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GENERAL EVREN'S RESPONSE TO THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE'S "GOODWILL"

WITCH-HUNT

At last, it is the time of holiday... Everywhere in Northern Europe attractive gaily-coloured advertisements are full of praise for the sunny Mediterranean countries which are racing one with another for welcoming foreign tourists. Among them is also Turkey. A country which has been reintegrated, after a 3-year interval, into the Council of Europe in the conviction that "the timetable drawn up by the previous military government for a return towards democracy has been formally respected..."

Since the European deputies welcomed their Turkish colleagues as the representatives of a "European democracy", why should any European democrat hesitate to spend a pleasant holiday during the long hot summer days in this sunny paradise for tourists? There is no more reason for feeling remorse to contribute thus to financing a dictatorial regime...

No doubt, following the Council of Europe's decision, thousands of European democrats will be basking in the sun on the seashores of Turkey. While they will be enjoying themselves, in the same country,

- more than 20 thousand political detainees will continue to suffer from inhuman conditions in Turkey's military prisons,
- many of them will continue to shuttle between these prisons and the military tribunals,
- some of them who were already sentenced to death, will go to the gallows.

Is that all?

More than one thousand distinguished intellectuals of Turkey will spend the hot summer days in the interrogation centers of the military for having signed a petition to the "President of the Republic" and many of them will presumably be detained for using their right of petition recognized in the new constitution. (See: *Bulletin* of May 1984).

The petition, submitted to the Presidential Palace on May 16, 1984, on behalf of 1,260 leading intellectuals (the number subsequently rose to 1,383) was calling for an end to torture and the restoration of political freedom.

Two weeks later, on May 28, General-President Evren unleashed a fierce attack on the signatories. Speaking in his home province of Manisa, in western Turkey, Evren accused the petitioners of aiming to embarrass Turkey internationally with their allegations of disrespect for human rights. He said the "self-styled intellectuals upheld the right of free association so that all the former (*pre-coup*) wickedness could be resumed under the roofs of innocent-looking associations, trade unions or professional bodies."

"If they are so interested in politics why don't they find themselves a place in one of the political parties? I stand as a guarantor for the Constitution and I will oppose to the end way changing of the Constitution."

"These pseudo-intellectuals in Turkey who become traitors in the end. They say that human rights are being violated in Turkey. They forget the fact that the country is still under martial law. They say that torture is a crime committed against humanity. We do not say any differently. Torture is a crime and that is why we punish offenders. These pseudo-intellectuals carry on with this campaign and try to belittle Turkey in the eyes of the world. In fact, this is what they are really after. We are quite aware of their real



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intentions, and have evidence against them. They say that capital punishment should be lifted and those already sentenced should not be executed. But they forget that the death sentence even exists in the United States. They have the electrical chair there."

"One of their aims is to force us to announce a general amnesty which would include all those terrorists who brought us to the point of destruction. We know that there will be such groups making demands, therefore we felt the need to include a clause in the Constitution barring the way for these terrorists to enjoy amnesty. These same thieves, murderers and rapists used to return to prison a few days later (after their release from prison) for the same crimes. How can we be sure that they will not commit the same mistakes again. Has anyone asked the relatives of those who suffered whether they have pardoned them or not? Those who call themselves intellectuals do not want an amnesty for these people. They want anarchists to be pardoned."

"They ask for the production of ideas. What they really mean by this is that they want books on fascism, marxism, leninism, maolism to be published freely. All they want is the new generation to be poisoned by reading such publications. Other things they want is freedom of the press and the autonomy of the Turkish Radio and Television. First of all, I would like to point out that we do nothing against the freedom of the press, but we are now under martial law. The whole nation witnessed how the communists made good use of the TRT before September 12 (1980)".

"A third thing is that they want the universities to be autonomous. They do not want the State interfere in their work. We also witnessed how these universities turned into dens of anarchy in the past."

"These people who define themselves as 'intellectuals' claim that only their views are right. Your thoughts and my thoughts are not important for them.

Only they know the best. We have seen too many such intellectuals who chose to flee to foreign countries at the end... Some even died there... What can I do with such intellectuals?"

In fact, this speech of General Evren is aimed at influencing the legal proceedings against the petitioners. All of them had already been summoned before the martial law prosecutor for questioning. Each of them risks a prison term from one year up to 3 years.

By condemning in advance the signatories of this very innocent petition without waiting for the decision of a judge, Evren made it clear that he does not respect justice at all.

Neither he does respect popular will... The views expressed in the petition are completely shared by the major opposition party. The Chairman of the Social Democracy Party (Sodep), Professor Erdal İnönü, in reply to a question on May 28 said that these views were in harmony with the ideas contained in the program of his party. He pointed out the need for the democratic mechanism in the country to start working as soon as possible and stated: "Just because Turkey is recovering from a long illness, it should not stop us touching on certain vital issues. In fact I believe that politicians have a bigger responsibility during this recovery period. If we stop from speaking at this time, it may be too late afterwards. Democracy in Turkey will flourish as our economic, social and intellectual life flourishes."

But the chief of the junta takes no heed of what a political party says which obtained a fourth of the votes at the recent local elections.

As for the "goodwill" and wishes of the Council of Europe, he had already expressed his gratitude by saying: "We never act under the pressure by others."

He proved it once more... And his dictatorship, after obtaining the blessing of the Council of Europe, has unleashed a new witch-hunt in Turkey.

COMPLETE TEXT OF INTELLECTUALS' PETITION

Democracy lives through its institutions and principles. When in a country institutions, notions and principles that are the foundation of democracy are being destroyed, suppressing the damages caused by it becomes all the more difficult.

To alienate democracy from its inherent values and institutions, to preserve it in form while emptying it of its contents, is as dangerous as destroying it. For these reasons we uphold institutions, notions and principles preserving the structure of the state founded on historical experience, and defend their strengthening in a democratic environment.

Our people deserves all human rights existing in contemporary societies and should enjoy them without any restriction. We consider it humiliating that our country has been reduced to the position of a country whose human rights guarantees are being debated abroad.

The right to life as well as a life worthy of human-being is the main aim of existence within an organized society, which in our time could not be suppressed for any reason whatsoever; it is a natural and sacred right. That this right acquires a content, depends on whether opinions can be freely expressed and developed and whether it is possible to organize oneself on the basis of them. In our view, the fact that in our society individuals come forward with new and distinct ideas, is not —as some people try to present it— the cause of the crisis, but a prerequisite essential to society's vitality.

Justice, man's ultimate refuge, is at the same time the main support of an existence worthy of human-being. In a contemporary state based on law, existing means to achieve justice require that the search for justice be hindered in no way and that, in the course of judicial procedures, no use be made of exceptional judicial ways nor of extraordinary methods. We consider it incompatible with the contemporary conception of democracy, when exceptional forms of administration become permanent in times that are termed normal.

Restricting citizens' rights without any judicial procedure, making up offenses through unilateral administrative modes of procedure that are not subject to discussion, stripping people of their political rights and levelling accusations of merely general nature brings whole sections of society to the point of destruction. When membership to associations, co-operatives, foundations, professional unions and political parties, as well as opinions that at the time they were being expressed were not punishable, are afterwards labelled offenses depending on the views that are dominating, then this is incompatible with the notion of a state based on the law.

The democratic system itself cannot be held responsible for the wave of terrorist actions Turkey went through.

It is the inevitable duty of any organized society to combat acts of violence. But a basic characteristic inherent to state power is adherence to legal norms in the fight against terrorism. In front of terrorism, this can never justify resorting to identical methods by the state.

Torture, the existence of which has been proved by court decisions as well, is a crime against humanity. We fear that it may have become habitual for torture to be used as an extra-judicial, prior and primitive form of punishment. Moreover, we regard prison conditions exceeding the aim to restrict freedom as a form of ill treatment and torture.

All necessary measures should be taken for the complete eradication of torture. If, during an investigation preliminary to an inquiry, a hearing of a case or as far as the defence is concerned, the norms of a state based on the law are abandoned; if, as regards procedure methods, universal guarantees stressed by the principle that "in any case a defendant should be presumed innocent until his conviction", are regarded as null and void, then the reign of the arbitrary becomes—especially in political trials—a basic element of the procedure.

In view of the fact that all sections of society share responsibility in the emergence of terrorist actions, we believe that it is necessary to stop carrying out executory death sentences and to abolish capital punishment so as to sweep aside once for all the idea that killing might be a solution.

Starting from the universal fact that delayed justice is an injustice, we consider that all trials in progress should be brought to completion as quickly as possible.

Offences are brought about by the social and political conditions. As regards the instable phase prevalent at that time in Turkey, one should not forget the responsibility attributable to society. For these reasons, and in order to contribute to social peace, we consider indispensable a comprehensive amnesty. Politics as a means enabling to tell good from evil, right from wrong in public life, should allow society as a whole to take part in the management of the country.

The failings of everyday politics which occur in any country and which are inevitable, cannot be a reason for preventing people from serving society by engaging in politics—which should be within the reach of everyone—and for reserving this exclusively for certain strata, for one person or for a certain group of persons. Politics cannot be exclusively reduced to administrative decision-making.

The will of the nation acquires a content only in those types of societies where all sections of society can organize themselves freely. In countries where nobody is indicted for his political convictions and philosophical conceptions and where no citizen is reproached with his religious beliefs, the will of the nation is the supreme power. The legitimacy of this supreme power depends on the latter's attitude towards fundamental rights and liberties.

Circumstances preventing the will of the majority from determining itself freely, are contrary to democracy. Likewise, suppressing basic rights on the pretext that there exists a majority will, is incompatible with democracy.

In the process of historical development, the aim of democratic constitutions is to guarantee the rights and liberties of the individual. Provisions that tend to weaken the individual's position vis-à-vis the state, mean—no matter under what name they are introduced—a departure from democracy. In such a situation, the Constitution which ought to be the source of democratic life, becomes an obstacle to democracy.

Trade unions, professional associations, but above all political parties, are the indispensable pillars of democratic life. Inasmuch as it is their duty to defend the economic interests and solidarity of their members, professional organizations must protect, along with the political parties, the democratic liberties of both individuals and groups and must be a means and a driving force enabling them to participate in management. Therefore we believe it is necessary to ensure that the provisions of the Constitution contain the largest guarantees for both the right of organizing and the right of participation.

In the life of any society, the existence of elements such as liberty, variety and renewal is necessary for the future and for the capacity of development of society. From this point of view, any intellectual production of whatever kind must be protected and it should be possible to present freely new proposals to public opinion.

A free press is one of the basic elements completing the democratic regime. To achieve this, society needs to be informed on itself independently, without any control and in a diversified way; moreover, it is necessary to enable free circulation of ideas and to ensure that any kind of criticism be referred to in the press. Educating a diversified public opinion and controlling democratically management of society can solely be achieved through such a press. Just for these reasons, and provided their neutrality is guaranteed, we believe that it is necessary to grant autonomy to the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT).

The main aim of education is to rise freethinking, learned, capable and creative people. Contrary to this, it is incompatible with the evolution of our time and with pluralistic democracy to produce a one-type man. The aim of contemporary democracy is to develop people who are able to view the world critically.

When the universities, as the best educated section of society, are stripped of their autonomy and when it is alleged that they do not deserve to run themselves, then that leads to deny that in our country democracy could work. Subordinating all higher education institutions to the imperative rule of a council with disproportionate power which has been set up through appointments, rouses great concern for the country's future inasmuch as already now it hinders the young from being well educated and hampers scientific life. Therefore we consider that the structure of the Higher Education Council (YOK) needs to be altered without delay in the sense of an autonomy based on the principle of election.

We would like to stress the fact that a prerequisite essential to civilisation is to abolish both legal and actual restrictions hampering the emergence of intellectual and artistic productions, and to provide thinkers and artists, as well as all citizens, with the universal guarantees. Prerequisites to a sound development of society are:

- to be free to produce and circulate artistic works of whatever kind,
- to abolish censorship completely which hampers in the extreme cultural creativeness,
- that no subject should be tabooed,
- that criminal responsibility should be established exclusively by the normal judicial authorities.

In view of these facts, we, being aware of our responsibility towards society, believe in all sincerity that contemporary democracy, even though it shows differences in the various countries depending on specific situations, has nevertheless an unchangeable fundamental basis; that our nation too has adopted the institutions and principles that constitute this fundamental basis; that it is necessary to suppress by democratic methods all legal and practical provisions that are contrary to it, and that in this way a sounder and safer solution to the crisis we are going through, will be found.

GOVERNMENT UNDER THREAT

General Evren's wrathful speech concerning the petitioners does not take only them as its target, but generally all political and social forces which dare act independently and attempt to change the present Constitution.

By saying "I stand as a guarantor for the Constitution and I shall oppose to the end any changing of the Constitution", General Evren wants to stress that even in the case of any attempt by a future parliamentary majority to modify the Constitution, he will not recognize the superiority of popular will.

In fact, the "elected" government does not wield any power in matters of law and order. It is still the National Security Council, chaired by Evren and composed of four army chiefs, three former army chiefs and four government members, that determines the government's policies in these matters. The latest meeting of this council was held on May 7 in Ankara. It is the same council that decided earlier to replace martial law in some provinces by the state of emergency.

As regards economic policies, Evren seems to let the Government act a little bit more freely. Since both of them, Evren himself and Premier Ozal cling to the directives of the International Monetary Fund, there is no fundamental divergence between them about economic policies to be applied in the long run. Nevertheless, Evren acts double-facedly as regards the Government's short run economic decisions, such as price hikes which arouse popular discontent. In a speech delivered on May 28, referring to the citizens' complaints, he said: "If the President of the Republic interferes in the economic policy of the Government, in that case it will be regarded as the policy of the President of the Republic". Furthermore, if I interfere in the government's economic policy, they can claim, in case the situation should deteriorate, that it happened due to interference by the President of the Republic."

Obviously Evren attempts to lay the responsibility for all unpopular economic decisions on Ozal in order to be able to play the part of an arbiter in case political troubles should arise, and to replace the Ozal Government by another team loyal to the "President of the Republic".

It is a matter of fact that, due to rapidly rising inflation, Ozal has already begun to suffer from a fall in popularity. Even the daily press close to big business has launched a campaign of criticism against the government's policies by dramatizing the effects of the high inflation rate which has already reached 56 percent over the past 12-month period.

General Evren, with the purpose of deluding people into believing that he does not endorse all policies of the present government, has already made some oth-

er gestures. Recently, in a letter to Ozal, he strongly blamed the government for appointing some persons as "acting directors" to key posts.

As prior to the general election, General Evren had led a campaign against Ozal (See: *Bulletin* of November 1983), these new gestures of Evren gave rise to speculations that the "President of the Republic" was in search of a new government.

According to the *Turkish Daily News* of June 5, members of the last military government met at a restaurant to discuss the state of affairs in the country and to see what new possibilities emerged in order to topple the 6-months-old Ozal administration. The dinner was reportedly chaired by the former Prime Minister Retired Admiral Bülent Ulusu.

"The country is in a serious condition and if nothing is done now, it may be too late", said one member of the group. "The Motherland Party has shown that it lacks the necessary men and the ability to stop inflation. When they first took office, the general belief in the country was that Ozal was the only person who could curb the soaring prices and find a solution to the sufferings of the 'middle pillar' ('working people' in Ozal's jargon). His five months rule has proved however that the expectations of the nation were wrong."

After this closed-doors meeting, General Evren received on June 6 the chairmen of the opposition parties represented in the National Assembly, one more gesture that strengthened rumors that the "President of the Republic" wants to form a "national coalition government" to be headed by Retired Admiral Ulusu. In fact, this was a formula which had been applied in 1971, after the overthrow of the then civilian government by the military.

Failing to keep popular support and facing the attacks from the Presidential Palace, Ozal's Motherland Party (ANAP) suddenly found itself in a multi-dimensional turmoil. The troubles of Premier Ozal have been aggravated especially due to conflicts among the four opposing tendencies which allegedly had come to terms within the framework of the Motherland Party:

- Tendency of the defunct National Salvation Party (MSP), Islamic fundamentalist;
- Tendency of the defunct Nationalist Action Party (MHP), neo-fascist;
- Tendency of the defunct Justice Party (AP), rightist;
- Tendency of the defunct Republican People's Party (CHP), center-left.

It is true that in the absence of a genuine representation of these tendencies on the parliamentary scene, Ozal had succeeded in getting votes from their former electorate. But the hard-core of the party is composed of former activists of the Islamic, fundamentalist and neo-fascist parties.

Turgut Ozal too had distinguished himself as a prominent figure of the National Salvation Party during the pre-coup period. While he was Deputy Prime Minister of the military government, his brother Korut Ozal was being tried at the MSP Trial. The latter cannot assume any responsibility within the ANAP due to the ban on political activities for the top leaders of the defunct political parties.

But another brother of the Prime Minister, Yusuf Ozal, has recently been appointed head of the State Planning Organization, an appointment which aroused further criticism against Ozal.

Many of the ANAP leaders had got their first political experience in the ranks of the defunct MSP. Among them are:

- Deputy Prime Minister Kaya Erdem,
- Minister of Culture and Tourism Mükerrrem Taşçılar,
- Minister of National Education Vehbi Dinçerler,
- Minister of Health and Social Aid Mehmet Aydın
- Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Cemal Büyükbas,
- Minister of the Interior Ail Tanrıyar,
- Minister of Forestry Hüsnü Doğan.

As for the neo-fascist tendency, it is represented in the leadership by Secretary General Mustafa Tasar. Besides, this tendency has already occupied many posts in the present government:

- State Minister Fialil Sıvın,
- State Minister Kazım Oksay,
- State Minister Mesut Yılmaz,
- Minister of Communication Veysel Atasoy,
- Under-Secretary Hasan Celal Güzel.

Thanks to the success of the ANAP at the local elections, the majority of the posts of mayor have been shared out among representatives of these two political tendencies. Neo-fascist activists are now at the head of the municipalities of Erzincan, Erzurum, Adapazarı, Bingöl, Elazığ, Yozgat, Gaziantep, Antakya, Kastamonu and of many minor cities.

Most important is the fact that the mayor of the capital city of Ankara, Mehmet Altınsoy had a seat of MSP deputy in Parliament between 1965 and 1969.

One of the first decisions of the Town Council headed by Altınsoy has been:

- changing the name of Abdi İpekçi city park (Abdi İpekçi, a renowned Turkish journalist assassinated by Mehmet Ali Ağca, author of the abortive attempt against the Pope),
- replacing the Hittite Monument with a presidential symbol (neo-fascists deny the fact that the Hittites were among the first inhabitants of Anatolia),
- changing the name of Lausanne Square into Malazgirt Square (the Lausanne Treaty is the international document which determined the present borders of the State. These borders are not recognized by neo-fascists who claim all territories in Asia inhabited by Turks. Malazgirt is the name of the place of the

battle which opened the way to the conquest of Anatolia by the Turks coming from Asia).

The quarrels between these two principal tendencies within the ANAP prevent Ozal from pursuing a coherent policy.

It is also reported that there is no harmony in the Council of Ministers. "Two particularly important ministers, whose areas of responsibility are very much the same are on the point of strangling each other. Several ministers have completely different views on how to solve the country's many problems. Take, for example, the Minister of Finance and Customs Vural Arıkan and the Deputy Prime Minister Kaya Erdem. They cannot find one single point to agree upon". (*The Turkish Daily News*, June 4, 1984)

While Kaya Erdem, just like Ozal himself, has distinguished himself as the champion of applying monetarist policies to the detriment of working people and weak enterprises, Arıkan argues that the government should revise these policies so as to raise the workers' purchasing power and to stop small firms from going bankrupt.

Furthermore, the bombshell of the "fictitious exports" issue has aggravated disagreements within the government. In accordance with a government decision, exporters can get handsome tax refunds if they can prove that they have really exported their goods. This incentive measure which is being applied for six months, has given an amazing result: Turkish exports have risen by 50 percent. Close scrutiny of the data showed however that 90 percent of Turkey's exports to Switzerland and 25 percent of those to West Germany were fictitious and that at least eight export firms had pocketed billions TL as tax rebates. This revelation aroused angry reactions even in the country's business circles.

As for the workers, in protest against the fall in spending power and the restrictions on the exercise of trade union rights, the Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (Türk-İs) staged two mass rallies, one in Izmir and the other in Istanbul. Although these workers' meetings, the first since the military coup, were held under close supervision by the martial law authorities and oriented by the collaborationist leadership of Türk-İs, participants strongly criticized the government's monetarist policies and shouted anti-government slogans, asking for "Freedom, bread and peace".

In brief, after a 6-month rule, Ozal's party has found itself caught in a cross-fire and is the target of attacks by the workers, on the one hand, and of criticism by the discontented section of business, on the other hand. But the worst thing are the inner divergences and conflicts within the ANAP, a party which, as *The Economist* of June 16, 1984 puts it, is "largely composed of opportunists who jumped on to Mr. Ozal's bandwagon, last autumn..."

...And General Evren, eager to settle accounts, waits for next autumn!

STATE TERROR

TWO HUNGER-STRIKERS DEAD: ACTION GOES ON

After two months of hunger-strikes in Turkish prisons, in protest against ill treatment, two political detainees have died, while three others are in a coma. This information given by relatives of the prisoners,

has reached the foreign press, despite intimidation attempts by the military junta; but General Evren ordered the Turkish press not to refer to it.

Abdullah Meral, a former militant of Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) whose death was reported on June 15, had been brought to a hospital in early June, along with 14 other hunger-strikers.

And on June 17, it was Mehmet Fatih Oktulmus's friends who announced that the latter had just died. Oktulmus was a militant of a left-wing organization, TİKE. Both died at Istanbul military hospital.

The protest movement of political prisoners had started on April 11. At that time, about five-hundred detainees of Metris and Sagsmalcilar prisons in Istanbul had started a hunger-strike with the view of obtaining the status of political prisoners and in order that maltreatment to which they were subjected, be stopped.

Early this year, similar hunger-strikes which occurred in the prisons of Ankara and Diyarbakır, resulted in the death of eleven detainees.

Among the militants who are worst affected by the consequences of the hunger-strike in Istanbul, two are reported to have gone into an irreversible coma, Dursun Karatas and Ibrahim Erdogan, and their parents expect them to die at any time.

The news of the political detainees' hunger-strike has only once been confirmed by the military authorities. Shortly before they had "organized" visits to two prisons for an overmuch indulgent "fact-finding committee" of the Council of Europe (this mission had been used by the right-wing majority to restore the Ankara representation in all its rights).

Earlier, on May 10, 1984, a press release issued by the General staff of the Turkish Armed Forces, stated that 113 political prisoners in Metris prison and 153 in Sagsmalcilar prison went on with their hunger-strike started on April 11.

NEW CONDEMNATIONS

Last month, a series of political trials, initiated after the military coup, have ended with heavy condemnations. Among hundreds of victims of "military justice" 37 have been sentenced to death.

3.5, in Ankara, a militant of Kurtulus was sentenced to 16 months' imprisonment for insulting security forces during his main trial.

5.5, in Adana, 2 members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) were sentenced to death, one to life-prison and 12 others to various prison terms. In Malatya, 43 members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) to prison terms of up to 28 years. In Izmir, 3 rightist activists up to 3 years.

6.5, in Adana, 5 members of the Emergency Group and one militant of TDKP up to 13 years.

13.5, in Ankara, a member of TDKP to 21 years.

17.5, in Ankara, three members of the "Third Path" up to 8 years.

19.5, in Diyarbakır, 153 members of the Labor Party of Kurdistan (KIP) up to 25 years. Mehdi Zana, former Mayor of Diyarbakır, to 7 years and 8 months in prison. In Istanbul, 12 members of the Revolutionary Union of the People (DHB) up to 16 years.

23.5, in Izmir, 13 members of Dev-Yol to death, 14 to life-prison and 80 others up to 26 years.

25.5, in Ankara, a rightist activist to death and another one to 16 years' imprisonment.

26.5, in Diyarbakır, 65 members of the Kurdish organization Rızgari up to 14 years. In Izmir, 3 members of DHB to life-prison, 14 others up to 16 years.

30.5, in Adana, one member of the Emergency Group to death, two to life-prison and 11 others to various prison terms. In Ankara, 7 members of Dev-Yol up to 15 years. In Istanbul, 7 members of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) to death, 8 to life-prison and 129 up to 24 years in jail.

31.5, in Istanbul, at another trial of TKP/ML, 11 people to death, 2 to life-prison and 50 others up to 20 years. In Erzincan, 2 members of Kurtulus to death, and 14 to prison terms of up to 29 years in prison.

NEW TRADE UNION TRIALS

The military prosecutors of Istanbul Martial Law Command have taken new legal action against trade union leaders. Meanwhile, the number of defendants at the main DISK trial who are liable to the death sentence, has risen to 76. Those who have been included in the DISK trial and who are under threat of the death sentence are renown Turkish painter Orhan Taylan and Chairman of the Public Works Union (Bay-sen) Abdurrahman Cevdet Ozhasirci.

Besides, of the trade union trials which are being held before military tribunals, three were extended with the addition of new defendants: 5 persons to the Yeni Haber-Is, 6 to the Sine-Sen and 14 to the Baysen trial. All defendants risk prison terms up to 20 years.

FASCIST UNION REOPENED

While the DISK and its affiliate unions are still suspended and their leaders are being tried before military tribunals, the Confederation of Nationalist Trade Unions (MISK) who had been suspended at the same time just after the military coup, has been reopened with the permission of the military authorities. In fact, the military prosecutors did not take any legal proceedings against the officials of this side organisation of the neo-fascist MHP, despite the fact that security forces had found hauls of arms and ammunition in its head office.

OTHER NEW TRIALS

3.5, in Izmir, against 7 people accused of having attempted to reorganize the Popular Liberation Party/Front of Turkey (THKP/C).

6.5, in Ankara, Chairman of Agriculturists' Association, Ibrahim Yetkin, Chairman of the Union of Agriculturists' Chambers of Turkey, Osman Ozbek; and Chairman of the Association of Agricultural Engineers, Sami Dogan were charged with criticizing the low level of State subventions to agricultural products. They are accused of making political statements on behalf of their associations. This is the first application of the new antidemocratic law on associations.

23.5, in Istanbul, 10 former members of the Board of Istanbul Bar Association were charged with breaking the law on Bar Associations. They are accused of failing to deny former Chairman of the Bar Association Mr. Orhan Apaydin the right to exercise the profession of attorney, following his arrest in connection with the Turkish Peace Committee trial.

24.5, in Istanbul, against 9 members of Dev-Yol and 2 members of the Progressive Youth Association.

31.5, in Diyarbakır, against 96 members of the National Liberation of Kurdistan (KUK). 5 of the defendants risk the death sentence.

PROSECUTION OF POLITICIANS

While the legal proceedings against the Correct Way Party (DYF) are going on at the Constitutional Court and while its chairman, Yıldırım Avcı is being sued by the military prosecutors for his electoral speeches, on May 16, former Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit was summoned to the office of the Ankara military Prosecutor. He is accused of having violated the interdictions imposed by the military junta by declaring that he did not mean to vote at the local elections.

On the other hand, on May 30, in Istanbul, three officials of the main opposition party, Sodep, were indicted for their electoral statements prior to the local elections.

MASS ARRESTS

10.5, in Istanbul, 42 presumed members of Kurtulus (Liberation).

17.5, in Istanbul, 7 presumed members of Dev-Sol.

24.5, in Izmir, 25 presumed members of the Workers' Voice, a fraction of the TKP. They are accused of having organized some illegal actions on May Day.

25.5, in Elazığ, 16 presumed members of Dev-Sol.

26.5, in Elazığ, 9 presumed members of TKP/ML.

27.5, in Izmir, 33 presumed members of Dev-Yol.

SINGER CONDEMNED

On May 9, Turkish singer Rahmi Saltuk, after performing at a concert more songs than scheduled in the program previously submitted to the military authorities, was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment, commuted into a fine.

The author-composer was convicted of "disregard for the laws" for the additional songs, none of which was however banned. His concert took place in Bodrum, last summer. As for all performances in this country under martial law, the singer had previously to apply for the military authorities' permission. This had been granted on the basis of a 20-song program.

The public's enthusiasm had however led Saltuk to sing additional ones.

On the other hand, popular female singer Selda Bagcan was arrested on April 24 for allegedly making communist propaganda in a gramophone record she had produced in West Germany in 1978. The singer, who risks up to 15 years prison term, was brought handcuffed to the prosecutor's office on May 24.

PRESS TRIALS

On May 16, an architect, Müsfik Erem, was condemned in Istanbul by a military tribunal to 6 years and 3 months in prison for making communist propaganda in a calendar he had edited in 1976.

Three days later, Ahmet Tastan, responsible editor of the monthly review *Urün*, banned by the military, was condemned to 18 months in prison for having praised communism.

At the end of May, the military prosecutor in Istanbul has filed a new suit against ex-ambassador Mahmut Dikerdem for a press release of the Turkish Peace Committee issued in 1980. He is accused of having involved the committee in politics by this publication. Dikerdem, Chairman of the Turkish Peace Committee has already been condemned to a 8-year prison term and is under treatment in a hospital.

A BOOK BANNED

The military prosecutor of Istanbul announced on June 2 that printing, distributing and keeping a book entitled "Anew each morning" was banned and that a legal proceeding has started against its author, Hakkı Gümüstas.

DATA ON PRESS TRIALS

According to the data given by the Justice Ministry as of May 16, 1984, there were 160 arrest warrants issued by civil prosecutors against journalists. 119 of them are sued for "disregard" for the Press Law, 20 for obscene publications, 20 for writing insults against individuals and one for a publication aiming to overthrow the present regime.

These numbers do not include journalists who have been condemned or are still being tried before the martial law tribunals.

45 TEACHERS CONDEMNED

On May 29, in Ankara, 45 primary school teachers were condemned to a 2-month prison term and a 1,500 TL fine each for having participated in a boycott action in protest against the Massacre of Kahramanmaraş in 1978.

A PROFESSOR DISMISSED

In Izmir, Professor Oguz Makal was dismissed from his academic post at the Fine Arts Faculty by the Rector of the 9th September University without any reason put forward.

SOLIDARITY IN LAVAL

The European Committee for the Defence of Refugees and Immigrants (CEDRI) has announced at a meeting organized in Laval, France, on May 21, and supported by the Laval Poland-Turkey Solidarity Committee, that by that time 360 municipalities of seventeen European countries had showed solidarity with both the elected representatives and inhabitants of Fatsa in Turkey. 760 inhabitants and elected representatives of this city are still being tried by a military court, 268 of whom, aged between 14 and 95, risk the death sentence.

GERMAN DELEGATION REBUFFED

According to the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of June 1, 1984, Turkish authorities have announced in late May that they are not prepared to welcome a West German parliamentary delegation.

On March 31, the Bundestag had approved a motion by the "Green Party", calling on Parliament to send a delegation to Turkey for an inquiry into the state of human rights there.

ICFTU RECOMMENDATION

The Executive Committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has adopted, at its May meeting in Brussels, a resolution recommending the Ozal Government to modify the newly-enacted laws pertaining to labor relations in line with Türk-Is demands, the Turkish Trade Union Confederation which is an ICFTU affiliate.

On the other hand, the International Labor Organization has appealed in the same sense to the Ozal Government, in particular calling for changing laws on the right of collective bargaining, on trade unions, strikes and lockout.

POLITICAL REFUGEES

The Board of the Socialist Group of the European Parliament has showed great concern about a report by Heinz Oskar Vetter, drawn up following a visit by Socialist members of the European Parliament Legal Affairs Committee to the center for refugees applying for political asylum in West Berlin. The EP Socialist Group calls on EEC countries to assume their political and humanitarian responsibility towards applicants for political asylum and refugees. Mr Vetter has been entrusted with an inquiry into this situation and has

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been charged to take proper initiatives for immediate improvement as well as for further action by the future European Parliament.

On the other hand, according to the West-German daily *Frankfurter Rundschau* of May 9, the 9th Chamber of the Federal Administrative Court in Berlin has ruled that the enforcement of criminal law in political affairs in Turkey does not necessarily imply that there is, generally speaking, political repression in the sense of the West-German right of asylum, not even when an applicant for political asylum has been subjected to ill treatment or torture. Lawyers dealing with political asylum cases have strongly criticized the way the 9th Chamber is interpreting the law. This interpretation has already become apparent in the course of two earlier procedures and has now been confirmed. Since in Turkey, the lawyers said, criminal law in political affairs is completely lacking the principles inherent to a state based on the law, one should base oneself, generally speaking, on the view that political repression exists.

Furthermore, a young Turkish refugee is in a desperate state. In September 1982, Unsal Akarsu had succeeded in fleeing Turkey. After going through Italy, he attempted to reach Copenhagen, from where he went back to Italy. There he tried to get a residence permit as a political refugee, but in vain. When he arrived in Greece early in 1984, he was refused political asylum. Greek authorities argued that he arrived from

a third intermediate country and not straight from Turkey. In February, the Foreigners Department there granted him a 15-day residence permit, so as to enable him to find another destination. Thereupon he made an ultimate desperate attempt, getting on a plane bound for Stockholm via Yugoslavia. In Belgrade however, where he had to change planes, he threw himself from a third floor, presumably while he was afraid of being arrested. As a result he had his skull and one foot fractured. After being treated in a hospital, he was given a shelter by the local UN representative.

IMMIGRANTS' CHARTER

On the occasion of the European elections, the Liaison Committee of Migrant workers' organizations in Belgium (CLOTI) presented in the European Parliament Press Room in Brussels, on May 29, 1984, the "Charter of the Dropout of European Democracy".

Indeed, once more, as for the municipal and general elections, over ten million immigrants and refugees have been kept out of the European poll.

The "33-point" Charter, of which Info-Türk, being a member of CLOTI, is also a signatory, is actually a harmonious insertion program of immigrants into European society. At the press conference, the migrant workers' organizations have been referring to a future which would be based on a Europe of Peoples and not on a Europe of Business

THE RESOLUTION OF EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT ON TURKEY

As we reported in the preceding *Bulletin*, the European Parliament adopted on May 24, 1984, two motions of Resolution on Turkey. Below we publish the Resolution adopted on the motion of German deputy Von Hassel.

The European Parliament,

- having regard to the joint declarations on fundamental rights signed by Parliament, the Council and the Commission on 24.4.1977,

- having regard to the preamble to the EEC-Turkey Association agreement of 23.12.1963, which stresses the determination to uphold and reinforce peace and freedom by their joint efforts to achieve the highest aims of the Treaty establishing the European Economic Community,

- having regard to the public hearing on respect for human rights in Turkey held by its Political Affairs Committee in Brussels on 26.4.1984,

- having regard to the motions for resolution tabled by Mrs. Charzat and others on the conditions of detention and the hunger strike in Turkish prisons and by Mr. Kyrkos on the death of 12 political prisoners in Turkey

1. Notes that, by virtue of the election of the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the recently held local elections, Turkey has taken its first steps towards the re-establishment of pluralistic democracy, although in view of the de facto martial law at present prevailing in Turkey, these elections are of only limited significance;
2. Recalls that by signing the European Convention on Human Rights, Turkey undertook to respect human rights;
3. Protests, in the light of the results of the aforementioned hearing held by the Political Affairs Committee, - against:
 - the use of torture and intimidation and the protracted nature of criminal trials held before military courts,
 - the imposition of the death penalty in numerous cases and the demand for this penalty by the

military prosecuting authorities,

- and the restriction of the freedom of the press;

4. Urges the government and Parliament of Turkey (as well as the military authorities in the provinces under martial law) to put an end to this deplorable state of affairs and to guarantee full respect for human rights;
5. Welcomes the steps taken by the Turkish authorities to set up committees to investigate allegations of torture and ill-treatment in prisons;
6. Demands that those responsible for the violation of human rights be called to account and that the innocent victims of arbitrary measures be compensated as far as is possible;
7. Urges the Turkish Grand National Assembly, on the basis of the traditionally friendly relations between the peoples of the European Community and the relations between Turkey and the European Community, to press for an end to martial law all over the country and to take practical steps towards granting an amnesty to political prisoners;
8. Is convinced that only measures leading to the re-establishment of democracy and respect for human rights can bring about a normalization of relations between Turkey and the European Community and guarantee the resumption, in the near future, of the work of the EEC - Turkey Association institutions;
9. Instructs its President to forward this resolution to the Commission and the Council of the European Communities, the Foreign Ministers of the European Communities meeting in political cooperation, the governments of the Member States, the Turkish Grand National Assembly and the Turkish government.