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"FALSE ALARM" IN TURKISH- AMERICAN RELATIONS

As the date of the presidential elections in the United States is drawing near, Turkish-American relations have started to take a turn for the worse as a result of some Congress resolutions. Despite the fact that the 12 September 1980 military coup was encouraged and supported enthusiastically by Washington and though Turkey has distinguished herself over the past four years as the US's most reliable ally in the Middle East, critical remarks made by US legislators regarding Ankara's human rights policies and the Cyprus issue have recently roused growing anger against the United States in Ankara.

The latest blow to the deteriorating Turco-US relations has been a US House of Representatives resolution designating April 24th, 1985 as "national day of remembrance of man's inhumanity to man", in connection with the massacre of Armenians.

On September 10, the US House passed by voice vote the aforesaid resolution, which was followed by a Senate Foreign Relations Committee decision calling for Armenian claims to be considered in the conduct of US foreign policy and referring to parts of Turkey as Armenian homeland for the past 2,500 years.

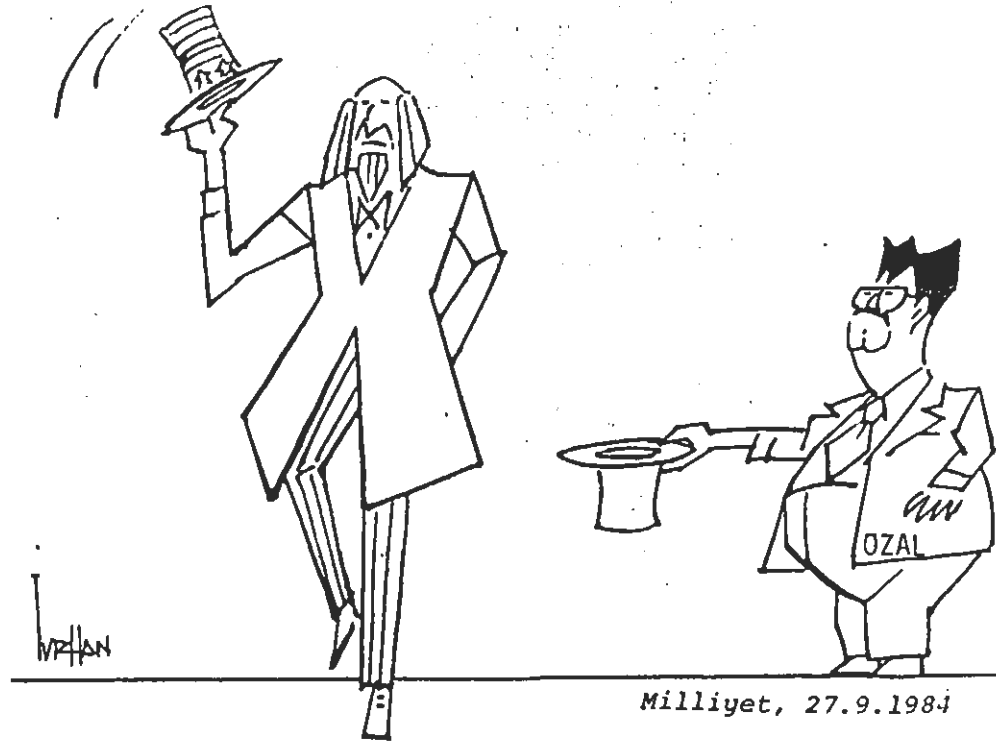
Despite the fact that more than one million Armenians had been massacred or deported in the late 19th and early 20th century by the Ottoman Empire's rulers, the successive governments of the new Republic of Turkey have persisted in denying categorically this fact.

Following the Congress resolution, Turkish Premier Ozal warned the United States that "friendly" bilateral relations could suffer damage "difficult or sometimes impossible to repair".

Ozal's statement appeared to have been prompted by the uproar in Turkish press and parliament over the US Resolutions. "We submit to world opinion that these resolutions lend support to international terrorism, aimed also at US citizens, including in particular the criminal acts of ASALA and other similar terrorist organizations."

On the contrary, the supporters of the Resolutions claim that it is international indifference to the Massacre of Armenians that has given way to growing violence by young Armenians and that the Congress resolutions are likely to stem this escalation.

Another move which angered Ankara has been a cut in US "aid" to Turkey. The Appropriations Committee of the US House of Representatives, while approving a 17.8-billion dollar foreign aid bill, called on September 9, for a cut of 215 million dollars worth of "assistance" to Turkey. The Reagan Administration had proposed a 755-million dollar "military aid" package to Turkey. The House panel approved



Milliyet, 27.9.1984

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540 million dollars for Turkey and the amount cut from the Turkish assistance was appropriated to the economic aid extended to the Philippines.

Earlier, a provision in the Senate authorization bill would hold up 215 million dollars aid until the Turkish Cypriots hand over the city of Varosha to the Greek Cypriots. As for the House Appropriations Committee, it included in its decision a statement saying Congress hopes Turkey will be able to use its influence with the Turkish community on Cyprus in moving toward a settlement in finding a solution to the problems that have divided the island for 10 years.

Thereupon, the Populist Party (HP) demanded an extraordinary session of the Turkish Parliament immediately to discuss the subject. A motion tabled by this party said the decisions of the US Congress cannot be just swept aside by a mere condemnation by the Turkish Foreign Ministry and recommended that "this decision, which has deeply hurt the Turkish nation, should get a due reply."

However, the Speaker of the National Assembly Necmettin Karaduman disclosed on September 14 that there would be no extraordinary session in Parliament to discuss the US Congress decision.

In fact, in spite of the uproar in the Turkish press and political parties, General-President Evren and his Prime Minister Turgut Ozal prefer to follow a "wait and see" policy. In their view, the US Congress Resolutions are merely maneuvers of some politicians who are seeking support of Armenian and Greek lobbies for the coming US elections. The Government's spokesmen have stated their confidence in Reagan's policy and claimed that after the elections all these initiatives "out of narrow and short term political considerations" would be brushed aside.

This moderate response of Turkey's rulers has been the subject of varying comments in the Turkish press.

One of Turkey's most influential daily newspapers, *Günaydın*, claimed on September 19, without daring to allude to General Evren, that Ozal's "wait and see" policy resulted from fear:

"Ozal does not wish to make himself a target for the USA," the newspaper said. "Therefore, he acts cleverly. He knows well enough that whoever has gotten into a scramble with the US has lost in the end. The rumors that blackmail by the chairman of the Democrat Party is what underlies the May 17, 1960 incident, sent former prime minister Adnan Menderes to the gallows in 1961 for crimes against the State. When the USA in the late 1950's refused to give him the 350 million dollars he had requested, Menderes said, 'If you don't give it to me, I'll get it from the Soviets'. The extension of Sümerbank plants and the setting of Cayirova Glass Industries were two of the things achieved thanks to progress he made during that period. Menderes said that he might even visit the Soviet Union. Ozal is careful and cautious, he wants to get out of this matter in good time without harming our higher interests. That is the reason for his cool-headedness."

It is rather ironical that on the day this article was published, a highpowered Soviet foreign trade delegation flew out of Turkey after signing a trade agreement to increase annual trade volume from 300 to 600 million dollars in a year, Foreign Trade Undersecretary Ekrem Pakdemirli said that natural gas will be purchased from the Soviet Union for a period of 25 years starting in 1987.

According to the 1985 Trade Protocol, Turkey will export hazel nuts, citrus fruits, beans, malt, tobacco, olive oil, textile products, ground barite, chemical materials and various industrial products to the

USSR. Conversely, Turkey is to import from the USSR machinery and equipment, crude oil, electrical energy, steel rods, timber and cellulose.

It should also be pointed out that this agreement enlarging the export of Turkish textile products to the Soviet Union was concluded just after a US restriction on Turkish textile exports.

Considering these facts, the true reasons underlying the moderate response of the Evren-Ozal duo to the US decisions should be sought in their total dependence on the United States.

As explained in detail by Info-Türk in its preceding *Bulletins* and in the pamphlet *US Interests in Turkey*, 1982, both the military coup of General Evren and the monetarist policies of Turgut Ozal have not only been welcomed and supported but also inspired by the US. Over the past four years, it is the United States that have been the main supporter of the military regime. Both Evren and Ozal are very well aware of the fact that without US support their anti-democratic and anti-popular policies could never have been enforced and applied and that they would have been doomed to total isolation in the international arena.

In this respect, the military regime has already paid the price of this US support by concluding a lot of both military and commercial bilateral agreements with the United States. The reopening of the US military bases, modernization of Turkish air fields so as to enable their possible use by the US Rapid Deployment Forces, permission given to US spy planes and AWACS radar planes to fly over Turkey, US participation in Turkey's war industry, purchasing 160 F-16 aircraft from General Dynamics at an overall cost of 4,200 million \$ and a 300 million \$ order for a new electronic telephone system to ITT are the main items of the enlarged collaboration program with the US.

As for the Turco-Soviet economic and commercial relations, the US have no objection to their extension as far as Turkey complies with the restrictions imposed by COCOM (Coordination Committee for the Multilateral Control of Strategic Exports). As seen in the case of US pressure on the Belgian export of boring and milling machines to the Soviet Union, likewise many restrictions have already been imposed by COCOM on the Turkish export of strategic items and materials to socialist countries and all Turkish governments have obediently accepted these restrictions.

For all these reasons, it would be very naive to claim that the recent tension in Turco-American relations results in a radical change in Turkish foreign policy.

TURKISH CONCESSION ON IMMIGRATION

The Ozal Government has not only taken a step back in front of the decision of the US Congress, but it has also made many concessions to the German Government in the Turkish immigrant workers' issue.

During his visit to Bonn, Prime Minister Ozal has promised to his West-German counterpart, Chancellor Kohl, to postpone from 1986 to 1995 implementation of an earlier agreement allowing Turkish citizens to work throughout the European Community - in return for increased financial aid and financial incentives to EEC firms investing in Turkey.

The provision on free movement of labour is included in Turkey's 1963 association treaty with the European Community. But West Germany, which already has about 1.5 million Turkish migrants, has said it will not permit it to be implemented.

The sources who have access to reports of talks between the Community and Turkey, said Community legal experts had advised that Turkey was fully

YILMAZ GÜNEY IS DEAD, HIS STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Yılmaz Güney, a committed filmmaker from Turkey, prize-winner "Palme d'or" of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival for "Yol", died on September 9 in Paris from a long illness, aged 47.

His early death is a loss, not only for Turkey's cinema, but also for the oppressed in the world who struggle for independence and democracy.

Born of Kurdish parents, he had directed about twenty films which are a real indictment of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples' oppression. In his country he had experienced detention in twenty-five prisons and was stripped of Turkish citizenship two years ago.

The whole world has been deeply distressed by the news of Güney's death, except for Turkey's oppressors.

France's Minister of Culture, Mr Jack Lang, paid tribute to Güney. "He was a courageous creator who devoted his life to defending the oppressed... In 1981, he honored us by accepting the hospitality I offered him on behalf of the French Government... Güney's work and struggle are an example of a powerful art in the service of liberty."

Surrounded by raised fists and to the sound of the 'International' sung in Turkish, Güney was buried at Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, on September 13. During an hour, his mortal remains were accompanied by a silent crowd of several thousands of people from the Kurdish Institute (of which he was a founding member) up to the cemetery. Prior to the funeral, several international figures among whom Mr Lang, representatives of European governments, of international and national organizations, came to pay their last respects at Güney's coffin inside the Kurdish Institute.

Most people in the funeral procession were Kurds and Turks living in France, but others had specially come from various European countries.

In spite of the fact that the Turkish mass media had been warned by the junta not to refer to individuals stripped of Turkish citizenship, who are accused of having activities harmful to state interests, all Turkish newspapers have seized the opportunity to draw a portrait of the filmmaker and published the news of his death, each of them in its own way.

Whereas the pro-governmental press rejoiced over his death, saying that he was nothing more than an ex-convict, only the center-left daily *Cumhuriyet* highlighted Güney's great talent, voicing however some reserves. Its columnist wrote that "the torrent flows past, but the sand will remain". Güney, he pointed out, has paid the price of his past errors by dying prematurely, in exile, far away from his Anatolian inspiration sources.

As for the European press, it has, on the contrary, paid tribute to Güney by valuing his fine talent as well as the political struggle he waged against the dictatorship in his native country.

"In retrospect, Yılmaz Güney's - too short - life has been a permanent struggle for the defence of human rights and liberty, for creating a cinema meant to oppose the forces of social and political oppression that were weighing heavy on the Turkish people, while opposing at the same time some ancestral traditions." (*Le Monde*, 11.9.1984)

"Farewell Robin Hood! Turkish filmmaker Yılmaz Güney who died at the age of 47 in Paris, was a great artist, militant and charmer." (*Le Nouvel Observateur*, 14-20.9.1984)

"Yılmaz Güney, the war waged by a man alone. The only picture of Turkey we have, we owe it to him. By turns on the stage, in the nick, in exile, the prize-winner of the 1982 Cannes Film Festival just died in Paris." (*Libération*, 10.9.1984)

"Because of his popularity his enemies were forced to resort to other methods: presenting him as a criminal... Prison did not break his spirit, but his body. Telling the truth may entail fatal risks." (*Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 11.9.1984)

"He was accused of being a communist. The consequence: imprisonment. 'I'm struggling against any kind of oppression,' he used to say, 'the sole ideology I acknowledge is human dignity.'" (*Die Welt*, 11.9.1984)

"The subject of his films, is less a personal story than the story of a whole ethnic group and, consequently, no other cinema of the Third world - and subjected to so fierce a dictatorship - did succeed in presenting pictures as forceful as those of Güney's cinema." (*El Pais*, 10.9.1984)

"In a cinema which has always remained confined to a merely domestic consumption, Yılmaz Güney has been the sole genuine example of an artist who succeeded, though with some delay, in forcing the world to focus its attention and admiration on him." (*Corriere Della Sera*, 10.9.1984)

"His early death still does not ensure for the Turkish regime that a serious headache has been completely removed. Video copies of his films are still being showed clandestinely all over the country. Abroad he is regarded as one of Turkey's major artists." (*NRC Handelsblad*, 10.9.1984)

"Güney was a man of strong left-wing convictions who had a long history of conflict with the Turkish authorities." (*The Times*, 11.9.1984)

"Güney, the Rebel... The Turkish filmmaker who died at the age of 47 in Paris has always treated one single theme: his country." (*La Croix*, 11.9.1984)

"For the time being, Güney remains amid us a filmmaker who has been the hero of a unique experience in film history. His sudden death is all the more tragic since it deprives us of a work, inspired by a fighting spirit, we fervently expected to be able to overcome the rigours of exile." (*Le Matin*, 10.9.1984)

"Always on the run, always violent, always rebellious: a vehement man and filmmaker." (*Le Quotidien de Paris*, 10.9.1984)

"Turkish idol in exile ... Exile, he agreed, was merely exchanging one form of prison for another..." (*The Guardian*, 10.9.1984)

within its rights to demand implementation of the provision.

Financial aid in return for the delay would come in the form of a financial protocol worth about 425 million \$, which the Community froze after the 1980 military coup and an additional protocol worth up to 709 million dollars.

According to *The Guardian* of September 24, failure by the two sides to agree on a delay would theo-

retically lay the Community institutions open to action by Turkey in the European court in Luxembourg, but this is not thought likely to happen.

Release of the blocked protocol, however, would imply recognition by the Community that Turkey has made acceptable progress towards restoring democracy, something which nearly a year after the election of a civilian government the Community has been unwilling to give under the pressure of public opinion.

FACTS REVEALED ABOUT THE PREPARATION OF THE MILITARY COUP AND THE US INSTIGATION

As the new turn taken by Turco-American relations was hitting the headlines of the Turkish press, a series of investigation reports published by the daily *Milliyet* on the 4th anniversary of the 12 September 1980 military coup, revealed some details about U.S. involvement in this intervention. These articles which were written by its Brussels correspondent, Mehmet Ali Birant, are based on both General Evren's red-covered personal diary and the author's conversations with those people who were somehow involved in the latest developments preceding the coup. In addition, Birant reveals a number of details about the preparation and the execution of the "Bayrak" (Flag) Plan which was at the root of the military coup and which led up to the establishment of a militarist "democracy".

Some excerpts of these articles have been reprinted below:

"The Army commanders, their headquarters and above all the Chief of staff were dissatisfied with the situation. The discontentment of the top of the hierarchy was caused by increasing terror actions throughout the country and by the inconsistency and partisan practices of the MC (Nationalist Front) governments. Besides these complaints which were shared unanimously, another source of discontentment was the actual state of the Armed Forces. For, as pointed out by General Haig - Saceur (Supreme Commander of the NATO Armed Forces) - the Army's weaponry and equipment were in a state of ruin. Although a special bill had been adopted in 1972 providing for an additional expenditure of 5 billion \$ over the next 1975-77 period, only one million \$ was assigned for implementing the Army's reorganization and modernization program (REMO). (...) At the end of 1977, the Chief of staff was compelled to warn the then government: 'Don't never bring about any situation that could result in an armed conflict with Greece, in view of the fact that our retaliation capacity is gradually decreasing.' (...)

"When he started governing the country, Ecevit raised the Army's hopes. He was thought to be able to change the situation. But after the first half-year of 1978, certain measures taken by the Ecevit government gave cause for renewed anxiety and the general opinion was that the situation was becoming even worse than before. As it turned out, Ecevit had already disappointed the top level of the Army. In the autumn of 1978, a special two-member team was set up by the Army staff to find an answer to the following question: At this stage of developments, is an intervention by the Army necessary? Subsequently, this team was enlarged and its activities continued until 1980. (...)

"After the Kahramanmaraş massacre, as martial law was proclaimed early in 1979, Chief of staff Kenan Evren started visiting the Army units and embarked on a series of talks with the Army commanders. (...)

"While General Evren was staying in Brussels to attend the NATO Military Committee meeting, a message reached Turkey on December 12 (1979): "The

Chief of staff is to leave tomorrow bound for Turkey." This was merely a confirmation of something already known. But for some people it was a sign that some very important meeting was to take place. On the same day, all commanders of the Armed Forces, the commanders of the four Armies and of some Army corps headed for Istanbul. (...)

"The subject of the meeting was the situation prevailing in the country and the Army's stance in the face of this situation. Since several months they were in agreement on the necessity of an intervention by the Army. Now both the timing and the form this intervention would take on had to be determined. But as discussions were going on, it appeared that no general agreement could be reached on these points. Evren said: 'There should be general agreement on the fact that the intervention by the Army was the ultimate chance and that there was no other solution left. Before intervening, let us give the politicians a last chance and send them a warning letter.' (...) Nobody attending this meeting believed that this letter would result in forging the unity of all politicians with a view to improving the situation. The takeover was merely postponed.

"Chief of staff Evren, after handing the warning letter to the President of the Republic (Fahri Koro-türk) on December 27, 1979, began writing down every day all his observations. He used to note down current events using the ancient writing (Arab alphabet) in a red-covered medium-sized diary. In the evening of Thursday the 3rd January, he wrote down the following lines:

"At 5 p.m. I paid the President of the Republic my regular weekly visit. He told me that Demirel (the then Prime Minister) would get very angry over this letter and he added 'he thinks about resigning'.

"We did not hand over this letter with a view to changing the Government', I answered. 'It is not solely meant for the Government. We have attracted the attention of all political parties and constitutional institutions, including the Government.' (...)"

Subsequently, Birant gives a detailed account of Demirel's talks, first with the Chief of staff alone on January 4, 1979, next with all commanders twice, on the 7th and 10th January 1979. During these conversations, the commanders are said to have put forward their concrete demands in a 6-page report, notably:

- Reinforcing the powers held by the martial law commanders,
- Extending the powers of the martial law courts,
- Reviewing the Penal Code and the Law on Associations,
- Prolonging the duration of police custody from 15 up to 30 days,
- Reinforcing the state intelligence network,
- Satisfying the needs of the Armed Forces as a matter of priority,
- Including arms traffic trials in the category of those trials which fall within the competence of martial law courts.

"When the talks subsequent to the warning letter came to an end and after the upheaval caused by this letter subsided, the Chief of staff embarked on a series of visits to the military units. From February 15 to May 16 (1980), he made a tour of all armies and of all major army corps. (...)

"Within the army there was a general agreement about fighting terror:

"- It is not possible to manage successfully this task if one is concerned about having regard for democracy and human rights. Have a dozen of them liquidated and you'll see them straight stop...

"- There is only one solution left: Courts should be set up passing straight away judgment on people who were apprehended, and condemning them if they were found guilty.

"- Behind the rampant terror there is the Left. With a view to dividing this country, they take orders from Moscow. It's quite clear. Those on the right are not that important. A part of them are sincere and act guided by nationalist feelings. The head of the Left must be crushed."

"In Washington there was a growing feeling of anxiety. The warning letter was the first sign of a military intervention. But, although several months had passed since that letter was handed over, no movement could be observed within the army. From Washington, the necessity of a military intervention had appeared early in 1979. The first forerunners of this intervention had been noted during 1979. Furthermore, by September of that year, when Paul Henze, in charge of Turkish affairs at the White House, came to Istanbul for a conference, he had not deemed it necessary to go to Ankara. He was aware that in any case the Army was to seize power.

"But given that the warning letter was not causing a stir, both the CIA and the Pentagon began to envisage as a hypothesis, at some committee meetings in Washington, maybe the Generals were afraid of seizing power. In their view, such a situation might leave the field clear for an attempt by the colonels. However, the consequences of such an attempt might degenerate into any direction. During the first four months of 1980, all these fears and anxieties had been brought to the U.S. Embassy's attention in Ankara. But the Embassy was always replying in the same way: 'Our contacts inside the Turkish Armed Forces inform us that there is no movement nor meeting taking place outside the supreme commanders' control.' (...)

"From May 1980 onwards, Washington decided to increase signals aimed at Ankara. The first message was handed to General Evren and the second to General Saltık in Brussels. On May 11, 1980, following the meeting of the NATO Military Committee, General Rogers, Saceur, got involved into a quarrel with General Saltık, Deputy Chief of the Turkish staff, about problems raised by the control over the Egean area and the possible reintegration of Greece into NATO's military wing. 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 used to do.' (...)

"During a cocktail party offered in honor of the chiefs of staff who had taken part in the meeting, it was Evren's turn. US Chief of staff General Jones was talking with his Turkish counterpart: 'We're watching with anxiety the latest developments in Turkey. It is very difficult to understand everything that is going on there. For months your politicians have proved unable to elect a President of the Republic.'

"General Evren was quite embarrassed by this

question. Indeed, during the same meeting several chiefs of staff had asked him the same question. After replying briefly, he had left the party...

"Admiral Sherer, US Commander of NATO South-East headquarters, came to Istanbul in the spring of 1980 to give a lecture at the Military Academy. After treating some other subjects, he touched on the problems of NATO's South flank and the latest developments in that area. Next he commented on the situation in Turkey: 'In view of the fact that Turkey's inflation rate has reached 100 p.c., a powerful defence cannot be ensured. The economic stabilisation program which has been implemented (i.e. the austerity measures in the economic field which have been imposed by the IMF on January 24, 1980 - IT) is of great importance. It has to be implemented safe from unrest. The point is that fierce anarchy and instability is rampant in this country. In the face of so great a danger, I would like to ask you: 'What are you doing? What do you intend to do?'

"This message was repeated more clearly in the June 1980 issue of 'US Armed Forces', a periodical which is followed with keen interest by the Western world's military circles: 'The latest developments in Turkey have reached such proportions that there is no other solution left than an intervention by the Turkish Armed Forces... The Armed Forces are to intervene, but they will be unable to improve the situation in the long term.'

"On July 1 (1980), at a cocktail party in Ankara, the US Air Force military attaché made the same remarks to a former member of the National Unity Committee, i.e. the junta which in 1960 made the first military coup: 'These economic measures are of paramount importance. If they are to be implemented, Turkey needs a 4 to 6-year period of stability.'

"On June 17 (1980), all commanders got together on the occasion of the meeting of the enlarged National Security Council (MGK) with the martial law commanders taking part. Now, all of them had come to an agreement. The operation had to be launched as soon as possible. The Chief of staff had a private discussion with the Deputy Chief of Staff and with the commanders of the four Army corps. He handed to them a written operation order: 'To all Army commanders: The date of execution of the 'Flag' Plan is July 11. Hour: 04.00.' "

Birant relates that after the new Demirel Government was formed, the staff decided to postpone implementation of the Plan.

"On August 9, Chief of staff Evren had convoked all commanders of the Armed Forces as well as Ozturun, the newly-appointed Deputy Chief of Staff, into his quarters. Ever since the first operation order was cancelled, a lot of upheaval had been noticed in political circles. But there was no concrete result. The meeting in General Evren's study lasted only half an hour. Evren briefly said: 'The date of intervention is September 12. Hand out again the 'Flag' Plan to the units and make preparations according to this plan.' The Chief of staff signed the operation order. Thereupon, the commanders saluted him and the meeting came to an end. A new era began for Turkey."

"On September 10, in Washington, US Chief of staff J. Allen offered a dinner in honor of General Tahsin Sahinkaya, Commander of the Turkish Air Force, who had ended a tour of the United States for buying new aircraft. Sahinkaya was in good spirits. After the dinner, when they were having coffee, Mr Paul Henze, in charge of Turkish Affairs at the US National Security Council, approached Sahinkaya who was due to leave the next day. He was anxious to give him one last signal: 'I hope you'll not allow the

situation in Turkey get out of control.' Sahinkaya replied in Turkish with a smile: 'Don't worry!' And he left the dinner.

"September, 11, 4 p.m. All Air Force and naval bases in Turkey were put on the alert. At the head of the US Aid delegation (JUSMATT) was General Thompson. He said to himself: 'At last This time we've got it! The official reason of the state of alert was that security measures had to be taken in the US bases in connection with the start of NATO military manoeuvres. The American General first sent his message to the Pentagon, before informing the US Ambassador: 'The Turkish Armed Forces have just been put on the alert. It is very likely that the intervention which has long been expected, has been triggered of.'

"JUSMATT had a very close relationship with the Turkish Armed Forces. It was very well informed of the state of their equipment and was able to sound out the Army's feelings. In order to take on this task, JUSMATT staff included US officers able to speak Turkish as their mother tongue. The most important function of these officers was to establish a friendly relationship with the Turkish officers. For, from the outset, they had been able to watch closely any trouble inside the Turkish army. In the military bases, the US officers were informed of it and also warned not to go on the streets for a stroll, themselves nor their families, until further notice.

"September 12, 3.30 a.m. (8 p.m. in Washington)... Paul Henze just came back home. He phoned the 'Situation Room' at the White House.

"- Paul, your boys have done it... (in English)

"- Who are 'my boys'? What are you speaking about?

"- Your Generals, they've made a coup in Turkey.

"- Well, well! I'm very pleased. Where comes this news from?

"- From JUSMATT... Do you want us to tell the President about it?

"- Wait a minute. Don't hurry. Today explosive charges are said to have been placed in Ankara. On the other hand, there were NATO manoeuvres going on. Maybe our men were mistaken by seeing some soldiers patrolling the streets. Tell them to check it one more time.

"After half an hour the confirmation came in.

"- A short while ago, the Turkish staff has apparently informed JUSMATT. On the other hand, we have informed Zbig (Zbigniew Brzezinski, President Carter's adviser in charge of national security affairs).

"President Carter was attending a performance of 'Fiddler on the Roof' at Kennedy Center. The telephone nearby his box rang. The switchboard operator in the White House said that Foreign Secretary Muskie wished to speak to the President. The President came and picked up:

"- The Command of the Turkish Army has just taken over in Ankara. There's no reason to worry. Those who are worthy to intervene have intervened..."

"President Carter thanked him, wished him a good night and went back to his box.

"The BBC as well as the news agencies were spreading the news with reference made to the spokesman of the US State Department.

"Meanwhile, in Ankara, people in the studios of Radio Ankara were still waiting until the antennas warmed up to put on the air the communique announcing the coup."

STATE TERROR

178,565 DETAINEES IN FOUR YEARS

According to the daily *Milliyet* of September 21, since the military coup, with the aim of "enforcing law and order":

- The security forces have taken into custody 178,565 persons for preliminary investigation.

- Among them 64,505 persons who have been arrested as a result of a court warrant and kept in prison for their trial, the others being released after a 90-day detention.

- Out of this number, 41,727 have already been condemned for political reasons.

- The military courts have also sentenced 326 persons to death for their political actions, 25 of whom have already been executed.

The International League for Human Rights had announced on February 19, 1982, that within the first 17-month period following the coup, 170,958 people were taken into custody for preliminary investigation. It appears from the figures published by *Milliyet* that since then, over the last 31 months, 7,607 more people were detained.

As for the death sentences demanded in political trials, their number has increased by 231 in the course of the 4th year of repression, reaching 6,584. The distribution by organization of the fresh demands for death sentences is as follows:

DEV-YOL (Revolutionary Path): 85, DEV-SOL (Revolutionary Left): 47, Liberation (Kurtulus): 20, DISK: 8, KUK: 5, TKP-ML: 1, Others: 65.

According to the daily *Hürriyet* of April 24, 1984, by that time 233,645 people were still wanted by the security forces, 18,695 out of whom are indicted for their political actions or opinions.

COMBING OPERATIONS IN KURDISTAN

During carefully prepared operations, unprecedented since the 1980 military coup, Kurdish fighters have attacked, in the night of August 16, garrisons or gendarmerie stations in several places of south-eastern Turkey. This area which belongs to Turkey's Kurdistan, is still subjected to martial law. Ever since the coup, the Kurdish movement has paid the heaviest toll to military repression.

According to the international news agencies, the operation was aimed at two places of Siirt province.

A first group is reported to have stormed the garrison at Sirvan, in northern Siirt. Three people are said to have died in this attack. In Eruh (south-eastern Siirt), a second group is reported to have stormed the sub-prefecture before liberating some detainees from the local prison. The number of Kurdish militants who entered Turkey is estimated at 300. This operation has been claimed by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

In retaliation, Turkish commandos have launched the next day a combing operation. Turkish military authorities said that the Kurdish fighters killed one soldier and wounded 12 people, including 3 soldiers. According to the Turkish press, over 200 "suspects"

were detained on the spot during this combing operation. The Chief of staff came immediately to the operation area and extended the operation to Hakkari and Van provinces.

In addition, it is rumored that some Turkish troops have crossed the border and entered Iraq. Although this information has been denied by the Iraqi authorities, it seems not entirely unfounded, since the Turkish army already carried out last year a combing operation against the Kurds, entering Iraqi territory with the assent of the Iraqi leadership.

On September 15, the daily *Hürriyet* claimed that 3 Kurdish Resistance fighters had been killed and 14 others detained.

TRIAL OF 56 INTELLECTUALS

At the trial of the 56 intellectuals, one of the defendants, Aziz Nesin, told the Court that he was delighted that this trial will enable the intellectuals to defend their action. "Our purpose in doing this was to protest against the degrading treatment of human rights in this country. As intellectuals, we regret to have to point out that the anti-democratic practices and the violations of public liberties are keeping on. (...) Most of the defendants here are authors or writers. Even before being judged, their works were banned from TV."

At the opening session of this trial, foreign journalists have been barred, although Ankara Martial Law Command had before pledged to allow them. The same happened to the observer delegated by the West-German Embassy in Turkey.

Aziz Nesin, who is also chairman of the Turkish Writers' Association (TYS), called anti-democratic the statement of General-President Evren prior to the opening of the trial. Evren had branded the intellectuals "Turkey's internal enemies".

Then cancerologist Hüsnü Göksel denounced the total lack of democracy within the universities subjected to the mighty Higher Education Council (YOK), which is directly attached to the "President of the Republic".

NEWSPAPER BANNED

The right-wing daily *Tercüman* (circulation: 160,000) was suspended by the military authorities on September 5, because of a leading article questioning indirectly the reality of a "state based on law" in Turkey. The suspension of *Tercüman* - the 43rd temporary suspension of a daily since the coup - has provoked protests of IPI (International Press Institute).

DISK LEADERS RELEASED

Almost all DISK Leaders, the Progressive Trade-Union Confederation, have been freed on bail, while their trial is going on at Istanbul military court.

On August 22, accepting a request of the defence attorneys, the court decided to release nine defendants who had been held in prison for 3 years and 7 months.

The next day, seven of them were immediately released but DISK Chairman Abdullah Bastürk and Executive Board member Mustafa Aktulgalı were kept in prison on the pretext that they had to serve prison terms they were given at an earlier trial in connection with some other cases. Bastürk had been sentenced to 6 months in prison for an article published in the DISK magazine and Aktulgalı had an 8-year sentence pending from another political trial.

Bastürk's lawyers then appealed to a higher court

which ruled that the 6-month jail term should be subtracted from the period Bastürk spent in prison. Thereupon, he was released on September 18.

Bastürk and his eight comrades are among 78 DISK Leaders who face possible death penalties if convicted in a mass trial that began in December 1981 on alleged Marxist-Leninist activities by the Confederation. Another 457 defendants in the trial face prison terms of five to 18 years.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) has expressed its satisfaction with the release of DISK leaders, but declared it insufficient. ICFTU insists on lifting martial law and ending restriction of human and trade union rights.

NO FREEDOM FOR PEACE COMMITTEE

The Military Court of Cassation, after reviewing the file of the Turkish Peace Committee, overruled, on August 29, the sentence against the 23 members of the Committee on procedural grounds but turned down their request for release.

According to this decision, Committee Chairman Mahmut Dikerdem and 22 other intellectuals will remain in prison and the military court in Istanbul will review its overruled decision in the next few days.

The Military Court of Cassation announced in its judgment that the lower court had not based the condemnation on well-established evidence and ordered a new thorough investigation.

Thereupon, at the 12th September meeting of the European Parliament, Greek Deputy M. Ephremidis asked the foreign ministers of the Community if they intend to intervene in favour of Mr Dikerdem, who is suffering from cancer, and his friends.

The written answer to the question has been very far from being satisfactory: "The specific case of Mr Dikerdem has not been the subject of discussion by Foreign Ministers meeting in political cooperation. The Ten remain concerned at the human rights situation within Turkey and particularly at the circumstances of those imprisoned on account of their beliefs. They expect the Turkish Government to respect fully basic human rights and freedoms. The Ten will continue to follow closely the evolution of the situation in regard to human rights within Turkey."

NEW CONDEMNATIONS

2.8, in Erzurum, 2 members of the Path of the People (HY) condemned to capital punishment.

3.8, in Erzincan, 3 right-wing activists to death and 24 others to prison terms up to 36 years.

10.8, in Istanbul, a local official of the Social Democracy Party (SODEP) condemned to 3 months in prison for a political declaration.

17.8, in Diyarbakır, another mass trial of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) ended with 1 life-sentence and 15 prison-terms of up to 20 years.

29.8, in Erzincan, 12 members of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) condemned to various prison terms totalling up 77 years. On the same day, in Ankara, 2 members of the TKP/Workers' Voice condemned to 13 years and another to 9.

30.8, in Istanbul, 6 right-wing activists condemned to prison terms of up to 8 years.

NEW POLITICAL TRIALS

2.8, in Istanbul, a new trial against 63 members of the Revolutionary Path (Dev-Yol) began at the military tribunal. 10 of the defendants risk capital punishment.

9.8, in Istanbul, the military prosecutor opened a new trial against 25 members of the TKP/ML. One of them faces the death sentence.

12.8, in Ankara, the trial of 31 Jehovah's Witnesses started at the State Security Court. According to Article 163 of the Turkish Penal Code, each of them face 7 years' imprisonment for "carrying out subversive religious activities".

13.9, in Diyarbakır, five defence attorneys at the TKP Trial were brought before a military tribunal for "having insulted the military prosecutor" during the defence of their clients. They face prison terms of up to 3 years.

18.9, the trial of 29 presumed members of Kurtulus (Liberation) started in Istanbul, 3 of whom face the death sentence.

25.9, in Istanbul, the military prosecutor opened a new case against 22 members of the Workers' Party of Turkey (TIP) and asked for prison terms up to 12 years for each of them.

29.9, the trial of 56 presumed members of the Kurdish organization Rızgari started in Istanbul. The defendants of this case face prison terms up to 20 years.

FASCISTS TO KEY POSTS

According to *The Times* of September 11, friends of Alparslan Türkeş, the notorious fascist leader who is still in prison, have already occupied many key posts in the administration and form perhaps the most influential element within the Motherland Party (ANAP).

"In particular they have taken effective control of the State Radio and TV Corporation (TRT), whose new director was formerly a senior figure in the Nationalist Action Party (MHP) of Türkeş. Another former MHP member is secretary of the Ministry of Employment," *The Times* reported. "The last development, even more sinister, is the appointment of two deputy directors of the National Police Force, one of whom was in charge of the torture center in Ankara during the previous military regime in 1971 and had since then been kept out of sight, while the other's name was found among the secret documents of the MHP as the future director of the National Police Force had the MHP captured power. Such appointments raise the question whether the 1980 intervention was really a comprehensive defeat for terrorism as its authors claimed."

DEMOCRATS DENOUNCE TURKISH REGIME 4 YEARS AFTER THE COUP

A delegation of both Belgian and European MP's vainly tried, on September 7, to hand to the Turkish Ambassador an Open Letter, expressing its firm support of the Turkish intellectuals' "Petition" and protesting against the fact that 56 of them have been prosecuted. The delegation was composed of Minister of state P. Vermeylen, M. Van Hemeldonck, J. Sleenckx and K. Van Miert (SP), J. Ulburghs (independent), Diericks and Staes (Agalev), D. Bajura (PCB), A.M. Lizin (PS), L. Dooren (CVP) and W. Kuypers (VU).

THE EUROPEAN PRESS"

"The 'elections' which were organized last november, turned out to be nothing more than a derisory mascarade. In 31 out of 67 Turkish provinces, martial law remains in force. The universities and the press remain under the heel of the military. At the far eastern end of Europe, Turkey is suffering and bleeding. Conditions of detention are dreadful. Torture is commonplace... These permanent human rights abuses are the price paid by Turkey for US support. The United States, the Turkish Ambassador in Washington said, have assigned to us a 'vital role' as a 'leading regional power' in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Thanks to the friends of Messrs Barre, Chirac and Giscard d'Estaing, thanks to Mrs Veil good care, General Evren's Turkey has regained her official place within the European institutions. But who could claim that the pain that is being felt on the tip of that finger of the small 'Free Europe' does not affect all its other organs? (*L'Humanité*, 12.9.1984)

"...There must still be many thousands of prisoners held for their moderate beliefs rather than their dangerously immoderate actions. (We never will know the exact figures because it is the policy of the Turkish authorities not to reveal them). That is many

thousands too many and it is a very proper obstacle in the way of Turkey taking its rightful place as a full partner in assorted European clubs... Turkey is still not a functioning democracy. In addition to the political restrictions which opened the doors for the little known Mr Ozal, all the major cities and 41 out of 67 provinces remain under full martial law... Not all the repression in Europe lies east of the Elbe." (*The Guardian*, 12.9.1984)

"Turkey is not yet fully democratic, and does not claim to be... The continuing detention of non-violent alleged Marxists, such as the leaders of the Turkish Peace Association, the apparently undiminished use of torture in interrogating prisoners, the persecution of intellectuals, who signed a mildly phrased document, urging an end to such abuses, the strict limits on the press which prevented publication of any part of this document... It should be added that the imposition of ideological conformity on the universities continues unchanged under the new government. It is at this point that Turkey's Western friends must begin to feel some unease." (*The Times*, 11.9.1984)

"While political life is being kept in a rigid corset and while the scope of government activities is limited - all security matters are within the competence of the President of the Republic, i.e. a very large domain - likewise the other liberties have also been severely restricted. The newspapers are not allowed to voice any criticism with regard to measures taken by the military authorities within the framework of the state of emergency, still in force in a great many provinces... The exact number of political prisoners is not known, but they are certainly very numerous and, moreover, they are often detained for reasons that are all but obvious... Likewise, trade-union rights too are very severely restricted, an inevitable consequence of Ozal's economic policies..." (*De Standaard*, 12.9.84)