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## the background of the failure of cyprus summit

"Deceived Hope For Cyprus", "Breakdown In UN Talks", according to the French dailies *Le Monde* and *Le Matin* of January 22. On the other hand, using its usual jargon, the Turkish daily *Milliyet* headlined "Greeks Once More Picking A Quarrel With Us!" Another Turkish daily, *Hürriyet*, took a defiant stance: "Starting afresh!"

Indeed, the first Cypriot intercommunal summit meeting aiming at reuniting Cyprus on a federal basis had raised great hopes in world opinion. The failure of these talks came as a shock. But for those who know the background of the Cyprus issue it was far from being a surprise. All hopes notwithstanding, the summit came to an end without any agreement being concluded between the leaders of both communities, Rauf Denktaş and Spyros Kyprianou.

Mr Perez de Cuellar, the UN General Secretary, had submitted to both sides a preliminary settlement document of a federal State on Cyprus, laying down the basic principles, while leaving some important blanks in the document.

Over the past months, one might have thought that substantial progress had been achieved towards establishing a federal State. Favored by certain moves (especially Reagan's pressure on Turkey), indirect talks had taken place over the whole autumn of 1984, during which the Turkish Cypriot side claimed that it was willing to make major concessions. As a result, the "Government" headed by Denktaş had given up demanding that the presidency of the reunited Republic be assumed in turn by one of his associates; in addition, he had accepted to cede back 7 out of the 38 pc of the territory occupied by the Turkish Army ever since the 1974 military invasion.

But, as it turned out, one key problem had not been settled: that of the international "guaranties" regarded as necessary by the Turkish minority (making up only 18 pc of the approximately 650,000 inhabitants of the island). In their view, these guaranties could only be satisfactory if Ankara was included in it. While he is ready to make concessions with regard to Turkey's military presence, Denktaş is not prepared, however, to budge an inch regarding the diplomatic guaranty: had Turkey's guaranty not explicitly been laid down in the 1960 Constitution, in the same way as Greece's and Britain's?

In Kyprianou's view, conversely, it is time to curb these obstacles inherited from the troubled period which led up to independence. In order to avoid unpleasant surprises afterwards, Kyprianou kept on contending that the draft proposed by the UN Secretary-General was merely a basis for further talks. As for Denktaş, he insisted all the time during the four-day summit that the draft agreement be signed as it was and that joint expert committees be charged with the task of settling all issues left unresolved.

After the collapse of the UN talks, Mr Perez de Cuellar did not explain how he intended to resolve this

### DISK BECOMES MEMBER OF ETUC

The Executive Committee of the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) has decided unanimously, on January 30, 1985, to grant affiliation to the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey (DISK).

DISK first applied for affiliation in 1979, before the coup d'Etat. After the military intervention in September 1980, the military junta has arrested about 2 thousand officials of DISK and its affiliated unions, suspended their trade union activities and confiscated their all properties. 78 of the accused DISK officials still risk capital punishment despite their release in the cours of trials.

The ETUC and its affiliated organizations made representations on several occasions to their governments and to the European and international authorities to press for action to make the Turkish government put an end to the brutal persecution of Turkish trade unionists and their families.

The press release of ETUC underlined that "DISK's affiliation to the ETUC is the expression of both the Turkish colleagues' and the ETUC's determination to continue their fight until the fundamental freedoms and rights of workers and their trade unions have been fully guaranteed in Turkey."

Pursuant to the Trade Union Act at present in force in Turkey, the other trade union confederation, Türk-İs, is required to await the decisions of its forthcoming congress in 1986.

basic disagreement between the two sides. During a short statement, he led his irritation show about rumors that he is partially responsible for the failure of the New York Summit, by not telling each side exactly the same thing with a view to bring about a "miraculous" reconciliation: he did not care to be viewed as a "scapegoat", he said.

According to *Le Monde* of January 22, "yet, the Cypriots will have to come eventually to an arrangement. The Greeks must understand that it is their responsibility to make the major concessions - since they are in a strong position. As for the Turks, they must agree to stop looking continually towards Ankara: the complete international failure of their separatist 'Republic' proclaimed in 1983, should prompt them to do so."

For, as far as the Turkish Cypriot leaders are concerned, an independent policy seems almost impossible for the simple reason that the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" is an artificial state set up as a part of the Turkish military's expansionist plans.

After denouncing the United Nations' General Assembly Resolution of May 13 calling for the withdrawal from Cyprus of all occupation forces, the Ankara regime had accelerated the colonization of the northern part of the island and prompted Rauf Denktaş, an old collaborator of British colonialism and "godfather" of the Turkish Cypriot community, to declare that the independence of this "State" will soon be proclaimed unilaterally.

The fact is that the proclamation of the Republic did not delay. Although the Turkish Junta claimed that it had not been informed of the Turkish Cypriot leaders' intentions and that it had not been in a position to prevent the proclamation of the Republic, such assertions cannot conceal some well-established facts.

First of all, the northern part of the island has been under occupation by the Turkish Armed Forces since 1974. Although there was no declared martial law regime, all security and intelligence activities were controlled and carried out by the Turkish commanders who were the real rulers of the so-called "Turkish Federated State".

Secondly, after adopting the Turkish Lira in May 1983, the Denktaş administration had been staging lots of rallies, meetings and conferences with the view of making acceptable the idea of the proclamation of the Republic. These rallies had hit the headlines on the front-pages of all Turkish newspapers, all of them under the junta's censorship.

Thirdly, the proclamation of the Republic was to coincide with the enactment of the decree on the establishment of *free zones* in Turkey, just opposite the northern coast of the island. A free zone and harbor had already been established in 1977 in the port city of Magosa (Famagusta) within the borders of the "Turkish Federated State of Cyprus". In late October 1983, the Denktaş administration had issued "The Free Port and Zone" Law which was to offer new advantages to foreign companies. These parallel steps pointed to the fact that the northern sector of Cyprus was and is still being viewed by Turkey's rulers as part of a free zone area, economically dependent on Turkey. As a matter of fact, this was an undisguised annexation of northern Cyprus to Turkey.

In the wake of the proclamation of the "Republic", Denktaş proceeded to the complete alignment of both his economy and monetary and banking system with that of Turkey, in spite that she is herself "in the red". Whereas the Greek "South" has achieved an impressive economic recovery over the past ten years with a 5 pc growth rate, inflation not exceeding 6 pc, a 20 pc increase in investments, nearly full em-

ployment with a jobless rate of 3 pc and social consensus strong enough so as to enable a relative austerity program being announced without causing disturbances, -the sight is quite different on the northern side of the "Green Line", meanwhile turned into a state frontier. As a matter of fact, there is an almost painful contrast between the busy activity on the one side and utter stagnation in the other sector. The cost of living increased by 103 pc in one year and inflation reached 59 pc over the last months of 1984. Investments are getting extremely scarce, and resources from agriculture and tourism remain stagnant. Serious supply shortages are quite often reported in the local press.

Even the Turkish press under the military censorship very often publish data exposing the miserable economic situation in the Denktaş's State.

According to the data of 1982, published by the daily *Cumhuriyet* the population of the TRNC was 153,000. Although the number of those who were in the age group 15-65 is about 100,000, only 58,000 of them were employed, the rest were unemployed. The distribution of the working population in the different sectors was as follows: 21,000 in agriculture, 5,000 in manufacture, 4,000 in trade, 4,000 in transport, 1,250 in tourism and 13,000 in public services.

In comparison with the Greek sector of the island, the TRNC is in a complete poverty. As the annual GNP of the Greek sector is about 2,000 million dollars, the GNP of the TRNC rests at a level of 200 million dollars, that is to say a tenth of that of the Greek community. According to the daily *Cumhuriyet* of 24.10.1984, the GNP per capita has already fallen under 1,500 dollars while this figure has been rising from 4,000 to 5,000 dollars in the Greek side.

As for the national budget of the TRNC, it totalled 16,000 million LT in 1983. 11,800 million dollars out of this budget are allocated to the payment of the salaries of the State personnel. A reporter of the daily *Cumhuriyet* noticed squandering on the daily life of the State officials. The "President of the Republic", the Premier Minister, ten ministers and the President of the Constitutional Court have been given Mercedes cars (1983 model). Main occupation of these officials' is to attend the receptions or dinners given very often on account of the State.

Despite the tension between the two sectors of the island, the TRNC still depends on the water and other vital materials furnished by the Greek side. For example, the city of Famagusta in the Turkish sector receives all its water supply from the South. The electricity, LPG, medicines and some chemical products are still being furnished by the Greek side.

A prominent Turkish journalist, Yalçın Doğan, analysing the data given in the new 5-year development plan of the Turkish sector of Cyprus, put forward some undeniable facts:

"Can Cyprus survive economically without foreign assistance? A second development plan covering the period of 1984-1988 drawn up in 1983 pointed out that the 7 pc growth rate foreseen for the preceding 5-year period failed to be attained and the rate of growth for this period remained at the level of 2,5 pc.

"What is more, this limited growth could be realized thanks only to auxiliary sectors such as commerce, transport or estate incomes while the basic sectors such as agriculture, industries or construction were in a State of total stagnation. In the course of the last 10-year period, these sectors have been subject to considerable decline.

"While the GNP was of \$ 2,000 in 1974, it hardly reached \$ 1,200 today.

"One of the objectives of the new plan is to get necessary power through undersea cables from Turkey.

A Turkey which has to import its own electricity from other countries will have to transfer a certain proportion to this energy to Cyprus.

"The main source of the State budget of the TRNC is from Turkey alone. While 47 pc of the revenue is being obtained from local sources 28.7 pc is expected from foreign aid and 24.5 pc from foreign credits. A Turkey which cannot cover its own budgetary deficit will have difficulty in financing the TRNC's budget in deficit." (*Cumhuriyet*, November 22, 1983).

This anxiety is shared not only by observers, but confirmed also by the elected representatives of the Turkish Cypriot people.

Since the declaration of independence, 9 political parties have been founded in the Turkish sector. Five of these parties are represented in the National Assembly of the TRNC. According to the results obtained at the last legislative elections, the percentage of the vote and the number of deputies of each party is as follows:

National Union Party (UBP), right-wing: 43 pc, 18 deputies.

Socialist Liberation Party (TKP), left-wing: 30 pc, 10 deputies.

Republican Turkish Party (CTP), left-wing: 14 pc, 6 deputies

Social Democracy Party (SDP), centrist: 2 deputies  
Democratic People's Party (DHP), centrist 2 deputies.

Among these five parties, TKP and CTP had always been against the declaration of a Republic in the Turkish sector. But at the time of the *fait accompli* made by Denktash, these two parties were put under pressure by the Turkish occupation forces and obliged to support the declaration of the Republic.

Interviewed by a Turkish journalist on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the Turkish occupation in Cyprus, the leaders of three political parties did not seem optimistic on the situation in the TRNC (*Milliyet*, 21.7.1984):

Ismail Bozkurt (Chairman of TKP): "Although the security of life has been assured, the economic situation has not shown the same progress. The resources of billions of Turkish Liras have not been used for the welfare of the community. The national income has fallen sharply. The objective of the creation of a bi-zonal federation has not been realized. Our people have been impoverished. If a political solution cannot be found, we fear that the TRNC will be annexed by Turkey. The Turkish Army may remain in the island until a sound solution is found, but we complain of the fact that Ankara interferes very often in our internal affairs."

Ozker Ozgür (Chairman of CTP): "After the military operation we have waited for the creation of a federation. The unity of Cyprus should have been realized and this island should have been a bridge of peace between Turkey and Greece. The delay of the solution is against the interests of both Turkish and Greek Cypriots. The gap between two communities is getting deeper. If this situation does not change, the Turkish Cypriots will be more dependant on Turkey. A TRNC whose budget is assured by the Republic of Turkey to the tune of 70 pc cannot survive as an independent state. Our community is for a lasting peace. We are not against giving concessions on Varosha. We are for the presence of the Turkish Army until finding a solution. But internal security affairs should not be given to the hands of the Turkish Army. Denktash wishes to give this army some duties which are incompatible with the Constitution of TRNC."

Rauf Denktash (SDP): "The past ten years following the declaration of independence are lost years. I

believe that we should proceed immediately with the creation of a federation. Otherwise a speedy development can never be realized."

Rauf Denktash is in fact the son of the "President" of the TRNC Rauf Denktash, but for a certain time he has adopted a critical position against some decisions and practices of his father's administration. Particularly, his participation in a New-Year ball organized in the Greek section of Nicosia by Greek leaders gave rise to polemics in the Cypriot and Turkish press. Embracing the President of Cyprus Kyprianou, Denktash Jr. said: "It is high time for the reunification for all Cypriots. It is a fact that, as Turks and Greeks, we have acted very badly towards one another. Henceforth we should reunite. It is fact that I fought against you in 1974. But I do not wish to fight anymore. I wish you all a happy new year during which I can educate my children as Cypriots and I can live as a Cypriot."

In reply to this declaration, Enver Emin, Secretary General of the UBP, the party near to Rauf Denktash, accused Denktash Jr. of having forgotten the memory of the victims of Turco-Greek War in 1974 and declared that for the Turks, it is never possible to forget the past.

While his own son was opposed to keeping up a separatist republic isolated from the whole world, Rauf Denktash, yielding to pressure from Ankara, goes on playing the part of "Head of an independent state". Just after the failure of the summit meeting in New York, he announced on his return to Nicosia that the forthcoming general election in the TRNC is due to be held at June 23, 1985, without waiting for the result of possible new initiatives for a new summit. In addition, the presidential election is to be held at the same time, he said. Thus, by calling the people to the polls, Denktash is seeking to consolidate his position as "President of the Republic" in the Turkish sector of the island.

Of major importance is the stand taken by Ankara following the breakdown of the New York talks. Without even waiting for Denktash's statement, the Turkish Minister of Foreign Affairs sent to all Turkish diplomatic missions the following directives:

"After the failure of the summit meeting, the draft agreement submitted by the U.N. Secretary-General is no longer valid. The Turkish side has withdrawn all concessions it had made prior to the summit. For, it is Kyprianou who did not keep the word he had given and he bears the responsibility for this failure."

This stance which came unexpected to political observers, has given rise to some reactions, even in the Turkish press. For example, diplomatic correspondent M. Ali Birand criticized these directives as follows:

"We weren't long making the first mistake in the Cyprus issue:

"1. First of all, are the directives not likely to raise further doubts in world opinion about the real author of the Turkish decisions with regard to Cyprus?

"2. Following these directives, will third countries not be inclined to lump together the Turkish side and the Greek side which, for its part, wants to get rid of this draft agreement?

"3. In the event that tomorrow the same draft will be submitted to us with some modifications, what are we going to do? If, in line with Greek demands, these modifications require the withdrawal of foreign troops, lifting the trilateral guaranties, dividing up the land, etc, are we not going to be forced to make even bigger concessions?" (*Milliyet*, 26.1.1985)

Moreover, it should be reminded that the failure of all attempts to find a solution to the Cyprus issue cannot exclusively be ascribed to either side's intrasi-



gence. As Greece and Turkey belong to the North-Atlantic Alliance, this issue should also be examined within the context of NATO.

Although President Reagan seemed to back the U.N. Secretary-General's recent efforts, Pentagon is seeking for years to use both Nato members as well as Cyprus, as a springboard for possible military action in the Persian Gulf area and in the Arabic peninsula.

Even though the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" does not belong to NATO, it is —from a geopolitical viewpoint— favorably located opposite the critical Near East area.

Near the locality of Geçitkale, north-east from Nicosia, the Turkish Armed Forces are building a huge military airport equipped with all auxiliary facilities (preparations which are being kept half-secret, are going on for a rather long time).

This is all the more noteworthy since, after the 1974 invasion, the occupation forces had already built an airport at Erchan, north from Nicosia, which fully covers their military needs.

According to the West-German weekly *Die Zeit* of October 25, 1983, the day the air-support base at Gecitkale (Lefkonikos) will be ready, it will belong to the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus". Despite their official indignation following the proclamation of the "Republic", the U.S. may then embark on negotiations with the view of securing utilization rights. But, first, Washington should of course recognize the new state. Consequently, the foundation of the "TRNC" could be interpreted as the proclamation of independence of an air base surrounded by the land it needs. This would offer yet another advantage. Three support bases are located in the Greek sector of Cyprus and belong practically to NATO, the British bases of Akrotiri and Dhekelia, and the U.S. radar station located in the Troodos mountains. The Greek Cypriots are constantly using these support bases as a trump card, by threatening off and on to close them down. However, the day Gecitkale will start operating, this asset will no longer be of any use.

On the other hand, the Turkish daily *Cumhuriyet* published in its 22 November 1983 issue, an article from the *New York Times* in which the United States and the Republic of Cyprus were reported to have signed in August 1982 an agreement whereby US military aircraft were allowed to use the airport facilities at Larnaka for US intervention in the event of a possible confrontation in Lebanon. However, the Greek Cypriot Government, it was further said in the article,

was thinking of withdrawing these facilities. Consequently, the US were examining how they would react should this threat materialize. Apparently, this article may very well have been meant to clear the ground at propaganda level— before announcing the building of the new US base in the occupied sector of the island.

According to *Die Zeit*, "It is known that for three years Pentagon is trying to persuade Turkey to allow it to use her territory, even in situations like the invasion of Lebanon in 1958. So far this has been systematically refused by Turkey, seeing that such a move is likely to put her in a very awkward position with respect to the Arab countries, which in turn, would undermine Turkish plans of economic penetration into Asia, which presently constitute one of the basic lines of Turkey's development strategy. Consequently, building a US base in the occupied sector of Cyprus may very well be a solution to that sort of problem from the moment that this base would actually imply a concession from Ankara, while —on a formal level— it would be the business of an independent state, and Turkey herself would not be committed in her relations with Arab countries."

As recently reported by the Italian daily *La Repubblica* of January 17, 1985, ground installations work at Lefkonikos airport has cost \$ 450 million.

Moreover, the Dutch daily *NRC Handelsblad* of January 17, 1985, considers that the US may also take over from the British the air base located at Akrotiri. "It is probably faced with such a prospect, that Kyprianou dissolved on December 23, 1984 an alliance with AKEL, the big Cypriot communist party."

This rupture with the Communists has been interpreted by the Western press as an attempt at securing US support. AKEL leaders declared themselves very disappointed by this "unilateral and inopportune" decision, claiming that it was likely to satisfy no one but the US and NATO circles.

So the complete failure of all efforts to reunite both communities has not only to be ascribed to the Turkish military's expansionist ambitions and to both sides' intransigent leaders, but, first and foremost, to the instigations, provocations and manipulations by US circles who never hesitate to set one people against another with the view of defending and preserving their own political, economic and military interests.

The "State" headed by Denktash is probably not a legitimate child of the United States. However, as the West-German weekly *Die Zeit* put it, nothing prevents it being the Pentagon's illegitimate one.

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## STATE TERROR

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While human rights violations are going on with systematic practices such as banning, staging mass trials, torturing and executing prisoners, the regime of militarist "democracy" in Turkey now also takes as its target the institutions it has itself established.

Although its leaders have been acquitted a few months ago, the Right Path Party (DYP), one of the political parties which were banned from the general election by order of the military Junta, is still under threat of banning. Afterwards, the DYP had taken part in the local elections where it succeeded in winning more votes than two of the three parties represented in Parliament. In the wake of these local elections, the founding members of another banned party joined the DYP, thus incurring the wrath of the military.

On December 7, 1984, the Attorney General announced that he was taking legal proceedings against the DYP at the Constitutional Court, insisting that this party be banned for admitting as its members the founders of another, previously banned political party.

On the other hand, a small political formation, the Peace Party, which was set up after the adoption of the new constitution, was banned on October 16, 1984 by decision of the Constitutional Court, for disregarding the principles of the Constitution.

In the previous issue of our *Bulletin*, no information had been given with regard to State Terror, because it was entirely devoted to the arms race in Turkey.

In the present issue, we have summarized all re-

## 102 DEATH SENTENCES WAITING FOR RATIFICATION

*While thousands of people who face the death penalty on charges of political offenses, continue to be brought to trial before military courts, 102 death sentences already passed by these tribunals and endorsed by the Military Court of Cassation, are waiting for ratification by the National Assembly.*

*According to the daily Milliyet of January 28, 1985, the cases of 62 of them have been put on the agenda of the National Assembly Justice Committee. The rest (40) have so far been submitted to the Prime Minister's Office, before being sent to the Justice Committee.*

*In this respect it should be reminded that to date 27 prisoners have been executed.*

*On the other hand, the French daily l'Humanité of December 13, 1984 published the last letter written by Hidir Aslan who was executed by hanging on October 25, 1984, at dawn.*

*Hidir Aslan, a militant of the Revolutionary Path movement (Dev-Yol), had been condemned by a military court on political charges.*

*In his indictment bill, the military prosecutor had accused Aslan of "attempting to change by violence the constitutional order". Yet, they failed to prove anything against Aslan, neither homicide nor even that he held a leading post within Dev-Yol.*

*We have reprinted below Aslan's last letter to his older brother:*

## HIDIR ASLAN'S LAST LETTER

My dear elder brother,

I'm not going to write at length. I had prepared myself for this moment. My ultimate voyage should be as beautiful as my life has been. Should we be sad? No, please, dear. It's no use, I feel, to pronounce grave words. Everything should be plain and simple as our life.

If life is a song, I've been trying to sing it as well as I could. The days will also come when people will sing victory. I'm leaving happy, because even if it was short, I've chosen to live uprightly. If one lives for just causes, there is nothing one could not bear. Even death becomes simple. When death has a sense, it is as beautiful as life.

While writing this letter, I'm drinking tea and smoking a cigarette. Slowly, savouring it. I'm not leaving sad. I'm trying to go over in my mind my life as a whole. It's difficult, in a short instant, to follow everything, from the beginning to the end.

You had asked me to write a testament. I was in no hurry, but we will have had the time to do it. Stand for the just cause, that's my wish. For all of you. Give to all my friends, to all brave people my warm affection. I'm leaving without being ashamed, with head erect, and I expect no one to be saddened by it nor distressed about it. That would harm me very much. Man must be able and is able to live with grief.

You have gone to a lot of trouble for me, so much that it possibly cannot be estimated. I've chosen to be worthy of you and of the others, of all representatives of working people, of all workers throughout the world. And if I failed to do all I could, others will stand up and implement this task.

All family rights I have, I relinquish them to you and to Aydın. I know that you will use them properly.

I would like to tell a lot of things, but time is so short. I've ten minutes left. Don't be sad, don't let grief get you down. Be strong in the face of life, that's life. To make a choice. Give my affection to Sultan. I cannot list all your names, nor those of our friends. This letter is meant for all of them.

With all my affection, with all my heart, I clasp all of you in my arms, I embrace you to satiation. Be strong, keep your head erect. I will be amidst you on the beautiful days.

Your uncle, your brother, your friends,

HIDIR

pressive measures which were taken in November and December 1984.

## CONDEMNATIONS

2.11, In Erzincan, a rightist extremist was sentenced to death; 4 alleged members of Dev-Yol sentenced to prison terms of up to 6 years and 8 months.

7.11, in Izmir, 9 people sentenced to a total of 61 years in jail for their militancy within the Worker's Voice (IS) organisation.

10.11, in Istanbul, 10 militants of "Action Unity" sentenced to death, 25 to life-prison and another 71 to prison terms of up to 33 years. On the same day, in Adana, 3 members of the Emergency Action movement sentenced to death and another 11 to various prison terms.

11.11, in Adana, 10 people sentenced to death for taking part in actions led by THKP/C.

15.11, in Adana, 12 members of the Labor Communist Party of Turkey (TKEP) sentenced to prison terms of up to 21 years.

16.11, in Istanbul, the trial of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey ended with 10 of its members being sentenced to prison terms of up to 10 years.

21.11, in Erzurum, 2 members of Dev-Yol and 17 members of the Kurdish organisation Kawa sentenced to prison terms of up to 25 years.

24.11, in Erzurum, 2 rightist extremists sentenced to death.

25.11, in Adana, one person sentenced to death, another to life-prison and 9 others to a total of 124 years' imprisonment.

29.11, in Adana, a member of the "Kıvılcım" movement sentenced to death, 3 to life-prison and 8 others to a total of 88 years' imprisonment.

30.11, in Ankara, 38 members of the Communist Party of Turkey/Union sentenced to 8 years in jail for each of them. At another trial in the capital city, a member of the "Revolutionary Struggle" movement sentenced to life-prison and another to 4 years and 2 months in prison.

5.12, in Erzurum, 4 militants of the "Revolution-

ary Vanguard's" movement sentenced to death, 2 to life-prison and 8 others to prison terms of up to 8 years.

7.12, in Erzincan, 15 rightist activists sentenced to life-prison and 17 others to prison terms of up to 20 years.

8.12, in Erzurum, a militant of Dev-Yol sentenced to death, 2 others to 10 years' imprisonment for each of them.

12.12, in Eskisehir, a rightist activist sentenced to death, 14 others to prison terms of up to 29 years. On the same day, in Izmir, a militant of THKP/C was sentenced to 6 years and 8 months' imprisonment and a militant of TKP/ML to 5 years and 6 months'.

13.12, in Ankara, 23 Witnesses of Jehovah sentenced to prison terms of up to 6 years for making propaganda against the State's principles of secularity.

14.12, in Istanbul, the trial of the Communist workers' Union of Turkey (TKİB) ended with 10 people being sentenced to prison terms of up to 8 years.

26.12, in Istanbul, a member of the "Revolutionary Struggle" movement sentenced to life-prison and another 31 to prison terms of up to 30 years.

27.12, in Ankara, a militant of PKK sentenced to death, a rightist activist to life-prison and 3 more people to 10 years in jail for each of them.

30.12, in Ankara, the trial of the Revolutionary People's Union (DHB) ended with one death sentence, one life-sentence and 8 prison sentences of up to 10 years. On the same day, in Ankara too, 3 members of the Kurdish organisation Rızgari were sentenced to 10 years and 8 months' imprisonment for each of them, and one member of "Liberation" to 6 years and 8 months.

31.12, in Elazig, 4 members of Revolutionary Left (Dev-Yol) sentenced to death, 6 to life-prison and another 93 to prison terms of up to 20 years.

#### NEW TRIALS

3.11, in Istanbul, the military prosecutor has instituted a new investigation concerning 151 members of the Turkish Peace Committee, among whom Professor Gencyay Gürsoy, trade-unionist and writer Kemal Sülker, lawyer Gülçin Caylıgil, painter Avni Mehmetoglu and publisher Zeki Oztürk. As a result of earlier proceedings against the members of this committee, 23 prominent figures had already been condemned, while another group of 48 intellectuals is now on trial at a military court.

11.11, in Istanbul, the military prosecutor has put on trial 22 members of the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP), bringing the total number of defendants at the TİP Trial to 142.

22.11, in Istanbul, a new trial was initiated against 24 alleged members of Dev-Yol, 13 of whom face the death penalty. So the total number of defendants at the Dev-Yol Trial has been brought to 340, 57 of whom face the death penalty.

8.12, in Istanbul, a new trial was opened against 17 alleged members of TKP/ML, bringing the total number of charged TKP/ML members to 370, 66 of whom face the death penalty.

9.12, in Istanbul, 19 alleged members of TKP/B were brought to trial before a military court. Prison terms of up to 20 years have been demanded for each of them.

12.12, in Istanbul, the total number of defendants at the trial of the Turkish Workers' Party (TİP) rose to 157 with 15 more people charged.

23.12, in Ankara, a new indictment has been brought against 233 political detainees for submitting a petition to the National Security Council (MGK) calling for an end to inhuman practices in Turkey's pri-

sons. All of them face additional prison terms of up to 6 years in jail.

28.12, in Istanbul, 45 alleged members of THKP/C Among whom 11 army officers, were brought to trial at a military court.

#### MAN-HUNTINGS

2.11, in Adana, 6 alleged members of "Emergency Action" arrested.

3.11, in Istanbul, police arrested 23 people accused of being militants of the left-wing organisation MLSPB. On the same day in the same city 25 people were arrested on a charge of being members of the TKP.

4.11, in Mus, it was announced that 9 members of the Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK) had been arrested.

8.11, in Adana, police arrested 4 alleged members of Dev-Yol.

15.11, in Izmir, 20 people were arrested on a charge of attempting to reorganize a banned political party.

21.11, in Elazig, 4 members of the Communist Party of Turkey/Marxist-Leninist (TKP/ML) fell into an ambush. One of them was shot dead by the security forces, another was very seriously injured.

30.11, in Antalya, 7 alleged members of TKP were arrested.

9.12, in Turhal (Tokat), an alleged TKP militant was arrested along with 7 more people accused of protecting him.

10.12, in Midyat (Mardin), a Kurdish militant was shot dead by security forces and another arrested.

19.12, in Bursa, 25 people were arrested on a charge of membership of a left-wing organisation.

20.12, it was announced by the military authorities that since August 15, 350 people had been arrested in Eastern Turkey (Kurdistan). They are accused of being involved with guerilla operations. Another 119 Kurds are said to be wanted.

21.12, in Elazig, according to military sources, one sergeant and two soldiers of the Gendarmerie were shot dead during a clash with "separatists". On the same day, three left-wing militants were arrested in Izmir.

28.12, in Istanbul, security forces announced that 107 people belonging to various left-wing organisations had been rounded up.

29.12, in Sivas, 12 left-wing militants arrested.

31.12, in Corum, 8 militants and 9 sympathizers of a left-wing organisation arrested.

#### INTELLECTUAL LIFE

5.11, the directorate of the Law Faculty of Ankara has fired three professors, Ahmet Kumral, Cahit Can and Yildirim Ulcr as well as two researchers, Serdar Turgut and Cüneyt Ozansoy.

6.11, the Council of Ministers banned 9 books and 3 periodicals published abroad. These publications which have been black-listed, also include a book by former Premier Ecevit "Independence and printed in the Turkish sector of Cyprus.

15.11, a novel called "Our High School" was banned. In connection with this, legal proceedings were taken by the military prosecutor against the author, Hasan Kıyafet.

18.11, two editors of the review *Somut*, Hayati Asilyazıcı and Can Yücel were sentenced to a fine for publishing an "obscene" poem.

23.11, three more intellectuals were added to the political trial which is going on against 56 signatories

of the petition which was submitted to the "President of the Republic" last summer: lawyer Güney Dinç, Prof. Muhittin Yavuz and Cemal Nedret Erdem.

24.11, legal proceedings were taken by the military prosecutor against journalist Ugur Mumcu on account of his article on the forthcoming trial of Mehmet Ali Ağca, the man who made an attempt on the life of the Pope.

30.11, two journalists of the daily *Tercüman*, Nazlı Ilıcak and Yüksel Bastunç were interrogated by the military prosecutor on account of an article concerning relations between Turkey and the Council of Europe.

16.12, in Gaziantep, distribution and sale of the daily *Tan* was prohibited by the military authorities.

21.12, by order of the military prosecutor a new press trial was initiated against two editorial board members of the daily *Tercüman*, Mrs Nazlı Ilıcak and Mr Yüksel Bastunç. They both face prison terms of up to 3 years for criticizing some decisions of the National Security Council (MGK).

24.12, in Malatya, the Attorney General started a procedure for changing the name of a 12-year-old child called "İhtilal" (Revolution). The child's father who fled for fear of being persecuted, is wanted by the security forces.

#### HUNGER-STRIKE

About four-hundred detainees of Mersin military prison (in southern Turkey on the Mediterranean coast) went on a hunger-strike on January 12 in protest against inhuman treatment.

Forty-two parents of these left-wing militants have submitted to the Ministry of Justice a petition denouncing the use of torture on their children.

Conditions prevailing in that prison have been subject of an intervention at the National Assembly by the People's Party (HP) General Secretary Mr Edip Özgenç. The latter suggested to the Government "to resign if it is unable to stop torture in the prisons."

On the other hand, nothing has leaked out about the dozens of detainees in Adana, Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş military prisons who went on hunger-strike at the end of last year in protest against detention conditions.

#### BRAIN DRAIN

As pointed out in the previous issues of this bulletin, since the High Education Council (YOK) — directly attached to the "President of the Republic" — was set up, 794 university professors have left their posts; 259 of them have been fired by YOK by order of the martial law authorities, 535 have resigned or asked for early retirement in protest against academic autonomy violation.

According to a survey published by daily *Milliyet* of December 2-3, among the professors who were fired or driven to resign, 146 left Turkey and were engaged by US and European universities. Some of them went also to Third-World countries such as Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Zimbabwe and Libya. As for those who remained in Turkey, 194 of them were engaged by private companies. Yet, the vast majority of those who were fired are jobless, without unemployment benefits.

#### ACTS OF RACISM IN EUROPE

23.11, in Almelo, Holland, Turkish worker Abdullah Yurt was assaulted and injured by two Dutchmen on his way back from work.

3.12, in Würzburg, FRG, an 18-year-old Turkish boy committed suicide in his prison cell due to a nervous breakdown.

6.12, in Hambourg, FRG, Turkish worker Kemal Tuncay, 59, was found dead at his home. He lived alone and his disappearance was noticed only a few days later.

11.12, in Munich, FRG, Turkish migrant worker Nuri Ozkan Oz, 25, was strangled by a German following a squabble.

15.12, in Hambourg, a 28-year-old Turkish woman Ayse Kurnaz, committed suicide because police denied her the right to take care of their little girl.

17.12, in Zaandam, Holland, a Turkish subject, Sahabettin Tasdelen was assaulted in her shop by a Dutchman.

19.12, in Stuttgart, FRG, a 12-year-old pupil, Umit Kepenek, had his eye seriously injured by a young German sympathizer of the Neo-Nazi movement.

20.12, in Rotterdam, Holland, a 34-year-old Turkish worker, Ahmet Korkmaz, was stabbed to death by an unidentified person on his way back from work.

21.12, in Groningen (Holland), a patrol of plain-clothes policemen beat up all members of a Turkish family including a pregnant woman and a 6-year-old boy, as they left the hospital where they had paid a visit to a sick person. One of the victims of this assault, Mehmet Yazgılı, was seriously injured and brought to a hospital, the rest were held, without any reason, for three hours at the local police station. In the end, they were released thanks to their fellow countrymen's intervention.

22.12, in Duisburg, FRG, a 38-year-old Turkish woman hanged herself due to a nervous breakdown. Her neighbours pointed out that she was very sad because her husband had taken her son and had gone back to Turkey.

26.12, in Giessen, FRG, the house inhabited by a Turkish family was assaulted by a gang of Germans. As he attempted to defend his family, the head of the family, Fedai Kırgöz, had no other choice but to stab one of the assailants. After being interrogated, he was released in view of the fact that he had been acting in self-defence.

27.12, in Frankfurt, FRG, a 21-year-old Turk was stabbed to death by a German.

30.12, in Villingen, FRG, two German policemen strangled a 34-year-old Turkish worker as they brought him to the police station.

#### REFUSAL OF REGISTRATION

Seven of the eight Town Councils in Brussels urban area which were asked by the Minister of Justice whether they are willing to put into effect Minister Gol's bill which provides that aliens may be denied registration in a number of municipalities, have lately taken a stand. Only the Town Council of Etterbeek opposed the enforcement of this law, while in another municipality, Koekelberg, the united opposition succeeded in preventing a two thirds majority in favor of the bill, despite the mayor's efforts to persuade them to follow the other council's example. In this respect it should be reminded that these restrictions are aimed at two communities, the Turks and Maroccans.

As far as the City of Brussels is concerned, it should be pointed out that, notwithstanding that this municipality had not been requested to give its advice, all applications for registration submitted by applicants for political asylum are so far being turned down arbitrarily by order of the mayor.

## ALIEN REPATRIATION PAY

The alien repatriation pay, another governmental measure aimed at reducing the number of Turks and Maroccans living in Belgium, has so far given rise to much controversy.

According to democratic organisations such as the Movement against Racism, Anti-semitism and Xe-

nophobia (MRAX), the Belgian Democratic Legal Association (ABJD) and all immigrants' associations this measure is aimed, first and foremost, at keeping law and order.

The repatriation pay is equivalent to one year's unemployment benefits, a sum ranging from 152,000 to 300,000 BF. The spouse and each child under 18 are granted respectively 50,000 and 15,000 BF.

## INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

**AT THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT:** Following the execution of two political prisoners, İlyas Has and Hıdır Aslan, MEP Raymonde Dury (SP, Belgium) addressed a written question to the European Community Council of Ministers, asking "which measures the EC Council of Ministers contemplates taking vis-a-vis Turkey, in view of blatant human rights violations there?"

Moreover, British Conservative MEP M. Simpson tabled on January 21, 1985 a proposal for a resolution, suggesting to the European Parliament to request the Turkish Government to respect human rights.

**EEC INVESTIGATION:** Five members of the European Human Rights Committee started on January 27 a fact-finding mission in Turkey aimed at gathering first-hand information concerning the prevalent situation, in so far as it is liable to the obligations taken on by Turkey in accordance with the European Human Rights Convention.

The delegation was made up of an Italian, a British, a Spanish and a Swiss. In Turkey it visited military detention centers in Diyarbakır, Istanbul and Ankara.

In addition, the members of the Committee examined possibilities of coming to a friendly arrangement with the Turkish Government. That what might contribute to coming to terms, according to the Dutch daily NRC Handelsblad of January 29, are —besides possible new findings made by the delegation— some commitments the Turkish Government is expected to make, as well as compensation payments for victims of torture, etc. In the event of a friendly arrangement being impossible, the matter will be referred to the Council of Ministers who could, subsequently, suspend Turkey's membership.

As it is known, in last May the Turkish parliamentary delegation was readmitted to the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly. Nevertheless, the same Assembly expressed its intention to watch closely coming developments in Turkey, i.e. apart from the Committee's investigation.

The Turkey issue has neither been put on the agenda of the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee who met in Strasbourg on January 29, nor has it been debated at the Parliamentary Assembly whose winter session began on the same day.

## — INFO-TURK AT THE FRENCH TELEVISION —

On January 3, 1985, the program "Résistance" on the second channel of the French television was partially devoted to a report called "Turkey Under The Heel"

In this program, four documentary films were shown. One of them was recently shot in Turkey in the village where film-maker Yılmaz Güney was born. Even dead he is blacklisted in his own country. The three other films dealt with questions relating to Turkish Kurdistan, Turkey's Christian minority and Turkish political exiles in Paris.

Subsequently, two guests speakers, Info-Türk spokesman Dogan Ozgüden and Nizan Kendall, head of the Kurdish Institute commented on human rights violations in Turkey.

In particular, Dogan Ozgüden refuted with well-established facts the assertion that democracy supposedly has been restored in that country. Drawing attention to the fact that two renowned children of Turkey, poet Nazım Hikmet and movie director Yılmaz Güney, died in exile, Dogan Ozgüden concluded: "It is a major disgrace to Turkey's leaders."