

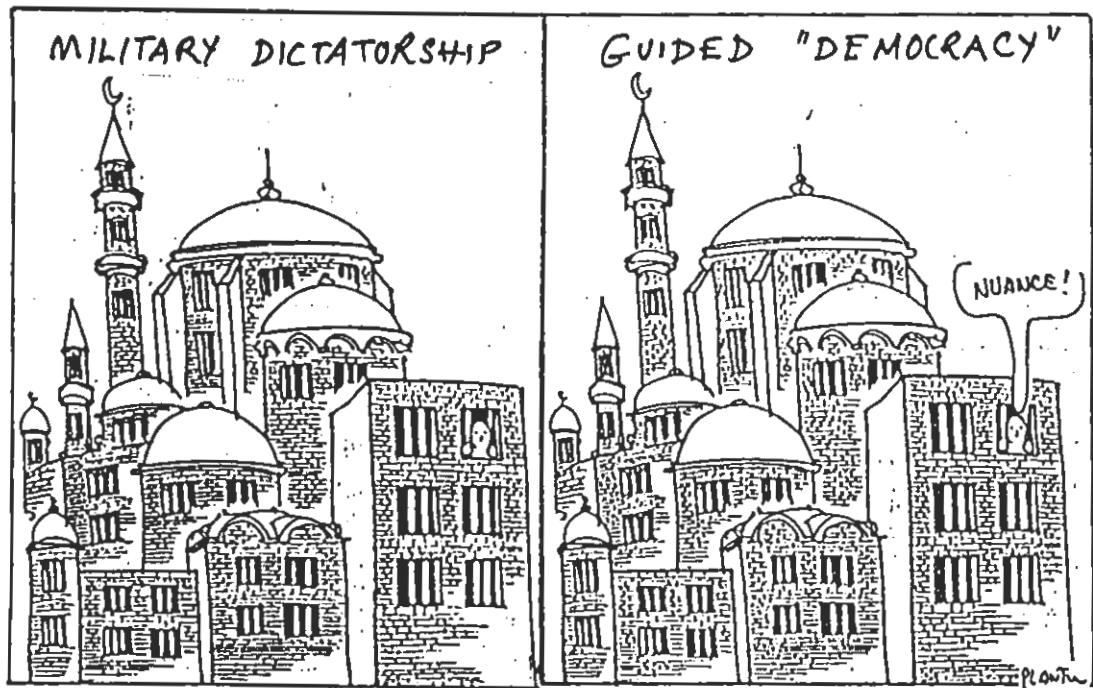


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5TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE COUP D'ETAT

from state of siege to police state

As of July 19, 1985, martial law has been lifted in six more Turkish provinces, including Ankara, in addition to 38 other provinces where the situation is called "normal".

The regions which remain under martial law include Istanbul, by far Turkey's main urban and industrial concentration, Adana, a city which constitutes a cross-roads of Anatolia and, finally, fifteen eastern provinces, where Kurdish militants are developing an armed resistance — and where army units have deployed in force. Yet, in 12 other provinces, martial law has been replaced by another state of exception, namely the state of emergency, whereby the powers held by the martial law commanders are transferred to civilian governors who are attached to the President of the Republic.

"So, henceforth, the major part of the Turkish territory is subjected to a normal civilian regime - even though restrictions laid down under the 1982 Constitution, weighing heavy on political life and on people's freedom, still hinder the return to democracy", *Le Monde* said on July 20, 1985.

AZIZ NESIN'S BANNED INDICTMENT AGAINST THE TURKISH REGIME

The trial of 59 intellectuals by a military court in Ankara, who are accused of submitting a petition to the "President of the Republic", is going on with the defence of the persons charged. (The full text of this petition was published in the June 1984 issue of this Bulletin, No.92)

On July 12, 1985, the Chairman of the Turkish Union of Writers (TYS), Mr Aziz Nesin, declared in his defence which he read before the Court, that he was going to lodge a complaint with the courts against General Evren who had accused the signatories of the petition of treason.

Turkey's most famous humorist, 70-year-old Aziz Nesin, had suffered from a heart attack during the campaign for collecting signatures for this petition. Apart from this trial, Nesin was prosecuted in the

aftermath of the military coup for the activities of TYS. In his defence speech,

Mr Nesin accused the military prosecutor of falsifying the facts. In Turkey the publication of Aziz Nesin's defence speech was banned by ruling of the Court given on the same day.

An excerpt of this defence speech, which is an indictment of General Evren and his regime is in the third page.

In this respect it should be pointed out that just before martial law was lifted, the Turkish Parliament passed the draft bill, tabled by the Government, enlarging considerably police powers. Prime Minister Ozal justified this new law by presenting it as an instrument of repression against terrorism and as a means of lifting martial law. Under this law police are invested with the mission of keeping up the moral order; in this connection they are empowered to repress any behaviour they might consider deviating from the norms. While being on duty or in their spare time, they are empowered to apprehend any person who, in their view, does not observe the moral norms and, subsequently, to keep this person in custody for 24 hours, during which this person has to be duly filed. As for people who are held either as suspects or as witnesses in connection with collective crimes, police custody is set at fifteen days.

As explained in the previous issue of this bulletin, this new draft bill had roused strong protests from Turkey's opposition parties and from European circles as well.

At the last moment, the Government canceled some of the most criticized provisions of its draft bill, such as the right for police to tap telephones and to open someone's mail, "without a ruling by a court".

During the heated debate at Parliament, the Populist Party (HP) Secretary General denounced the bill as a tool of establishing "a police state to succeed to the state of siege".

On the other hand, the secretary general of the ruling Motherland Party (ANAP) declared that, once the new law has been passed, martial law should be lifted in Istanbul as well by next fall. As far as eastern Turkey is concerned, the lifting of martial law there is likely to take more time, as long as the Kurdish problem—the very existence of which is still being denied—has not been settled. The authorities are confident that they will succeed in "normalizing" the situation in that region too, once the "terrorists from abroad" will have been liquidated.

Nonetheless, the Social-Democratic left which is in the process of reconstitution, goes on opposing this new repressive law. The Populist Party (HP), for example, already appealed to the Constitutional Court in order to have it canceled.

While the law on police powers was being passed, the Director General of the State Security Department, Mr Saffet Bedük Arıkan, went to West Germany in late June in order to ensure that the Turkish police will be supplied with very sophisticated devices with a view to strengthening its equipment. In addition, he conducted an investigation at the West-German Anti-Terror Brigade (GSG) with the purpose of setting up a "Thunder Force" to be equipped with West-German helicopters.

Another repressive law that had been vetoed on May 20 by the "President of the Republic" passed its second reading at the National Assembly on June 5—just as it was before—and thus entered definitively into force. This "Law on Repentance" will ensure that people who inform against "resistance groups" will be pardoned and, if need be, will benefit from free esthetical surgery. According to this law, denouncers who inform against organizations that are involved in "crimes against the state", are to be cleared of all charges provided that they did not take part themselves in acts of violence, —or are to benefit from significant sentence cuts otherwise. The informer will be given a new identity card bearing a different name and sent abroad.

Although a few dozens of charged persons have already asked for a hearing in camera to inform against

their comrades in order to benefit from this law which is to remain in force until 11th September 1985, their number still is quite minimal as compared with the total number of political detainees or prisoners who are charged with "crimes against the State".

With a view to tightening up the police state and the whole set of repression measures against the regime's opponents, the National Assembly has recently adopted two more laws that passed unnoticed in the western press.

According to the new law on criminal procedure, passed on May 23, the period of investigation and hearing of a case has been shortened, while according to the new law on the execution of prison sentences, passed on May 9, a detainee or a prisoner who is considered undisciplined can be kept in a solitary confinement cell for fifteen days.

AMNESTY: TORTURE SYSTEMATIC

While the Ozal Government was justifying the fresh repression measures as a means to speed up normalization and the restoration of an entirely civilian regime, a new report published by Amnesty International on July 24, 1985 on torture of political detainees in Turkey has dealt a severe blow to the Turkish regime.

"Torture is widespread and systematic in Turkey. Anybody detained in the country for political reasons is at great risk of being tortured, and very few detainees are not subjected to some form of ill-treatment in police stations, security forces' interrogation and detention centres and prisons", Amnesty International says.

In this 30-page document, which presents a number of appalling testimonies by former detainees who have been subjected to torture, this international organization maintains that it "continues to receive, ever since this report went to press, testimonies showing that torture did not cease."

Methods of torture, as documented by the stories of thirteen former prisoners, include electric shocks, *falaka* (the beating of the soles of the feet), burning with cigarettes, hanging from the ceiling by hands or feet for prolonged periods, punching and kicking, and beating and assaults with truncheons, sticks and iron rods on all parts of the body, including the sexual organs.

Amnesty says it has received information about a jurist who has been held in March, earlier this year, at Istanbul Police Central Station and at Selimiye prison. According to this human rights organization, this man was hanged by his hands, was given electric shocks and was hosed with high-pressure cold water.

The report recalls that since September 1980, tens of thousands of arrests have occurred in Turkey. Prisons where torture is alleged to be systematic, include Diyarbakır, Erzurum, Mamak (near Ankara) and Metris (in Istanbul) military prisons, as well as two civilian prisons which are designed for political prisoners: the first in Malatya, the other in Izmir.

Amnesty mentions a list of about one hundred persons "who are believed to have died while in detention", that was submitted to the Turkish authorities. Amnesty urged them to give some explanations about the persons concerned: merely in eight cases these persons were still alive. As for the rest, the explanations given by the Turkish authorities were vague: inquest in progress, "natural" death, suicide, accident, died "in an attempt to escape".

As usually, the Turkish Government immediately rejected the accusations leveled by A.I. In Ankara's view, the publicity given to this new document is proof of the fact that Amnesty International alleged-

ly is being infiltrated by "some circles who cannot accept the positive developments in Turkey as far as democracy and human rights are concerned".

In this respect it should be pointed out that, just after this Amnesty International report went to press, several new cases of torture and ill-treatment were disclosed and publicized not by "some circles" hostile to the Turkish regime, but by the political parties which have been constituted with the military junta's permission.

On June 14, the Social-Democracy Party (Sodep), basing itself on a survey by its "Human Rights and Amnesty Commission" has declared that the suicides committed by two detainees at Ankara Central Police Station, are rousing serious misgivings. According to the officials, the persons concerned, Vedat Aldogan and Haydar Oztürk, had committed suicide by throwing themselves through the windows of the police station. SODEP asks the authorities: "Why did these two men chose the police station to commit suicide after an interval of twelve days?"

On July 30, Populist Party (HP) Deputy Secretary Muhtesem Vasif Yücel declared he had received some worrying information concerning conditions of detention in Mamak military prison.

"According to their parents, some prisoners are being subjected for five years to solitary confinement. These prisoners suffer from nerve trouble. Some of them are said to talk to the prison walls. The prisoners' cells are not aired during 7-8 months and some prisoners are denied access to the backyard of the prison. Many prisoners are still being denied visits from their relatives. Insults and beatings are believed to continue just as before. Prisoners are complaining about insufficient medical care and say teeth are extracted even in case of a minor teeth problem."

Recently, the opposition paper *Türkiye Postası*, edited in West Germany, said that in Mersin prison 23-year-old political prisoner Kazım Cakır was believed to have died on July 27 after being tortured. In contrast with these claims, the prison officials assert that he died from an ulcer.

So, under the present conditions, the appeal launched by Amnesty International to the Turkish authorities to stop torture, is likely to go unheeded as long as the Ankara regime will benefit from the silence and conniving benevolence of those countries which continue to accept unhesitatingly the Turkish torturers within the Council of Europe.

PRISONS STILL OVERCROWDED

In this Amnesty International report it is further said that, according to figures published by the official Turkish press, 180,000 persons have at a time or another been detained ever since the 1980 coup d'état.

Five years after the military coup, Turkey's pris-

sons remain crammed full, while endless trials are dragging on at the military courts.

According to an official communique issued by the General Staff of the Turkish Army on July 3, 47,718 cases (most of them concern several charged persons) have been judged between 12th September 1980 and the 1st of June 1985, and 1,407 more cases have still to be judged by martial courts. The official statement says that 3,182 defendants are presently on trial in those cases.

But, the French daily *Le Monde* said on July 20, 1985 that, according to a high official of the ruling ANAP party, 35,000 people are presently under detention "in connection with anarchy".

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of July 30, 1985, the number of people under sentence of death amounts presently to 471. The cases of 59 of them are still waiting for ratification by the National Assembly.

The communique of the General Staff specifies that, until 1st June 1985, 449 death sentences have been passed by military courts. Out of this number, 86 have been upheld by the Military Court of Cassation, out of which 32 have been ratified by Parliament and 27 executed since 1980. Four death sentences have failed to be executed because the condemned persons managed to escape, while another person sentenced to death was killed by the security forces in a bid to escape.

As regards the political views of the 59 persons under sentence of death, whose cases are waiting for ratification by the National Assembly, 43 are leftist, 2 rightist, while 14 were sentenced for common law crimes.

Justice Minister Necat Eldem said in an interview with *Cumhuriyet* of July 29 that at present the total number of inmates in the civilian prisons amounts to 74,206, out of whom 48,077 are convicts and 26,129 detainees.

The number of political prisoners or detainees in the civilian prisons amounts to 3,679, whose distribution according to offence categories is as follows:

Crimes against the State	1,195
Crimes against the State Security forces . . .	772
Crimes against foreign States	7
Membership of armed organizations	1,702
Crimes against religious freedom	3

The total number of political convicts in the special prisons at Bartın, Bursa, Canakkale, Gaziantep and Malatya amounts to 2,948.

According to another assessment report drawn up by the Prime Minister's Office, from December 13, 1983, when the present government was formed, up to June 12, 1985, the security forces have reportedly detained 5,661 persons for "political crimes". Out of this number, 3,540 are charged with left-wing militancy, 733 with right-wing militancy and 1,388 with "separatism".

BANNED INDICTMENT OF AZIZ NESİN

"Even before we were brought before the Court and interrogated, the Head of the State, in his speech delivered in Manisa, which was 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 citizen as any other. Moreover, his criminal responsibility is just as great as that of any other citizen. In democratic

societies, the President of the Republic enjoys immunity as far as certain responsibilities are concerned, given that his powers are entrusted to Parliament and to 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 immunity, I will do so by virtue of articles 480-482 of the Penal Code, as soon as his immunity will be 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 have expected no benefit, nor did we try to benefit from the advantages inherent to our condition as 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 be no longer intellectuals in Turkey, except the province of Aydın (a Turkish word meaning 'intellectual' -Ed.).

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

"This Doctor honoris causa of YOK University (*Higher Education Council -Ed.d*) surely knows that a constitution is the main guarantee a country's citizens have at their disposal. Apart from dictatorships and monarchies, nowhere no citizen, not even Kenan Evren, can 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 that holes are 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 always speaking 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 padishah (*monarch in the Ottoman Empire - Ed.*) was an intellectual. But he had 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 had Mithat Pasha (a 19th

century reformer who is now regarded as one of the greatest heroes in Turkish 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 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 a particular interest in their visit. As a matter of fact, the cultural level of the leaders under Ozal—who had said in an interview he had 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 that 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, I 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, while being hardly 17 or 18. A statement concerning the executions, that Mr Evren addressed to the western intellectuals through the TRT and the 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 never 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 TRT at the cost of millions. Can we call this democracy?

"The appalling practice of torture since 12th September 1980 has been documented even by State officials. As soon as law 2969 will be 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 defence is not intended only for the tribunal and the prosecutor. I wish it be read above all by those who should read and benefit by it."

OPERATIONS IN KURDISTAN

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

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

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

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

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

Despite all fresh repression measures, fightings have intensified over the past months, notably at Bitlis, Siirt, Hakkari, Mardin and Dersim (Tunceli).

In the course of June:

7.6, at Siirt, an army captain, a sub-lieutenant and a soldier were shot dead by Kurdish militants, three of whom were killed and another taken prisoner.

19.6, at Yüksekova (Hakkari), Kurdish militants ambushed a military vehicle, killing one lieutenant and three soldiers.

The Paris-based Kurdistan Committee announced in a recent communique that "all over Kurdistan people living there are becoming increasingly conscious, while adhering to the Resistance movements and joining the ranks of the National Liberation Front (ERNK). The Turkish regime is no longer able to quell or to conceal the development of this resistance movement and feels increasingly threatened by it. Indeed, in a report published in early July, the Prime Minister himself recognized: 'The number of separatists has increased by 23 p.c.'"

According to the official Turkish press, the list of skirmishes and clashes that occurred in July, is as follows:

2.7, the security forces shot dead three Kurdish militants at Siirt and one at Mardin.

3.7, at Hizan (Bitlis), three Kurdish militants were killed in a clash by the security forces; one soldier was killed, two others were seriously injured.

5.7, at Hozat (Tunceli), three Kurdish militants were shot dead.

6.7, two Kurdish militants were shot dead, one at Catak (InVan Province), the other at Uludere (Hakkari).

10.7, eight Kurdish militants were taken prisoners at Ceylanpınar (Sanliurfa).

17.7, at Siirt, two Kurdish militants were shot dead and four others captured by the security forces.

18.7, at Mutki (Bitlis), five Kurdish militants were shot dead.

20.7, at Yüksekova (Hakkari), three Kurdish militants were shot dead, while another was killed by a grenade exploding in his hand.

24.7, three Kurdish militants were shot dead at Semdinli (Hakkari).

26.7, three Kurdish militants, including a woman, were shot dead at Eruh (Siirt).

27.7, four Kurdish militants were captured at Mus.

31.7, a Kurdish militant was shot dead at Sırnak (Siirt).

According to a communique issued by the General Staff, on August 16, 1985, the total number of those killed in armed clashes since August 15, 1984 amounts to 216 including 97 Kurdish militants, 56 military, and policemen and 63 civilians.

Yet, as pointed out in the previous issue of this bulletin, the number of people killed in armed clashes varies depending on the authorities and the Turkish papers.

Over the past two months, a great many trials of Kurdish militants ended with death sentences.

On July 11, the Diyarbakir military court ruled that the ten death sentences that had been passed in the trial relating to the "Events of the South-East", should be upheld. In addition, a militant got a life-sentence, 22 militants were sentenced to prison terms ranging from 4 to 24 years, and 16 persons were denied the right to practice a trade or profession.

In another trial at Diyarbakir, on June 19, 11 Kurdish militants were sentenced to 13 years in jail, just for reading or for keeping a number of copies of the periodical *Serxwebûn*. Another charged person was sentenced to 8 months' imprisonment, just because he had written the initials "PKK" in a letter to her husband.

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

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

Moreover, all village heads throughout Kurdistan are being provided with transmitter-receivers, so as to inform without delay against suspects, once they have spotted them.

The strained situation in the Turkish part of Kurdistan has roused some anxiety in Washington. According to a recent statement of the U.S. Foreign Secretary, published by the daily *Milliyet* on August 2, the U.S. Government advised its nationals to avoid the eastern area during their stay in Turkey, "because the

terrorist separatists are a scourge there and any kind of violence is to be feared there. In case one of them still goes to that area, he should collaborate with the local authorities."

OTHER CONDEMNATIONS

Within past 2-month period, many other political trials ended with the condemnation of the regime's opponents:

1.6, in Erzurum, a military tribunal condemned 5 activists to prison terms up to 22 years.

13.6, in Izmir, a militant of Dev-Yol condemned to capital punishment, another to life-prison and 21 persons to prison terms up to 15 years.

14.6, in Ankara, the leader of the left-wing organization Kurtulus, Mustafa Kemal Kaçaroglu was condemned to death sentence while his 17 comrades were receiving prison terms up to 5 years.

15.6, in Adana, in different trials, 4 persons were condemned to death sentence, 12 to life-prison and 40 others up to 30 years.

15.6, in Ankara, three left-wing militants condemned to death sentence and 39 others to different prison terms. On the same day, in another trial, a Kurdish militant condemned to death sentence, 2 to life-prison and 11 others up to 36 years.

18.6, in Diyarbakır, 9 defendants of the TKP/ML Trial condemned to 2-year prison each for having shouted anti-fascist slogans during their main trial.

19.6, in Ankara, 2 members of TSIP condemned to 3-month prison each.

26.6, in Erzurum, two right-wing activists condemned to life-prison.

27.6, in Erzurum, a left-wing militant condemned to life-prison and two others to 15-year prison each.

9.7, in Istanbul, 5 left-wing militants condemned to 16-month prison each for having insulted the tribunal during their political trial.

11.7, in Erzurum, 7 persons condemned to life-prison, 37 others to different prison terms up to 7 years.

12.7, in Ankara, 5 right-wing activists condemned to prison terms up to 13 years.

19.7, in Diyarbakır, a mass trial ended with the condemnation of 18 persons to prison terms up to 8 years.

23.7, in Izmir, two militants of Dev-Yol condemned to life prison and 10 others to prison terms up to 10 years.

24.7, in Istanbul, 6 members of YDGD condemned to 8-year prison each.

25.7, in Diyarbakır, four attorneys were condemned to one-year prison each for having insulted the tribunal while defending their clients.

NEW TRIALS

1.6, in Ankara, 14 persons were brought before the State Emergency Court for their religious activities on behalf of the Nakshibendi brotherhood. Each one risks a 8-year prison term.

6.6, in Konya, 34 family chiefs from the Gönçek village of the province of Kütahya are tried before the State Emergency Court for having set a forest on fire. For being able to attend the trial, they were obliged to rent a bus by paying 150,000 Liras from Kütahya to Konya.

7.6, in Izmir, in a new trial against TKP, the military prosecutor requested a 8-year prison term for seven defendants.

19.6, in Istanbul, four members of the Partisan's Path were brought before a military court. Each of them risk 20-year prison term.

21.6, in Diyarbakır, a second mass trial was opened against 90 persons, accused of being engaged in the Kurdish armed movement, two of them risk capital punishment.

11.7, in Istanbul, 14 persons are brought before a military tribunal with the charge of being militants of Kurtulus, They risk 20-year prison term.

18.7, in Ankara, at the principal trial of Dev-Yol, the military prosecutor, in his closing speech for the prosecution, demanded capital punishment for 71 defendants.

NEW ARRESTS

Within the framework of the inquiry opened by martial law authorities just after the rally "for liberty and democracy" organised on June 9, 1985 by the Social-Democracy Party (SODEP), the political police arrested the Deputy Secretary General Nail Gürman and 43 other party members or supporters.

That meeting had gathered about 40 thousand people. It is the most important public rally since the military coup d'Etat in 1980.

On the other hand, the Deputy Chairman of the same party, Muzaffer Saraç has been tried before a military tribunal in Istanbul on the charge of having made political declarations without taking into account the restrictions imposed by the military. He risks one-year prison term.

Other arrests in past two months:

7.6, in Izmir, 12 persons accused of working for a clandestine organization.

14.6, in Izmir, 13 presumed members of another clandestine organization.

21.6, in Istanbul, 18 left-wing militants.

29.6, in Malatya, 7 persons accused of carrying out anti-secular activities.

14.7, in Adana, 5 left-wing militants of whom a pregnant woman.

24.7, in Giresun, 39 persons for having worked for different clandestine organisations.

OZAL'S SLANDERS AGAINST DISK

In an interview accorded to the International Herald Tribune of June 8, the Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal attempted to justify in advance an eventual condemnation by military tribunal of the leaders of the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK) and the Turkish Peace Committee by claiming that they "had made communist propaganda".

In his interview, Ozal claimed: "In many cases you can pretend that you are social-democrat, but in fact you are but a communist. Let us take the example of Disk. Its activities were financed by communists."

In his reply to this slander, Abdullah Bastürk, Chairman of DISK said: "Mr. Ozal considers himself above the Constitution, the prosecutors and the military tribunal of Istanbul Martial Law Command, by launching vulgar and loathsome slanders. In our opinion, M. Ozal believes that he is always chairman of the employers' confederation and he imagines that he can veil the reality by making such declarations. The public opinion knows that neither DISK nor we are communists. This vulgar and oathsome slander is in fact a slander against 600 thousand members of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey.

REPORT OF P.E.N. INTERNATIONAL

The Writers in Prison Committee of P.E.N. International has recently issued a detailed report on the condemnation and imprisonment of writers in different countries. We reprint below the part concerning Turkey:

"We continue to be most concerned by the plight of writers, journalists and intellectuals in Turkey, and I cannot say that the situation has improved since my last report. On the positive side, we welcome the fact that all 18 defendants in the Turkish Writers Union trial were acquitted in January. However, the defendants in the original Peace Association Trial are still waiting to hear when the re-trial will begin. According to our information, this cannot take place until the martial law authorities have sent copies of the original verdict and of the justification of their decision to the Military Court of Appeal in Ankara, and we are not sure if this has been done. We do know, however, that the "argument" is said to come to over 800 pages of documents, and that 12 of the defendants, all innocent men until the court proves otherwise, are entering into their third year of imprisonment. Meanwhile, a second trial of Peace Association members (of whom four are known to be writers) was begun on November 19 last year, and sessions are being held at roughly monthly intervals.

"There appear to have been fewer cases of individual trials of writers and journalists during the past six months, but they are obviously far from over. In October Sadi Ozansu, who had been sentenced to 7 years for translating the works of Ernest Mandel, had his sentence quashed on appeal. He was promptly re-arrested, put on trial again (for allegedly belonging to a Trotskyist organisation), re-sentenced, and this time he lost his appeal, so that he is obliged to serve his sentence after all. In November the Tercüman columnist, Mrs Nazlı Ilıcak, was charged by an Istanbul military court for an article in which she criticised the conduct of the Turkish general election. The editor of the newspaper, Yüksel Bastunc, was also tried for the same article, but fortunately both were acquitted. Meanwhile we have been shocked to learn of the harsh sentence of 18 1/2 years inflicted in 1982 on Feyzullah Ozer, formerly editor of a journal called Kitle, which had been associated with the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party. Unfortunately we did not get to hear of this at the time, but would like now to draw your attention to his fate. We have also just heard that Alexander Berthelsen (formerly Dogan Kılıç), the naturalised Norwegian writer, was sentenced in March to 5-year imprisonment and 20 months of internal exile.

"We have also received distressing news about two prisoners who in the past have supported the cause of the Kurds and are now suffering heavily for their "crime" (both have been mentioned before in my reports). Dr Ismail Besikçi has been moved to a special prison (intended for terrorists) in the town of Gaziantep in south-east Turkey. This prison is said to be one of the harshest in the country, and Dr Besikçi was in solitary confinement there at first, but is now said to be in a cell for three and to have access to books and newspapers. Meanwhile his publisher, Recep Maraslı, remains in Diyarbakır military prison and is said to be in very poor health.

"There is a hopeful item of news from Dr Yalçın Küçük. He, Aziz Nesin (formerly President of the Turkish Writers' Union and now an honorary member of English PEN and West German PEN) and a number of other Turkish intellectuals have founded a new private company called "Ekin Inc." (Ekin means

"culture"), which intends to organise conferences and seminars, stage plays and exhibitions, sponsor scholarly lectures, etc, and generally try to fill the cultural vacuum that has come into existence in Turkey. We wish them every success.

"Finally, with regard to Turkey, I must mention the invaluable mission carried out by Arthur Miller and Harold Pinter in March. Unfortunately, they were not even the theatre director Ali Taygun, who has studied in America and whom they had particularly hoped to see. They were, however, able to talk with many Turkish writers and intellectuals (including two former prime ministers) and to make inquiries into human rights and prison conditions in Turkey. They also gave a press conference in Istanbul (which went studiously unreported in the Turkish press, despite the fact that the Turkish newspapers had reported their arrival and earlier talks) and were able to draw attention to the tremendous difficulties and restrictions under which Turkish writers work today. Their visit was undoubtedly a great morale booster for our Turkish colleagues and may well contribute in the long run to an improvement in their conditions."

The report contains also a list of the condemned Turkish writers who are either in prison or risk to be incarcerated at the moment of drawing up the text:

İlhan Akalın (7.5-year), Ferhat-Akday (8.5), Ay-tunç Altındal (7.5), İbrahim Arık (15), Güzel Aslaner (31), Zeki Ataç (7.5), Hüseyin Hacıbasoğlu (8), Alexander Berthelsen (Dogan Kılıç) (5), Nurettin Baydar (6), İsmail Besikçi (13 years and 4 months), Saban Bilgin (8.5), Mehmet Cerit (19), Metin Culhaoglu (7.5), Yılmaz Dinçberk (7.5), Yüksel Erdoğan (7.5), Fettah Erkan (11 years and 8 months), Tamer kayas (7.5), Unviye Kayserililoğlu (6), Recep Maraslı (27), Rıza Olgun (7.5), Mehmet Özdemir (5), Sadi Ozansu (6 years and 7 months), Metin Ozek (10), Mehmet Özgen (16), Candemir Ozer (15), Feyzullah Ozer (18 years and 6 months), Abdurrahman Pala (1), Orhan Senyüz (7.5), Necdot Sevinç (1).

On the other hand, M. Hüseyin Hacıbasoğlu who serves a 8-year prison term, has recently been declared honorary member of PEN International.

OTHER PRESS TRIALS

28.6, in Istanbul, writer Hasan Kıyafet was tried by the State Security Court for his book entitled "Our Highschool". He is accused of having incited social classes against each other.

At the same tribunal, another trials began against İsmail Hakkı Sengüler, editor of a publication house, for having published a religious pamphlet.

27.7, Ali Rıza Demircan was brought to the State Security Court of Istanbul for having published a book on the "Sexual life in Islam." He risks 7.5-year prison term.

133,607 BOOKS DESTROYED

The Director of the Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, Mr Süleyman Ege resoured to General Evren, on July 12, for the compensation of 133,607 books which had been destroyed by the İzmit Paper Mill on the order of Martial Law authorities.

Of 30 different titles, none of these books have been subjected to a court decision for their confiscation or destruction. (see: Nesin's indictment).

NEW BANS ON PUBLICATIONS

21.7, the Ministerial Council banned the introduction into Turkey of six publications printed abroad.

22.7, the weekly review *Hafta Sonu* was confiscated for having published an article unveiling the Transport Minister's intimate rapports with an artist.

24.7, the daily *Günes* was confiscated for an article disapproved by the authorities.

PURGES AT UNIVERSITIES

7.6, three professors of the Law Faculty of the Ankara University, Motin Günday, Ahmet Kumrulu and Ahmet Kılıçoğlu were dismissed from their posts on the negative report of intelligence services.

1.7, Professor Ali Balaman who had earlier been dismissed from his post at the Letters Faculty of Aegean University, resorted to the Administrative Court for the annulment of this decision.

4.7, two professors of the Black Sea University, Erdem Aksoy and Özgönül Aksoy were dismissed by the decision of the YOK.

23.7, just after the lifting of martial law in Ankara province, seven university professors who had been dismissed by the order of Martial law authorities, asked the university administration to annul that arbitrary decision and to give back their posts. However, this demand of Rona Aybay, Nurkut İnan, Baskın Oran, Mete Tunçay, Yakup Kepenek, Yalçın Küçük and Cevat Geray was refused by the administration claiming that the reasons of their dismissal were still valid.

24.7, the National Education Ministry announced that 16.714 primary and secondary school teachers would be shifted in the coming school year.

ORDEAL OF STUDENTS

Entry to universities is getting more and more difficult for youths, mainly for the children of poor families. According to the results of the entry exams, of 480,648 candidates, only 156,431 were authorized to be enrolled to universities; 324,217 highschool graduates have been condemned to be idle in such a country where the unemployment insurance does not exist.

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

On the other hand, the National Defence Ministry decreed on July 22 that if a cadet of military school was ousted, he would never be allowed to enroll to civilian schools.

For the new school year, the YOK has adopted new regulations concerning the university education. From now on, university staff will be charged with giving their students "an uniform formation in philosophical and ideological plans so as to make them fight against subversive and separatist currents."

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

Whatever be his academic capacity, nobody will not be allowed to have a university post unless he obtains a preliminary OK of the intelligence services.

According to a declaration of the National Education Minister, Velibi Dinçerler, university students will be allowed to organize only in sport and leisure-time clubs, and all kinds of organization aiming to defend their proper interests or to express their opinions on country's problems will be strictly forbidden.

As for international relations of sport and leisure-time clubs, they will be allowed to collaborate only with touristic and sportive organizations of other countries.

34 DEPRIVED OF TURKISH NATIONALITY

The practice of depriving the opponents of the regime of the Turkish nationality is still being carried on even at the period of "civil government". According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of May 25, 1985, the Ministerial Council recently decreed to deprive 34 citizens living abroad of Turkish nationality.

Among them are also Kurdish writers Mehmet Erim Bozarslan and Hüseyin Erdem, popular singer Fuat Saka, Kurdish lawyer Hüseyin Yıldırım and an official of the German trade union DGB, Sahabettin Buz.

The decision concerning Hüseyin Erdem has provoked reaction of the German Teachers' Union (GEW). It has launched a protest campaign which is supported by renowned German figures such as Heinrich Böll, Willy Brandt, Günther Grass and Ludwig Fellermeier.

On the other hand, a Turkish worker who lives in Berlin for 15 years has been deprived of his national passport. During a press conference held in Berlin, Aysan Uçta, member of the German union IG Metall, declared that, when he went to the Turkish Consulate for renewing his passport, Consul Alpan Cölan asked him to give information on progressive Turkish associations in Berlin. When he refused to do it, his passport was confiscated by the Consul.

- a candidate to the status of refugee, Cemal Cavdar, 26, committed suicide by hanging himself on the refusal of his demand by the Swiss authorities in Basel.

- In Göttingen, the German authorities decided to repatriate a candidate to the status of refugee, Sabri Ciner, of the christian minority of Turkey, by claiming that the Christians are not subjected to pressure in that country. This decision has provoked the protest of the Social Democrat Party.

ANTI-MIGRANT ACTS

10.6, in Herrschfeld (FRG), three young Turks were assailed by a German group in a sport hall. Other young migrants intervened in the quarrel which ended with 12 persons wounded.

13.6, in Breda (Holland), a Turkish worker, Y.G., 37, was found shot dead in his residence.

14.6, in Berlin, a pregnant Turkish woman was repatriated by the German police although she had a medical report declaring that any long voyage is harmful to her health. Hatice S., 16, had come to Berlin, for joining his husband who lives in Berlin for many years. The police claims that she had to wait at least one year for joining her husband.

25.6, in Utrecht, a Turkish worker, V.E. Bayraktar, 29, was shot dead by three Dutchmen during a quarrel in a night club.

25.6, in Munich, a young Turk, 19, was found dead at the police center two days after his arrest. The police claimed that he had hanged himself.

25.6, in Karlsruhe, a Turkish food shop was assailed by a group of young Germans. After having thrown rotten eggs, they turned the whole shop upside down.

26.6, in Enschede (Holland), a Turkish mosque was put on fire in the night by non-identified persons.

27.6, in Strasbourg, a 18-year old Turkish woman, Aynur Altın was found stabbed to death in a forest.

28.6, in Emsdetten (FRG), 46-year old Turkish worker, Saban Aygün was found dead at home. He

was violently hit on the head while he was making preparations of returning to Turkey.

4.7, the biggest Turkish mosque in Brussels, Ak Cami was assailed and turned upside down by non-identified persons. The officials of the mosque declared that it had already been attacked three times.

6.7, in Wien, a 20-year old Turkish woman was assailed as she was going to her working place.

Same day at the airport of the same city, a young

Turk attempted to commit suicide by cutting his wrist on the refusal of entry into the Austrian territory.

9.7, in Enschede (Holland), the house of a Turkish worker was put on fire by non-identified persons, and a guest, Ahmet Oğüt was gravely burnt.

26.7, in Hamburg, a Turkish worker, Mehmet Kaymakçı, 29, was brutally beaten by three Germans who, later on, said: "we were rather bored; in order to enjoy ourselves, we decided to kill a Turk.

BELGIAN AND WEST-GERMAN LEADERS IN TURKEY

In spite of urgent appeals by the European Parliament in June and July, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Belgian Minister of Foreign Affairs Tindemans went to Turkey with a view of developing relations between Europe and the present Turkish regime.

During his visit in Turkey, Mr Tindemans declared that the "main stages in the process of returning to democracy have been the (1983) general election and the (1984) local election. Thus Turkey has demonstrated that she intends to observe her democratic tradition." On the other hand, he reminded that "Turkey's solidarity within NATO is an exemplary one."

The Belgian newspaper *Le Drapeau Rouge* of July 16, 1985 made the following comments on Mr Tindemans' visit:

"Even if from time to time he likes to revel in big words on respect for human rights, our Foreign Affairs Minister never abandons his role of product promoter for his native region and, in particular, for the interests of the Antwerp-based Bell-ITT Company, nor his unflinching zeal as staunch NATO supporter. The screams of the detainees who are being tortured in Turkey's military prisons, the executions of political prisoners, the blows dealt at political, trade-union and cultural democracy... do not prevent Mr Tindemans from conferring guarantees of respectability on the Turkish military regime which, for form's sake, rigged itself out with a... civilian uniform, nor does it stop him from pleading with the EEC authorities on its behalf.

"Indeed Turkey intends to become a member, when the time comes, of the European Community. Belgium may contribute towards making things smooth for Ankara and thus help it to achieve its ends, in both parties' interest. This is, in substance, according to Belga news agency, the message Turkish Prime Minister Ozal and Foreign Affairs Minister Vahit Halefoglu tried to pass on Foreign Affairs Minister Tindemans.

"Belgium, which has been for many years a traditional partner of Turkey, may well play this role along with other member countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, according to diplomatic circles in Ankara. Since Turkey is already a member of the Atlantic Alliance, it would consequently be 'normal' that she could benefit from the 'advantages' resulting from the fact of belonging to the 'big European family', especially on the economic level, the same circles add.

"Observers consider that Belgian diplomacy, which has always advocated 'constructive engagement' vis-a-vis Ankara, is going to play this mediation role.

"In order to illustrate this way of seeing things, Messrs. Tindemans and Halefoglu signed on July 15 an accord on a state-to-state loan of DF 250 million to Ankara. This amount which has been loaned for a 30-year period at a 2-percent interest rate is meant to enable purchase of Belgian equipments. Several Belgian firms have projects in view in Turkey and one of them, Bell Telephone, has already 'landed' a contract of over BF 5 billion for delivering telephone exchange equip-

ments. Consequently, this company is to be the first to benefit from the 'results' of this project."

As for the Belgian daily *La Libre Belgique*, it has interpreted this way the consequences of this visit: "Ankara is confident that Belgium, which has always considered dialogue preferable to anathemas, will plead on its behalf in the coming weeks. The statements made by Mr Tindemans seem to indicate that its confidence is well-founded. The Belgian Minister's presence in Ankara points to the fact that "the Belgian government greatly appreciates the developments which have occurred in Turkey.

"Therefore there is no doubt that Belgium will try to throw a bridge between the Ten and Ankara, given that the problem of enlarging the Community has presently been settled. And so much the better if normalization is followed sometime or another - "when the time comes for both parties", it is discreetly said in Ankara, by an application for membership."

On the other hand, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl asserted on July 10, during his stay in Ankara, his Government's determination to "open the way towards normalization of relations between Turkey and the other European democracies".

Mr Kohl, who is the first government head of a Western country to visit Turkey ever since the coup d'etat, pledged at a press conference to "devote himself to persuading his European colleagues that Turkey is an important partner".

As regards the thorny problem that was dominant during this visit, Mr Kohl made it clear that it proved impossible to reach an agreement on that point.

A text distributed by the spokesperson of the West-German Government, from which it appeared that an agreement on immigration had failed to materialize, even though official talks on this particular issue had not yet started, "strongly shocked" the Turkish officials. In this text Bonn utterly rejects Ankara's argument which insists that the association treaty should provide for the "totally free movement" of Turkish labor within the EEC as of December 1st.

Turkish Prime Minister Ozal himself had already gone to West Germany twice in the space of six months, in order to discuss among others the state of Turkish immigration.

Mr Kohl has declared that this problem should be settled before the end of the year.

As for the Turkish leaders, they made it clear that they are willing to make some concessions with regard to the free movement of migrant labor in return for increased military aid.

SOCIALISTS' CONFERENCE ON TURKEY

The fifth Turkey Conference held in Brussels on 4th June, 1985 under the Chairmanship of Ludwig Felbermaier on the initiative of the European Parliament Socialist Group, came to the following conclusions:

"1. We recognise that political life in Turkey is

growing closer to democratic conditions, above all because of the Parties which were prevented from contesting the general election. There is movement in the party political landscape. This is proved by SODEP and the True Path Party and the announcement of the foundation of the Democratic Left Party in August.

"2. The press has become freer. But as long as martial law still continues in some of the Turkish provinces, press freedom is not fully assured.

"3. We are deeply shocked that at the moment when the Turkish Government announces the lifting of martial law in further provinces, just then the Government introduces in the Turkish National Assembly an amendment to the Police Law which is a basic violation of fundamental civil rights. This draft which will soon be adopted, is in fundamental contravention of the European Convention on Human Rights.

"4. The participants make the following chief demands of the Turkish National Assembly as a pre-requisite for reactivating relations between Europe and the Turkish Republic:

- the amendment to the police law must not be adopted as it stands;
- Martial law must be lifted, since parliamentary democracy cannot develop under martial law;
- mass trials before military courts must be ended;
- no further death sentences must be carried out;
- torture in prisons and particularly in police stations must finally be completely stopped;
- Trade Union rights must be fully restored;
- free collective bargaining must not be continuously limited; free trade unions need a free right to strike. The already limited rights retained by the still legal Trade Union Confederation are being undermined, and the second major Confederation DISK remains banned;
- an amnesty for political prisoners must be introduced this year;
- freedom of science, research and teaching must be assured;
- minorities must be protected - whether in Turkey or in Bulgaria."

SCANDAL AT THE US EMBASSY

In an article which he wrote for the US review *The Nation* of May 1985, Arthur Miller, the famous play writer, revealed a scandal which happened during a dinner given to his honor by the US Ambassador in Ankara. According to Miller's article, Harold Pinter, the other member of the PEN International mission to Turkey, had a fervent discussion at the table with a pro-governmental Turkish journalist, Mrs. Nazlı Ilıcak on human rights violations in Turkey.

"The Ambassador was trying to engage his neighbour in conversation, when Pinter, with open rage, shouted across the table at Ilıcak, "That is an insult and was meant as an insult and I throw it back in your face!" As I learned later, she had told Pinter that although the Turks would have to remain and face the realities of their country, he could go home and put it all into a profitable play.

"The Ambassador quickly tapped his crystal water glass with a silver spoon and brought silence. "I wish to welcome Mr. Miller as our honored guest," he said. (...) I understood that it was up to me to respond to the toast... I began quietly thanking the Ambassador for the dinner and the welcome, at which he looked relieved. I went on:

"We do know concretely what we have seen, and what we have seen has no tangency with any democratic system in Western Europe or the United States.

I wrote in *The Crucible* about the people who were jailed and executed not for their actions but for what they were alleged to be thinking. So it is here; you have hundreds in jail for their alleged thoughts. We are told that Turkey is moving closer and closer to democracy, and that may turn out to be so, no one can say, but what it is now is a military dictatorship with certain merciless and brutal features... The American part here ought to be the holding up of democratic norms, if only as a goal, instead of justifying their destruction as the only defense against chaos.

"As I continued, I thought I saw the eyes of the Ambassador glaze with astonishment and horror.

"I had hardly sat down when once again I heard the awesome baritone of Harold Pinter. Near the entry hall, Pinter was just turning away from the Ambassador, who, half his size, was shouting something and walking abruptly toward an astonished guest. Pinter came directly to me and said proudly, 'I have insulted your Ambassador and have been asked to go.'

"On the way out, Pinter explained that the Ambassador had remarked that there can always be a lot of opinions about anything, and he had replied, 'Not if you have got an electric wire hooked to your genitals.'"

AT EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

European Parliament adopted on June 13, 1985 a new resolution on the trial of the Turkish Peace Committee members.

"Whereas the members of the Turkish Peace Committee stand accused of belonging to an association whose objective is the domination by one social class of all the others and the destruction of the country's social and economic system, although no evidence was brought at the trial to support those allegations,

"taking the view, at all events, that in any democratic society, it should be possible to recommend, in a peaceful manner, that changes in society be made,

"wherever, furthermore, all those convicted have already served long prison sentences for these alleged crimes, and whereas they should now be released,

"noting with alarm the opening on 19 November 1984 of the second trial of members of the Turkish Peace Committee and rumour of a third trial,"

European Parliament.

"1. Calls on the Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation to make urgent representations to the Turkish Government with a view to putting an immediate end to the trial of members of the Turkish Peace Committee, to free those detained forthwith and to cancel future trials of members of that Committee;

"2. Instructs its President to make similar representations;

"3. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Foreign Ministers of the ten Member States of the European Community meeting in political cooperation, the Turkish Government and the Council and Commission of the European Communities."

This resolution is based on the report of Mr Richard Balfe, rapporteur of the Political Affairs Committee of the Parliament, who had visited Turkey from 12 to 17 May 1985. In fact, Mr Balfe's report tackles all aspects of the violation of human rights in Turkey and demands that the following conditions should be fulfilled for the resumption of Turco-European relations:

- Abolition of death sentence for political crimes and an amnesty for all prisoners who had not committed acts of political violence,
- Lifting of martial law throughout the country,

- Right to physical integrity which can be assured by pursuing torturers and repression of inhuman treatments,

- Right to a fair trial and an end to mass trials,

- Possibility for each individual to have recourse to European Commission of Human Rights,

- Lifting of all restrictions on political, social and opinion freedoms.

Mr Balfe's visit was preceded by the visits of Mr Stoffelon from 5 to 9 March, of Mr Dankert, former speaker of European Parliament, from 22 to 30 March and partially coincided with that of Ludwig Fellermeier and David Blackman from 15 to 22 May 1985.

Fellermeier and Blackman declare in their report:

"It is important to underline that martial law is always replaced by state of emergency and it is worth to ask what is the difference between them... To the passive one should add the law project on the Police which has provoked vehement criticism in Turkey, notably out of the Grand Assembly... Proclamation of an amnesty to the persons condemned for political offences is, in our view, a preliminary condition of the recognition of the reestablishment of democracy in Turkey. Release on condition proposed by the government is totally unacceptable, because this practice forces the prisoner to be informer".

At its meeting of June 20, 1985, the Political Affairs Committee discussed at length the human rights situation in Turkey following an account given by Mr Balfe.

Whereas the left-wing speakers dwelled on the fact that the improvements noticed in Turkey could not be regarded as amounting to a return to democracy as called for by the European Parliament, in contrast to them, other MEP's, among others from the EPP and the Conservative Group, declared that developments in Turkey justify official resumption of relations between the two Assemblies.

Finally, the Political Affairs Committee announced that it is to decide in September 1985 whether it will submit to the Bureau of the European Parliament a proposal for resumption or no-resumption of relations between the EP and the Turkish Grand Assembly.

At the meeting of the Political Affairs Committee, Mr Claude Cheysson, member of the European Commission insisted on making some observations following the Turkish Government's critics against the representative of the Commission in Turkey, Mr Gwynn Morgan, who had declared in Ankara that the bill on reinforcing police powers, should it be adopted, would cause difficulties between the Commission and the Turkish Government. Thereupon the Turkish Government had accused Mr Morgan of interfering in Turkey's internal affairs. Mr Cheysson pointed out that he had ordered the representative of the Commission to explain to the Turkish authorities that this move was an informal one. In conclusion, Mr Cheysson pointed out that the bill has already been passed and, though somewhat less shocking than expected, poses a problem for the Commission.