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OZAL'S ELECTORAL MANOEUVRES

On May 4, 1987, all political parties of Turkey were alarmed as Prime Minister Turgut Ozal hinted about the likelihood of holding early elections this fall. Addressing to the Parliamentary Group of the Motherland Party (ANAP) he leads, Ozal claimed that his party, thanks to the "achievements" of the government during the last three and a half years, would be victorious over all other parties, left or right, in the coming legislative elections.

Since then, Ozal's challenge has been followed by two important steps with regard to possible early elections:

- Modifying the Constitution of 1982 so as to allowing former political leaders, ousted from political life, to take active part in party life,
- Holding partial municipal elections to test the present strength of each political party.

On May 14, 1987, the National Assembly adopted the constitutional changes proposed by the Ozal's party. With these changes, Provisional Article 4 which imposes political bans against former political leaders has been lifted. Now the issue will be submitted to a national referendum for final approval which is expected to be on November 6, 1987. The National Assembly, voting other amendments, lowered the electorate age to 20 (Article 67), raised number of seats in Parliament from 400 up to 450 (Article 75) and changed the procedure of amending the Constitution (Article 175).



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A university student assassinated by the Guards of Islam

FUNDAMENTALIST VIOLENCE IN TURKEY

The rise of the islamic fundamentalism in Turkey (See: *Info-Türk*, March, April, May 1987), has attained to alarming dimensions with the assassination of a university student by the "Guardians of Islam" in the eastern province Van.

On May 3, 1987, a group of fundamentalists attacked the university students at a small restaurant near the Centenary University campus because the students were not fasting during the holy month of Ramadan. During this attack, Mehmet Sirin Tekin was stabbed to death and seven others were severely wounded.

This first hostile attack on students to have occurred in Turkey since the military coup of September 1980 caused an increase in tensions in this eastern Anatolia town.

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According to the new article, the Constitution can be changed on the proposal of one third of the total number of deputies in Parliament and adopted by three fifths. The President of the Republic has the right to veto the law proposals on the amendments of the Constitution. But if the vetoed law is again adopted by a two-thirds majority in Parliament, and if the president does not oppose it, then the amendment becomes final without the need for a referendum. If the president does not veto the law adopted by Parliament by a three-fifths majority, or a majority less than two-thirds, then the law will automatically go to a referendum. The constitutional changes proposed to the public in a referendum need to draw at least half of the casted votes.

The ruling ANAP, after these amendments, has launched a nationwide campaign with a view to spreading the image that it has nothing to fear once the former leaders are allowed to participate in active politics.

The constitutional amendments have been ardently supported by two opposition parties, namely the *Correct Way Party (DYP)* and the *Democratic Left Party (DSP)*, sponsored respectively by former premier ministers Süleyman Demirel and Bülent Ecevit, major beneficiaries of these changes.

Only the *Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP)* has opposed the amendment of Article 175 by accusing Ozal of using the lifting political bans as bait to pass the change of this article, which it identifies as the beginning of an absolutely different adventure.

SHP Chairman İnönü stated that no one would be able to prevent the lifting of the political bans and that his party had from the very beginning, supported the view that the bans had no connection whatsoever with Article 175. According to the SHP, Ozal had hinted he would privatize the forests, bring limitations to the authorities of the Constitutional Court, bring the universities under government control, reduce the effectiveness of the Parliament and promote antiseccular activities and he aims at using the new form of Article 175 to "constitutionalize" them. He criticized two other opposition parties of falling into Ozal's trap.

As a matter of fact, the lifting of Article 4 of the Constitution, even if it is approved in referendum in autumn, is not sufficient to reintegrate all former political leaders in political life. According to Article 4, the number of the former political leaders deprived of their political rights for ten years is 242. But the Political Parties Code adopted in 1983 stipulates that whosoever is condemned to a prison term over one year cannot take part in political activities.

82 out of the 242 former political leaders have already been condemned to different prison terms up to life-prison. They were the leaders of the *Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP)*, the *Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP)* and the *Workers-Peasants' Party of Turkey (TIKP)*.

Demirel and Ecevit, acting egoistically, has given their full support to Ozal's proposal without raising any question on the fate of other banned political leaders. Such an attitude for Demirel is not at all surprising, because he has always been an ardent enemy of the Left. As for Ecevit, he has not hesitated to repudiate his attachment to "democracy for all" in exchange

of obtaining financial State aid to the DSP, chaired by his wife Rahsan Ecevit. According to the press reports, bargainings had taken place between Ecevit and Ozal on this subject and on April 30, 1987, just a few days earlier than the parliamentary debates on the Constitutional amendments in the National Assembly, it was announced that the DSP was to get in 1987 a subsidy of 252.8 millions LT from the State.

In the eyes of Ozal, the DSP does not constitute a real danger for his party in the future elections. On the contrary, it serves to divide left-wing votes to the detriment of the main social-democrat party, SHP.

As for allowing Demirel to take part again in political life, it turns out a real political gamble for Ozal. The DYP sponsored by Demirel has already come out as the second political party of the country by outdoing the two left-wing political parties. Demirel's *fait accompli* rallies in Anatolia attract more attention and more crowds. His active campaign for the DYP in September 1986 by-elections had brought four seats which prompted the Western press to call it "Mr. Demirel's comeback."

In the last by-elections held in 84 municipalities, on June 7, 1987, Demirel showed again the same performance and the DYP confirmed its second political force position.

EVOLUTION OF PERCENTAGES IN PARTIAL ELECTIONS

Parties	1986	1987
ANAP (<i>Turgut Ozal</i>)	32.11	45.29
DYP (<i>Süleyman Demirel</i>)	23.54	27.69
SHP (<i>Erdal İnönü</i>)	22.63	14.37
RP (<i>Necmeddin Erbakan</i>)	5.55	5.53
DSP (<i>Bülent Ecevit</i>)	8.47	2.49
Others	7.70	4.63
TOTAL	100.00	100.00

However, the outcomes of the last elections are far from reflecting the real strength of the political parties, because DYP participated in elections in 79, SHP in 54, RP in 45 and DSP in 18 constituencies, while ANAP was present in all of 84 constituencies. Moreover, ANAP had the advantage of being government party which is considered by electors more profitable for municipal services. Yet, the two social democrat parties, failing to present candidates in all constituencies, showed once more their shortage of organizing in the countryside.

In the 54 constituencies where the social democrats participated in elections, SHP and DSP obtained respectively 21.87% and 4.76%, yet could not outdo neither ANAP (44.24%) nor DYP (22.42%). So, while the divided social democrats are failing to be the main opposition, another right-wing party, DYP, threatens more and more seriously the ANAP power for the coming legislative elections in which Demirel will be able to officially participate, if the constitutional amendments are approved in the autumn referendum.

Taking in consideration this menace, Ozal has already launched a new electoral offensive. First of all,

ANAP Parliamentary Group submitted to the National Assembly a bill foreseeing the transfer of the remains of the three former politicians, Prime Minister Menderes, Foreign Minister Fatin Rüstü Zorlu and Finance Minister Hasan Polatkan, hanged after the 1960 coup to a more appropriate location. They were buried on the isolated island of Imrali in the Sea of Marmara. Besides, Vatan (Fatherland) Street in Istanbul will be named as Adnan Menderes Boulevard. The Fast Tram System, now being established in Istanbul, will also bear the name of the hanged prime minister.

For years, it was the Justice Party (AP) and later on the Correct Way Party (DYP), both led by Demirel, which were the champion of reviving respectability of the three politicians, considered by the Right as "martyrs of democracy". Acting so, Ozal wishes to deprive Demirel and his party of a very important instrument of political warfare.

Nevertheless, former AP deputy Aydin Menderes, son of the hanged prime minister, said that this was nothing but a move to fool the public. He does not

consider sufficient Ozal's move and want a formal apology made to his mother and himself by the President of the Republic and that his father is buried following a State funeral. Mr. Menderes, near to Demirel's movement, said that he cannot allow Ozal to make use of his father's name for ANAP's advantage.

12 TSIP OFFICIALS CONDEMNED

As the leaders of the defunct political parties are being allowed again to take part in political life, 12 officials of the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey (TSIP) were condemned on May 14, 1987, by a military tribunal in Istanbul to prison terms of up to 8 years and 10 months. Cagatay Anadol, Veli Gürcan, Nurettin Bayram, Bahri Gedik, Ali Aktürk, Mustafa Duru, Orhan Cengiz, Cahittin Cakir, Sezin Karatekin, Yusuf Ertürk, Yelda Cengiz and Zekeriya Çayli are accused by the military prosecutor of having carried out communist activities prior to the military takeover of

FUNDAMENTALIST VIOLENCE IN TURKEY

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In fact, during the month of Ramazan, Turkey underwent an unprecedented atmosphere of intolerance created by fundamentalists. All those who dare to eat, to drink or to smoke in public places during the hours of religious fast have been warned and very often harassed by Islamic militants.

According to the press reports, at the Centenary University in Van, many fundamentalist professors, named by the Higher Education Council (YOK) after the military coup, indoctrinate young university students and provoke them to carry out "jihad" (holy war) against infidels. Those students who do not yield to this indoctrination are not promoted to a higher class.

Secretary General of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP), Mr. Fikri Saglar declared that the rightist terror of the pre-coup period rises again under the guise of propagating Islamic principles and accused of the World Moslem League (Rabitat-ul Islam-ul Alem) and the Evren-Ozal rule of instigating violence in Turkey.

RABITA'S THANKS TO GENERAL EVREN

Deputy Secretary General of the World Moslem League (Rabitat), Emin Akil Attas, during his stay in Istanbul on the occasion of the Islamic bankers' meeting, said that his organization is very grateful to General Evren of his firm stand against the Turkish press' criticisms on the Rabitat's influence in Turkey.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of May 4, 1987, Attas said: "Recently, left-wing and communist newspapers have launched a campaign against the relations between the Turkish Government and the Rabitat. But General Evren has defended this relation and declared that, if necessary, he can conclude a new agreement with the Rabitat. At his press conference, Mr. Evren drew attention to the activities of Christian churches and communist organizations in Turkey, but the Turkish press has not given heed to these activi-

ties. Evren's stand regarding the Rabitat is very appreciable for us."

FUNDAMENTALISM DOMINATES THE BUSINESS

While the Turkish Government was introducing to the European Communities the demand of adhesion, many observers, considering Ozal's yielding to the Saudi fundamentalism, voiced doubts about the sincerity of this hasty application. There were rumors that Ozal hastily introduced this demand though he knows all possible obstructions, because he hopes that Turkey, as a Moslem country, would have to seek a closer cooperation with the Islamic world in the case of being refused by the EC. (*Info-Türk*, April 1987).

In fact, the Congress of the Union of Turkish Industry and Commerce Chambers and Stock-exchanges (TOBB), held on May 23, 1987, showed once more that the majority of the Turkish businessmen are attached to the Islamic world and this organization is one of the mainstays of fundamentalism in Turkey.

The most spectacular event of this congress was the opening ceremonies held with prayers and religious rituals. These ceremonies were attended also by four ministers of the Government, three army generals, the President of the Court of Cassation and the Deputy Councillor of the State Planning Organization.

The majority of the Administrative Board is composed of the businessmen renowned for their sympathy for Turco-Islamic Synthesis. Chairman Ali Coskun is an active figure in *the Foyer of Intellectuals (AO)*.

The TOBB's yielding to the Saudi fundamentalism has given rise to anxiety as well in the left-wing opposition as among of a group of businessmen who remain attached to the idea of integration in the European Communities. The only representative of this group in the Administrative Board, Mr. Dündar Soyer, resigned from this board by declaring that the TOBB has

been put in the service of a campaign aiming at dragging Turkey to a medieval darkness. He also said that the press organ of the TOBB is full of articles voicing the propaganda of Saudi fundamentalism.

CHIEF GREY WOLF TURKES IN EUROPE

One of the principal promoters of the Turco-Islamic Synthesis, Ex-colonel Alparslan Türkeş, despite his condemnation for the extreme-right violence acts he led prior to the military coup of 1980, has been allowed by the Government to go to Europe.

Welcomed by thousands of Grey Wolves in Frankfurt (FRG), Türkeş attended the 10th Grand Convention of the *Türk-Federasyon*, held on May 6 in Hamm. This federation groups all turco-islamic migrant organizations in Europe and has been held responsible for many violence acts and accused of being implied in the attempt against the Pope in 1981.

Before and during the congress, hundreds of Turkish and German anti-fascist groups held protest demonstrations in front of the congress hall and called up the German authorities to ban this meeting.

Addressing to the convention, Türkeş said that despite the ban on the *Nationalist Action Party (MHP)* and the arrest of its leaders, the party's "turco-islamic synthesis" has been victorious and adopted now by the State. "Sooner or later we will be in power, because our cause is just," he said.

Turkeş supports now the *Nationalist Labour Party (MCP)* in Turkey. At the last congress of this party, held on April 19, 1987, Türkeş made elected a renown fundamentalist, Abdülkerim Doğru, to the party chairmanship with the purpose of picking up more islamists to his own movement. Since Türkeş is banned to take part in a political party, his son, Tugrul Türkeş was elected to the Administrative Board of the MCP.

CARRYING OF FIREARMS TO BE FREE

Prime Minister Ozal announced on May 17, 1987 that carrying of firearms will be freed by a new decree. "Carrying arm is a passion of many people in our country. Criminals are already carrying firearms, why do we deprive the honest citizens of the same possibility? Besides, the State can have a new revenue by receiving a tax on fire arms," he said.

The opposition, reminding that more than five thousands citizen had died at armed conflicts prior to the 1980 coup, accuses the government of dragging he country again to insecurity and violence.

Journalist Ugur Mumcu, renowned for his researches on arms smuggling and its relation with terrorism, claimed that the Government, with this move, aims at arming fundamentalist militants. (*Cumhuriyet*, May 21)

The assassination of a young university student by the *Guardians of Islam* in Van gives rise to the opposition's anxiety as regards this new project.

9 PROVINCES UNDER STATE OF EMERGENCY

The National Assembly, on the proposal of the government, decided on May 20, 1980, to lift martial law in four provinces of Turkish Kurdistan from July

A TEACHER OF THE SUN WORKSHOPS ATTACKED BY THREE RACISTS

One of the teachers of the Sun Workshops (Ateliers du Soleil), Mr. Mohammed Boubker was attacked on June 2, 1987 at 10 p.m. by three persons at the entrance of the Madou subway station in Brussels. Mr. Boubker is a Belgian citizen of Moroccan origin.

This attack was made with a racist intention, because the three aggressors, before attacking on Mr. Boubker, said: "Hey, foreigner! You take subway, you should better get a camel!"

What is regrettable in this event is that it happened just a few days after the reinforcing police patrols in the Saint-Josse municipality with a view to protecting inhabitants against delinquency. Racist and xenophobic circles claim that acts of aggression are committed by foreigners in the city. And police patrols control only inhabitants of foreign origin. Whereas, this aggression shows once more that racist and xenophobic individuals, probably members of extreme-right organizations, put in danger the security of inhabitants of foreign origin.

On the other hand, the same circles and certain media, with a view to justifying the discrimination as regards foreigners, present the naturalization as the only means of obtaining equal rights. But this racist act proves that this argument is not justified in daily practice. Foreigners, even if they are naturalized, still remain the target of racist aggressions.

19, 1987 on. So, the martial law regime, proclaimed in some provinces at the end of 1979 and extended after the military coup in 1980 to all over Turkey, will have ended after being applied for 8.5 years.

However, nine provinces of the country, Istanbul, Bingöl, Elazığ, Tunceli, Van, Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Mardin and Siirt, will be subjected for four months to another exceptional regime: state of emergency. In the provinces under state of emergency civil governors can use all exceptional powers of martial law commands such as applying censorship on the press, banning meetings, collective bargainings, strikes and resorting to use military troops for cracking down rallies.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of May 18, 1987, over a 27-year period since the institution of "democratic" regime in Turkey, eighteen years have passed under martial law and the military withdrew to their barracks only for nine years.

ARMED CONFRONTATIONS IN KURDISTAN

After shooting dead of three officers and ten soldiers by the Kurdish guerrilla in Semdinli, Turkish troops launched a "separatist hunting" in the rugged region near the Iran and Iraq borders where the guerrillas struck. The Commander of Land Forces Necdet Öztörün went to Hakkari for organizing new operation. Though new army troops were deployed to the area, Kurdish militants continue to hit army positions.

1.5, in Gercus (Mardin), a first lieutenant is killed and two soldiers wounded when their vehicle hit a land mine laid by guerrillas. Same day, 13 peasants collaborating with the Army in Semdinli are kidnapped by Kurdish militants.

5.5, in Pulümür (Tunceli), Kurdish guerrillas shoot dead two peasants suspected of collaboration with the Army.

6.5. In Geyiksu (Tunceli), Kurdish guerillas killed another pro-government peasant.

10.5, in the village of Uzunköy (Adiyaman), Kurdish militants shoot dead the village headman for collaborating with the Army.

19.5, in the village of Gümüşgün (Tunceli), a teacher is shot dead by Kurdish guerillas for denouncing their comrades.

21.5, in Palu (Elazig), an armed confrontation between a Kurdish group and security forces ends with the death of five militants and a policeman.

22.5, Kurdish guerillas raid the village of Yolcatı (Diyarbakir) shoot dead a teacher and the imam (religious man) for their collaboration with the Army.

26.5, in the village of Serçfli (Adiyaman), five Kurdish militants are killed in an ambush by security forces.

27.5, in the village of Körpas (Midyat), a school teacher is shot dead by Kurdish militants.

ALL PEOPLE OF A VILLAGE BEATEN UP

State terror carried out in Eastern provinces under the guise of pursuing "separatist groups" has attained to unbearable dimensions. The population of the village of Güzelöz, in the district of Gercüs of the Mardin province, revealed in a common petition addressed to the Chairman of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) that security forces had raided their village on April 9-10, 1987, and beaten up all adult people for obtaining information on the whereabouts of Kurdish guerillas.

During the investigation made by the members of Parliament, the villagers told the following facts:

"In the afternoon of April 9, the gendarmes entered in our village and gathered all men in garden of the school. Then, they took twelve of them to the gendarmerie station in Ulas. After being completely naked there, they were beaten up until 3 a.m. by gendarmes. Among those beaten up were also two school teachers and the village headman.

"Next day, after the release of them, about 500 gendarmes raided again the village. While all people were being taken again to the school garden, gendarmes searched every house of the village. When they failed to find anything related to Kurdish militants, they released women, but beat one by one all men gathered in the garden. This brutality continued until 3 p.m. During the beating, they completely naked a man and exhibited him to all women through the window. They tortured also four children by giving electric current to their mouths in order to obtain any information about the wanted militants. Because of bleeding from mouth, we had to take these children to a hospital in Batman after the razzia ended."

A NEW CASE AGAINST PKK

The military prosecutor of Diyarbakir opened, on April 29, 1987, a new political case against 30 alleged members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK). Accused of guerrilla actions, four of the defendants risk capital punishment while the others prison terms of up to 10 years.

13 NEW DEATH SENTENCES

A second trial against the neo-fascist MHP, held in Adana, ended on May 22, 1987, with the condemnation of 11 activists to capital punishment and of 61 others to different prison terms of up to life-prison. One month ago, on April 8, 1987, a military tribunal in Ankara had condemned 5 MHP militants to death and 228 to different prison terms.

On April 28, in another trial in Ankara, two MHP militants were sentenced to death and two other to 28-year prison term each for having assassinated seven left-wing youths in 1978.

MAY DAY CELEBRATED UNDER PRESSURE

Due to the restrictions on meetings, the workers of Turkey could not celebrate May Day in open air as their comrades do in other countries. Since 1978, May Day celebrations have been forbidden and the military junta took one more step by decreeing that the 1st of May was no more a holiday.

Security forces reinforced their patrolling in big cities on April 30 and May 1st in order to crack down on any groups attempting to organize any open-air May Day action. Few groups trying to distribute tracts or putting posters on walls were arrested by police.

The Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) organized an in-door May Day celebration in the industrial city of Izmir. Another in-door celebration organized by the SHP in Istanbul was annulled at the last moment by the party Chairman İnönü on grounds that extreme-left militants might infiltrate in.

As for the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-İs), it organized a mass rally on May 10, 1987, in Izmit for manifesting solidarity with the workers on strike. About 35 thousand workers participating in the rally shouted slogans against the government's anti-social policies.

On the other hand, about 600 workers of the Turkish Automotive Industries (TOE) in Gebze, 42 workers of a coal mine in Kütahya and 6 workers of NETAS went on hunger-strikes in May for protesting against low salaries and arbitrary dismissals.

Police detained 10 of hunger-strikers in Gebze.

INDOCTRINATION IN UNIVERSITIES

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

Following the Rector's opening speech, two lieutenant-colonels from the General Staff and a high ranking police chief made briefings in their relative subjects. The orators claimed that Turkey is surrounded by hostile forces of which Greece pretends to the Western Anatolia, Bulgaria to the North-Western territories and the "separatists" to the Eastern Anatolia and that the Soviet Union concentrates its troops at the Turkish border in the East. They also accused Syria of supporting "separatist" forces.

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

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

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

STUDENT ACTIONS AND ARRESTS

Unrest in the Turkish universities grows with new protest actions against the barrack discipline and mass arrests systematically carried out by police.

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

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

On May 18, university students in Istanbul, Bursa and Gaziantep held different kinds of protest actions. Police detained 72 students in total.

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

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

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

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

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

PERSECUTIONS IN MASS MEDIA

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

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

15.5, in Ankara, responsables of the review *Abece*,

Ali Bozkurt, Nazim Bayata and Hasan Ünel, were indicted by the prosecutor of the State Security Court for having published articles hailing May Day. They face prison terms of up to one year.

Same day, the Prosecutor of Istanbul opened a proceedings against author Hasan Kiyafet for his articles on Turkish officers in the US Bases, appeared in the newspaper *Cagdas*. He is accused of slandering Turkish officers.

16.5, in Istanbul, the responsible editor of the periodical *Gökyüzü*, Mr. Ender Helvacioğlu is brought before a criminal court for having organized unauthorized meetings with the review's readers.

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

27.5, the trial of two journalists from the weekly *2000'e Dogru*, Mr. Dogu Perincek and Mrs. Fatma Yazici, began at criminal court of Istanbul. They are accused of slandering the personality of Atatürk.

Same day, the publisher of *Yazin Yayincilik*, Mr. Necdet Sarac was brought before the State Security Court of Istanbul for an article on "Nuclear War and Socialism".

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

3500 BOOKS CONFISCATED

On May 1st police raided a bookshop in Ankara and confiscated 3,500 publications and detained three booksellers, Beyhan Senol, Suat Tekeli and Vahit Aras, for selling banned publications.

DR. ISMAIL BESIKCI RELEASED

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

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

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

BAN ON ANTI-NUCLEAR DOCTORS

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

WHAT REMAIN FROM THE MILITARY REGIME?

Turkey is now a candidate for full membership of the European Communities and the Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu, in his address to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe on May 6, 1987, tried to justify Turkish demand of adhesion in these terms: "The Turkish Government, throughout the democratization process has taken energetic steps for reinstating the basic institutions of parliamentary democracy and for the protection and promotion of human rights and freedoms. Since 1983 important progress has been achieved in deepening parliamentary democracy and respect for human rights."

As a matter of fact, since 1983 some steps have been taken and the lifting of martial law throughout Turkey and the reintegration of former political leaders in political life are the recent examples of this process.

But it is also a undeniable fact that all these changes have been made thanks to the pressure coming from international democratic institutions such as the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, the International Labour Organization and the European Trade Unions Confederation.

Yet all those that have been achieved are very little and very far from transforming Turkey in a real European democracy if one takes into consideration those that remain from the military regime.

- The excessive presidential powers of General Kenan Evren, who was the chief of the military junta of the 1980-83 period and named "President of the Republic" with the adoption of the 1982 Constitution.
- The extraparlimentary and extragovernmental powers of the National Security Council (MGK), composed of army chiefs and some ministers, in which the military have absolute majority over the government members and of which the directives on internal and external security matters are absolutely binding for the government.
- The consultative powers of the four former army chiefs, who were the members of the military junta during the 1980-83 period and entitled to the Presidential Council with the 1982 Constitution.
- The constitutional provisions banning the lifting or modifying of the laws or decrees adopted by the military junta or the Consultative Assembly of the military.
- The constitutional provisions stipulating that neither the members of the 5-man junta nor the members of the military government or the Consultative Assembly can be held responsible for their decisions or acts belonging to the 1980-83 period.
- The excessive powers of the State Supervisory Council, attached directly to the President of the Republic, which keep all public institutions as well as associations and trade unions under a constant State control.
- The ban on the political parties which were dissolved by the military junta after the coup.
- The new code on Political Parties which bans the foundation of new political parties on social class, ethnic or language basis.
- The ban on thousands of associations which were dissolved by the military junta.
- The ban on the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK).
- The new code on trade unions, collective bargainings and strikes which makes impossible to go on strike in many economic sectors.
- The Higher Arbitration Council (YHK) which, in the economic sectors where the strike is banned, imposes on workers the working conditions and salaries put forward by employers.
- The Higher Education Council (YOK), attached directly to the "President of the Republic", who has turned all universities and higher education institutions into military barracks.
- The new code on the Press and the audiovisual media which obliges the editors and theater and movie directors to apply a self-censorship.
- The new code on rallies and marches which make almost impossible to hold meetings and marches with a view to asserting rights.
- The practice of depriving the regime's opponents abroad of their citizenship.
- Political trials at military tribunals or state security courts.
- Torture and ill-treatment.

240,000 DETAINEES IN SEVEN YEARS

The Human Rights Association of Turkey (IHD), founded last year, announced, in a report submitted to its first convention held in June 1987, that at least 240,000 people have been detained during the 7-year period following the 1980 coup d'état and almost all of them have been subjected to torture or ill-treatment during their interrogations at police centers or military detention houses.

The IHD declared also that 169 of these detainees have been killed under torture, but the authorities claimed that they had died by committing suicide or during the attempt of escaping from detention.

POLITICAL MASS TRIALS AT MILITARY TRIBUNALS

Despite the lifting of martial law many political mass trials opened during the military rule are still going on at martial law tribunals. The weekly *Yeni Gündem* of May 10, 1987, published the following table on the main trials still dealt by the military:

Name of the trials	Date of opening	Number of defendants	Number of the arrested
DEV-YOL (Fatsa)	1980	814	116
DEV-SOL (Istanbul)	1980	1,374	169
MLSPB (Istanbul)	1981	335	94
DEV-YOL (Adana)	1980	300	36
TIKKO-3 (Istanbul)	1981	378	32
EYLEM BIRLIGI (Istanbul)	1980	197	41
DEV-YOL (Ankara)	1980	760	85

The trials of hundreds of Kurdish militants arrested since 1980 and judged by military tribunals in Diyarbakir, Adana, Elazig and Malatya should be added to this list.

TURKISH DELEGATION'S CREDENTIALS CONTESTED AT THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

While the Turkish demand for full membership of the European Communities is being studied by the Commission of the communities, the present regime of Turkey has indirectly been the object of debates at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe.

At the spring session, the Assembly ratified the credentials of all delegations except those of the Cypriot delegation, contested by the Spanish deputy Juna de Arespachaga on grounds that this delegation represents only one of the two communities of the island.

Thereupon, the British deputy Lord Hughes contested the credentials of the Turkish delegation saying that it is very far from representing all population of Turkey.

After having received the opinion of the Committee on Rules of Procedure, in favour of the the two delegations, the Parliamentary Assembly debated on May 5, 1987, the question of contested credentials.

Mr. Linster, speaking for the Socialist Group, said: "The Assembly had approved those credentials in the past, although developments in recent months meant that such rights as that to participate in elections and in political activities were now in question in Turkey. The DISK leaders are always pursued and and faces imprisonment. If torture is not officially in force in prisons, it is practised in police interrogation centers. Moreover, the Turkish Government has put many reserves on the utilisation of the right to individual complaint to the European Commission on Human Rights. However, in the past the Assembly had approved the delegation's credentials in order to encourage the Turks to press ahead with democratisation, and in line with that the Socialist Group considered

that it should support the recommendation by the Committee on Rules of Procedure.

The spokesmen of the other political groups, except the Communists, talked in the same sense. Thereupon, the Parliamentary Assembly decided to ratify the credentials of the two delegations.

During the sitting of May 6, 1987, Turkish Foreign Minister Vahit Halefoglu, addressing the Assembly as the "Chairman of the Committee of Ministers", resorted all demagogy in order to convince the members of Assembly that Turkey advance towards full democracy.

After this declaration, the following questions were put to Halefoglu:

Mr. Elmquist: "In January I got the impression there would be no restrictions in your recognition of the right to individual complaint. Now it appears that there are five restrictions. Therefore, can you confirm today that a number of member states have sent letters to the Secretary General in which they express reservations or concern about the content of your recognition of 28 January?"

Mr. Budtz: "In which way the Committee of Ministers will check how human rights and political freedoms, for instance in relation to the trade unions, are introduced in Turkey?"

Mr. Declercq too asked to Halefoglu a series of questions concerning the violation of trade union rights in Turkey.

Mr. Halefoglu, instead of responding to the asked questions, claimed that the democratic norms had been adopted in Turkey and the Committee of Ministers would no more debate the "Turkish Question."

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