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chicago boys at the head of turkish economy

Finally... The process of so-called "returning to democracy" in Turkey was concluded on December 13, with the formation of the technocrat-dominated cabinet of a staunch monetarist, election winner Turgut Ozal. Although the competence with regard to law and order still remains in the hands of the military, from now on it is the Turkish "Chicago Boys" who will be at the head of the Turkish economy!

It might be the irony of Fate that the presentation of Ozal's monetarist government program coincided with the publication of an attack on Milton Friedman's monetarism by the Bank of England, but what's done is done. Isn't it the will of 52.75 percent of the Turkish voters who voted for Ozal's Motherland Party (Ana-P)? Although they voted in this way for giving a clear slap at the military who openly backed General Sunalp's Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP), within the framework of that mockery of elections, this defiance costs them to undergo once again the drastic monetarist measures imposed by the International Monetary Fund.

The curtain of the new political theater which is designed for staging the play of militarist "democracy", was raised on November 24 with the convention of the new-elected Turkish Grand National Assembly. All the day, the people of Turkey listened to the oath broadcast 399 times by the State Radio, as the deputies of the three parties were swearing upon their honor to remain loyal to Atatürk's principles and to General Evren's Constitution.

Following a 12-day interval, on December 6, with the election of the Speakership Council of the Grand National Assembly, the National Security Council which had ruled Turkey since the coup of September 12, 1980, was automatically dissolved and turned into Presidential Council.

First, Motherland Party's deputy from the province of Trabzon, Necmettin Karaduman, 57, was elected Speaker at the second turn supported by the Ana-P and the MDP. In fact, retired Admiral Bülent Ulusu who headed the military government for three years, was an early favorite to become Speaker. However, his candidacy was strongly opposed by the deputies of the Ana-P who holds 211 seats in the 400-seat Parliament. Party officials and deputies warned Ozal that the election of Ulusu might embarrass the new civilian administration in the eyes of the international community, because the Speaker would be the No.2 in State protocol and would assume all powers as acting President of the Re-



public, should General Evren travel abroad or die. The argument put forward by the deputies was accepted by the Presidential Council and by Uluşu himself, and Karaduman, a former governor who turned later business manager, happened to be the Speaker of the Grand National Assembly. Two days later, the posts of deputy Speakers were shared out without any problem among the three parties.

The election of the Speakership Council opened the way to hold pretentious ceremonies well planned by the Junta to celebrate the conclusion of the process of "return to democracy".

On the retirement of five army chiefs who formed the military junta, new heads of the Armed Forces, Chief of General Staff Necdet Urug, Commander of Land Forces Haydar Saltık, Commander of Air Forces Halil Sözer, Commander of Naval Forces Zahir Atakan and Commander of Gendarmery Mehmet Buyruk started their new duties officially, following separate ceremonies made at their respective headquarters.

As for the four retired commanders, they settled themselves this time in the seats of the 4-man Presidential Council.

Nevertheless, before leaving legislative power, the National Security Council enacted at the last moment a new law which strictly forbids 242 top leaders of pre-coup political parties who were already banned from politics for 10 years to make "derogatory statements" on Turkey's past, present and future, while making "positive" statements was allowed.

The valedictory law of the Junta also forbids leaders, former administrators and members of parties banned either by the Court of Constitution or the NSC to make statements they may resurrect the "political bickering" of the pre-September 12 days, on pain of three months to one year imprisonment. Another article extends this restriction to all citizens, who face an equal term in prison should they violate the law.

Most important, the decrees passed and decisions made by the NSC will not be subjected to discussion or criticism according to the law, which imposes a three months to one year prison term for violators. If any of the offenses mentioned in the law are committed within martial law zones, trials will be held in military tribunals.

The military rule, has it really ended? For having the answer to this question our readers should look at the preceding Bulletins which explain the new structure of the Turkish State. As pointed out by the Guardian of December 8, "the phasing out of military rule has left the army entrenched in many key areas, and through General Evren it can exercise a veto should the new Parliament try to undo the political system created in the past three years... In effect, the straitened version of democracy set up by the generals will continue only on the terms set down by them. All potential critics and deviations have been proscribed, and a tough new press law went into effect only a few days after the elections."

As for the new chiefs of the Armed Forces, although they were not members of the military junta, new Chief of Staff Necdet Urug and new Commander of Land Forces Haydar Saltık had already figured in the planning and execution of the coup d'Etat. In fact, following the military takeover, *The International Herald Tribune* of September 13, 1980 reported: "One of the key leaders, General Haydar Saltık, who was named secretary general of the new ruling security committee, has attended numerous seminars and planning sessions of the NATO command and was described by one NATO source as a 'familiar figure'." General Urug, Command-

er of the 1st Turkish Army in Istanbul at the moment of the coup, was also another familiar figure for the NATO sources since he had worked in NATO headquarters. Both them have been distinguished during the 3-year period of military rule as the two "strong men" of the Army. In 1981 they exchanged their posts; while General Saltık was heading the 1st Turkish Army and Martial Law Command of Istanbul, General Urug assumed the post of the Secretary General of the NSC. So, both them have had enough experience on the army's interference in State affairs.

Furthermore, according to the new Constitution, a new National Security Council will be set up and this new council, chaired by the President of the Republic and made up of the Chief of Staff, of the four commanders of Armed Forces as well as of the Prime Minister and the ministers of National Defence, Interior and Foreign Affairs, shall submit to the Council of Ministers its views on taking decisions and ensuring necessary coordination for formulating, establishing and implementing the national security policy of the State. The Council of Ministers shall give priority consideration to the decisions of the new NSC.

Once this mockery of passage to civilian rule was concluded, next day, four retired generals appeared in civilian clothes in public for the first time as they listened to the speech of their chief, President of the Republic Evren, from the parliamentary gallery.

In his speech, claiming that the Army was withdrawing to barracks, Evren urged the new Parliament: "The September 12 Military Intervention of 1980 was carried out in order to stop the terrorism which had hampered democracy in the country. The Turkish Armed Forces should not be left in the face of circumstances in which there is not any solution other than military takeover."

He did not forget to defy the western critics of the regime which he created: "It is not possible for me to equate the good will of certain European countries with their negative attitude towards Turkey while she is aiming to return to full democracy. I sincerely believe that you (new deputies) will give an appropriate reply to such countries in the future, whenever they attempt such an approach again."

And after these ceremonies, receiving Turgut Ozal in the Presidential Palace, Evren named this Turkish Chicago Boy Prime Minister of Turkey. It was not a surprise since Ozal was the winner of the elections. What is more, after his election despite the opposition of Evren, Turgut Ozal assured the "chief" that his future government would share the military's attitude on human rights questions. After his designation as Prime Minister, he confirmed his loyalty to Evren: "I thank you and Turkish Armed Forces for bringing the country back from the brink of the abyss. I strongly believe under your guidance we will emerge successful through this period."

The only anxiety was to set up a Cabinet acceptable to Evren and to put into practice his monetarist programme. A week later, when he went to the Presidential Palace to present his Cabinet list to Evren in the hope of obtaining his immediate approval, he returned empty-handed. It was announced that the President was exercising his right to scrutinize the names of ministers. In fact, it looked very much as if a tussle for supremacy was taking place.

On December 13, the cabinet list of 21 ministers headed by Ozal was approved by Evren. The new government is dominated by 10 engineers and 6 economists who had already worked with Ozal in the past and share his monetarist views. The cabinet includes also 2

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medical doctors, one former governor, one retired Air Force general and one career diplomat.

Deputy Premier is Kaya Erdem, the former Finance Minister who worked with Ozal in fashioning Turkey's 1980 economic "recovery" programme imposed by the IMF. He had resigned from this post in 1982 together with Ozal on the scandal of bankers.

Ozal chose from outside the Parliament a career diplomat as Foreign Minister: Vahit Halefoglu, 64, who recently retired as Turkey's Ambassador to Moscow. He has also served as Ambassador in West Germany, the Netherlands and Lebanon.

New Prime Minister reaffirmed his free market stance on December 19, when his government's programme was presented to Parliament.

The main feature of the programme is an attempt to control inflation. It states that inflation must be reduced to less than 10 pc from the present 40 pc level within five years. The interest rate on one-year deposits is raised above inflation, up to 52 p.c. while the tax on saving interests is reduced. Export and import controls will be liberalised and incentives given to investments in export-oriented projects with short-term returns. Foreign capital will also be encouraged.

Loss-making public enterprises suffer a heavy blow. They will receive no subsidies in future. Shares of profitable ones, however, will be sold.

The measures do not come as a surprise. It is largely a replica of the 1980 stand-by agreement with the IMF and it is hoped, will please the IMF team expected in Ankara next month.

The first step in the implementation of Ozal's economic policies had already been taken before the presentation of the programme. The "Operation Bureaucracy" dismantled several ministries and formed a highly-centralised economic administration directly under Mr Ozal and consisting of the ministers who are known as his "brain trust".

As expected, for assuring the bosses at the Presidential Palace and the army commanders, the government programme pledged to continue the fight against terrorism and said martial law would be lifted in phases. As for human rights, the new government gave verbal allegiance to the universal declaration on Human Rights.

There is no doubt that the programme of Ozal Government is in a complete accordance with the directives of the Junta formulated in the Constitution.

Nevertheless, Ozal faces a difficult task. First of all, economic well-being will be difficult to achieve with the coming austerity measures in a country already experiencing real losses in wages, soaring rents and prices. The people of Turkey has already paid the price of the monetarist measures. From now on, even within the framework of a militarist "democracy", trade unions and political parties will be obliged to echo the discontent of the working masses.

On December 4, Chairman of the Supreme Electoral Board declared that all political parties that have fulfilled organizational obligations will be authorized to enter the local elections tentatively scheduled to be held in 1984. It means that the real inheritors of the defunct AP and CHP, respectively the Correct Way Party (DYP) and the Social Democracy Party (Sodep) can participate in these elections. Already the top leaders and former deputies of the pre-coup parties have begun to be enrolled in these two parties which were banned to participate in last general elections. Then the Ana-P will find itself in the face of a powerful opposition which can control local administrations after the coming municipal elections.

On the other hand, despite the centralization of the economic administration, the key posts at the head of many state economic enterprises had already been occupied by the yes-men of the military. Before leaving the Prime Minister's Office, Admiral Ulusu signed more than 2,000 appointments with whom the new administration of Ozal will be obliged to collaborate. Besides, the National Security Council extended for one more year the terms of the army officers who had been appointed to civil posts after the coup. Under these conditions, it will be rather difficult for Ozal's "brain trust" to apply its programme without problem.

Finally, Ozal Government will have to convince international opinion, and the Council of Europe in particular, that real democracy will soon flourish in Turkey.

The European Commission on Human Rights, after three days of hearings in Strasbourg, ruled on December 6 that the complaint lodged by five European Countries, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, was admissible. The procedure can eventually lead to the expulsion of Turkey from the 21-nation Council of Europe.

As known, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has already decided the Parliament which would proceed from the election of November 6, would not be the "democratically elected representation of the Turkish people" and that, as such, it could not really be regarded as a delegation entitled to take part in the proceedings of the P. Assembly.

As for relations with the United States, before the formation of the new government, its predecessor already signed an agreement with Reagan administration, an agreement which allows the use of Incirlik Air Base in Southern Turkey for the supply of "limited" troops and cargo to the U.S. forces in Lebanon.

Just after the proclamation of the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus", this new agreement has already provoked reactions in the Arab world and it may put in danger developing commercial and economic relations with Middle East countries.

In brief, the coming days may bring many unpleasant surprises to the Turkish Chicago Boys!

STATE TERROR

THE US HELSINKI WATCH REPORT

The US Helsinki Watch Committee, founded in 1979 to monitor domestic and international compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki accords, recently issued a report on "Human Rights in Turkey's Transition to Democracy".

The report has been partially based on information

gathered by Roland Algrant and Jeri Laber during a fact-finding visit to Turkey in late September 1983.

Criticizing the US administration's support to the Turkish regime, the report says:

"The destruction of the centers of independent thought and action lays the groundwork for totalitarianism in Turkey, rather than for a 'transition to democracy.' (...) In any case, authoritarianism can not

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be considered 'benevolent' when it is based on the sufferings of thousands, tucked out of sight in military prisons. (...)

"Turkey is the third largest recipient of United States military and economic aid. Despite the fact that the European Economic Community, in response to Turkey's human rights abuses, has withheld an aid program of 625 million dollar from Turkey since 1981, despite the provisions in our own Foreign Assistance Act prohibiting economic and military aid from the US government to gross human rights offenders, the Reagan administration continues to increase its financial support to Turkey. (...) US defense of Turkey has not only been a source of discord between the United States and its West European allies, it has also damaged the credibility of US human rights policies elsewhere. This was especially evident at the Helsinki review talks in Madrid when the United States strongly condemned the imposition of martial law in Poland, only to be reminded by the Eastern bloc countries and certain neutral and nonaligned nations about the situation in Turkey. The widely-distributed February 1982 USIA television program 'Let Poland Be Poland' was ridiculed in Europe, and even among some of the very people whose cause it was intended to serve, because the Turkish Prime Minister appeared on the screen condemning martial law in Poland. (...)

"The Turkish citizens we met (in Turkey) were reluctant to have contact with US Embassy personnel. Some were firmly convinced that 'the US Embassy is in league with the Turkish secret police,' and claimed that 'the US Ambassador is almost a member of the junta'. Several people reported that the US Embassy, just before the arrest of the Turkish Peace Association members, had gratuitously released USIA bulletins describing the World Peace Council as a front for the Soviet Communist Party and that identical wording had subsequently appeared in the indictment of

the Turkish Peace Association."

In the 103-page report, the US Helsinki Watch Committee mission gives data on the violation of human rights in Turkey.

CONTRADICTIONS ON ARRESTS

The report draws attention to the contradictory figures given by the Turkish authorities on the arrests and detentions:

"In May 1981, the Turkish government announced that in the first seven months of the coup—as of April 10, 1981—122,609 'suspected extremists' had been arrested. *The New York Times* of May 24, 1981, reported a figure of 'more than 100,000', attributing it to a NATO report.

"By November 1981, one year after the coup, Turkish authorities claimed that 30,000 'political extremists' remained in the prisons, some convicted and some awaiting trial. The US State Department in its *Country Report on Human Rights Practices for 1982* cites Turkish government statistics of 37,000 by the end of 1982. The same *Country Report* also cites other figures: 56,486 people detained in Turkey since the imposition of martial law in 1978, about half of whom had been tried and sentenced. Although there is no way to verify the figures, it is evident that, even using the official Turkish Government statistics, we are talking about enormous numbers of people who have been detained at some time or another under martial law.

"The most recent figures were given by Turkish authorities on July 7, 1983. These are the lowest official figures to date—21,121 political prisoners—and they have been greeted with scepticism both in Turkey and abroad. The people we met in Turkey gave us unofficial estimates of the number of political prisoners ranging from 50,000 to over 100,000."

NEW DATA ON STATE TERROR

Prior to the general elections, the Office of the Prime Minister issued an official report entitled "Terror and the Evaluation on the Fight against Terror".

According to this report, within a 30-month period

Social status	number	pc	Social status	number	pc
Student	12,042	20	Employee	6,384	10
Jobless	11,751	20	Teacher	4,087	7
Self-employed	9,786	16	Housewife	960	2
Worker	8,573	14	Others	6,925	11
Educational level:			number		pc
Higher education			9,487		15
Secondary education			21,360		35
Primary education			17,801		30
Others			11,833		20

Age groups	nombre	pc	Political tendency	num	pc
Between 16-25	33,377	55	Left	32,956	54
Between 25-35	17,859	30	kurdish movement	3,921	7
Between 35-45	6,680	11	Right	8,198	14
Over 45	2,565	4	Others	15,406	25

The same report indicates that within a 61-month period between December 26, 1978, date of the proclamation of martial law, and March 31, 1983, the martial law tribunals had condemned 32,650 persons for political acts and opinions.

between 12.9.1980 and 12.2.1983, the security forces have detained 60.481 persons accused of being involved in political violence. The distribution of the detainees according to different categories is as follows:

Terms of imprisonment			Tendencies of the condemned: number pc		
0- 1 year	22,195	68.0	Left	17,494	53.6
1- 5 years	6,329	19.4	Kurdish movement	689	2.1
5-10 years	1,017	7.4	Right	4,258	13.1
10-20 years	1,017	3.1	Others	10,209	31.2
Over 20 years	433	1.3			
Life-term	141	0.5			
Death sentence	117	0.3			

PRISON POPULATION:

The Office of the prime Minister announced that as of March 31, 1983, after the release of those who were acquitted or served their prison-terms, there were 20,157 political prisoners or detainees in military prisons:

Detained	650	3.2
Arrested by court	12,307	61.1
Condemned to:		
0- 1 year	2,522	12.5
1- 5 years	2,479	12.4
5-10 years	1,154	5.7
10-20 years	649	3.2
Over 20 years	245	1.2
Life-term	72	0.3
Death sentence	79	0.4
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As of the same date, 23 death sentences were already executed. Four of the condemned to death sentence escaped from military prison and another one was shot to dead while he was fleeing.

(It should be underlined that, according to a communiqué issued by the International League for Human Rights on February 19, 1982, only within the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,958 persons had been taken into custody for preliminary investigation. The official figures issued by the Turkish authorities are very far from being reliable since they are in contradiction with those who had been issued earlier by the same sources.)

CEDRI'S ALARM CRY

The European Committee in defence of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI) has announced at a press conference held on November 15 in Brussels, that at the very moment when the Turkish junta was organizing "democratic" elections, a delegation consisting of elected town councillors had brutally been barred, so as to prevent it from observing the polling in Fatsa.

Fatsa is a small city whose experiment with municipal administration based on self-management was brutally broken off on July 9, 1980 by the army's intervention. Since, 770 of its inhabitants are in jail, 263 of whom face up to the death sentence. The youngest defendant who was 13 years old at the time when these events took place, risks from 10 to 15 years' imprisonment for having written some texts and stuck up some posters without permission.

It was the 4th delegation of European elected town councillors, which was supported by over 300 European cities, consisting of Anne-Marie Hanquet (town councillor of Liège, Belgium), Heidi Dencys (a Swiss deputy), Fernando Abad Becquer (Spanish mayor of Leganes) and Frédéric Furet (a French town councillor).

At the press conference, Mrs Hanquet declared that the delegation had neither been permitted to enter Amasya military camp, where this trial is going on for two years. At the entrance of the camp, they were told by the officers that because of the elections the trial was not public. The commanding assistant colonel showed them a circular letter from the Ankara authorities marked "Secret", which had been sent to all military camps, pointing out that "Since we are not in a position to know whether this sort of delegations - Amnesty International, Council of Europe, EEC, Human Rights Commission - come here for making propaganda either in favour of or against Turkey, all these delegations and suchlike are not permitted to attend the trials until the end of the general elections of November 6, 1983."

In the minutes of the delegation's mission, the story of its barring from Fatsa is stated in this way:

"On Saturday November 5... We arrived in Fatsa at 2 p.m. As we left the bus, we were arrested by three plain-clothes, with guns at their waist. They refused to give their personal particulars and asserted that they are colonels. They held no summons and forced us to follow them to the tourist office which is also used as an additional police station in Fatsa and as an office for the deputy prefect who is at the same time a captain in the army and the new mayor of Fatsa, appointed by the government the day following the 1980 military coup. He was present and ordered us to leave immediately Fatsa because, he said, we could disturb public order on the eve of the 'democratic' elections. As mayor of Fatsa, he added, he represented the inhabitants and was quite willing to answer our questions before we returned to Samsun. We reaffirm-

ed our wish to stay in Fatsa until Sunday night, unless we were notified officially and by letter of the reasons for such a refusal. We demanded to be released so as to be able to find an hotel-restaurant. 'There are no more rooms available in the Fatsa hotels', they said, but they agreed to bring us to a restaurant for dinner. So we followed them and they decided unilaterally to bring us at the outskirts of the town, to an hotel-restaurant situated 4 km farther on the road to Samsun. There we asked the receptionist if any rooms were still available. 'Yes' she first said, then, as one of the three policemen stared at her, 'No' she corrected herself making a gesture of powerlessness. Frédéric Furet asked then if he may call by telephone CEDRI headquarters in Basel and the French Embassy in Ankara; the policemen refused pointing out that we could do anything we like from Samsun. (...) We reiterated our request for an official letter notifying us in pursuance of which law we are forbidden to stay in Fatsa; (...) Then they lost their temper: two of them seized Mr Furet by his jacket's revers, lifted him up out of his arm-chair and dragged him into the lounge of the hotel. The rest of the delegation were seized too and all of us were brought back to the Fatsa tourist office. (...) Their proposal: 'Either you'll leave at once Fatsa for Samsun, or you'll go in jail.' We considered that we had learned enough about 'democracy' on the eve of polling day and we left the 'tourist office', escorted by the policemen and gazed upon by numerous inhabitants."

This ill-treatment of an international delegation has called forth protests from the French, Spain, Swiss and Belgian ambassadors to the Turkish authorities.

NEW CONDEMNATIONS

6.11, in Gölcük, 4 defendants of the Dev-Sol Trial sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment each.

16.11, in Izmir, 6 presumed members of TKP/B sentenced to prison terms up to 6 years.

17.11, in Izmir, 14 members of the Idealist Youth Association condemned to imprisonment.

19.11, in Izmir, a trial of Dev-Yol ended with the pronouncement of 4 death sentences and 25 various prison terms.

21.11, in Izmir, a presumed member of TDKP condemned to 4-year prison term.

24.11, in Izmir, another TDKP trial ended with the pronouncing of various prison terms for 16 defendants.

25.11, in Ankara, 2 presumed members of Dev-Yol condemned to life-term and 9 others to prison terms up to 20 years.

27.11, in Dandirma, three officials of a banned cultural association sentenced to 6-month prison each

30.11, in Istanbul, 19 defendants of the "People's Revolutionary Path" condemned to prison terms up to 7 years.

NEW PROSECUTIONS

Despite the claim of "returning to democracy", the military prosecutors carry on legal proceedings against former political leaders.

On November 10, the military prosecutor of Martial Law Command filed a suit against former members of Parliament Nahit Mentese, Yigit Köker, Sırrı Atalay, Metin Tüzün and İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil as well as two founders of the Great Turkey Party Hüsamettin Cindorak and Mehmet Gölhan. They are accused of having violated the bans imposed by the NSC.

All of the accused had been placed under surveillance in a military camp after the foundation of the

Great Turkey Party and deprived of their liberty for four months. Atalay is also a former Speaker of the dissolved Senate, Mentese and Caglayanil were ministers in Demirel's governments. Caglayanil, former Foreign Minister, is also accused of having sent to the German Foreign Minister a letter criticizing the military regime.

In November, three more suits were filed against the officials of three trade unions: 16 officials of Dev-İşaden-Sen and 13 of Sine-Sen, both affiliated to DISK, and 20 officials of the independent trade-union İT-ÖZ.

Other new trials:

4.11, in Ankara, 133 more defendants were added to the main Dev-Yol Trial. The total number of defendants rose to 707 and that of those risking the death penalty to 234.

21.11, in Ankara, 12 persons were brought before a military tribunal on the charge of having worked for the THKP/C. The next day, another trial was initiated in Istanbul on the same charge against 89 persons. In both cases the prosecutors demanded prison terms up to 15 years.

NEW ARRESTS

10.11, in Bolu, 19 left-wing militants,

11.11, in Izmir, 12 presumed members of the "Path of Turkey's Revolution",

16.11, in Balıkesir, 5 presumed members of TKP,

19.11, in Balıkesir, 5 presumed members of TDKP, were arrested by the security forces.

PRESS TRIALS

One of Turkey's distinguished academics, Professor Yalçın Küçük, despite the fact that the Military Court of Cassation overruled his sentence to 8-year imprisonment for praising communism in his work entitled "For a New Republic", was arrested again on November 24 on another charge. The 3rd Military Court of Martial Law Command in Istanbul issued a new warrant of arrest against him before his release from the military prison, on the pretext that the military prosecutor had taken additional proceedings against him for "having insulted the military forces of the Turkish State".

Professor Küçük was under arrest since February 2, 1983 and he had gone on hunger-strike in August for protesting against the inhuman conditions prevalent in the military prisons.

On November 3, in Istanbul, Attila Tanılğan, owner of the *Temel* Book Distribution House, was sentenced to 7,5-year prison term by a military tribunal on the charge of having made propaganda for communism by distributing communist publications.

On November 12, the Military Court of Cassation ratified the 10-month prison term of Akın Simey, editorialist of the daily *Demokrat İzmir*, who had been sentenced for an article published in this paper in 1977.

On the same day, in Istanbul, a teacher named Mehmet Alp was condemned to 6 years' and 8 months' imprisonment by a criminal court for having taught his pupils a poem which praises the fight against a corrupt social order.

The trial of two journalists, Hasan Karakaya and Alaaddin Özdeören, began on November 26 at a military court in Istanbul. They are charged with having made anti-secular propaganda in an article published in the daily *Milli Gazete*. The prosecutor requested a 16-month prison term for each.

On the other hand, on November 28 the Istanbul Martial Law Command took proceedings against 13 directors of the 'Turkish Retired Actors' Trade Union

which had been founded by a number of famous Turkish actors in 1978. They are charged with conducting "marxist-leninist activities" and face up to 20 years in prison.

BAN ON PUBLICATIONS

The Martial Law Command in Istanbul banned the publication and distribution of the daily *Tasvir* on November 2 and of the daily *Hürriyet* on November 30.

Hürriyet, the highest circulation of the Turkish daily press, has been banned on the ground that it published in its obituary column the announcement of the death of Marat İsmail, Chairman of the Turkish Communist Party. Although the political title of Marat was not mentioned in the announcement given by an unidentified person, the next day the rightist daily *Tercüman* launched a denunciation campaign, declaring that the communists had managed to infiltrate into a daily newspaper through an obituary announcement. Following this denunciation, the martial law command suspended the publication of *Hürriyet*.

On the other hand, the Ministerial Council decreed on November 28, 1983 the ban on introduction into Turkey of 46 publications printed abroad.

AZİZ NESİN PARALYZED

The most renowned Turkish humorist Aziz Nesin, 69, had his second heart attack on November 26 in Istanbul and a part of his body has been paralyzed.

Nesin is also the chairman of the Turkish Writers' Union (TYS) and is being tried by a military court, along with the other members of the union, on the charge of transforming it into a clandestine organization. All defendants risk 15-year prison term.

Furthermore, Aziz Nesin has been denied the right to travel abroad by the military while he is in need of being treated in a foreign country where cardiology is more advanced in comparison with Turkey.

Nesin is the author of 72 humoristic books and has always been one of the principal targets of the campaigns against intellectuals. Prosecutors have started more than a hundred legal proceedings against him and he has already been kept under arrest at different times for various periods totalling up to 5 years.

FACT-FINDING MISSION OF THE IFJ

Hans Larsen, member of the IFJ's Executive Board and chairman of the Danish Journalists Union has visited Turkey from 18 to 26 October 1983, shortly before the recent elections.

In his view, the situation of the Press and of journalists generally is quite depressing. Although there was no formal censorship, the military authorities were controlling strictly the press, by ordering the suspension of newspapers, the detention of journalists, by ordering proceedings to be taken which were never concluded, by calling journalists by telephone, etc.

Some journalists are in prison, but it is difficult to ascertain their exact number.

All these measures and the atmosphere they bring about, result very easily in self-censorship. No Turkish journalist will refuse to frankly admit that he is practising self-censorship to a rather considerable degree. Some of them try to maintain a delicate balance by introducing critical understatements.

A well-known example consists in publishing photos showing the tiers of vacant chairs at political rallies during the election campaign.

The owners of Turkey's main newspapers had been called to a meeting with General Evren in Ankara,

where they were told that they ought to express more enthusiasm and national support to the elections.

There is a general feeling that the new press law will result in imposing to both journalists and chief editors a much stricter internal control. In accordance with a clause of the law, the owner of printing facilities will be held directly responsible for the content of anything printed on his facilities. Consequently, both the owners and printers will incur the risk of having their facilities seized or of being jailed.

The leaders of the Turkish Press bodies -- the Union of Journalists (TGS) as well as the Istanbul and Ankara journalists associations -- have tried hard to move amendments to these laws. The initial text has indeed been amended on nine specific points, but it was barely more than a make-up.

The Union of Turkish Journalists (TGS), affiliated to the IFJ, is working under very strict restrictions imposed at the time of the September 1980 coup, which affect all trade-union activities. No activity or statement is permitted, if it is considered just a little political by the military authorities. It would immediately result in the banning of the union, without further ado.

The TGS leadership confirms however its desire to remain within the IFJ and hopes it will be able to send a representation to the coming meetings of the Federation, among which its World Congress in June 1984.

PURGES AT UNIVERSITIES

In spite of the alleged "returning to democracy", the Higher Education Council (YOK) which is attached to the President of the Republic, carries on purges at the universities. Only within the month of November, YOK dismissed 27 professors from Ankara University, 12 from Gazi University (Ankara) and 10 from the Aegean University. Besides, 67 professors from the Istanbul, Aegean, Uludag (Bursa) and Ankara universities have been transferred to other universities as part of a rotation scheme.

Protesting against these practices, two professors have resigned from their posts at Ankara and Istanbul universities.

Due to these purges, Turkish universities suffer from the lack of competent elements for their teaching staff. YOK has declared that, in order to fill the vacant posts, it would engage foreigners from foreign universities. A new governmental decree published in the Official Gazette on November 1st, authorizes YOK to pay salaries to them six times higher than those of the Turkish professors.

STATE TERROR ABROAD

The Turkish Government issued on November 22 a new list comprising the names of 17 Turkish citizens who live abroad and are accused of carrying out activities harmful to the interests of the Turkish State. The communiqué announced that if they do not return to Turkey and do not surrender to the military authorities, these persons would be stripped of Turkish nationality.

On November 13, the General Director of Police Administration announced that a new index-book comprising the names of 11,487 foreigners had been distributed to all entrance points of Turkey. All those foreigners are accused of carrying out activities hostile to Turkey. The General Director said that if they enter Turkey, they could disturb the public order. 3,117 out of 11,487 had already been barred previously from Turkey on this pretext. As for the 8,370 remaining people, they have newly been included into

the list of "dangerous foreigners". Among them are also those Turkish citizens who have been stripped of Turkish nationality since the military coup d'Etat.

According to another statement by the same administration, the total number of Turkish citizens whose right to travel abroad is suspended, was reduced from 500,000 to 250,000 following the up-dating of the registers. The computers installed at check points have been stocked with the names and the personal particulars of 250,000 person who are forbidden to leave the country. Those who have regained the right to travel are mainly tax-debtors benefitting from the modified tax legislation. While all tax-debtors were previously forbidden to leave the country, the new legislation provides that from now on only those who have a tax-debt exceeding 250,000 TL will be subject to this interdiction.

PRESSURE ON THE TEACHERS

The Turkish authorities have unleashed a witch-hunt against Turkish teachers in Europe. The Turkish Minister of Education Hasan Saglam had declared in 1982 that "all Turkish teachers who have been engaged in the FRG by the *Länder*, are under surveillance. Preliminary investigations have been initiated against 253 of them. Our aim is to bring teachers from Turkey in order to replace those who have been engaged."

Since then, in the radio programs for Turks produced by WDR in Köln, lists of names of persons wanted by the regime as "State enemies" have been broadcast.

The couple Ali and Cemile Dagdeviren who have been working for 10 years as teachers in Dortmund, have raised protests against a program broadcast on July 30, 1983, during which their names were mentioned along with those of 12 more others.

Mr Dieter Thoma, WDR chief editor, declared to the daily *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* (November 15, 1983): "Up to the present, we have publicized about hundred names. Among the people whose names have been mentioned, and they have almost never been personally summoned to return to Turkey, many have called us or written to us for thanking us.

As for the Dagdeviren's, they say: "Some of the parents of the Turkish children we are teaching, have a suspicious and mistrustful attitude towards us since then. We often notice that they are prejudiced towards us, because our names have been mentioned along with that of a notorious criminal."

EXTRADITION OF TURKS

The deportation of a Turkish family of Yezidi origin, living in Altwarmbüchen near Hannover, which took place under violent circumstances by order of the administrative Court, has upset public opinion in Hannover area and has aroused a wave of indignation. The people who have been deported without any previous warning, are the 49 years old wife, her five minor children and her 23 years old deaf-mute son. The father, a building worker, 46, is on the run.

The *Yezidis* are a christian sect living among the Kurds; according to the statements of this deported family, the members of this sect are persecuted by the moslem Kurds and by the Turks as well.

According to the daily *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger* of November 15, the father had come to the FRG in 1970, followed by his family in 1980. Already on his arrival, all applications the father made for political asylum had been rejected by the Zirndorf authorities, who are competent for all questions pertaining to foreigners.

Shortly after 5 am, policemen surrounded the house and took immediately the members of the Tokul family away to the airport. At 12.30, the plane took off from the airport bound for Istanbul.

About 200 inhabitants of Altwarmbüchen had sent a petition to the German authorities, requesting them not to deport this family, since these people were in danger of being arrested and tortured on their return in Turkey.

Ten days later, five Turkish citizens, who were candidates for political asylum, were deported from Darmstadt by decision of the administrative Court of this area.

In Hamburg, a Turkish worker who had been working for 20 years in the FRG, was deported on November 23, because he had spent more than 3 months in his home-country, where he had gone in order to settle some problems relating to social security. There, he was forced to stay eight months for he is suffering from diabetes.

On November 8, a tribunal of Saint-Etienne, France, has expressed an unfavorable opinion with regard to the demand of extradition forwarded by Ankara against an extreme-right activist, Yalman Uçler, who is prosecuted in Turkey for the murder of a left-wing militant. On the other hand, on October 20, the Court of Appeal in Dijon, France, had expressed a favorable opinion with regard to the extradition of Hüseyin Aker, a Turkish trade-union militant who still had a political refugee status. Besides, in October 1983, French police had deported 44 Turks regarded as "clandestine" workers.

GREEK SOLIDARITY

According to the Greek daily *Eleftherotypia* of November 23, the General Assembly of the Society of Greek Film Directors has decided to pay 20,000 drachmas to Turkish and Kurdish political refugees currently living in Greece.

IMMIGRATION

RACIST AGGRESSIONS

4.11, in Münchberg, FRG, the restaurant run by Turkish citizen Nusret Mahmut was set on fire by night and the bodies of two Turkish citizens, who were identified as Mehmet and Semsettin, were discovered burnt to death amidst the debris. A house and a disco who are close to the restaurant, were also destroyed as a result of this heinous crime committed by unidentified people.

5.11, in Koblenz, FRG, an 18-years-old Turkish youngster has been found suicide by hanging in his cell, after he had been sentenced to 16 years' imprisonment for burglary. His family asserts that there is no evidence against Tanis, who is said to have been tortured by police.

6.11, in Düsseldorf, a 41-years-old Turkish woman committed suicide by fire, due to a nervous breakdown.

24.11, in Berlin, a young 11-years-old Turkish girl, Yelda Oguz, was violently beaten up by a young German racist, as she walked to school.

According to the West-German weekly Stern, the number of sympathizers with the Anti-Turk movement is sharply rising among secondary school students. As reported by this magazine, the walls of several schools are daubed with graffiti hostile to the Turks, such as "Long life Hitler, Death to the Turks".

On the other hand, the Austrian minister of National Education has drawn the teachers' attention on the fact that racist and xenophobe propaganda and actions have spread on an alarming scale among students.

On November 12, in Frankfurt, FRG, about one

hundred Neo-nazis demonstrated in the city's streets shouting "Turks, be off!", "Here you are in Germany".

GOL DRAFT BILL OPPOSED

In Belgium, opposition to Minister Gol's draft bill has continuously grown stronger, as hunger-strikes were going on at several universities: Louvain-la-Neuve, Namur, Charleroi, Brussels, Liège and Mons, as well as at Frans Fischer Institute in Schaarbeek (Brussels).

The hunger-strikes were supported by several Belgian organizations joined together into the "National Co-ordination against the Violation of Immigrants' Rights", which opposes the following measures:

- with regard to immigrants, the restriction of their relatives' right to join their families from abroad as well as the suppression of this right as far as foreign students are concerned;
- the new measures providing for deportation of students and consequently the fact that they will no longer be in a position to appeal to law;
- the restriction of social assistance for foreigners residing illegally in Belgium, who will benefit only from minimum material aid and medical care so as to ensure them enough to live on.
- the refusal to register foreigners in the municipalities and the possibility for the Minister of Justice to prohibit some foreigners from staying or settling down in certain municipalities.

While several demonstrations and protest rallies were taking place in Brussels and other Belgian cities, the National Co-ordination decided to stage a national demonstration in the capital on January 22, 1984, prior to the passing of the bill in Parliament.