



INFO-TÜRK INFO-TÜRK INFO-TÜRK

bulletin mensuel • monthly bulletin • maandelijks bulletin

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8TH YEAR • PUBLISHER: COLLECTIF TURC D'EDITION ET DE DIFFUSION • INFO-TURK - 13/2 SQUARE Ch. MAURICE WISER - 1040 BRUSSELS • TEL: (32-2) 230 34 72 • ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION: 500 BF • CCP 000-1168701-45 • ISSN 0770-9013

FREEDOMS OR CHIQUITA BANANAS

As only just four months have passed since a mockery of general election was staged, Turkey's voters are once more called on to the polls on March 25, 1984, for electing local councils, provincial councils and village headmen. This will be the second election show staged under martial law.

Despite the fact that all basic rights and freedoms are still suspended, that thousands of political figures and intellectuals are still being tried by military courts, that press freedom is still being stifled under censorship, the Turkish generals and their supporters in the world dare to talk of "establishing democracy in Turkey", basing their argument on a mockery of election. What matters to them is not the respect due to fundamental rights and freedoms, but to keep up appearances.

Since no fundamental change in Turkish political life can be expected unless the present constitution is replaced by a democratic one, the coming local elections, as the voting of November 6, will not have the effect of turning Turkey into a democratic member of the European family. Although local administrators nominated by the military are to be replaced by elected ones, General Evren and the new State institutions directly attached to him will continue, at least for 6 years, to have the last word in all matters of law and order. (See Info-Türk, *Militarist "democracy" in Turkey*, 1983). As for the Ozal government which holds an absolute majority in the one-house Parliament, this team of Chicago Boys will be carrying out its monetarist policies imposed by the international financial institutions for at least a 5-year term of office, without contesting in any way the military's absolute power.

Nevertheless, contrary to the past general election, the coming local elections will contribute to clarifying the "genealogical tree" of the new political parties which are to emerge in Turkey.

As known, after the military coup, the junta dissolved all political parties and banned the main political leaders, including some former prime ministers, from engaging in political struggles. By doing so, the military intended to create a new generation of politicians who, instead of carrying on with the traditional quarrels between the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP), are supposed to operate within the ideological and political framework laid down by the new Constitution.

It should not be forgotten that political parties based on the working class or the Kurdish nationality are totally banned by the new Constitution. All newly-founded parties have to accept the ideological framework imposed by the junta.

Although as many as fifteen new parties have been founded following the adoption of the new Constitution, the junta permitted only three of them, regarded as the most loyal, to participate in the 6th November general election. They were the Motherland Party (AnaP) of Turgut Ozal, the Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP) of retired General Turgut Sunalp and the Populist Party (HP) of Necdet Calp, a former Under-secretary in the military government.

This time, in addition to the junta's favorites, three more parties have been permitted to stand for election: The Social Democracy Party (Sodep), the Correct Way Party (DYP) and the Welfare Party (RP).

No matter what the junta may assert, the fact remains that each of these six parties claims to be the inheritor of one or more banned pre-coup parties. Their leaders have already started touring and canvassing the country, each of them trying to win the support of the electorate of the defunct parties.

Out of the six leaders, Premier Ozal is the only one to claim that his party represents four different political tendencies of the pre-coup period, merged into a new political movement: ultra-liberalism! Of course, what is meant by this is liberalism in economic terms, rather than liberalism in the field of fundamental rights and freedoms.

Three other right-wing parties are competing with Ozal: The Nationalist Democracy Party (MDP), the Correct Way Party (DY) and the Welfare Party (RP).

Nevertheless, the latest opinion polls favor the Motherland Party as the winner of the local elections, although its popularity fell from 45.15 percent on November 6 to 34.6 percent on February 25.

As for the two remaining right-wing parties, on February 25 opinion polls showed that the DYP, despite its claim of being the continuation of the Justice Party, had hardly won 10 percent support and the DP only 2 percent.

The rise of Sodep depends mainly on the personality of its leader, Professor Erdal İnönü. He has only the privilege of being the son of the second President of the Republic İsmet İnönü, but has also managed to rally many former mayors and deputies of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP), which had enjoyed a big popularity prior to the military coup.

It is, however, too early to present a clear-cut picture of the "genealogical tree" of the political parties, since the same opinion polls show that about 15 percent of the voters are still undecided.

As underlined above, despite violent verbal quarreling among all these parties, none of them dares to criticize the present political system nor to condemn the military's anti-democratic practices.

The main subject of these quarrels are the new economic measures that are being implemented by the Ozal Government. In this sense, the outcome of the coming local elections may be regarded as a test for the ultra-liberal economic policies of the Chicago Boys. But even for such a test, it is too early. The masses cannot judge the social price of these measures without first observing their effects on their daily life.

To enable such a judgment, at least half a year should have passed. That is precisely why Ozal has decided to hold the local elections at the earliest possible moment, instead of delaying them until next autumn.

CHIQUITA BANANAS OF OZAL

Following the formation of the government of "Chicago Boys", all Turkish citizens have found themselves subjected to a series of of drastic economic measures designed to make the rich richer and the poorer poorer and to turn Turkey into an open market for international capital.

Consistent with his electoral manifest, Premier Ozal unveiled on December 29 the first package of measures liberalizing imports and taking a definite step toward full convertibility of the Turkish currency.

Under the new economic program described as "revolutionary" by an Ozal aid, the wealthy Turkish citizens have been allowed to hold in Turkey's banks unlimited foreign exchange deposits. Previously, only Turks residing and with jobs abroad were permitted foreign exchange accounts at home or in a foreign country. For others, however, holding foreign currency was an offense punishable by a prison term.

The government has also lifted restrictions on travel abroad. Any Turkish citizen is now free to travel to a foreign country as many times as he likes by purchasing \$ 1000 worth of foreign currency from the Central Bank for each trip, of course, provided that he has no problems with the security authorities and if he can get a passport.

The exchange rate of the Turkish lira against other world currencies will continue to be announced daily by the Central Bank. But, according to a new government decree, other banks are allowed a 6 percent "float margin" in determining their own transaction rates against the Central Bank rate.

Another decree has liberalized imports in line with Ozal's free market program. Foreign goods have been divided into three categories: items whose imports are banned; items that can be imported with special permission; and goods not subject to any import restric-

tion. Any commodity not listed under the first two categories can be imported freely, by paying the required customs tax.

There is also a fourth category consisting mostly of consumer goods that can be imported by paying a surcharge over the regular customs tax. Thus wealthy Turks are allowed for the first time to buy foreign goods including luxury cars, color TV sets, Scotch whisky...

Ozal maintains that foreign competition on the domestic market will force Turkish manufacturers to produce higher-quality and lower-priced goods and will thus enable them to get a better chance of competing on world export markets. In addition, surcharge on consumer products, for example \$400 on a high-priced color TV set, will go into a special fund that will be used to subsidize low-cost housing.

As for exports, the government seeks to encourage monopolistic companies: those exporting for \$ 50 million or more are to get larger tax reductions than small firms. Like every typical Ozal package, this one also included price hikes. Turkish citizens were stunned when fresh price increases ranging from 11 to 50 percent were announced for State-produced cigarettes and alcoholic drinks only 3 days before New Year's Day.

Furthermore, the Ozal Government increased interest rates on bank deposits: Banks are to pay 47 percent interest on time deposits of 6 months to one year, up from a previous 35 percent. The interest rate for one year time deposits has gone up to 45 percent from 40 percent. Interest rates for sight deposits, however, have been reduced from a previous 20 percent to 5 pc. As an advocate of free market economy and tight money policies, Ozal considers higher interest rates necessary to increase savings and reduce inflation.

The first repercussions of Turkey's new liberal import regime erupted when an Izmir businessman imported 10 tons of bananas from Panama for the first time in more than 40 years. And Turkey found herself involved in a "banana quarrel".

In view of the fact that Turkey is a producer of tasty bananas, the appearance of Panamanian and African bananas of the "Chiquita" brand in greengrocers' stalls gave rise to a lot of controversy.

Adnan Baser Kafaoglu, the Finance Minister of the previous military-backed government, said: "The balance of payments situation in 1984, with an estimated deficit of \$ 3,500, \$, does not allow such measures. Even much richer countries cannot venture on such a liberalization program."

In Premier Ozal's opinion, this reaction was a new example of what he called "bureaucratic details". Before leaving Ankara for Davos in Switzerland where he was to attend the meeting of the European Management Forum, he termed the "banana import" matter matter a "sword of Damocles" and emphasized the need to prevent "artificial" hikes in banana prices. If the prices were to go up, more bananas would be imported and this would be the case not only for bananas but for any commodity, in line with the "philosophy of the Turkish model".

Although the measures announced by the Ozal Government were the continuation of those which had been adopted on January 24, 1980, when Ozal was the economic adviser in the then government, -- on the 4th anniversary of these policies imposed by the International Monetary Fund, Ozal asserted that the "24 January package" expression was out of date and that the model should now be labelled the "Turkish model".

"The systems implemented in other countries are

not identical with ours", Ozal said. "Ours is a Turkish model, a Turkish miracle which has a lot of prestige. Why? Because it has succeeded in stemming inflation and at the same time raised the national income by approximately 4 - 4.5 percent and increased exports."

However this new model may be labelled, the fact remains that, since January 24, 1980, Turkey has been in the process of changing her economic policy based on the "substitution of imports" which had been applied from the early 60's up to 1980. For 20 years, the import of goods similar to those produced in Turkey had absolutely been prohibited. This policy was aimed at encouraging and protecting the national industry.

From January 24, 1980, especially after the military takeover, Turkey gave up this policy and started liberalizing imports, despite the fact that the country suffered from a lack of foreign currency. The only remedy for this was to foster exports by offering low-rate credits and by reducing production costs of export goods thanks to the ban on collective bargaining and strikes, and by enforcing a wage-freeze.

Although Ozal admits that the success of his whole economic model depends desperately on the balance scale of exports vis a vis imports, the signs are not yet very heartening. According to the official figures, imports rose by 5 percent in the first 11 months of 1983. Exports, on the other hand, froze at previous levels. This meant that while exports met 64 percent of imports in 1982, they met only 62 percent last year. Foreign trade deficit shot up by 11 pc to 3,000 million \$.

The 1984 Economic Program sets a target of 6,850 million \$ in exports, and 9,850 million \$ in imports. How is he going to achieve it? It would require a net increase of 30 percent on last year's exports which stagnated at 1982 levels. His policy of "feeding the Middle East" would also require a complete reversal of the industry-concentrated trend in exports. Next, it would require large-scale investments in infrastructure. Finally, the effects of imports liberalization will also have to be reckoned with.

WHAT ABOUT FOREIGN CAPITAL?

"Are the jumbo-jets of the foreign investors' army ready to touch down at Yesilköy Airport in Istanbul?", asked the *Turkish Daily News* of February 13.

Ozal's government program emphasizes the need for foreign resources in order to carry out investments in all fields selected to that end. But it was the same Ozal, as Vice-Premier of Turkey in charge of economic affairs, who opened the doors of Turkey to foreign investors in 1980, and the result of this 4-year practice has not been so hopeful. In 1979, there were a total of 91 firms with capital worth \$ 228.1 million. Between 1980 and 1983, 407 more firms were given permission with a total of \$704.25 million. In reality, the investment made in hard currency was only \$ 253.57 million. The rest, \$ 450.68 million have been invested in Turkish currency by foreign creditors who could not be reimbursed in hard currency.

The annual investment was 97 million in 1980, 337.51 million in 1981, 167 million in 1982 and 102.74 million in 1983.

Out of those \$ 704.25 million foreign investment in four years, \$ 522.77 million were invested in manufacturing industry, \$ 1.95 million in agriculture, \$ 2.97 million in mining, \$ 162.8 million in services such as tourism, banking, transportation etc.

The main shares of foreign countries in the investments are as follows:

1. 102 FRG companies \$ 137.16 million
2. 84 Swiss companies \$ 226.02 million

3. 45 US companies \$ 97.18 million
4. 22 British companies \$ 24.55 million
5. 16 Dutch companies \$ 18.67 million
6. 14 Italian companies \$ 10.72 million
7. 13 French companies \$ 37.84 million
8. 7 Danish companies \$ 12.08 million
9. 7 Canadian companies \$ 7.52 million
10. 7 Lebanese companies \$ 8.65 million
11. 5 Belgian companies \$ 4.70 million
12. 5 Swedish companies \$ 0.51 million
13. 5 Luxemburgian companies \$ 13.67 million
14. 4 Austrian companies \$ 2.45 million

In comparison with foreign investments prior to the military coup, the investment level reached over the past four years is rather high. However, the government's aim is now to go much further. In pursuance of the new measures, Turkey will become a tax haven for foreign firms. The Cabinet has been empowered to raise to 100 percent, or in any case to over the present 60 percent, tax reductions for firms investing in "key" sectors and in "development priority" areas. It can also zero the Corporation Tax which is now between 10 and 15 percent for foreign firms.

Has the campaign for attracting foreign investment already begun to bear fruit? Obviously, it is too early for an evaluation. The first test on this subject will be the talks with US and FRG businessmen who will reportedly visit Turkey in February 1984.

UNREST IN BUSINESS

The new economic measures of the Ozal Government have given rise to unrest not only among wage-earners and small producers and tradesmen, but also among big businessmen.

During the General Assembly meeting of the Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen (TUSIAD), held on January 20, two fractions of big business collided one with another: those who had gained their economic power thanks to the policy of "imports substitution" and, on the other hand, those who have grown richer over the past four years thanks to the "exports fostering" policy. Whereas the former contented themselves with marketing their products only within the country, the second generation of Turkish businessmen has made a breakthrough especially toward the Middle East countries.

The Ozal government, by granting the privilege of trade with socialist countries to 13 firms whose exports reached \$ 50 million in 1982, has openly put his weight in favour of the new generation of businessmen.

Consequently, the first generation of Turkish business accused the government of serving the new monopolies. In response, The Government spokesmen reminded them that for 20 years the first generation of businessmen had exploited the domestic market thanks to the policy of "imports substitution", and that it was now the turn of those who endeavour to exploit the foreign markets thanks to the Government's new economic policy.

Whichever of these two fractions is right, it is beyond doubt that Turkey has been in an accelerated process of monopolization of all economic sectors since the imposition of the measures of January 24, 1980; and this process destroys the "mainmast", a term used by Ozal for the masses of wage-earners, little peasants, tradesmen and handicraftsmen, while the wealthy classes are getting more and more wealthy.

According to the daily *Tercüman* of January 19, over the past year, 7,082 small firms have been forced to close down for being unable to cope with the competition of monopolistic companies.

WORKING CLASS IN ANGER

Obviously, the main victim of Ozal's drastic measures has always been and is still the working class, because it is the only section of society which has been denied all fundamental rights.

On the very first day of the military regime, the rights to organize in trade unions and to collective bargaining were suspended, the most militant trade union confederation, TISK, was closed down and its leaders are still being tried under arrest by military courts.

As for Türk-İs, the other trade-union confederation which is organized rather in the public sector, its leaders have adopted a conciliatory policy towards the military junta and its Secretary General, Sadık Side, was even appointed Minister of Social Affairs and shared all responsibility of the military government over the past three years of repression.

In the face of a wave of protests raised by the world trade-union centers, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) suspended the affiliation of Türk-İs as long as Side holds the post of Secretary General. (Unfortunately, the ICFTU has not been able to stand firm and on a simple promise of Türk-İs Chairman Sevket Yılmaz that Side would never be re-elected to the same post, cancelled its decision of suspension and permitted the Türk-İs delegation to participate in the world congress of the confederation in Oslo.)

A few months later, the double-faced and deceitful attitude of the Türk-İs leaders was proven once more at the national congress of this pro-governmental confederation. Despite the so-called opposition of Yılmaz to the re-election of Sadık Side, the latter won the election against two other candidates. As for Yılmaz himself, he was re-elected chairman without having any challenger. After the election, Yılmaz and Side shook hands and hugged each other and declared they would work "hand-in-hand". This strongly contrasted with a recent statement Yılmaz made prior to the Congress that he would not work with Side as his Secretary General.

After the Congress Yılmaz said that their display of friendship "was not a show" but "a sincere act". Side told reporters: "We were not against each other. The Chairman has been my friend for 20 years. There have been some people who wanted to break us apart but they were unsuccessful."

What is more astonishing in the face of this sort of hypocrisy is the tacit consent of the ICFTU to the re-election of Side.

Yet, the results of the election were very far from being a real victory of the duo Yılmaz-Side.

While Yılmaz was receiving only 192 out of 349 votes Side obtained 171 out of 345 votes. For the first time in the history of Türk-İs, two of its major leaders were elected with such a low percentage.

Considering the 50 percent fall in spending power over the past three years, this result was not a surprise. Besides, the enormous difference between the incomes of the wage-earners and those of the Türk-İs leaders has been one of the reasons of the rank-and-file's reaction against the Yılmaz-Side administration. According to the right-wing daily *Tercüman* of December 27, 1983, the monthly salary of Türk-İs officials was more than 300,000 TL (\$ 1,000), while the minimum salary was 10,000 TL (\$ 33) and the average wage was 25,000 (\$ 83).

Prior to the general election, Türk-İs officials supported the Junta's propaganda campaign by claiming that after the election trade-union rights would be re-established and the system of collective bargaining and strikes would be put again in practice.

But, at mid-February, despite the fact that already three months have passed since the election collective bargaining had not yet resumed. The most militant confederation of the Turkish trade union movement was still banned and its leaders were still behind bars. Moreover, without having a court verdict, all premises, cars and materials of TISK are being sold by public auction, and Türk-İs does not raise any protest against this practice despite the pledge that it gave at the ICFTU Congress to defend the sister-confederation.

In these circumstances, General-President Evren, visiting on January 27, 1984 the headquarters of both Türk-İs and the Turkish Employers' Union (TİSK), urged both parties on the industrial scene to work in harmony and praised Türk-İs for its "efforts in maintaining peace and security in the country". He also stated that the period for collective bargaining will soon start.

But according to press reports, even if collective bargaining resumes, only a few hundred thousands out of 4.5 million wage-earners would benefit from this possibility in 1984. To cap it all, while the annual inflation rate was more than 50 percent in 1983, both the government and the employers have already declared that they would not accept any wage rise higher than 25 percent.

There is no doubt that Ozal's new economic measures cannot possibly be enforced and implemented, unless wages are curbed. But there is always a price for such a policy, that is the wage-earners' growing anger which, if there is no pacific way of solution, would give rise to a new wave of wildcat strikes, as it was in the pre-coup period.

STATE TERROR

BURNING QUESTION: AMNESTY

Prior to the electoral campaign, the six political parties which have been permitted to take part in the local elections see themselves obliged to make some gestures on this burning question, with the view of winning the support of the prisoners' relatives.

First the Populist Party (HP) and the National Democracy Party (MDP), both represented in Parliament, have tabled draft bills providing for an amnesty on behalf of those who were not condemned for cri-

mes against the State. In view of the fact that the vast majority of political prisoners have been convicted on the charge of "having committed a crime against the Turkish State", both bills have, properly speaking, nothing to do with an amnesty. Moreover, even for common offenses, the HP and the MDP propose an amnesty covering only prison terms up to 10 years and 5 years respectively.

According to a statement made by the Justice Minister on January 6, the number of all prisoners in Turkey is 74,946, 46,473 of whom have been con-

victed and 28,473 are under arrest. Since the proclamation of the Republic, Minister Necat Eldem added, the legislative has enacted 110 amnesty laws of which 9 for a general amnesty and the rest for partial or individual amnesties. The Ozal Government claims that a new amnesty is the concern of the Parliament, not of the executive power.

On the other hand, the Foreign Affairs Minister Vahit Halefoglu stated to the German newspaper *General Anzeiger* that at present 12,559 persons are in prison for taking part in armed violence acts, and claimed that there are no political prisoners in Turkey.

In reply to Halefoglu, the daily *Cumhuriyet* announced on January 17 that none of the leaders or members of DİSK or of political parties such as TIP, TSİP, TİKP and MSP or of associations such as TOĞDER and KÇY-KOOP are being tried for armed violence acts, but for their political or philosophical views. The newspaper reminded that even the Prime Minister's brother, Korkut Ozal, is one of the defendants at the MSP (National Salvation Party) Trial.

FASCISTS RELEASED

While the discussion on the amnesty of political prisoners is going on within the limits laid down by the Martial law authorities (See: *Info-Türk Bulletin* of January 1984), and while at the trials of left-wing organisations, the defendants are still held under detention or are being tried under the threat of the death sentence or heavy prison terms, military courts have already started to release many notorious leaders and activists of the fascist movement.

Recently, on February 16, the military court connected with the Ankara Martial Law Command decided to release the Secretary General of the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) for whom the prosecutor had demanded the death sentence. So, among the leaders of this party, the only one to remain in prison is Colonel Turkes, the Chairman of the party.

Besides, on January 27, Ibrahim Ciftci, a fascist activist who was accused of having murdered a public prosecutor, Dogan Oz, in 1978, was acquitted by the military court. Ciftci, known as one of the most cruel killers of the MHP, had already been sentenced four times to death by a military court, but the Military Court of Cassation has overruled each time the verdict. Thereupon, the lower court has been forced to discharge him.

According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of January 16, the conclusion of the trial against the MHP which has been going on for 28 months, will take up at least another few years. After having completed the reading of the written proofs which reached 105,000 pages, the military court has started the hearings of the eye-witnesses who number 3,000.

Notwithstanding that the trial had been initiated 28 months ago with more than 500 defendants under arrest, today only 124 of them are still in prison, the rest including all party leaders, except Turkes, have already been released.

MOVE AGAINST DEATH PENALTY

Lawyers of defendants sentenced to death have made a new move to get the death penalty abolished in Turkey. Attorney Halit Celenk, in answer to questions of the Turkish News Agency on January 26, stated that the issue of the death penalty should be approached objectively, not emotionally. He added: "The most basic human right, the right to live, is being prevented by the application of the death penalty and this is opposite to the principles of democracy

and civilized populations. The government's responsibility should be to protect human life. Anyone, whether for personal or social reasons, can be driven to commit a murder. However, a level-headed government cannot eliminate human life". Stressing that these punishments were not "preventive", Celenk called for their removal.

Another lawyer, Sevket Can Ozbay said: "As someone who has accompanied several defendants to their place of execution and heard the laments of their families, I am asking for the immediate revocation of the death penalty. Not to do so would be harmful to the future generations."

Lawyer Mahdi Bektas who has been present a few times at the execution of his defendants said: "I do not think I could stand witnessing another such event. To see someone's life eliminated by rules is an experience that no one who did not see it can understand".

Another lawyer questioned by the Agency, Ismail Cakmak, said: "Capital punishment is not a punishment but, as a lot of lawyers have said, a primitive method of revenge. As a matter of fact, in certain periods the application of the death penalty decreases and in others, its increases. It is also apparent that the application of the death penalty does not reduce the number of crimes committed. Then of course, the real responsibility of the government is not to enforce the death penalty but to take precautions so that its citizens can live safely. By reducing the number of unemployed people, bringing down inflation and securing equal salaries for everyone, the government could ensure a more just political and economic policy. The immediate abolition of the death penalty, and the pardon of those sentenced to death is necessary."

According to the Anatolian News Agency, as for December 12, 1983, there were 21 death sentences on the agenda of the National Assembly, which have been approved by the Court of Cassation and were waiting for ratification by the legislators.

NEW DEATH SENTENCES

While the application of the death penalty has been giving rise to controversy, Turkey's military courts have continued to pronounce death sentences for political detainees in the course of January.

On January 24, at a mass trial involving 291 defendants, accused of belonging to the Black Sea coast organisation of Dev-Yol, the martial law court of Erzurum sentenced eight militants to death, while 153 others were given prison terms ranging from one year to life imprisonment.

On the same day, in Izmir, a military tribunal condemned three militants of Revolutionary Liberation (DK) to death and two others to prison terms.

On January 2, in Erzincan, the same tribunal had condemned two other activists to death and four others to prison terms up to 10 years.

Other Condemnations.

- 3.1, in Erzincan, 17 persons from 2 up to 20 years.
- 6.1, in Ankara, two alleged members of TDKP to 6 and 8 years' imprisonment.
- 7.1, in Erzurum, 6 members of Dev-Yol up to 5 years; in Izmir, a militant of TDKP to 6 years' jail.
- 8.1, in Erzurum, 13 left-wing activists and one rightist up to 10 years; in Elazığ, 5 members of PKK to prison terms ranging from 6 months to 13 years.
- 18.1, in Izmir, two alleged members of The Path of the Turkish Revolution (TDY) to 4 years each.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL CALLS ON TURKEY
TO ACCOUNT FOR DEATHS IN PRISON

On 16 February 1984, Amnesty International called on the head of the Turkish Armed Forces to account publicly for seven prisoners reported to have died in a military prison in Eastern Turkey in January.

In an urgent message to the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Necdet Urug, the worldwide human rights organization expressed concern about reports of the resumption of torture and ill-treatment of inmates of Diyarbakır Military Prison.

It named seven prisoners reported to have died in the prison this year. Four were known to have been buried, it said. In three other cases, Amnesty International had learned that the families had been informed of their relatives' deaths but that the bodies were not available for burial.

Amnesty International said that all the families concerned should be given the bodies of their dead relatives and allowed to arrange independent medical examinations to establish the cause of death.

The Amnesty International call followed a visit by one of its delegates to Diyarbakır (more than 1,000 km from Istanbul) to seek information about three prisoners reported to have died in unexplained circumstances.

The military authorities in Diyarbakır acknowledged the deaths of two prisoners, Necmettin Büyükkaya and Yılmaz Demir. They told the delegate that one of the prisoners had committed suicide and the other had died of a brain tumour, Amnesty International said. No form of inquest proceedings are known to have taken place, it said.

Since the delegate's visit the organization has received information on the deaths of four more prisoners.

These reported deaths came after inmates in the military prison had begun their second hunger-strike in september 1983.

An Amnesty International representative said that the Organization had received frequent complaints of torture of inmates at Diyarbakır in recent years and had repeatedly urged the authorities to investigate the allegations and take all necessary steps to halt the torture.

URGENT ACTION FOR PRISONER

On the other hand, Amnesty International launched an urgent action in favour of Nazif Kaleli, teacher and trade-unionist, aged about 40, jailed since March 1980. He was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment in October 1983 after being convicted under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code of secessionist activities as an alleged member of the Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan (TKSP). He is imprisoned in Diyarbakır Military Prison.

Amnesty International was informed that Nazif Kaleli was in a coma and it is not known whether he has been transferred to a hospital. The London-based organisation recommends to send telegrams and express letters to General Kaya Yazgan, Martial Law Commander of Diyarbakır, to express concern about reports that Nazif Kaleli has been tortured and is in a coma.

19.1, in Ankara, 3 members of Dev-Yol up to 15 years.

23.1, in Izmir, 3 members of Dev-Yol up to 4 years.

24.1, in Gölcük, 54 members of Liberation to prison terms ranging from 3 to 15 years' imprisonment.

Besides, the Istanbul Martial Law Command announced that in January military courts under its jurisdiction had condemned 125 persons to various prison terms.

TIP LEADERS CONDEMNED

On January 25, the military court of the Istanbul Martial Law Command condemned 102 defendants of the trial of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) to prison terms up to 12 years. Four members of the Central Committee of the party were given 12-years' imprisonment each, while 10 others were condemned to 8 years and the remaining 88 to 5 years.

The tribunal also ordered that 14 members of the Central Committee who had been released last year, be arrested.

Party Chairwoman Behice Boran and Secretary General Nihat Sargin have not been included in this trial since they left Turkey just after the military coup. Prior to the coup, the party had reached a critical stage due to the split which occurred within the Central Committee.

After they arrived in Europe, Boran and Sargin

announced that their opponents in the Central Committee had been expelled from the party. Three of the four defendants who were given the heaviest prison terms are from the ousted group.

As for the other Central Committee members who had taken sides with Doran-Sargin, they were given lower prison terms thanks to their submissive statements before the tribunal. (See: *Bulletin of June 1982*)

NEW TRADE UNION TRIALS

While the trials of the trade-union officials affiliated to DISK were being merged with the principal trial of DISK, the military prosecutor of Istanbul continued to file new suits against others.

The trials of 16 officials of the Progressive Metal Workers' Union (Dev-Maden-Sen) and of 13 officials of the Movie Industry Employees' Union (Sine-Sen) started respectively on January 3 and 5 before military tribunals. The defendants risk prison terms up to 20 years.

On the other hand, the number of defendants at the trial of the Petro-Chemical Workers' Union (Petkim-Is) rose to 87 with 10 additional ones.

Other New Cases:

3.1, in Istanbul, 6 persons accused of making propaganda for boycotting the general election of November 6.

8.1, in Izmir, 5 alleged members of Dev-Yol.

13.1, in Istanbul, 5 members of the Progressive Youth Association (IGD).

14.1, in Ankara, 12 persons for shouting slogans in front of the Cultural Affairs Ministry prior to the 12th September coup.

19.1, in Ankara, 20 persons, accused of arms dealing.

20.1, in Istanbul, 89 alleged members of the Third Road fraction of the Popular Liberation Front/ Party of Turkey (THKP/C).

Besides, on January 7, Correct Way Party (DYP) Chairman Yıldırım Avcı was interrogated in Ankara by a military prosecutor for an interview with the weekly *Nokta*.

On January 13, in Ankara, at the trial of the officials of the Popular House, the prosecutor called for the imprisonment of 9 defendants and the final dissolution of the association.

On January 30, during a trial of Dev-Yol members, defense lawyer Emin Deger was taken out from the court-room and searched by guards.

MAN-HUNTS AND ARRESTS

Despite the so-called "restoration of democratic life", the security forces carry on with man-hunts and arrests throughout Turkey.

On January 4, during a combing operation in Istanbul, special teams shot dead a Dev-Yol militant, Gökalp Ciftcioglu, and arrested 35 others.

Two weeks later, on January 19, the martial law authorities announced that again in Istanbul, the security forces apprehended 10 alleged members of the Revolutionary Communists' Union of Turkey (TIKB) and shot death another one, Ismail Cüneyd.

Other Arrests:

4.1, in Adana, the Martial Law Command announced the arrest of 31 alleged members of the Emergency Group.

19.1, in Bursa, the security forces arrested 70 persons during a combing operation.

21.1, in Adana, 20 alleged members of the Kurdish organisation PKK were taken into custody.

25.1, in Erzincan, 32 alleged members of Dev-Yol were arrested.

28.1, in Elazığ, the security forces arrested 21 alleged members of Dev-Yol and two of PKK.

UNIFORM IMPOSED TO DEFENDANTS

Despite the protest actions, Turkish martial law authorities have extended the practice of forcing political prisoners to wear prison uniforms when they appear before military tribunals.

Following the defendants of Dev-Sol (See: *Bulletin* of January 1984), on January 18 in Istanbul, 89 defendants of a THKP/C Trial took off their prison uniforms and entered the court-room with drawers in protest at this practice. Thereupon, they were thrown out of the court-room by force.

The same scene reoccurred the next day in Ankara during the trial of 10 alleged members of Dev-Sol.

The trade union leaders and journalists are also subjected to this treatment incompatible with human dignity. On January 19, all defendants of the DISK Trial, including Chairman Abdullah Bastürk, were brought before the tribunal in prison uniforms. Likewise Ali Sirmen, columnist of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, was tried on February 3 in prison uniform by a court in Istanbul.

NAZIM HIKMET WANTED!

Nazım Hikmet, the most distinguished Turkish poet in the world who died 20 years ago in exile, is wanted by the Turkish authorities.

By order of the public prosecutor, a police court in Ankara decided the confiscation of a collection of Nazım Hikmet's poems, entitled "Greeting to the Working Class of Turkey", and issued a warrant for summoning the author before the court. The poet is accused of having made propaganda to destroy the nation's unity and integrity.

REVIEW BANNED

The Istanbul Martial Law Command ordered on January 30 a ban on the publication and distribution of the monthly review *Somut*. The review, published by the Cooperative of Turkish Writers, is accused of not complying with the martial law orders.

18.000 BOOKS UNDER ARREST!

The daily *Cumhuriyet* of January 22 reported that 118.000 books published between 1972 and 1979 by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs were still kept in bond since the military coup. They were reportedly confiscated by order of martial law commanders claiming that they contained harmful propaganda. For three years the military prosecutor has been holding an inquiry into this with the view of filing a suit against the authors of these books.

NEW PRISONERS OF OPINION

The Istanbul Martial Law Command announced on February 4 that, in the course of January, seven persons had been condemned by military tribunals on the charge of "making communist propaganda through publications": Remzin Küçükarslan to 23 years, Muhtin Göktaş to 7.5 years, Mehmet Sahin Ozkök to 5.5 years, Mustafa Tütüncübaş to 15 years, Osman Tas to 21 years, Abdullah Bulut to 6 years and Nevzat Açıkan to 11 years.

THE CASE OF A KURDISH PUBLISHER

In Marche-les-Dames, Belgium, Amnesty International Group 28 has launched a campaign calling for the release of a Kurdish publisher, Recep Maraslı.

He was in charge of Komal publishing house in Istanbul, which used to publish mainly books on Kurdish history and culture and on the situation of the Kurdish population in Turkey, until its closing down in 1980 under martial law.

After serving 8 months' jail for his publishing activities, he had been released in 1979. A year and a half ago, he was again arrested, tried and sentenced for publishing a book entitled "Open Letter to the President of the Turkish Republic"; this time he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment and this verdict was later on confirmed by the Court of Appeal.

On January 10, 1983, Maraslı was again sentenced by Istanbul military court no. 1 to a total of 12 years' jail, on various charges relating to his publications.

On May 26, 1983, the daily *Milliyet* reported that Maraslı had once more been given 3 years' jail for publishing two books, on a charge of making separatist propaganda.

PURGES AT UNIVERSITIES

The daily *Milliyet* of February 1st, 1984 reported that since the foundation of the Higher Education Council (YOK), 794 members of the teaching staff of Turkish universities have left their posts; 259 of them were dismissed by YOK by order of martial law authorities, 535 resigned or asked for an early retirement in protest at the violation of the universities' academic autonomy. (The list of 794 victims of YOK is available at *Info-Türk*).

After the general elections, the practices of YOK have given rise to a lot of controversy. Even among the deputies of Ana-P which is in charge of govern-

ment affairs, YOK is branded an anti-democratic institution. And yet, the party leader and Prime Minister Turgut Ozal stated that it is rather early to contemplate modifying the law on YOK. "If laws are being very often altered, they lose all efficiency. We should wait for a certain time in order to judge correctly the disadvantages of the law," he said.

As for General-President Kenan Evren who had enacted the foundation of YOK and nominated its members, he declared to the Turkish press that YOK is a constitutional institution and that it is to stay in force unless the new Constitution is changed. He confirmed his confidence in YOK Chairman Ihsan Dogramaci by visiting the seat of the institution on January.

 IMMIGRATION

5.1, in Frankfurt/Main, FRG, the private car of a Turkish migrant worker was set on fire.

6.1, the Turkish authorities announced that last year 19,400 Turkish workers passed through the Kapikule checkpoint at the Turkish-Bulgarian border with the view of settling down in Turkey. But 16,400 of them returned later on to the European countries where they work after having left their families and house-effects in Turkey. They declared that they mean to live alone abroad until the moment of obtaining their right to retirement.

14.1, in Wien, Austria, a 35-year-old Turkish worker, Cevdet Emini was found shot dead.

15.1, in Osnabrück, FRG, many foreigners' associations have received threatening letters. The police authorities warned these associations against the danger of letter-bombs and parcel-bombs.

18.1, in Stuttgart, FRG, a 10-year-old Turkish boy, Bünyamin Cetin was attacked and brutally beaten by a German youth.

22.1, in Brussels, the demonstration calling for the withdrawal of Minister Gol's Aliens bill, and for a

real insertion policy of immigrants, was a great success. Over 7,000 people had assembled from all regions of the country in response to an appeal launched by both two groups of trade unions and the Co-ordination against Immigrants' rights' violations. The onslaught of winter and heavy snowfalls didn't stop thousands of demonstrators marching through the city and shooting "Belgians, Immigrants, Solidarity".

26.1, in Heilbronn, FRG, a 50-year-old Turkish worker, Emrullah Bagci, was attacked by a German racist, as he accompanied his wife to hospital.

28.1, in Brussels, the Turkish Foundation of Religious Affairs held its second congress in presence of the President of the Religious Affairs Department of the Turkish Republic, Tayyar Altıkulaç. This foundation is an initiative of the Turkish military regime with a view to take under control all Turkish mosques and religious associations. According to Altıkulaç, while more than half of 48,000 mosques in Turkey had no qualified religious personnel, all of over 50 Turkish mosques in Belgium have already been provided with the necessary religious staff.