateral agreements, Turkey was not allowed to use military equipment provided by the United States without US consent. This letter reminded Turkish public opinion that even a close ally could not always be relied upon. It would have been wrong to believe that this ally would always act as Turkey wished him to do.

Under these circumstances, Turkey felt, it was necessary as a foreign policy aim, to diversify her ties without changing the main orientation of her foreign policy and started to promote good relations with socialist as well as Third World countries.

At the outbreak of the 1967 war between Israel and the Arab countries, an improvement in Arab relations was already in the making. During the war and thereafter, Turkey displayed solidarity with the Arab countries, gave assurances that she would not allow the defense installations under the Turco-US joint control to be used against Arab countries.

In the following years, trade and contacts between Turkey and Arab countries developed and reciprocal visits took place at all levels. During the October war in 1973, Turkey again gave full diplomatic support to the Arab countries and provided them with certain aid. She also offered to Syria the port facilities on the southern coast of Turkey where equipment sent for Syria from third countries was unloaded for onward transportation.

Another further step has been Turkey's participation in the Organization of Islamic Conference, founded after the burning of the Al Aqsa mosque in 1969. Turkey has taken part in all the meetings held at both a summit or Foreign Ministers' level. Despite the religious undertones of some of its objectives, Turkey which, as a secular Republic, had stayed out of all meetings on religious grounds, decided to join this movement since she believed that it would also contribute to expand her cooperation with Islamic countries at a bilateral level.

After 1973, rising import prices following the energy crisis, and inflationary domestic policies led to foreign exchange shortages to be experienced starting with 1975. Thus a somewhat conservative attitude towards external borrowing changed in 1975 and, because of the immediate need to solve the newly emerging foreign exchange shortages, Turkey entered then an unprecedented borrowing process seeking short term credits on one hand, and attempting to have the repayment of previous short term credit rescheduled, on the other.

This catastrophic situation compelled the Turkish governments to seek new markets in Arab countries. Until 1981, Turkey only sold what western countries required, so her attempts at diversifying exports were

of course in vain. In 1981, thanks to the opening onto the Islamic countries the ratio of Turkey's exports to these countries rose to 24.1 percent of her total export (compared with 16.3 percent in 1980).

Turkish exporters claim that they have penetrated these markets through competition with major western companies. According to some views, the boost in exports was achieved owing to the Iran-Iraq war and it will sag once the war comes to an end. But both the Turkish government and exporters console themselves with the hope that these two countries will have to embark on extensive rebuilding of infrastructure after the war and will also have to increase their consumer goods imports.

As regard the other Islamic countries, the Islamic Summit held in Casablanca, Morocco, early in 1984, gave great hopes to the rulers of Turkey. At this meeting, General Evren was elected vice-president for the session and later on as chairman of the Permanent Committee for Economic Cooperation of the Islamic Conference Organization. General Evren's visit to Saudi Arabia in February 1984 and a series of Islamic meetings held in Turkey have raised fresh hopes.

In fact, there has been a spectacular expansion of exports to four oil-producing countries - Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia and Libya - which have absorbed more than half of the increase in Turkish exports over the past seven years. As a result, their share in total exports has more than quadrupled from 7 percent in 1978 to 40 percent in 1984.

A variety of products has been exported to these countries. Thus, for example, over the seven years prior to 1984, about three fifths of the increase in exports to Saudi Arabia was accounted for by livestock and meat. In the case of Iran, well over two fifths of the increase was accounted for by textiles, iron and steel; another fifth by barley, meat and sugar; and the remainder by other manufactured products.

As regards sales to Iraq, cement made up roughly one fifth of the increase, agricultural and livestock products about one fifth and manufactures the remainder.

In addition to these four main Islamic partners, exports to other countries in the Islamic World, particularly Kuwait and Egypt, have also picked up though less dramatically. Thus the share of the traditional European Community markets declined from 43 percent in 1980 to 39 percent in 1984. On the other hand, the share of Islamic countries rose to 40 percent in 1984 while it was 22.5 percent in 1980.

According to press reports, Turkish contractors have realized a turnover twofold higher than the total amount of investments in Turkey. The number of contracts got by Turkish contractors has reached 290, totaling \$ 14,863 million. Turkish contracts in Libya are worth \$ 3,657 million. They are followed by Saudi Arabia with \$ 4,567 million. Contracts in other Islamic countries are divided up as follows: \$1,031 million in Iraq, \$171 million in Iran, \$108 million in Jordan, \$100 million in Yemen, \$39 million in the United Arab Emirates, \$37 million in Algeria, \$20 million in Senegal, \$17 million in Kuwait and \$16 million in Egypt.

However, Turkey's foreign contracts are reportedly going a sluggish period due to the falling oil revenues of the Middle Eastern and North African countries. According to industry sources, besides the falling oil revenues, the Iran-Iraq war has also shaken the financial power of oil-rich countries, forcing them to channel money earmarked for development projects into defense.

The expansion of economic relations with Islamic countries has really been a relief for the military regime. However, the question arises whether it can re-

ly indefinitely on the exports to and contracts in these countries. It depends to a large extent on Turkey's foreign policy.

Despite all changes in the diplomatic relations

with these countries and despite the recent apology of the Turkish Prime Minister in Algeria, Turkey's foreign policy is still dependent on that of the United States and NATO.

## TURCO-SOVIET RELATIONS

While repression on democratic and left-wing forces is going on in Turkey, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolai Tikhonov went on an important two-day visit to Ankara, unprecedented in the past ten years. Previously Mr Kosyghin went to Ankara in 1975, followed by Mr Ecevit's visit to Moscow in 1978.

According to the French daily *Le Monde* of December 28, 1984, this visit is believed to have improved the rather cool relations prevailing between the two countries since the 1980 military coup. These relations had been adversely affected by the renewed tension in East-West relations in the aftermath of the Soviet troops' entry into Afghanistan. Moreover, the Turkish leaders considered that the Soviet Union had played a certain role in the upsurge of terrorism and separatist activities prior to the military intervention.

Both countries signed on December 26, 1984 two major economic accords as well as a protocol on cultural exchanges. According to the trade agreement which covers the 1986-1990 period, the Soviet Union is to supply Turkey with natural gas from 1987 onwards. Since the deliveries are payable in kind, the Soviet market will be opened to Turkish products.

As a result, trade volume between both countries will be increased to \$6 billion by 1990, compared with \$320 million in 1983.

Mr Tikhonov was received by General Evren, to whom he extended an invitation for a visit to Moscow from Soviet Chief of State Mr Chernienko. "Despite differences in their economic and social systems", both countries have "lasting common interests" which "cannot be influenced by changes arising out of temporary situations", he said.

During the official talks, the Soviet leader is reported to have deliberately omitted to make any allusion to the Turco-Greek dispute on the Aegean, which points to Moscow's wish to have a "balanced relationship" with both countries. As regards the Cyprus issue, the Soviets are reported to have made clear that they are backing the UN Secretary General's efforts in order to relaunch talks between both communities. On the Turkish side it has been noted that Moscow does no longer attach priority importance to an international conference on Cyprus.

On the other hand, the USSR has signified that it remains opposed to any act of international terrorism, like "those which are aimed at violating Turkey's territorial integrity".

In this paper's opinion, the wording is clever but somewhat disappointing for Ankara. The Turks would certainly have liked Moscow to condemn more among others, "armenian terrorism" as well as the statements made by certain political and religious leaders of Soviet Armenia.

## TURKISH LOBBY AT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

According to the Turkish press, "friends" of the Turkish Junta have taken steps in order to set up a lobby inside this institution in support to the Ankara regime.

German Christian-Democrat MEP Gerd Ludwig Lemmer announced to Turkish press correspondents that about fifty Members of the European Parliament are to meet on February 13, 1985 in Strasbourg in or-

der to establish work rules for this lobby whose aim is to counter the Turkish regime's critics at the European Parliament and to constitute a majority backing the Ankara regime. He further said that as a result of the Turkish regime's sympathizers' indiscipline some left-wing MEP's had succeeded several times in having adopted proposals of resolutions hostile to Turkey's rulers.

The first meeting of this lobby will be attended by a number of Turkish deputies, he added.

The initiators of this "lobby" include Christian-Democrat, Conservative, Liberal and ultra-right MEP's such as Vedekint, Habsbourg, Taylor, Scott-Hopkins, D'Ormesson, De La Malaine, Luc Beyer De Ryke, Lalos.

On the other hand, at the January meeting of the European Parliament, Mr Giulio Andreotti, the new President in office of the Council of Ministers during the six-month period of Italian presidency, was asked a number of questions during questions hour about the Community's financial aid to Turkey.

In his verbal question Socialist MEP Tengue asked: "It is rumored that the Council allegedly intends to grant Turkey a new financial aid package as part of the special aid fund. Can the Council assure Parliament that it will take no measure with a view to granting a new aid as long as the Assembly does not take up a stand on the political situation in Turkey?"

On the other hand, this Socialist MEP also asked the following question: "Is it right that most delegations (at the meeting of the Foreign Affairs ministers on the 11th of September 1984 in Dublin) share now the view that the situation in Turkey has somewhat improved and that, as a first step towards normalizing relations with Turkey, the Commission should be charged with the task of updating the technical file of the financing project (TEK)?"

Mr Andreotti's answer was as follows: "The Council pays heed to the situation in Turkey. It is right that the Ministers of the "Ten" have discussed in Dublin the situation in Turkey. An exchange of views has taken place at the Council on relaunching the financial cooperation program as part of the special aid which was decided in 1980 (which includes the TEK project). But the discussion is going on and so far the Council has taken no decision.

"We should not say that we should not have made steps forward by the 30th of June in a situation of dictatorship... or semi-dictatorship... or of dictatorship at its sunset".

"The situation in Turkey has changed a little, the present situation is slightly more favorable."

Thereupon, Communist MEP Chambeiron pertinently observed:

"Are current developments really favorable? Five Turkish democrats have just been sentenced to death by a military court.

"Does the Council intend to comply with the European Parliament's decision, as far as the budgetary procedure is concerned; does it intend to cancel the credits, after they were rejected by the EP, while the new budget is being worked out?"

Mr Andreotti has failed to answer this precise question, taking advantage of the interventions made by two right-wing MEP's who tried to draw a parallel with some ACP countries which do not respect human rights.

## FOR TURKEY'S WOMEN

21 French women call on all women living in Paris urban area to go regularly on "a democratic guard in support of Turkey's women". On the 9th of January it took place at the corner of the following streets: rue de Lamballe, rue d'Ankara and quai Kennedy. These women with different backgrounds, workers, artists, people in charge of associations declared in their appeal:

"We denounce the fierce repression hitting Turkey's women. We denounce the fact that tens of thousands of them have fell victims of detention. Young women are given life sentences. Others are sentences to tens of years' imprisonment. These prisoners are subjected to horrible cruelty by General Evren's torturers. The lifes of thousands of women are under threat.

"All of them are accused of one single crime: they do not accept persecution and misery. They do not accept that in their country out of 1,000 children 131 die in their early youth.

"As the 100.000 other prisoners, they do not accept the brutal dictatorship which holds sway over

Turkey. The peoples of Turkey must get our help...

"Let's act together in order to smash the wall of silence around rampant repression in Turkey, in order to halt the outrageous disinformation. To publicize the terrible plight of Turkey's women."

## PEN CLUB MISSION TO TURKEY

In view of continued censorship and persecution of journalists and writers in Turkey, the PEN Club which groups authors from several countries, decided to send a fact-finding mission to Turkey in order to find out on the spot to what extent press freedom and freedom of thought are respected in Turkey.

The famous dramatic authors Arthur Miller and Harold Pinter, the former an American, the latter a Briton, will be having talks with Turkish writers, artists, journalists and academics during their journey from March 17-21, 1985.

On the other hand, PEN Club Swedish section's yearbook highlights the Soviet Union and Turkey as the two countries with the greatest number of journalists who are either detained or subjected to psychiatric treatment on account of their opinions.

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 STATE TERROR
 

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## 22 DEATH SENTENCES

Twenty-two Kurdish militants were sentenced to death in Diyarbakır on February 19, 1985 in one of the biggest mass trials ever held since the 1980 military coup. At the same time, another mass trial was initiated in this town against 84 Kurdish militants, out of whom thirty face the death penalty.

624 members of the group of Mardin (a province bordering on Syria) of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) appeared before a military court in a trial which ended with 301 prison sentences. These militants were accused of "attempting to establish an independent marxist-leninist state on a part of the territory of the Turkish Republic". 251 of them were acquitted, four defendants have died since the opening of the trial, the cases of 33 defendants were separated from the rest and, finally, as regards thirteen defendants the military court ruled that it was incompetent.

51 defendants were given life sentences, 26 out of which were commuted into prison terms of 10 up to 24 years on account of their youth. Two were sentenced to 36 years' imprisonment, twenty-six to 24 years and 152 to prison terms of 3 up to 10 years in jail.

The 84 Kurdish militants who appeared before a Diyarbakır military court on the 21th of January 1985, had been detained during the combing operation in Kurdistan unleashed last autumn by the Turkish army against both the Kurdish fighters and the people of this region, who are supporting their sons involved in the resistance struggle.

During the clashes between the Turkish armed forces and the Kurdish freedom fighters ("peshmerga") 24 soldiers were officially reported killed and 12 Resistance fighters are said to have been shot dead.

On August 15, 1984, after a four-year interval of inactivity in the aftermath of the 1980 military coup, militants of three Kurdish organizations - PKK, Rızgari and KAWA - had launched their first attacks against the towns of Erüh and Semdinli in the eastern provinces of Siirt and Hakkari.

General Evren had branded this renewed militancy "a plot hatched at the instigation of foreign powers with the aim of dividing Turkey".

The Kurdish militants' guerrilla who intended to demonstrate that they had not been annihilated, continued until mid-december.

In October, the Turkish army had envisaged to extent its "Operation Sun" to areas beyond the borders, in Iran and Iraq, where peshmerga fighters take refuge in camps controlled by the Kurdistan Democratic Party. For this plan Ankara had got Bagdad's approval, but due to Iran's very firm opposition, Turkey gave up the idea in the end.

## NEW TRIALS AND ARRESTS

On January 24, in Ankara, the military prosecutor took legal proceedings against five militants of a left-wing movement, THKP/C. Each of them face 10 years' imprisonment.

On the same day, in Istanbul, ten women were brought before the State Security Court on the grounds that they had protested on May 19, 1984 against inhuman conditions prevailing in the military prisons.

3.1, in Istanbul, seven members of a small "sufi" community (i.e. a muslim sect) were arrested by the military. They belong to a brotherhood (named KaJiriye) which is even more ancient than that of the "dervish". They are charged with disregard for the secular character of the state.

5.1, in Istanbul, 3 militants of Dev-Yol arrested. 12.1, 82 officials of various grades at the State Electricity Board (TEK) were arrested in Ankara and accused of engaging employees belonging to left-wing movements.

16.1, in Ankara, security forces arrested 34 people who are accused of engaging in militant activities on behalf of PKK.

20.1, in Ankara, 20 alleged members of Dev-Yol, including an assistant university lecturer, a lawyer and an engineer, were arrested.

22.1, in Izmir, security forces arrested 14 people who are accused of trying to reconstitute a marxist-leninist party.

23.1, in Istanbul, a left-wing militant and a policeman were killed in a clash which took place as this militant was being brought to the military court.

28.1, in Istanbul, twenty-three youths were arrested for trying to organize themselves inside the university.

#### OTHER CONDEMNATIONS IN ONE MONTH

1.1, In Erzincan, a left-wing militant sentenced to death, two to life imprisonment and 14 others to prison terms of up to 32 years.

5.1, in Malatya, three left-wing militants got a life sentence, seven others got prison terms of up to 8 years.

12.1, in Diyarbakır, three militants of the Kurdish-organisation KAWA were sentenced to death, one to life imprisonment and 148 others to prison terms of up to 24 years.

17.1, in Erzurum, a left-wing militant was sentenced to death, one to 25 years in prison and four others to 10 years.

25.1, in Istanbul, 25 members of the Communist Labor Party of Turkey (TKEP) got prison terms of up to 10 years.

30.1, in Elazığ, three militants of Dev-Yol were sentenced to death, five to life imprisonment and 24 others to prison terms up to 12 years.

31.1, in Erzurum, six members of Dev-yol got life sentences, 22 others various prison terms.

A witness in the trial of seven ultra-right activists belonging to the Brigade of Turkish Dispensers of Justice (TİT), declared before the military court on January 16, 1985, that he "had helped police to torture" one of the defendants. Salahattin Zorlu who had already been sentenced in another case to 25 years' imprisonment for murder, described how he had helped police to extract confessions from one of the defendants, Turgay Tas. "Turgay refused to speak. Along with the police officers we hanged him up from the ceiling by his arms. I tied the ropes. After a while, he confessed", Zorlu said.

#### 18 WRITERS ACQUITTED

The trial of the 18 leaders of the Writers Association of Turkey (TYS) endend with all defendants being acquitted. In this trial which started on January 5, 1983, the military prosecutor had accused TYS Chairman Aziz Nesin and several other famous writers of Turkey of having turned this association into a clandestine organization because of its relations with the other progressive organizations.

On January 21, 1985, the military court came to the conclusion that the military prosecutor's accusations were groundless. Moreover, the Court declared that it was incompetent to give a ruling as regards the request for banning the TYS.

#### PEACE COMMITTEE TRIAL

Aziz Nesin, chairman of the Writers Association of Turkey (TYS) and Turkey's most popular humorist, was interrogated on January 22, 1985 during the trial of second group of members of the Turkish Peace Committee. In reply, he rejected the accusation of making allegedly propaganda in favor of the USSR. He went on: "As a conscious writer, I never make

propaganda for a state, not even for the Turkish state... Such an accusation brought against a writer like me is nothing but a humiliating act".

What is more, he declared that he will not hesitate to reconstitute a new peace committee for defending the cause of peace in Turkey as soon as it will be allowed by law.

#### DISCIPLINARY MEASURES

The Higher Education Council has approved new disciplinary rules to be implemented in all universities and higher education institutions, whereby:

- All teachers and students who engage in political activities, distribute political leaflets and stick political posters on school walls, will be temporarily excluded for a week up to a month. Exclusion can be extended to two six-month periods for all activities regarded as "separatist".

- All those who organize political actions that are "harmful" to the school's internal order, can be definitively excluded.

This new regulation also stipulates that individual files be kept including every available information relating to both teachers' and students' behaviour.

On the other hand, the Ministry of National Education has released a new circular forbidding all high school teachers and students to give information or to make statements to newspapers and radio and television networks without the Ministry's previous permission. Teachers who do not comply with this prohibition can be denied professional promotion during a period of one up to three years.

#### COMPANY "NON GRATA"

As pointed out in last month's issue, hundreds of university professors and thousands of intellectuals have been dismissed from their posts ever since the 1980 military coup. Most victims of these repressive measures are living in very difficult conditions, all the more since private companies do not dare engage them.

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

Whereas under the ultra-liberal Ozal Government businessmen are being favored by every possible means and while private enterprise of any kind - provided that it has a commercial purpose - is being given incentives, this initiative by a number of intellectuals has been rebuffed by the Ministry of Trade. In its answer to the founders, the Ministry claims that this initiative did not fit the requirements of article 271 of Turkish Commercial Law.

The 150 founders of this blacklisted company called "Ekin A.S." include also Aziz Nesin, chairman of the Writers Association of Turkey (TYS) and Turkey's most famous humorist.

#### ISMAIL BESIKCI'S ORDEAL

Turkish sociologist Ismail Besikçi's health has worsened. Up to now he has been condemned several times for having defended the Kurdish people's rights in Turkey. After his release in August 1981 he was arrested again two months later on account of a letter he had managed to send from prison one year earlier to the Swiss Writers Association; after his release from an Istanbul prison, a copy of this letter had been found in the cell where he had been detained. By sending this letter explaining the background of his previous con-  
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demnation, he had allegedly contravened article 140 of the Turkish Penal Code. At the end of his trial, he was sentenced by a military court to ten years' imprisonment plus five years' internal exile for having led activities "harmful to the State's prestige and interests". Since then, he was given an additional —though less heavy— prison sentence. His "adoption" by Amnesty International already dates back several years. According to the Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad* of February 26, 1985, he was recently 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.

## 21 TEACHERS CONDEMNED

21 teachers were sentenced by the Istanbul military court on January 17, 1985 to two months' imprisonment for taking part in a demonstration in 1979. They were further banned from teaching for an additional two-month period.

## ASSAULTED BY GREY WOLVES

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

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

On the other hand, on January 12, 1985, 24 Turkish and German associations staged a demonstration in Munich in protest against a meeting due to be held, the next day, on the Grey Wolves' initiative, at Schwabingbrau Hall. These associations sent a letter to the mayor of Munich, Social-Democrat G. Kronawitter, calling for a ban on the Grey Wolves' meeting. In this letter it was also stated that Munich was getting more and more a center of the Grey Wolves' drug trafficking and arms dealing..

## ACTS OF RACISM IN EUROPE

6.1, in Roosendaal, Holland a club of Turkish migrant workers was set on fire by a group of racists who threw inside a molotoff cocktail.

9.1, in Maassluis, Holland, a Turkish tea saloon was set on fire by unidentified persons.

17.1, in Strasbourg, France, a tea saloon where migrant workers from Turkey use to meet, was machine-gunned by five Frenchmen; two Turkish Turhan Yılmaz and Vehbi Bayburtlu, were badly wounded.

21.1, in Herten, FRG, premises belonging to a Turkish citizen was assaulted by unidentified persons. Unlike police who claim it was a gangland killing between Turks, the latter believe it was a racist assault.

22.1, in Frankfurt, FRG, a new group of Neo-nazi belonging to the German Freedom Party (FAP) assaulted several young immigrants, injuring five of them.

24.1, in Reims, France, Turkish worker Hasan Kavak was found killed in the room where he lived.

27.1, in Bochum, FRG, a shop inside the Uni Center belonging to a Turkish citizen was set on fire by unidentified persons. Damage amounts to an estimated DM 100,000.

29.1, in Munich, FRG, Turkish worker Selahattin Kutlu was fired following a squabble with the foreman who had called him "Turkish swine!".

30.1, in Hannover, two Germans assaulted the shop of a Turkish citizen, Mustafa Ezber, smashing the windows and destroying the merchandise.

31.1, in Doetinchem, Holland, Turkish worker Cuma Demirtas, 27, committed suicide by throwing himself from the 5th store. He suffered from a nervous breakdown.

On the same day, in Wetzlar, FRG, a shop belonging to Turkish citizen Dervis Demirci was set on fire by unidentified persons.

## NEW DISCLOSURES ABOUT AGCA

Shortly after Martella, the Italian judge inquiring into the Agca case, indicted the Bulgarian citizens Sergej Antonov, Todor Ayzavov and Jelio Vassilev on a charge of complicity in the attempt upon the Pope's life, committed on May 13, 1981 by rightist extremist Mehmet Ali Agca, the Italian newspaper *La Repubblica* reported on January 18, 1985 that this notorious gunman had been in communication with the US Embassy in Rome.

According to journalist Franco Scottoni, *La Repubblica* has in its possession a letter written in prison by Agca, which was addressed in August 1983 to the military attaché at the US Embassy in Rome. This letter had been mailed in Nomentano district in Rome.

"For two years I'm doing what is necessary, taking heed of our friendship and common interests", the letter reprinted in *La Repubblica* says. What is more, this sinister assassin makes some suggestions to the US Embassy how to conduct more efficiently its propaganda campaign against the socialist countries. It is known that during the judicial inquiry Agca had tried hard to prove the Bulgarians' "complicity" in the attempt upon the Pope's life.

In its comment on Agca's letter, *La Repubblica* pointed out that in spite of the fact that surveillance in Agca's prison had officially been tightened up and although a ban had allegedly been put on all communication with the outside world, Agca, as it turned out, had been able to send freely letters from his cell.

As to *Il Messaggero* which also had access to the letter, this newspaper comes to the conclusion that Agca had a close relationship with the military attaché at the US Embassy in Italy, and indeed already long before the attempt on the Pope's life.

To cap it all, at the time when Agca started making his "confessions" which were later to result in the so-called "Bulgarian trail", Agca was not yet being detained at Rebibbia prison —which got meanwhile famous since the Pope's conversation with Agca there—but at Ascoli Piceno. As reminded by this Italian journalist, that prison had been several times visited by Francesco Pazienza, "linked with the Naples mafia and with agents of the Sismi" (counter-espionage service), but in addition, Agca had often been approached by the Chaplain of Ascoli Piceno prison, don Mariano Santini, who was to be arrested in 1984 during the nation-wide crackdown on the Naples mafia.

In Brussels, the Secretariate of the International Association of Democratic Jurists (IADJ) has criticized the inquiry regarding Sergej Antonov, who was arrested and wrongly accused of complicity in the attempt upon the Pope's life.

According to the IADJ, Antonov has been victim of a political provocation which led to blatant violation of his rights and liberties. "The intrigues of the Italian judiciary cast doubt on the defendant's presumption of innocence until there is evidence.