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EUROPEAN CAPITULATION

After the complaint about disrespect for human rights in Turkey was withdrawn — a complaint that five countries lodged before the Council of Europe's Human Rights Commission in 1982— other international institutions began to improve their relations with the Turkish regime. The European Community, certain European governments, the United Nations Human Rights Commission —all believing the Turkish government's misleading arguments— have turned a deaf ear to complaints from victims of the dictatorship and have decided to develop good relations with the Evren-Ozal duo.

Encouraged by the decision of the Human Rights Commission in Strasbourg, the Turkish government first of all asked the Twelve to consent to the normalisation of relations between Turkey and the European Community. The European capitals had suspended relations the day following the 1980 military takeover in Ankara.

The Twelve are confronted with a difficult political choice. As *Le Soir* emphasized on January 29, 1986, "Turkey still has a bad reputation: in spite of the relative democratisation recently instituted, there are still 15,000 political prisoners in the country and capital punishment is still carried out with painful regularity. The Danes (and, to a certain extent, the Greeks) are particularly sensitive to this aspect of things; consequently, they are against a normalisation in relations with Ankara."

It should be remembered that Denmark was among the five countries which withdrew their complaint following a friendly settlement with the Turkish government. However, the Danish government has been under pressure from democratic forces in their country.

Most of the other "Europeans" —Belgium, Great Britain, and the Federal Republic of Germany in the lead— pointed out that an improvement in Human Rights could already be noticed in Turkey and that, consequently, one should not risk keeping this country isolated. They add that such isolation might lead to a rise of a destabilising Islamic fundamentalism at the continent's borders... and at the doors of the Soviet Union.

But this is not the only reason for normalising relations with Turkey. As we have already pointed out in the December 1985 issue of *Info-Türk*, this softening on the Europeans' part is also the result of economic concerns about their investments and business. According to the *Milliyet* of December 17, 1985, since



GENERAL HAYDAR SALTİK
(One of the putsch's authors)

WHO REPRESENTS TURKEY IN SWITZERLAND ?

The Republic of Turkey, member of the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Alliance, the OECD, associate member in the European Economic Community and signatory of the Helsinki Final Act, is currently represented in Bern by Ambassador Haydar Saltik.

This ambassador is not a career diplomat but a former general belonging to the Turkish military hierarchy.

Of course, a country's being represented by a former general is not an exceptional case. However, in Saltik's case, there is an element that is exceptional.

Former general Haydar Saltik is one of the authors of the military coup of September 12, 1980, which started a period of unprecedented repression. A period which, according to the recent Helsinki Watch Report, has still not ended, and whose anti-democratic practices continue without change.

The day after the coup, an American newspaper presented General Saltik to world opinion with the following words:

"One of the key leaders, General Haydar Saltik
(Continued on page 2)

WHO REPRESENTS TURKEY IN SWITZERLAND?

lık, 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." (*The International Herald Tribune*, September 13, 1980)

This familiar figure was at the head of the 4th Turkish Army at the time of the coup. But before assuming this command, he had been Deputy Chief of the General Staff for the Turkish Armed Forces. With this title, he prepared the plan for the coup, the "Flag" plan. A disclosure about his relations during this time, made by a journalists close to the military, is very significant:

"On May 11, 1980, following the meeting of the NATO Military Committee, General Rogers (SACEUR), got involved in a talk with General Saltık, Deputy Chief of the General Staff, about problems raised by the control over the Aegean area... As they touched on the situation in Turkey, SACEUR asked: 'The Turkish Army, does it intend to face the rampant disorder in your country?' Saltık anticipated this question. He replied straight away: 'We execute our duties, as we always do...'" (*M.A. Birant, 12 Eylül 1980 - Saat 04.00, Istanbul, 1984*)

According to his biography published in *TURKEY 1983 ALMANAC*: "Saltık functioned as the Turkish Military Attaché to Washington, as chief of the formation department of CENTO and as commander of the Turkish Armed Forces in Cyprus in 1977-78."

In his military career, the most sinister stage is doubtlessly the one during which he was Deputy Chief of General Staff. In the Turkish Army, the Counter-Guerilla Organization is directly linked to the Deputy Chief of General Staff. It is the Counter-Guerilla Organization that, by supporting neo-fascist para-military bands (Grey Wolves), prepared the pretext for the coup.

The first day of the coup, as the author of the "Flag" Plan, General Saltık assumed the function of Secretary General of the National Security Council (military junta). With this title, he coordinated all repressive measures up to August 1981. Then he was named Commander of the Turkish First Army, as well as Martial Law Commander in Istanbul region. Up to November 1983, he was directly responsible for all arrests, practices of torture, mass process, press censorship, etc., in this region.

After the legislative elections, he was named Commander of Land Forces, and he stayed in this position until his retirement.

His name is still remembered by the victims of the military dictatorship with horror and indignation.

Today this putschist represents Turkey in Switzerland, a country where many international organizations have their headquarters and many international meetings are held for the defense of human rights.

the lodging of their complaint against Turkey, the five countries must have noticed that their investors were not taking part in Turkish economic projects which total three billion dollars.

This analysis is shared by the European Committee for the Defense of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI). In its information bulletin, CEDRI says the following:

"It is not the European democracies which have organised an economic boycott, but the terrorist Turkish regime. The Turkish market is extremely lucrative, in fact, for western enterprises, thanks to IMF functionaries who, over the years, have prepared the putsch of 1980, in collaboration with NATO and the Americans. With the military, investments in Turkey report a return of much more than previously.

"It was therefore sufficient to exclude from the Turkish market the five countries which had lodged the complaint. This calculation by Evren and Ozal has worked very well: Great Britain, the FRG, Belgium and some other countries have rushed at the thus freed market.

"The Swiss example is significant: Once the Strasbourg compromise was signed, Switzerland, which has great experience in the areas of neutrality and business, could finally speak freely and declared proudly in Bern that as far as its arms exports—strongly on the rise, by the way—were concerned, Turkey henceforth had top priority.

"In exchange for this important market, the Swiss ambassador to Ankara, André Maillard, promised in the Turkish press that Switzerland was carefully preparing the expulsion of 7,000 Turkish seekers of asylum in Switzerland... which would be timidly denied by Bern afterwards. A week later, it was announced that the new Turkish ambassador appointed to Bern was none other than General Haydar Saltık (officially

retired) who, in 1980, prepared the military coup with General Evren. In Bern, it was officially declared that Saltık would be effectively close to those presently in power in Ankara, but that the 'fact of having belonged to military hierarchy was not, according to People's Right, sufficient reason to refuse an appointment.'

"The litany which has been repeated to us for several years that today there would be a 'democratisation' process in Turkey is now confirmed by a solid explanation, an economic one: 'the friendly accord' in Strasbourg is not the final chord of this concert. One knows now that 'democratisation' means: the Turkish market is again open to all..."

In fact, the European Community is moving towards normalising its relations with Turkey, with the consensus reached in the Council of Foreign Affairs Ministers in Luxembourg on February 17, 1986. At this meeting, the Twelve accepted the proposal of an EEC-Turkey meeting in the Autumn of 1986.

The Council of EEC-Turkey Association has not met in more than five years. The association accord was frozen by the European Commission after the 1980 coup. Concretely, this freeze brought about a suspension in paying the balance (29 million ecus) of a special aid of 75 million ecus accorded to Turkey in June 1980. The fourth financial protocol of 600 million ecus—375 in financial aid and special loans and 225 in loans from the European Investment Bank (BEI)—has still not been approved by the EEC governments.

Negotiations on the limitation of EEC textile imports from Turkey are still at a standstill although this country has been the main supplier of textile to the EEC since 1984.

The FRG, Great Britain and the Netherlands have wanted since March that a Council of Association meeting take place at the ministerial level, as Turkey requested.

By virtue of a decision taken in 1976, it is expected that Turkish workers will be able to move freely within the EEC, starting from December 1st, 1986. The FRG, which shelters a large Turkish community, wants rapid renegotiation on this clause of the association accord.

After this consensus, even a member of the European Commission such as Mr. Claude Cheysson, who had been very critical of the Turkish regime and who was labelled "insolent" in a headline of the Turkish daily the *Hürriyet* on February 14, 1986, changed his attitude all at once and the European Commission has issued proposals aimed at seeking progressive normalisation in relations between the EEC and Turkey.

First the Commission proposed that the budget authorities make a primary transfer of 10 million ecus for 1986 within the context of special aid to Turkey. Furthermore, it proposed that the Council decide on the community position in view of negotiations with Turkey about rules governing the free-movement of Turkish workers.

"Realizing that the social-economic context characterized by significant unemployment in the Community (16.75 million are unemployed, which means 12.4 percent of the active population in the 12-member Community), and realizing that an improvement in Turkey's economic situation whose growth between 1980 and 1984 was 4.4 percent on the average, thus effecting unemployment conditions not fundamentally different from those in the Community," the Commission proposed:

"- consolidating and improving the status of Turkish workers and their families residing regularly in the Community, particularly through the suppression of still-existing discrimination in the areas of living and working condition.

"- fixing conditions of access to the job market in a member state for Turkish workers, insofar as a job is effectively offered, with respect to job priority for nationals of the member states, but permitting appropriate measures if these conditions might give rise to problems foreign to free-movement.

"- organizing the keeping together of families with respect to family life and parental obligations in the area of education.

"- These measures also take into account the situation of Greek, Spanish and Portuguese workers in the Community. In fact, in conformity with the Additional Protocol of the Association Accord, Turkish workers cannot be treated more favourably than workers from member states.

"- For the latter, limitations on the exercise of free-movement will be in effect until 1987 for Greece, and 1992 for the two new members."

In concrete terms, this proposal envisages the pure and simple suspension of a right already acquired by virtue of a bilateral accord concluded in 1963 between Turkey and the EEC. In fact, this proposal which replaces free-movement starting from December 1st, 1986, is only a new formulation of the statute which has been in force since 1976. The Council of Association had already decided in 1976 that the member states would be compelled to give priority to Turkish workers when the need for manual labour could not be satisfied by Community workers. The same council decided in June 1980 to bring about improvements to this rule: after three years of regular work in a member state, the Turkish worker can apply for a job in the same profession; and after four years, he can benefit from free access to any salaried work. Furthermore, cooperation was expected in favour of Turkish workers and their families in socio-cultural areas, and in favour of professional formation and the exchange

of young workers. Moreover, the same Council in June 1980 decided that Turkish Workers and members of their families in the Community could benefit from equal treatment with Community workers in matters concerning remuneration, benefits for sickness, old-age disability and unemployment.

The only new aspect of the present Commission proposal would be the ending of visa obligations for Turkish workers residing regularly in the Community. But, in exchange for European concessions in the political area, the Turkish authorities are ready to accept the suspension of the right to free movement for an indefinite period.

Meeting in Brussels on March 10, the Foreign Affairs Ministers of the Twelve have shown agreement for a "prudent" thawing in relations with Turkey in the context of proposals from the European Commission. However, during the negotiations, the Greek minister insisted that the thaw occur only if the Turkish government respected five conditions that the European Parliament has set for resumption of Turco-European relations (See *Info-Türk*, October 1985). The Danish minister also showed reservations regarding Turkey respect for human rights.

It appears that if the European Parliament or Greece drops its position, the Council of Turco-European Association will meet in Autumn 1986, and the repressive Turkish regime will thus become a "respectable" associate of the European Community.

To reassure the Turkish government in this process, Mr Cheysson on March 23, received some Turkish journalists, among whom was the one who had labelled him "insolent" several weeks before, and told them he would soon visit Turkey to speed up the rapprochement between Ankara and Brussels. However, for the sake of caution, he reminded them that possible opposition from the European Parliament or Greece could delay this meeting.

OZAL'S VISIT TO LONDON

Doubtlessly, the Turkish leaders' greatest ambition is beyond a simple resumption in relations with the Community. Premier Ozal has repeated several times that Turkey would be ready to join the European Community as its full thirteenth member.

He expressed this wish during his visit to Great Britain at the beginning of March.

As this was the first official visit by a Turkish prime minister to a Western European capital since the 1980 coup, the Turkish press mobilised an army of correspondents to accompany Ozal and published triumphant dispatches about Turco-British talks. However, although Ozal was warmly received by Mrs Thatcher, the British opposition and the London press seized the occasion to raise the problem of human rights violations in Turkey. Turkish and English groups staged several demonstrations in London against the arrival of a government leader of a repressive regime. Furthermore, Labour leader Neil Kinnock made very strong criticisms in this regard during his talks with Ozal. In fact, he had a very particular reason for doing this: Just before Ozal's visit, a Labour deputy, Mr Tony Benn, had been invited to Turkey to participate in a meeting organised by Turkish intellectuals, but the Ozal government forbade this meeting and thus prevented the British deputy from taking part.

Although the visit led to certain agreements between the Turkish and British governments concerning the development of business relations and to an opening for a narrower collaboration in the war industry area, Ozal was not so satisfied with Mrs Thatcher's response about the possibility of Turkey joining the

EEC. Even this ardent defender of the Turkish regime reminded her counterpart that Turkish membership to the European Community was only an illusion under the present circumstances especially when one takes into account the great difference between Turkey and Western Europe in economic, social and political areas.

But the "Iron Lady" promised to support every initiative having to do with improvements in Turco-European relations, especially during the term of British presidency in the Community, which will begin July 1st, 1986.

IT IS THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S TURN

While the European Commission and the Council of Ministers were making a "prudent" overture towards Turkey, the European Parliament, which has set five human rights conditions for the resumption of Turco-European relations, found itself going through a waiting period. Following the withdrawal of the five countries' complaints, this assembly of the Twelve await the stand to be taken by the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe which brings together parliamentarians from the 21 member countries.

The latter will meet in Strasbourg on April 21-25. Rapporteurs for the political and juridical commissions of the Parliamentary Assembly have already visited Turkey in mid-March and held talks with several political leaders and public personalities so as to be able to report on the human rights situation in Turkey. Moreover, the Secretary General for the Council of Europe, Mr Marcelino Oréja, also paid a visit to Ankara on his part.

According to the report from delegate Steiner, which the Political Commission adopted with a few small changes on April 4 in Paris, in spite of the fact that certain anti-democratic articles of the Constitution are still in force and that there are still restrictions on trade union liberties and on the freedom of opinion and association and that most political prisoners don't benefit from being given conditional liberty, "Turkey has made considerable progress in the process of returning to democracy." Consequently, the reporter proposed that the Parliamentary Assembly support the Turkish regime's "efforts" and refrain from any interference which could lead to a rupture in this process. What is more, the Political Commission is expressing the view that if a new and negative element does not come about, the Council of Europe should close the Turkish affair under the present circumstances.

It should be noted that this report has been adopted by the majority of the Commission, with only one vote against and six abstentions. So, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe can make similar pronouncements without taking notice of any protests coming from democratic organisations or international trade unions.

If there is no unexpected change, as is already foreseen, this European capitulation will be crowned by a mini-session meeting of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe from June 30 to July 3 in Istanbul, a city where thousands of political prisoners are still in military jails and thousands more are still being tried before military tribunals, in spite of the fact that martial law has been lifted as a sign of "the normalisation in political life."

CAPITULATION AT THE UNITED NATIONS

The European capitulation was also seen during the meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, held at the end of February in Geneva.

Since the military coup, human rights violations in Turkey had always been the order of the day for this Commission.

At this meeting, the Turkish delegation - referring to the withdrawal of the five European countries' complaint from the European Commission on Human Rights - took a series of steps to obtain the same gesture from the United Nations Commission. Despite all the information coming from democratic forces in Turkey, the Commission capitulated before the Turkish regime's manoeuvre and decided on the vote of 30 countries, to close the file on human rights violations in Turkey. To observers' great surprise, all the European countries voted in favour of the Turkish regime, although the Soviet Union, the DRG, Bulgaria, and the Ukraine did not take part in the voting.

Another international occurrence which is concerned with the human rights situation in Turkey is the "Human Contacts Meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) which will be held in April in Bern. This meeting of the 35 signatory countries of the Final Helsinki Act, Turkey among them, will paradoxically take place in a European capital where Turkey has been represented for some time by an old putschist, General Haydar Saltık. (See: "Who represents Turkey in Switzerland?" on p.1)

Before this meeting takes place, a non-governmental group Helsinki Watch has published a well documented dossier on the dramatic human rights situation in Turkey. Titled "Liberty and Fear", this report made it known first of all that the US State Department had tried to prevent the Helsinki Watch Committee from going to Turkey to study the situation on the spot. The Department said that such a mission could cause deterioration in Turco-American relations.

According to the report, American diplomats in Ankara justified the practice of torture in Turkey, saying that Turkish society is based on violence and that Turks are used to this practice.

Helsinki Watch also declared in this 122-page report that Washington and its diplomats in Turkey support the repressive Turkish regime which had assured political stability in this region.

The European countries' position with regards to the revelations in the Helsinki Watch report will be a new index to measure the extent of their capitulation to the Turkish regime.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S REPORT

Although the European governments have bent to Ankara's economic and political blackmail, the non-governmental institutions have continued to use every occasion to raise the question of human rights violations in Turkey.

On February 6, 1986, Amnesty International published a new report about the ongoing persecution of intellectuals and political militants.

According to this report, many of the 15,569 political prisoners in Turkey are left-wing party members, trade unionists, writers, journalists, editors, academicians, members of ethnic or religious groups.

AI stated that it was still receiving documents which show that political detainees are still being treated in a cruel and degrading manner when they are interrogated at police stations or in military or civilian prisons. Lawyers are still prevented from conferring with their clients, and, even if they are allowed to do so, any remark their client makes about the ill-treatment in prison is cause for the talk to be interrupted by guards who carefully follow every conversation.

In the same report, AI publicised several torture

cases which were brought to their attention either by the victims themselves or through the Turkish press.

After the publication of this report, two deputies from the government party, ANAP, reacted immediately by visiting the headquarters of Amnesty International in London. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 13, 1986, Mr Bülent Akarcalı and Mr Mehmet Keçeciler told the press that they had visited Amnesty International so as to take stock of this organization which had a "Marxist-Leninist" reputation in Turkey. Greatly surprised by this statement, the Amnesty International authorities reminded the two deputies that the organization also kept watch against anti-democratic practices in Marxist-Leninist regimes, and they referred especially to their recent campaign regarding the treatment of Turks in Bulgaria.

When the Amnesty International report on the problem was made public, the same government circles in Ankara, quite forgetting their lying accusations against this humanitarian organization, gave great publicity to AI's position on the question of Turks in Bulgaria and have even based their international manoeuvres on this report from Amnesty International.

In fact, this is not the first or last hypocritical act by the Ankara regime. These are the same leaders who imprisoned the chiefs of the Turkish Peace Committee for having called for development in good neighbour relations with socialist countries, although the same rulers themselves rushed to the capitals of these same socialist countries to ensure the continuation of electricity importation from Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. They received the highest decorations in these Marxist-Leninist countries while the peace militants were receiving electric shocks in military prisons.

STATE TERROR

One of the pretexts for the European capitulation to the Ankara regime is doubtlessly the lifting of martial law in 52 provinces of the country and the reappearance of some former political figures on the political scene.

Since March 19, 1986, there have only been five provinces where martial law is still in effect: Diyarbakır, Hakkari, Mardin, Siirt and Van. For the rest, martial law has been replaced by a state of emergency in 14 provinces: Adana, Ağrı, Ankara, Bingöl, Elazığ, Iğdır, İzmir, İstanbul, Hatay, Kars, Ordu, Sivas, Sanliurfa and Tunceli. Despite the apparent disappearance of the military presence, the 19 most important provinces of the country are actually still under extraordinary rule whereby the military or the governors have excessive and arbitrary powers.

Moreover, even in the provinces which have been freed from martial law, military tribunals still function and try thousands of political detainees. The most striking example: The leaders of DISK still risk being sentenced by a military tribunal in İstanbul. For "crimes" committed after the lifting of martial law, there are State Security Courts (DGM) made up of civil and military judges who try the politically accused.

In fact, as we have already indicated in previous Bulletins, the martial law has been replaced by a police state in Turkey.

Following the adoption of various laws giving the police excessive and arbitrary powers, hundreds of police chiefs have been sent to the United States to learn new police techniques. According to a statement which the Director General of Police Saffet Arıkan Bedük made on March 10, 1986, the policemen trained by American specialists will be given the job of launching "anti-terrorist brigades."

Despite the lifting of martial law in most of the

eastern provinces, Turkish Kurdistan is still being treated as a war zone with the presence of two-thirds of the active Turkish troops there. Since the beginning, in August 1984, of the Kurdish armed resistance to the repressive practices in the region, 300,000 soldiers as well as special anti-guerrilla units have taken part in "cleaning and pacification" actions in the Kurdistan, under the title of "Sun Operation". The sinister "Counter-Guerrilla Organisation," which had instigated the political violence before the coup, was given full authority to carry out operations in the Kurdish provinces.

These operations have been extended to Iraqi and Iranian territories, with agreement from the concerned countries. The "Office for Special Military Operation" have set up five centers in Kurdish territory, employing professional torturers. According to CEDRI more than 100,000 Kurds up to now have been arrested, and tens of thousands tortured during the course of these actions.

In the Kurdish regions, "village guards" have also been created to assist the army and the regular police. Recruitment is carried out especially among the bands of the Aghas (landowners), the unemployed, criminals who have been exempted from their sentence, and "repented" political prisoners. Their job is to carry out surveillance on the population, support military operations and cause provocations which can create a pretext for repressive actions. According to the *Milliyet* of January 15, 1986, the number of "village guards" could be more than 15,000.

Nine border provinces have been declared "threatened areas"; ten others, "dangerous areas." The Minister of the Interior has ordered surveillance of these areas and reinforced security measures.

Since 1985, thousands of "suspected" Kurdish families have been deported to western Turkey. The deportations are not limited to only families but also include the population of entire villages. The evacuated villages have been declared "forbidden zones" and are under the control of the army, security units and the National Intelligence Agency (MIT).

To strengthen the army, the present regime expects to invest 20 billion dollars for the creation of an armament industry. To this end, the government has created a "Fund for the Support of the Armament Industry," financed by raising the prices of products from state monopoly enterprises and by seizing part of the revenues from gambling. Arms production, which includes that of electronic systems, will, on one hand, serve to reequip the Turkish armed forces, and, on the other hand, be exported to Islamic countries. Turkey will thus become one of the main European arms producers. Meanwhile, the country is calling on American and European trusts to become coproducers. As CEDRI has indicated, one may assume that it is not by chance that European efforts to "normalise" relations with Turkey coincide with the announcement of one of the biggest arms contracts.

AMNESTY FOR PRISONERS

In this capitulation process, the European governments remain indifferent to the fact that the Turkish government has not kept its promise to declare general amnesty for all political prisoners, despite repetitive requests from the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

Instead of amnesty, the National Assembly on March 11, 1986, adopted a law which would reduce the prison term of those who have never disobeyed prison rules.

According to this law, prison terms of five years

have been reduced to two years and three days; 10 years to four years and five days; 15 years to six years and seven days; 20 years to eight years and 10 days; 24 years to 9 years, seven months and 21 days and life imprisonment to 20 years. As for capital punishment, if it has not been ratified by the National Assembly, the prisoner will see 30 years in prison. A proposal to modify the law for the benefit of all those who have been sentenced to capital from this commutation has been rejected by the government majority. So, despite the wish expressed by the European bodies, the death penalty is still in force, and a political activists can be executed if the National Assembly ratifies his sentence.

The Ministry of Justice announced that some 48,000 prisoners would benefit from this law although some 30,000 remain in prison. Most significantly, the majority of political prisoners cannot benefit from this reduction because they are considered "disobedient to prison rule," due to their acts of resistance against the inhuman treatment in the prisons. To be able to benefit later from this reduction, they will have to be quite obedient in the nine months to come. Even a small discussion with a guard can deprive the prisoner of a reduction in his prison term... a discussion which might have been provoked by the prison authorities if they do not want the prisoner in question to be set free.

One of the consequences of deceiving political prisoners has been suicide on March 21, of an inmate in the Sinop prison. When this prisoner, sentenced to 26 years, learned he was not going to be freed, he hang himself.

As for those sentenced to death, eighty-one cases are currently before the National Assembly for parliamentary ratification. Of these 81 prisoners, who life depend on a parliamentary majority, 44 are leftist, 10 rightist, 25 are common criminals and four are Palestinian militants.

The Ankara regime is so allergic to the idea of ending capital punishment that six leaders of the Union of Turkish Doctors are still being tried before a criminal tribunal for having sent a petition to the President of the Republic and the government, asking for the abolition of capital punishment. Professor Nusret Fisek and his five colleagues risk being sent to prison for up to two years just because of this humanitarian request.

NEW DEATH SENTENCES

The military tribunals are continuing to hand out death sentences even while European governments are congratulating themselves on "the return to democracy in Turkey."

On February 28, 1986, 23 activists of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were sentenced to death while 151 others were sentenced to various prison terms.

On March 9, 1986, the military prosecutor in the Dev-Yol case in Adana requested capital punishment for 49 defendants;

Elsewhere in recently opened proceedings, prosecutors requested the death sentence for four PKK militants, on February 12 in Diyarbakır, and for four DDO militants on February 17 in Istanbul.

Other recent prison sentences:

20/2, in Ankara, four Dev-Yol militants.

28/2, in Izmir, eight alleged TKP members.

2/3, in Elazığ, two PKK militants.

8/3, in Istanbul, four TSIP members.

16/3, in Erzurum, a Dev-Yol militant, Gülpasa Vaiç. He had fled the country twice and had request-

ed political asylum in the Soviet Union but, each time the Soviet authorities had sent him back to Turkey.

19/3, in Diyarbakır, two leftist militants.w

28/3, in Erzurum, 16 Dev-Yol militants.

29/3, in Diyarbakır, eight PKK militants and 12 Kawa activists.

30/3, in Adana, nine Kurdish militants.

NEW POLITICAL TRIALS

During March 1986, several trade unionists and political activists were tried by State Security Courts or criminal tribunals.

On March 13, 77 people who took part in a workers demonstration in Izmir were tried for making slanderous slogans against government policy.

On March 18, new proceedings were started against eight trade union leaders and a member of the Union of Progressive Teachers for their activities before the coup.

Moreover, the DİSK Secretary General Fehmi Isiklar was brought to trial on March 28 in Istanbul for having insulted the military prosecutor during his defense in the mass trial before the military tribunal.

One of the most significant recent cases has been against five political activists who had just been freed through the new law on reduction in prison terms. The accused are Ziya Yılmaz and his four comrades who had succeeded in evading military prison in 1972 during the previous repressive period. They were later arrested to serve their sentence. After being freed on March 27, the prosecutor in Istanbul launched new judicial proceedings against them and has asked for prison terms of up to 13 years for them.

MANHUNTING AND ARRESTS

Operation Sun continues in the country's eastern regions with ceaseless manhunts, while in other regions, leftist militants are still subjected to arrests on a massive scale. Confrontations between the military and Kurdish peshmergas often leave many victims.

In two recent months:

6/2, in Mardin, a Kurdish militant killed.

11/2, in Tarsus, 10 leftist militant arrested.

13/2, in Izmir, 7 leftist militants arrested.

14/2, in Hakkari, 23 Kurdish militants arrested.

20/2, in Istanbul, a leftist militant arrested.

24/2, in Ordu, 7 Dev-Yol militants arrested.

26/2, in Elazığ, a soldier killed by the Kurdish resistance.

2/3, in Adana, 30 leftist militants arrested.

8/3, in Siirt, 3 Kurdish militants killed; in Izmir, 8 TKP/B members arrested.

10/3, in Istanbul, 9 TKP/B militants arrested.

12/3, in Ordu, teacher Zeki Sarıhan and lawyer Senel Sarıhan arrested for their political activities before the coup.

19/3, in Adıyaman, four gendarmes killed by Kurdish militants.

22/3, in Tunceli, a Kurdish militant killed.

23/3, in Siirt, a woman and her two children killed; the military say Kurdish militants are responsible.

24/3, in Erzurum, three gendarmes and five community guards killed by Kurdish resistance.

26/3, in Midyat, three soldiers killed by Kurdish militants.

28/3, in Hakkari, a gendarme killed by Kurdish militants.

29/3, in Izmir, 25 university members arrested for possessing "prohibited" publications.

30/3, in Elazığ, three PKK militants killed. In Istanbul, more than five hundred people are arrested dur-

ing a raid carried out on the anniversary of the massacre 15 years ago of leftist militants in Kızıldereli.

31/3, in Dicle, a gendarmerie commander is killed by Kurdish militants.

The military authorities have announced that over the course of the Kurdish new year, 16 soldiers, 6 village guards, one woman, 11 children and 12 Kurdish militants died in armed confrontations between peshmergas and the security forces.

SETTING PACIFISTS FREE

After a persistent campaign by world democratic forces, the last group of the Turkish Peace Committee leaders were set free in two actions on February 28 and March 18. Reha İsvan, Aykut Goker, Tahsin Usluoglu, Metin Ozek, Haluk Tosun, Gencay Saylan, Ali Sirmen, Ali Taygun, Ergun Elgin, Erdal Atabek, Hüseyin Bas and Orhan Taylan had been in prison for more than three years.

The Military Court of Cassation had overturned their sentence twice and the trial of 23 pacifists continue in Istanbul.

On the other hand, a second case against 48 members of the same committee, which had been continuing separately, was joined to the first trial on March 20. What is significant is that certain of the defendants in the second trial are lawyers of the defendants in the first trial. Thus they automatically become defendants in a case wherein, up to then, they had been defense lawyers. The attorneys in question accuse the tribunal of thus depriving the accused of their right to defense.

DEATH OF A RENOWN LAWYER

A renown lawyer has been added to the list of victims of the repression in Turkey. He was both defense attorney and accused in mass trials against the country's progressive intellectuals.

Mr Orhan Apaydın, 60, died on February 28, 1986, from a liver ailment in a hospital in Istanbul. After the time of the military coup, he was head of the Istanbul Bar and one of the brave lawyers who took on the defense of political prisoners.

At the end of 1981, he agreed to defend the DISK leaders and, right at the beginning of the trial, he cornered the military prosecutor on several juridical points. The military prosecutor who was also in charge of the case against the Peace Committee, replied by ordering Apaydın's arrest at the beginning of 1982, stating that as Chairman of the Istanbul Bar, Apaydın had been among the founders of this committee. So DISK lost its main defender because Apaydın was kept in military prison for 20 months and 15 days and submitted to degrading treatment, like the other accused pacifists, during his interrogation.

During his stay in prison, he was deprived of necessary medical care and his liver ailment badly worsened.

After being set free on November 18, 1984, he made several attempts to obtain a passport so as to travel abroad for treatment, but, like the famous singer Ruhi Su (See: *Info-Türk*, September 1985), he was prevented from leaving the country. An irony of fate: as in the case of Ruhi Su, his passport was delivered just a day before his death. It was too late...

Orhan Apaydın had been a member of the National Assembly between 1961 and 1965 and had held several honorary titles conferred by juridical institutions or international academic bodies.

Apaydın's funeral in Istanbul was transformed into a demonstration against repression and took place under strict police control. The police also filmed all the participants.

THE TRIALS OF ISMAIL BESİKÇİ

One of the well known victims of the repression, Professor Ismail Besikçi, faces the same fate as that of Ruhi Su and Orhan Apaydın. Besikçi is currently being held in the Gaziantep prison.

Besikçi, 47, has always been the target of various successive governments because of his courageous stand regarding the Kurdish population's rights in Turkey. Although he is of Turkish origin, he has shown in his academic studies the national and linguistic characteristics of this population and has refuted the official thesis that Kurds are "mountain Turks" and that the Kurdish language is a derivation of the Turkish language.

In 1971, he was arrested and sentenced for his studies. In 1974 he was set free along with other political prisoners, following a general amnesty. But he was prevented from holding any academic post because of his ideas, and, in 1979, he was arrested and sentenced again for another study refuting the official linguistic thesis. He was freed in 1981 but was rearrested a few months later and sentenced to 10 years in prison for having described prison conditions and having criticised the coup d'état in a letter he sent, while he was in prison, to the Union of Swiss writers. He was accused of defaming the Turkish State abroad.

According to the new law on reduction of prison terms, he should be freed because he has already served six years of his 10-year term. But, by virtue of a condition in this same law, he has to remain in prison another nine months without being disobedient in the slightest, and he has to prove his good conduct because he has been punished several times for disobedience in prison. For this reason, he is not allowed to correspond with anyone outside and all letters addressed to him are systematically seized by the prison authorities. Besikçi is also deprived of reading any books and his family can visit only once every two weeks. In his badly ventilated cell, his health is deteriorating more and more.

Recently, the Swedish Pen Club sent a letter to the Minister of Justice, requesting the immediate freeing of Dr Besikçi.

A NEW CENSOR LAW

On the Ozal government's proposal, the National Assembly adopted on March 6, 1986, a new law which imposes new censorship on the press, under the pretext of protecting minors from "harmful" publications.

According to the law, a commission attached to the Prime Minister's Office has all authority to judge a publication's "harmfulness" to minors. If found "harmful," these publications can only be sold in non-transparent bags. If three editions of the same newspaper are judged "harmful" by the said commission, this newspaper will be categorised as entirely "harmful" and its all future editions will have to be sold in bag. If this order is disregarded, the editor will be fined up to 10 million Turkish liras (30,000 DM) for each infraction. Furthermore, all publications found "harmful" will have to pay 40 percent of their sales revenue to a public housing fund.

Editors of publications, films, records, cassettes

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3,000 YEARS IN PRISON FOR 27 JOURNALISTS

When one speaks of the persecution of journalists in Turkey, it is always the trials of professional journalists working for big media which attract world opinion. However, there are tens of journalists in Turkey who have been sentenced for articles which appeared in politically committed publications, but the big-circulation Turkish newspapers do not count them as journalists. Because of that, their sentences have made not the slightest echo in the world press.

Recently, the daily *Cumhuriyet* of March 3, 1986, revealed the unbelievable persecution suffered by 27 politically committed journalists whom tribunals have sentenced to a total of three thousand years in prison.

VELI YILMAZ (responsible editor for the periodical *Halkın Kurtuluşu* and *Halkın Kurtuluşu Yolunda Gençlik*): sentenced to a total of 1,170 years for 79 different articles and 600,000 LT.

AYDOĞAN BUYUKOZDEN (responsible editor for the daily *Aydınlık*): sentenced to a total of 38 years for 32 articles. He faces another 150 years for 33 other articles.

TAMER KAYAS (responsible editor for the daily *Politika*): sentenced to seven and a half years in prison and fined for 416,000 Turkish liras for 7 articles

HASAN BASRI CIPLAK (responsible editor for the daily *Demokrat*): sentenced to a year and a half.

ISIK YURTCU (responsible editor for the *Demokrat*): sentenced to a total of two years and seven months in four cases.

VEYIS SOZUER (responsible editor for the daily *Hergün*): fined in 9 cases.

HASAN FIKRET ULUSOYDAN (responsible editor for the weekly *Halkın Sesi*): sentenced to 66 years in all in 16 cases. He faces another 64 years in 10 other cases.

ALAATTIN SAHİN (responsible editor for the weekly *Halkın Yolu*): sentenced to 108 years in 25 cases.

FEYZULLAH OZER (responsible editor for the periodicals *Kitle* and *Ilke*): sentenced to a total of 12 years in three cases. He faces another seven years in prison.

MEHMET OZGUN (responsible editor for the periodicals *Bagımsız Türkiye* and *Devrimci Militan*): sentenced to a total of 33 years and a half in 6 cases.

ERHAN TUSKAN (responsible editor for the publications *Herict Yurtsever Gençlik* and *Gençlik Dünyası*): sentenced to 48 years and 10 months in ten cases.

MUSTAFA TUTUNBASI (responsible editor for the weekly *Halkın Sesi*): sentenced to a total of 42 years in 14 cases. He faces another 90 years in prison in 12 other cases.

DOĞAN YURDAKUL (responsible editor for the monthly *Aydınlık*): sentenced to a total of 18 years in 4 cases. He faces 120 more years in 16 other cases.

ALI HAYDAR YILDIRIM (responsible editor for the publication *Militan Gençlik*): sentenced to 14 and a half years in three cases.

ERSAN SARIKAYA (responsible editor for the publication *Güney*): sentenced to seven and a half years for an article.

ALI DUMAN (responsible editor for the publication *Yurtsever Devrimci Öğretmen*): sentenced to 7 and a half years for an article.

MUSTAFA YILDIRIMTURK (responsible editor for the publication *Halkın Kurtuluşu*): sentenced to 215 years in all for various articles.

OSMAN TAS (responsible editor for *Halkın Kurtuluşu*): sentenced to a total of 770 years for several articles.

NEVZAT ACAN (responsible editor for *Halkın Kurtuluşu*): sentenced to 20 and a half years in all for different articles.

IRFAN ASIK (responsible editor for the publication *Partizan*): sentenced to 111 years in 13 cases.

GALIP DEMIRCAN (responsible editor for the publications *Halkın Kurtuluşu* and *Halkın Kurtuluşu Yolunda Gençlik*): sentenced to a total of 20 years.

METE DALGIN (responsible editor for the publication *Halkın Birliđi*): sentenced to 30 years in all.

HALUK SECKIN MERIC (responsible editor for the publication *Baris ve Sosyalizm Sorunları*): sentenced to 7 and a half years.

ALI RABUS (responsible editor for the publication *Birlik Yolu*): sentenced to 18 years.

MUHİTTİN GOKTAS (responsible editor for the publication *Kıvılcım*): sentenced to seven and a half years.

CANDEMİR OZLER (responsible editor for the publication *Savas Yolu*): sentenced to 23 years and 10 months in several cases.

HUSEYİN ULGER (responsible editor for the publication *Genç Sosyalist*): sentenced to 8 years and three months.

All the periodicals in question have been banned by the military since the proclamation of martial law in Turkey.

or video-cassettes judged "obscene" or "pornographic" will have to pay a fine that will be five to fifteen times higher than their sales revenue.

Press organisations as well as the opposition are stressing that, by using this law arbitrarily, the government can destroy any non-conforming publication and suppress the last vestiges of press freedom.

RECENT PRESS CASES

8/2, journalist Erbil Tusalp is tried before a military tribunal for his book titled "A Thousand Men-On Human Rights," and he faces a prison term of up to six and a half years.

9/2, the prosecutor in Istanbul tried two journa-

lists, Ali Ugur Saydam of the magazine *Playboy* and Savas Kalafat of *Playman*, for having reproduced articles and photos which the government forbids from entering Turkey.

11/2, in Ankara, the State Security Court sentenced Ercüment Özkan, the responsible editor for *İktibas*, and journalist Mehmet Coban to six year and three months each for an article. The same day, Yasar Kaplan was sentenced by the same tribunal to a similar prison term for a pamphlet on democracy.

12/2, in Istanbul, the writer Füsün Erbulak and his editor Ramazan Yasar were sentenced to one year in prison for "obcenity" in a novel by the former.

15/3, two journalists for the daily *Cumhuriyet*, İlhan Selçuk and Okay Gönescin, are tried before a tribunal for "having insulted the President of the Republic and the State Forces" in an article they wrote. Each faces a prison sentence of up to ten years.

16/3, a case against Professor Göksel for his article which was published in the *Cumhuriyet*, criticising the trial of doctors who called for an end to the death penalty.

16/3, the responsible editor for the daily *Sabah*, Metin Yılmaz, is tried before a tribunal for "having insulted the government" in an article. He faces six years in prison.

18/3, in Muğla, the editor for the daily *İlkadım*, Tufan Doğu, was charged by the prosecutor with having employed a journalist who had been sentenced to a year and who had served his term. According to the new press law, employing journalists who have been sentenced constitutes a crime which carries a fine.

19/3, in Erzurum, a journalist was chained to his bed in the hospital. Arif Nihat Polat, the responsible editor for *Hürsöz*, had been sentenced to prison and had been transferred to the hospital for treatment, but the prison authorities ordered that he be chained during his hospitalisation to "prevent possible escape."

RECENT BANS ON MEDIA

8/2, the sale and distribution of five magazines have been banned and copies of them confiscated by the police. *Erkekçe*, *Gözde Kadın*, *Playman*, *Bravo* and *Playboy* are accused of having made obscene publication.

10/2, three films by German filmmaker Fassbinder are banned by the censor law during the festival organised by the Turkish-German Cultural Institute.

19/2, certain shots in a Japanese documentary film are censored by the directors of Turkish Radio-TV. The shots showing the military presence in South-east Anatolia were cut, while the use of the word "Kurdish" to describe the population of this region was changed to "the Turcomans of Western Anatolia."

27/2, publication of a comic strip titled "The Tired Fighter" in the daily *Milliyet* is suspended by a tribunal on request from the directors of Turkish TV. A television film based on the same subject was considered "harmful" by the military junta some years ago and was burned on the military prime minister's orders.

18/3, showing of the film "Camada Negra" by Spanish filmmaker Manuel Gutierrez is banned by the Censorship Council during the film festival in Istanbul.

PRESSURE ON EKIN-BILAR

A new commercial society formed by Turkish intellectuals whose goal is to promote cultural activities has been faced with several legal and police obstacles from the first day of its existence.

After the approbation of its statutes by the relevant ministry, the society Ekin-Bilar launched a varied program which included cultural evenings, parties, debates, reading sessions, and the opening of lecture halls.

On February 12, in Istanbul, the government forbade an evening of songs by Ruhi Su, the singer who has been a victim of the repression, and two leaders of Ekin-Bilar were tried before a tribunal. On February 14, two meeting halls for debates organised by Ekin-Bilar were closed to the public by order of the governor of Ankara.

During the following legal investigation, Prime Minister Özal, on way to London, accused Ekin-Bilar of playing politics and added: "If Aziz Nesin wants to play politics, he can form a leftist party within the limits of the Constitution."

On Özal's interference in a legal proceeding, the well known humorist Aziz Nesin replied: "Prime Minister Özal thinks that we can form a political organization with permission, as he has already done... We know very well when and how we can form what. The Prime Minister made a joke, quite encroaching on my domain."

On the other hand, on February 12 in Istanbul, police seized the film used by the team from German television (ARD) to record Ekin-Bilar's activities.

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