File on Turkey

DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE OF TURKEY
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Turkey today is a huge concentration camp in the south-eastern part of Europe. In spite of the existence of a so-called parliament, all the political and administrative power has been in the hands of the military authorities since the putsch of March 12, 1971. The advisory body of high ranking generals, the National Security Council, became the real ruler of the country. It can overthrow or refuse any government formed by the parliament and abolish all constitutional rights and freedoms by compelling the parliament to amend the Constitution and to legislate anti-democratic laws.

Under the pretext of establishing "law and order", the military-backed government imposed Martial Law on April 26, 1971. Since that time:

1. All the democratic mass organisations have been banned by the military authorities, without any court decision.

2. Thousands of people, including intellectuals, writers, journalists, publishers, teachers, university professors, workers, peasants and student leaders, have been detained or arrested by the Martial Law authorities without any court warrant. During the "march" more than thirty persons have been murdered by the "security" forces or rightist bands.

3. All progressive publications have been prohibited, tens of thousands of books were confiscated, all daily newspapers were compelled to change their policy and turned into propaganda media for the military rule. The autonomy of the state radio-television was completely abolished by changing the Constitution. An army general was appointed as its general director, and the state radio-television became the "voice of generals".

4. All strikes, trade-union meetings and collective bargaining have been forbidden without any court decision, and many trade-union leaders and workers have been arrested.

5. The teacher's unions have been banned, hundreds of teachers and university professors arrested and are being tried by the military
courts of martial law. The autonomy of the universities has been abolished by changing the Constitution.

6. Since the proclamation of Martial Law, the oppression of the Kurdish people in Eastern Anatolia is at its maximum. Today it is even forbidden to mention the existence of the Kurdish people. The Kurdish Labour Party (KDP) and the Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (ÖSO) were banned and their leaders are still under arrest and are judged by the military courts of martial law, because they have talked of the existence of this people and defended their right to speak their own language.

7. Eleven extraordinary military courts attached to the six Martial Law commandants act without any consideration to the Constitution, the International Human Rights Treaties and the basic principles of law. These courts, presided over by army officers and composed of military judges, are trying thousands of people and imposing death sentences or imprisonment.

8. Three young students, Deniz Gencis, Yusuf Sahan and Musa çin were sentenced to death. In spite of general wave of protests and many appeals from democratic governments and international organizations, the military rule did not take these reactions into consideration and executed the death sentence. And tons of young persons are still being tried, threatened with capital punishment. One of the military court refused to apply such a punishment in spite of the military prosecutor's demand, and this court, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, was immediately dissolved.

9. All kinds of torture are applied brutally. In such important political trials, the military prosecutors bring "confessions" obtained by torture as the sole evidence and the military judges condemn the victims on the basis of such proof. It is well known that political prisoners are tortured as a matter of policy under Turkey's military rule.

But the military rule has not been satisfied even by the "plebiscite operation" undertaken by Ersin's government and appointed a well-known Marxist, Ferhat Mehmet, as prime minister. One of his first decisions was to change one of the state ministries with the task of "fighting against communism". Since this appointment, the anti-human operation has worsened day by day. Detainees and prisoners are deprived of seeing their lawyers and families. They are kept in strict isolation and also being brutally tortured.

This volume is a summary of all the reports issued by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, and is designed to fill the need of world opinion who needs a convenient compilation of basic facts about the current military rule in Turkey.

The democratic Resistance of Turkey is a movement which includes the anti-imperial forces of Turkey. It is:
1. To prevent death sentences, tortures and ill-treatments;
2. To free all political prisoners;
3. To put an end to the martial law;
4. To restore the Constitution of 1961 and to annul all anti-democratic laws passed after March 12, 1971;
5. To liquidate the hegemony of the United States and its collaborators, who impose and back the "parliamentary" and military faschism in Turkey.

In this volume, the emphasis is on the objective descriptions of the economic, social and political sources of this fascist rule, its staff, the role of the so-called "opposition", the suppression of the working class, the intellectuals, the press, teachers, university professors, youth and peasantry, the merchants, the mass streets, the torturers and the illegitimate trials by the military courts.

This report seeks to present the facts as fully as the limitations of space and research allow will permit. It has been compiled from information available in openly published material, written and signed statements, court decisions and official communiques of the Martial Law authorities.

An effort has been made to make the volume as comprehensive as possible. But it has been necessary to mention the concrete pressures to which the working class, the intellectuals and teachers were subjected since 1965, the year the Justice Party (AP) came to power. Because the instruction of the Constitution, the oppression of the democratic forces were started by the Justice Party (AP), representing the interests of the United States and the ruling circles. The more the repression increased, the more the resistance of the democratic forces and of the masses was strengthened; and it was because the AP was unable to overcome the resistance and to change the democratic Constitution that the military Rule was imposed on March 12, 1971. The military coup d'etat is the second stage of the fascist course which had already started under the mask of "parliamentary government" in 1965.

It is even possible that after liquidating all democratic forces and principal rights and freedoms the military-backed government may organize a so-called "election" and bring the Justice Party to power again. In order not to be deceived, the world opinion should know of the murders and crimes committed during the Justice Party's previous term in power. Even if the Justice Party were to come to power again, the real power would still be in the hands of the National Security Council and the so-called "democratic" life without constitutional guarantees and institutions, without left-wing parties, without a free press.

Although their chauvinistic and religious ideologies make them proud of their Central Asian origin and tribal traditions the military authorities of Turkey, nevertheless, identify themselves with the West, as demonstrated by their full status in the European Council and their associated membership in the European Economic Community (ECC).

Turkey is also a member of the United Nations.

The Human Rights Convention of the United Nations and the European Council, signed by Turkey, expressly forbids the violations of democratic rights and the application of torture.

But as our readers will see, the present military rule of Turkey has violated these Human Rights Conventions in spite of the many criticisms and the warnings of democratic forces.

Besides this volume, a detailed list of the victims detained or arrested since the beginning of the Martial Law is being
issued separately by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey and will be presented to the appropriate international bodies.

It is shameful that the United Nations and the European Council continue to keep such a regime in their membership.

The Democratic Resistance of Turkey calls on the democratic forces of the world, especially the Human Rights Commissions of the United Nations and the European Council to immediately address themselves to this worsening situation and to investigate the facts mentioned in the present volume.

DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE OF TURKEY.
1. **COUNTRY**: Republic of Turkey. Title adopted in 1923 after the former name Ottoman Empire, was abolished.

2. **SIZE**: Area, 300,500 square mile; 9,800 square mile in Europe and 290,600 square mile in Asia. Greatest north-south distance 375 mile; greatest east-west distance, about 950 miles.

3. **TOPOGRAPHY**: Five natural regions: the Aegean Coastlands, densely populated plateau in European Turkey; the Black Sea Region, steep and rocky coast covered with lush vegetation; Mediterranean Coastlands, plains rich in agricultural resources; Central Plateaus; and grazing area; and Eastern Highlands, rugged country with severe climate.

4. **CLIMATE**: Contrasting climates: warm, temperate Mediterranean; cold, rainy Caucasus, desert and steppe running from the Sahara to Central Asia.

5. **POPULATION**: About 37 million; annual growth rate, 2.6%. Density about 110 per square mile; approximately 40% of the total population live in urban areas. Major peoples of Turkey are Turks, Kurds and Arabs. Non-Muslim minorities, including Greeks, Armenians and Jews, for 1% of the total population. Approximately 700 thousand persons have migrated to the developed European countries as workers.

6. **LANGUAGES**: Official language, Turkish, spoken by 90% of the population. Other principal languages: Kurdish, Arabic. Greek, Armenian, Caucasian, Ladino and Yiddish.

7. **RELIGION**: No official religion, but 90% of the population are Muslim. Other religions include Judaism and Christianity.

8. **EDUCATION**: Literacy rate, 48% in 1965. Only 73% of primary-age students have schools to attend, and many of these are schools in which one teacher must handle several classes on different levels. 13 thousand villages have no schools. Less than 20% of Turkish students can expect to reach first-cycle secondary education (junior high), some 8% of these reach second-cycle secondary education (lycée), and about 6% of these attain higher education.
9. HEALTH: Crude birth rate in 1960, approximately 43 per 1,000; crude death rate in 1965, approximately 10 to 12 per 1,000. Infant mortality rate in 1960-61 estimated as 135 per 1,000 live births. Principal Causes: Pneumonia (12.3 per 1,000), tuberculosis (6.4 per 1,000), measles, influenza, whooping cough, typhoid-paratyphoid, malaria, infectious hepatitis, scarlatina, diphtheria, gonorrhea, syphilis, leprosy, poliomyelitis. The ratio of hospital beds to population is 0.3 per 1,000. The overall ratio of ratio of people practicing in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, where only 5% of the total population live. The rural villages with two-thirds of the population are served by about 15,000 doctors.

10. ECONOMY: Predominantly agricultural. Economy is one of mixed private and public enterprises with a growing commercial and industrial sector. Industry contributed 19% of the gross national product in 1971. Over 60% of those engaged in manufacturing worked in establishments employing less than 10 people; remainder worked mostly for state economic enterprises. In the last years the private sector established some industrial mills in collaboration with foreign capital. But the foreign capital is invested in manufacturing consumer goods, only 20% of which is invested in heavy industry. Furthermore, the ratio of profit transfer to foreign economic investment is 57.5%. Main industrial products are pig iron, pig steel and steel for casting, sheets, pipes, sulphuric acid, ammonium sulphate, cement, coal, bales, glass manufacturers, paper, super phosphate, cotton yarn, woolen yarn, sugar, tobacoo, alcohol, rubber, etc. Major minerals: iron, coal, chromium. The total foreign debt is $3,000 million dollars, the interest and servicing charges amount to $1,000 million dollars. The foreign debts are proportional to 40% of the national income.

11. AGRICULTURE: Accounts for about 33% of the gross national product. Berads constitute about 35% of total agricultural output while livestock products account for about 30%. Another 20% comes from the main export crops which are tobacco, cotton, hazelnuts and dried grapes. About 85% of the nation's exports originate in the agricultural sector, 27% of total land area is under crops during one year. While 90% of the population in the agricultural sector receives only 42% of the agricultural income, 10% of this population appropriates 50%. About 75% of the farm families own their own farms, but about three-quarters of these holdings are less than 12 acres, with the average holding being 7 acres. Consequently, the majority of the peasantry do not have sufficient land to support their families. Many of them have to rent additional land or go on wages in supplementary money-earning activities, or abandon their villages and migrate to big cities or to European countries.

12. LABOUR: Force estimated to be 15 million in 1970 or 30% of the total population and 70% of the population ages 15 and over. In 1970, approximately 64% of the working force was engaged in agriculture and 13% in manufacturing. Only 1,204,816 of the working population are registered by the Social Security Foundation, others have no social security. The number of unemployed was 2 million in 1971.4,400,000 persons enter the labour market each year, of whom 250,000 are unable to find work in the agricultural sector, but the remaining 2,150,000 are unemployed. Within the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens.
13. NATIONAL INCOME: The annual income is about 10,000 million dollars. This was distributed as follows in 1967: Agriculture, forestry and fishing 36.1%, mining, manufacturing and utilities 10.2%, construction 6.5%, commerce 8.4%, transport and communications 7.4%, financial institutions 2.9%, public services and administration 10.2% others including net income from abroad 10.5%. The per capita national income is 321 dollars. Furthermore, the distribution of national income is so far from social justice that the maximum individual income is 10,000 times greater than the minimum. While 80% of the population receives 5% of the national income, 80% of the population, the toiling masses, receives only 4%.

14. HOUSING: 45% of the population of Ankara, 21% of that of Istanbul and 18% of that of Izmir live in shanty towns built overnight. 15% of 5,548,000 families all over Turkey live in a single room used for eating, sleeping and cooking. 40% of all dwellings are without kitchens, 26% without waste disposal facilities, 35% without running water and washing facilities. Electric power reached only 30% of the people. Only 2.4% of the villages have the electricity.

15. NUTRITION: The daily per capita caloric intake is 3,110, largely in the form of carbohydrates. The daily per capita cereal consumption is 611 grams, while it is 390 grams in Greece. On the contrary the daily per capita meat consumption is only 37 grams while it is 95 grams in Greece. Meat and milk are scarce during most months of the year and is normally considered as a luxury.

16. ARMED FORCES: Consist of army, navy and air force. The military establishment, comprised of an army of 455,000 men, an air force of 30,000 and a navy of 35,000. All these units are under the command of Field Marshals as a result of Turkey’s membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). More than 20% of the total budget is devoted to military purposes. This sum is about 2½ of the gross national product and higher than the expenditures for education and health. All male citizens over the age of 20 are obliged to perform military duty for 20 months.
Since March 22, 1971 Turkey has been ruled by a fascist-type military regime. Once again, this time in Turkey, the United States and its local collaborators have resorted to the same methods it used four years ago in Greece, another southern European country. According to the generals, the reason for the coup d'etat and the subsequent terror was that the state was endangered and threatened with "anarchy". It will be remembered that the colonels of Greece had also claimed this justification for their coup d'etat of 1967.

The real reason for each of the coup d'etats is to guarantee the interests of the United States and local ruling circles in the area. In order to protect its military, economic and political hegemony over the south-eastern part of Europe, the United States had organised and backed the military coup d'etat in Greece in 1967. At that time Turkey was already under the rule of the pro-American Justice Party (AP), and there was not any serious anxiety on their part because the AP, when it had come to power in 1965 by a great majority and declared that it would modify the Constitution of 1961, abolish all democratic rights and liberties and establish an order in favor of the US and its local collaborators. But the left-wing organisations, the democratic forces, the constitutional institutions, the universities, and the press resisted the AP's anti-democratic program and its unconstitutional legislation and executions. This resistance movement against the hegemony of the United States over Turkey spread to all corners of Turkey and gained support from the masses, hit by the social collapse. However, during the period of last ten years the capitalisation has gained an impetus. Turkey has still remained one of the poorest and most under-developed countries of the world: Per capita national income still only 321 dollars a year; more than 50% of the population still in the agricultural sector, more than 50% of the population still illiterate. As an ally of the United States in NATO and OPEC, Turkey has been obliged to devote more than 20% of its budget to military purposes. While 50% of the population in the agricultural sector received only 42% of the agricultural income, 10% of this population was appropriating 92%. This unjust distribution of wealth and national income has been one of the main reasons for the social explosion in Turkey.

In order to crackdown on the mass resistance the Justice Party in power took many unconstitutional measures, increased the police and commando forces, tolerated the formation of armed fascist bands, arrested many intellectuals and youth leaders, forbade worker strikes, used the military forces against the workers, youth and poor peasants. During the period of the Justice Party power, more than forty defenders of the constitution were murdered, one by one, by either police forces or rightist bands.
Furthermore, in 1970, having completed its preparations and entered the transitional phase of the Common Market, the big bourgeoisie began to pry loose the framework of the social and political order which it found too narrow for its own aims. Keeping step with increasingly restrictive anti-labour measures, the Demirel Government pressed legislation facilitating financing, devaluing the Turkish pound and attracting foreign investments.

But even the Justice Party, which basically represented that same big industrial bourgeoisie in Parliament, was no longer able to satisfy the growing demands of the big capital. On the contrary, the measures adopted in 1970 to partially satisfy the needs of the big bourgeoisie merely provoked very strong reactions on the part of the masses.

Since the Justice Party could neither stop mass resistance against the US hegemony nor answer the demands of the big bourgeoisie, the military commanders forced Demirel's government to resign by issuing a harsh ultimatum on March 22, 1971. The military junta consisting of armed forces commanders also threatened all the political parties with the same ultimatum, forcing them to give up the parliamentary system and accept all the extraordinary measures imposed by the Armed Forces.

The Armed Forces have been successfully used in this operation thanks to a well-planned plot creating an economic and social gap between the army officers and the masses of poor people. After the 1960 movement of the Armed Forces, the financial and economic position possibilities of the army officers became greatly to a great extent. All officers of the Turkish Armed Forces automatically became the shareholders of a huge financial trust, the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund (OTAY). This trust fund has now become one of the largest holding in the country and has begun to invest in industry in collaboration with foreign capital such as Renault, International Harveestor, Good Year, etc. Moreover, the Armed Forces' ties to the finance-capital group are not limited to OTAY. Both the naval and the air force possess foundations for developing their respective services in collaboration with the big bourgeoisie. The aim of these associations was none other than to lay the framework for a war industry, to reinforce the army and to furnish the industrialists with new profits as Hitler had done in Germany.

This was the background for the coup which the army high command carried out on March 22, 1971 at the behest of finance-capital. It was this military-industrial complex which forced the government to resign and replaced it with a government of technocrats.

But since massive protests had arisen in every corner of the world against the military coup d'état in Greece, which created such a horrible image for the Greek colonels, the planners in Washington and Ankara did not want to follow the same route this time. Instead they kept a puppet parliamentary system and stayed behind the curtains. As per their plan, this would create for world opinion the illusion that Turkey was still under a democratic parliamentary rule.

And this plan has been applied on behalf of "westernization", "pelas- given" and "democracy". While the democratic organizations were banned, progressive organizations prohibited, thousands of people --including writers, editors, university professors, teachers, trade-union leaders- arrested, hundreds of political prisoners brutally tortured, young students murdered in a massive "marchant" or hanged because of their opinions, and while the progressive forces of the world were protesting this repression, some western circles adopted the military rule's claim that the repressions are the necessary measure towards the "westernization".
Dream of Westernization!

This is not the first time that Turkey has undergone a "sledge-hammer operation", as the first premier of the military rule himself has called it. The Turkish bourgeoisie and the upper ranks of the bureaucracy, attracted to "westernization" for the last two centuries, saw in it a means of capital accumulation, of close cooperation with foreign forces and of formal reforms in the country's superstructure. On the other hand, the country's rulers consciously and deliberately managed to solve the class struggles which had marked the western world, as well as the existence of left-wing political parties and progressive trade unions, and the coming into power of left-wing parties in various countries, all characteristics of the West.

What are the reasons for Turkish disillusion with "westernization"?

There are internal and external reasons.

First of all, the structure of Ottoman society was too different from that of western societies. Modern western society has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society, which had prepared capital accumulation. But in the same period, the structure of Ottoman society and its mode of production were too far from removing the western model.

In a centralized despotic structure of society and in its efficient absolutist political regime, it was impossible to find the same internal dynamics which had created the capital accumulation in the Western feudal societies of the same institution which had arisen in the western world's superstructure.

On the other hand, the external factors also prevented the development of Ottoman Empire into a western-type capitalist society.

At first the Ottoman Empire dealt with the states of Western Europe from a position of strength. But in the 16th Century, the Empire entered its period of decline. The lack of internal dynamics was accompanied by the gradual loss of commerce as Europe turned to South Asia and to East Asia for trade. The influx of gold and silver from the New World also played a part in the financial crisis of the Ottoman Empire. The Janissary corps reflected the tendency toward decadence through a loss of internal discipline. The advantage in military power gradually shifted to the West as a result of more efficient organization and technical innovations.

Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire had granted some privileges to the Western countries. Subsequent Western influence in the Empire was marked by a treaty between Sublime the Magnificent and Francis I of France in 1539. What began as a concession from an empire at the height of its power evolved into the extensive system of capitulations. These capitulations gave the European powers commercial and financial privileges and were extended from time to time, notably to Great Britain (1579), Austria (1665), Holland (1609), and Sweden (1737). In 1830 the United States and Turkey signed a treaty containing a "most favored nation" clause.

A series of Turkish defeats in the latter half of the 17th century stimulated Ottoman interests in Europe; by the 19th century the Ottoman Empire was considered the "sick man of Europe" by the European powers. Territorial losses followed territorial losses, and the fate of the Empire ultimately became an important concern of European diplomacy.

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France and Austria-Hungary were concerned with the Eastern question.
In essence the Eastern question involved the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and the anticipated benefits that each western state expected to derive from the steady weakening of the Ottoman state.

Superficial Reforms in 19th Century

By the second half of the 19th century the succession of failures, primarily military, had convinced the Ottoman leadership of the need for reform within the Empire. The leading group in these reform efforts was the military. The Ottomans first looked to Western Europe for new ideas after the military power shifted in favor of the up-to-date forces of the European powers.

The series of reforms in the Ottoman Empire really began with Sultan Selim III and his successor Mahmut II instituted a number of innovations. But the necessary fundamental changes could not be realized and without a sub-structural change, all these reforms remained superficial. Nevertheless, the western states supported these superficial super-structural reforms because they would prepare the necessary institutions in order to exploit the country's economic resources and would further the disintegration of the Empire by granting many privileges and rights to the minorities.

The first document, which surrendered the country to the Western states, is the Heilitschamal commercium treaty between Great Britain and Ottoman Empire (1838). This treaty granted many privileges to British capitalists, and as a result, all sectors of the Ottoman industry collapsed and the Empire became an open-market for British industry and commerce.

This treaty was followed by the Giessen treaty (1842) with France, and the Brussels Treaty (1843) with Russia. This edict, prepared by the Paquis Nafis and Hajji Washa under the pressure of the British Government, promised further reforms in order to guarantee the interests of Western countries.

Moreover, during the reign of Abdulaziz; new debt treaties had been signed. In 1852, Pyrigh Hambiri (Council of Assistant or the Ottoman Public Debt) was created at the instigation of the European powers.

It is very well known that the Western states forced the Ottoman Empire to become indebted. Just prior to World War I the debt totaled a little over 700 million dollars; in 1912, 30% of the imperial budget was allocated to payments to the Pyrigh Hambiri. On the other hand, during the reign of Abdulhamid II, German influence greatly increased. Germany won a 20-year concession for Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad construction from the Sultan in 1908. The financial position of the Empire was not substantially improved during this period.

In spite of all these superficial "reforms" and attempts at "westernisation", the sub-structure of the society remained the same; the economic and financial situation was worsening day by day and an empire was collapsing.

The despotic rule of Abdulhamid II created huge internal and external reaction in time. The European powers particularly disliked his pan-Islamic methods of dealing with nationalist currents among the Christian minorities. The regressive policy also fostered dissatisfaction, especially among those educated in the Westernized schools, such as the military officers. And in 1908 these western-educated army officers, the Young Turks, revolted and established the Constitutional Government (Mecruyet)
The Young Turks' primary concern was to strengthen the Empire and to prevent territorial losses. This concern led to an emphasis on Ottomanism, but they were under the influence of German imperialism and the interests of Germany required that the Ottoman Empire fight in the First World War. This caused hastened the collapse of the Empire by drawing it into the World War and the country was surrendered to the Allies by signing the armistice at Mudros, in 1918.

During the period when the Young Turks were in power, trade unions and political organizations of the working class were forbidden, the workers strikes were crushed by using troop forces and the governments defended the interests of the Western capitalists and those who collaborated with them in the country.

Moreover, all the superficial reforms imposed by the Western powers created a gap between the masses and the Western-oriented intellectuals, because the living conditions of the people were worsening day by day since the fundamental changes were not made. So, the masses considered the reforms as the main reason for the increasing poverty.

Independence War (1912-1923)

The future of Turkey was not bright when the armistice was signed at Mudros. Secret wartime treaties among the Allies provided for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Some of the leaders of the victorious powers was interested in preserving the Empire. But the Empire was in ruins. The Allies, who planned to take under their own control, the natural resources of the Middle East, occupied parts of the Empire, including the capital. In addition, the United States was trying to establish its own mandate over Turkey in this territory, and many alienist Turkish intellectuals, including Colonel Inam, adhered to this plan.

But in spite of the imperialist plans and treachery, a national independence struggle was launched in the form of guerrilla fights all over Anatolia. With the mass participation of workers, peasants and the patriotic wing of petit-bourgeoisie, the guerrilla fights soon turned into an unprecedented popular struggle. In Western Anatolia, the guerrilla leader Cemal Kemal created a popular liberation army under the name of Yuvalayev (Mobile Forces). Besides, some young Ottoman generals as Ali Rustam Pascha, Kemal Karabekir Pascha began to form resistance groups and to mobilize their units in central and eastern Anatolia.

Cemal was taken to assure legitimacy to the liberation movement and to involve as many people as possible in struggle. After the mobilization of popular forces, Mustafa Kemal Pascha, the sub-de-camp of the Sultan, was sent by the Istanbul Government to Anatolia to supervise the disbanding of the Turkish forces, but after arriving in Anatolia on May 19, 1919, he took part in the national liberation war. As a skillful commander, Mustafa Kemal's participation became an important step in organizing all the liberation forces. Thus, on July 23, 1919 a nationalistic congress met at Erzurum in response to a call from the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia (Ankara: Milli İstiklal Cemiyeti). On September 4, the group became the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (Anadolu ve Rumeli Milli İhtilal Cemiyeti). The Sivas Congress voted its loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph, but pledged to maintain the integrity of the nation. It adopted a six-point National Pact.
(Milli Hizmet), which defined the objectives of the nationalist movement that were not open to compromise.

In April 11, 1920 the Parliament, which approved the National Pact, was dismissed by the occupation forces and that same day the Şeyh-ul-Islam (head of Muslims) proclaimed it a religious duty to kill the nationalist rebels.

The actions of the Allies and Istanbul government brought quick response from the nationalists. Parliament was summoned to Ankara on April 23, 1920 which became the nationalist headquarters, and numerous religious leaders in Anatolia declared that the Sultanate of the Şeyh-ul-Islam was invalid because it had been issued under duress.

The Muhâfaซ (Istanbul Government) also guided some fanatic groups to rise up against the authority of the liberation movement, even the existence of the Grand National Assembly fell into danger between the Greek forces and the rebellious fanatic forces. But the guerrilla forces of Dursun Bağdûz crushed all these rebellious forces in a very short time.

In the formation the earlier resistance and liberation groups in Anatolia, the communists of Turkey played an important role. They formed guerrilla groups and a well-organized unit in Anatolia under the name of Askerî Komünü (Green Army).

But with the approach of victory, the representatives of the newly developing bourgeoisie and the landowners used the Ottoman pastas to eliminate the guerrilla leaders, destroy the socialist organizations, and assassinate in the Black Sea Mustafa Dâvûz, the leader of the Communist Party of Turkey, and his fourteen friends.

This was the result of the fact that in spite of the mass participation of working class and peasantry in the national liberation war, the First Grand National Assembly were chiefly composed of landowners, merchants, democrats and high-ranking military and civil bureaucrats. The majority of the people, i.e. peasants and workers, were not represented in Parliament.

During the struggle for independence, there were also two political groups in the Grand National Assembly and a struggle for political power, but both groups were also the representatives of the ruling classes. The handful of left-wing deputies were immediately liquidated. Mustafa Kemal Paşa, as the chairman of the Grand National Assembly, was enforcing a compromise between two political wings of the ruling classes.

During the national liberation war, the Turkish socialists in Istanbul also supported the Ankara Government. The Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey (Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist Partisi) founded in 1919, organized the smuggling of arms and ammunition to Anatolia with the help of socialist workers in Istanbul. In spite of the massacre of 15 communist leaders by the pastas, this party continued to support the Ankara government even after the victory against the Istanbul government and the imperialist states because its leaders agreed with the nationalist leaders on the principles of "independence or death" and hoped that they would realize the political and economic independence of the country.

After the victory, in the Lausanne Conference, the National Pact of 1919 was the basis for the Turkish negotiating position; in fact, all of the provisions in the pact were recognized in the treaty concluded on July 24, 1923 by Turkey, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumânia and Yugoslavia. The United States also participated in the conference but did not sign the treaty.
Republic or Single Party Dictatorship (1923-1928)

No sooner was the armed struggle and the diplomatic offensive against the imperialists ended than the Republic of Turkey was established (23 October 1923) and an Economic Congress met at Izmir. It proposed that Turkey should follow a capitalist line of development, and accordingly granted to the capitalists and the large landowners hegemony over the life of the country. A coalition of these ruling classes and the bureaucracy founded the Republican People's Party (CHP) on September 11, 1923, and Mustafa Kemal Pasha was elected as the leader of this party and the president of the Republic. The three constitutional powers - legislative, executive and judicial - had been concentrated in parliament. This meant that the constitutional authority was restricted to Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the Republican People's Party. Mustafa Kemal also received the surname of "Atatürk" (Father of Turks) and the title of " Eternal Chief" and until his death in 1938, he remained the chief in whose person all powers were concentrated. Not only the left-wing parties and organizations, such as the Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey (TIGS), but even so-called opposition parties like Zerde-Sipahi Vrata (Progressist Party) and Serhat Evrak (Liberal Party), founded by reliable friends of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, were banned by special courts. A law providing for exceptional powers (Yasadi Siyan Hazmi), passed on the pretext of representing the Kurdish revolt, provided the government with the possibility of banning parties and unleashing repressions.

Having secured independence and imposed the rule of the alliance forged by the bourgeoisie, the landowners and the bureaucracy, the Ankara government accepted "Westernization" as the first article of its program. To symbolize the break with the past, Ankara was made the capital of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal began a rapid series of formal reforms to transform Turkey into a modern Western-type state. But on the other hand, the Kemalist power also adopted a chauvinistic ideology and in the 1930s, the "sun-language" theory, which held Turkish to be the root of all other languages, imposed. Furthermore, the Kemalist theoreticians also claimed that all humanity descended from the Central Asian Turks.

The leaders of the Kemalist movement were in fact, the inheritors of the old champions of "Westernization" - Tansu Ay, Sırrı Süreyya, Young Turks, İskender Terraki, etc. Many of their dreams, such as superficial reforms, the creation of a bourgeoisie, the imposing of a nationalist ideology, could be realized by the Kemalists. Moreover, the Kemalists were fed by the influence of German racism and Italian Fascism.

The superficial reforms which the Kemalist regime instituted could not find support among the masses for they could see that the political power was against the telling people when it came to economic and social questions, and hence opposed the superficial reforms imposed by this political power.

Indeed, at a time when the armed struggle for national independence was not yet over, the National Assembly had already voted new tax levies on the poor peasantry. At the end of the struggle, not only were the promised land reforms partial and at best only a vague outline of a large-scale landowners who, at a later stage and thus thanks to state aid, were able to found banks. They thus created the "national bourgeoisie" - a century-old dream - by turning themselves into big capitalists.

As a result of the Big Depression of 1929, the Turkish bourgeoisie was
not able to find foreign capital anxious to invest in Turkey; it was thus obliged to adopt the economic policy of autarchy (devletelilik) in order to strengthen itself.

Having catalyzed their one-party dictatorship and autarchy, the Kemalists put into strict practice the following notion of Mustafa Kemal:

"Our people do not consist of different social classes whose interests are in contradiction with each other. We form a whole, with neither class nor privilege." And, as only party, the CEP claimed to represent the workers and peasants as well as the merchants, industrialists and employers. Under the rule of the CEP, the worker and peasant masses were not only kept from organizing into unions, but socialists who wanted to work in favor of the masses were immediately imprisoned. That is how Nazif Hikmet, the world-renowned poet, came to spend thirteen years in jail.

The chauvinism of the Kemalists also led the government to oppress the Kurds in the eastern part of Anatolia. As a matter of fact, the national liberation movement had achieved victory through the combined efforts of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even at the First Grand National Assembly, it was publicly stated that "Here, before the throne of the nation, only Turks and Kurds have the right to speak." At the Louisana Conference, Ismet Inonu, the Chief Delegate of Turkey, had said: "For centuries the Turks and the Kurds have been parts of a whole united. In the world war as well as in the liberation war, the Kurds fought with all their efforts." But after the liberation, the Kemalist power began to apply an assimilationist policy and even forbade to mention the existence of the Kurdish people or to speak Kurdish.

During the period of 1923-1930 the bourgeoisie was able to accumulate capital at the workers' and peasants' expense, and the number of factories reached 100% in 1929 industrial production rose to 731 million Turkish pounds. From only 76,216 in 1923, the number of workers increased to 265,000 in 1935.

But in spite of the economic policy of autarchy instituted in its later years, the CEP manifested the desire to collaborate with imperialist forces. In 1936, almost half of the total foreign trade was carried on with Hitler's Germany. In 1936, a credit agreement for 150 million Turkish pounds was signed between Turkey and Hitler's Germany. In 1937 Turkey received a credit of about 3 million pounds sterling from Great Britain. This was followed by an additional credit of about 16 million pounds sterling from the same country in 1938.

The document which the policy of creating a bourgeoisie erected in the Tübitaig Bankasi. This private bank was founded by Mustafa Kemal and other leaders of the CEP and aimed to strengthen the bourgeoisie by giving them financial backing. This bank centralized in its hands the state's entire financial resources as well as the little savings of the people and distributed huge credits to the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. The founders of this bank became the nucleus of the monopolizing-monopoly capital. On the other hand, agricultural credits were granted by the Agricultural Bank (Si- reat Bankasi). But the policy of granting agricultural credits was applied in favor of the land-owners. The largest share of agricultural credits were given to the big land-owners at a low interest rates; the poor peasantry on the other hand were compelled to take loans from usurers, the majority of whom were big land-owners, at high interest rates, and finally the poor peasantry were obliged to sell their lands to the big land-owners at a very low price in order to pay these debts.

The Republican People's Party, which had been under the undeniable
authority of the "Eternal Chief", after his death in 1938 fall into the hands of the "National Chief" İnönü Inönü who likewise held undeniable authority. Censorship was established to clamp down on the press. The period during which the Republican People's Party considered itself to be both the state and the people was one of greatest in Turkey's more recent history and continued until 1960. In this period a great terror hung over liberals, democrats and socialist intellectuals. All the varied movements of the people had been crushed, and the dictatorship of one single party reigned supreme. Yet a so-called parliament continued to exist while these repressions were in force.

**Second World War and Rise of Bourgeoisie (1939-1945)**

Although Turkey itself was not an actor in the Second World War, nonetheless the constraints of the war situation gave rise to a group of black market speculators and war profiteers.

During the war period, the government became more dependent on the foreign powers as the state's foreign debts increased. Some capitalists, like Vehbi Kay, gained huge profits from increased collaboration with foreign capitalists. On the other hand, the workers, poor peasants and urban petit-bourgeoisie became impoverished and the contradictions between the social classes deepened. In spite of these contradictions, the fascists went on ignoring the existence of different classes in Turkey and applied great terror, to realize the concept of "classless society".

But the war period created another contradiction inside the coalition of the ruling circles. After 1945 the bourgeoisie, which was collaborating closely with foreign capital, began to feel that the limits imposed on its activities by the nationally-oriented policy of autarky were insurmountable to its interests. The Republican People's Party, in power for the last 25 years as the only party in existence, now became the scene of frictions between the bureaucracy on the one hand and, on the other, the big bourgeoisie and the landowning bourgeoisie headed for capitalization, anxious to move as fast as possible towards a multi-party era which would permit them to conquer power for themselves alone. At the end of the Second World War the United States, which intended to include Greece and Turkey in its camp, acted as apostles of "democracy and freedom" and imposed on Turkey a democratic regime of the Filipino type.

Under those external and internal pressures, the decision to pass to a multi-party system was taken at the 1945 Convention of CHP, and established by four leading members of the CHP as the representative of the big bourgeoisie, the Democratic Party (DP) began to act as the champion of "democracy and freedom".

It was within this "democratic" framework that the impoverished masses, struggling for years against misery and police pressures, began in 1946, for the first time, to express their opposition to the dictatorship exercised by the CHP. Trade union organizations were created in the industrial centers, and socialists previously forced into silence under threats of imprisonment were able to create the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party (Türkiye Sosyalist Eşitlikçi Partisi) and the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party (Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi).

But after a short period, both the DP and the CHP agreed to crush
these first attempts at an opening up to the left, the two socialist parties and the trade-unions were dissolved and the socialist intelligentsia were more imprisoned. A parliamentary, multi-party system, yes; but only for the representatives of the ruling classes, a so-called "democracy", but without the left! Here is the basic speciality of the parliamentary system which begins in 1960 and which has continued to the present day.

Having dissolved the socialist parties, the Democratic Party began to exploit the opposition potential of the working masses to the CGB and channel it in favor of the ruling classes. On the one hand the DP was the only opposition party carrying any real weight; on the other hand the working class, increasing in numbers in pace with the growth of capitalism, would now be controlled through new unions especially created by people linked to the police.

U.S. Hegemony and D.F. Power (1946-1956)

In the 1946-50 period, the influence of the United States over Turkey was decisively increased. Vehbi Koç, Turkey's most important capitalist, went on a trip to the United States to invite U.S. capitalists to invest in Turkey. Through Marshall aid and other aid programs, Turkey fell under the economic, ideological, political and military hegemony of the United States.

It was by exploiting the dissatisfaction of the masses, unconscious of their class interests, that the Democratic Party gained an overwhelming majority of votes and came to power in 1950. The period of 1950-60, during which the Democratic Party ruled the country, is an important turning point for Turkey from the point of view of its socio-economic development. The share of industry in the GDP rose from 16.3% to 17.2% in this period. The number of the working places reached to 315,192 in 1950 while it was 396,965 in 1950 and the number of the workers registered by the Social Security Foundation rose to 560,000 from 342,000 in the same period. At the same time, the process of industrialization of agriculture begun forward: Within the space of ten years, the number of tractors rose from 10,565 to 45,136 and the area of mechanized exploited land grew from 1,270,000 to 3,500,000 hectares. The urban population, likewise, increased from 20% to 31% of the population.

During the ten years of Democratic Party power, the hegemony of the US over Turkey was strengthened. Just after coming to power, the DP sent a Turkish brigade to Korea to fight under the command of US generals. Later, Turkey was accepted into NATO and all the Turkish armed forces were placed under Pentagon control. More than a hundred US military bases and installations were established all over Turkey. All the US missions in Turkey have immunity and are exempted from taxes. Turkish courts have no right to judge US civilians if they commit a crime in Turkey. In accordance with military agreements, the Pentagon has tried to change the traditions and structure of the Turkish Army, and the Turkish officers have been brainwashed in the United States or in the military schools adopted to US military standards.

In the diplomatic field, Turkey was dependent on the foreign policy of the US and became a number of Western Pact whose purpose was to crush the national liberation movements in the Middle East. In the United Nations, Turkey became a more obedient servant of the US and always took a position against the national liberation movements. Even on the Cyprus Problem, the titular country, the US policies were implemented. After the Second World War, in Cyprus, just as in other colonies, the Greek-originated people had started to fight against the British domination. But the leadership of
the Turkish community have behaved as the British agents against the in- 
dependence war and created a superficial hostility between the communities of 
the island. They were supported enthusiastically also by the KP power. By 
exploiting the nationalistic feelings and the superficial "hostility" between 
the two communities, the British agents tried to make the two communities 
look at each other and succeed to create an unrest and to keep its own interests on 
the island. These everlasting conflicts between two communities have affected 
also the internal politics of the neighbour countries and both the Greek and 
the Turkish governments have also exploited the Cyprus problem in order to 
gain vote support from the unconscious masses.

Ideologically, anti-communism was adopted as a state policy, the 
Turkish press and the state controlled radio provided most enthusiastic ex- 
amples of McCarthyism. Not only the socialists, but also liberal-minded 
persons who dared to criticize the hegemony of the United States were exposed to 
the police terror. Meanwhile, the Democratic Party exploited the tradi- 
tional religious beliefs. During the 10 years of the KP rule, many of the 
Ku’nullist reforms, especially those concerning religion, were modified. Those 
restorations also prove that the Ku’nullist reforms were superficial and not 
adopted by the masses. Although religious instruction had been reintroduced 
in the schools while the KP was in power, but it was made compulsory by the 
KP in 1950. There was a reappearance of the religious curtes, and the Arabic 
call to worship was legalized. An increased number of pilgrimages to Mecca 
also signaled the religious revival.

In 1954 the Democratic Party guaranteed legal protection for foreign 
capitalist investing in Turkey by passing the Law for the Encouragement of 
Foreign Capital. Investment. This enactment and several subsequent laws de- 
fined the conditions and objectives for inviting foreign capital, provided for 
certain safeguards and facilities permitting repatriation of capital and 
profits. This legislation applied to agriculture, industry and commerce. 
The enactment law the foreign capital participation with another of 
local enterprise in mining operations, and for the first time allows the ex- 
ploitation of minerals by foreigners. The Petroleum Law allows foreign com- 
panies to explore and exploit their findings for a period of 25 years.

In the industrial field, the Democratic Party decided to sell all the 
installations owned by the public sector to the private sector and to liberal- 
ize foreign trade. Foreign capital, totally 103 million dollars between 1951 
and 1956, was invested not in the heavy industry but only in the manufacture 
of consumer goods or to the tourism industry. Furthermore, the ratio of 
profit repatriation to foreign capital investment reached to 15% in 1957 
while it was only 0.0% in 1951.

Turkey's foreign trade deficit reached 147.4 million dollars in 1960, 
whereas it had been only 66 million dollars in 1959, and foreign debts mount- 
ed to 756 million dollars.

On the other hand as a result of capitalization, shanty towns began to 
appear all around the big cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Adana. Faced with an increasingly numerous working class, the United States felt the need to bring this class completely under its control and 
leverage, with the aid of company unions, helped to create the Confederation of 
Turkish Workers' Unions (Türkiye Kýrmýsrýlar Sendikası). Subsidized by considerable 
sums of American dollars, the TKIK, under cover of a policy "above and 
beyond political parties", promised to keep working class action within the 
framework set for it by the bourgeois parties.
But in spite of this treason, a result of the Democratic Party’s insatiable policy, with a price index rising to 47% in 1957 (1950=100), dissatisfaction mounted within the working class, among the peasants and the petit-bourgeois layers of the population. And as popular unrest spread, the Democratic Party was forced to resort to police measures, jailing the intellectual leaders, the students, workers, peasants, even the army officers.

27th May Coup and 1960 Constitution

Thereupon the university youth began mass demonstrations to protest the terror. The answer of the DP government was to send the armed forces against them. One student was shot to death and many students were wounded. As a last measure, Mandela, the prime minister, declared martial law and the military took control in Istanbul and Ankara. On May 27, 1960 a group of army officers overthrew the DP government, dissolved parliament and established the Constitution of 1960. A National Unity Committee (MUK) composed of 32 officers took over the legislative and executive powers.

The basic meaning of the May 27th Movement reveals the intense longing of the military and civil bureaucracy to take back the power of the bourgeoisie which had been created and developed under cover of the former. In fact, during the ten years of its power and with foreign help, the Democratic Party had bruised today a bureaucratic barrier, and the civil and military bureaucracy had lost its importance in the political life of the country. Moreover, the living conditions of the bureaucracy worsened and the army officers shared the growing dissatisfaction of the masses. But because of NATO armament and being dependent on Pentagon, they could not see the important role played by the United States and contented themselves with accusing and trying the leaders of the Democratic Party. On the very day they took power, the officers who had engineered this coup did not feel to reaffirm Turkey’s interests in maintaining such posts as NACO and NATO. They even signed a whole series of bilateral treaties with the United States aimed at reinforcing its economic and military ties. Just three months after the coup d’etat, in July 1960, the National Unity Committee recognized the right of foreign capitalists to repatriate their profits. That same month the National Unity Committee and the United States signed an agreement of donation about 1,000 million Turkish pounds. On September 15, 1960, the National Unity Committee and the World Bank agreed on the participation of foreign capitalists in founding the Energy and Steel Works. In January 1961, West Germany granted Turkey a loan of 250 million DM. In March 1961, the National Unity Committee and the AID signed an agreement stating “to establish new private companies and to finance them by means of the Industrial Development Bank (Sakarya Kalkınma Bankası)”.

It is a fact that the United States was well informed about the coup d’etat, but did not try to prevent it in spite of a bilateral agreement suggesting US military intervention in the case of an attempt against the Turkish government. The CIA knew that the majority of army officers were not opposed to NATO, CEMTO or the hegemony of the US and that the position of Mandela government was too weak. Moreover, the Mandela government was showing its intention to increase commercial and economic ties with the US and planning to visit Moscow. If the armed forces had not made a coup d’etat, the socio-economic conditions would have prepared greater social explosions. In the economic field, the results of this coup d’etat would become profitable for both the US and the Turkish armed forces.
As mentioned, the National Unity Committee granted many new privileges to the United States, on the other hand the armed forces opened the way to be integration with finance capital by establishing financial holding company for army officers.

The ORMA (The Armed Forces Mutual Aid Foundation) was established just after the coup d'état and all army officers and non-commissioned officers were compelled to be the members of this foundation. At the beginning the capital of this fund was only 40 million Turkish Lira. But the fund's board which included all top commanders of the armed forces and the biggest Turkish capitalists, such as Vehbi Koç and Nihat Regional, began to make investments in the collaboration with foreign capital such as Renault, International Harvester, Goodyear, Mobil, etc. As a result of these investments, the assets of ORMA now reached 1,500 million Turkish Lira (100 million dollars). Today all officers and non-commissioned officers of the Turkish armed forces are shareholders of this giant holding company and get extra profits from it in addition to their salaries. Thus, the armed forces have become not only the guardian of big capital but also integral part of it.

Nevertheless, in view of the support given the coup d'état by the masses, whose actions had led to it, there can be no question of the progressive character of the coup d'état of 20th May in democratic field. The Constitution of 1961 in its proof.

The new constitution, drawn up by the Constituent Assembly, was accepted by referendum on July 9, 1961, in spite of counter propaganda of the newly formed Justice Party (JP), containing 127 articles plus the 11 provisional articles of the National Unity Committee, it was an attempt to prevent the abuses which had been possible under the Organic Law of 1924. The Constitution expanded the functions of government so that the Grand National Assembly could no longer be controlled exclusively by one party. It established a bicameral legislature made up of a Senate and a House of Representatives, a separate executive, and an independent judiciary.

The 1961 Constitution, modeled on the Italian Constitution of 1947 and the German Constitution of 1949, grants Turkish citizens fundamental rights which provide for personal immunities and the protection of individual privacy, and generally assure that the government cannot violate the rights of the individual without a legal process. As an example, a person taken into custody must be informed immediately in writing of the charges against him, he must be arraigned within 48 hours, and he cannot be deprived of his freedom without a court judgment. The individual is also guaranteed the right to work, to rest, to benefit from social security, and to receive education. Citizens have the right to establish political parties, enter public service, and have the further right to petition the Grand National Assembly concerning requests and complaints.

Moreover, the 1961 Constitution created a Constitutional Court for the purpose of ruling on the legality of laws passed by the Grand National Assembly. This court can judge the constitutionality of the legislature's rules of procedure, and acts as Supreme Court for trying the president of the Republic and members of the government for offenses related to their functions.

In addition, in order to ensure that the government cannot violate the rights of the individual, the 1961 Constitution strengthened Council of State. This council is the highest administrative court and citizens can initiate any case in exercise of their constitutional right to challenge the legality or equity of laws which they believe have injured them.
Because of the chaos of the 1960-65 period, the 1961 Constitution contains definite provisions to ensure the independence of the courts and to make obedience to decisions mandatory. Limits and conditions of judicial service are clearly stated, and all matters pertaining to judges themselves are under the Supreme Council of Judges, composed of members elected by judges.

The National Unity Committee had also taken steps to alleviate the chaotic state of the economy by the creation of the State Planning Organisation and its incorporation into the Constitution. The State Planning Organisation would be the chief planning and advisory body to the government for economic and social policies and objectives. It would also work to coordinate political goals and development aspirations.

But because of not being able to make sub-structural changes, the democratic 1961 Constitution also proved to be no more than a dead letter. Instituted though it was with the support of the masses, the trade-unions and the intellectuals, and the State Planning Organisation was under the control of a big bourgeoisie, and its radical administrators and specialists were compelled to resign. The aim of raising the economic well-being of the nation within the limits of social justice was ignored and the 3-year plans were prepared with a view to interests of international finance capital and its local partners.

Especially after the elections of 1961, by then the government returned to civilian hands, the process of submission to foreign powers gained impetus.

Period of Coalitions and Vote Against Constitution (1962-1964)

The first step toward the reassertion of civil administration were the elections for the Senate and the National Assembly, on October 11, 1961. Fourteen parties were in the field, but there was not a single left-wing party. The results of the election were inconclusive: no party received a majority. The immediate consequence was a coalition government under Israel Sfakiotakis, the former "National Chief".

During the period 1961-65 coalition government became the order of the day. The Grand National Assembly elected General Cemal Gürsel, the leader of 16th May Coup d'État, to the presidency. The presence of the army was still felt: to balance the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP) to cooperate under Gürsel, in practice coalition government did not turn out well, whether between the major parties or between the CHP and the other parties.

In early 1962 and mid-1963 there were efforts by young officers, impatient with the slow economic and social progress, to regenerate political life. But two major attempts at a coup d'état failed and their leaders, Colonel Sabah Ayvazmir and Major Nefzi Gürsoy, were subsequently tried and executed. So for a certain period the armed forces seemed to retire from politics.

Early in 1965, the third İnönü coalition destined by the Republican People's Party lost on a budget vote in the Assembly and was obliged to resign. This was also the result of US hegemony over Turkish political life. Since the independence of Cyprus recognized by the Great Britain, Turkey and Greece in 1960, this time, the conflicts between two communities of Cyprus have been whipped by the United States in order to maintain the unrest and
to compel the Cypriots to accept a NAMO intervention and to turn the island into a NAMO base in the Mediterranean. As a result of these instigations, some bloody clashes occurred in Cyprus in 1960 and the Turkish government had threatened to intervene militarily, but the landing of Turkish troops on Cyprus was impeded by the US Sixth Fleet. Prime Minister Indro was also counseled against intervention by the visit of the NAMO commander, and also President Johnson threatened Turkey by sending Indro an insolent letter. Thereupon anti-American protests were tolerated by Indro government. Moreover, a Senatarian delegation was sent to the Soviet Union in the following year a group of Soviet parliamentarians paid a return visit. Also in 1964, a Soviet-Turkish trade agreement was arranged.

Concerned about this anti-American atmosphere, the United States planned to overthrow the Indro government and establish a pro-American government. Just before the Justice Party's convention in 1964, engineer Sihayman Dehaires, the representative of the US Morrison Company, was imposed as the main candidate for chairman. The pro-American newspapers made a huge campaign for Dehaires by publishing pictures of him with President Johnson. After his election as chairman of the Justice Party, Dehaires obtained the support of three minor parties and compelled the Indro government to resign by vetoing his budget. In the general elections of 1965, the Justice Party was supported financially by the big capitalists and landowners and won an absolute majority – 52.67% of the votes.

This was a turning point in the period of constitutional democracy because the Justice Party, even since 1961, had persistently upheld to the following aims:
2. Suppress and liquidate the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.
3. Grant more and more privilege to finance capital.

The truth of the matter is that the second aim was of greatest importance from the point of view of the financial capital which had backed the Justice Party. Even before the Justice Party came to power, the National Unity Committee and the coalition governments had already tried their best to satisfy the big capitalists. For example, foreign capital investment reached IT 157,000,000 in 1960, and IT 360,694,000 in 1965, whereas it had been IT 99,235,000 in 1959. Total bank deposits reached IT 7,554 million in 1960 and IT 42,989 million in 1966, whereas they had been IT 4,730 million in 1950. The number of tractors climbed to 53,984, as opposed to 4,136 in 1960.

But pro-capitalist government policies alone could not satisfy the growing needs of capital. All the democratic institutions set up by the 1961 Constitution had to be dissolved and the resistance of the ruling masses — who had begun to organise under the protection of 1961 Constitution — had to be broken. For even if such a pro-capitalist party as the AP comes to power by great majority, the 1961 Constitution provides for a division of power, so that neither parliament nor government are free to favor finance capital in the exact they would like. The Constitutional Court or the Council of State can annul any law or decision which is contrary to social justice or to fringes on the fundamental rights of the individual.

Moreover, in the climate of relative liberty created and protected by the constitution, socialist intellectuals found the possibility of publishing leftist books and new media, and workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands. The first large-scale workers' demonstration to take place
in that period was a meeting held in Istanbul in 1961, which attracted 100 thousand people. This was followed by big workers' demonstrations at Ankara and Karameniz Ereğli. In Ankara, thousands of barefoot workers rallied to the Grand National Assembly in order to demand their constitutional rights.

In order to give the working class an independent political structure to represent its interests, 25 trade-union leaders who were opposed to the prevailing American type of unionism founded the Turkish Labour Party (ITP) on February 10, 1961. Under the leadership of the Turkish Labour Party, the anti-imperialist and democratic movements of the toiling masses gained impetus.

These reasons sufficed for finance capital to mobilize its political forces in order to change the Constitution and suppress the leftist advances.

The Justice Party, being the main political representative of the ruling classes, did not hesitate to put these two objectives on its agenda. This party had already declared its opposition to the 1961 Constitution and used it as main propaganda item since the very beginning in order to gain the votes previously held by the Democratic Party. For after the coup d'etat, the Democratic Party had been dissolved and the newly formed parties, the Justice Party (IP) and the New Turkey Party (ITP), had declared themselves heirs to the votes of the Democratic Party.

First, in the referendum for the 1961 Constitution, the AP's position was a maneuver to attract these undecided votes: "Isn't it the National Unity Committee which overthrew the Democratic Party? Well, in that case, the sympathizers of the Democratic Party should vote the Constitution prepared by the National Unity Committee! This is a matter of revenge!"

In spite of the counter-propaganda, the majority of the people had approved the constitution in the referendum. And in the general elections of 1961, the Justice Party could not gain a majority. Nevertheless, during the period of the coalition governments, it continued its tricks and plots against the constitutional order.

Justice Party Power and Capitalisation (1965-1970)

This time, in 1965, there were new factors to incite the unconscious voters against the constitution defenders. First, the premiership of former dictator Inalı created a great psychological reaction among the masses. Second, as a result of secret promises, the government was not able to achieve anything in favor of the masses; on the contrary, living conditions worsened during the period of his power. The AP held up the constitution as the main reason for the worsened living conditions. Third, the New Turkey Party (ITP), which had been in favor of the constitution and supported it in the referendum, failed to gain wide support at the grass-roots level because it was a partner in the İnönü coalition and so the Justice Party became the only heir to the votes of the DP.

Hence, as a majority party, the Justice Party formed its pro-American government under the premiership of Ramiz and immediately started to clear all obstacles out of the way of capitalisation. Capital accumulation and centralisation gained impetus, bank deposits increased, the mining industry was encouraged and giant holding companies were formed.

In the manufacturing sector, the number of newly formed companies climbed to 3,569 in 1965, from 1,639 in 1961. In the same period, the assets
of these companies rose from £1,377,006,000 to £9,136,555,000. The ratio of joint-stock companies to all companies was 32% in 1966, whereas it was only 2% in 1962. In the same period, shares of the joint-stock companies in the total assets of all companies rose from 9% in 1962 to 14 in 1966. Moreover 37% of all public companies with total capital in excess of £500,000 were engaged in 33% of total capital. These figures confirm the centralization of capital which took place during the Justice Party's period of power.

Total bank deposits reached £9,000 million in 1963, and £19,000 million in 1966. The number of bank branches and agencies increased from 3,310 in 1960 to 9,400 in 1966. Capitalization in agriculture also gained importance in the same period. In 1969 there were 95,407 tractors as opposed to 53,924 in 1960. In 1969 there were 1,321,000 hectares of mechanically cultivated land as against 1,100,000 hectares in 1965.

The share of foreign capital in manufacturing also greatly increased. During the period of the Justice Party's power it reached the following ratios: 4% in the food industry, 70% in chemistry, 96% in medical products, 49% in machinery, 91% in agricultural equipment and tractors, 72% in electrical machinery and equipment, 96% in soap and detergents, 80% in margarine, 95% in iron and steel manufacturing.


Let us recall here that the ratio of the repatriated profit to foreign capital invested in 1957 was 3% in 1965. If it has been seen above, most foreign capital is invested in the manufacture of consumer goods. The 70.5% of the foreign capital investments belong to four countries, the USA (17.6%), Holland (13.02%), Switzerland (17.6%) and West Germany (16.09%). Moreover, the USA has certain shares in the investments coming from three other countries.

On the other hand, the military hegemony of the United States over Turkey was fortified under the Justice Party's term in power. It is a fact that hundreds of bilateral military agreements between Turkey and the United States had also been signed by the Republican People's Party, Democratic Party, and National Unity Committee governments. All of them had granted many privileges and immunities to the United States. According to the Installations Directory of the US Air Force, there were 101 US military bases and installations all over Turkey, 4 in Ayvansaray, 1 in Adnan, 4 in Mazar, 2 in Hyrcane, 2 in Istanbul, 3 in Kars, 4 in Izmir, 2 in Mazar, 3 in Hasköy, 8 in Ankara, 4 in Sanliurfa, 4 in Mardin, 5% in Gaziantep, 4 in Istanbul, 2 in Kars, 3 in Kars, 4 in Batman, 8 in Kayseri, 4 in Trabzon, 4 in Samsun, 3% in Erzurum, 5% in Mardin and 29 in Ankarah. Even the Turkish president and generals had no right to enter many of these bases and installations. In such US air bases as Ataturk and Cigli there are the missiles with nuclear warheads. Reconnaissance aircraft of the US Air Force fly over the Soviet Union from bases in Turkey. The flight of such U-2 reconnaissance aircraft created a deep crisis in world diplomacy.
a decade ago. These nuclear headed missiles and reconnaissance flights threatened the security of Turkey. Even the Dumlul government went so far as to offer at a NATO Meeting the eastern part of Turkey for experimental nuclear shielding.

But after the Cyprus conflict of 1964, the location of these US bases and installations became a controversial matter. Under the pressure of public opinion, the Turkish government was obliged to take anti-American reactions into consideration and demanded revision of the bilateral military agreements and the status of these bases and installations.

Finally, after long debates, a new bilateral military agreement was signed by the Dumlul government and the United States on July 5, 1969. But this new agreement did not restrict the privileges and immunities of the US mission in Turkey; it only revised the several bilateral agreements and incorporated them in a single basic agreement.

**EEE and ambitions of Big Bourgeoisie**

The most important and latest step toward so-called "westernization" are the attempts to enter the European Economic Community. In the process of capitalization, Turkey's big bourgeoisie aimed to be integrated into the EEC. The first contacts were started by the National Unity Committee just after the coup d'état of 1960, and the Association Agreement was signed in 1963 by Temel In Ali's coalition government. This agreement, which became effective late in 1964, foresees a two-part transitional period leading to the third and final stage - full customs union membership with the EEC. The first, or preparatory stage extended through 1969. The agreement names a limited list of Turkish exports to be allowed into the EEC under either common external tariffs or increased external quotas. The exports covered for this stage are mostly Turkish agricultural products - tobacco, fruits and nuts, and cotton. In addition, the European Investment Bank (EIB) of the EEC granted Turkey a development loan of 175 million dollars to be disbursed in 3 equal installments throughout the preparatory stage. The second, or transitional stage was to commence in 1970 and extend through 1977.

However, the Association Agreement recognized the right of prolonging the preparatory stage until 1972. But just after the Justice Party came to power, the big bourgeoisie made manifest its intention to begin the transitional stage at the stipulated time. The Union of Trade and Industry Chambers established an Economic Development Foundation on November 26, 1965, with the aim of beginning the transitional stage. In fact, the preparatory stage proved that the economic situation of Turkey was not far enough advanced to enter the transitional stage. During the period of the preparatory stage, Turkey was able to use only the contingent of dried fruits. At the end of the preparatory stage, the deficit from foreign trade with the EEC was more than the loan of 175 million dollars which the EEC had granted.

Moreover, in the preparatory stage the Turkish economy specialized in agricultural products, for exports primarily intended for the German market. Germany's share in Turkish EEC exports rose from 44.7% in 1963 to 52.6% in 1969. In addition, West Germany became Turkey's main creditor.

In spite of not having special advantages and being dependent upon the most developed countries of the world, the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives insisted on beginning the transitional stage. The
Turkish bourgeoisie dreams of broader collaboration with foreign capital in the EEC. But the transitional period would be unfavorable for Turkey’s agricultural and industrial products. In fact, the EEC does not need Turkey’s agricultural products because its main partners are already faced with the problem of liquidating their own agricultural products. In addition, the reduced custom tariff for oranges and lemons is accorded not only to Turkey, but also to the non-partner countries of Israel and Spain. The EEC did not recognize any concessions for textiles, Turkey’s only industrial export, during the transitional period. At the end of the six-year transitional period, when all custom tariffs will be abolished, Turkey’s weak national industry will collapse and Turkey will turn into a source of cheap raw materials, low-wage labour and a sunny vacation paradise for the citizens of the developed European countries. Furthermore, with the abolishment of custom tariffs, Turkey will lose 15% of its revenue. Thus Turkey will be an under-developed and dependent partner of the most developed countries of the world.

This is the bankruptcy of the 200 years old dream of “westernization”. It is ridiculous to think that an under-developed country like Turkey can participate in an organization of developed countries like the EEC. For whereas the working population of the six partners is divided into 43% for industry, 39% for services and 18% for agriculture, Turkey’s working population is divided into 13% for industry, 23% for services and 64% for agriculture. In other words, production per capita is 370 kilograms in Europe, while it is only 47 kilograms in Turkey. While electricity consumption is 2,131 kilowatts per capita in Europe, it is only 106 kilowatts in Turkey. The consumption of fertilizer per hectare is 203 kilograms in Europe, but only 4 kilograms in Turkey.

On the one hand, the developed countries of Europe with an average per capita income of 2,000 dollars; on the other hand, an under-developed country, Turkey, with a per capita income of only 314 dollars.

Yes, “westernization” by participation in the European Economic Community is an illusion.

But for the ruling circles of Turkey this inescapable bankruptcy and collapse of the working population of no great importance. They have never had as great a goal the development and industrialization of Turkey. They have never attempted to secure a better and more prosperous life for the poor people of Turkey. They want to establish nafta-industries in Turkey in collaboration with foreign capital to jointly exploit the workers of Turkey. Their aim is to turn Turkey into a vacation land for foreigners, while selling the “excess” population of Turkey abroad, to be employed as low-wage workers in the industries of the developed countries.

The Justice Party, as the main representative of the ruling classes, has done its utmost in this respect by granting more privileges to foreign capital and its local partners; by tolerating the nafta industry; by selling more than half a million workers to Germany, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, France, Austria, and others; and sending them to Canada, New Zealand and Australia; by selling Turkey’s seas-shores to collaborating tourist companies; and finally by attempting to enter the transitional stage of the EEC despite the deficient level of Turkey’s economy.

Infringement of the Constitution

Parallel to this action in favor of the ruling classes, the Justice Party, during the entire period of its power, has never recognized the funda-
mental human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution.

The constitution provided for an independent state, but the Justice Party increased political, economic and military dependence on the United States. That is why the working class and the progressive youth had to fight US hegemony, by organizing demonstrations to prevent the shameful visits of the Sixth Fleet to Turkey's ports and to put an end to the more than hundred US bases all over Turkey.

The constitution provided for guarantees of employment, housing, health, education; but in spite of an increasing population, the AP government has done nothing about social problems nor has it been able to increase the degree of literacy. Millions of citizens have been compelled to live in slums surrounding the big cities and in caves, especially in the southeastern part of Turkey. The Justice Party also followed an inflationist policy and the currency rose to 15.910 million in June 1970 while it was 8,200 million in 1964. As a result, the price index also rose to 134.3 in 1970 while it was 100 in 1965. And protection of health has been a matter of wealth.

The more the AP ignored these constitutional rights, the more the resistance of the masses organized by the Turkish Labour Party (ITP), progressive trade-unions, left-wing or liberal parliamentarists, progressive intellectuals and leftist publications strengthened, pressing the Serbian govern- ment to solve the socio-economic problems and put the constitution into practice.

But the AP rule persisted in ignoring the constitution and chose rather to suppress the masses and the constitution's defenders. As majority, the AP passed many unconstitutional laws to permit repression. For the last five years the majority of these laws have been voided by the constitutional Court. And many unconstitutional and unlawful decisions of the government have also been voided by the Council of State. These decisions of the highest courts clearly showed the unconstitutional character of the AP's rule.

Unable to suppress the resistance movements defending their constitu- tional rights the AP started to organize police forces and military commando troops, and tolerated the formation of rightist bands in order wipe out the resistance. The prime minister Demiral even dared to say in his official speech that he would arrest 500,000 Justice Party militants. While the com- mando troops operated in the south-eastern part of Turkey, riot police and rightist bands attacked the democratic conventions, meetings, rallies of the ITP, the EDE (Teachers' Union of Turkey), the Dev-Omug (Progressive Youth's Confederation), the USK (Progressive Trade Unions' Confederation), DDKO (Progressive Cultural Organisation of the Eastern Anatolians).

The extreme rightist organisations have been based on chauvinist and religious ideologies. First, the more than 500,000 mosques have been turned into cells of the extreme rightist movement. This religious movement (Harektılık) has been organized by the Elin Yagmın Cemiyeti (Association for Propagating Religion), the Yegüley (Green Moon), the Cem Yaptıran Dernekleri (Associations for Building and Restoring Mosques), the Kur'an Kurulları (Centres for Teaching Kor'an). They enjoy huge financial support not only from the big capitalists and landowners, but also from Armenos and Saudi Arabia.

On the other hand, the chauvinist movement was organized by the Nation- al Action Party (MHP) of fascist-minded Colonial Alpaları Türkei. This party also was tolerated to organize an armed and uniformed rightist band, named Üskü Özalı (Powers of Ideal).
These rightist bands increased their attacks on the democratic and anti-imperialist movements, and during the Justice Party's five-year rule, 40 persons had been murdered one by one by the military troops, police forces and rightist bands.

However, during the rule of the AP, freedom of the press also was ignored by the government, and public prosecutors brought every one of them to court under the accusation of making propaganda for communism, "insulting the police," "insulting the classes against each other" or "insulting the government," "insulting the army," "insulting the police forces." Many books—even classics—were confiscated and the publishers, translators or writers tried under the demand of hundreds of years imprisonment.

(These repressions which took place under the Justice Party's rule are the subject of specialized chapters which follow.)

The Armed Forces: Integral Part of Fascist Capital

Although the armed forces seemed to have retired from politics, in fact the high commanders remained in the middle of politics. According to the constitution of the Turkish Republic, the high-ranking commanders have no right or authority to speak on politics. The leaders of General Staff and the commanders of the land, air and naval forces are only members of an advisory body, the National Security Council, determining national security policy and coordinating all activities related to national mobilization and total defense. The president of the Republic, or in his absence the prime minister, presides over the Council, which is composed of the prime minister and the deputy prime minister, the ministers of national defense, the interior affairs, foreign affairs, finance, communications, labor and industry and also the commanders.

At first the National Security Council was only an "advisory body". The commanders did not have any right to speak on the actual political problems. But in time the military members of the Council began to interfere in the functions of the government and parliament. Especially after the AP came to power, Etilayan Demirel established good relations with the high commanders and began to use them as a threat against his opponents. The main target of this threat was of course the growing leftist movement. After the Turkish Labour Party (TWP) gained 15 seats in parliament and the democratic movements grew stronger, General Cemal Fatur, the Chief of General Staff, began to issue orders to the military units to undertake anti-communist education, and even published a book entitled "Handbook for Anti-Communist Action" which directed all leftist organizations and publications to being "enemies of the State".

This same commander fostered the idea of creating a war industry which, together with the trap laid by OTAN, completely separated the officers—especially those of high rank—from the masses of the population, integrating them into the ruling classes. His successor, General Necdet Yagmaz, and other high-ranking commanders followed the same path, on the one hand increasing the anti-communist education with in the armed forces, on the other hand improving the war industry and OTAN projects.

The first clash between the armed forces and the working class occurred during the June 1970 map demonstration in Istanbul of more than a hundred thousand industrial workers aiming to defend their progressive unions.
Soldiers were brought in to crush the demonstration, and three workers were killed. Martial law was subsequently proclaimed in the districts of Istanbul and Kocaeli; the leaders of progressive unions and workers were arrested and many of them atrociously tortured. The economic reason behind this crackdown was only too clear because it was the army officers' OIK which also espoused workers. And ideologically the army officers were convinced that the workers' demonstration was a communist action.

The armed forces sought to crush not only the working class but also the Kurdish people living in the eastern part of Anatolia. In April of 1970, all Kurdish villages were surrounded by thousands of gendarmes and military commanders with the support of the Air Forces, and all of the houses and shops were searched and the people tortured.

After the end of the five-month martial law the political ambitions of the high-ranking commanders continued to increase. From time to time General Ismail Burcu, the Commander of the Air Forces, General Ferhat Küçük, the Commander of the Land Forces and Admiral Cevat Geyiklioglu, the Commander of the Naval Forces even sent many secret communications to the president of the Republic requesting that all constitutional rights be abolished and a Stoke-type regime established in Turkey. They were supported and encouraged by the most important industrialists who dreamed of huge profits from a war industry and of exploiting the workers to the utmost in a totalitarian regime.

Thus the function of the military wing is the National Security Council shifted from being advisory to being political.

General Sivas, president of the Republic, worked hand in hand with the big bourgeoisie and the high-ranking officers. After being elected president in 1965, he appointed an intelligence officer, General Cihat Alpay, as the general secretary of the presidency. In a short time this cunning officer took the Sivas's strings into his own hands. He had been in the service of the MISCO for years and had also gained the confidence of the United States. One of General Alpay's first acts was to bring the owners of the presidential palaces and the residences of the high commanders for security considerations. In fact, the high commanders formed the most privileged strata of the bureaucracy in Turkey. The high commanders lived in their official luxurious residences in the neighbourhood of the presidential palaces. Both the president and the high-ranking commanders had the same fate. While the commanders flirted with the big capitalists, they also were involved in shady business deals. Charges of bribery against his relatives were even brought to parliament in February 1971.

The corruption initiated by the high-ranking commanders and the president himself has spread down to other generals and low-ranking officers by means of OIK. Furthermore, an important part of the military budget went into the pockets of corrupt officers who stole the private soldier's food, clothing, services, ammunition and arms. In addition, flights to MISCO bases in Europe and naval excursions to Mediterranean ports also presented profitable opportunities for the corrupt officers, who sold weapons in luxury goods to supply the so-called "American" barracks of the big cities.

Yes, prime minister Damisal had intended to use the armed forces as a threat against the popular forces and his opponents, but in a short time the ambitions and functions of the generals overstepped his control and became more favorable to the United States and the ruling classes.

In any case, the finance capital, the armed forces this time would do their best to abolish the fundamental rights and freedoms and to liquidate the left.
Military Rule in Turkey

The year 1971 marked the beginning of the worst period of terror in the history of Turkey. Carried out by the armed forces, this reign of terror represents the most recent link in the chain of long-standing measures aimed at assuring the absolute hegemony of the United States and its local collaborators. The “Declaration of the Generals” of March 12, 1971 laid the cornerstone for the rule of the finance-capital, and after immobilizing the puppet parliament, martial law was proclaimed with the intent of wiping out all progressive forces in Turkey.

This plot against the constitution and democracy stemmed from the anxiety and ambitions of the United States and the big bourgeoisie.

First of all, the United States was very anxious about its hegemony over Turkey. Indeed, as a result of anti-imperialist resistance, the Sixth Fleet of the US had not been able to visit Turkish ports. Ambassador Robert Kaiser, known as a CIA agent, had been obliged to leave Turkey, and US military personnel dared not show themselves in public places.

On the other hand, during the SLP rule, the big bourgeoisie which had developed in collaboration with US capital, had to undertake a whole series of measures in order to increase its rate of exploitation of the nation’s natural resources. Having completed its preparations in 1970 and entered the transitional phase of the BKO, the big bourgeoisie now began to pry loose the framework of the social and political order which it found too narrow for its own aims. Keeping step with increasingly restrictive anti-labour measures, the glance government passed legislation facilitating financing, devaluing the Turkish pound and attracting foreign investments.

The big bourgeoisie was anxious to match its economic development with parallel control of the government’s reins, including all its institutions, cadres and organizations; it wanted to reshape them to its own purposes and intended to wipe out the socialist movement and the labour unions, which were the major obstacles to its plans. Indeed, even the Justice Party, which basically represented that same big bourgeoisie in the parliament, was no longer able to satisfy the pressing “reform” demands of the big capitalists. Although in its present parliamentary form the Justice Party is the representative of the big bourgeoisie, it has to cater to other classes and figures of the population in order to get elected. Even the partial measures adopted in 1970 to satisfy the needs of the big bourgeoisie provoked very strong reactions on the part of the masses, on the one hand, and on the other, ended up with the representatives of the Anatolian bourgeoisie, the usurers and go-between, and the big landowners opposing General and leaving the Justice Party to form the Democratic Party (DP).
The "reform" demands of the collaborating bourgeoisie were made public by Velbi Kog, Turkey's biggest capitalist who represents more than hundred US and European companies in Turkey, on his return from a trip to Japan, and were described as follows in 1970:

1. Political stability must be guaranteed. All parties must sit in accordance with a common political platform as matters of foreign policy, extreme left-wing or extreme right-wing groups, relations between management and workers, and problems of education and youth.

2. Concerning policies with regard to external commerce, the European Economic Community, foreign investments, etc., a clear understanding of these policies must be arrived at, solutions sought, then planned and finally implemented.

3. The regime of a mixed economy must be maintained.

4. The state economic institutions should form two holding companies, one for public sector services, the other for commercial services. These holding companies should follow the general policy of the parent organisms.

5. A stock market should be established and companies created in which the public can participate.

The point which Kog stresses, namely the formation of holding companies for the public sector, was in fact achieved by the Armed Forces Mutual Aid Fund (ÖMAG) as far as the army was concerned, by personally involving its officers in trade and foreign investments.

The armed forces' ties to the finance-capital group are not limited to ÖMAG. Both the naval forces, with their "Marine Association", and the air forces, with their "Foundation for the Development of the Air Forces", have undertaken to collaborate with the big bourgeoisie. The aim of these associations was none other than to lay the framework for a war industry, to reinforce the army and to furnish the industrialists with new profits, as Hitler had advocated for Germany.

The big capitalists and high-ranking generals thus created a true "military-industrial complex".

The Ultimatum or Coup d'État of March 12th

The corruption, speculation and collaboration of the high-ranking commanders also engendered opposition on the part of those officers who had not lost connection with their own poor backgrounds and who remained imbued with the ideals of national liberation. Hundreds of such officers had been liquidated from time to time, even before the coup d'état of March 12, 1971. But in spite of many liquidations, the ruling circles were not able to annihilate all resistance within the armed forces, and on March 8, 1971 the radical army officers issued a communiqué denouncing the corrupt order and the hegemony of the US and demanding radical reforms in favor of masses. This action of the radical officers dealt a heavy blow to the United States and its local collaborators. All the secret intelligence services were immediately mobilised to play their traditional role of intrigue. The coup d'État had already been planned by these secret services beforehand, and they were merely waiting for a pretext in order to suppress all progressive forces.
Three key men of these secret services put the plan into execution. The most important was Cihat Alpan, the General Secretary of the Presidency. The second key man of the operation was General Ali Reşit, Chief of the Plans and Principles Department of The General Staff Headquarters. He seemed to be the leader of the radical officers until March 9, 1971, but at the last moment informed the high commanders on all his companions. Then he met Cihat Alpan and the CIA representatives at the US Embassy in Ankara. At this secret meeting the two key men planned the execution of the plot in collaboration with CIA agents. According to this plan, on March 12, 1971, the four high commanders would issue an ultimatum consisting of a promise for reforms and force the government to resign. Under the cloak of promise for reforms they could thus take the initiative into their own hands and pacify the radical officers. Immediately after this stage, they would liquidate the radical officers, interpret the “reforms” mentioned in their own ultimatum in favor of big bourgeoisie and establish a reactionary military dictatorship by maintaining a puppet parliament and forming a puppet government.

This plan was skillfully applied. On March 12, 1971, the military members of the National Security Council, Chief of General Staff Mehmet Uğur, Commander of Land Forces Paruk Şefir, Commander of Naval Forces Celal Bay catégorie and Commander of Air Forces Muhsin Enaz, presented their ultimatum, forced Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel to resign and liquidated all radical army officers immediately.

This liquidation was increased by the third key man, in Istanbul, General Fikret Gökmen, the Chief of Staff of the first Turkish Army. He was also Chief of the Army Intelligence Service and was in direct contact with the presidential palace. This special intelligence service had been formed just before the coup d'etat and had extraordinary authority even more than the National Intelligence Organization (MIT)’s. Before the coup d’etat, General Gökmen also met the CIA agents at a private residence of Bebek and planned the operation to be applied in Istanbul. In accordance with this plan, hundreds of radical officers were also liquidated in Istanbul on the pretext of “supporting the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey.”

The Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THK) was formed by youth leaders and peasants who sought to fight the hegemony of the United States and compel the political power to put the 1961 Constitution into practice. For these purposes, the THK organised certain activities such as expropriations, kidnappings, etc. But it murdered nobody and released all of its hostages after a short period. The aim of the above mentioned activities was to attract the attention of the people to US hegemony and the infruction of the 1961 Constitution. Before the coup d’etat, the THK had openly declared its aims and program, and taken responsibility for its activities. At the same time, another clandestine organization, the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THK) likewise organised some expropriations and kidnappings with the same aim, but it also murdered nobody. (Contrary to the official claims, the kidnapping of Efrain Elron, General Counsel of Tarpol, was not the reason of the "sledgehammer operation", but a result of it. Because, the "sledgehammer" operation was started by the military on April 26, 1971. The fighters of the THK kidnapped Elron on May 1, 1971 with the aim of compelling the military backed government to release the political detainees. But the military authorities, instead of finding a reasonable solution, refused negotiation with the kidnappers and caused the death of the hostages. Moreover, since the defendants of THK Case refused its responsibility, it has not been clear who shot at Elron.)
In spite of the liquidation of the radical officers, the progressive forces of Turkey, including the TSDK and the TERE, did not hurry to take a negative position toward the Coup and preferred to wait with great suspense until the progress of the new government was made known. Academicians and the masses were not satisfied with the change of government...

Immediately after the March 12 Coup, while the Turkish Labour Party (CHP) was demanding early elections, the Progressive Trade Union Confederation (DUSK) issued a call for a mass "unite of forces", making all the mass organizations to exercise pressure on the military authorities. The Turkish Teachers' Union (VOKI), the unions of government employees, the professional organizations and the various trade-unions which participated in these "united forces", meetings decided to transmit a memorandum to the government demanding:

1. Measures to put a rapid end to the economic, political, ideological and military domination of the United States.
2. An immediate end to the fascist methods employed against the democratic and progressive forces.
3. Speedy implementation of social and economic reforms in the interests of the impoverished masses.

It was made clear that the working class and other progressive forces would not cease struggling as long as these demands remained unsatisfied and fascist pressures were allowed to continue.

**Martial Law and Sledge-Hammer Operations**

But the new Erim Government, true to the class structure of the coup d'etat, did not take any of these demands into consideration when presenting its program to parliament on March 27, 1971. On the contrary, every single point in its program favored the interests of the United States and the big bourgeoisie. It was a program after the heart of a Yekhi Ko\'i, hence of a fascist character.

The first concrete application of this program was the initiation of a "sledge-hammer operation" against the entire left on April 26, 1971 when the Ministerial Council proclaimed martial law for 11 of the country's districts. An examination of these districts brings out the following facts:

1. Istanbul, Kocaeli, Samsun, Adana and Diyarbakir are the most industrial districts of Turkey and form TSDK's strongest bases.
2. As for the districts of Hatay, Diyarbakir and Siirt, they contain the greatest concentration of the Kurdish people, and it is here that the bourgeoisie power has been imposing their chauvinism vigorously for decades already.

Just after the declaration of martial law, on May 1, 1971, prime minister Erim classified the 1961 Constitution as "a luxury for Turkey" and declared it necessary to modify it as to establish the principle of human rights and freedoms...

So, after March 12, 1971 the coalition of the Army-Sig Capitalists-Parliamentarians changed the 1961 Constitution on the one hand, and on the other, carried on a country-wide massacre and repression. All of the progressive, socialist periodicals were banned; thousands of socialist, social democrat or liberal-minded intellectuals have been detained; hundreds of thous
have been tortured and tried by military courts of martial law under the threat of death sentence or life-imprisonment; three young students have been executed; the cultural life of Turkey has been turned into a desert.

(Specific reports on the man-hunts, the oppression of the working class, intellectuals, teachers, youth, the tortures, the illegitimate trials, executions, etc. are found in the following chapters.)

The United States and the big bourgeoisie were satisfied with these developments. U.S. Secretary of State Rogers, in his annual report to the US Congress, declared his satisfaction as follows:

"Turkey is an important power necessary to protect the south-eastern flank of NATO and to guarantee stabilisation in the Mediterranean Sea... The Turkish authorities accept NATO as the basis of their foreign policy."

On the other hand, the conflicts between Greece and Turkey had always caused annoyance to the Pentagon and NATO. After the military coup d'etat of March 15, 1971, the military junta of both countries, Turkey and Greece, could find a common language on different problems, including the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the Pentagon's desire.

First of all, the intelligence services of both countries agreed to liquidate Makarios' power and realise a "double enosis" which would also turn the island into a NATO base.

Colonel Papadopoulos, the military dictator of Greece, in his interview with Inshad's son-in-law on June 15, 1971, declared the necessity of a "confederation" including Greece and Turkey. And Mihat Erkin, military-backed premier of Turkey, went one step further in his interview with the German weekly Stern, on July 4, 1971 and suggested a "confederation" including not only Greece and Turkey, but also Iran.

During these top-level approaches, on the one hand the foreign ministers of the two countries agreed to negotiate the Cyprus problem directly at the Lisbon meeting of NATO; on the other, the businessmen of the two countries met at Izmir and decided to increase joint economic and commercial efforts directed toward the EEC.

The satisfaction of the United States reached its zenith on the first anniversary of the military coup d'etat when prime minister Mihat Erkin announced: "by government in reopening Turkish ports to the Sixth Fleet. This has become possible because of a successful crackdown on leftist anti-American elements. We earnestly desire to continue and strengthen a close cooperation between Turkey and the United States."

For Big Bourgeoisie and Against the Colling Masses

Turkey's big bourgeoisie was also satisfied with the government program and with the executions. The biggest capitalist of Turkey, Yekbi Kog, seeing his demands realized in the program, expressed his satisfaction as follows:

"In the new government's program, the country's great problems are shown in a realistic way and the necessary reforms are promised in order to solve them. Everyone who wishes a speedy development in economic and political stabilisation can expect only the best from this program."
In order to create a powerful political advisory body, 3% of the biggest capitalists formed the Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamıları Derneği (Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen), and issued a declaration on August 2, 1971. In this communiqué, the big capitalists called on the Government to support the private sector, and suggested some new measures favoring big capital. They also threatened the news media to decrease their advertisements income if they follow a policy against the interests of the private sector.

On the other hand, we find the workers, peasants, state employees, all salaried clerks and artisans, increasingly oppressed by rising prices, indirect taxes and new legal measures. The prices of all commodities and public services have increased more than 100% since the beginning of the military regime because, as a result of the military-backed government's inflationist policy the currency rose to 57.17,300 million in December 1971, from 179,100 million in June 1970. The price increase was 30% for consumer goods and 120% for imported goods. The price index also rose to 175,7 in November 1977, whereas it was 141,5% in July 1970.

Since martial law has been imposed, all kinds of strikes, meetings and assemblies of trade-unions have been forbidden and trade-union leaders and workers have been arrested. The government has prepared new bills to limit strikes even after the cessation of martial law, to ban the progressive trade-unions and even to force the trade-unions to compulsory militarisation, as in the other fascist countries.

While the military rule was trying to pay for its dictatorship at the expense of the poor masses and turning the life for the common people into an inferno, it did not neglect to satisfy the parliamentarians by increasing their salaries to astronomical figures. Some parliamentarians, including the overthrown premier Demiral and opposition leader İnceölmez, had at first reacted from a formal point of view against the 12 March coup d'État. Later the military rulers and the politicians reacted to a compromise on the subject of suppressing democratic movements and modifying the 1961 Constitution. But first the military junta permitted the parliamentarians to increase their salaries 100%. In a country where the average per capita income is only 301 dollars, an annual income of more than 10,000 dollars per member of parliament is a high price to pay for silence.

At the beginning of martial law there was only one organized opposition to the military regime, to martial law and to the parliamentary amendments to the constitution: The Turkish Labour Party (TDP). But after a short time, TDP was banned; during the entire oppression process which lasted for months, no organized protest of any kind was heard from parliament.

Even the leaders of the "center-left" wing of the Republican People's Party (CHP) did not hesitate to support the amendments to the 1961 Constitution. Although İlber Ortaylı, general secretary of the CHP, had declared his opposition to the formation of a government under the premiership of Mihăi Brătianu, but it was a superficial and personal opposition, because Mihăi Brătianu was one of his main opponents in the party. But İsmet İnlı, the leader of CHP, supported the premiership of Brătianu, and as a result of this contradiction, İlber Ortaylı was obliged to resign from his post in the Party. Although he had immunity, after his resignation İlber Ortaylı preferred to be silent about the repression applied by the same Mihăi Brătianu, and even supported the amendments to the 1961 Constitution.

The members of parliament have supported the military rule because the great majority of them, even the ones who seem to be "center-left", are
the representatives of the ruling classes and opposed to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the toiling masses which had been guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution. They knew very well that changing the constitution so to abolish its freedoms and rights can be realized only by the armed forces.

However, the military rule was not satisfied with these exactions and forced parliament to approve new bills aiming to change legislation on the press, associations, judicial procedure, penal code, political parties, university and to abolish all vestiges of the 1961 Constitution.


And the same military rule condemned 21 young students to death and executed three of them on May 6, 1972. According to the army generals and their course, the "crime" of these young students was "trying to change the 1961 Constitution by force". As a matter of fact, the 1961 Constitution was really changed by force. But, to be exact, not by the young students, but by parliament under the pressure of the army generals.

As the condemned and murdered defenders of the constitution had said, this is an historical paradox.

Inner Contradictions of the Ruling Circles

But in spite of all attempts to stabilize the military rule after the modification of the 1961 Constitution and the oppressor of the democratic forces, the inner contradictions of the ruling circles reappeared.

At the beginning, the first government of Sihat Ersh - which included some so-called "radical" members - passed certain measures that in the long run would be beneficial to the industrial bourgeoisie of Turkey, in the process of integration with the EEC. But these measures seemed impractical and unprofitable in the short run to the commercial bourgeoisie and the big landowners. For example, the first government introduced a "land reform bill" aiming to realize a capital transfer from the agrarian sector to the industrial sector. But it is a fact that there are also representatives of the landowners in the political parties, and they reacted immediately. The military junta represents the big industrial bourgeoisie whose interests require the realization of this land reform. But since they did not have the support of the masses, the generals were afraid of losing also the support of the big landowners. Moreover, the commercial bourgeoisie had also given an ultimatum to the president of the Republic on August 4, 1971 criticising the measures taken by the so-called "radical" ministers. Therefore, the military junta had to submit to the demands of the commercial bourgeoisie and the landowners. Ersh's first government had to resign. Nevertheless, the second military-backed government was again formed under the premiership of Sihat Ersh, but this time without even the "radical" ministers. One of the first decisions of the second government was to withdraw the "Land Reform Bill" under the pretext of preparing a more realistic bill. The following figures also reveal the retreat of the military junta: in 1972, the imposed on agricultural income was 17 1,500 million, but the government could collect only 17 300 million of it.

After the second government was formed, the military regime sought to establish a mass base in the petty-bourgeoisie by appealing to their petit-bourgeois ideals. Religious beliefs, chauvinism and traditions have been
exploited under the terms of "basalism" and "reformism"? McCarthyism has been encouraged day by day.

One of the most contradictory results of the first Ergin government period was that Selçuklu Damir, the leader of the AP, regained his prestige. It is a fact that Damir was one of the main targets of the 15th March coup d'etat. In the light of the generalities, Damir had been accused of creating a chaotic atmosphere and was forced to resign. For five months, Damir succeeded in waiting steadily to exploit the traditional contradictions between the ruling classes and the bureaucratic classes. While avoiding a direct attack on Ergin's Government, he did not, on the other hand, neglect to point out that the worsening situation of the country was the result of bureaucratic intervention "although the increase in prices and taxes had started under his government. When the inner contradictions of the ruling classes were reactivated and the unrest of the masses was strengthened, Damir began to speak with great insistence. Therefore, prime minister Ergin tried to acquire Damir of having made misappropriations in the interests of his brothers. From the president of the Republic and the high-ranking commanders were obliged to defend the military-backed government against Damir and forced parliament to investigate the charges raised against him. But it was too late. The military-backed government had not been able to gain the support of the masses, and in the other hand Damir, acting as a martyr, not only succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the unarmed masses, but also established his undeniable authority within the Justice Party. In addition, the second most important political party, the CIP, was caught up in inner conflicts, and the AP seemed to be the only well-organized political party. So after the resignation of the first military-backed government, Nihat Erkin was obliged to recognize Damir as the most esteemed political leader, apologizing for accusing him of misappropriation and formed his second government under the domination of the AP, on December 12, 1971.

After dismissing his prestige, Damir began to behave as a future prime minister only to whip up the military junta's McCarthy ambitions by making anti-communist statements and instigating new anti-democratic measures.

Another important development in the political life of Turkey was the split in the CIP. The leadership of the party had been the most enthusiastic supporters of Ergin's government. But in the last months of 1971, the grass-roots level of the party started to express opposition to the military rule. Damir had to change his pro-government policy in order to satisfy the party members and declared his opposition to the proclamation of martial law and to the execution of the death sentences on January 31, 1972.

In addition to the above, the following developments dealt heavy blows to the authority and the prestige of the military junta and its government.

At first, prime minister Nihat Erkin had stated that all the "enemies" and "basalists" together were not more than 300 and that they could be arrested in a few months. But in the period of his premiership the numbers spread all over Turkey; not only 300 "enemies", but more than 10,000 intellectuals have been detained. Martial law has been prolonged four times; the 1961 Constitution was modifed and all democratic rights and liberties were abolished.

The more the repression increased, the more the external and internal reactions against the military rule was strengthened. The external pressure was concentrated especially on the military trials, the torture, the ill-treatments. This external pressure frightened the military rulers; the
eleven "radical" members of the first Erin government even save the oppression of the intellectuals and the reaction of world opinion against this repression as one of the main reasons for their resignation.

In addition to this external pressure, a huge internal reaction took place against the torture and the death sentences. More than 1,700 famous intellectuals, professors and writers took their place in the resistance movement and appealed to the presidents of Republic to abolish the death sentence for political crimes. Among the signatories were members of the Court of Cassation, the Council of State, some judges, public prosecutors and even members of parliament.

Moreover, five political prisoners, for whom the military prosecutor demanded death sentences, succeeded to escape from the military jail, and this became another heavy blow to the military regime's prestige. In fact, the trials at the military courts shocked the military rule's authority because the young defendants pointed out the historical paradox which caused them to be brought before the military courts, and openly accused the military rule of applying torture and ill-treatment to prisoners.

On the other hand, the economic and social collapse continued, and the oppression of the workers, peasants and employees increased. The worsening living conditions and a capitalization obtained at the poor Collins' expense, the suspension of the right to strike, and the plots against the progressive trade-unions were resulting in such resistance activities as strikes, demonstrations and hooligan occupations, in spite of prohibitions imposed by the military authorities. This situation might set off another explosion at a weakest moment of the regime.

New Terror Wave in the Second Year of Military Rule

At the end of its ten-month-old power, the military rule was confronted with a dilemma:

"Could they stand behind the curtains for a long time?"

"If we, would they dare to ignore also the so-called 'parliamentary' system and to establish no open and official fascist dictatorship?"

The developments of 1972 showed that the military junta of Turkey preferred the second alternative and increased its repression.

The new course began just after premier Erin's official visit to France. Because of the immense foreign reactions which had taken place, on the threshold of the visit the military regime tried to seem more liberal in order to prevent new reactions on the part of French public opinion. But on the very day Erin's official visit ended, a new course of terror began in a most shocking manner. On January 23, 1972 over 104,000 troops and police searched more than half a million houses, offices and workshops in Istanbul and captured 25,000 people, under the code name "Operation Kuker." Just after this operation, Istanbul martial law headquarters arrested 57 army officers on March 11, 1972, on the pretext of helping the urban guerrillas.

The military junta gave most important proof of the new terror wave by forcing parliament to approve the death sentences of three fugitives of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (TUG), Kenan Demir, Yusuf Atakan and Mithat Ismayis, on March 16, 1972. And in spite of widespread foreign rec
tions, President Ducey did not hesitate to sign the death sentences on March 23, 1970. Thus all the legal possibilities for saving the lives of the three young revolutionaries disappeared, and the members of THK were obliged to kidnap three foreign technicians employed in a NATO area center, in order to save the lives of their friends. They promised that if the death sentences would be commuted to imprisonment, they would release the hostages. But the military authorities held no account even for world opinion's reaction against the death sentences and instead of finding a reasonable solution in order to save the lives of the three young revolutionaries and the three hostages, resumed negotiations with the THK and murdered all of them by setting off a bomb explosion. The military junta tried to deceive world opinion by issuing contradictory statements to prove that the three hostages were first killed by the revolutionaries and afterwards ten members of the THK were shot to death in a room-to-room shoot-out with the police forces. But in reality this was a mass murder committed by the military rule. (The facts about this massacre are presented in the following chapters.)

As the verdict on the capital punishments was at first found to be legally defective, the Constitutional Court annulled it. But the military junta had the law hurriedly voted by parliament once again, this time with "correct legal procedure", and executed the three young revolutionaries.

While the most important leaders of the revolutionary organizations were being murdered, the military authorities seemed bolder to liquidate also the last remnants of democratic life and even the moderate "left". But in order to prevent the reaction of democratic public opinion and especially of the European Council and the EC, the military junta did not dissolve parliament or ban political parties, but applied some well-designed plans to bring the role of parliament and the political parties to nought.

For this purpose, President Ducey issued a note to the political leaders demanding new constitutional changes to give the government extraordinary power to rule the country by decree and for a temporary suspension of all political activities on April 3, 1979.

This inexcusable step created a dispute between the political parties and the military.

The political leaders refused to give Erin's military-backed government extraordinary power to rule the country by decree. This refusal came as a surprise. Because in his note President Ducey said that despite the military intervention last March 12, the required economic and social "reform" had not been carried out and accused politicians of "bad habits, behavior and obstructionism" which delayed the passage of "reforms". Constitutionally, the President has no power to enforce a moratorium on political activity, but the demand of the President, as a member of the military junta, was backed by the continuing threat of a military takeover.

Nevertheless, the political leaders did not take notice of the threat this time because they knew that the military junta had no more support and if it dared to dissolve parliament and to ban the political parties, the external and internal opposition to the regime would be strengthened. On the other hand, the political parties believed that they had gained the support of the masses once again thanks to the faults of the military-backed government and that it was necessary to form a new government which would lend the country to general elections. Having modified the 1961 Constitution, liquidated the left forces and abolished the fundamental rights and freedoms, the political parties considered themselves to be the best alternative to govern best in favor of the United States and the big bourgeoisie.
On the other hand, the military junta was aware of the fact that with the economic and social situation worsening day by day, the military-backed government was losing its prestige. Under these conditions, the best solution for the military junta was to sacrifice the puppet prime minister and to regain prestige by forming a new cabinet with the support of the political parties. In fact, Prime Minister Eriu had resigned and the military junta formed a cabinet under the premiership of a well-known McCarthyist, Juris Meškeris.

But the premiership of Meškeris contradicted the ultimatum of March 12, 1971 which demanded the formation of a cabinet “over and above political parties”. For example, the first premier of the military-backed government, Eriu, had resigned from the CP. On the contrary, Meškeris did not resign from his party. In addition, the National Security Party (NDP) was not a majority party. In spite of this, none of the other political parties objected to this appointment and three parties, CDP, AD and NDP accepted to give ministers to this McCarthyist government. All the political parties supported Meškeris's premiership because his party was the most enthusiastic anti-communist political organization and also he promised to lead the country to general elections after having cracked down on the left.

Even the Republican People's Party (CHP) supported this McCarthyist government under the pretext that it would lead the country to general elections immediately. This support shocked many circles, because when the Meškeris government demanded a vote of confidence for its government, the CHP had chosen its leader and was under the presidency of the former general secretary Etili Fedet. He had seemed to be one of the strongest opponents of the military-backed government, especially in the last months. But it was not a surprise for those who knew the zigzag of this party and its leaders.

As was mentioned in the historical background presented earlier, the CHP had been established as the representatives of the ruling classes and applied every kind of repression during the entire period of its 35 years in power. Under the new conditions of the country after the Second World War, the CHP had tried to impose itself as an ardent fighter for democratic rights and freedoms. But during the period of its coalition governments following the 27th May Comp d'État, this party could no longer offer anything but disappointment. In 1965 new forces, the working class and the "calling peasants", protected their political potential, and as the representative of these forces the Turkish Labour Party had gained 15 seats in parliament.

In view of this new situation, the CHP changed its policy again and began to appear as a "social-democratic" party, identifying itself as a "center-left" party. At the beginning, General Secretary Etili Fedet seemed to support the worker, peasant and youth movements, but after the 1969 elections, the CHP betrayed these masses while Etili Fedet was accusing the socialist forces of being "enemies of the people". Instead, the leader of CHP, instigated the high-ranking officers to act by saying that 24 hours were enough in order to crack down on all of these left forces, in December, 1969.

After the 28th March coup d'État, the reaction of Fedet against Eriu's premiership was only a personal matter, because Eriu was his main rival in the party. After being compelled to resign from his post, as a
deputy he supported the modification of the 1961 Constitution, and the
proclamation of martial law.

But at the end of 1971, the pro-elite level of the party started
to react against the military rule because of the worsening economic and
social situation. Being one of the candidates for the succession of 68-
year old İnönü, former general secretary Boşnak understood that it was unp
possible to win the coming convention of the CHP unless acting against the
Military backed government. By exploiting the anti-military feelings of
the party members, Boşnak and his "center-left" friends came into possess
ion of the party by overthrowing the "internal leader" İnönü, on May 7, 1972.

This event seemed to many circles, even to European parliamentarians,
proof of the existence of democracy in Turkey. In fact, it seemed to be a "social-democratic" victory in spite of the military junta's will. Because, when İnönü had declared his party's opposition against the death sentences and the proclamation of martial law, under pressure of the masses, the fac
cist staff of the military rule had taken the CHP as its main target. In their chargs for the Dem-Gong (Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey) Case at the military court, the military prosecutors had accused the "center-left" wing of CHP of being "main instigators of紊乱". When CHP had criticized the behavior of the military prosecutors, this time, six martial law com
manders had attacked the "center-left" wing by repeating the same accusa
tion successively.

But in spite of these accusations, the "center-left" wing of Boşnak came to power in the CHP and this election was welcomed by the same military rulers. How was this possible? Because the "center-left" leadership of the CHP had made a new regime.

Just before the Extraordinary Convention of the CHP, Boşnak was
received by president of Republic and gave many guarantees and concessions to the military rulers. One of these guarantees was the promise to fight against marxism thought. In fact, after being elected as chairman, in his first speech, Boşnak declared that he is against marxism thought. The sec
ond proof of the retreat was the CHP's vote of confidence in the McCarthyist Melen government. This was a vote contrary to the will of the rank-and-file.

Ministry Charged With Anti-Communist Action

By the support of the political parties, one of the first decisions of Melen was to charge of of his state ministeries with "fighting against com
munist".

As will be seen in the following chapters, during the period of Me
len government:

a) The no Hàng has spread throughout the country. Although the Constitution forbids to hold any person in custody more than one week, hundreds of people have been detained without court warrant and kept for months illegally. Many young persons have been tortured for weeks and murdered by being thrown down from the upper stories of the police centers.

b) One year after martial law was imposed, the military authorities not only brought new cases of hundreds of people before the military courts, but also considered the previous decisions of the military courts unsatisfactory and forced the courts of martial law to change
then. For example, the leaders of the Turkish Labour Party (CHP), and the defendants of the Turkish Communist Party (TCP), who had been released eight months before, were arrested again. The First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, which had refused to apply death sentences to the defendants of two cases in which the military prosecutor's insistence, was even unequivocally dissolved. Despite the huge reaction against the execution of the three death sentences, the military authorities insisted on executing the other death sentences. For example, the death sentence for Ors Yilmaz was approved by the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation, whereas the Fourth Section of the same Court of Cassation had previously annulled this sentence.

c) The military authorities censor all information concerning the trials at the military courts so that none of the details can be made public. Newspapers are permitted to publish only the official court decisions.

d) The authorities have encouraged the formation of a whole network of informers, and awards for turning in "suspects" have been greatly increased.

e) Prior to the formation of the Mender government, torture had been carried out by police and under orders of the military authorities. Under the Mender government, it is the army officers of the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) themselves who carry out the tortures. Hundreds of youthful defendants have been tortured at the MIT's secret torture centers, and many female victims have even been violated with truncheons.

f) The authorities' anti-cultural campaign reached a climax with the decision of the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters to confiscate 138 books which had previously appeared. Although the Turkish Press Code currently in force states unequivocally that it is illegal to confiscate any book more than six months after its publication, among the confiscated books there were some written 350 years ago and reprinted in the last three or four years.

In addition to the Mender government's exceedingly repressive, its economic policy met with the favor of the big bourgeoisie and the military rulers. As the chairman of the United Chambers of Commerce and Industry stated, "The new government's program seems more realistic than that of its predecessors" because this program promised to satisfy the demands of the big industrial bourgeoisie. Vahbi Koç had been complaining that the state economic establishments had not yet been turned into huge holding companies. The biggest capitalist of Turkey had also been insisting on changing the collective bargaining law in order to restrict the rights of workers and creating a stock market.

Mender government promised to create this stock market by granting many facilities and privileges to owners of capital. All the political leaders claimed to be ardent supporters of this project.

In any case, big capital was well satisfied, because all the contesting political forces were competing to prove themselves the best servants of finance capital. But, Mender's government and its party enjoy the support of both the military rulers and the various parliamentary wings.
Phantom Fighters and Renault Cars

In the last months, through several channels, the military has satisfied both themselves and their external and internal partners. In the only one year of military rule, Turkey's military expenditures had already reached a record level. According to the official figures given by NATO in 1971, the Turkish military budget increased 50%, while the average increase of all NATO countries' total military budgets was only 25% in the same period.

But the high-ranking commanders were not satisfied even with this increase, and immediately after the formation of their government, forced parliament to authorize additional military expenditures worth US 15,000 million for the next ten years. In an underdeveloped country like Turkey, such an additional military budget was a real stroke of business for the capitalists. Under the pretext of "reorganizing the armed forces", a big part of this additional budget would go into the pockets of corrupt officers and their external and internal partners.

For example, US 4,300 million of this budget will be transferred to the United States because the military junta decided the Turkish Air Force needed to own 60 phantom fighters, since the Greek Air Force had a phantom fighters squadron. Although the military rulers of both countries had agreed to liquidate the Cyprus problem, they are still exploiting it in order to increase military expenditures. Firstly, Turkish public opinion had been persuaded that the United States would grant these phantom fighters as military aid to its most obedient and most self-sacrificing ally. But during Ayn's visit to the United States, President Nixon said that if Turkey wanted to own phantom fighters, it should pay US 75 million for each of them. So the United States would double its exports to Greece and Turkey, and obtain huge profits by arming the two allies against each other. Just a few weeks earlier, before this extra budget was passed by on June 5, 1971, State Secretary Rogers had declared that in 1971 US exports to Turkey had reached 328 million dollars, while imports from Turkey were only 11 million dollars. This new order for phantoms meant an extra income of 300 million dollars for the U.S. at the expense of the poor masses of Turkey.

Business circles were also satisfied because this additional military budget would provide new business contracts for them worth billions and billions of Turkish lira. It is very well known that many Turkish capitalists had reached their present positions by gaining huge profits from contracts with the armed forces.

But these most satisfied, obviously, were the army officers. They were sure that a great deal of these contracts, this time, would be signed by their own military company, OYAK because it had proved its financial power at its annual shareholders meeting on May 29, 1972. The Chief of General Staff, the army commanders and high-ranking generals attended this meeting, and General Fikret Kilsin, the Chairman of OYAK and the Councillor of the National Defense Ministry, stated that the financial power of the holding had reached an unprecedented level and thanks to it, the army officers had been granted a total of US 1,607 million as profit, credit or social aid. In addition, the army officers had the privilege of buying Renault cars manufactured by the OYAK-Renault Company through special instruments with a very low interest rate. Not all this was only a start. The high-ranking commanders knew very well that in time the army officers would request more and more luxuries. In order to grant these requests OYAK would be obliged to increase its trade and investments. Under the pretext of creating a new industry, this extra military budget would also give many advantages to OYAK.
Although the big industrial bourgeoisie had been granted many privileges and attractive conditions, there was general unrest among the different strata of the bourgeoisie, especially industrialists of Anatolia and the commercial bourgeoisie. The political future of the country was not clear, and this situation created timid tendencies in political and social life. The tension in political and social life also reached a high point. On July 10, 1972, the Chairman of the İzmir Chamber of Industry even declared the necessity of general elections and a civil administration.

But the most shocking occurrence was the reaction of the European Economic Community towards the military rule. Yes, aiming for the traditional "Westernization" illusion, Turkey had entered the transitional period of the EEC, but before long both the big industrialists and the military wing became aware of the fact that Turkish industry would not be able to compete against the industries of the developed European countries. Therefore, Melas's government requested to change some of the provisions of the Association Agreement as follows:

1) More protection must be granted to the machine and chemical industries of Turkey for the next ten years.
2) A certain flexibility must be provided for in the agreement which would authorize the Turkish Government to partially or completely, stop the importation of certain goods from the EEC if necessary.
3) Turkey must be authorized to set the import contingents by itself.

Moreover, the military rulers of Turkey had asked to participate in the Political Secretaries of the EEC whose objective is the political integration of with the European member countries.

But all of these demands were immediately rejected by the EEC foreign ministers on June 7, 1972. Mr. Thorh, the President of Ministerial Council, and Mr. Enio, the Secretary of the EEC Commission, criticized the Turkish Government for demanding extra concessions instead of preparing Turkish industry to meet competition. On the other hand, the EEC partners had serious reservations as to the political future of Turkey. The six countries could not bring themselves to invite Turkey to the Political Secretaries of the ten European countries at a time when the partnership of Greece had been suspended because of its military rule.

So far as we observe the increasing anxiety of the finance-capital against the military rule, the political leaders defied the military by demanding general elections. They believed the function of the armed forces was over and now was the time to pass the power back to the politicians. The leaders of the two main parties, Demirel and Esref, stated that they were in favor of creating a "people's capitalism" and that they were able to prevent "communism" more intelligently than the military. And in their speeches to the UN on May 25, 1972, both of them declared that general elections should be held as soon as possible, at the latest in October 1973.

Following this joint demarche, Demirel, the advocate of "parliamentary" fascism, went overmuch himself too far and directed the following series of accusations against the adherents of military fascism: "The spring of parliament was broken. The clock has stopped." (June 13, 1972). "What a pity that some people consider the Greek model as the only way to secure their property!" (June 14, 1972). "It is impossible to always
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point to 'anarchy' as the reason for the crisis in the regime. 'The political crisis is one thing, and the necessity of martial law is another.' (July 6, 1972).

While the leader of the JP was defying the military rulers, the JP deputies on the other hand sought to satisfy the bourgeoisie and guarantee their support by introducing a bill on June 10, 1972 to liquidate all new debts. This was another gamble on the financial standing of the state, since the budget already showed an annual deficit of 12,000,000. But these politicians had proved that they were ready for anything for the sake of political power.

There was also another reason encouraging Daniel to defy the military vAd. In the municipal elections held on June 4, 1972, the Justice Party won 9% of the mayoralities, while the JP, its main rival, got only 9%. Although this was a normal result -the traditional reaction of the masses against the military bureaucratic rule- Daniel considered it a guarantee for his future electoral victory and even demanded new amendments to the Constitution.

Yes, when the JP government demanded these same amendments a few months earlier, Daniel opposed them but now he was sure that he would be able to come to power again in October 1973 and use these extraordinary powers himself, if elections will be held.

Zipping Out of the 1960 Constitution

But the military rulers did not intend to surrender to the politicians immediately. They still had many arguments against them. First of all, the military claimed that none of the political parties, even the Justice Party, would be able to satisfy the big bourgeoisides as much as military rule, because all of them had inner contradictions and were obliged to consider the interests of other social groups as well as the big industrialists. For example, in spite of the military rule's pressure on parliament, the political parties had not been able to pass a land reform bill favoring the big industrialists. In parliament, the representatives of the landowners had persistently obstructed the land reform bill of the JP governments. Later a new reform bill was brought in front of parliament. Although this time, as a concession to the landowners, the government reduced the size of the land to be expropriated, the landowners were not satisfied even with these reductions and again obstructed the bill. In order to finance the expropriation of the land, the military-backed government had also introduced a tax reform bill suggesting to tax 10 per thousand on land and 6 per thousand on buildings. But on June 20, 1972, a parliamentary majority passed the bill by reducing the land tax to 3 per thousand and the building tax to 6 per thousand. This meant that "land reform" would be impossible and that the state would not be able to transfer capital from the agricultural sector to industry.

In addition, parliament adopted a policy of obstruction against other "reform" bills, although the leaders of the four major parties had signed an agreement for parliament to assemble five days a week and pass all the "reform" bills. But even after this agreement, parliament never obtained the majority necessary to start the debate.

Taking these obstructions into consideration, the military regime started to advocate the prolongation of martial law and the postponement of general elections until the "reform" bills were passed by the present parliament.
And while the arguments on this subject were being carried on, and the antagonism between the military rulers and the political leaders was growing, on July 7, 1970, the President of the Republic called all the political leaders together and impressed on them the necessity of a new change in the Constitution aimed at giving more authority to the executive power.

Was it a positive answer to Damlı's requests on modification of the Constitution? Could it be considered as a victory for Damlı? In fact the imposed amendments also included Damlı's requests, but at the same time they were also the demands of the military. They had demanded a new modification during the last days of the Erșen government, but at that time all the political leaders, including Damlı, had opposed these new amendments. Therefore the military rulers had seemed to forget these demands for a while. Now, however, they imposed them once more.

But regardless of who proposes them, these amendments are in fact the demands of finance capital aiming to annihilate the left and democratic forces and to establish its own rule.

The problem is: Who should exercise this extraordinary authority on behalf of finance capital? The military junta, or the Justice Party?

This is a matter of balance. The latest developments of July 1970 show that both sides are trying to impose themselves as the last salvos of finance capital by using the most secretive and hypocritical methods.

The military wing reduces its staff by promoting the genuinely fascist-minded generals to higher ranks and the martial law commanders continue to suppress the masses in defiance of the Constitution, the law and human rights. On the other hand, the same wing insists on the maintenance of "parliament" in order to deceive world opinion and prevent forecasts of reaction.

The parliamentary wing considers that the military role has completed its term by suppressing the masses and abolishing all human rights and freedoms, and now advocates the holding of general elections and shifting the rule to the political parties. But the coming civil administration will be no more than a so-called "democracy"—without left parties, without a free press, without fundamental human rights and freedoms.

Whoever will be in power, whether it be the military junta or the AK, Turkey will remain under a fascist dictatorship—either a military or parliamentary one!

They Cannot Defeat the People of Turkey

On the other hand, the more fascist repression increases, the more the resistance of the masses grows like a rising snowball.

a. The masses of workers, peasants, state employees, teachers, professionals, and artisans are against this corrupt order because their democratic organizations have been closed down, their leaders have been detained, jailed, tortured or murdered by the military, and an overwhelming majority of the politicians have supported these crimes, let alone manifest any reaction. Moreover, the military rule tries to pay for its dictatorship at the poor title masses' expense. Prices and indirect taxes have been increased 100%, while wages of workers and employees have been stabilized by forbidding collective bargaining and strikes and banning the unions of state-employees.
And the telling masses are well aware of the plots aiming to liquidate the progressive workers' unions and to restrict the rights pertaining to social security. In spite of the prohibitions, the workers have organized many strikes and demonstrations against the fascist repression and proved their will to resist.

b. The intellectuals, writers, artists, professors, teachers and students are against this corrupt order because thousands of intellectuals have been detained, all progressive publications have been forbidden, thousands and thousands of books have been confiscated, movies and theater plays have been censored and the cultural life of Turkey has been turned into a desert.

c. There are even some patriotic elements of parliament and high bureaucracy, who will not keep their mouths shut and express opposition to the unlawful trials and death sentences. Thousands of them—excluding members of supreme courts, judges, prosecutors and administrators—have raised their voices against the military rule.

d. In spite of repeated liquidations, young radical army officers who have kept their ties to the poor people and who are aware of the trap presented by ODTÜ, continue to fight secretly against the military junta. They will not forget the arrest and torture of young officers and cadets, and will not forgive the puppet generals.

e. And the progressive youth of Turkey, who have seen their friends sent to the scaffold while the military junta itself was committing the crime of abolishing the Constitution, will not forgive the enemies of the people.

Turkey is now caught up in a liberation movement against US imperialism and its collaborators. The people of Turkey aim at democracy, peace and independence. The Democratic Resistance of Turkey will carry on its struggle until emancipation. From the year of 1981 hegemony and fascist rule has been achieved. Although the fascist rule has banned all democratic organizations and arrested their leaders, all the democratic forces and the telling masses themselves are carrying on a democratic resistance by new means determined by the fascist repression. The solidarity of international democratic forces reinforces the liberation movement of Turkey. The people of Turkey will never surrender. They cannot defeat our people.

Prime Minister Erdoğan said: "The 1981 Constitution is a luxury for Turkey." (Daily Milliyet, May 2, 1981)

Prime Minister Erdoğan held a meeting with the law professors in order to obtain scientific approval for the modification of the Constitution. After meeting, Professor Turkçuoğlu Tunay said: "We stated that it is unnecessary to alter the Constitution. We are sure that all necessary reforms can be realized by putting this constitution into practice." (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 15, 1981)

Four law professors, Erkül Safar Tunay, Nihat Suyal, Sabri Sıçak and Mehmet Aksu were taken into custody by the military authorities. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 15, 1981)
The four generals who established the military rule: Gen. Faruk Güler, Gen. Nendoğ Yalçın, Adm. Celal Eyicioğlu, Gen. Muhsin Ertürk

Six martial law commanders have turned Turkey into a huge concentration camp. Above General Faik Türünk of Istanbul

THE STAFF OF THE MILITARY RULE

Since March 12, 1971, despite the existence of a parliament and a puppet government, all political and administrative powers have been in the hands of army generals. Unlike Greece's Papadopoulos or Spain's Franco, it has been impossible until now to pinpoint the regime's "strongman". The technique used by the military has been to give the impression that they are not officially involved in politics. On the surface it would seem that most of the political, legislative and executive activities have been carried within the framework of the constitution. But in fact the president of Republic, the prime minister, the ministers and parliamentarians have been continually dependent on the military and are simply responsible for carrying out their orders.

Who are the military? Who has set up the invisible staff of this fascist military regime?

The names of four generals have been publicly mentioned since it is they who signed the March 12th ultimatum as "members of the National Security Council". Under the constitution, the National Security Council is simply an advisory body responsible solely for defining national security policy and for coordinating activities related to national mobilization efforts and overall defense measures. This advisory body consists, on the one hand, of the prime minister and some cabinet ministers, and on the other, of the chief of the general staff, the commanders of the land, air and naval forces. The president of Republic is the chairman of this council.

High Commanders and Secret Services

On March 12, 1971, four military members of the Council - General Menduh Tayague, Chief of the General Staff, General Faruk G Lopez, Commander of the Army, General Susin Satur, the Air Force Commander, and Admiral Carlos E. Andras, Commander of the Naval Forces - went beyond the limits of their authority and forced the prime minister to resign in issuing a harsh ultimatum. This was the first visible and concrete violation of the constitution by the military. The generals had in fact no authority to interfere in day-to-day politics. Moreover, they had been appointed by the very same government whose resignation they forced.

Where does the source of this power lie?

First of all, as explained in detail previously, these four commanders have maintained close relationships with the big bourgeoisie through STAK and the enterprise for a war industry. The big capitalists rely heavily on them and share the parliamentary vote of bourgeoisie power. Demichel's government, was unable to satisfy the demands of financiers and the military wing was then invited by the United States and their collaborators to replace Demichel.
Recently, given the chauvinistic and "anti-communist" brainwashing, the great majority of army officers were alarmed by rumors that the Turkish State was confronted with a "communist threat".

The main support of these four commanders has been the "Enlarged Command Council" consisting of the commanders of the strategic and tactical forces. The "Enlarged Command Council" is not a legal body; it was created by the military commanders as a permanent threat to the political parties that Parliament could be dissolved and the legislative and executive power taken over directly at any time.

The military members of the National Security Council and the generals forming the "Enlarged Command Council" are at the top of the hierarchy.

The March 12th coup was planned by the second, invisible strata of the military rule in collaboration with CIA agents in Ankara. The three key men in the secret services are General Chist Alpan, General Secretary of the President's office, General Atif Erginok, Chief of the Plans and Principles Department of the General Staff Headquarters and General Fikret Oba, Chief of Staff of the First Turkish Army and Chief of the Army Intelligence Service in Istanbul. (The functions of General Alpan, General Erginok and General Oba are outlined in detail in the preceding chapter.)

At the time of the coup and in the course of the subsequent development, the National Intelligence Agency (MIT) was weakened by internal rifts. The MIT was directly subordinated to the prime minister, and General Fadik Dogu, the MIT chief, is widely known "Genrel's man". As a result, during the planning and execution stages of the coup, Dogu fell into disfavor with the chiefs of the other secret services. Although General Dogu was dismissed just after the coup and replaced by General Kurttin Oba, his military's faithful servant, the rifts between the pro-semitic and pro-Jewish agents of the MIT continued for some time. Both sides have gone so far as to submit evidence at military trials for the purpose of re-creating the agents of the other side. In the end, however, the military junta was able to bring this organization under its control and even force the MIT officials to torture opponents of the regime directly. Today, hundreds of victims are undergoing torture in the secret torture-centers of the MIT.

Martial Law Commanders and the Military Courts

The third strata of the military hierarchy is formed by the martial law commanders. Although, martial law has been imposed officially in only eleven provinces of Turkey, in fact, all the other provinces of Turkey have been placed under the administrative and judicial control of six generals. The latter were appointed to their posts on April 26, 1971, the very same day martial law was proclaimed. A few weeks later, on May 13, 1971, their powers were increased by a new law enacted by parliament under the threat of being dissolved.

All police forces and the gendarmeries have been placed under the authority of these generals.

They also have the authority to ban any publication or organization, to detain anyone for a period of one month without a court warrant, to impose curfews at any time, etc.
According to this legislation, the martial law commanders come directly under the prime minister and must report their activities to him. This rule has, however, never been put into practice and the martial law commanders act independently, protected and supported by the military junta.

The six generals who have assumed full responsibility for martial law are:

1. **General Fahri Korut**: Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, Konak and Sığacik.
3. **Admiral Cevat Şahin**: Martial Law Commander of İzmir.
4. **General Yılmaz Çavuşoğlu**: Martial Law Commander of Bursa and Sütçüler.
5. **General Veysel İlgöl**: Martial Law Commander of Adana and Haseki (later replaced by General Veysi Akın).
6. **General Sabri Kılinsky**: Martial Law Commander of Diyarbakır and Siirt (later replaced by General Süleyman Celâl).

The unlawful and inhuman executions perpetrated by these generals have always received the applause of the majority of the members of parliament and the press, procured by the military regime, thereby increasing the generals' sense of power. In the course of time, they have begun to cherish the illusion that they are also competent to reorganize the social and economic life of the country. Daily these generals issue communiques which the State radio is obliged to repeat at least five times a day. The communiques instigate citizens to turn in informers with the promise of up to 6,000 dollars for each "snoop." They have mobilized all their forces to protect the interests of a handful of capitalists and landowners by prohibiting all collective bargaining and workers' strikes. While the big capitalists, landlords, speculators and profiteers exploit the working masses, the martial law commanders have banished poor artisans and tradesmen ensuring them of ruining prices. The generals have even intervened to regulate the style of dress of citizens: guards cut young men's hair in the streets and take them into custody if they object.

Eleven military courts of martial law, coming under the authority of these generals, have been set up in six major cities: Istanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Sakarya, Adana and Diyarbakır. However, the military junta was unwilling to rely on the military judges and prosecutors appointed prior to the institution of martial law. Instead, they appointed army officers known for their fascist convictions, as the legal councilors, prosecutors and judges of these extraordinary military courts.

Those who organized the barbarous ambushes in which more than thirty persons were murdered, who have mobilized the police forces and detained thousands of intellectuals, writers, artists, professors and teachers simply because they had progressive publications in their possession and subjected them to brutal torture, those who confined 21 young students to capital punishment and who are still trying thousands under the threat of death sentences or life imprisonment, are these same military legal councilors, prosecutors and judges.
Collaboration With a Fascist Party

The letter collaborates closely with the Fascist National Action Party (MNP). All their charges have been inspired by the views of the MNP. At the same time that radical intellectuals are arrested for being "enemies of the state", the military prosecutors choose to ignore the crimes of the fascist commandos of the MNP, which terrorize the people with murders, bombings and kidnappings. The military prosecutors have even brought in members of the commandos as witnesses at the military courts, and the military judges render their verdicts essentially on the basis of the testimonies provided by these fascist commandos.

The military prosecutors make abundant use, in their accusations, of fascist slogans such as "the superiority of the Turkish race", "traditionalism", "rejecting the existence of different classes" and "rejecting the existence of different ethnic groups in Turkey". The military prosecutors and judges make ample use of articles 141, 142 and 146 of the Turkish Penal Code, which is a direct replica of Mussolini's Fascist Penal Code of thirty years ago, in order to indict and condemn thousands of patriots.

What is the National Action Party (MNP) which exercises such a strong influence on the military prosecutors and judges?

It is the party which made itself known to the world opinion on March 7, 1972, at the time of the arrest of a Turkish senator accused of smuggling drugs into France. The international press agencies published the following report:

"The French police arrested a member of the Turkish Senate who tried to smuggle 201 pounds of morphine base, worth 38.5 million dollars, into France from Italy. Carrying a diplomatic passport, Sen. Nedret Beygac, 60, is a member of the rightist National Action Party in the Senate." (International Herald Tribune, March 7, 1972)

The use of the MNP has been well-known as a fascist army officer since the Second World War. In 1946, he was arrested for his radical activities and tried by a military court. But the military judges, who themselves shared his political opinions, acquitted him in spite of irrefutable evidence. Head of the NKVD Department of the Russian General Staff, Colonel Alperen Türkes took part in the 1960 military coup and became a member of the legislative and executive National Unity Committee (MNB). As advisor to the prime minister, he used every means to concentrate power in his own hands and become the regime's "most powerful colonel". His goal soon became obvious, and Colonel Türkes and his like-minded friends were ousted from the National Unity Committee and exiled on September 13, 1960.

But Colonel Türkes did not renounce his ambitions. Soon after his return to Turkey in 1963, he participated in an unsuccessful coup d'etat. After a short period of imprisonment, he decided to try new methods in order to re-assert his power by taking over a political party. Elected leader of the MNP, Türkes first attempted to change the emblem of the party: Three crescents in the form of a swastika. Reaction was heavy, however, and he was later obliged to change it again. He kept the three crescents, symbolizing traditionalism, but gave up the swastika.

Thus, he organized commando camps to train youth in the manner of Hitler's SS. Certain articles of the Political Parties Law notwithstanding, these commando camps are still tolerated by the government whose Inter-
Colonel Kurka, who is still hailed as "Beşik" in the meaning of "Führer" by his comrades, first challenged the leftist on August 19, 1966:

"In Turkey there are thousands of young nationalists who are able to act in a way which the left will understand. We are training these young men as angels (İstikbal). More than one thousand well-trained, well-armed and disciplined young men are now ready to fight. Henceforth the Communist movement will not find it possible to spread in this country." (DailyExpress, August 19, 1966)

Beşik's speech was received as an order by the comrades and on the pretext of "replying to the commissars", these armed bands undertook systematic attack of the democratic mass movements. As a result of the joint operations of the fascist comrades and the police forces, 14 persons including workers, students and intellectuals were murdered one after another prior to the military coup of March 1971.

The financial sources of these commandos and bands have been questioned. It has been revealed that big capitalists and landowners support them financially. There are those who charge that the Pentagon finances these camps for the purpose of creating a counter-revolutionary commando party similar to the Green Berets of the United States. The arrest of Senator Mustafa Bayhan is proof that another financial source of these fascist bands is embezzlement. To obtain financial support, the SIF has even imposed smugglers as its representatives in parliament.

The military prosecutors and judges for martial law are also under the sway of this fascist party of murderers and smugglers.

Inner Conflicts of the Military

The military prosecutors have shown their political bias in their official indictments, attacking not only the socialists but also the social-democrats and the liberals. Even the leaders of the Republican People's Party (CHP) have been accused of being "the real instigators of anarchy", especially in the case of the 700 [Teachers' Union of Turkey] and Deryaç (Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey).

Thus, once Mr. Ismet İnönü, the CHP leader, protested against the behavior of the military prosecutors in a message addressed to the prime minister and in a speech delivered in parliament on March 25, 1978. So as to prevent split in the government, composed of a three-party coalition, General Necdet Sargan, chief of the general staff, attempted to pacify İnönü by asserting that the charges against the SIF were not made by design.

However, following the Kizildere Massacre and the extension of martial law for another two months, General Süleyman Baydar, Martial Law Commander of Ankara, issued an official communiqué on March 31, 1978, accusing İnönü of sheltering the military prosecutors and reported that İnönü and his party were the real instigators of "anarchy". This communiqué was fol-
owed by official communiques from the five other martial law commanders in quick succession.

Despite his earlier attempts to reassure Indochina, this time General Mendiz Bulaga, Chief of the General Staff, was unable to prevent the attacks of the martial law commanders and so gave in to them.

A turning point in the life of the military regime had been reached.

Until that event, the hierarchy of the armed forces had been maintained in fact. The four high-ranking commanders, members of the National Security Council, seemingly had full authority over their subordinates.

In actual fact, the martial law commanders and their staffs had never satisfied with the attitude of their superiors.

The military members of the National Security Council have always had to take into consideration the balance of power between the military and parliamentary views of the fascist regime. In addition, the reaction of world opinion against military rule compelled them to retreat and adopt an attitude of seeming respect for parliamentary procedure from time to time.

The fascist-oriented martial law commanders and their staffs are on the contrary anxious to apply the harshest measures with respect to opponents of the military regime and to ignore parliament and the government.

When Prime Minister was stating that it was impossible to use torture on political prisoners and that such a case arise, those responsible for it would be punished, at the same time the martial law staff was continuing to use torture and the military courts applying martial law even stated that 'it was legal to torture an individual for the purpose of obtaining the truth.'

Nevertheless, until March 31, 1972, the martial law commanders avoided making any display of disobedience with respect to their superiors. The accusations against the GDFP, however, clearly went against the will of the Chief of the General Staff.

How could they dare disobey their superiors?

Since the term of office of those high commanders -General Taguaq, Chief of the General Staff; General Fabio Gualier, Commander of the Army; Admiral Obal, Bishop, Commander of the Naval Forces- would terminate a few months later. Through seniority, some of the martial law commanders would be called upon to replace them.

It was on this point that the internal contradictions within the armed forces became obvious for public opinion. While those high commanders were trying to prolong their term of office by bringing about a change in article 66 of the Military Personnel Law, the martial law commanders were mobilizing all their forces in order to prevent them from doing so.

Role of the Baptist-Oriented Staff

It is a fact that the martial law commanders carry more weight than their superiors, because of the fact that the strategic and tactical lead, air and naval forces come under their control. For example, General Pack
Cetin is also Commander of the First Turkish Army and General Sabah Sezer is Commander of the Second Turkish Army. If the two commanders insisted on remaining in office, the martial law commanders could use these armed forces to threaten them and their supporters.

The United States is also aware of this fact which led the NATO Commander to invite the latter to a briefing in Istanbul on May 24, 1972. Greek generals also attended this meeting. Although officially a military briefing within the NATO set-up, they were in fact being authorized for promotion.

The Martial Law commanders also reacted against Cetin Alpen, the General Secretary of the President's office. Cetin Alpen had been one of the three key men in the planning of the March 12th coup and one who has kept strict control over the armed forces on behalf of President Sema. This was another obstacle to the ambitions of the martial law commanders. The term of office of President Sema will also come to an end in 1973, and they knew that he wanted to be re-elected for another seven year term. However, Sema was not clever enough in his maneuver to guarantee re-election. If they could eliminate his general secretary who is the master mind of such political intrigues, one of them would be able to be elected President of the Republic. Since 1950, the tradition has been to elect a high commander as President of the Republic.

On July 3, 1972, the martial law commanders succeeded in eliminating the General Secretary of the President's office. Sema was forced to dismiss his closest collaborator, appointing him to the Senate.

During the same period, the newspapers announced that the Chief of the General Staff would also be appointed to the Senate and the Commander of the Naval Forces would be appointed to an ambassadorial post. The latter were still, however, insisting on remaining in office and trying to compel the government to bring a bill before parliament for the purpose of extending their terms of duty. On July 4, 1972, Prime Minister Neneh even contacted political leaders in order to obtain support for such a bill. The martial law commanders reacted immediately to this move and threatened the President and the government.

General Hasan Cakmak was appointed General Director of Turkish Airlines (THY). (Dalyan Documentary, May 29, 1972)

General Kamil Kocak was appointed Chairman of the THY Board. (Dalyan Documentary, May 30, 1972)

General Safit Ersoy was appointed Rector of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. (Dalyan Documentary, June 6, 1972)

General Muhammet Oguz was appointed General Director of the Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation (TRT). (Dalyan Documentary, June 6, 1972)

General Mahmut Arkanlar was appointed Chief of Police of Istanbul. (Dalyan Documentary, July 27, 1972)
LVIII.

General Paik Türel, Commander of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters and of the First Turkish Army, even stayed far from his field of action and pressured—not to say threatened—the government on the need to extend the period of martial law, this after Prime Minister Fuat Nuñen had stated in a public speech delivered in Diyarbakir in July 1972 that anarchy had diminished and reached its lowest ebb.

Under the pressure of the martial law commanders, their superiors were obliged to surrender and on July 13, 1972, Prime Minister Nuñen stated that the high commanders refused to prolong their term of office. In the same speech, Nuñen had to accept the alleged "danger of anarchy" and the necessity to extend martial law for a longer period of time. On July 19, 1972, martial law was extended for another two months.

On August 30, 1972, when military promotions will take place, the control of the armed forces will be taken over officially by Fascist-oriented personnel. Moreover, in 1973, the President of the Republic will be elected from among this group. Taking the reactions of world opinion into consideration, they will obviously not suspend "political activities" or dissolve the "parliament". They will continue the exercise of valid Fascism, simply applying more brutal methods and maintaining a puppet parliament and an puppet government.

Even if martial law is one day terminated, the amended constitution will still provide the military with the necessary authority to supervise political activities through a Fascist-oriented president and the National Security Council.

The military is convinced that once the left-wing organizations and free press have been eliminated and fundamental rights and freedoms have been curtailed, the so-called parliamentary regime will operate solely within the framework provided by their own particular objectives.

Prime Minister Erkin gave an interview to the foreign journalists and said: "The number of the persons who create the anarchy is not more than two hundreds. In order to get them under control, the martial law is imposed." (Daily Milliyet, May 2, 1971)

Prime Minister Ahmet Erkin gave an interview to the French television and said: "One month later than the martial law imposed, today, the anarchists have lost their all possibilities to hide themselves in Anatolia. At the end of a six-months period the situation will return into normal." (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 21, 1971)

Prime Minister Fuat Nuñen said: "Although the anarchy has been got under control, it is deeply rooted. Therefore we are obliged to take necessary measures in order to exterminate it." (Daily Milliyet, July 11, 1972)
FASCISM UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Despite the ever-increasing crimes of fascist military rule in Turkey, the impression might be gained that a democracy in western type still exists in Turkey since there is still a parliament; but on closer examination it can be seen that the Turkish Parliament does not resemble the western type parliament: it is in fact its opposite. This brief summary of the political history of Turkey will also demonstrate that the events which have transpired since 1921 can only perpetuate the particular political traditions of the country.

First Constitutional Acts

The first constitutional act in the history of the Ottoman Empire can be traced back to 1830 and the سلطان عثمان (Treaty of Alliance) signed between the Sultan and the local authorities. Another important pact was signed in 1832, the قانون بالدي (Nobility Act of 1832) or قانون بالدا (Act for Reforms), drawn up by the سيد عستان Pasha. These acts were the result of pressures from the western countries and the ruling minorities which exercised their influence through large-scale trading; likewise, the جمهوري (New Ottoman Movement) and the First Constitution of the Ottoman Empire (1876), under which a "parliament" was created, were the consequence of the pressures of the western countries and the efforts of intellectuals such as بنك كمال, نبيه بنك, and others. Thus, in point of fact, however, Sultan Abdullah II was able to abolish the Constitution and the parliament, which had only been in existence for two years; the Sultan's monarchy survived until 1908.

The Movement of the "Young Turks" (1908)

The leaders of the Young Turks Movement were military and civilian bureaucrats who had been influenced by the New Ottomans and western "bourgeois" thinkers, and who had not received material benefits under the monarchy of Sultan Abdulhamid II. These military and civilian bureaucrats played an important role in the political life of the Ottoman Empire given the absence of a powerful bourgeoisie. In recalling the revival of the Constitution and the reopening of Parliament, following thirty years of monarchy, the influence of the western countries cannot be ignored.

The military and civilian bureaucrats who gained power with the 1908 Movement attempted to set up a western type bourgeoisie in the Ottoman Empire; they failed, however, due either to the intrigues of western countries, or to the unfavorable conditions which prevailed. Furthermore, they were hindered by their own structure and influenced by utopian ideals such as the Free-Turkish movement.

In the face of the social unrest which was gathering momentum, the leaders of the movement abandoned their slogans of liberty and democracy, of
which they posed as champions, and soon created a military and civilian oligarchy. At the time of the First World War, they persuaded the Emperor to enter the war contributing thereby to the rapid defeat of the Empire, after which they fled the country.

During this period, a two-party system existed in Turkey. One of the political parties, the İşbâniye Halk Partisi (Union and Progress) was formed by the progressive Young Turks; another was called the Kadirian ve İrakçe (Liberty and Kemant) and was formed by the conservative wing of bureaucracy. Both parties, however, represented the ruling classes and the political struggle between them was not based on the interests of the different social classes but represented rather a superficial power struggle which continued to the present time in Turkey.

The First Turkish National Assembly

On April 11, 1920, with the invasion of Istanbul, the Ottoman Assembly was dissolved by the Sultan, and the leaders of the National Independence Movement under Mustafa Kemal formed the First Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920 in Ankara. The 175 deputies were chiefly composed of landowners, merchants, academics and high-ranking bureaucrats. The majority of the people, i.e. the peasants and the workers, were not represented in parliament.

During this period of struggle against invasion, the power of the landowners and commercial bourgeoisie was firmly established over the masses who carried on the struggle above. The guerrillas had in fact been crushed by the ruling classes, and the left-wing organizations which had taken part in the independence movement were rigorously crushed and banned as outlaw. The murder of the communist leader Mustafa Kârpany and his friends on the Black Sea by hired killers was one of the numerous plots against the left.

During the struggle for independence, two other political groups of the Grand National Assembly were struggling with each other for the political power. However, these two groups also represented the ruling classes.

The chairman of the National Assembly, Mustafa Kemal, was accepted as a compromise solution.

The Dictatorship of the Republican People's Party

Once victory attained, the coalition of the commercial bourgeoisie, the landowners and the bureaucracy seized power and founded the Republican People's Party (CHP) on September 11, 1923; Mustafa Kemal was leader of the party and President of the Republic. The three constitutional powers—the legislative, executive and judicial—were the prerogatives of the Parliament. This meant that the constitutional authority was restricted to Mustafa Kemal and his party. All opposition parties were banned by the courts of exception and at the 1935 Convention of the CHP, a one-party system was officially instituted and the Italian Fascist Penal Code was applied. Moreover, censorship was instituted so as to clamp down on the press.

During the Second World War, Hitler's thugs also found a fertile terrain within party:

".....in a national society, the best structure for the state is a sys-
tom which gives the outstanding and most brilliant intellectuals the possibility of becoming leaders."

This period, during which the CHP considered itself both the state and the sole representative of the people, prevailed until 1946. Liberals, democrats and socialist intellectuals were terrorized. The popular movements were crushed under the dictatorship of the single party. Despite all this, a so-called parliament continued to exist.

Changeover to a Multi-Party System

In 1945, at the CHP general convention, the decision was taken to institute a multi-party system.

The real motivation behind this decision was as follows:

a) Social discontent had reached a high point. The masses demanded their democratic rights.

b) The bureaucratic leadership of the Republican People's Party thwarted the development of the bourgeoisie.

c) The defeat of fascism at the end of the Second World War.

The leadership of the CHP had in fact angered the allies during the war because of its vacillation. But in 1945, when it was clear that fascism would be defeated, the government declared war on the Germans and became signatories of the United Nations Charter.

The CHP decided to change over to a kind of multi-party system leaving the left-wing parties out of the picture. On the one hand, as the CHP did its utmost to found the Democratic Party (DP), the new organ of the rising bourgeoisie, on the other hand, it abolished two left-wing political parties. The Turkish Socialist Worker's Party and the Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party were outlawed in 1946 and their leaders were either imprisoned or exiled.

In the 1946 elections, the Democratic Party seized power by an overwhelming majority, i.e. the collaborationist bourgeoisie replaces the bureaucratic regime. Indeed, within a short period of time, the leadership of the Democratic Party adopted a form of dictatorship. Between 1946 and 1960, time was spent in violent struggles between the DP and the CHP and some minor parties coming under their egis. The DP government, so as to satisfy the press and suppress any opposition, introduced extraordinary measures similar to those Mustafa Kemal and Ismet Inonu had enacted previously. Meanwhile, the discontent of the masses was on the increase since the DP brought no real solution to the economic and social problems of the country. As a result of oppression and discontent, a group of military officers put an end to the dictatorship of the DP on May 27, 1960.

A Parliament Including the Left

In actual fact, the basic motivation behind the May 27th Movement of the armed forces was the intense desire of the military and civilian bureaucracy to regain political power. Under pressure from the working masses and leftist intellectuals, a progressive constitution and some radical laws were passed. Protected by the 1961 Constitution, for the first time in Turkish
history, a left-wing party, the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) was able to develop loyalty. The TIP succeeded in obtaining 15 seats in parliament during the 1965 elections. However, the coalition of the collaborating bourgeoisie and the landowners, which dominated the economic sector in the country, took power again in the same elections, obtaining an overwhelming majority for the 'Justice Party' (AP) as their political vehicle was now called. One of the main objectives of the AP was to change the 1961 Constitution and to eliminate the leftist opposition. Between 1965 and 1971, the meetings of the TIP and other democratic organizations were the objects of police raids and attacks by rightist groups. Parliamentary immunity of socialist deputies was suspended and several legal cases against them were brought before the courts. The AP deputies even went so far as to beat up socialist parliamentarians in the National Assembly meeting halls.

In spite of these pressures, the Turkish Labour Party, with its 15 deputies, was able to bring a good number of social and economic problems of Turkey before parliament. To defend fundamental rights and freedoms despite the AP majority. On appeal by the TIP, many unconstitutional laws were annulled by the Constitutional Court. The majority, representing the Justice Party then applied new tactics in order to eliminate the socialist opposition in parliament. The electoral law was modified and the Turkish Labour Party lost its 13 seats in the 1969 elections. It became impossible to act as a political group and to speak on behalf of the TIP. The parliament, after four years of activity, returned to its former traditions and became a parliament without a left!

**Which Factors Affect Elections?**

In order to understand the structure and functioning of the Turkish Parliament, the factors which affect elections must be taken into consideration.

The Constitution states that "all citizens are entitled to elect and be elected, pursuant to those conditions provided by the law. Election shall be free and secret and shall be conducted on the basis of equality, direct suffrage, open casting and counting of votes.

Deputies will be elected every 4 years and one-third of the Senate every 2 years.

"Suffrage is universal for all citizens over the age of 21 who have not been legally deprived of the right to vote."

In actual fact, these rights are only on paper:

1. In Turkey, it is a known fact that almost 95% of the population is illiterate. These are people who cannot even sign their own names and who identify themselves only by fingerprints. They are unable to read the information on the different political movements and therefore, to choose between the candidates according to their own will.

2. In reality, left-wing parties in Turkey do not have the slightest chance of reaching the people and presenting their views and ideas, especially in the small Anatolian towns and villages where curious and aggressive repression of leftist groups is the usual practice of the local authorities and rightist gangs. On the other hand, in this same Anatolia, more than 40 thousand mosques operate as propaganda centers for the right-wing parties.
3. In Australia, peasants are economically dependent on the landowners, landlords and merchants. They are obliged to vote for the parties or candidates imposed by the latter.

4. In fact, being elected to parliament is a matter of money in Turkey. In order to enter the primaries, a candidate must contribute at least 5,000 Lira (the equivalent of the annual per capita national Income) to a political party, with the exception of the CTP. To become a candidate and later a deputy requires a campaigning costing close to 100,000 Lira.

Size Structure of the Parliament

Under these circumstances, only the representatives of the ruling classes can gain entrance to the parliament. The following table is an indication of the size structure of the candidates nominated by the left, center and rightist parties in the 1960 elections.

**LEFT: Only the Turkish Labour Party (CTP). It was banned after March 15th coup.**

**CENTER: The Republican People's Party (CHP), the Union Party (NP).**

**RIGHT: The Justice Party (AP), the National Action Party (NAP), the National Security Party (NSP), the New Turkey Party (YTP) and the Nation Party (NP).**

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<th>SOCIAL BACKGROUND</th>
<th>LEFT (%)</th>
<th>CENTER (%)</th>
<th>RIGHT (%)</th>
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<td>Businessmen</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>Workers</td>
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<tr>
<td>Former Deputies</td>
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<td>12</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 450 713 2136

In the 1960 elections, the right wing obtained 51.6% of the votes, the center 30% and the left-wing 28.4%. This table clearly shows that, despite the provisions of the constitution, gives the above mentioned factors, elections always favor the ruling classes.

Following the dissolution of the CTP, the Composition of the Grand National Assembly changed as follows:


**CENTER: 137 deputies: (Republican People's Party: 61, Union Party: 2)**

There are also 20 independent deputies in the Grand National Assembly, the majority of which side with the right wing.
LXIV.

An amendment to the 1961 Constitution makes it impossible to found a political party along class lines, which means that the left-wing can no longer be represented in parliament.

On Behalf of Ruling Classes

Parliament registered no reaction whatsoever against the March 12th coup and adopted all the anti-democratic bills imposed by the military. They went so far as to take upon themselves to change the 1961 Constitution completely and later approved the death sentences of three young persons accused of "trying to change the Constitution".

After having eliminated all the democratic forces and abolished essential rights and freedoms, the military will most probably give the green light for so-called "elections" under its own supervision. However, without an alternative choice, the right wing will certainly win the overwhelming majority of the seats in the forthcoming elections. The new parliament will adhere to the system of veiled fascism and will vote all the anti-democratic bills imposed by the military on behalf of the ruling classes.

The existence of a parliament in Turkey can in no way be compared and/or regarded as functioning in the same way as the parliaments of the other member countries of the Council of Europe. It is a very special kind of parliament which only allows representation of the right-wing and conservative circles of the country. The masses, the parliaments of democracy and independence, as well as the progressive forces and circles are in fact confronted with reality of a fascist regime fronted by a phony parliament in which the left is totally absent.

A new bill aiming to protect the present regime was brought to the national assembly. According to this new bill, anybody who tries to establish, destruction of a class or other classes or to subvert the social and/or economic orders will be condemned up to 15 years imprisonment. They will be tried at special courts and trials will terminate in a week. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 21, 1983)

Prime Minister Muhet Ersoy declared that the government would bring a new bill aiming to protect the present regime. According to this new bill, new extraordinary courts will be established and they will try anybody who commits a crime against the social and/or econ- omic orders. (Daily Cumhuriyet, March 24, 1972)
THE VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The most factual document on how human rights and freedoms have been subverted in Turkey by the army generals who engineered the March 12th, 1971 coup d'etat, is the series of amendments to the 1961 democratic Constitution carried out through the use of force and pressure.

It was the military junta which pushed for and insisted on the execution by hanging of three young men on the pretext that they had "attempted to subvert the Constitution by force". It was also the junta which sent nearly one hundred young people before military tribunals to be tried on similar charges, thereby ignoring the opposition and resistance of the democratic institutions and exerting pressure on parliament.

This violation of the constitution by the March 12th regime was done in the most sneaky fashion. As a matter of fact, not one single word was uttered even suggesting the possibility of such alterations in the program of the first Erim Government, formed just after the March 12 patch.

On the contrary, in the speech made following approval of his government by parliament, Mr. Erim stated: "...we have here to put the constitution into practice. For example, to protect the function of the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Courts of Cassation, the autonomy of the courts, the autonomy of the state radio and television, the autonomy of the universities... I became the head of this government because I personally believe in the importance of such institutions. Therefore, I cannot just come forward and ask for these constitutional rights to be changed."

(Emily Coaturyvet, April 19, 1971)

Only a few weeks later, the same Mr. Erim proclaimed martial law and on launching his famous "Sledge-hammer Operation", he described the 1961 Constitution in a speech delivered on May 1, 1971 as a "luxury for Turkey".

On June 5, 1971, Mr. Erim put forward draft amendments on 50 different articles of the democratic constitution. The amendments of the constitution were voted by parliament in short order and came into force on September 24, 1971. The amendments received the approval of 397 members of parliament being rejected by only two independent members.

The attitude of the political parties and the parliamentarians can only be regarded with suspicion. Until March 12th, 1971, none of the political parties in Turkey other than the Justice Party, had ever spoken publicly of the need for such amendments. On the contrary, the political parties had systematically opposed the idea whenever the question was brought up for discussion or proposed by the Justice Party. After the draft amendments were made public by the Erim government, the other political parties, including the "center-left" wing of the Republican People's Party, did not express any opposition to them and gave in to all the desires of the military rulers of Turkey by voting in parliament for the amendments with only a few slight, insignificant changes. Even Mr. Ecevit, leader of the center-left wing of the Republican People's Party, publicly stated on August 19, 1971 that, "....we
have prepared a test which will ensure the continuation of democracy in Turkey, keeping our sacrifices alive. In addition to the threat of abolishing parliament; if these constitutional amendments were not accepted, personal interests of the parliamentarians played a major role in determin-
ing the attitude of the political parties. It was crystal clear that if the constitution was not modified, it would be impossible to increase the sal-
aries of the parliamentarians by almost 400%. Dr. Muharrem Erb, who had strongly opposed the motion of certain parliamentarians who, prior to March 12, 1971, proposed an increase in their salary by amending the appropriate article of the 1961 Constitution, became one of the main supporters of the same pro-
posal, and as Prime Minister he promised his parliamentarian colleague an increase of salary of almost 400%, on the condition that the junta’s demands be implemented. It was only in this way that both the interests of the junta to stifle freedom and the hopes of the parliamentarians to receive a ten-
thousand-dollar annual salary as a pay-off for their work, could be realized. On the other hand, one must also remember that in this same Turkey, the nation-
al annual per capita income is only $321 dollars.

Who is Guilty: The Constitution or the Political Authorities?

The government of the junta stressed the following points in their at-
ttempts to explain the constitutional amendments:

"The 1961 Constitution has many logical flaws. In this constitution there is
not one single degree or statement which would prevent exercising funda-
mental rights and freedoms against a free and democratic society. Therefore, such unlimited assertions of freedom create considerable large operational
fields for the authorities as well as a constant state of anxiety."

On the contrary, the basic characteristics of the 1961 Constitution clearly reveal that the reasons put forward by the government for changing the constitution are baseless. As indicated in the preamble to the 1961 Constitution, the basic purpose of the Constitution is the "establishment of a constitutional state based on social and legal principles."

In accordance with Article 2 of the constitution, "The Republic of Tur-
key is a national, democratic, secular, social and constitutional state
which stands on human rights and the fundamental principles laid forth in
its preamble."
The following quotation is taken from the introductory para-
graph to Article 2 and clearly demonstrates that the concept of a "social state" is a necessary and undeniable element of the Constitution:

"A social state is not a type of state structure which provides or
achieves only the classic freedoms for individuals, but is one which at the
same time accepts, as an obligation, to provide and/or create those condi-
tions whereby individuals may obtain those means necessary to live as human
beings. A modern constitution is based on the idea that as human being can
be considered to be free and independent unless the state proposes, furnishes
or ensures the appropriate health, educational and especially housing facili-
ties, as well as adequate living standards, and it must therefore guarantee
certain social rights for all individuals. A contemporary state which accepts
as a duty to provide prosperity for the masses of every social class in the society will protect those individuals who are economically weak, especially
the workers and low-income wage-earners. Only in this way, can we be
sure that the classic rights and freedoms will not ridicule or mock reality.
A democracy which is not based on social rights and principles will be de-

void of merit and will eventually disappear or be destroyed."

These words clearly indicate that the classic rights and freedoms are inseparable from the social and economic rights in the spirit of the 1961 Constitution and that they are an integral part of the constitution.

Ignoring or degrading the obligations of the state as set forth in Chapter III of the Constitution on social and economic rights of individuals and then, very vaguely claiming that the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution are too far-reaching can only be considered either as disdain for the people of Turkey by placing social obligations under the will of the government or as a complete misinterpretation of the Constitution. If the rulers of this country, during the ten-year period in which the constitution was in force, will fully neglect not to accomplish or satisfy the obligations which the constitution makes mandatory there is nothing unusual in the fact that the masses of people would then attempt to obtain their rights through other means on their own initiative. This point is part of an inescapable law well understood by writers of the constitution and which is very clearly stated in its preamble. The situation described as "anarchy" either by the Justice Party or the military junta was not created as a result of the exercise by the people of their classic rights and freedoms, but on the contrary, was the natural consequence of withholding their social rights from the people.

Aim: The Destruction of the Constitution

As Professor Durk Kafer Tumay has stated: "The proposed draft goes far beyond a few limited amendments; it aims at destroying the constitution as a whole." (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 19, 1971)

Article 11 which concerns "the spirit of fundamental rights" is the basis for some 40 articles amended by the joint action of the junta and parliament.

The following is the former text of the article:

"Fundamental rights and freedoms can only be limited by law and such limitations must be in accord with the spirit and text of the constitution. Even if the latter are introduced in the interest of public or common morality, public order, social justice or national security, the law cannot break or destroy the spirit of any fundamental right."

It is interesting to note that the junta begins its amendments with Article 11, since the amendments made within the framework of this article constitute the basis for all the other limitations of freedom and liberty and also for the bills to be introduced to secure such limitations. The totalitarian view of the junta reveals itself even in the change of title of the article in question. According to the 1961 Constitution, the spirit of the fundamental rights has superiority even over questions of public or common morality, public order, social justice and national security. However, since the junta finds it more important or gives priority to restricting fundamental rights and freedoms, they have formulated the title of the article in question as follows: "The spirit of fundamental rights and freedoms, their limitation and means of preventing their misuse."

The new text of the article reads as follows:

"Basic rights and freedoms can be restricted by law, in accordance
with the spirit and text of the constitution, for the purpose of protecting the territorial and national unity of the State or the Republic, national security, public order, public interests, the general welfare and morality as well as for the particular reasons indicated in other articles of the constitution.

"The law cannot break or destroy the spirit of basic rights and freedoms." "Some of the rights and freedoms laid down in this constitution can be used or exercised for the purpose of nullifying human rights and freedoms or the territorial and national unity of the Turkish State or for destroying the Republic by misusing or exploiting the differences between linguistic groups, races, social classes, religions or creeds."

Thus, Article 11, which limits the authority of the State with respect to the basic rights and freedoms of individuals, has been systematically diverted, becoming nothing more than a means to restrict fundamental rights and freedoms. Most important of all, these amendments make it impossible to form political parties and organizations, to issue publications, or to undertake any political activity based on a "distinction between the social classes". In other words, the junta has created a constitution without a left.

Furthermore, in the new text, the wording which actually enabled the power structure to limit basic rights and freedoms such as "the territorial and national unity of the State", "national security" and "public order" were inserted first whereas phrases such as "public interests" were pushed to the bottom of the text and "social justice" was completely eliminated from it. Which all goes to show that the aim was to restrict freedom not in the interest of the masses as they claim, but in the interest of a small minority group which controls the total economic sources of the country.

Mistrust of the Courts of Law

In his defense of his government's amendment of Article 11, Prime Minister Ecevit cited in particular Article 10 of the Genoa (Görm Dömeni) Constitution as an example to back up his action. (Daily Camurciyet, May 29, 1971). However, Article 10 of the new Constitution cannot come into force on a decision of the Constitutional Court and no authority whatever is recognized as competent for a change in the executive and/or legislative powers. However, in Turkey, the political power structure mistrusts the courts of law.

This mistrust has led the military junta to change the constitutional status of the Judicial organs. The legitimate authorities of the Council of State, the Constitutional Court and other courts of law have been considerably limited by the constitutional amendments.

The authority of the Council of State to revise decrees or executive orders has been restricted by the new wording of Article 11 of the Constitution: "Authority of control cannot be used or exercised for the purpose of limiting the accomplishment of the duties of the executive power."

Article 11 concerning the abrogation of laws by the Constitutional Court has been made restrictive. The military junta based its view on the fact that, even though the outlawed Turkish Labour Party had no parliamentary group, it could apply to the Constitutional Court for annulment of hundreds of anti-democratic laws passed by parliament during the last ten years. To stop such attempts, Article 11 was amended as follows:
"Only those political parties which have their own groups in parlia-
ment as the political parties which receive at least 10% of the legal vote
at a general election may apply to the Constitutional Court for annulment
of laws."

By changing articles 140 and 141, the authority for the control of
the legal aspects of appointments or promotions of military personnel was
taken away from the Council of State and given to a special body coming un-
der the Military Court of Cassation. Furthermore, the members of the Mil-
tary Court of Cassation who are normally elected from among eligible and
authorized military judicial personnel, are now to be appointed in accord-
ance with a new system imposed and accepted as an amendment. Military judi-
cial personnel will now be appointed to the Military Court of Cassation by
military commanders on the basis of their rank and seniority. Thus, the mil-
itary judicial system was put under complete control of the junta.

According to the amendments to Article 156, the legal attributes of
the military tribunals have been increased and crimes committed by civilians
against military personnel shall no longer be tried in civil court but in
military courts.

Violation of the Rights of the Individual

The amendments in Articles 15, 16, 22 and 29 authorize the legal ad-
ministrative body concerned to dismiss all sorts of associations, to search
houses, to confiscate newspapers and periodicals, to search individuals' their
belongings and personal letters and to confiscate same without obtaining a
court order since any delay in obtaining such a court order might constitute
a danger for national security and public order.

In depending such amendments, the military junta has once again ex-
pressed its distrust of the judges. The authority of the executive power
was therefore substantially increased.

In accordance with the 1961 Constitution, no Turkish citizen can be
detained more than 24 hours without a proper court warrant for his detention.
However, with the amendment of Article 30 by the junta, the period of deten-
tion has been extended to 48 hours for crimes committed by a single person
and to 7 days for crimes committed jointly by more than one person.

Furthermore, in accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution, it was
clearly stated that no person could be put on trial by an extraordinary or
special tribunal without a decision from his normal presiding judge. How-
ever, concerning this article, the title was first amended to read "Legal
Means of Judgement" and then a phrase was inserted in the article stating
that "no obstruction exists within the law for establishing special courts.

By inserting this wording in the article in question, the doors were left
open to establish or appoint special courts after the termination of martial
law. As a result, any Turkish citizen may be tried at any time of his
constitutional right to be tried only by a civil court judge.

The amendment of Article 22, actually enables the executive power to
limit the freedom of the press and information gathering for the "protection of
the territorial and national unity of the state, public order, and the
protection of secrecy necessary for national security". Therefore, in ad-
dition to the judicial, the administrative body appointed by law is author-
ized to confiscate any publication or to censor any correspondence.

An amendment of Article 46 also limits the right of employees to en-
establish labour unions. State employees and teachers are now deprived of this fundamental right. Furthermore, the right of workers to establish unions can be restricted for the purpose of "protection of the territorial and national unity of the State, national security, public order and morality."

After their unions were banned, state employees and teachers apparently retained the right to establish associations. In accordance with Article 119 of the Constitution, state employees can establish associations in order "to protect and improve their interests with respect to their professions". However, these associations do not have the right to collective bargaining or to strike, which are necessary to protect and to improve their economic and social status.

Moreover, according to the amendment introduced in Article 29, the right to establish associations has also been restricted. This amendment authorizes the interested administrative body appointed by law to close down an association without obtaining a court order, this in the interest of "protecting the territorial and national unity of the state, national security, public order and morality".

Abrogation of University and Birek Autonomy

Amendments to articles 120 and 121 of the Constitution have denied the universities and the Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation (ERTV) their former autonomy. These amendments are a clear indication of the reactionary character of the constitutional amendments.

Academic and administrative autonomy has been granted to the universities. However, the government’s government (DP) responded to growing university criticism of the government by restricting university autonomy in 1953. Several professors were suspended or not promoted because of their opposition to the government. At that time, Prof. Erbay, then a university professor, resigned from his academic post so as to defend the principle of university autonomy and to protest against Prime Minister昆仑的 decision.

12 years later, Professor Erbay became prime minister and still posed as one of most ardent defenders of university autonomy. In the speech he made just after his government received approval of the parliament, Mr. Erbay stated: "...I interpret university autonomy in this way: A professor must be entirely free to reveal his thoughts and beliefs before his students. The government should have no authority to suspend or to dismiss him for his opposition to the government." (Daily Commerciyet, April 10, 1971)

It is interesting to see that two months after this speech, on introducing the series of draft amendments to the constitution, the same professor, Prime Minister Erbay, completely changed his line and attacked university autonomy in the following terms:

"...there were some professors who incite the youth by stating, "...human rights, basic freedoms are tricks of the bourgeoisie. They cannot be considered as genuine freedoms. Genuine freedoms can be obtained by applying Nazism and Nationalism. We cannot tolerate this kind of attitude." (Daily Commerciyet, June 13, 1971)

The amendment to Article 120, abrogates university autonomy as follows:

"Public forces are authorized to enter the university buildings and appear for the purpose of pursuing a criminal, without obtaining authorization from the university administration."
All administrative organs of the universities are placed under the strict control of the executive power.

"The council of Ministers can seize administration of the universities and the faculties, institutes and foundations connected with the universities if freedom of education is endangered in or the administrative bodies of the universities are unable to meet the demand."

The amendment of Article 121 puts an end to the autonomy of the TRT turning this corporation into a governmental body. In actual fact, the heaviest blow to the autonomy of the TRT was the appointment of an army general as director general just prior to the rewriting of the constitution. In addition, through these amendments, the government is now authorized to control broadcasts of the TRT for the purpose of protecting the territorial and national unity of the state and national security."

**Extraordinary Provisions of the Martial Law Enactments**

Through the amendments made in Article 124 of the constitution, the number of circumstances under which martial law can be proclaimed was increased to include even suspicions or forebodings. The text of the article on the proclamation of martial law now reads as follows:

"In the case of circumstantial evidence that widespread terrorist activities aimed at endangering, internally or externally, the territorial and national unity of the state or overthrowing the free democratic order or fundamental freedoms and rights, martial law may be proclaimed..."

In addition, the government was authorized to proclaim martial law for two months, instead of one month as previously authorized.

In actual fact, this amendment simply legalizes the present violation of the 1961 Constitution. According to the former text of the Constitution, in order to proclaim martial law the government was obliged to prove the existence of a state of war, civil war or uprising. In spite of the fact that none exist, the Erm government proclaimed martial law in eleven provinces on April 26, 1971.

Leter, the military compelled parliament to enact a special law to authorize the appointment of martial law commanders. The new Act of Martial Law came into force 30 days after the proclamation of martial law, on May 12, 1971, and restricted fundamental rights and freedoms by authorizing the martial law commanders:

1. To search all dwellings, all buildings of political parties, associations, trade unions, clubs, all offices and workshops, all establishments (including autonomous ones), to search individuals and to confiscate their belongings and personal correspondences without obtaining a court order.

2. To censor all broadcasts or publications of the radio and television, photos, written documents, spoken texts and films; to examine individual correspondences, letters, telegrams, etc.; to restrict the publishing or printing of newspapers, magazines and books and to censor them; to forbid the entrance of publications in provinces under martial law; to close printing houses which print banned publications.

3. To outlaw strikes.

4. To close casinos, clubs and coffee-houses.

5. Under the same act, all military and police forces were put under
6. The military courts of martial law were authorized to try anyone under arrest on charges leveled by the martial law commanders.

7. The martial law commanders were authorized to maintain individuals in custody for a one-month period without a court warrant.

8. A sentence of imprisonment pronounced by a military court of martial law cannot be commuted to a fine.

9. Following the period of martial law, those cases brought before the military courts of martial law will not be transferred to a civil court, but will be decided by a military court.

**Martial Law Commanders: A Violation of the Constitution**

The new set of Martial Law not only constitutes a violation of the former text of the 1951 Constitution, but also of its modified version. It is not in accordance with the original text of the 1951 Constitution for the following reasons:

1. Whereas the 1951 Constitution limited the period of detention to 30 hours, the special act authorized the martial law commanders to detain an individual for 30 days without a court warrant. In applying this non-constitutional provision, the martial law commanders were able to keep thousands of people in the military jails for more than 30 hours without a court warrant. Furthermore, whereas Article 16 of the 1951 Constitution strictly forbids any sort of torture, hundreds of political detainees were brutally tortured in military headquarters and police centers by agents under the command of the martial law commanders.

2. In accordance with the Article 33 of the 1951 Constitution, it was already stated that no person could be sent for trial to an extraordinary or special tribunal other than by his prevailing judge. In spite of this provision, not only the "criminals" committed during the period of martial law, but also the "criminals" committed three or four years ago were also brought before the military courts of martial law. Hundreds of writers, journalists, translators, soldiers, and university professors were tried in the military courts of martial law on the basis of publications edited by them prior to the time when martial law was instituted.

In addition, the martial law commanders have also violated the provisions that ban any person from the military jails of the six martial law headquarters, and the military courts of martial law have tried and condemned them for "political crimes".

3. The martial law commanders have also violated articles 15, 16, 20, and 29 of the 1951 Constitution by closing down all sorts of associations, by searching dwellings, by confiscating newspapers, periodicals and books, by searching individuals' belongings and personal correspondence and by interfering with the latter without a court order.

Despite the Constitutional Court's Decision

Between April 26, 1971, the date on which martial law was enforced, and September 22, 1971, the date the amendments of the 1951 Constitution came into force, during a period of six months, the orders and actions of the six martial law commanders were in direct violation of the Constitution.
After September 22, 1971, the majority of these extraordinary powers became "constitutional", but two important provisions of the special act were even a violation of the new text of the constitution.

In accordance with the new text of the Constitution, no Turkish citizen could be detained more than 8 hours for crimes committed by a single person and seven days for crimes jointly by more than one person. However, even after September 22, 1971, on the basis of the unconstitutional articles of the Act of Martial Law, the martial law commanders continued to keep their victims in the military cells for weeks and months without a proper court warrant.

The military commanders have not even taken into consideration decisions of the Constitutional Court. Just after the Act of Martial Law came into force, the Turkish Labour Party (ITP) appealed to the Constitutional Court for the purpose of annuling the unconstitutional provisions of the Act. Seven months after the ITP had been banned, on February 23, 1972, the Constitutional Court stated that two articles of the Act of Martial Law were not in accordance with the modified text of the Constitution. The high court annulled the following articles of the act:

1. The article which authorized the martial law commanders to maintain an individual in custody for thirty days without a proper court warrant.

2. The article which authorized the military courts to try non-military personnel even after the period of martial law had been terminated.

The martial law commanders, however, have persistently taken no account of the decision of the Constitutional Court and even after February 23, 1972, they continued to maintain hundreds of people in their custody without court warrants, as it can be seen in the following examples:

Kadir Sizel Yalcin was taken into custody by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on March 25, 1972 and arrested on April 15, 1972 (33 days).

Pardame Yertsever was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on March 13, 1972 and arrested on March 24, 1972 (11 days).

Ayse Bilge Bel Shelter was taken into custody by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on March 29, 1972 and arrested on April 24, 1972 (30 days).

Ayse Naykara was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on February 17, 1972 and arrested on March 10, 1972 (26 days).

Selma Yeginsol was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on February 16, 1972 and arrested on March 16, 1972 (32 days).

Alta Dymen (writer) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 24, 1972 and arrested on June 22, 1972 (26 days).

Selat On (writer) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 24, 1972 and arrested on June 22, 1972 (26 days).

Dogo Piringck (university assistant) was taken into custody by the Izmir Martial Law Headquarters on May 21, 1972 and arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 26, 1972 (33 days).

Hali Beryer (university assistant) was taken into custody by the Izmir Martial Law Headquarters on May 21, 1972 and arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on June 14, 1972 (35 days).

Emlal Ismaili (writer) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 26, 1972 and arrested on June 15, 1972 (21 days).

Ilhan Kalaylioglu (editor) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 26, 1972 and arrested on June 15, 1972 (21 days).

If the files of the cases before the military courts of martial law were examined, hundreds of examples of unconstitutional detentions would be observed.
The martial law commanders do not take into account the constitutional provisions concerning freedom of the press. Even after the amendment of the Constitution, Article 22 pertaining to press freedom did not give power to the martial law commanders to confiscate books published previously. In accordance with the Press Code currently in force, it is illegal to confiscate any book more than six months after its publication. But the Third Military Court of Ankara has decided to confiscate books edited prior to the six-month period. Among the confiscated books are some written 300 years ago and reprinted in the last three or four years.

The Laws Are Now Brought Into Line with the Modified Version of the Constitution

The military junta is not satisfied with simply modifying the Constitution and providing the martial law commanders with arbitrary powers; they have ordered the government and parliament to change now than twenty laws to bring them into line with the amendments of the constitution. The military-backed government has now brought 23 bills before parliament in order to change the following laws:

1. Turkish Penal Code
2. Turkish Press Code
3. TRT (Turkish Radio-Television) Act
4. Associations Act
5. Expropriation Act
6. Regulation of the Grand National Assembly
7. State Personnel Act
8. National Security Council Act
9. Council of State Act
10. State Employers Union Act
11. Universities Act
12. Judges and Prosecutors Act
13. Military Criminal Procedure Code
14. Military Court of Cassation Act
15. Supreme Council of Judges Act
16. Constitutional Court Act
17. Election Act
18. Political Parties Act
19. Duties and Authorities of Police Act
20. Military Criminal Code
21. Criminal Procedure Code
22. Control Act
23. Meetings and Demonstrations Act.

Some of these bills have been enacted by parliament bringing restrictions on fundamental rights and freedoms.

Restrictions on Democratic and Political Activities

Through the amendment of the Associations Act, passed by the National Assembly on June 15, 1972, governors and police chiefs are authorized to permanently control or ban any association without a "court order" thus for the purpose of "protecting the territorial and national unity of the state, national security, public order and morality".

Associations must obtain the approval of the public prosecutor in order
to issue any announcement whatsoever. The radio-television and the press cannot bring to the public's attention any announcement without the approval of a public prosecutor.

All associations are forbidden to have international relations, to be affiliated to an international organization.

Associations are deprived of the right to declare their views on political matters. By this provision, any association can be banned under the pretext of carrying out political activities. As a result, more than 40 thousand associations throughout Turkey are under the threat of being closed down.

The amendments of the Political Parties Act make it impossible for a socialist party to be founded on a class base, in other words on a working class base. In addition, the leaders of political parties banned by the authorities may not form a new political party or become members of another party. That is to say, the leaders of the Turkish Labour Party, which was banned after the March 12th coup, are now deprived of the right to exercise their political preferences.

Moreover, university professors and assistant professors are also deprived of the right to be affiliated to a political party.

According to the amendments to the Meetings and Demonstrations Act, any meeting not in line with the policy of the executive authorities can be postponed for thirty days by the Minister of Internal Affairs. In addition, the organizers of any unauthorized meeting or demonstration can be sentenced to up to ten years of prison.

With the amendment of the Duties and Authorities of Police Act, the police forces are empowered to ignore the fundamental rights and freedoms of the individual. The police can close down any association, can search houses and the personal belongings and correspondences of any individual and can confiscate them without obtaining a proper court order. The police has also been authorized to shoot at sight.

Restriction of Justice

According to the amendment of the Criminal Procedure Code passed by the Justice Commission of the National Assembly on April 15, 1972, "crimes committed for the purposes of multiplying human rights and freedoms or the territorial and national unity of the Turkish State or destroying the Republic by misusing or exploiting differences between linguistic groups, races, social classes, religions or creeds" need not be subjected to a preliminary investigation in order to decide whether they can be prosecuted or to determine the identity of the "offender". The public prosecutor will directly proceed with the case by indictment. Moreover, the public prosecutor may bring any such case to felony court of any province. In due time, therefore, certain felony courts will be turned into special courts for such "crimes".

The new bill also changed the basic principles of criminal procedure. According to the amendment, the obligation to prove a crime has been withdrawn from public prosecutor and the defendant is obliged to prove innocence of the charge.

This Military Criminal Procedure Code was also changed in the same spirit by parliament on June 8, 1972. First of all, the military prosecutors and judges come under the authority of the local military commanders and the
military commanders are authorized to intervene in the investigation of military courts.

In addition, a "Military Judicial Inspection Commission" will be constituted by the Ministry of National Defense, and this commission will inspect all military courts.

In accordance with the new text of the Military Criminal Procedure Code, if any defendant insists on his objections, the military court can arrest him under pretext of "ensuring the judge or the military prosecutor or the guard on duty" and prevent his attendance at the trial. His trial can be held without his presence and the judgment can be made by default. In the same way, if any "suspect" is not caught, his trial can also be held by default. The military courts are also authorized to impose censorship on news about trials.

The amendment of the Military Criminal Code passed by the National Assembly on July 4, 1972, authorized the military courts to try not only military personnel, but also civilians. If a civilian is accused of "insulting the armed forces or any military person on duty", he will be considered military personnel and the military court may sentence him to up to 3 years of prison. For example, if a driver has an argument with a private who is conducting traffic or if a journalist criticizes military expenditures, they can be tried in the military courts.

The same amendments strictly forbid military personnel from taking part in political activities or conversations, even from reading a political book or from recommending it to another person in the military. Punishment for such crimes is 5 years imprisonment.

The amendment of the Supreme Council of Judges Act voted by parliament on June 21, 1972, sets up a "Judicial Inspection Commission" by the Ministry of Justice. This commission is even authorized to raid the residences of judges and to search their personal belongings.

The Military-backed government brought the bill amending the Films Control Act before parliament on June 16, 1972. If this bill is enacted by parliament, the administrative bodies will be authorized to outlaw the making of any film in order to "protecting the territorial and national unity of the state, public order, morality". The same authorities can also ban any film on the pretext that it is "insulting for the armed forces or the security forces".

The military junta is not, however, satisfied with all these amendments and the President of the Republic called all the political leaders together on July 2, 1972 to impress upon them the necessity of new changes in the Constitution aimed at giving more authority to the executive power. If the parliament accepts these new amendments, the parliament itself, the Council of State, the judicial organs will lose all power of control with respect to the executive authorities. The military insists on establishing extraordinary security courts and is demanding the amendment of Article 35 of the Constitution. Because the Constitutional Court declared null and void the article of the Martial Law Act which authorized the military courts to try non-military personnel after the period of martial law is terminated. The military junta demands that all citizens stamped as "enemies of the state" not to be tried in the normal courts, but rather in the extraordinary security courts.
SINCE March 12, 1971, the military rule of Turkey has adopted infamous methods and applied torture to the political prisoners as a matter of policy. The military junta and its government are clearly responsible for torture in Turkey, not simply in the way government is responsible for the acts of its agents, but because the practice has been known for one and a half years and the regime has taken no known measures to stop it or to punish the guilty.

There are a number of facts revealed in this chapter that indicate torture is directly ordered from above and is not a matter of individual excess which may or may not be tolerated by the regime. Not only is torture widespread, but identical techniques are reported from all over Turkey. Prisoners have been tortured by an agency under the jurisdiction of one ministry, then transferred to another and tortured. This implies some central direction. The army, an organization based on obedience to orders given in a hierarchical structure, has been very active in torturing, and it is the army which rules Turkey today.

The organizations that carry out the torture are the civilian police forces—the security police and the gendarmerie; the armed forces—military police (marked kuvvet polisi), army intelligence and the National Intelligence Agency (MIT). There is both cooperation and a sense of competition among the different services. There are undeniable affidavits which declare that the military law commanders, the military prosecutors and the military judicial advisers have given orders to torture the political prisoners, even they have personally supervised the torturing. Moreover, the military courts have decided that any prisoner might be tortured with the aim of obtaining the “truth”.

The military-backed government has consistently denied all the charges of torture. The prime ministers of the military-backed governments have shown considerable ill-temper over such charges. The first prime minister of the military rule, Mr. Sait Kesimal, a demobilized officer, has gone, refused to comply with orders. The government would punish the guilty. Thereupon hundreds of proofs were brought, but the government did not take into consideration any of them. The second prime minister of the military rule, Mr. Ferhat Mehiri, also denied all charges and qualified them as the “lies of international communist conspiracy”. On the other hand, General Falk Thrash, US-made Manual Law Commissioner, said: “I made an investigation on these charges and saw that they are not more than few lines on the miles and a few slopes.” (Dally Milliyet, May 29, 1971). While the general was given this speech, as it will be seen in the following affidavits, many young women were violated with tremendous and measured their badges or went off their minds.

In fact, immediately after the martial law was imposed, the regime arrested thousands of people and beat them up in order to discourage them and others from resisting the new regime. But the phase of systematic torture against those suspected of being engaged in underground resistance be-
gan in earnest a month after the coup. The affidavits in the first part of this chapter belong to this phase.

Those who are being tortured today in Turkey are those who are suspected of being active in resistance to the military regime. Not all suspects are economically tortured, but only those who are believed to have useful information and to be susceptible to torture. Though resistance comes from all quarters, the brunt of the regime's brutality has fallen on the left, both in terms of number tortured and degree of torture. Not only the internationally known artists like novelist Turhan Beyk or movie star Hilmi Uçeyl, lawyers like Yaşin Oğuztürk, professors at Çevat Şahat were also tortured.

The controversy over torture began just after the coup, but the military rule did not permit a public debate on this subject in Turkey. A journalist Altan Gömür, dared to publish some affidavits in Daily Akam, but the military rule immediately forced the newspaper to dismiss him.

However, the foreign press and various international organizations interested with the torture. For example, Le Monde (France), Vrij Nederland (Holland), Expression and Aftonbladet (Sweden), Stern and Der Spiegel (Germany) published many articles on torture or references to it. The Amnesty International, International Commission of Jurists, the International Federation for Human Rights, the International Association of Democratic Jurists sent their representatives to Turkey and obtained various reports and affidavits describing methods of torture applied in Turkey. In addition, on June 3-4, 1972, distinguished lawyers held a conference on torture in Paris and three lawyers, revealed the methods and confirmed the charges against the military rule.

The military rule of Turkey has applied all kinds of torture to the political prisoners:

   a) Brutal arrest was carried out between midnight and dawn without a court warrant.

   b) The methods which make the prisoner feel that it is futile to resist consisting of taking away all the elements of his daily life which give him security, holding him incommunicado until he speaks under fear of torture.

   c) Physical torture at Gallipoli (bastinado), electro-shock, burning, electrically-irritated torture.

   d) Non-physical methods of assailing the prisoner by ceremonies, lies and threats from the very first moment, exposing him to noise, stripping him of her naked, exploitation of psychological weaknesses, obliging the prisoner to listen to others being tortured, mock executions, distorting the prisoner's sense of reality and forcing him to sign declarations against his beliefs.

In addition, some prisoners have been tortured before his or her family.

In certain cases the conditions of detention can be considered a form of torture. Prisoners are deprived of food, water and sleep. Locked in filthy, verminous, solitary confinement cells, they are not allowed to use the toilet.

Those who are tortured will never be the same again. The following affidavits give depressing and tragic clinical evidence of the devastating effects of torture.
The affidavits of the victims, the observations of the foreign journalists and jurists show that the military rule of Turkey has violated both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights. Both of them state that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment." Although they do not define it, Article 3 of the European Convention is broader in scope: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment." Although under Article 5 of the European Convention a state may suspend certain articles in time of "grave national emergency", but under no circumstances may it violate Article 3. The military rule of Turkey has violated not only the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Convention, which had been signed by the Turkish government, but also the constitution of Republic in force. The Article 14 of the constitution says: "No one shall be subjected to ill-treatment or to torture. No one shall be subjected to degrading punishment".

In spite of all attempts of the military rule to veil the medieval-like tortures and ill-treatments, the fact has been evidenced, not only by affidavists which the tortured victims themselves, at a great personal sacrifice, had the courage to give, but also by the statements of police chiefs and by the decisions of military judges.

The military rule of Turkey is still continuing to torture political prisoners in spite of all the efforts by the democratic forces to prevent the violation of human rights.

The irrefutable documents in this volume will prove that THE MILITARY RULE TORTURER POLITICAL PRISONERS AS A MATTER OF POLICY IN TURKEY.

* * * *

FROM THE THRESHOLD OF DEATH

(Excerpts from a poem from prison written recently by a very young Turkish poet who had been tortured brutally and faces a 14 year prison sentence.)

And now I'm with you
The flash and burst of lightning shatter the clouds!
And now I'm with you
My pulsation, child of my steady breast!
Now I'm with you
The sky rejoices out of prison!

* * * *

And now I'm with you My love.
While I write these lines for you
The sparks of life are flickering
That dwe life mean to them,
To the torturers:
Nothing but a dull monotonous portrait!
And they pretended they become
When I smile gently under their torture

* * * *
Beginning with the words, "I was in a pitch-dark cellar..."
The statements in this chapter were given by the defendants of Habir Çeywa Ceme at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. But none of these statements appeared on the daily newspapers under the pressure of the military rule. Therefore, the lawyer of the tortured defendants attempted to publish a booklet including the statements on torture on September 27, 1971. The booklet was printed, but the lawyer was not able to distribute them, because they were confiscated by the military authorities, while it was being bound. A few copies of the booklet could be saved from the military authorities and be brought secretly out of Turkey.

In the foreword of the booklet, Mr. Faik Kemal Kamsi, the lawyer of Vvon and his 25 friends, says: 'Hundreds of the most advanced young intellectuals of the country are being tried for their lives by military courts of martial law. They are intended to be sentenced to death because they have committed some 'crimes' without seeking personal advantages, but for the good of their country and their people. Their cases, of course, strongly affect the public opinion. But especially now, neither the press, nor the TRT report on these cases and the trials in a way commensurate with their importance for public opinion. The law courts can only use 'their rights to judge defendants' on behalf of the Turkish nation, the people therefore should be able to judge the courts, even when the courts try the defendants. The necessity of making sessions open to the public is a constitutional obligation so that the public would be able to judge the 'courts'. It cannot be claimed that the trials are really being held open to the public in a country where the news media are not able to report on the trials normally. I am not the one who divulges information in this booklet. The information comes from the files of the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law. Only the records of the trials and the formal requisitions and reports put into the court's file after being read at the sessions are telling in this booklet.'

HAYIR DEMIR: Born in 1944, 8th semester student at the Economical Faculty of Istanbul University. He was tried according to Article 146 of Turkish Penal Code and condemned to death on December 27, 1971, but his sentence was commuted into life term by the Military Court of Istanbul later on. During the trials, his deposition, taken down at the Police Headquarters on June 1, 1971 was read in the court. The defendant protested the deposition revealing that it was taken down under severe torture by police. So also did not accept the prosecutor's formal charge based on the same deposition. (Cour's minutes, p.39). The following statement about torture was written by Secret Dewis and put into his official court file after being read in the court on August 30, 1971.

"It was taken into custody on the evening of May 27,1971. I was first locked in a cell at the political section of Police headquarters (security police). About two hours later, I was brought into the zone of Istanbul
Police Chief Jannett Ceglar, being kicked and cuffed on the way. In the room, there was also an army general. They talked quite shortly and definitively: "Do him to death! Kill him!"

Moreover, they brought me to the security police chief Ljig Ajkulu's room. There were also two army officers; one major, and one colonel. Ajkulu shouted at me: "More neither the constitution nor the Declaration of Human Rights exist here. You are going to confess everything that we want you to say!" Then I was carried into the first cell in which I had been locked before, and the torture started. The torture, which they call 'operation' continued for 24 hours. During this time, the torture teams were permanently changing and while two policemen were beating me, the others were watching the 'operation'. After 12 hours, at 2:00 a.m., on May 28, 1971, I was carried into the original section of the headquarters. There, they bound my hands behind my back and threw me onto the ground. Tied my feet to a stick and started to beat my soles. There were about ten policemen. Among them I could recognise the police Superintendent Djuraj Danilović, Zijah Isak, Zekeriya Ašić (the leader of the torture team who always supplied electricity to defendants). During the torture they wanted me to say that I shot at the Consul. But later I learnt that Irfan Ugrć and Kostojić Ašić were also forced to "confess" to the same "crime".

"They beat me with thick twisted cables on the naked soles of my feet until 5 p.m. When one of them was tired the other took his place immediately. They were not only beating my feet but also kicking my face, my chest and one was putting his foot on my nose. After a while my soles were torn. When they saw the blood, they increased the violence of the beating like vampires who become more enthusiastic when they drink blood. At 6 p.m., they tried to put my feet into a bucket, but I was not able to sit down so the bucket was overturned. They became quite angry and hit me with their fists shooting, 'why have you overturned the bucket?" They wrapped my feet with a piece of rug then, and locked me into the same cell. For two days I was left there in 'strict isolation', being chained to a stool and defended in the cell.

"The third day my wife Elzbieta Decić was permitted to curb my soles. On June 13, eighteen days after they took me into custody, I was still not able to walk, however, I was carried to Karbicker Osmin (Headquarters of Military Police Forces), and locked in a solitary confinement cell, where the military judge decided to arrest me.

"...On June 15th, eighteen days after the operation I was still not able to walk easily. But Irfan Ugrć and Zulide Žalin were worn off than I, as the members of the military court had to hold the trial in their cells in order to arrest them. On June 30th they sent me to Srebrenica Military Hospital with Irfan Ugrć, Zulide Žalin and Kostojić Danis Osman. I was treated there until the 26th of July, then they brought me to Medium Military Prison. Now, I still have traces of torture in spite of passing 37 days after the 'operation'. Two toes nails of my right foot and one toe nail of my left foot had fallen off because of the severe torture and the others were severely bruised. A deep split up to the bones was open on my right foot. I still have the traces of all of them."

After Neziri Đorđić read this statement, his lawyer Vilenka Đorđević appealed to the court for adopting a decision in order to extradite an expert for certifying the damages which had been inflicted upon the defendant. His application was followed by the requests by the other tortured persons of Alić, Sevalović, Nećić Erma, Alić Zulide, Kostojić Danis Osman and Vilenka Đorđević in order to have medical expertise. (Minutes of the Court p. 56)
On May 27, 1971 Ilgiz Aykutlu, Security Police Chief, phoned to an army colonel and said: "We have taken their photographs. Now we are going to start the operation. After the operation we cannot give their photos to the press. What about giving them to the press right now, together with the news about their seizure?"

Above, the mentioned photo of Necmi Demir, Ilkay Demir, İrfan Ucar, and Necatı Sağır. Below: Jülide Zaim, Rühan Manaş, and Kadriye Deniz Özen, the most badly tortured female defendants of the Çayan Case. Affidavits and photos of the other tortured victims on the following pages.
TIMAR DELIG: Born in 1949. 15th semester student at Istanbul Medicine Faculty. She was tried according to article 149 of Turkish Penal Code and condemned to death on December 27, 1971. But her sentence was commuted into life term later on.

"While I was being interrogated at the police headquarters I was threatened by Ilgiz Aykutlu, security police chief. He showed me the tortured Medriye Deniz Oran and Mithilem Zaim. They were forcing Medriye in order to obtain a confession that she was one of the kidnappers."

"When we were being interrogated, İrfan Ügur was also among us. To the public they had announced that Ügur was the 'murderer' of the consel. But when they recognized that he was quite far from 'confessing' to it, Ilgiz Aykutlu commanded his policemen to carry him into the 'torture room' downstairs. But in spite of the torture they were not able to obtain such a confession. Thereupon, as a second important suspect, they turned towards my husband, Necmi Demir. They carried him into the torture room. Later, when I was also brought into the same room, I learnt that they were able to make him say: 'Yes I am the one who shot at the Consel.' They wanted me to corroborate this untruth. I refused. Then I was thrown onto the ground and my feet were tied to a stick in order to begin the 'fislang' operation. Thereupon, Necmi wanted me to certify that he shot at the Consel. So I said that Necmi had done it, then they left me. The following day my husband's name appeared in the newspapers as the killer of Eliran."

"But when Mabir Çeşum and İhsan Çocak were surrounded at Maltepe the police authorities forced us to 'confess' that çeşum is the killer this time."

(Minutes of the Court pp. 43-46)

The following affidavit, written by İlbay Demir, was also read at the session on August 25, 1977 and put into the court's file.

"1. On 27th of May, when we were brought into the room of İlçiz Aykutlu, we found him talking on the telephone to a colonel who is the Military Legal Adviser of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. Bearing in mind Necmi Demir, İrfan Ügur, İlçiz Aykutlu and me, he said: 'We took their photographs. Now we are going to start the operation. After the operation, we cannot give their photos to the press. What about giving these photos immediately to press together with the news about their seizure'"

"His offer might have been approved by the Military Legal Adviser. He said he would send the photographs immediately. As a matter of fact, the following day only these photographs, taken before the torture, appeared in the dailies."

"During this telephone-conversation there was also another army colonel in the room. I intended to argue with him about my 'operation'. He did not answer me and only hung his head, while Aykutlu was swearing at the colonel and at us.

"2. During the first two days, what sounded like thousand policemen shout and scream at me through the observation hole of my cell. And some of them were kicking the entering into my cell while the others were telling in the most loathsome details how they were going to rape me."

"These psychologic torture continued for 48 hours. My friends in the other cells and my husband have heard all of the details.

"3. On the evening of May 28, İlçiz Aykutlu brought me to the criminal section. He showed me bloodstained husband Necmi who was just carried out of the 'torture room' and laid on a couch before me. They were trying..."
to wrap his bleeding feet. The corridor was like a lake of blood. A woman was trying to wash the blood as well. Later I learnt it was not only the blood of Irfan but also the blood of Ibneel.

"They took me into a 'Balamping' room in order to apply the same operation. In addition to the team of torturers, some police chiefs of both criminal section and security police were in the room. They tied my feet to the Balamping, thrown me on to the ground. In order to save me from torture, my husband wanted me to say he was the one who shot at Ibneel. This untruthful 'confession' saved me from torture. Otherwise they were intent upon obtaining it by force in the end."

"On May 26, they had beaten Irfan Ojaee starting at 9 a.m. till 3 p.m. At the same time they were also beating Nemli. I knew all the details about the situation of Irfan’s health beginning from that day until we were brought to Harbiye Camp. In fact he was dead by the door. For many days he laid motionless on the concrete floor of his cell. He was continuously talking in his sleep. His breath was very short. For fifteen days his urine was quite bloody. The first medical treatment to his feet was done by us, therefore I know the wounds very well."

"On May 27 and 28 I saw Kadriye D. Ojan twice and Jullide Yalanam once in Aykut’s room. Aykut was trying to frighten me by saying that the same thing would happen to me, showing their swollen feet and their exhausted status.

"A few days later Bahar Ojan and Chira Abouchikin were also violently tortured. I gave medical treatment to them also. Sufiyan Osam, who is under arrest in Kartal now, also witnessed the status of Irfan, Nemli, Bahar and Chira. In addition, Sabir Okul, student of Istanbul Technical University and Taha Akgul, writer who is now under arrest at Doganci løs, also saw the scene.

"...A friend of Aykut’s, Dr. Sarbed Arman from Cape Hospital is also witnessed these tortures. He examined Ojaee, Nemli Demir, Jullide Reim and Kadriye Dusia Ojan medically in front of me, prescribed three ointment for their feet and ordered me to cure them."

"(...)

"On the 16th of June Irfan and Jullide could not be brought into the court hall because of being unable to move. So the court members were obliged to come to their cells and communicate the court’s decision about their arrest. They both applied for medical expert to order to ascertain the physical damages that had been inflicted upon them.

"Later the court members controlled every cell and saw our friends in their exhausted state, suffering from the pain of torture. The relief of the military police force, General Cebel Yardimci, had also at many times seen the state we were in.

"On Sunday June 27, Irfan Ojaee was carried to the military prosecutor on a stretcher.

"I was brought in front of the military prosecutors on June 28. I told both military prosecutors, Mr. Erol Gür and Mr. Beyaz Özer, all about the tortures. I wanted my revelations taken down in the minutes but the prosecutors refused my application."
I was taken into custody on May 17, 1971. I was arrested by the military court on June 16, 33 days after being kept in custody.

I was brought to prison on July 20, 1971. Before being brought to prison:

Between May 17 and June 12 I was kept in the political section of Istanbul police headquarters.

Between June 12 and June 30 I was kept in a solitary confinement cell at Terssoya Kasrane.

Between June 30 and July 20 I was kept at Haydarpasa Military Hospital in order to be treated medically.

Since the 20th of July I have been in Mithoza Military Prison.

From May 17 to June 16, I was tortured and physically and mentally abused in the police headquarters.

On the night of May 27, they applied electroshock to me at the criminal section of police headquarters. I was blindfolded so that I was not able to see how many persons were in the torture room. But as I would recognize them by their voices, they were: Igis Ajkal, Police Superintendent Pehmet, army officers on duty from the National Security Agency (MST). The electroshock was applied twice, the dose being increased each time. The electric current was applied first to my legs and later to my arms, and then concentrated to my head. They were rubbing the electrodes against my head forcibly so as to cut through the skin of my head. Not being satisfied with this, they wanted me to strip naked. I refused and resisted it. One of the army officers, who seemed angry with me, hit me on my head with his fists at least fifteen times. Then I was told that they would bring my family from Ankara and torture them also. One of them was sent out in order to inform the National Security Agency (MST) of Ankara about my family. They gave up the ‘operation’ when my head, my legs, and my arms began to bleed in different places. They still did blindfold me. I was carried out by a policeman. In order to prevent me remembering the location of the torture room he went around me for a while, then left me at another place.

The following day they brought me into the room of Police Chief Mansur Tagai. They asked if I knew the names of the kidnappers. They stated that they would let me free if I would tell the names of the kidnappers, otherwise they would plan some ‘good operations’ for me. Then I was carried into another room where some army officers on duty from the MST told me the same things. As soon as I said that I knew nothing, Igis Ajkal got extremely angry and shouted: ‘Take her away! In a short time she will start talking!’

This time I was brought into a very crowded room. First they swore at me, then showed me the photographs of the tortured ones hanging on the walls and threatened me by saying the same things would happen to me. If I would not talk in the way they wanted me to. The photographs on the wall were of Qazi Yuns and Salih Kayas, taken just after torture. I was sitting on a bench in this matter. In fact I knew nothing. Suddenly a huge terrifying man entered the room, slapped my face severely without saying anything.
... 

(One side of my face became swollen later, because of this). The others were continuing to swear at me with such disgusting words that I could not repeat them here and had never heard up till then. They threatened me, saying they were going to rape me. The criminal section’s chief also repeated the menace of raping me, with a stick which he was holding. While he ordered his men to bring a pair of trousers for me. They brought a big pair of trousers and however much I refused to put them on, I had to do it under their pressure in the end. Suddenly I heard a voice, ‘throw her down!’ one of them shouted and pushed me down on my hip lying on the floor. They tied my feet to a stick. Two of them held the stick, another one put his foot on my shoulder, the others kept on continuing to swear at me and shouting, asking where the Consul was. The more I said I knew nothing, the more they beat me violently. After a while they lifted me up, threatening that I would again be beaten if I did not think it over and remember where the Consul was.

"Meanwhile, they brought in Eris Slerkan in order to torture him. While he was being beaten, they took me closer to him, to show how they torture! They have also shown me my nephews being tortured. His feet were blistered and his clothes were torn. In fact he was not involved in any way.

"Then they subjected me to the ‘sadomas’ once more. This time they were blind with anger and beat my feet over and over. They said that I was still lying but sooner or later I would ‘confess the truth!’ Otherwise I would be killed by beating. They were repeating over and over this sentence: ‘Don’t forget! Both the armed forces and the government are on our side. Nobody would hold us responsible if we killed you!’ They continued beating my soles, although they were bleeding. They wanted me to tell where the Consul was hidden. I knew nothing about this affair, but I also was no longer able to bear the pain of the stick beating my soles. So I decided to lie and gave them several addresses that I knew by heart. Consul was at none of them of course, they got mad and started to beat me up telling that they would kill me. Then lifting me up again, they surrounded me and forced me to run on my bleeding feet while they were at me, kicking and hitting my bloodstained legs with flints and truncheons. I was dead-beat and could not stand because of a kick in my back. So they put my feet in a basket full of salt water. In the evening I was brought out of the section on a stretcher. A young consular officer carried me in his arms into an isolation cell. I was neither able to lie down nor to sit, because of the blisters all over my body. I examined my body, there were big swellings around my left eye, on my back, on my arms and many parts of my body had become bruised. I was not able to move my right hand and the fingers of it swelled up and were severely bruised because of being twisted while they were trying to break them. And of course my feet... They were swollen and bloodstained.

"The following day, on May 19, Istanbul Metropolitan Law Commander General Bülent visited the Police Headquarters. When he saw my state, he said if I were to continue resisting and not inform them of the names of the kidnappers and if they could not catch them, they were going to execute us by hanging instead of the kidnappers. Also, an army colonel from the 1st Brigade: ‘We shall exterminate you! We shall not leave this country in the hands of vagrants such as you. To hell with the lot of you!’ And Lütfi Aykanlì asked that they could easily sacrifice all of us, and among the 36 million people, we, one million of them, had no value.

"Later on June 12, we were all locked into the solitary confinement cells of Kozya Cage. The same day the military prosecutor made up our identities, and forced us to sign some papers stating that we had approved the depositions taken down at the police headquarters.
"A few days later I felt that some illness was manifesting itself in my body. Formerly I had slight gastric pains in my stomach. Now it was getting stronger and the pain was becoming unbearable. I was fasting from time to time. The wounds on my soles were still purging and swelling more and more. According to the regulations we were being treated in our cells. But our 'doctor' was a non-commissioned officer instead of a doctor. When I was called by the prosecutor for interrogation I could not carry this order because of not being able to walk. So, an army colonel, the political section's chief of military police headquarters, examined my soles and ordered them not to use force on me during investigations until I would get better. I was getting worse from day to day, and at last on June 12, at night, they have obliged to send me to the Nagyburgas Military Hospital together with three other tortured ones. I was brought to the hospital with my feet wrapped. There their diagnosis was that an extreme anaemic and gastric deterioration was menacing my health. In the clinic, the visible traces of torture were treated. The reason for the appearance of gastritis and anaemia was the torture. I was still not able to stand up on my feet when the military prosecutor came to the hospital to interrogate me. So one of the non-commissioned army officers and one policeman carried me in front of the prosecutor. There were many points in my deposition that I wanted to reject. But I was so exhausted by my illness that I was not able to make the effort.

"Before I got perfectly well, they took me out of the hospital and brought me into the Maltepe Military Prison. I could climb the stairs of the prison with the help of an army colonel. A few days after, I was put into prison. I had a sudden crisis. They brought me again to the hospital but it was on Saturday and there were no doctors. So, they gave me an injection in order to stop the pain and sent me back to prison. Now, I am still not healthy and still have to be treated.

"People who were present when I was being tortured:"

1. During the electric torture: Hügüz Aydoğdu (Istanbul Security Police's Chief), police superintendent Fatihettin (from Group X of the Security Police), an army officer on duty from the Warship Law Headquarters. (I could not recognize the others, because I was blindfolded.)

2. During the Palanga operation: Police Chief Serpil Aydin who was beating my soles himself police superintendent Nuri Karakut from Security Police (police section of police headquarters), a woman superintendent of police whose name I was not able to learn, a police superintendent from the criminal section, Ofer (I could not learn his surname) and some others whose names I could not learn.

"Witnesses, who saw me after being tortured: Omer Erhan Seker and Jülide Seker, who were also tortured at the same time; Tülay Tod and Nejat Han-Dev, Alkay Demir and her parents; Yveta Gurav, Levin Cikan and Bursa's Teacher, students from the First Arts Academy; Mustafa Erolaynen, student of Chemistry Faculty; Ecein, Tadj Örmen, Mustafâ Örmen from the Telephone Exchange Station; Cefe Karan, student of Cepa Teachers' School, my sister Murallı Gümüş and my nephew Dering Nizam.

"Police officers who saw me after being tortured: Chief superintendents of police: İsmail Yavuz and Fatihettin; police superintendents, Cevdet Demirci, Yavuz Cihan, Leyla Yıldız (female) police agents; Mustafa Erolaynen, Adnan Örmen, Nebi Örmen, Gümüş Cihan and Han Iral.

"Witnesses at Ministry of Defence: Professor nurse Ömer from Gümüş energy Military Hospital, non-commissioned army officer Yiğit Öğuz, Political Section's
Chief of Military Police Headquarters, General Sabah Yarimsole, the Commander of Hidaye Cazemo, some high ranking army officers whose names could not be learnt, three guards, Selami, Ali and Naki.

"At Bagderpassi Military Hospital: All medical experts and doctors including the chief of the doctors, Dr. Erma, specialist of internal illnesses who also treated us, trained nurses, Hedef Muhle, Selami Urga and Selami, assistant trained nurse Abmet, non-commissioned officer Aydin." 

ROGER WITAS: Born in 1964, 6th semester student at Ankara Social Service Academy. She was tried according to Article 166 of the TPC, and condemned to death on December 27, 1971. But later her sentence was commuted into life term. The following statement was made by her at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Metropolitan Law Headquarters and recorded in the minutes of the court (p.56).

"I was not tortured at the police headquarters physically, but I was subjected non-physical torture. I was tortured with anxiety of being raped. As a matter of fact, Uzun Cebeci, a guard on duty tried to violate me, when Veddiye Deniz Cem, Tufayla Pas and I was being kept in the same cell. For this reason, I accepted everything which the police wanted me to sign. So, my deposition taken down at the police station is of no value." 

JULIANE ZAHI: Born in 1966, 6th semester student at Istanbul Literature Faculty's Psychology Section. She was tried according to Article 166 of the TPC, but acquitted. Later, on June 13, 1975, the Military Court of Cassation annulled the judgment and imposed a new trial. The following affidavit was read by her at the court and recorded in the minutes (p.56).

"It was taken by a policeman from the hospital where I went for medical treatment on May 26, 1971 and brought to Istanbul Police Headquarters' Political Section. There I was beaten by Elif Erguhi and many other policemen with slaps and cuffs and they started to give me a third degree, asking and hitting wherever they found a spot which had not been hit before. Then I was brought to the criminal section where Sekeriye Aydin subjected me to Falanga personally. They applied to me several kind of torture. And they stated that they could probably kill me and throw out of the window and declare to the public that I committed suicide. They also said that I could be raped by them. A major on duty from the MLI named Beci told me to approve of torture. Later, Elif Erguhi stated that they could sacrifice one million of us for the remaining 36 million people."

"At the Police Headquarters, the tortured one Hasan Götzi was shown to us as an example and I was warned that if I did not talk, the same thing would be done to me. As the security police I was fainting very often. For this reason they called in two doctors in order to examine me. The proponent of this court (Naci Dör, the military prosecutor of the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLI at which these defendants were tried and sentenced) visited me at the police headquarters and interrogated me. I was not able to have my right hand and arm because of the torture. So the prosecutor held my hand and forced me to sign the deposition."

When I was sent to Military Police Headquarters, I was there Beci Deniz, Naim Deniz Ozen and Irfan Oyan. They were still carrying the visible traces of severe tortures. We were told that we would be interrogated by a
military court. I and Irfan Oner were not able to walk because of the 'fallen gu' torture. They took us out of our cells and made us sit down on chairs. I met this present judicial assembly for the first time there. They were not wearing their uniforms. The judicial assembly stated that we were arrested on the charge of 'trying to change the constitution by force.' When I complained about the tortures, I was told I could repeat the same complaint at the trial.

"Later I was sent to the Military Hospital. The diagnosis of my sickness was anemia." (Court's minutes, pp. 55-56)

EKONM KAGIR: Born in 1947, 4th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried according to Article 145 of the IPC and condemned to 15 years imprisonment. The following affidavit was read by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Mil and recorded in the minutes (p.52).

"I was also tortured like my other friends at the Istanbul Police HQs. For this reason I was obliged to enumerate several names as kidnappers of Hine. But at each progress in the events, they have torn my deposition made up and taken down new ones with third degree. At each progress they have beslimed! (Falange) me saying: 'You have lied, haven't you? Come on, we will find the truth immediately!' Now, I reject all my depositions taken down at the police headquarters. At our first inspection by the military prosecutor at the police station, the same threats were repeated by the military prosecutor himself. For this reason, I also reject the depositions obtained by the prosecutor."

The following affidavit was also handed to the court by Necati Sagir and put in the case's file of the same court on September 5, 1971.

"I was caught on May 27, 1971 together with Necati Demir, Ilkay Demir and Irfan Oner and brought into Istanbul Police Headquarters. I was first brought in front of Masaffar Caglar, Istanbul Police Chief. There were present some high ranking army officers. Caglar started his speech by saying: 'We talk with the lot of you, some of hitches!' Then they brought me into Ligiz Aykul's room where I was interrogated by army officers of Istanbul MHP. As I could learn of the ears on their collar, some of them were military prosecutors and the others were military judges. They hear the question of Security Police Chief Ligiz Aykul's, when he asked his men whether the 'reception room' was ready. Thereupon some of them turned their faces to me and warned: 'You see, if you are not going to talk you will get an operation!'"

"In spite of the military prosecutors' (Must Oner and Ulmen Offer), the prosecutors of the 3rd Military Court of Istanbul MHP declare that the facts are that the tortures have been made upon their own instigation. We can prove it by witnesses when it is necessary."

"Just after that light third degree I mentioned above, with their own expression 'the operation' was subjected to me which was developed by their own torture experts. It was midnight when they started beating me murderously (Falange). They were shouting: 'The Consul was killed. You are one of the killers. Tell us the names of the others!'"

"However, I said I was not among them. Then I realized soon, the impossibility of inspiring under such circumstances. Finally I broke down and enumerated many names of people who were not involved in any way. They suc-
needed to obtain such untrue "confessions" from me in the same way. When they were not content with my answers, I was being subjected to palSans. They were locking doors and over opening blisters which appeared on the sides of my feet with pins and then they forced me to walk. From time to time they were putting the stick into my ass with which they were beating my soles. This continued until morning uninterruptedly. For three days I was almost speechless. Even in this state, policemen came to my cell many times and trampled on me for 15 or 20 minutes each time. When I needed to urinate or to defecate I had to ask the help of two persons. For 15 days I could not stand on my feet. A trained nurse who came to the Police Headquarters and saw the state we were in, tried to treat my soles medically. Before we were sent to Maribye Carcara, General Falk Turk visited the police headquarters and witnessed how badly tortured we were. Also the martial law prosecutors interrogated us in the presence of police and were informed of the tortures. And also these present prosecutors of this case were personally the witnesses of our tortures.

"To the first judicial assembly which arrested us, we stated that we had been interrogated by the prosecutor at the police headquarters under such pressure and we refused the deposition taken down by the prosecutor. Therefore we were interrogated by the prosecutor at Maribye Carcara once more while being an exhausted state. The prosecutor forced me to accept the deposition he imposed on me, threatening me by saying: 'You are lying. What a dishonesty! So it seems that you were not tortured enough at the police. And the other prosecutor was adding: 'Stay it as much as you want! In any case we shall create enough evidence against you by every possible means!'"

"Our aim is not to beg the mercy of this judicial assembly, disclosing these facts. We are just trying to publicize that democracy does not exist here and the police classes violate even their own laws. This is all."

"All defendants who have been taken into custody together with me and all those arrested at the Maltepe Military Prison are witnesses of my torture. They all are ready to testify to it when it is necessary."

AYSEC BEHSL HESET: Born in 1940. Actress at the Republic Theatre of Istanbul.
She was accused of "hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to 6 years imprisonment. The following affidavit was handed to the same court and put in the case's file.

"Although I refused my deposition taken down at the police headquarters while I was being interrogated by the military prosecutor, he did not pay attention to my insistence and included the deposition just mentioned into the minutes. I stated, I would disclose all of this at the court. Thereupon I was visited by an army major whose name was Hesci, at Maltepe prison, accompanied by two policemen and I was threatened by them. Also before being taken into custody I was visited by an army colonel and two army majors at home. They told me that they had been following me for a long time and were well-informed about me. (....) They said to me: 'You are an actress and a pretty nice future is before you. If you talk in the same way we want you to, this subject will be closed and we shall stop following you. This is the best solution for you. But if you are going to insist on not doing what we want, then we can take you to the police station. There you will talk in some way or another, under pressure.'"

"I answered them that I had never committed a crime, but if I were
supposed to be a criminal and I was really guilty, I would prefer to be punished. Therefore they brought me into the Police Headquarters where I was interrogated for two nights uninterruptedly. Police authorities tried to persuade me to accept a deposition prepared by them. They were saying that many of my friends had 'confessed' during the 'operation'. Each day Iliş Agaćuşu repeated that they were going to torture me with falanga which they call 'Operation M2'. During one of those conversations he asked: 'Will you talk or do you want me to call the operators?' I replied that I had nothing to tell. Therefore he rang the bell and called a policeman and ordered him to prepare the falanga. There was also a doctor in his room. The doctor asked me if I had certain illness before. I replied I had had a nervous breakdown two years ago and had a doctor's report. So, the doctor and Agaćuşu whispered something and decided upon not applying falanga to me. The both of them told me: 'You have a doctor's report that you had a nervous breakdown two years. We shall probably throw you out of the window and declare that you went off your head and committed suicide.'

"At each interrogation they were showing me other tortured ones such as Oğuz Alpcan and Serin Çukan. At last nine of us were confronted in a room. They named Serin Çukan to apply the falanga again when he refused to sign the deposition and holding his hand they obtained his signature by force. I also had to sign my deposition in the same way.

"... Therefore I refuse the deposition taken down at the police headquarters. The military prosecutors also copied the same deposition. As a matter of fact I was not examined by military prosecutors. But I heard one of the prosecutors telling Serin Çukan: 'You had insisted at the Police Headquarters. If you also insist here, I shall send you all together back to the police,' when he was interrogating him. For this reason I accepted everything that the military prosecutor imposed." (Minutes of the court, pp. 67-68)

Zeynep Ural: Born in 1947. 10th semester student at the Machinery Faculty of Middle East Technical University. She was tried at the United Military Court of Istanbul Mill on the charge of 'not informing the authorities about the activities of the organization in spite of his knowledge.' On December 27, 1973. But on June 23, 1974, the Military Court of Cappadocia found the ‘inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase punishment. He was tried also at the Military Court of Ankara. He stated the torture applied to him during the trials both in Ankara and Istanbul. The following statement was made by him in Istanbul on September 5, 1973 and recorded in the court's minutes, pp. 70-71.

"I was also tortured as the others were. I appealed to military prosecutors four times in order to be sent to legal medicine for ascertaining the physical damages that were inflicted on me. All my applications were refused. I still carry the visible traces of torture on my body. Even at the time this judicial assembly declared that I was arrested, I was sick due to torture. I divulged this fact to you at that time and it was replied that I have the right of appealing to the authorities when it may concern. But I still could not get permission from you in order to go to legal medicine. (p. 34)

"...When I was brought into the police station, I was tortured permanently by Istanbul Police Chief Musaffer Caglar, by Security Police Chief Nevzat Aygutlu and by other policemen under their order. The chief military prosecutor of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was also present."
"Nezmi Demir, Ilkay Demir and Necati Sagir were also tortured. They particularly forced me to say: 'yes, I am the one who killed the Colonel!' The more I refused their requests, the more they beat me. At a severe moment of torture Nezmi Demir had 'confessed' that he had shot the Colonel. Therupon I also was forced to agree that he was the killer, but they were not able to obtain such an untrue 'confession' from me, even though they backhanded me severely. I also witnessed the torture applied to Hasan Otoz, Altun Ceker and Sarp Kuray at the Police Headquarters. The Palampre was being applied particularly to Altun Ceker who was being called 'uncle' among his friends. Not being able to obtain the 'desired confession' from me, anger-
ed the policemen.

"...After we were tortured at the Police Headquarters, we were brought into Burdur Cage where we were treated better. After a while I was car-
rried to the Military Hospital with Nezmi Demir, Bilgin Zain and Kehfis Dem-
ir Ozen.

"We have been arrested by this present military judicial assembly at Burdur Cage. When I asked who you were, you replied that you were members of Martial Law's Military Court and were present there so as to terminate the necessary official formalities about my arrestation. When I appealed to you for an investigation about tortures and asked to be sent to a medical legal, you answered that I was allowed to give an official application to the mili-
tary prosecutor and also allowed to hire a lawyer and to see my family. But
still I was not examined by a medical expert. Since 90 days I am not al-
lowed to see my family nor get in touch with my lawyer." (Minutes pp. 71-72)

The following affidavits was also put into the official file of the case after it was read at the trial.

"I was taken into custody on the evening of May 27, 1971 in Istanbul. I was tortured at the both in the political and criminal sections of Istanbul Police until sunrise. At 09.00 a.m., they carried me into another room. The office of the criminal section's chief. They bound my hands on my back with a handcuff and tied my feet with rope to a thick cone. They threw me down and started to beat the soles of my foot with sticks and trun-
chon. They dragged me from 09.00 a.m., till 5.30 p.m., in order to 'persu-
ade' me not to 'confess' that I had taken part in those actions mentioned in the
formal charge of the military prosecutor. They were beating my soles for 10
minutes and after each ten minutes were forcing me to walk in the salty water
poured on to the floor.

"While three of them were beating my soles in turns, two others were
trampling on my arms. Another was putting his feet on my mouth, and the fourth
one who put his truncheon into my anus, was trying to keep me motionless by
forcing my anus with his truncheon. This operation continued until noon with-
out any pause and my feet became swollen.

"At noon they made a break in order to go for lunch. They set me in a
corner and put my feet in a bucket, full of salty water. At 1 p.m., when
they returned from lunch, the same torture began again. At about 3 p.m., my
soles were torn. At the very moment, they stopped and stated that I would
at least break down and sign the deposition imposed by them and exaggerate the
crime that I had taken part in. I refused to sign such an untrue deposition and
they started to continue torturing my bleeding and burst feet.

"About 5.30 p.m., my soles had been ripped open and the bones of them
started to appear. Therupon, they ceased the beating, because at each blow
my blood was splashing on their clothes. They wrapped my feet with a piece
of rag and locked me in a half - unconscious state in a small solitary confine-
ECEM SEVİG: born in 1949, 6th semester student at the Istanbul Faculty of Law. He was tried according to Article 140 of the TCC and condemned to 2 years imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MSL on September 5, 1971 and recorded in the minutes of court (pp.74-76).

"In the night of May 18, they brought me to the Istanbul Police Head quarters. First of all, they asked me where the Consul was. I answered that I had no knowledge about it. But they were insisting and suggesting that if I said where he was being kept, I could avoid the danger of being sentenced to death. Once even, the Istanbul Military Law Commander, General Felix Türk, came to the Police Headquarters and also talked to me on this point. When I said I knew nothing, they tortured me. The torture was started the same night I was brought to the Police Headquarters. In the newspapers dated May 26, 1971, it was mentioned that Emir Sevîg Sevîg, Çiçek Zaim and I had been caught. That is to say, if the persons who kidnapped the Consul could not be caught, we would be considered the kidnappers."

The declaration of the defendant which had been obtained by the police on May 26, 1971 was read in the trial. Sevîg stated that he had given that deposition under torture. Therefore it had no legal value.

The other deposition of the defendant which had been obtained by the military prosecution on June 28, 1971 was read. The defendant said:

"Although Sevîg had been caught in the night of May 18, 1971, the Istanbul MSL declared in its official communiqué that he was caught during the general raid on May 23, 1971."
"While I was interrogated, the military prosecutor threatened me by saying, 'it seems as if you were not tortured sufficiently at the police.' The deposition was obtained under this psychological pressure. I was not in a normal condition." (Minutes of the Court, p. 76)

ADRIAN DEYGUVICH: Born in 1942. He was tried according to Article 168 of the PII and condemned to 10 months' imprisonment. See on June 11, 1972, the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase punishment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MII and recorded in the Minutes of the Court.

'I reject all the accusations which have been considered as the basis of the formal charge. They are too far from the realities, and deprived of foundation. They have been obtained by torturing me.

'I was taken into custody in Ankara and brought to Istanbul. A naval officer of the Legal Advisory Bureau of the MII went to the Police Headquarters of Istanbul in spite of my insistence that I was innocent. I had enough knowledge about the tortures male at the police centers. Therefore I accepted to come that I had changed the license plate of a car. In addition to this, they forced me to sign a deposition stating that I had given the paper including numbers of banknotes (which had been taken before) to Ayse Sima. They had not been able to find out who drove the car to Ankara. I was told that this was also me. In order not to be tortured again, I accepted it too, because they had applied severe tortures to me at Ankara Police Headquarters. When I was being interrogated by the military prosecutors, one of them was threatening to send me again to police. and the other one offered me a cigarette. Another prosecutor ranked lieutenant colonel who belongs to the tribunal now, told me that if he knew that I would be tortured he would not send me to the police. In fact, all of these are the guarantors of the interests of imperialism and its collaborators. Therefore, I repeated the same statement in front of the prosecutors. I was an active member of the Turkish Labour Party when I was in Fata. I remain revolutionary's respectfully, but in fact, I committed none of these crimes." (Minutes of the Court, pp. 77-78)

"My interrogation was made after the friend of mine had already been interrogated, for whom the prosecutor now demand death sentences. My deposition was re-arranged according to their statements. Their depositions and my deposition were obtained with tortures. Therefore I do not accept this deposition." (Minutes of the Court, p. 79)

I was tortured at the Police Headquarters of Istanbul too... (.) I gave an official application to the MII about the tortures applied to me. I could only wear sandals owing to the pain of tortures when I was brought in front of your judicial assembly in order to be arrested. This authority ought to be interested in these beatings.

"There is too much talk about humanism and nationalism! In that case, what is to be done other than the armed struggle?" (Minutes of the Court, p. 80)

As in the case of the 6.8.1974, the legal of Diyarbakir prepared the following affidavit about the tortures applied to him and the affidavit was put into the file of the case after being read. (Minutes of the Court, p. 82)

"I was caught on June 18, 1973 in Ankara. I was kept there in Yildirim Military Prison for 12 days. On the 13th day, I was brought to Istanbul..."
and was put into custody at SelimiyeCaserne. During the night I stayed there and in the morning, I was interrogated by a naval officer at the Legal Advisory Bureau. Much as I told the truth, he was not satisfied and said: 'We know what the truth is. We shall send you to the Police Headquarters in order to obtain the truth.' I was quite healthy when I was put into the hands of the police.

"Although I told everything that I knew about the events, at the Police Headquarters the interrogator, superintendent of police, Darun Karaman, was not satisfied. First they attacked me by kwelling, by hitting me with their fists, by cursing and swearing at me, by accusing me of being a 'traitor.' After that they began to interrogate me again. I repeated the truth once more, but they were still not satisfied and humiliated (humiliated). Two policemen were holding a piece of wood to which my feet were tied. Four others were putting their feet on my mouth when I was crying and shouting owing to my pain, and were ticking other parts of my body. And four policemen were beating the soles of my feet in turn.

"The names of the police chiefs, who have beaten me with sticks and cables, were Zekeriya Aydin, Darun Karaman, Cevat (I am not able to learn his surname) and another police chief all gribble and googgle.

"Before starting to strike while my feet were tied to falanga, Zekeriya Aydin gave a speech at my side: 'Let's begin for the sake of the country's security and the unity of the nation!' And the falanga torture was started. Although I said the truth, they went on beating me with enormous and could not be satisfied. Before long I understood that each of them was a specialist on torture and a sadist. Therefore I accepted everything that I was accused of, and signed the deposition arranged by them, without reading.

"After my interrogation I was held in custody for three days. Later I was put into a cell of the Security Police. And there I tried to treat my torn soles with some medicines that I had ordered myself and thanks to the help of my friend Osman Arold with whom I became acquainted there.

"The eyewitnesses of the tortures applied to me were Osman Arold, Cihan Gökcek, Tayfur Cemence, Husin Mekhngi, Basin Ozoan, Ismail Morgi, Ali Aydin Cev, Sifet Mergi, Osman Subaiz and others who were in custody at the same time.

"After being kept four days in a solitary confinement cell, being raised physically, I was brought to Selimiye Caserne. There, I was kept in a humid cell at the foot of a staircase for one day and in another cell, next to the interior, for four days. And on the sixth day, the military prosecutor interrogated me.

"...Later I was taken into another military prison at Kartal-Maltepe. (...) In order to treat my chest which was mutilated by the beatings of the torturers, I appealed to the physician of the prison three times. He did not send me to the hospital and each time he gave me some different medicines. But I did not use them, because I did not want to be guinea pig of him.

"...My three toes, their nails pulled off, my waist with a sharp pain and my written deposition in your hands are the visible traces of severe tortures. And according to such a deposition, obtained under these conditions, I am being tried for my life."
THULAY TAD: Born in 1941. She was tried according to Article 166 of the TPC and condoned to 10 months imprisonment. But on June 13, 1979, the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case’s file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by her at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MNU and recorded in the Court’s Minutes.

“No torture or pressure was applied to me by the police. But after being caught, when I was brought to the Militia Law headquarters, a naval colonel charged into the Judicial Bureau and asked me to say where Singh Erdulu (her former husband who was also one of the suspects) was and asked whether she would set me free if I would tell them his place of hiding. When I said that I knew nothing he sent me to the next room. There Koca, the Deputy Chief of Police, asked me the same thing, calling me names and threatening me. But he could not obtain anything. Thereupon I was sent to the Police Headquarters. There they forced me to reveal Erdulu’s hiding place.” (Minutes p.68)

“...After being sent to the military prison, the military prosecutor Naci Ofr ordered me to be brought to Solmazse Caserne again. In his room there was also Koca, the Deputy Chief of Police. Koca asked me: ‘To which place have you brought the money and to whom have you given it?’ When I expressed my statement, he said that Nair Çayan had already ‘confessed’ it. And they showed a deposition to me. I read the parts that interested me. Koca said, ‘Tell the truth, if you do not want to go to the police,’ and left the room. Naci Ofr, the military prosecutor, offered me a cigarette and stated that he was against the use of violence. But before leaving the room, Koca had already said that they might keep me asleep for many days and nights, that they might even beat me. And the military prosecutor had already heard these threats. The military prosecutor obtained my deposition because of these threats.

“During interrogation, the military prosecutor also threatened me by saying that he would arrest my father and sister. Thereupon I accepted the story as it is written in the deposition.” (Minutes of the Court, p.52)

TÜRK OZAN: Born on 1945, 6th semester student at the Faculty of Medicine. He was tried under the accusation of ‘not informing the authorities of the activities of the organization in spite of his knowledge on this matter,’ and condemned to 10 years imprisonment. But the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case’s file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MNU and recorded in the Minutes of the Court.

“I and my friends, especially Necih Ozan, were tortured. The Prime Minister gave a speech and said that the state apparatus had obtained its unity again. This unity is the unity of torturing. The Deputy Chief of Police, Selim Kora, did not admit journalists into the police headquarters. The military prosecutor has knowledge about the tortures applied to us. Therefore I name two prosecutors of this case as ‘pictors’ and request them to abstain from the trial. The decision about us has already been arrived at by the political power. In the play named ‘democracy’ judicial procedure is applied only formally. We do not reveal these tortures in order to beg mercy for ourselves, but we reveal them in order to denounce this game of democracy of the political power and of the establishment under its order, to the world.

“...At Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was subjected to several tor-
tences. Later I was deported to Hatayla Caserne. I was interrogated there by the military prosecutor who went to the police station where I was not content with my statement. I was again tortured there. (...))" (Minutes p.114)


He was tried under the accusation of "Holding arms for the organization and to carry arms without a license" and condemned to one year. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"In the evening of June 30, 1971, I was sitting in a coffee-house with my friends, at Rumelihisari (Istanbul), when the police came. I was taken by them and deported to the local police station. From the local police station, they brought me into my home in order to search it. When the search was over, they deported me to Istanbul Police Headquarters.

"I was threatened at the Police Headquarters. I said my friend named Ali suggesting that I should commit suicide, because they had also arrested me to be an agent for them. When they intended to apply the Seleme torture to me, an army major suggested: 'Say that you did so and so...'

"I saw my friends there, Mela Magi and Ahmet Topçu. They were in a terrible situation. Even Mela Magi said murmuring: 'I am not able to bear it anymore. They have an odd accusation about arms and ammunition. Accept it, do not insist!'

"At the Police Headquarters I saw a policeman strangling a young man and shouting, 'Why are you Americans? (...) Later, we were brought into Selinysa Caserne. We were arranged in a row in the front of a wall. At first I thought they would execute us on the spot. Nazim Cohen was not able to stand on his feet. But the army officers forced him to stand up by caging his knees. After a while we were brought in front of the military prosecutor and he interrogated us in a shocking way." (Minutes of the Court, p. 100)

"...The very first day we met Major Naci Gür, the military prosecutor he shouted at me threatening me with his fists: 'Well, you little guy! I'll show you! You are aomite, in that sort! (Minutes of the Court, p.101)

KAZ NUR: Born in 1946. Last semester student of State Economics and Commerce Academy. He was tried according to Article 166 of the TPC and condemned to 40 years imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul and recorded in the Minutes of Court.

"I was brought to Selinysa Caserne on July 17, 1971. The military prosecutor Major Naci Gür interrogated me. After a few sentences, he interrupted the interrogation and started to threaten me saying he would send me to the police if I did not give a statement in the way he directed. A policeman named Kemal Koç also threatened me in the same way and reminded me to take the bad condition of my tortured friends into consideration. The prosecutor took me out of his room and sat on a diet in the corridor where Cihan Altınkın and his friends were also sitting on chairs. There Kemal Koç, the policeman, took near to me and showing those tortured ones to me he said if I did not sign a deposition as they wanted, I would be tortured in the same way. I was not brought into the Police Headquarters, but my interrogation was made under those conditions by the military prosecutor." (p.92)
AYVÉ VALOON: Born in 1947, actor at the Municipal Theater of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to one year imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Milti and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"As long as my friends have talked about the tortures, applied to us both in the Police and Martial Law Headquarters, I am not going to mention them once more. I am refusing all the depositions which have been obtained by medieval-like methods. When we were interrogated by the military prosecutor, we were obliged to repeat the same statements, which were obtained at the Police Headquarters by torture. Because, Major Naci Gür arranged nine of us in a row and said: 'You ought to repeat the depositions that you had signed at the Police Headquarters. Otherwise, I will apply to you the technical operation.'"

"I was afraid of being sent to the Police Headquarters again when the military judicial assembly was trying me in order to arrest me. Because, as a matter of fact, I had seen four workers at the police who had been brought there from Maltepe Prison after being arrested. They had been there for 19 days. This is itself was a real torture. Furthermore, they were tortured during those days. One of them was Saim Gürsedir, another one was Semail, but I cannot remember the names of the other ones." (pp. 103-104)

ISMAIL YİNCİER BİROĞLU: Born in 1943, 6th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization" but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Castration cancelled the acquitted and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"A deposition was dictated to me under pressure at the Police Headquarters. During the investigation, the military prosecutor Naci Gür also threatened that he would apply a special operation to us. At the Police Headquarters, they showed me the tortured Rüştü Okcu while they were interrogating me. In order not to be tortured as violently as him, I accepted to make the depositions they wanted me to make." (p. 105)

BAŞKAN OKÇU: Born in 1956, 4th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization", but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Castration cancelled the acquitted and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"After being caught I have been tortured at the Police Headquarters for six hours. My clothes were torn. The plaintexte, with machine guns in their hands, brought me in front of an open window and threatened me: 'What do you prefer? Shall we shoot to death with machine guns or shall we show you out of the window?' I was kept in custody for 37 days and was tortured. I deny all those statements which were obtained either by the police or by the prosecutor. All of them were obtained while I was subjected to physical and moral torture. At the Police Headquarters, I was able to bear up against all of the tortures. When we were brought to Selimiye Caesarea (Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters where also the trials of the defendants are
hold); the military prosecutor said: 'Don't try to deny your deposition arran-
gaged at the police. Otherwise, I shall send you there again. I can also apply a special operation to you.' Later I was interrogated by the military prosecutor Hagij Omer. When I said that I had no connection with the commun-
ism affair, the military prosecutor looked at my feet. They were in bandages, he said: 'I see that you were not beaten enough.' And went on: 'Tell us do you accept the accusations against you? If not, do you want to be sent to the room for special operations at the basement?'

"After the tortures at the Police Headquarters lasting for 37 days I had no strength left. Therefore I had to sign whatever he dictated." (pp.106-107)

GRACIENDY YIKAN: Born in 1950. 6th semester student at Behtzak Engineering and Architecture College. He was tried under the accusation of "Hiding arms for the organization", but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul. He had received the police's minutes.

"My deposition was obtained by medieval-like tortures at the Police Headquarters. (...) We, the nine of us were brought in front of the mili-
tary prosecutor then. He threatened to send us again to the police or to the special operation room in the basement of Selimiye Concern, if we denied our depositions arranged by the police.

"...The following day he interrogated me and re-arranged my old de-
position into a new one. Therefore I reject this deposition arranged by the prosecutor. (Minutes of the Court, p.106)

MARKEL'S OTHRE: Born in 1944. Last semester student of Behtzak Engineering and Architecture College. He was tried under the accusation of "Hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to 8 years. The fol-
lowing statement was made by him and recorded in the minutes.

"I had no connection with these events included in the prosecutor's formal charge. (...) When I stated this fact at the Police Headquarters, all of them attacked me by kicking me by slapping. When I insisted that I did not know anything, they threatened me by showing me the tortured friend Babik Othman, in his bad situation and by telling me that they were also going to arrest my parents. (...) When I was being interrogated at the Police Head-
quarters, the police officers from Group K told me that if I would deny my deposition which was dictated by them, in front of the military prosecutor or in the trial, I would be brought again into the Police Headquarters, even from the military prison. For this reason, I did not reject that deposition neither at the prosecution office nor in the first trial." (pp.110-111)
"After being caught I was brought to the Group K at the Police Head- quarters. Five or six policemen attacked me by kicking and by hitting me with the fists. They were asking about some matters that I did not know. (...) My deposition was obtained as a result of these tortures applied to me during 5-6 days. (...) They said that if we were going to change these statements in front of the military prosecutor we would be brought to the Police Headquarters again.

"Major Haci Ör, the military prosecutor, also threatened us many times. He summoned me four times into his room and said: 'If you change your statement dictated at the police, we will apply the special operation to you.' Under such conditions I was interrogated. I did not accept those depositions." (Minutes of the Court, p. 115)

"NAÇER KAMIDOĞLU: Born in 1946. Art Student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of 'Hiding arms for the organization', but acquitted. Later, the military court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement of his was read and recorded during his trials.

"Unlike other ones of my friends, my deposition was also obtained by torturing me at the Police Headquarters. I reject all of them. (...)"

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TORTURES APPLIED TO THE DEPORTANTS OF OTHER CASES

"NAÇER AYDIN: Born at a small district of Siyanbakar. He was a promising 23 year old student at the Galatasaray Engineering Faculty of Istanbul. He had been arrested on May 1, 1971 as a member of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey and tried under the demand of death sentences according to Article 116 of the TCG at the First Military Court of Istanbul H.H. He had succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 20, 1971 with his other friends. He was killed by the bombs of the armed forces at Ribadeo on March 26, 1972. His following affidavit was handed to Mr. Thomas Ehrhard, the President of Swedish Amnesty on October 6, 1971.

"Immediately following my arrest, I was subjected to Falanga. They have beaten my soles until they started to bleed. They have pulled one of my toes nails in the same night. The trace still exists. After I had been subjected to the 'Falanga' treatment, I was thrown into a solitary confinement cell of the Istanbul Police Headquarters where I was held for eight days. Then I was transferred to Selimçeze, the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul. There I was charged to lie down on the dirty damp cement of the isolation cell for 67 days, with only my thin summer dress separating my body from the floor."

"I was strictly forbidden of any communication. I remained unshaved. I was held in solitary confinement cell even after being sentenced to life term. As a result of these treatments, I am now suffering of reeducation."
Yakalandığıma da doktorun ihbarı vereceksi emniyet müdürliğünde, polis, polis şefi, ister, jandarma ve subaylar, korumaların insanlık altı inkence ağaçları ve cinsel dövülmeleri gibi. Yakalandığıma dehsetlendiği askeri birlik genelinde ve dehsetlendiği askeri birlikin emniyet müdürüğüyle cumhuriyet savunucu birliklerinde bir dersi verdi.
OTLÜ ALPTERİN: Born in a village of Rıza. He was a 25 years old student at Istanbul University. He was caught on May 31, 1972 as the Istanbul representative of People's Liberation Army of Turkey and tried under the founder of death sentence according to Article 144 of the IPC at the First Military Court of Istanbul Barolí Law Headquarters. He had succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 26, 1972 with his other four friends. He was killed by the hands of the armed forces at Eskişehir on March 30, 1973. The following is his affidavit which was handed to Mr. Thomas Hammarberg, the President of Swedish Amnesty, on October 6, 1971.

"I was kept in police headquarters for 40 days where I was tortured severely. They applied bastinado torture to the soles of my feet. They also gave electro shock to my genital organs and to my body. When I and Tayfur Cineura were caught, they tried to Lynch us.  . . ."

TAYFUR CINEURA: I am a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin case. My affidavit which was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971 reads as follows:

"My name is Tayfur Cineura. From the very first moment of my seizure in Tekirdag, I have been tortured in the most inhuman way. Immediately following my seizure, the police have beaten me in the presence of the military commander, public prosecutor and the police chief of Tekirdag. The beating almost approached a lynching. Then I have been deported to Istanbul Police Headquarters where the torture operation continued in a very systematic way. Having been subjected to the 'Ilanama' treatment, I had to accept signing the statement which had been dictated and written by them. I have been kept there for 42 days before being arrested.  . . ."

ÖZLEM KARAŞAH: I am a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin case. He is sentenced to life term on April 24, 1972 at the First Military Court of Istanbul MEB. My affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.

"I was tortured physically and mentally at Istanbul Police Headquarters. They obtained my confession by torture."

ELİF CENİL TürcH: I am a university student and an active member of the Turkish Labour Party. She is a defendant of Cihan Alptekin case. Her affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.

"At Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was subjected to 'Ilanama'. I was locked in a solitary confinement cell where policemen cursed me and I was insulted night and day continuously especially being a female."

BUNIYE PULGER: She is a university student and defendant of Alptekin Case. The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.

"I was tortured uninteruptedly at Istanbul Police Headquarters physically and mentally and I was insulted all the times."

ALL ATCH CIG: He is a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin Case. He lost his ability because of electroshock applied to his genital organ. This defendant was handed to Mr. Hamannberg on October 8, 1971.

"I was taken to the Police Headquarters of Istanbul on June 14, 1971. Only because I was a friend of Mehmet Tufâr and Osman Sabah, the authorities accused me that I took part in the armed struggle and for this reason I was subjected to all kinds of physical and moral tortures. During the tortures they forced me to give the names of other young people who joined the revolutionary movement. They tied electrodes to my genitals. They made me accept that I robbed 250,000 Turkish Liras (approximately 17,000 dollars) from a bank. During one week time, I urinated with blood. I lost my virility. I am still sick and I am still waiting for the authorities to send me to a physician for a proper examination. Because of the severe torture, I had to sign every statement which was wanted by the authorities. I did not even know the contents of the statements." (....)

AYTAT OGER: He is a chemist and defendant of Alptekin Case. The following defendant was handed to Mr. Hamannberg on October 6, 1971.

"I was kept and tortured in Istanbul Police Headquarters for one month after I was taken into custody on June 17, 1971. I made an application to Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, in order to prevent me from the torture, but could not get any answer."

CENGİL YAVUZ: He is a defendant of Alptekin Case. The following defendant was handed to Mr. Hamannberg on October 6, 1971.

"Immediately following my seizure, I was brought into Kâğıthane Police Station and subjected to Falangs. For more than 16 hours they have tortured and insulted me and cursed at me. They then transferred me to Istanbul Police Headquarters, where I was kept for 25 days and beaten by a team of torturers, with intervals. I was forced to make 'confessions' by being deprived of food."

TAYFUN DEMİR: He is a defendant of Alptekin Case. The following defendant was handed to Mr. Hamannberg on October 6, 1971.

"My name is Tayfun Demir. From the very first day of my seizure (June 1, 1971) until I was deported to Sultangazi Martial Law Headquarters, I was beaten permanently, was deprived of food. On June 1, 1971 they have taken me into custody at Kâğıthane Military Police Station. There I was subjected to severe tortures for more than two hours. Then I was deported to Istanbul Police Headquarters where I was subjected permanently to Falangs for 25 days."

"While I was in custody at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was subjected to all kinds of physical and mental tortures. Even, when I was handed over to the military prison authorities, evidence of the tortures was still visible on certain parts of my body."
I was obliged to sign the so-called 'Deposition' under the threat of more torture and being deprived of food. Later they sent me to the Selimiye Caseiro where I was arrested without being interrogated by any prosecutor. The court warrant has been based on the 'deposition' imposed by police.

YAVUZ YILDIZMUTA: He is a university student and defendant of Aşıkın coup. The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hermannson on 8.2.71.

"My name is Yavuz Yıldırımütuk. I was subjected to the most inhuman tortures both at Criminal and Political sections of Istanbul Police Headquarters. They obliged me to accept several 'crimes' that I have never committed by slapping my elbows at the felagha treatment. (...) As a result I was unable to stand on my feet for nine days."

ATTILA KIRIC: He is a university student and member of People's Liberation Army of Turkey. He is one of the 18 students who were condemned to death with Ercan Çamkoç. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment by the Military Court of Ceyhan. He accused the torture applied to him, at the session of First Military Court of Sihanouk Martial Law Headquarters, on June 19, 1971.

"After our seizure by gendarmerie on Suriçi Mountains, I and my friends were tortured at the police and gendarmerie stations for eight days. The prosecutor says that our friend İrfan Uyar could not be brought to the trial that he was sick and being treated at the hospital. This is not the truth. In fact he is not sick, but he cannot be brought here because he has been tortured and he is not able to stand or walk. His illness is this, and this is the real explanation why we were not able to bring him here."

SERP KURCU: He was a progressive naval lieutenant of the Turkish army. He was expelled from the navy in late 1968 because of his progressive activities. Later he has taken part in the activities of the KCK. After the March 12 coup d'etat, he was taken into custody with the other 24 naval officers and officers, and tried according to Article 196 of the TEE. Though the military prosecutor demanded death sentence for him, he was condemned to 30 years. During his trial at the First Military Court of Istanbul, on August 18, 1971, he stated that he was subjected to the most inhuman tortures during his interrogation, that caused him to urinate with blood for a long time and he said:

"With the tortures that they have subjected to us at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, they even could have made us 'confess' in 20 minutes that we had burnt the city of Paris. If I were not a revolutionary, I would commit suicide. Because my psychological situation was such that death seemed a salvation. Yet, I did not commit the suicide, for the reason that I was thirsting for revenge." The following protocol is prepared by 17 prisoners who were also jailed at Karamel-Maltepe Garrison.

"We, the undersigned, see Serp Kurcu after he was to be tortured. On May 21, 1971 they brought him to Karamel-Maltepe Military Prison as worn out from the tortures. He told us about the torture applied to him. He took his shoes and stockings off with difficulty and showed us his feet. His ankles were covered with running sores and there were visible blue rings around them. His ankles and feet were swollen and his soles were torn. His feet were entirely
deformed. His body was covered with bruises. One of his front teeth was broken and his lips were burst.

"This protocol is prepared by us, on June 1, 1971, the day after he was brought into prison.

"Signatures: Erol Butakam (lieutenant), Burak Koray (redactor of TFF), Dr. Nihat Ergin (former Secretary-General of TIP), Sadi Akkilik (writer), Sfar Yalgin (former public prosecutor), Cetin Altun (columnist), Ilhan Selçuk (columnist), Yehiel Kryilmas (lawyer), Cetin Ozer (assistant professor), Ozkan Uzun, Ahmet Diner, Oka Saner, Sinasi Makots, Oktar Altug, Nokat Altun, Kutuk-Ozlu, Mustafa Koqu."
for a certain illness in his lungs about 1½ years ago, this beatings created a terrible pain and swellings on his lungs. After the harassment, Selçuk was confined in a room which was used as classroom for riot police. He demanded from the police to call a physician to examine his lungs and he also added that he would not bring any official complaint against them. However, the policemen did not bring any physician to examine him and also did not give him even an aspirine to reduce his pain.

"Afterwards, Selçuk was put in a small dormitory but he was warned by the police that he was not allowed to lie on the bed. He was only allowed to sit on the wooden chair. They left a guard beside him. After a while, Selçuk was taken into another room for further interrogations. There he was forced to be undress completely naked. Not only his clothes, even his naked body was searched very carefully by the police.

"Whenever he wanted to go to the toilette, he was accompanied by four policemen. While he was in lavatory, he was kicked and insulted by his guards constantly. For this reason, afterwards, he did not dare to go to the toilette.

"Selçuk also witnessed this kind of ill-treatments, tortures applied to other 103 detained persons who were mainly intellectuals, artists, writers, editors, doctors, sportsmen etc. Finally, on the third day of his interrogation he was released as no legal reason established to hold him under custody."

The following medical report was issued by the Legal Medicine Department concerning the results of the torture applied to Selçuk.

Republic of Turkey
Ministry of Justice
Legal Medicine Department
Istanbul.

Do: 9254

Date: 6.VI.1971

To the Office of the District Attorney,

In the Medical report issued for Mr. Türkan Selçuk by the hospital of Social Security Organization of Istanbul on June 8, 1971, it is indicated that the following diagnosis were made when he was examined in the police station on May 20, 1971:

A small coin size hematoma is found on his left cheekbone area with yellowish ecchymosis around it. Also, three yellowish ecchymosis are found on his left shoulder and one ecchymosis on his right shoulder. The 9th and the 10th ribs area is pellucid and painful. On the right shin, there is a delimited part of the size of a small coin. His scaly is painful. On the right hip joint, a partly yellowish ecchymosis is found. On both limbs area, there are yellowish ecchymosis. Its structure is indicated on the body through x-ray.

The wounds occurred due to the beatings would not permit him to work for a period of one week and he would recover from his wounds and pains at least within four weeks time.

Med. Dr. Lütfi Tanrı
Legal Dianostician
(Signature and stamp)
The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.

"He was beaten by many officers, when I was caught by policemen at Florya. One of the army officers' kicked me with his heavy army shoes while he was tearing out the hair from my head and insulting me with the most degrading language. After I was deposited to special police headquarters, there I was subjected to the most inhuman tortures and insults. I was deprived of food for many days. I was finally interrogated by the authorities 20 days after my detention."

On Sunday, May 23, 1971, at about nine o'clock, a police supernintendent from Istanbul Police Station and a second-lieutenant searched my person thoroughly but without any violence. From my bookshelves, they took all the leftist periodicals and books, and clippings from newspapers about various events, and also two annual volumes of the monthly book which were in my room, and sent from the central office of Turkish Labour Party to our district. The district was closed, therefore the postman has left the periodicals at my house. In addition to these, they also took some books which has no connection at all with left orientated literature. Then they took me to Istanbul Police Station accompanied by a soldier.

At the Police Station they searched me and my pockets again. When they found the party stamp of the district, Silivri, (a policeman who was writing down the deposition and whose surname I do not know) shouted at me and said: "We shall teach you the lesson!" While I was trying to explain that I had not done anything that could be thought of as a law break today and that those books were not banned books, that I had every kind of books in my book-shelves, the same policeman threatened me and said: "Then our treatment of you is illegal, we shall make you responsible for you, if I ever get up I shall trample on you!" At that moment a fat and tall suprintendent, whom they called Bain, entered the room. When he looked at my identity card he said: "He is a number of city council. I'll fuck his mother, his wife and his blood!" Then he grabbed my throat with his two hands and bashed my head against the wall and swore at me and said: "You, son of a bitch, where are you from? Your blood is corrupted? I told him that I was from Silivri. While he was pressing my throat against the wall with his left hand and punching my stomach with his right hand, he was saying and asking: "You are not from this country? Where did your father came from?" Under the press of punches, I told him, that my grandfather and my father were also army officers. He said that their blood was also corrupted and started to slap and punch me from right and left. With a left punch, my lower lip burst open and my teeth cut through my right cheek from inside.

While these swears and beats continued, a fat military sergeant who was present, was looking at me with a pleased expression on his face. (...) After the beating while they were taking me downstairs, he put his fingers into my nose and said: "If they'd give you to me at the Police Headquarters, I shall stab out your eyes. I'll hang you! I'll fuck your mother and wife!" Then I was put into a cell where five others were put also here. Sometime later, the door was opened, a plodcbaclchi eight guard policemen, naming Milti, said, he wanted the man who came last, and took me out to the corridor. He started to beat me with his truncheon and said: 'I heard that you were go-
ing to complain of me! How come on, I'll teach you how to complain!' I told
him that it might be a mistake. Because I have no reason to complain of him
since I have seen him right at the moment for the first time in my life. But
he said: 'Do you mean that a superintendent with three stars is telling this?
I shall ask your mother and father and all the rest of your family!' Then he
forced me to put my hands on each other and began to beat his truncheon
on my hands with all his strength. My hands have swollen like a balloon. Then,
when I was unable to stretch my arms any longer he pressed my neck and
forced me to bend down and started to punch me on my kidneys. He forced me to put
my hands into a tin, half full of water and rub them a little, then he started to beat them again. Then he asked me how many children I had. When
I replied four, he said, he had four children too, and he ordered: 'Make him
rub his hands in water for half an hour, then put him in,' to the other
policemen and left.

"One of my cell-mates was Cynam Inn, a member of VPI, two others
were representatives of Union of Rubber Industry Workers, and the other two
were students, one of them named Otham, whose eye was swollen and closed.

"The following day, they carried me to Davudyan Military Convalesce. I
was unable to see because of the pincers I got on my kidneys. Dr. Bunt En-
kanan, who was also under custody in Davudyan, examined me and told that
it could be dangerous and I had to be examined by a specialist. Together with
Dr. Ali Emvaser, another detainee, I went to the major on duty, showed him
my hands and told him about it. He called a doctor on Monday morning. The
doctor was a first-lieutenant, he examined my hands and my back. He said
that my kidneys were not damaged and gave me four kinds of medicine. On
Monday night, just before I was released, a second-lieutenant who had written
the protocol of interrogation, saw my swollen hands and asked me if my
waist was still tight.

"On Tuesday, May 29th, when I went to election committee at Eryop Dis-
trict, Judge Selim Yanner who is the chairman of the election committee, saw
my split lip and the horrible state of my hands. On 26th of May, in Garni
Ozer's coffee-house, Hakki Cukulu, who is also a member of the City Coun-
cill from Republican People's Party, saw my hands. And on Friday, May 30th,
lawyer Lütfi Onur, vice-president of the City Council saw my right arm which
was all blue up to my elbow from the blow of the truncheon.

"On Friday, May 29th, I hardly escaped from a new plot, planned against
me. When I went to Eryop Court House, to get the news from Eryop Election Com-
mittee, Olleman, the policeman who beat me, was also there to receive the
witness fees from the authorities. He got the money and went away. The same
evening at 10 P.M., when I got out off Garni Ozer's Coffee-House to go home,
I saw three plainclothes policemen standing in front of Garni's Coffee-House.
When I was passing by them, Nalle, the policeman who also beat me, came out
of the coffee-house and said to those three policemen: 'We take him now!'
I immediately thought that they were talking about me and I glanced to the
street which leads towards my house. There was nobody in the street and
naturally I was afraid to walk the other street because it would make easier
for them to attack me. Therefore instead of going my usual way home, I
changed my direction and walked into another street which was crowded and
full of shops. Three of them followed me and blocked my way. When I saw
this, I decided to enter a coffee house which was very close where I was.
The three also entered the same coffee-house and set at a table close to me.
I could not even watch their faces carefully. I was afraid that this would
provide them. But later I learnt that one of them was a policeman and his
nace was Celalnettin. Later on, I sent a message to my home and some friends of mine from the coffeehouse. Little later they arrived and accompanied me at home. I was anxious that, as the way home, they would stop and search us with the pretext of finding something illegal on us which would give them an opportunity to take me away. If I had entered the street all by myself, I was sure that they would have done this.

"Now, I am afraid even to go to my work, because I do not feel myself secure anymore. This situation should be known by the rental law authorities, so that they should prevent this kind of police brutality."

Address: Islenbey, Akıniller Sokak No. 5

May 31, 1971

Köprü-Istanbul

NURTER TUR: Mechanical engineer and manager of "Destan" Theater in Istanbul.

"At 9 a.m., on May 23rd, a search team combined with police and military came to my house. They confiscated 126 various books, my private letters and my periodicals. Then they carried me to Besiktas Police Station. There I saw a young man, named Sahib Kuri Eleri, whose hands were swollen from beating. They had beaten him in order to learn an address.

"They took me later to the Security Police. It was around 1 a.m. I was kept there the whole night. We heard men and women, screaming until dawn.

"In the morning I saw Uludelem in the corridor. She had been subjected to malnourishment, they made her wear special shoes and were forcing her up and down in the corridor. A policeman told us that they would do the same thing to us at night. Afterwards, however, very suddenly they released me. When I was released I checked the time, it was 9 p.m."

MURAT ERAS: He is a worker at Galatasaray High School and member of Turkish Labour Party. He was taken into custody during the general search on May 22, 1971.

"Because of a denunciation of a police informer, soldiers and policemen came to my working place on May 22, 1971 at 1 p.m. They took me to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters and closed me in "kolhozhka" (an extremely dirty and humid cell with wet flour where they usually lock in lots of people together). I spent the whole night there, with many others. The next day, they took me to a police chief's office. There were two policemen there. They asked why I was brought there. I told them that I was a victim of the TIP. One of them replied me: 'Hey, son of a bitch, what do you have to do in the party, why do you get involved with them? They slapped me and insulted me saying: You, hungry dog, get your stomach filled first, then try to potty business!'.

"Then they took the other detainee, Mr. Şahan Cüzder away. We could hear his screams and when he was brought back, he was in a miserable condition. There was also a girl, who was unable to walk, they carried her away."
HANAN OZASR: He is a retired army officer whose oldest son, Tapir, a university student, was shot dead at the university by police in September 1977. The murderers were identified as two plainclothes policemen. But no legal action was taken against them. And in 1978, he saw another son Turkish, a highschool student, was shot and badly wounded when he was sitting in a park outside of Istanbul University of Istanbul. TheBullet was fired from a passing Norvegian. Hanan Tapir, himself, was also an active honorary member of Turkish Martyrs Day Foundation. A Memorial was written on June 5, 1971 by him and sent to the concerned authorities.

"Three plainclothes policemen took me by force on May 23, 1971, without giving me any reason or showing me their identity cards and without any court warrant. They put me then in a police car. Seating me on the way, they brought me into Bailcun Police Station. In the presence of the police chief, they beat, kicked and hit me. (....) Afterwards they took me to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters. In the superintendent's office I was searched again and beaten. Later they put me in a cell which is known as 'hamaluk (coffin yard)', (a small detention cell by 2 mts long x 1.20 mts wide x 2 mts high, without any window). All night they forced me to stand up on the cement floor. In the same solitary confinement cell Turan Sener, a worker who is also member of the TVU, was lying on the floor unconscious. He was also beaten very severely by the police.

Next day, I was taken to another room, where six plainclothes policemen subjected my feet to Palanga with the order of Ilgiy Aykurt, the Security Police Chief. They broke two sticks on the soles of my feet. While they were beating me they asked the hiding place of my wife, of my son Sener and of my son-in-law Mustafa Mrifti Yigit. The Palanga operation continued for eight days. (....)

"Every citizen whoever brought to the Security Police, guilty or not, is beaten up severely by the Turkish police against the constitutional rights of the Turkish citizens. 52 persons who were in the confinement cells of the Security Police have wounds and bruises all over their bodies. I even saw one of them, whose name is Noomi Demir. He was being carried out of his cell, I was unable to describe citizen he was following unconscious. His body was in blood and his feet were torn. Ilgiy Demir, his wife, who was also in custody tried to scratch policeman's face because they insulted and molested her with their hands. I also heard her saying: 'Morning days! Renounce! Cowards!'"

"As a citizen, I have notified the public prosecutor of the provence of Istanbul about the conditions of these 52 citizens who are now being tortured in the solitary confinement cells. And demanded a medical examination for them. My application on this matter has now in the files of the Preliminary Investigation under the number 1/170029. I shall also reveal these some facts to the martial law headquarters, to the prime minister and to the Turkish Parliament."

BUKTIR GULAS: He is the Barbarlar District secretary of Turkish Labour Party. He was taken into custody during the general search on May 23, 1971.

"A search team combined with military and police came to my apartment around 2:30 a.m. on May 23, 1971. They searched my apartment and took several of my books with them. They also took me to Barbarlar Police Station. At the police station they prepared a statement and a list of my books. Al-
though I explained to the police station’s chief that there was not any prohibition for keeping books at my home and no such prohibition was declared by the martial law authorities, they insisted to send me to the Security Police. I explained to them the same thing at the Security Police. It was 6 a.m., when I was deported there. After my explanation, the policemen who were on duty, told me that it was a mistake and they should not send me there from the police station. They also added that I would be not free in the morning. Then they let me to spend the night in the corridor. At 9 a.m., in the morning, on duty officers took me from the corridor and some twenty people who were also brought there for the same purpose. However, he was ordered by his superiors to keep us in custody. While I was in custody at the Security Police, I saw two students whose feet were torn because of ransacks. One of them was Gencer Şeker, but I could not recognize the other one. While I was spending the night in the corridor I saw a blood girl whose feet were wrapped in cotton. She could hardly walk and was leading on a policeman. Also in another corner the police officers were harassing two persons who looked like hippies. In the second day, late in the evening they locked an old man in a solitary confinement cell by beating him, later on I found out that his name was Hasan Oğuz. They threatened him with several things and forced him to stand up on his feet all the time. He was not allowed to sit.

"On May 25, 1971, around 8 p.m., they took me to the interrogation room of the Criminal Police and took my fingerprints and photographs. Afterwards they let me free by telling that there was not any prohibited books found in my house."

Address: Dogancilar, Sarioluk Sok. No.21 S/9
Uskudar-Istanbul

NOSIER ADLAR BÜLGİ: He is a member of Turkish Labour Party.

"It was taken into custody on May 20, 1971, at 4 o’clock in the afternoon and immediately handed over to Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters. The reason given for keeping me into custody was that they found the following objects which they searched my briefcase. Three receipts from TTP, two of them were for donations (10 and 50 LTL) and the other one was a receipt of my membership fee (10 LTL); a news bulletin from the chairman of the party dated May 5, 1971 (one copy only); a declaration of the executive committee of the party regarding the changes to be made in the constitution, dated May 11, 1971 (one copy only); and a newspaper, Kurumus Yolu, dated April 20, 1971."

"First day I was kept in a cell together with some other people who were also brought there for other reasons. The police officers who were on duty, opened the doors of solitary confinement cells, and enter whenever they wanted. When they came in they harassed and cursed at anyone in a barbaric way whenever they chose. Besides such rudimentary testings, Gencer Şeker, Cemil Ukeley, Ahmet Pargü, a university assistant, Diriger (whose surname I was unable to learn), a riot police officer and so we were taken into the torture room for ransacks treatment. Second day, while I was still in custody, I heard the policemen beating the workers from Grundig Factory who were also brought there by yelling: 'Why do you strike? Why are you acting against your benefactors, your bosses! Who cares, visited and asked to you while you were on strike?' Later on they took us down to minaretika. I met
the following people there: Adan Yılmaz, a member of Turkish Labour Party's Belfast District Committee; Hakan Kılıç, also a VIP member. They had been beaten very severely together with other labourers before I met them. Next day they took us from strict isolation cells, back to ordinary cells. The same day, I found out that the representatives of the striking workers at Portak and the union representatives of Zorun Deniz Döküm Factory were also brought there. They were staying in a cell which was opposite to mine. Therefore, I heard them being beaten by the police for the same reasons. Same day, Sahin Erik and Selil Ciltes, the general secretaries of the TİM, Münifettin Boba, editor and owner of Sol Paytıları and Cemal Hığgşlı were also brought to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters and were locked into cells. I also heard them being beaten and insulted there. That night they took us down to street isolation block again. Over there, I saw some people with deep open wounds on their feet who were unable to stand up. There were also some people who police found innocent but obliged to keep them under custody due to the wounds on their feet, because they were unable to walk. I found out that Hakan Kızıltay Dinç, a famous novelist and historian, was also brought in, on May 25th. He was insulted and beaten by police. He had deep open wounds on his hands. I saw two persons being beaten in a barbaric fashion. They were brought in on May 26th. One of them was a former lieutenant in the Turkish Army. One had deep open wounds on his feet and was unable to stand up. Later on, Bekhen Alga, a famous stage director and actor, was brought in and he was kept in solitary confinement cells of the Security Police for four days. I found out from him that he was beaten and insulted. Affan Balkan, a university teacher, who was also witness to some of the horrible incidents I described about and he was furious. I consider this as a duty to notify the Judicial authority about the scenarios I witnessed.

Adress: Medıcilyköy, Oğrenciyer
Hekap Apt. 2.13 - İstanbul
May 26, 1971

DETLEV TÖRNAK: She testified at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial law Headquarters on August 15, 1971.

"When I was brought to the Police Headquarters, I was not able to identify anybody. They showed us a corpse-like body lying down behind a curtain and asked if he was among the bank robbers when I saw during the robbery. I said I was unable to identify him. But the following day the police declared to press that I identified Salim Eym - the corpse-like body - as one of the bank robbers. This is not the truth. I did not identify anybody else."

SÜLEYMAN ALPEREN: He testified at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial law Headquarters on September 22, 1971.

"At the Police Headquarters, I saw Juliu Spin, who could not walk on her feet and was being dragged between two policemen."

MUSTAFA ÖZER: He testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial law Headquarters on September 22, 1971.

"At the Police Headquarters, when the police showed these Guin to me, he was wearing white sneakers and the spots of blood could be seen on it coming from his feet."
EGMAN IMRAH: He testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul on September 28, 1971.

"The feet of the defendants who were shown to me by police were bloody and wrapped with cotton."

RAHMAN CAYCI: He testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul on September 30, 1971.

"I was interrogated twice at the Police Headquarters. Policemen showed me a person and forced me to say that he was one of the criminals that I saw before. When I rejected this offer, they were quite angry and one of them shouted at me that I ought to give such a statement. But I insisted to reject, because the boy was not among the robbers."

- IV -

CONDITIONS OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT CELLS

MARTA KAYCI: He was born in 1946 in Istanbul and 8th semester student of Ankara Political Sciences Faculty when he was arrested. Before the March 17th coup, he wrote many theoretical articles for socialist reviews and meanwhile took part in several activities of June 15th. After March 12th coup, he took part among the founders of the People's Liberation Party and the Front of Democracy. On June 13, 1971 he was arrested and wounded badly by bullets at Nalimpe - Istanbul, and put in chains while he was treated at the military hospital when he was in coma. Later on he was locked in a solitary confinement cell at Selimiye Military Law Headquarters. He was kept in chains in the same cell during whole process. His trial started on August 16, 1971 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul under the demand of 6 years sentence. After his transfer to Meltem Military Prison, when the trial arrived to the period of defense, in order to prepare his defense, he has succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 20, 1971 with his four other friends. He was killed by the bombs of the armed forces at Nalimpe on March 30, 1971. During this time he applied many times to the court in order to be released from the chains and to be transferred into a general military prison from his "strict isolation" solitary confinement cell. He also stated during his trial on August 15, 1971 that he was subjected to torture by police when his medical treatment was over and said:

"I was half dead when the torture was over. I was being carried with difficulty into prison by five policemen. There, in my cell I have been put in chains. In the Selimiye cell, in my isolation cell I am still kept in chains. If there is a court decision to put me in chains, I am appealing for the cancellation of this order." Mr. Faik Benazir Ayyü, Cayci's lawyer, appealed the mentioned court on August 16, 1971, in order to obtain a decision from the court for freeing Cayci from the chains and handed the following application to the court.
To the Presidency of the Third
Military Court of Istanbul

Martial Law.

As I have been informed by my client, Mehmet Çayan was kept in chains up to ten days ago. Since ten days this torture was not being applied to him during daytime. But my client is kept in chains even from 6 p.m. until morning.

According to the 3th and 4th paragraphs of the 76th article of the Law No. 353, in some cases arrested persons can be put in chains only by a decision of a court. But these paragraphs have lost their legality entirely after a verdict of the Constitutional Court. Because the Constitutional Court has annulled those paragraphs by its verdict dated June 15, 1967, and numbered 965/34, 96/15. (...)

For this reason, I claim that:

1. If there is any decision of your court for putting Çayan, my client, in chains, that decision must be abrogated immediately.

2. If there is no such a decision, an end must be put to this torture.

In the same sitting of the court dated 16.6.1971, Çayan declared that he was under the menace of being killed. His lawyer also stated that the mother and the uncle of Mehmet Çayan have been taken into custody at the same day and this was moral pressure on him. The Judge asked the lawyer to give an official requisition and the lawyer handed this request to the court at the following session dated August 13, 1971. The request is as follows:

Mehmet Çayan, my client, claimed at the first session that he was under the menace of being killed and your court requested a formal request about this complaint.

On Friday, August 26, 1971, at 9 a.m., I went to Esenköy Cremerie where my client was under arrest. I told the army officers at the gate that I wanted to see my client. An army captain brought me into the office of the military legal advisor. The military legal advisor threatened me and called me names at first, and then told me that he would not let me meet with my client. Then he ordered his men to take me away to the Third Military Court’s judge. A captain led me to the judge and told him that I wanted to talk with him, whereas I had requested to meet and converse with my client, not with the military judge. When I stated my request to the military judge, he sent me to the military legal advisor. He repeated his threats and cursed at me and declared that it was necessary to get a permission from the Chief of Staff in order to meet with my client and I had to wait for a while.

Such a procedure which prevented our consultation was exactly against the law. In order not to share that illegality, I stated that I was not going to wait for the permission of the Chief of Staff and I left the caserne.

Your court must be interested in such a procedure. It is very well known that the arrestation is not a punishment, but is just a measure in order to ensure the trial. In that case, such a treatment which delays the judgment should not be applied to the arrested persons. If there is such treatment, the court must prove it. This is your duty.

The law numbered 353 orders that the defendant can request the consultation of his lawyer at every stage of the investigation. But Mehmet Çayan is now deprived of his lawyer’s consultation. I request the possibility of the consultation according to the law No. 353.
The following petition was submitted to the President of the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law headquarters by defendant Mustafa Ayhan on November 1, 1971, in order to clarify his incarceration conditions at the military confinement cell.

"I have been detained in a small solitary confinement cell as isolated from other defendants at Selliya Kasarne which is not even a proper prison, for months, without getting in contact with any person including my own family. Even the books that I required from the authorities in order to prepare my defense case were refused.

"Despite the fact that Selliya is used as a jail house, in practice it cannot be accepted as a proper place to be used for such purposes. Selliya Kasarne is only a place of detention where the defendants are taken prior to their preliminary interrogations by public prosecutors, only for a limited period. The defendants whose preliminary interrogations are completed by the prosecutors are usually transferred to the military prisons located at Kartal and Sancaktepe. Even General Fakr Thirf himself, the Commander of martial law at Istanbul region, stated in one of his press interviews that Selliya Kasarne is not under a jail house status.

"However, I am the only exception whose conditions are not regarded within his statement. There is not any other defendant who lives under the same conditions in which I live.

"Normally, no human being can live a long period in the cell where I am detained now. It is impossible, because, even though I wear all the sweaters and the socks, that they were sent to me, on top of each other and even though I wrapped myself with three blankets, I am still shivering in my cell. I have not seen the sunlight since I was detained, for this reason my eyes are dazzled when they bring me to the trial room from my detention cell.

"During the recent days blood flows through my mouth.

"Are these the laws and justice that the authorities claim that such things exist in Turkey? Why the procedure of Interim is not obeyed by the authorities?

"I stated my conditions several times both to your presidency and also to the military legal adviser. None of the officials did even care to reply my petitions. It was also stated by your assembly that this tribunal is not authorized to discuss this subject. However, in accordance with the Turkish Military Criminal Procedure Code, the lawful rights of a defendant are under the guarantee and protection of the military tribunal."

"According to my rights as a defendant indicated in the Turkish Military Procedure Code, I want to clarify my detention conditions to this court for the last time.

"If your assembly still insists that this subject is not under your responsibility, in that case you have to move the sign away which is hung behind you saying: 'Justice is above all.'

"I do not want any special privilege from you. I only want to benefit my lawful rights which were given to me by the laws.

"Now, I am in hunger-strike in order to protest this special ill-treatment which is applied only to me in Turkey. Today is the eighth day of my hunger-strike. Either you recognize my lawful rights or you will find my dead body in my cell."
The following petition was submitted to his lawyer by defendant Tiran Izhar on 18.1.1971, during his trial at the Third Military Court in Istanbul Judicial Law Headquarters.

Mr. Necdet Sagir
Attorney at Law.

"I was also one of the internees who stayed in the solitary confinement cells at Harbiye Caserne in Istanbul between 13-30 June, 1971. This detention block contains several cells. The following are the actual conditions of the isolation cells. That is to say:

1. The dimensions of the cells are 2 mts long x 1.20 mts wide x 2 mts high.

2. In each cell, there are only one wooden bench to sleep on and one small wooden table on which the food is served.

3. On the doors of the cells, there is only one small hole 7.5 cm x 7 cm which is always covered with a wooden cover. On the ceiling, there is only a small hole 10 cm x 10 cm for air ventilation which is also covered up with a wire fence. Besides these little holes, there is also another hole over the door 30 cm x 10 cm for air ventilation.

4. It is impossible to see any place from the cells. Because, the cover of the hole on the door is opened only when the guards want to speak with the detainees.

5. The doors of the cells is opened only, when detainees demand to go to toilet and when the meals are served.

6. In the cells, smoking and reading are strictly forbidden.

7. Despite the fact that I stayed in a cell of Harbiye Caserne between 13-30 June, which means right in the middle of summer, the cells were extensively damp and therefore health conditions were extremely poor. After a while, they allowed us to smoke 3 cigarettes per day. However, as soon as a cigarette was lit, the color of it turned into a dirty yellowish color due to the heavy dampy atmosphere in the cell.

8. Since there was not any light in the cells, it was impossible to determine time-wise, whether it was day or night.

9. The floor level of the cells is 1.3 meters or 2 meters lower than ground level. Therefore, the cells were wet. Even in the summer months, it was necessary to have heavy clothing on or to be wrapped in blankets.

10. In order to keep a normal blood circulation in the body, one has to walk at least 1.5-2 hours a day. This is one of the basic health requirements that every human being needs. However, the internees of the detention block of Harbiye Caserne are not allowed to be taken out from their cells and have fresh air, under any condition at all."

Revelations of a Police Chief and the Court Decision on Torture

As it can be found out from the mentioned statements, affidavits, protocols and petitions, the military rule of Turkey applies torture and ill-treatment to the political prisoners as a matter of policy.

This fact was registered not only by these documents, but also by the following revelations of a police chief and by the court decision.
The Verdict of Istanbul Third Military Court of Martial Law:

During the trials of Muhir Guney and his friends, the defendants and their lawyers declared the torture applied to the Political detainees at the Police Headquarters and appealed to the court for obtaining a decision in order to nominate a medical expert for ascertaining the physical damages that the tortured ones were submitted. Yet, the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters rejected all demands on this subject and settled on the following decision on August 18, 1971.

"The defendants and their lawyers claim that the defendants were tortured. The truth of these claims cannot be confirmed by the documents in the files of the present case. But, it is necessary to mention so much that the military court give their verdicts according to their conscientious opinions. And therefore, there are no direct connections between the claims of the defendants and the subject of the case. The defendants are free to make their claims to the authorities concerned. Even if the military court accepts to investigate the claims about the tortures, and if it would be proved that the claims are true, the court believes the impossibility of finding out whether the defendants have been tortured for obtaining the 'truth' or for forcing them to accept the crimes that they have never committed. Therefore, the court does not believe that it is necessary to verify the claims and decide unanimously to reject the objections." (Minutes of the Session dated 16.5.1971, p.7)

At the session dated August 21, 1971, Pirman Yipar, the defendant, stated that he had been tortured at the Police Headquarters and the members of the court are informed about this fact, and claimed that the judicial assembly must obtain from the case. The members of the court considered the state and decided:

"Also at the previous session the defendants and their lawyers claimed that they had been tortured at the Police Headquarters and demanded to be sent to the Legal Medicine. As it has been mentioned in the relevant decision, in such a case there are the authorities whose interest are to verify the claims. Everyone, who wishes, can appeal to these authorities. The claim about the pressures or compulsions on the defendant is not connected with the present case, because the court gives their verdicts according to their conscientious opinions and appraises the evidence freely. As it has been mentioned at the decision of the previous session, it is impossible for the Legal Medicine to find out whether the defendants have been tortured for
obtaining the 'truth' or were forced to accept the crimes that they had not committed. Therefore, the court does not believe that it is necessary to verify the claims.

"Our court is an independent establishment which judges on behalf of the Turkish Nation and takes its power from the Constitution and laws. Now, in this case which has an historical importance, to insist on this claim, if it is not aimed at obstructing the trial, cannot cause the present judicial assembly to abstain. Because we have thus not found any legal or constitutional reasons, our court decided unanimously to reject the claim." (Minutes of the Session dated 23.8.1971, p. 10)

At the session dated August 24, 1971, the claim about the torture was rejected by the same judicial assembly with the same justification:

"The claim about the tortures and requisitions for controlling these claims by the Legal Medicine have been put forward by the defendants at the previous sessions. It was mentioned at the previous decisions that the case about the defendants contains only the facts which are declared in the formal charge of the Military Prosecutor. The claim about the torture has no connection with the main subject of the case. Furthermore, as it was mentioned at our previous decisions, it is impossible to find out whether the beating was applied to them in order to obtain some false evidences or not." (Minutes of the Session dated 23.8.1971, pp. 31-35)

- VI -

AFFIDAVIT OF TORTURES APPLIED IN 1972

The following affidavits about the tortures applied in 1972 were handed to Mr. Thomas Herrmann, the President of Turkish Amnesty, while he was in Turkey. These comments have been signed by the victims but their names are withheld in order not to cause any danger to their lives.

"I was caught at 5.30 a.m., on ..............1972. I was kept in a solitary confinement cell at the Bartiya Military Police Headquarters from ....... to ........ without any interrogation. During these 25 days, I was kept in strict isolation. On ........ I was handed over to a military police center at Edirne from where I was delivered bilaterally to another place which they called the 'Counter-Guerilla Base' of the General Staff Headquarters. There, they took all my personal belongings, my clothes, my money, my watch and my wedding ring. They gave me a pair of bloody and torn prison trousers and sandals to wear. Then my feet and hands were chained. On April ........, I was threatened and forced to give a deposition. On April ........, (the following day), I was subjected to bastinado (the flogging torture) because I refused to write a 'confession'. When I came around, the interrogation started. I resisted and again refused to give a deposition and the flogging operation accompanied by collective thrashing began once more. They then applied the electric-shock to me because it is more effective. When my pulse speeded, they switched off the current. The following night, interrogation and torture continued."
"They were pushing my head into a bucket, full of dirty cold water, until I was almost drowning, then letting me breathe for a moment and then repeating the same treatment. The interrogation and torture continued the following day in the same manner. They decided to apply electric shock again. But when my pulse speeded abnormally, they had to switch off the current. Then they cursed and swore at me for a while. When they were convinced that I was relaxed enough, this time jammed a broomstick into my vagina. Or ...... they finished the interrogation. I was forced to read my deposition to a tape recorder. On ........ 1972, I was brought into Seliniye Camerion early in the morning and handed over to Sagoniullar Prison on .........."

"During first days in Sagoniullar, I was suffering from several illness caused by torture. I had a temperature of 39.5, my blood pressure was 7/4, my pulse was 150. I had severe pains in my chest and veins. My health is still very bad. I am exhausted and my blood pressure is quite low. I was deprived of food from ...... to ...... (three days). When I was moved from one place to another, my hands were always cut." 

Mrs. .............

"I was taken from ...... on ...... 1972. Insulting me on the way they drove me to Okdrear district. Then I was blindfolded and brought into a building. There, they tied my feet and hands to long spikes and took off my skirt and stockings. There were 4-6 men in the room. I remained in front of them only with my briefs on. They started by beating my soles, then they tied electric cables both to my right hand's little finger and to my left foot's little toe, and switched on the electric current. At the same time they continued the falanga operation. This operation continued for two hours. After an interval of one hour, the operation started again. This time they stripped my briefs, my blouse and my bra. I was completely naked. They jumped a wooden truncheon into my vagina. Meanwhile they beat me on the soles, on the arms, in fact on every part of my body at random.

"Later they applied electric current through my ear for about three hours. When they ceased the operation, I was not able to move even my finger, however, they handcuffed me, and left the room after ordering the private on guard to shoot me if I stood up. I listened to the dreadful screams of the others who were being tortured all night long. I was told that this place is the secret 'Counter-Guerrilla Base' of the General Staff headquarters. I signed even to be killed if necessary, because the constitution and the law do not count here.

"On ...... 1972, the same kind of torture was applied again, starting early in the morning. They were questioning me on subjects which I did not know anything about. Increasing the dose they gave me electric current on my right hand's thumb and little finger at the same time. The following day, they forced me to run on the nimbaa, and applied the same torture. But in addition to this, I was hung by my legs and my arms and a high electric current was applied to my whole body. This time the period of operations were somewhat longer. At the same time they were practicing the normal torture. They threatened me to destroy me as a woman without being responsible for it."

Miss .............
In spite of all official denials, torturing of the political prisoners is still carried on directly by army officers at secret torture centres. Here, some of the political prisoners tortured in April 1972. As a result of inhuman torture, Kadirovi Ezel Incili went out of her mind and Mrs. Dicieli miscarried her baby.
More than ten thousand people have been taken into custody or arrested by the military authorities and put in military jails. Many of them have been deprived of food, drink, and sleep, locked in filthy, verminous, solitary confinement cells.
"My name is .................... I am 19 years old. I am a student at ............... Faculty. On the night of ........1972, my house was raided. I was alone in the house with my mother and with my 36 years old nephew. They could not find anything in the house which could be considered as evidence of any crime. However, I was beaten severely - especially by the high ranking army officers who led the raid. They forced me to confess any crime they wanted. Later they took me into another room of my house and gave me falanga. All of this took place in front of my mother.

"When I refused to say what they wanted me to say, they said 'we know how to force you to talk', and put me in a car. My eyes were blindfolded. I was driven towards to an unknown place. On the way they insulted me in a horrible way. (For example: ' squarely come. What are you pregnant?!' 'You, prostitute!'; 'How many men have raped you?' etc.)

"We arrived at a building. Later I have learnt that the place belongs to National Intelligence Agency (NIA). They uncovered my eyes there and without asking any questions they ordered: 'Undress! The soldiers will have intercourse with you!' Then they turned to a soldier and said: 'Come on boy! We brought you a slave woman!' But the soldier did not move. So they left the room. Only one of them remained. Walking towards me he said: 'I think, I will have it with you!' But he realized soon that I would not obey his orders and led me into another somewhat bigger room. I was ordered to sit down. After tying my hands and feet firmly, they subjected me to falanga. They began to beat me at random. Meanwhile the torturers and the spectators were cursing and swearing at me in a very disgusting way and laughing loudly. After the falanga, I was not able to defend myself anymore, so they stripped me from the waist downwards and raped me with a truncheon. They also showed the truncheon into my eyes.

"After they finished the falanga scene, they forced me to jump on my feet about an hour, while they were beating me at random. They pulled my hair, and also hit me on my head repeatedly. Then I was put in chains and locked into a cell. A big man came to my cell and threatened to apply electro-shock to my sexual organs. 'It will be much better for you if you do not talk about the tortures you have been subjected to here to anybody else!' he added.

"For three days I was tortured physically and psychologically in a very drastic way because of being a .........."

Miss ............

"My house was raided on ...............1972, around 7 -7.30 a.m., by 30 armed men. During the search of my house I was beaten continuously. Then I was blindfolded and covered with an overcoat and brought to the 'Counter- Guerrilla Base' of the General Staff Headquarters (the NIA). There they made me sit on a chair, still blindfolded, in a cell-like place until they had prepared my cell. I was harassed all the time while I was waiting. My hair was pulled, my feet and legs were kicked, my breasts were pulled and pressed. Then I was taken to another room downstairs, where they forced me to put on a gynaec and tied me to falanga sticks. The gynaec was tore precisely at the knees. They put out cigarettes on my knee. I was subjected to falanga for a long time. During the torture they more called each other 'my colonel', 'my lieutenant colonel' and insulted me in the most disgusting way, especially about my femininity. My torturers told me that he was in love with his wife, however, to taste me would not spoil this love and insult-
ed in a terrible manner. At last they left the room saying that I could urinate and defecate is that tin they had placed over there.

'Then the morning came I was again subjected to floggings. The floggings were over after a while and the collective beating torment started. 4-5 men struck me mercilessly all over my body. I was barely able to move. I pushed my head against the wall several times. I was forced to listen to the screams of the others in the next room while I was not undergoing the torture. Entering my room at irregular intervals they threatened me by saying: 'Isten, do you hear the noise? You will cry in the same way again within a short time.' They gave me food, but only enough to remain alive.

In fact, because of the unbearable smell from the tin and because of feeling sick, I was not able to eat anything. Apart from this, my feet were in chains so that I could not urinate or defecate when I needed. I was deprived of cigarettes, matches, newspapers, radio, medicines. Later they started to give me one cigarette daily. Five days later a soldier took away the tin full of my used menstruation cottons. The instruments of torture remained the all time in my room. (A special case, electrodes, buckets full of water for thrusting my head into, etc.) They did not let me sleep during night. They entered the room with machine guns and tried to extract 'confession' from me about the hiding place of Mahir Gunay and to force me to 'confess' that I am a member of the People's Liberation Front of Turkey. After this, they started to beat me again so as to learn where my husband was. They blindfolded me and put me on a chair. I could from their voices that they were 6-7 persons who pulled my hair and my breasts continuously. Their steps on my face which caused an excruciating pain were followed by efforts to grip my by the throat. At the same time they insulted me in a terrible way. It would be shameful to repeat their insults here. They threatened me to leave such marks on my body that I would be ashamed of my femininity for ever to bring my child there and torture him in front of me. And after all that, they said they would rape me since this would not cost them anything: 'We do not have to pay educate.' They also told me that if I should die of torture, they could easily explain it by saying 'she was shot to death while she made an attempt to escape.' Besides, they were not supposed to be obliged to give an explanation to anyone. Finally I was told that the soldier had orders to shoot me if I moved and they left me alone.

"During the 10 days I stayed there, my feet were kept in chains permanently. When I was led either to interrogation or to laboratory, I was blindfolded. During the interrogation, I was obliged to admit many things which I do not know and have never said. I was forced to read a testimony, of which many parts do not belong to me, in the tape recorder and to sign it."

Mrs. ............

"I was taken from my house at 3.30 a.m. on ...........1972. I was led to the Security Police Center in ........... The following evening at ....... P.M. two MTP agents delivered me to the MTP building at ........... On the way I was beaten and pushed from sides by MTP agents. My hands were twisted and my shoulders were squeezed. They were addressing each other as 'major' and 'captain.'

"When we arrived to MTP, I was put in a room downstairs which had its windows covered by newspapers and curtains. There I was subjected to floggings and electro-shock for two days. While I was subjected to floggings, two soldiers were holding the same tied to my feet, another was putting his feet on
my shoulders and the fourth was beating my naked soles. I was told regular-
ly that they were authorized to destroy my female functions or to kill me.
They requested that they had decided to annihilate all of us since nobody
would require them to give account of their actions.

"Then I was tied firmly to a chair with thick ropes around my body, my
arms and my legs. One person held the chair to keep me motionless. Finally
electric current was applied to my face, hands and ears, its dose progressively
increased. While this was going on I was continuously being kicked and slapped
and beaten with fists and clubs all over my body. My whole body became
bruised.

"Then on my feet were always kept in chains. Sun glasses, covered
with cotton, were put before my eyes when they had me interrogated or to the
Dentistry. When I was not undergoing torture myself. I was forced to listen
to the others being tortured. Our friends were subjected to several kinds
of torture until they fainted. When they fainted, the torturers poured water
on them to make them come to their senses and torture was then continued. One
of the tortured men begged his torturers: 'Please, don't break me!' But
this phrase infuriated the torturers: 'we are not your brother! You certainly
deserve to receive so many blows because of this word!' And they kept on
beating him. I was obliged to listen to all of this.

"They gave me food, but only enough to remain alive.

"During the nights, I was visited at irregular intervals and threaten-
ed. They were trying to break me psychologically. They said that they would
kill my husband. They showed the photos of our friends' corpses published
in newspapers and stated we would all be killed in the same way.

"I was told that I might also be killed while being brought to MIT in
Istanbul. They might make me step out of the car and shoot me. They could
explain without having to produce that I had been shot to death while trying
to escape.

"I was kept in MIT for 25 days. They brought a doctor after the six-
months. I would be beaten again when I got better after the medical treat-
ment.

"After this treatment I was taken away from there blindfolded and
headed over to Istanbul Police Headquarters. They took me into a military
confinement section where I was insulted terribly by policemen for a week.
They came to my cell regularly in order to curse and swear at me and insult
me in a terrible way.

"Finally I was arrested and handed over to Sacimiento Prison. (...)"
Mrs.  

My house in ...... was raided by security forces combined with
security police, riot police, MIT agents and military forces, on .....
I was dragged along the ground until we arrived to Istanbul Police Head-
quarters. In the way I was kicked in my stomach and other parts of my body.
They hit me with their fists and palms. I was beaten hard on the back with
thompsons and I bled from my head. Meanwhile they let forth the most loath-
some and terrible insults to me.

"I was kept 28 days in the political section of Istanbul Police Head-

quarters. During this period I was led several times into the office of Mr. Mehmet Dikiler, Istanbul Security Police Chief. In his office I was beaten severely by him and his assistants. As a result, my face got swollen and bruised, my lips were split, the gristle of my nose was broken, and all my body became bruised. Tracheal torture threats, headslams, curvets and similes were used as the ordinary way of addressing and talking to me.

"On ........ my deposition was recorded. I was arrested on .... by the ........ Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, and handed over to Ségaliçlar Prison.

"I was starting to think that finally all tortures were over. But on ....... (two days later) two plainclothes security policemen took me away from the Ségaliçlar Prison and brought me to Kadiköy. There were four plain-

clair officers from my, waiting for me in another car. I was hand-

ed over to them. They blindfolded me and drove me towards an unknown desti-

nation. We arrived at a building where an army general told me that the place was the Intelligence Agency of the General Staff. They took away all my clothes and personal belongings. A pair of bloody pyjama trousers were put on me. They chained my hands and feet and ordered me to lie down with-

out moving. They left the room and locked the door. I was being watched

through the observation hole. In the evening they took me downstairs, blind-

folded and chained. I was subjected to falsama there after being surfed, and severely harassed by an army major from HIT who beat me with his fists. (They addressed each other with their ranks instead of their names.) Previ-

ously I had informed them that I suffered from a heart illness. I was told that 'they do not care a damn if I die.' They could easily get over of it with simple formalities. They could say that I was shot to death when I tried to escape.

"After being subjected to falsama for a while, I had severe heart at-
tack. So, they were obliged to give up the falsama.

"The following day I was again blindfolded and examined by a doctor. The doctor informed my torturers of my intestinal inflammation. From then on I was not subjected to physical torture because of my delicate health. Yet, non-physical torture was applied for 15 days.

"Within these 15 days I had a completely humane life. I did not have

enough food, the food they gave me was only enough to keep me alive. The law did not exist there any more. I listened to the unbearable screams of other tortured friends.

"As my deposition had been recorded previously, the reason for bring-
ing me here was quite clear: To take revenge and to torture. Actually my

written deposition was never required at the "Counter-C communist Base" as they
called it. Using the most disgusting lusthane words and insulting me they
claimed that I had sexual relations with Mustafa Dikiler, the Security Police

Chief, which they knew themselves was not true. They brought slanders against

................... my previous home name Kâzı .... in order to oppress me.

...............)

"Not taking my written deposition proves their own words that I was

brought there only to be tortured. As a result of my resistance they finally
decided to send me back. I was reminded that I could be brought there
again any time they desired, also during the trials. After all, they might
even kill us all together in the prison.

"Finally they blindfolded me and drove me again to Kadiköy, under the
observation of soldiers whose Thompsons were aimed at me and who were ordered to shoot me if I moved. At Machlota, I was handed over to the security police. I was led again to Istanbul Police Headquarters where I was kept in solitary confinement block for one day. I was delivered again to Simgailler Prison on the following day.

I was weak, exhausted and sick. When I was at MIT, listening to the screams of the others, being isolated, listening to the disgusting words used for my other friends and the punishments was worse than undergoing torture. My stay at that 'Counter-Guerilla Base' caused me serious illness. This Counter-Guerilla Base was the main reason for the disappearance of the prisoners from Simgailler Prison.

When I was kept there, my family wanted to see me in the Simgailler Prison. They applied there several times, however, the authorities of the prison could not find me although I was booked there.

"We are not safe neither now nor later."

"...........Taking me out of Askern Martial Law Headquarters, two MIT agents put me into a car. They blindfolded me, threw me in a direction which I do not know. I was beaten drastically on the way in my garments whose names I do not know. They uncovered my eyes when we arrived in a room. Under a rain of the most cutaneous I was informed that I would be interrogated next morning, and since nobody knew where I was, I would be tortured to death if I do not tell the truth. Then they left me alone after handcuffing my hands and chaining my legs. Until the next noon I listened to the screams of the others, encased in the next room. The private on guard was repeating them the same thing would be applied to me the following day. This way he was aiming at frightening and torturing me psychologically.

"At 3 a.m., an army major led me into another room which is used for interrogation and torture. After a few questions, they called two soldiers and ordered them to throw me down. The soldiers threw me down, beating me with truncheons, and tied my feet to a falanga cane. An army major brought a cable and tied it both to my right hand's little finger and to the little toe of my foot. As poured water on the cable and began to beat me with a truncheon which he got from one of the soldiers holding the falanga cane. My soles, my lips and my legs were given terrible blows. Meanwhile they were sending electric current through the cables at intervals.

"The operation continued until noon. Then they poured water on the floor and untied me. The army major mounted my rack and ordered me to run and jump on the wet floor, carrying him on my back. But since I was suffering from inescapable excruciating pains, I was unable to carry out his order. Therefore the major started to beat me at random with a stick and again ordered me to run, if not, I would be subjected to falanga again. So he made me run and jump for about two hours. Then he examined my feet and saying that they were not too swollen, he subjected me again to falanga and applied the electrodes. I was almost unconscious when they finally gave up the torture in the evening. They carried me into the next room. The major ordered me to undress, saying that he was going to have intercourse with me. If I insisted on not obeying him, he would have the soldiers do it. But since I started to weep, he left the room."
At 1 a.m., after midnight, they brought me into the torture room again. Your officers beat me, all at the same time.

The next day, others who had been tortured and who were in an exhausted state, were brought in and chosen to me.

Until the evening they kept on subjecting me to salalga, electrodes and non-physical torture without any interval. During the operation my soles were split open and blood splashed on the major’s clothes. This cost me a very strong dose of current and led to convulsions. I was close to fainting.

Three days and three nights I was subjected to salalga and electroshock with short intervals. After all I was unable to stand on my feet and lost my faculty of speech.

At the end of the third day they brought in two rubber hoses. One of them, which looks like an anaesthetics apparatus, was placed over my mouth. Since I was not able to defend myself, they stripped me from the waist down and thrust the other hose into my rectum. They started to pump air through the hose. I felt as if I was bursting and painted. When I was coming to senses, they applied electroshock. Then I was subjected again to salalga, accompanied by electroshock, which again was followed by pumping of air. This torture was repeated four times until the night came. The fourth time, they were obliged to bring a doctor since I did not come to. The doctor told them that my legs were extremely swollen, and that I might die if I received even a slight blow with a truncheon. From then on, they beat only my hands.

On the fourth day, they forced me and a few other tortured people to wash and clean the torture room, claiming that the MCT got dirty because of us.

During the 11 days that I was kept in MIT, I listened to the screams of others. Then I was handed over to security police. They threatened to bring me there and torture me more brutally if I should speak about the torture applied to me there. I was kept in Security Police detention of Istanbul Police Headquarters for one day and handed over to ...... 

Mrs. ..............

She was taken into custody on March 25, 1972 at 5:30 p.m. She was kept in the military confinement cells of Haydarpasa Military Police Headquarters until April 18, 1972, deprived of any consultation and communication. She was not even interrogated within these 25 days. On April 16, she was handed over to a military police center at Esenyurt from where she was delivered to the Cankaya Police Station of the General Staff Headquarters, her eyes blindfolded. The very first day interrogation started. The interrogation went on while she was subjected to salalga. She was not interrogated on 17-20-21 April. But during this period her nervous system was destroyed by using certain medicines, injections and by making her listen to tape records. She was made to listen to the recorded drastic screams of people undergoing torture and threats. While this was going on, she had continuous nervous breaks down.

When they noticed that the methods and the medicines applied to destroy her nerves were really successful, they interrogated her again on April 22-23. In order to destroy her nerves completely, and to frighten
her, they spoke to her in Russian and forced her to read some papers.

"She was driven to Solntsevo Caserne on April 24. From there she was
headed over to Singnalizor Prison on April 25."

"As a result of the moral torture, her nerves were completely
destroyed. She is now suffering from the symptoms of schizophrenia. The det-
tainee, who examined her in prison, reported that she must be sent to a hospi-
tal. She was sent finally to Haydarpaşa Military Hospital and examined there.
But the authorities who examined her only superficially, reported that she
was all right and advised her: 'Go to court and make a complaint!' She was
sent back to prison. Her mental health is deteriorating now. Her applica-
tion to the military court in order to be treated at the hospital had still
not been answered."

Prison name of
Kasriye Hazel Inceili
(she is unable to write)

"The Istanbul Military Law Headquarters wanted me and my sister as
'suspects' or the state-radio on March 24, 1972. We surrendered on April
28, 1972. We were sent to the Police Headquarters by the military prosecu-
tor and kept at the Security Police Section for 17 days until May 15, 1972.
Here are the facts which I witnessed:

"There were six solitary confinement cells. One of them was so
narrow that one could only stand stiff and immobile, it was called 'sahip-
luk' (confineyard). A young person, whose name I learned later as Hillel in
Kurakla, had been kept in a cell. He was not able to walk because of having
been bastinadoed and his feet were bandaged. I was told that he had been
subjected to electroshock also.

"In our room, there was a young man named Soyut. He had graduated
from the Economics Faculty of Istanbul. One day the torturers beat him in
the next room and gave him blackeyes. We heard his screams. Later they
took him to be curbed. But the house around the area did not disappear.

"A woman named Ferhat Aliçen, who was also kept in our room, was
first beaten by the policemen and later they applied electroshock to him
through his fingers and waist. His screams were heard in our room and it
was more than flesh and blood can stand. Then, they gagged his mouth in or-
der to prevent him from crying out.

"There was also a female lawyer, Miss Ayten Halik, in our room. The
police were forcing her not to accept defending the revolutionaries. She
told me that she had been kept chained in the torture place of the MT. They
had dropped water on her feet periodically and forced her to listen the
screams of others being tortured. Also in the Police Headquarters, the tor-
turers subjected her to electroshock and plucked a piece of flesh from her
arm when she came to the Singnalizor Prison, the wound had not disappeared.

"There were some others who had been brought because they had been
singing marches. Even those who had been brought by mistake were also beaten,
but they were not important with regard to the tortures applied systematically.

"When I was being brought to the military prosecutor of Solntsevo
Caserne, I saw Muh衡e Inceili. His health was bad and he was exhausted. I was
told that his heart had stopped twice, because of electroshock."
Miss Nurgiz Savran, an industrial engineer, was also being brought to the Selimiye Caserne together with us. She told us all the tortures applied to her. She had been taken to the MIT as being blindfolded. In the torture place which the torturers called 'Counter-Guerrilla Zone', they had undressed her and raped her with truncheons. Later they had subjected her to flogging (kastam) and crampprock. While they had been torturing her, some of them had been sitting on her arms in order to prevent her reflex actions. They had also cursed and sworn at her and threatened her. (The agents of MIT who were of course army officers, had told all their victims that they were then on custom, the law was not valid there, they could do what they wanted and they would never be responsible for the tortures, moreover they were able to kill anyone brought there. It was possible of course. Because nobody knew where who had disappeared was brought and also who was moved into the Counter-Guerrilla Base. All the friends who had once been brought there, told the same thing in the same manner.)

"Everyone knows the tortures. The soldiers told us that the finger nails of the detained army officers were pulled out and even one of them could go to the inventory only by dragging himself. The detained officers were tortured more than anyone else.

"In the Selimiye Caserne (where also the military courts try the political prisoners) the confinement cells are in a very poor condition. After having stayed there for five days Mr. Hazafier, a teacher, was sick when he was brought back to Istanbul Police Headquarters. All the cells are without windows. They were lit up day and night. They were damp and more over they were pouring water on the floor everyday in order to increase the dampness.

"In the Sengulcilar Prison, 35 female friends were being kept in a special ward. Most of those friends said that they had been tortured.

"Ayse Bilge Cicleli said that she had been taken into the Harbiye Caserne where she had a miscarriage because of the tortures applied to her. Yet, in spite of this murder, they had continued to torture her and had raped her with truncheons. Later she had been bastinadoed. One day, before we were brought to the Sengulcilar Prison, she had been carried to the MIT center tortured again. She was sick. She was bleeding and suffering from wounds.

"Just as Bilge Cicleli, Lale Arikal had also been taken to the MIT center from the Sengulcilar Prison and tortured there. She had a gastric illness and bleeding wounds. She was in a very bad state.

"Hazife Cayo told me that she had been kept for two days in Ankara Section of MIT. They put a hose into her mouth and into her rectum and pumped air into her body. (All these tortures are applied under the medical observation of a physician, in order to prevent any unexpected death. Because corpses are not able to 'confess'. But if the victim dies, they throw this out of a window and conceal the murder by claiming that the detainee committed suicide.) During the torture, the physician had said that her lungs might burst and thereupon the torturers had stopped to pump air. Later they had applied floggings to her and kept her head under water until she was choking. She was unable to sleep at night and could not breathe properly.

"Another female friend named Ulker, who was a student at the Faculty of Political Sciences, told me that she had also been tortured and raped with truncheons in Ankara Section of MIT."
"Other friends, Mr. Mithaffer, Miss Pfahm, Mrs. Lena Wyllig - Miss Turkan, Miss Turkan Turtsover told us that many tortures were applied to her.

"In the Sazdaglar Prison, another female friend, Kastriko Boul Impili, was delirious because of the psychological torture applied to her. As other victims, she had been also forced to listen to the screams of the tortured ones. She was unconscious and often tried to commit suicide. It was absolutely necessary to give her medical treatment. But the military hospital of Hayrapetian made a medical report stating that she was healthy. Other friends took care of her by turns at nights in order to prevent any new torture. At last, as a result of our insistence and also because of taking the coming trials into consideration, they put her in a hospital. Because it would make a negative impression to bring a delirious defendant in front of the military court as a delirious person in the prison for a long while to be torture the other victims psychologically. Because of the horror - it was more than flags and blood can stand - and permanent tension - every moment any drama might occur - everybody became tense.

P.S. A lieutenant colonel from the MII had told a friend that they were finite and the function was sovereign in the country. In the MII all interrogations are carried out by the army officers and the policemen are used as the servants.

Miss ............

"On April 20, 1976, ten persons who claimed themselves as the 'honor- able officers of the Turkish Armed Forces' came to my working place and searched it. After having taken some written material which seemed suspicious to them, they took me to my home. They made another search there and took some written material.

"Later they transferred me to Vakıflar by car. They blindfolded me with a black piece of cloth. (When they were searching my home, they did not allow me to drink water and cried: 'You are under arrest. You cannot drink!') Then they took me to a place which I do not remember where. At the very moment we entered there, they forced me to sit down, one of them saying: 'Let's look at her face,' raised my hand. Another one was cracking a stick in his hands. One person was praising him: 'You beat very well. Also your stick is excellent.' The man with the stick answered: 'Yes, I beat very well. That is why my wife is frightened of me!'

"The one whom they addressed as 'Colonel' enumerated the names of the persons whose I do not know and shouted: 'Talk, where are they?' I said: 'I do not know them.' He shouted again: 'You are lying. Where are they? He began to play my face and to pull my hair. 'Talk, otherwise we can do things you cannot imagine!' Even if you do not talk for one month, we can release you at the end of the month and detain you again. So, we can keep and torture you for three months. We do not expect that you do not speak. Sooner or later you will be obliged to talk.' Another one added: 'After seeing the treatment applied to you here, you may warn us as functionaries. You are right. It is true. If you do not want this kind of treatment, you must talk.' I answered: 'I know everything what you do here. Do you believe that you will remain unpunished? All I have done is very well known aut-
side. I do not know the persons you have asked me about. As I have under-
good, you want to accuse me of a political crime. If I committed such a
crime, I did it consciously. It is not a wandering or a theft. I can say
my activities openly, I do not hide it.' "

"They took me to the upper flat. blindfolded and put me in a cell. The
place of cloth over my eyes was untied. There were an ashtray and a water-
clothes. Between them there was an iron pillar. They tied my feet to this
pillar with chains and put handcuffs on my hands. Even while I was eating
or urinating, they did not unlace my feet and my hands. They dropped water
periodically on my feet until morning. I heard the screams of some men
and women.

"In the evening of the next day, they said: 'We understood your in-
nocence and did not apply any torture to you.' They blindfolded me again
and took to the ground-floor, later drove me to another place. When my eyes
were uncovered in the car, I saw that there were also a girl and a young man
beside me.

"The girl was exhausted, she was not even able to move. The man's
face was swollen and bruised. (The girl's name was Nurisiuma, the man's
was Ferit Yeter.) All of us were brought to the Police Headquarters. Nur-
us was unable to mount the stairs. While we were helping her, I asked her
whispering what they had done to her. Showing the furrows between her thumb
and index finger and on her temple, she said: 'They applied electrocution
through these places.' By rolling up her sleeves she showed the bruises on
her arms and added: 'They beat me with a metal rod. She was not able to
stand on her soles. They had bastinadoed her. I asked: 'Why cannot you move
your hips?' She answered: 'They inserted sandpaper... through frome.'"

"They left her alone in a room. We learnt that 120 persons were de-
trained in the Police Headquarters. The majority of the detainees were engi-
ners, architects, lawyers, teachers, students who had been brought with their
families. We heard screams until morning. When we asked about the screams,
the policeman said: 'No, we do not use torture here. These screams came
from the street. We have been here for many years and never seen any electrocution.'
In the room where we were put, a policeman kept us under surveillance and in-
terrupted in our conversations when we spoke by whispering and ordered us to
speak loudly. Each time a scream was heard, the married or engaged persons
in the room were smacked thinking of their husbands or their fiancées.

"They did not allow us to read any newspaper or book. We had been
kept for 30 days in a ward. They told me: 'We know that you are innocent.
We shall release you. But you must talk about your revolutionary friends,
and whom you have seen in their homes.' I answered: 'I do not know any-
one. I recognize none.' They threatened: 'We grant a delay for two hours.
If you persist in not talking, we know how we can force you.' I did not talk,
they made me sit on a chair and tied my feet and hands. Later they applied
electrocution. The torturers did not address each other with their real
names and said only: 'my commander,' 'my colonel.'"

"30 days after my detention, they sent me to the military court. I
was arrested according to some articles of the Turkish Penal Code, which has
nothing to do with my situation. When I objected, the military judge said:
'Yes, I know. But you have to wait for a while until the situation becomes
clear. We promise.' They sent us to prison by a military vehicle then.

"There were 30 girls brought previously. I was told that all of
these girls had been taken to an unknown place. A female engineer named Ayşe Bilge Dicleali had been raped with a truncheon and treated by a gynaecologist. A 23 years old girl named Türkmen had miscarried her baby as a result of the torture applied at the Police Headquarters of Ankara. A female painter, Kadiyiv Beki İncili, was taken to the hospital, because of being delirious. That girl was attacking her friends, gripping them by their throats and shouting: ‘you will kill me!’

‘There was also a girl named Lali (Arıkâli). Because of her heart disease, they could not apply electroshock. Also her interface were inflated. Therefore, they had not dared to insert truncheons into her female organ. But they had bastinadoed and beaten her. They had tied her hands and feet with chains, they had cursed and sworn at her. Also they had applied psychological torture for fifteen days. She had also been beaten for thirty days in the Police Headquarters. These girls are still in the Sığnaloğlu Prison.

‘I also learnt that a lawyer named Taişin Özdürk had been tortured for 20 days in the place where he had been taken blindfolded.

‘Assistant Murat Belge from Istanbul University had also been tortured in the same place. They had tortured also a 16 years old girl, named Fersade (Furkan) and threatened her by saying: ‘No hope that you will not forget this treatment!’’

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A young man, named Vedat Gevrek committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window of Ankara Police Headquarters (Kemâyet Merkezleri), yesterday at 12 p.m. Police stated that he had been summoned there for an investigation.” (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 29, 1972)

‘Police gave an additional information on the suicide of Vedat Gevrek. According to the official communique, he was a member of Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. During the interrogation, Vedat Gevrek demanded to go to the lavatory, and the police let him go by interrupting the interrogation. Although he was handcuffed, on the way back, he had thrown himself down, out of a window of the Police Headquarters’ sixth Floor and died immediately.” (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 30, 1972)

From the affidavit of Ayşe Emel Hacig:

‘Lieutenant (Istanbul Security Police Chief) told me: ‘We shall probably throw you out of the window and declare that you want off your hand and committed suicide!’” (Minutes of the Third Military Court of Istanbul M.N., pp. 67-68)
Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel said: “We never tolerate anybody torturing prisoners. Perhaps there are some isolated cases. We are trying to root them out.” (Ankara November 9, 1973)

Interior Minister Handi Ömeroğlu said: “Some of the charges of torture against the police are true. As far as we learn it, the allegations are being punished.” (Ankara, November 13, 1973)

Interior Minister Handi Ömeroğlu denied his previous speech dated November 12, 1973 and said: “All of the charges of torture against the police are totally untrue.” (Milliyet, November 14, 1973)

General Vahit Türün, the Military Law Commander of Istanbul, said: “I made a report on those charges and said that they are not true.” (Milliyet, May 20, 1973)

Prime Minister Ferit Melen said: “All of the charges of that ministerial law authority are torturing political prisoners are completely untrue. These charges are fabricated by the well-known circles.” (Dünya, July 20, 1973)

Turhan Keşingöl, the Chairman of the National Security Party (MHP) and the Turkish Representative in the Council of Europe, said that all charges of torture were lies and that the Council of Europe itself had refuted these charges. (Milliyet, July 20, 1973)
THE ILLEGAL TRIALS
BEFORE THE MILITARY COURTS

Since the beginning of the martial law, eleven extraordinary military courts—three in Istanbul, three in Ankara, one in Adana, one in Erzurum, one in Sulus, and two in Diyarbakir—have tried thousands of people and condemned 25 young persons to death and hundreds of them to imprisonment.

In accordance with Article 32 of the 1961 Constitution, it was clearly stated that no person could be sent for trial to an extraordinary or special tribunal other than by his presiding judge. In spite of this provision, the military compelled parliament to enact a special law to authorize the martial law commanders to constitute extraordinary military courts. According to the new Act of Martial Law passed by parliament on May 15, 1971, not only the "critics" committed in the period of martial law, but also the old cases of writers, editors, workers, peasants and student leaders were also brought before the military courts of martial law.

In addition, the martial law commanders have not limited themselves to the eleven provinces but have put anyone and everyone in the military jails of the six martial law headquarters; and the military courts of martial law have tried and condemned them for "political crimes".

These military courts of martial law are counter to the basic principles of law and human rights, because:

- All the members of these courts are military judges under the command of the military junta. Even the presidents of the military courts are not military judges, but simply army officers. The prejudices of the military junta against the victims were declared at the beginning of the martial law. Moreover, it is very well known that the military junta appointed army officers known for their fascist convictions, as the judicial advisors, prosecutors and judges of these extraordinary military courts.

- The trials are held under the shadow of arms. The courts and defendants are surrounded by guards on duty with bayonets and machine-guns.

- All objections of the defense against putting this judicial procedure into practice are being systematically rejected by the military tribunals and if the defense insists on the objections, arrested officers and guards can forcefully remove him from the courtroom. In addition to this, many lawyers have been arrested by the military courts during the trials.

- In such important cases, the military prosecutors can bring only the police and the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MİT) agents and militants of fascist organizations as main witnesses. By cooperating with them the military prosecutors have prepared their formal charges—whose validity can be recognized at first sight—and hundreds and hundreds are being condemned to death or imprisonment on such false evidence.

- The military prosecutors also use "confessions" of the defendants
as evidence. These "confessions" have been obtained by means of medieval-like torture. The victims and their lawyers have revealed these tortures during the trials and all great personal sacrifices had the courage to present written and signed documents. Yet the extraordinary military courts have refused to investigate the claims about the torture, saying "...the court believes it impossible to find out whether the defendants have been tortured for obtaining the "truth" or forcing them to acknowledge crimes that they have never committed." This verdict shows that the extraordinary military courts apply such tortures which were applied to the victims in order to obtain the "truth".

- The decisions of the military courts contradict each other. While the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was refusing to apply Article 146 of Turkish Penal Code to the defendants of the Naval Officers' Case, on the other hand, three young men condemned to death under the same article by the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters were executed. Neither the Military Court of Cassation nor parliament did not take into consideration this contradiction.

- Moreover, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was immediately dissolved because of not applying the subject article.

THE PRINCIPAL CASES AT THE MILITARY COURTS

The following list of the cases divulges certain facts about the illegal trials:

1. The Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (PAT)

The trials of 23 members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey began at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on July 16, 1971. They were accused of "trying to change the Constitution of 1961 by force," under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC). The evidence then the military prosecutor used against them were some bank robberies and the kidnapping of four US soldiers. In fact, they did not kill them, but released immediately. In their defense, the defendants insisted that they had fought against the corrupt Duselm Government which had avoided putting the 1961 Constitution into practice, and that they had fought against the hegemony over Turkey. The 1961 Constitution was changed not by these defendants, but by the military junta on September 22, 1971.

In spite of this contradiction, the military court pronounced 13 young students to death on October 9, 1971.

Denis Geniz (25), Yusuf Sakin (25), Nâşiribey Sakic (25), Aziz Erkmen (25), Ali Ceylan (25), Mehmet Makulolu (25), Recep Uğur (25), Eruan Eyüp (24), Osman Arkip (24), Necati Türk (21), Mehmet Orhan (21), Mustafa Yalçın (22), Ceniz Belaçi (25), Nihat Evin (25), Nihat Evin (25), Yusuf Uğur (22) and Metin Aslan (21).

Kar Koçak, Irffan Uğur were sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. Ceviz Civale, the only female defendant of the case, was also sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. Three defendants, Nâşiribey Sakic, Durukan Savmen and Nezettin Baysak were acquitted.
TRIALS UNDER THE SHADOWS OF MACHINE GUNS: Mahir Cayan and his friends, Jülide Zaim, Rühan Manas, Tulay Tad, and Kadiye Deniz Özen at the military court of martial law.
TRIALS UNDER THE SHADOWS OF SAVOYETS: Chihan Alyshekin and his friends (above) and Mohir Gyan and his friends (below).
The lawyers of the defendants appealed to the Military Court of Cassation for the following reasons:

a) The necessity in the military courts is against the Constitution.
b) The defendants did not commit the crimes mentioned in Article 346 of the Turkish Penal Code. They fought for the independence of their country.
c) Some evidence in the files of the case was not read in court by the military prosecutor.
d) The necessary observations were not made on the spot.
e) The witnesses were not sufficiently heard by the court.
f) The court did not take into consideration the claims about torture.
g) The defendants were not allowed to make any statement when the verdict was handed down.
h) The court did not investigate the situation of the US bases whose status violates Turkey’s sovereignty.
i) Serious mistakes were made in linking the different cases together.

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentences of Deniz Gezmiş, Fazıl Altun and Hâmet İnan and canceled other 15 death sentences on January 10, 1972.

While many countries have long ago established capital punishment for political offenses, these three young men—in spite of their by now unanimously recognized humanitarian attitude towards those they had to kidnap—were nevertheless sentenced to death. The military court’s death warrant aroused immense protest in the country as well as abroad. Tens of thousands of signatures were gathered in Turkey; abroad, hundreds of thousands of people, hundreds of organizations and even governments addressed messages to the president of the Republic to prevent the executions.

Yet, the Turkish military rule gave no consideration to these reactions and the death sentence was voted in parliament under army threat. As the verdict on the capital punishment was at first found to be legally defective, the Constitutional Court cancelled it. But the military junta had the Law hurriedly voted by parliament once again on May 2, 1971, this time with “correct legal procedure”.

At the last report the lawyers of three defendants appealed to the Military Court of Cassation to review the decision for the following reasons:

a) While three defendants were being sent to the scaffold, other 16 defendants’ death sentences were converted to imprisonment. In accordance with Article 228 of the Military Criminal Procedure Code, the military court was not able to discriminate between the defendants who were accused of committing some offense.
b) Another military court, the First Military Court of Istanbul Military Law Headquarters refused to apply Article 16 of the Turkish Penal Code to other defendants who were also tried under same accusation.
c) Other cases for hundreds of defendants who are also accused of committing same offense have not gone to an end yet.

The Military Court of Cassation did not take into consideration these rightful reasons and rejected to review the sentences. On May 6th, 1972, the president of the Republic signed the death
After these executions, on July 3, 1972, the First Military Court of Ankara MDE adopted the final decision of the Military Court of Cassation and confirmed death sentences of 25 defendants to imprisonment as follows: Mustafa Tajdiner (life term), Ahmet Embohan (life term), Metin Onguni (life term), Neci Yomuk (life term), Memduh Bora (15 years), Altemnel (15 years), Metin Yildirim (15 years), Ahmet Keskin (15 years), Il- 

ecess Rhad (15 years), Mustafa Ciftci (15 years), Dursun Baktas (15 years), Niyazi Ilgen (16 years), Mete Ersek (16 years), Mustafa Çelik (16 years). The period of imprisonment for同等 Proposal was decreased to 2.5 years and for kto Kopulak to 3 years and 4 months.

2. The Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (PLFT):

The trials of 25 members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey began at the Third Military Court of Istanbul, Martial Law Headquarters on August 16, 1977. They were also accused of "trying to change the Constitution by force" according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. The evidence that the military prosecutor used against them was both black and white and the trial lasted for months. In their defense the defendants admitted the appropriates and the kidnappings and claimed they had done them with the aim of eliminating the Popular Liberation Front against the United States and the military rule and saving their friends from the military jails. But they persistently refused the accusation of murdering the Council General. According to their statements, the Council General had been shot by an army officer in spite of the decision of the central committee of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. After having shot the hostage, this army officer, Captain Ilkis Cakti, had escaped and the military authorities could not catch him. Unless Captain Aydin is captured, this point would remain obscure.

The defendants of this case also insisted that the 1961 Constitution was changed not by themselves, but by the military junta.

Many of the defendants had been tortured before the trials and put in cells during the trial. Their right to defense was restricted during the whole process of the case. Under these conditions, three of the defendants, Mahir Cayan (26), Ulas Bardakci (25), and Siya Yilmaz (39), for whom the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences, were obliged to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971.

Five of other defendants, Ismet Demir (27), Kenan Demir (28), Ilkay Demir (29), Kartizre Dayisomen (29), and Niyas Ersek (27) were convicted to death on December 27, 1971. The death sentences of three female defendants, Ilkay Demir, Kartizre Dayisomen and Niyas Ersek were commuted to life term.

After their escape, Ulas Bardakci was shot to death by police and military forces and Siya Yilmaz was wounded on February 19, 1972. Siya Yilmaz was also murdered in the bomb explosion carried out by the government forces in Kilis on March 30, 1972.

On the appeal of the lawyers, the Fourth Section of the Military Court of Cassation annulled the death sentences and ordered a new trial. Thereupon, the chief military prosecutor appealed to the General Assembly of the
Military Court of Cassation. The general assembly approved the arraignment of Kemal Dede’s and Necet Demir’s death sentences, but decided that the death sentence of Ziya Yilmaz must be executed.

In accordance with the criminal procedure, the death sentence of Ziya Yilmaz will be discussed in parliament.

3. Young Naval Officers:

The trial of 81 defendants began at the First Military Court of Istanbul Maritime Law Headquarters on August 11, 1971. The majority of the victims were young naval officers and cadets. They also were accused of “trying to change the Constitution by force” according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. At the first session the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences for 41 defendants. But the only evidences of this case were only the statements of the police agents and the fascist militiamen.

On May 3, 1972, the First Military Court referred to apply Article 146 to the defendants and condemned only 14 defendants in accordance with other articles pertaining to their offences as follows:

Lieutenant Ahmet Coker (35 years), Naval Cadet Hasan Oğuz (35 years), Lieutenant Celal Valipip (50 years), Lieutenant Gazi Ayvaz (50 years), Police Chief Mustafar Yilmaz (55 years), Lieutenant Orhan Dirik (41 years), Lieutenant Ergin Torun (41 years), Student Aynal Kemal Boya (3 years and 4 months), Taller Heyvan Ahmet (3 years and 6 months), Lieutenant Ibrahim Akin Altab (6 months).

The following 70 defendants were acquitted:

Izran Solmazer (member of the former National Unity Committee which overthrew the power of the Democratic Party on May 27, 1960), Ruhu Koç (the former secretary general of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), Mustafa Makall (naval cadet), Erko Kapilaz (police chief),Coskun Erkan (lieutenant), Hilmi Dinler (lieutenant), Vahiddin Eryiğin (lieutenant), Aziz Karakas (lieutenant), Kadir Dikird (naval cadet), Taner Oner (naval cadet), Melin Geresoglu (student), Atilla Ceyli (the former president of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), Sabah Alçagol (lieutenant), Elif Atay (lieutenant), Ismail Cankardest (lieutenant), Ali Erol (lieutenant), Yavuz Bingöz (lieutenant), Cengiz Eskin (cadet), Abdullah Gergö (cadet), Mehmet Aksun (lieutenant), Nuran Cıhaz (cadet), Mahmut Oruç (TRP employee), Yüzal Ersoy (lieutenant), Mustafa Gümüş (lieutenant), Samed Altan (cadet), İhvan Yazar (lieutenant), Celal Siver (cadet), Errol Kırılmaz (lieutenant), Liçet Yılmaz (lieutenant), Enver Cüneyd Tokgoz (lieutenant), Ali Erol (lieutenant), Mehmet Sengür (lieutenant), Ahmet Ergüden (lieutenant), Liçet Domiran (lieutenant), Lütfi Beyaz (lieutenant), Mustafa Pınar Torun (teacher), Nihat Kavuncu (lieutenant), Errol Karpal (lieutenant), Osman Atik (lieutenant), Metin Babacan (lieutenant), Hamid Ergüll (lieutenant), Erhan Yalçın (lieutenant), Bakir Özyazıcı (lieutenant), İsmail Koca (lieutenant), İsmail Koca (lieutenant), Hemmet Abbas (lieutenant), Kumal læc (student), Reza Arasun (cadet), Kemal Güven (cadet), Onur Emen (lieutenant), Ayhab Kılıç (cadet), Mehmet Akbaci (cadet), Ahmet Gür (student), Saffan Özcemir (unemployed), Fahrettin Karayel (lieutenant), Dogan Sözer (cadet), İhsan Döger (air forces colonel), Mustafa Doğan (assistant professor), Cetin Alpas (lieutenant), Mustafa Tunç (lieutenant), Cahit Ozan (lieutenant), Mustafa Süher (lieutenant), Faruk Kivanc (lieutenant),
The First Military Court also decided to start legal proceedings against 11 persons, Murat Inal, Kaya Inal, Gökhan Özer, Savaş Özalp, Nilgün Kilikçık, Serhat Düzyal, Dedo Yıldırım, Nejat Esengül, and Onur Gümüşyayak, who were brought as witnesses before the military court by the military prosecutor and they have given false testimony.

On this decision, the military prosecutor immediately appealed to the Military Court of Cassation by insisting on demanding death sentences for Şerif Solmaz, Sarp Karay, Erkan Dirlik, Tahsin Akkuş Altun, Hübi Köy, Sına Bilbay, Murat Çiçek, Ahmet Çoker and Rejin Elinci on May 19, 1972.

And on May 17, 1972, the Ministry of National Defence dissolved the First Military Court of Istanbul Military Law Headquarters which had refused the demands of the military prosecutor and the judges of this court, Colonel Huseyin Şirin, Major Haluk Kara, Major Seymen Erdek were transferred to the military units in Austro.
The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for Mrs. Belece Boyan (the chairman of TİF and assistant professor), Gökhan Erkoğ (the secretary general of TİF and trade union leader), Bülent Kılıç (the secretary general of TİF), Sadık Aran (university professor), Osman Canbay (trade union leader), Ali Palal (assistant professor), Yalçın Kırıl (worker), Nejat Özer (trade union leader), Turgut Zeydan (lawyer), Hüseyin Ergin (editor), Hüseyin Korkmaz (trade union leader), Adnan Kerimbaş (journalist), Barış Ejder (editor), Şefik Koç (worker), Köse Şenem (teachig assistant) (student), Feyzıl Yavuz (physician) and Savas Al (worker).

All of the defendants were released on October 6, 1971, but arrested again on June 28, 1972. The case is still on trial.

6. Turkish Communist Party (TİP):

The trial of 33 defendants began on October 27, 1971 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. They are accused of "trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes" and "to be affiliated to the clandestine Turkish Communist Party abroad."

According to Article 231 of the Turkish Penal Code, the military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Gazi Alkılıç (retired state employee and writer), Gazi Özkok (assistant professor), Gökhan Çagıroğlu (writer and editor – the military authorities have not been able to seize him yet), Murat Karakul (engineer), Mihale Sargüç (physician), Cemal Sarfı Aralı (editor), Hacı Sarıkök (writer), Selahattin Eleyiğil (writer and university professor), Vedat Çöçey (publisher and translator), Ahmet Can (editor), Sait Yalçın (public prosecutor), Metin Oktay (translator), Süleyman Bilen (engineer), Mahtu Karagöz (publisher), Hulya Erim (student), Ismet Aydin (student), Necat Değirmen (student – he was sentenced to death in another case), Ilkay Uçar (student – she was sentenced to life term in another case), Vahit Yıldız (worker), Cihan Tengen (student), Hayri Ergüzi (engineer), Nağlaema Rüfer (pianist), Erdal Yorston (speaker at TTP), Sükîn Çakıroğlu (translator), Hüseyin Kılıçlı (journalist), Ayda Ergin (actor and playwriter),Token Kutluk (student), Ceyhan Senek (student), Sinan İnece (student), Faruk Polat (engineer and writer), Nurettin Varlı (student), Gelib Vorli (student), Işın Kesküngül (student).

After the trials began all the defendants of this case were released, but on June 29, 1972 many of them were arrested again.

7. Teachers' Union of Turkey (TİB):

The trial of 143 defendants began on October 25, 1971 at the Second Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. The majority of the defendants are teachers and members of the Teachers' Union of Turkey (TİB). They also were accused of "trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes" under Article 231. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Fahri Baykurt (the president of TİB and a well-known novelist), Durmuş Asgar (the vice-president of TİB and a famous novelist), Cemal K. Esoğ (the secretary general of TİB), Veil Kesküngül, Abdullah Özacan, Hilya Yavuz-
The trial of 17 defendants, the majority of whom are also members of TÜS, are held at the military court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. They were likewise accused of "trying to establish the domination of one clan over the other clans," under the Article 84 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The military court condemned eight of the defendants to imprisonment for eight years: Emin Turgutçuk, Yaşar Eşgenioğlu, Selim Demirgöz, Mehmet Ocal, Nevzat Böcek, İsmet Yaka, Kerim Gökmez, and Memet Can. The other 9 defendants were acquitted on February 23, 1973.

9. Progressive Youth Federations of Turkey (KDYSO):

236 members of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey are being tried at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters since February 24, 1973. They were likewise accused of "trying to establish the domination of one clan over the other clans," under articles 84 and 84 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The military prosecutor has demanded sentencs for ten of the defendants: Attal Sarp, İrfan Urgaç, Ahmet Bozkurt, Mevlüd Koç, Turgut Sözü, Ahmet Kilic, Oral Çağlar, Sabah Pehlivan, Mustafa Yavaş, and Mustafa Tavmayalı. They are also non-student defendants among them, like Mustafa Akköy (law professor of the Ankara University), Sedat Özkol (President of the engineers' Chamber) and Sabah Şahin (President of the Building Workers' Union).
10. Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Turkey (DUPO):

The leaders of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Turkey (DUPO) are being tried at the First Military Court of Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters since December 16, 1971. They are accused of "trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes and to follow a separatist policy on behalf of Kurdish people", under Article 141 of the PCR.

The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Tahir Ziya Skendi (physician and the former secretary general of the TIP and a former deputy), Cemal Yildirim (Lawyer), Muhumed Davut (writer), Mehmet Erol Dostalek (writer), Riyadi Ocan, Thuron Ahnay, Usman Sabik, Piruzin Ogul, Sabri Cavik, Zeki Kayar, Ismail Savvatik, Nuruddin Kilgerman, Neem Samanci, Filaret Sahin, Parik Ara, Ali Bayzoklu, Mehmet Demir, Vev Dequit, Ferit Uzum and Hasan Acar.

According to the official communiqué of the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters, 3 teachers, 4 state employees, 33 students, 21 professionals, 1 physician, 1 religious leader and 3 foreigners are also being tried at the First Military Court of Diyarbakir MEH since June 23, 1971. But their names were not disclosed.

11. Early Section of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey:

10 defendants are accused of "trying to change the constitution by force" and "trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes" under articles 146 and 141. Their trial began on November 3, 1971 at the Military Court of Izmir Martial Law Headquarters.

The military prosecutor charged the defendants with preparing plans in order to save the members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey from prisons by kidnapping some important persons, but could not bring any evidence to prove his charge.

Defendants who are under the threat of various imprisonments:

Engin Ogul Ogul (32 years), Serkan Cevat and Turgut Pasamoglu (9 years), Ebu Ego, Usman Gheri, Piruzin Peker, Buhak Mehmecinoglu, Nazif Fur Yaskan (5 years), Mehmet Ali Yardim and Ila Ayakman (1 year).

12. Students of Bilkent University:

The trial of 65 students began on August 17, 1971 at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. Military prosecutor accused them of "attracting the political forces" prior to the martial law.

The military court sentenced the following defendants to imprisonment for 4 years and 6 months:


Osman Iyen was sentenced to 2 years 9 months and 10 days term.

Five defendants, Selcuklam Yurdiner, Oguz Necip Kaykup, Cevdet Arslan, Ziya Ozer and Ismail Ozer, were acquitted.

13. Students of Political Sciences Faculty:

Their trial began on November 2, 1971 at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. The military prosecutor accused them of "activating the police forces" prior to the martial law, and demanded 2 - 11 years imprisonment for the following students:


14. Leaders of the Progressive Trade Unions' Confederation (DISK):

29 trade union leaders are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since December 6, 1971. They are accused of "plotting to bring the people to a head against the government" during the workers movement of June 1970.

According to the law issued in 1971, the military prosecutor demanded various imprisonments for the following trade union leaders:

Kanal Turski (President of DISK), Kemal Sarker (Secretary General of DISK), Simgi Ozer (Vice President of Metal Workers' Union), Mined Cicek (Vice President of Metal Workers' Union), Celal Suman (Vice President of Metal Workers Union), Orhan Muttertop, Kemal Karay, Safet Kayaoglu, Mustafa Emek, Oguz Olgan, Ziran Yalginoglu, Cemal Dogu, Mustafa Filiz, Burhan Oktar, Cevdet Cevik, Ismail Demir, Semsettin Akkaya, Fedai Sucksah, Sevki Akgul, Turhan Akdogan, Muc- hid Olgul, Kemal Arslan, Orhan Akeroglu and Huseyin Odemal.

15. 65 Workers of Otogar Automotive Factory:

They are tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since December 6, 1971. The workers are accused of holding an illegal demonstration during the workers movement of June 1970.

16. Lawyer of DISK Defendants:

After Deniz Ozen and his friends were sentenced to death, the mili-
tery prosecutor initiated legal proceedings against their eleven lawyers. They are accused of "conspiring the armed forces and the government" while they were defending their clients. The trial began on February 23, 1972, at the third military court of Ankara 1L1M and eleven lawyers, Niyazi Ağirmaz, Halit Çökök, Zeki Özyürek, Mükemmet Erdogan, Kemal Yücel, Selçuk Akın, Erol Çınar, Kelvi Caner, Canan klubber, and Orhan İnan KLK, were convicted to three months imprisonment under Article 266/3 of the TPC on June 30, 1972.

17. Lawyers of THEO (Istanbul Section) Defendants:

The trial of five lawyers of the THEO Istanbul Section began on December 7, 1971 at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Military Law Headquarters. They were accused of "conspiring the military judges and military prosecutors" while they were defending their clients in court. Under articles 266 and 268 of the TPC, three lawyers, Denis Cali, Reçüet Şahin and Yahya Ceyhüsker, and one of the THEO defendants, Halil Cemal Yolcu, were convicted to six months imprisonment. Two lawyers, Orhan Arslan and Recep Varay, were acquitted on June 19, 1972.

18. Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Istanbul Section):

15 members of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dem-Gong) and other progressive student associations are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Military Headquarters since July 31, 1971. They were likewise accused of "conspiring to change the constitution by force" and "conspiring to establish the domination of one class over the other classes", under articles 165 and 161 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC).

The defendants of this case:

The military prosecutor demanded various imprisonments up to 36 years for the defendants of this case. 75 of the defendants are under arrest and 29 have not been caught by the military authorities yet.

19. Democratic Party of Kurgistan:

The military prosecutor brought a case against 35 persons at the Second Military Court of Istanbul SEP on May 22, 1972. They were accused of "being affiliated to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan with the aim of following a separatist policy on behalf of Kurdish people," under article 11 of the TCG.

The defendants of this case:

20. Kizilbey Defendents:

The military prosecutor brought a case against 39 persons who were accused of "helping the members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (TKE) and the Popular Liberation Movement of Turkey (TKEK) to kidnap three foreign technicians and to kill them at Kizilbey on March 20, 1972."

According to the official communiqué dated April 29, 1972, the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for the following 25 defendants:

Serhat Eyi (lawyer), Ali Kayar (lawyer), Ferhat Sener (teacher), Duran Kilik (agriculture), Avic Efece (teacher), Reza Napolix (pension), Rezart Gung (teacher), Mustafa Souqal (teacher), Yusuf Amin (student), Hamsham Pazhan (driver), Kudsi Yurtsever (driver), Filizi Karmen (teacher), Naxi Atay (pension), Rezart Gung (teacher), Murat Atay (pension), Erasun Saruhan (student), Memet Bayrak (driver), Lemsi Yeleykurt (pension), Kudsi Jain (teacher), Naxi Yilmaz (teacher), Ismet Cemal (owner of coffee house), Hasim Altin and Shemsi Altin (village head man).

The defendants will be tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara Mental War Headquarters.

21. Military Personnel of Maltepe Prison:

They were accused of helping the numbers of the TKEK and the TKE to escape from the Military Prison of Maltepe on November 30, 1971. The trial of 19 defendants began on July 14, 1972 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Mental War Headquarters.

22. Members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (Ankara Section):

34 defendants are accused of being members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey and were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on July 24, 1972. The military prosecutor demanded death sentences for the following defendants under Article 145 of the TPC:

Fevzi Tal (student), Oğlû Özkır (bank employee), Kolis Özkır (student), Türkmen Selim (unemployed), Kurya Grib (employed), Oğlû Ordu (student), S empathy Akse (student).

The following defendants also are tried under Article 146 and the military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for them:


The following defendants are accused of hiding the suspects and the military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 5 years for each of them:

Meseşin Şinayk, Halil Enginbas, Mehmet Venissean and Member Zihni Ckit.

OTHER CASES AT THE MILITARY COURT

23. Members of the Kocaeli Workers' Peace Association are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul IIIA since September 9, 1971. The military prosecutor has demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the defendants -the majority of whom are teachers and workers- under Article 144 of the TPC. The most important of the 24 defendants in this case are Meher Dede, Bilal Yeşilyurt, Halil Berat, Osman Akın, Omer Yüz, Turhan Öğretmen, Ahmet Mahalakıd Şahin, Meseşin Özyenemorglu, Mehmet Kurt, Dorecet Söğüt, Necip Çebis, Mınal Özkır and Şaha Yılmaz.

24. The defendants who are accused of "robbing Zihnet Hentati (a state government office)" are being tried at the Military Court of Istanbul IIIA since December 22, 1971. The military prosecutor demanded 20-25 years imprisonment for Akın Tunc, Nehir Kaynak (bank employee), Brian Oğürs and Mihmet Oğuz. 2 - 12 years for Fatih Oğtug, Selim Oğtug, Ramazan Kayal, Gürkan Vakaseman (psychiatric), Selahattin Byrne, Akın Tunc, Osman Yolcada, Metin Voldaslan, Metin Voldaslan (state employee), Fertin Erbaş, Doper Bilge (TV employee), Erkin Dren, Musaffer Doğan, Beşir Taskin, Hale Gilpinar, Mehmet Ço-
27. Two members of T.R.T. Board [Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation], Adnan Ozturk (corporate director general) and Prof. Mehmet Soy- 
 nel together with five program producers of T.R.T. were tried at the Second Mi- 
litary Court of Ankara M.E. on July 5, 1971. The military prosecutor accused 
them of "assaulting the people to rise against the government" by radio broad-
casts, under articles 151 and 311 of the T.C. The court declared itself in-
competent to try the defendants and transferred the case to the civil courts.

26. Sixteen defendants who were accused of hiding Habib Zeki and oth-
er members of the T.R.T. tried at the First Military Court of Istanbul M.E.

27. Six defendants, who were accused of "hiding the mem-
bers of the T.R.T." were tried under article 163 of the T.C and sentenced to
imprisonment for three years each at the Third Military Court of Ankara M.E.
on November 11, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the de-

diction and ordered a new trial on March 1, 1972. Serif Omerhan, Mustafa Se-
ryp, Ibrahim Akpinar, Ozan Kiral, Huseyin Altin, Kemal Erdogan and Mustafa
Oguz were tried again by the same military court and were condemned to im-
prisonment of two years each on June 8, 1972.

28. Ilhan Selik (columnist) and Ogut Kusturbko (responsible editor of
Cumhuriyet) were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul M.E. They
were accused of "assaulting the government and the army" by an article pub-
lished just one day before the proclamation of martial law, and were sentenced
to one year imprisonment each under article 159 of the T.C on July 5, 1971.

29. Cem Aynas, member of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey, was
tried by the First Military Court of Istanbul M.E. under the accusation of
"fomenting a blank" and was condemned to 36 years imprisonment on May 20, 1971.

30. The Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and imposed
a new trial with the danger of death sentence in accord with Article 148.

Thereupon this case was made part of the case "The Popular Liberation Army
of Turkey (Istanbul Section)."
30. Sertac Celik (student) was sentenced to 30 days imprisonment by the First Military Court of Istanbul M6 in May 25, 1971. He was accused of "writing anti-government slogans on the walls of the Istanbul University".

31. Six trade union leaders and workers were being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul M6 since May 25, 1971. Yusuf Sayil, Niyazi Cetin, Durmus Orduk, Mehmut Ali Kaya, Cenil Dogan and Mehmut Cunun were accused of "breaching martial law regulations".

32. Two students, Mustafa Baberken and Mustafa Zekir, were sentenced to imprisonment for two years by the Second Military Court of Istanbul M6 on May 26, 1971. They were accused of "being involved in terrorist activities".

33. Mesut Mahjup, the president of the Turkish National Youth Organisation, was sentenced to one year imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Istanbul M6 on August 6, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the sentence, and he was then acquitted by the same court on 3.XI.1971.

34. Gatib Alten (complainant) was tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul M6 under the accusation of "insulting the government and the army", because of an article published in the daily Aksum prior to the imposition of martial law. The military court declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the case to civil court on June 10, 1971.

35. Yusuf Serbest, the headman of Kavukli Village at Ondere was accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 149, and the Military Court of Tuzla M6 sentenced him to 6 years and two months imprisonment on July 27, 1971. The verdict was approved by the Military Court of Cassation.

36. Abdullah Cam was sentenced to imprisonment for 10 months by the First Military Court of Istanbul M6 on June 10, 1971. He was accused of "insulting the government and the army" under Article 159 of the UCP.

37. Sarp Kuran (lieutenant) and Naci Kog (former secretary general of Dervis) were sentenced to prison sentences for terrorist activities by the military prosecutor and the Military Court of Akcakoca M6 sentenced Kuran to 8 years term and Kog 15 years on June 30, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase the punishments, in accordance with Article 149. Therefore this case was made part of the case of "Young Naval Officers".

38. Yakup Simliken (lieutenant) was sentenced to 16 months term on June 16, 1971 by the First Military Court of Ankara M6. He was accused of "carrying arms without licence".

39. Sultan Kaya (student) and Basak Yalgin (student) were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul M6 on June 16, 1971. The military prosecutor accused them of "robbing a bank". But they were found innocent and acquitted. Then the military prosecutor accused Sultan Kaya of "insulting the police forces" and brought a new suit at the Third Military Court of Istanbul M6, against him. Now, Sultan Kaya is being tried again since February 21, 1972 under Article 158 of the Turkish Penal Code.

40. Three students were accused of "robbing a bank" and the Third Military Court of Istanbul M6 sentenced Nidal Kut to 28 years term, Osman Selimyan Agaoglu for 31 years and Ibraim Basak for 5 years on July 29, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled these sentences and imposed a new trial under Article 158. This time the same court's sentence was life term for Selimyan Agaoglu, 15 years for Nidal Kut and 10 years for Ibraim Basak on February 10, 1972.
44. Cemal Aydinol, lawyer, was accused of "hiding his brother who was being wanted by the military authorities" and sentenced to one month imprisonment at the Second Military Court of Ankara Müh on June 26, 1971.

45. Huseyin Eyriyan was accused of "aiding separation" and was sentenced to two years at the First Military Court of Ankara Müh on July 5, 1971.

46. Çelik Peker was accused of "breaking martial law regulations" and was sentenced to one month imprisonment at the Second Military Court of Ankara Müh on July 7, 1971.

47. Süleyman Kaplan, Mayor of Bhande Town, and Hasan Kılıçbeyli, employee of the municipality, were accused of "hiding dynamite", and the Third Military Court of Ankara Müh sentenced them on July 30, 1971, to six months imprisonment for Kaplan and 7 days for Kılıçbeyli.

48. İsmet İlicköy, Hayri Işık, Abdullah Aldemir and Erolcan Erkan, the teachers of Zilköyana Secondary School of Konya, were accused of "making propaganda for communism" and are tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul since July 18, 1971, under Article 142.

49. Adil Kemal Taha and his wife Nilüfer Kemal Taha, were accused of " hiding some wanted students" and the Third Military Court of Istanbul Müh sentenced them on July 6, 1971 to two years imprisonment for Dr. Kemal Taha and six months for his wife.

50. Three students, Cihan Alperin, Osman Bahadir and Yavuz Yıldızlı, were accused of "robbing a bank" and tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Müh on July 26, 1971. But later this case's file was also made part of the case of "the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (Istanbul Section)".

51. Oktay Ceylan (president) was accused of selling some 'forbidden books' and the Second Military Court of Istanbul Müh condemned him to five months term on July 29, 1971.

52. Two students, Bilgic Avcı and Serpal Sahinski, were accused of "distributing anti-regime pamphlets", and Military Court of Ankara Müh sentenced them to two months term for each on July 25, 1971.

53. Four employees of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Ferhat Feyzioğlu, Emre Turgay, Ermis Turgay, Robert Turok, and Reisil Buschevici, are being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara Müh since August 3, 1971 on the charge of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142.

54. Xavier Vardanian, Naif Tahim and Vartanian Vartanian were accused of "hiding some wanted persons" and their case has been on trial at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Müh since August 9, 1971.

55. Bara Kılıç, who is accused of "outraging the government", was sentenced to two months imprisonment at the Military Court of Izmir Müh on August 10, 1971 under Article 152 of the TCG.

56. Simon Shinskyai (lieutenant), who is accused of "making propaganda for communism", is tried by the Military Court of Izmir Müh since August 10, 1971, under Article 142 of the TCG.

57. Kurutçu Kamer, who is accused of "practicing an activity which is classified as a crime by law" under Article 212 of the TCG, was tried at the Military Court of Izmir Müh on August 10, 1971. But the military court
declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the case to the civil court.

55. Baim Sevin, Erdogan Dogan, Ahmet Metinçelik, Zülfüker Topal, Hikmat Kerakci and Uzun Turali were accused by the military prosecutor of breaking Articles 311 and 159 of the TCG and their case was tried at the Military Court of Istanbul MEB since August 15, 1971.

56. Mustafar Satir, Kemal Metin, Mihriban Topik, Surhan Burga (tough- er), Ahmet Salih (worker), Ahmet Ering Halabian (student) were accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142. The Second Military Court of Istanbul MEB tried them on August 15, 1971 and declared itself incompetent to try the defendants and transferred the case to the civil court.

57. Ayten Okan (tailor) and Tufik Okan (businessman) are accused of "making propaganda for communism" and are being tried at the Military Court of Istanbul MEB since August 15, 1971 under Article 142 of the TCG.

58. Sevgi Babacan Soyosal (program producer of TRT and writer), Hina Gultekin (program producer of TRT) and Hakim Keşkin (actor) were accused of "breaking marital law orders". They were tried at the Military Court of Ankara MEB. Gultekin and Keşkin were sentenced to one month imprisonment each, Soyosal was acquitted on August 31, 1971.

59. Çetin Altan (columnist) and İrfan Demir (editor of the daily Abasa) were accused of "delegating the government" because of an article published prior to the martial law. The Military Court of Istanbul MEB tried them on August 28, 1971 and sent the case file to the civil courts, declaring itself incompetent. But the Military Court of Cessation ordered to try them at the military court. Therefore, the trial began anew on April 24, 1972 at Second Military Court of Istanbul MEB.

60. Ulaş Orkan, editor of the weekly Durum, was tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MEB. First the military court declared itself incompetent to try him and transferred the case to the civil courts on August 28, 1971. But in another case, he was sentenced to six months imprisonment.

61. Mahmut Büve, the tailor from Oğuzhisar, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and sentenced to 11 years imprisonment by the Military Court of Istanbul MEB on September 9, 1971 under Article 142. The Military Court of Cessation canceled the verdict on December 17, 1971 and ordered a new trial.

62. Abdullah Kofak, the translator of Hans Thore-Bürger's Quotations, whose case was being tried at the Military Court of Ankara MEB since September 7, 1971 was sentenced to 7.5 years imprisonment on December 31, 1971 under Article 142. He was accused of "making propaganda for communism" by translating the mentioned book.

63. Two students, Hürrem Acarbaşı and Ayten Camahan, are being tried at the First Military Court of Ankara MEB since September 16, 1971. They are accused of "proclaiming Shah's Compromise" who had been shot to death by the military.

64. Erdal Or, writer and bookseller, was tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MEB. The military prosecutor accused him of "making propaganda for communism" by wrapping books with printed papers. After having been held under arrest for six months, he was acquitted on December 1, 1971.

65. Xerfi Tazemir was accused of "being involved in terrorist activi-
tive" and sentenced to three days imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Ankara MJK on September 25, 1971.

66. Melike Beyazit, professor of constitutional law, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and the military prosecutor burned his books, including some references to socialist thinkers, as evidence for "offence". The trial began on September 30, 1971 and the Third Military Court of Ankara MJK sentenced him to 6 years and 6 months imprisonment under Article 146 on December 3, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation was obliged to cancel the verdict on March 2, 1972 and to release the professor after having held him under arrest for ten months, thanks to external pressure exerted on the military regime. But the Third Military Court of Ankara MJK insisted on the condemnation on April 26, 1972. Thereupon, the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation canceled again the verdict on July 14, 1972.

67. Two students, Kenan Uçan and Mustafa Akın, were accused of "breaking military law orders". The Second Military Court of Istanbul MJK acquitted them on October 6, 1971.

68. Cevat Gökçey, state employee, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MJK under Article 146. The court released him on October 8, 1971.

69. Hasan Ata, sergeant, and Nizar Turan, non-commissioned officer, were accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 146. They were tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MJK and were acquitted on October 25, 1971.

70. Five students, Yunus Akar, Kazim Dede, Mustafa Kuyunoglu, Ilhami Aras and Izcan Urga, were accused of "being involved in terrorist activities". Their trials began at the First Military Court of Ankara MJK on November 5, 1971 and all of them were acquitted. But Ilhami Aras, Mustafa Kuyunoglu and Muhar Eyyül were sentenced to 11 years imprisonment each by the same court on December 26, 1971. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial under Article 146 later on.

71. Velı Seraylı, teacher, is being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MJK since November 23, 1971. He is accused of "professing Deniz Gezioglu, one of the young men condemned to death and hanged". The military prosecutor demanded five years imprisonment for him.

72. Hikmet Baskanlı, member of TDK Board and former chief editor of foreign news desk, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 146. His trial began on November 24, 1971 and the First Military Court of Ankara MJK acquitted him on January 2, 1972.

73. Tural Kiliçlı, student, is being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara since November 22, 1971. He is accused of "conspiring against the government" under Article 139 of the Turkish Penal Code.

74. Seher Savci, professor at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University, was accused of "arousing the people against the law". His trial began on November 26, 1971 and the Third Military Court of Ankara MJK acquitted him on May 9, 1972.

75. 27 defendants, who are under arrest at the military jail of Nevsehir, are being tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MJK since February 2, 1972. The military prosecutor has accused them of "insulting the authorities of the prison" and demanded 1-5 years imprisonment.
76. Three students, Hamdi Olivets, Mustafà Şinasi Eşek and Mustafa Çakmak, were accused of "try[ing] to prevent the simulations at the Political Science Faculty" and were sentenced to one month imprisonment each by the Military Court of Ankara MİA on June 18, 1971.

77. Ramazan Duman was accused of "insulting the army" and sentenced to ten months imprisonment by the First Military Court of Ankara MİA on June 18, 1971.

78. Three students of the Law Faculty of Ankara University, Reis Çakmak, Mustafà Öliler and Muhsen Khatib, were accused of "distributing pamphlets against the military regime" and are being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MİA since December 3, 1971. During the trials, another student, Mustafà Öliler, was also accused of "spreading false testimony" and arrested on December 23, 1971.

79. Two teachers, Nurcan Ceper and Sultanis Durak, were accused of "being members of a disordinate organization" and are tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MİA since December 18, 1971 under Article 101.

80. Yıldız Birdal, engineer, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and sentenced to 16 months imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Ankara MİA on February 20, 1972 under Article 142. During the trial he was also accused of "insulting the military prosecutor" and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment on February 23, 1972 by the same military court.

81. Muharram Doğan, student, was accused of "feeling down the posters about the wanted persons" and sentenced to one month imprisonment by the Military Court of Izmir MİA on December 9, 1971.

82. Three students, Cemal Celik, Yevren Olagan and Edip Kalse, were accused of "distributing some forbidden pamphlets" and sentenced to six months imprisonment each by the Third Military Court of Ankara MİA on December 9, 1971. In the same case, three other defendants, Peyman Kafkas, Enver Kutlu and Kudai Alyanoğlu were acquitted.

83. Gökşen Candemir was accused of "hiding suspected persons" and is being tried at the Military Court of İzmir MİA since December 17, 1971.

84. Mustafa Kılıç, Alpaybalı Bork, Aymet Necime Aydin, are accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 108 and are being tried by the Military Court of İzmir MİA since November 17, 1971.

85. Günsür Düz, lawyer, was accused of "being involved in activities of Dus-Ceng" and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MİA on December 28, 1971. But the court declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the file of the case to the Military Court of İzmir MİA.

86. Şerif Şahinoglu, ship-owner, and his 19 friends were accused of "smuggling arms and ammunition" and are being tried by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MİA since January 10, 1972. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for Şerif Şahinoglu, Davut Gökmen, Reşif Akça, Ali Hamidoglu, Mustafà Beyzan and imprisonment up to 4 years for other 15 defendants.

87. Berrin Aksoy, vice director of the Middle East Technical University, was accused of "hiding suspected persons and helping them to escape" and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MİA. The court acquitted him on January 17, 1972.

88. Isik Alparslan, İhsan Alparslan, Rezzzı Tevenci, Selim Vural and Sina
Giscard were accused of "making propaganda for communism" and are being tried by the Third Military Court of Istanbul MII since January 18, 1972 under Article 142.

By. The military prosecutor brought a new suit against Attila Sarp, who is one of the main defendants of Derg-i-Gency and Naval Officers cases, by accusing him of "defying the prosecution." The trial of this case began on January 18, 1972 and the Third Military Court of Istanbul MII condemned him to 6 months and 15 days imprisonment on May 15, 1972.

50. Four high school students, Bilint Eksi, Ahdal Ataie, Sihan Gaha and Seyfettin Uzun were accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142 of the TCC. They are being tried by the First Military Court of Istanbul MII since February 17, 1972.

51. Nip Kamer, Lieutenant, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and sentenced to 17 months and 15 days imprisonment by the Third Military Court of Istanbul MII on February 19, 1972 under Article 142.

52. The leaders of the Turkish Labour Party Sognalıak Section, Ahmet Hacı Döner, Şehri Kilmaç (Lawyer), Şehri Kılınçlar, Şehri Ozan, Purden Özen, Aref Yıldız and Oktay Zor, were accused of "trying to contribute national healings" and are being tried at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MII since July 16, 1971.

53. Four teachers from Orhunlucu Town, Hamat Köksel, Şehri Điber, Turan Yılmaz and Yemek İmam, were accused of "forming a clandestine organization" and are being tried by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MII.

54. The members of Kadirli Cultural Club were accused of "making propaganda for communism" and tried at the Military Court of Akbaş MII under Article 142. The court condemned Prangon Ömer, Halil Altışıkahi, Saim Öncel and Ali Kuruma to 6 years imprisonment each. Tahir Öztürk (student) was also tried for having said "revelation is much more important than love" under Article 142. The court condemned him to 3 years and 4 months imprisonmen.

The Military Court of Casegem canceled the verdicts on March 25, 1972 and demanded that the defendants be tried again.

55. The Second Military Court of Istanbul MII condemned Ahmet Hacı Döner, member of 22F, to 3 years and 6 months imprisonment under Article 142 on March 30, 1972.

56. The Third Military Court of Istanbul MII condemned Mustafa Edifi Kılıç (student) to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment under Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.

57. The Third Military Court of Istanbul MII condemned Metin Tant to 10 months imprisonment on March 30, 1972. He was accused of "communism crime".

58. Twenty students are being tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara Naval Liaison Headquarters since April 5, 1972. The military prosecutor accused them of "publishing and distributing a clandestine newspaper" and demanded punishment under Article 142.

59. Ayse Sabuncu Soygel, who had been tried and acquitted previously (see No. 58), was arrested again just after her husband, Prof. Mustas Soygel, was released (April 6, 66). She was accused of "attempting to commit suicide" and tried at the Military Court of Akbaş MII. The court condemned her to one year imprisonment on April 26, 1972. But the Military Court of Casegem canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial on July 13, 1972.
100. Ismail Basılı, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara, is being tried at the Military Court of Diyarbakir MEB since July 22, 1971. The military prosecutor accused him of "making propaganda for communism and separatism" in his scientific research and books. His book entitled "The Social Order of Eastern Anatolia", which is seen as the most reliable source on this subject, was also shown as evidence of his "offense" under Article 142.

101. Mehmet Özbil, accused of "inciting prisoners to break the prison regulations" is being tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MEB since April 25, 1972.

102. Nihat Acarlı, lawyer, was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MEB. He was accused of "insulting the government" under Article 159 of the TPC.

103. Fiyat Ağırmaz, lawyer, and two trade union leaders, İsmet Demir Uluğ and Lemal Buğa, were condemned to six months imprisonment each on June 28, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MEB. They were accused of "inciting the people to break the law" by issuing a pamphlet against the visit of US Sixth Fleet.

104. Ten students of the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara, Ahmet Ender Baskıyan, Renamoç Ercan, Metin Velgin, Mustafa Senözoglu, Abdullah Özet, Farkaç Yılmaz, Aydın Adaş, Doğan Firtına, Mehmet Etiliz and Reşit Altay are being tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MEB under Article 142 of the TPC since July 31, 1972. They were accused of "making propaganda for communism and inciting their friends to break the law" while they were protesting the Kisilero Mançero, on March 31, 1972. The military prosecutor brought another case against 10 students of the same faculty besides this case, on July 31, 1972 under article 142.

105. Mehmet Reşit Beden (teacher) and Ahmet Mabon (student) were tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MEB. The military prosecutor accused them of "inciting one class against other classes" under Article 312 of the TPC. The court acquitted them on July 31, 1972.

106. Ahmet Sahin and İlhamı Başçelik were sentenced to three months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MEB. They were accused of "spreading evil doings".

107. Kınış Uluğ, Reşad Süveş Benik, Şimko Kendir, Semo Sarıoğlu, Mehmet Ali Sarıoğlu were accused of "being affiliated to a clandestine organization and making propaganda for communism" under Article 141 and 142 of the TPC. The Military Court of İzmir MEB condemned Mehmet Sarıoğlu and Şemsi Sarıoğlu to 6 years and 6 months imprisonment each under Article 141, Yurduş Süveş Benik to 3 months imprisonment under Article 311 and Şimko Kendir to 7 months imprisonment under Article 311, on June 21, 1972.

108. Osman Suffet Arolat, editor, was convicted to two years imprisonment by the Second Military Court of İstanbul MEB on June 22, 1972. He was accused of "inciting the security forces".

109. Haci Naci (former secretary general of Dav-Deş) and his friends were accused of "distributing pamphlets against the regime" under Article 311 of the TPC. Their trials began on June 26, 1972 at the First Military Court of Ankara MEB.

110. Nilüfer Zeynep, the defendant of the NSS Case, was also tried by
the First Military Court of Ankara MK because of "insulting the military judges" during the trials and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment on June 26, 1972.

111. 19 persons were condemned to one month imprisonment each on May 13, 1972 by the Military Court of Ankara MK. Memet Durmus, Cihat Kabahoglu, Hmet Pirdin, Flkret Yard, Hasan Ektiken, Ramazan Tengver, Dilayeva Senocy, Memet Kirshali, Ismail Sahin, Ismail Sahin Kenan, Ismail Onur, Okur Aref, Tuney Ozen, Osman Umarler, Emremegist Oktogen, Hmet Ertan, Hmet Dominoglu, Emremegist Aydogmus and Hmet Tasdir were accused of "breaching the martial law regulations".

112. Hmet Arsls, retired army colonel, was condemned to 1 year and 4 months imprisonment on May 16, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MK. He was accused of "insulting the armed forces" while he was canceling his son who had been condemned to death by the military court.

113. Melih Kalyeci, state employee, was condemned to 10 months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MK. She was accused of "insulting the armed forces" in her letter which she had written to her fiancé who was under arrest.

114. Ismail Aydin, student of the law faculty, was condemned to 6 months imprisonment on May 31, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MK under Article 146. He was accused of "distributing a pamphlet against the military regime".

115. Three female defendants were tried by the Military Court of Ankara MK on a charge of "firing suspected persons". On March 8, 1972, the military court condemned Thlina Bingol to 2.5 years imprisonment, Kihak Serifoglu to 40 months and Sibel Serifoglu to 2.5 years. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial. But the military court insisted on its decision on June 3, 1972.

116. Professor Ugur Akmakc, Dean of the Ankara Law Faculty, Mubbil Cipokur, assistant professor, Umar Hoca, student, Mali Cekal, student, Hmet Ali Kialali, journalist, Hmet Giller,det Anvar Bako, Inem Yufa, Yaciri, students, are being tried by the First Military Court of Ankara MK under articles 146 and 4.2. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for the defendants on June 14, 1972.

117. 400 soldiers, the defendant of the THK Coe, is being also tried because of "insulting her fiancé, who is wanted by the military law". Her trial began on July 19, 1972 at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MK.

118. Cemil Aygul, Mayor of Kurtalan Town, Cemil Akcfl and Hmet Ali Tuner were condemned to one year imprisonment each on July 26, 1972 by the Military Court of Diyarbakir MK. They were accused of "publishing propagand for separatism" under Article 146. Three other defendants were acquitted.

119. Six persons were tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MK because of "insulting Hasan Ate, who is wanted by the military law under the accusation of "attempting to assassinate the Commander of Landforces". On July 29, 1972, the military court condemned Hasan Fajmi, Ismail Gence and Ayden Osman to 4 years and two months imprisonment each under Article 146, Hmet Tuner and Erkan Tuner to two years and six months imprisonment and Durmus Nokshir to 3 months.

120. The military prosecutor brought a lawsuit against Fahit Muzaffer Fazl, the lawyer of the THK Coe's defendants under articles 266 and 268 of
the TCG. He was accused of "inciting the military judges and prosecutors" by publishing a book entitled "The Case at the Military Court of Cassation". Although the book included solely the text of the lawyer's appeal to the Military Court of Cassation, the Military Court of Istanbul Marcia arrested the lawyer on July 26, 1971. His brother who included the court minutes about the torture had been confiscated by the military authorities previously. (See Page 17).

CIRCOLOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE TRIALS

2 August, 1971: The Military Court of Cassation nullified the May 20th, 1971 decision of the Military Court of Istanbul Military Law Headquarters condemning Omer Cemal to 35 years imprisonment because of a bank robbery. The reasons for the settlement of the decision are as follows:

"There is no doubt that the accused is a racketeer and a revolutionary, and that the offense committed has an ideological aim. As he himself admitted in his defense, his crime cannot be considered as ordinary for the reason that the ideology and the methods that he applied are not allowed by the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and have characteristics of an offense the aim of which is the destruction of the Constitution. Because destroying the Constitution was a necessary step for the defendant to continue his goal. It would have been impossible for the accused to commit this crime (that one can almost qualify as a destruction of the constitution and which fulfills all the conditions of Article 166 of the Family Code) alone and by the means he employed. The accused committed this crime as a member of an illegal organization, and since he was encouraged, together with three companions belonging to the same communist cell, by this organization, the responsibility must be investigated while taking into consideration the relationship between the leader and the numbers of this group and we must act accordingly."

Considering the terms of the Military Court of Cassation's pronouncement there can be no doubt that the death sentences will be confirmed. With these decisions the Military Court of Cassation, composed of members of the armed forces itself, wanted to provide a justification for the military courts of martial law. It is no longer a question of jurisdiction; it is a matter of destroying the opposition physically and psychologically.

2 August, 1971: During the trial of Deniz Gezmis and his Friends, defendant Irhan Uyar disclosed the tortures he underwent at the Police Headquarters. He is the most deadly injured on by tortures. Although the trial of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey began on July 17, 1971, he could not be brought to trials until today, not being able to stand on his feet because of tortures. (See Page 17)
11 August, 1971: The First Military Court of Jessup, Martial Law Headquarters, started to try 30 defendants under Article 196 of the TVP. During this first session, the defendants were handcuffed by soldiers, Haman Qasim and Vahidinett Ergin, two defendant officers, were beaten on the head with broomsticks.

13 August, 1971: At the trial of the 30 defendants, Naval Lieutenant Farj Khayat said: "As a matter of fact, the leader of the faction the ones who tried to change the present Constitution by force. If the military procedure has the courage, he must bring them before the military court instead of us." He also disclosed that torture was used against him at the Police Headquarters and said: "When I was taken into custody, I was interrogated under great torture. If I were not a revolutionary, I would have committed suicide."

"The parliament started to debate the modification of the 1961 Constitution under the pressure of the military junta. Sadiq Gomme and his friends started a hunger-strike for four days in order to protest the amending of the Constitution.

13 August, 1971: 36 defendants at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters declared that they also started a hunger-strike for 48 hours in order to protest the amending of the 1961 Constitution.

16 August, 1971: The trials of Mahir Ceyhan and his 26 friends started at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. During this first session, the defendants and their lawyers disclosed the torture applied at the Police Headquarters.

21 August, 1971: Mahir Ceyhan divulged that he was still being kept in chains in a cell isolated from his friends and stated: "One day, we turned to the Security Police, which is ignored by the ruling classes. The Nation Party Government could not amend the Constitution by legislation since it was not strong enough to do this, but they ignored it by not putting its orders into practice. We were obliged to seize the illegal army, forming the government organized some illegal establishments in order to support murderers."

At the same session, lawyer Fiak Manteur Amc informed the court of not being allowed to consult with his client, Mahir Ceyhan, by the military authorities. (See: Page 43)

25 August, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Ceyhan and his friends, the judge directed the prosecution to the claim about the torture as follows: "It is impossible to find out whether the defendants were tortured for obtaining the truth or whether they were forced to accept crimes that they have never committed." Therefore, all of the defendants sat on their chairs in order to prove the decision. "Knowing the discipline of the trial is the duty of the court president according to the Military Criminal Procedure Code. But while Colonel Vedi Woddhum, the president of the court, was not interfering, Colonel Ahmet Aksoy, the judge, ordered the officers and the soldiers to force the defendants to stand up by twisting their arms or by strangling them.

27 August, 1971: The defendants of Mahir Ceyhan Case complained to the Ministry of National Defence of the military court because, in spite of their insistent claim, the court did not inform the responsible authorities of the torture. The lawyers of the defendants informed the court of the complaint and requested them to abstain from the trial. But the military court rejected to abstain. Thenceon, the defendants and their lawyers rejected these judges and demanded for other judges by giving a formal requisition to the
The 1st Military Court of Ankara sentenced 18 PLAT members to death. Hearing the decision the defendants shouted: "Long live Independent Turkey!"

But by order of the military judge, military guards carried them out of the court, holding their mouths closed to prevent them from shouting (above). After their decision, the military judges are breaking their pencils as a matter of tradition (left).
After Mahir Čayan and his four friends had successfully escaped from a military jail, other defendants congratulated each other in the court room (above). A young high-school student, Tılıay Özdemir, was brought to trial before the military court of Adana MLH because she had said “Revolution is more important than love” to one of her admirers (left).
Court. A new judicial assembly was formed by the other military judges, but they also rejected the requests of the defendants.

2 September, 1971: Denis Gezgin stated during his trial that they never killed anybody, and treated the four kidnapped US soldiers kindly. And he appealed to the court to listen to the four US soldiers when they kidnapped lately as witnesses. His application was rejected. The application of the lawyers demanding the court to inquire whether the US bases limit the independence of Turkey was also rejected.

5 September, 1971: The 1961 Constitution was changed through the pressure of the military junta at the National Assembly, with 357 votes for and only two against.

2 September, 1971: At the First Military Court of Ankara ME, the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for Denis Gezgin and his 17 friends accused of "trying to change the Constitution by force".

20 September, 1971: The alteration of the 1961 Constitution was passed by the Senate with 134 votes for, 61 against and one abstention under pressure of the military junta.

At the trial of Muhir Caygan and his friends, the lawyers wanted the army officers to be removed from the court room, saying: "Take these officers away! You are trying to suppress us by keeping them behind us." Their demands were rejected.

23 September, 1971: At the trial of Muhir Caygan and his friends, the lawyer Nebil Varary stated that they were still prevented from consulting with their clients. Thereupon the court decided to eject two lawyers from the court room, accusing them of violating the court's decision. When the judge declared that he would comply with this lawyer to the bar, Muhir Caygan shouted at him and the others: "You are not an objective judicial assembly! We are tried here not by you, but by the US imperialism!"

6 October, 1971: First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters started to try Cihan Altinkan and his friends under article 146 of the Constitution. In the first session, the defendants disclosed the tortures applied to them at the police headquarters.

6 October, 1971: At the trial of Cihan Altinkan and his friends, the defendant Osman Behlir said: "Why did I take up arms and organise in the mountains in my last semester as a 22 years old student at the Technical University? I resisted in the mountains, blowing up US basespquring up like mushroom everywhere in Turkey. At the beginning of the student movement we had no arms in our hands. Our legal rights were violated. Students who took part in legal demonstrations were beaten with police truncheons. They prevented and suppressed our attempts to legally spread our socialist thought. No room realized that we could do nothing except to take up arms, and we did."

9 October, 1971: Denis Gezgin and his 17 friends were sentenced to death. Before the trial started, the court room was surrounded by hundreds of military guards and by plainclothes police agents. Besides except three journalists, the correspondents of new agencies, lawyers of defendants and parents of certain defendants were, were allowed into the court room. At 9.05 a.m., Denis Gezgin and Yusuf Aksu were brought into the court room. When they learnt that they had been sentenced to death, they started to shout, "Long live Independent Turkey!" But the military guards carried them out of the court room holding their mouths shut to prevent them from shouting.
yin Tran and other defendants were also brought into the court room two or three at a time, and each pair tried to shout "Long Live the Independent Turkey," but the military guards also held their mouths shut and did not allow them to shout.

13 October, 1971: At the trial of Chih Al płě skin and his friends, defendant Osami Koyumi spoke as follows: "We do not speak to you here in order to affect the result. We already know your decision against us. In imperialism and the local collaborators forced us to take up arms and you can try us for fighting against them, but you cannot try us for violating the constitution."

At the same session, the judge decided to have Chih Al płě skin taken out from the court room, whereupon the lawyer Deniz Gölç withdrew from the session taking off his academic robe and throwing it in front of the court yard. The other lawyers followed Gölç out the hall.

14 October, 1971: The military prosecutor initiated legal proceedings against five lawyers who boycotted the session at Chih Al płě skin and his friends' trial. Urban area, one of these lawyers, was taken into custody. Five other lawyers again left the court room for protest.

15 October, 1971: The military prosecutor in Ankara began legal proceedings against the eleven lawyers who defended Deniz Gölç and his friends. They were accused of insulting the army and the government in their defenses.

16 October, 1971: Rahil Varay, the lawyer of Chih Al płě skin and his friends, was taken into custody. He is accused of insulting the military judges and the military prosecutor during the trial.

18 October, 1971: The lawyers, Deniz Gölç, Necdet Sagir and Talip Çetink, were also taken into custody. During the trial of 16 defendants, the lawyers Zyysu Baran and Ozer Kirca, left the court room in order to protest the legal proceedings taking place against the lawyers of the earlier cases.

19 October, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Güyan and his friends, the lawyer Yahya Muanerli İhtig demanded a recess due to the fact that the other lawyers in the case were taken into custody. When his demand was rejected, the lawyer İhtig demanded other judges, but this was also rejected.

22 October, 1971: During his trial at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MDA, Mahir Güyan stated to the court that he was still being kept in an isolation cell and prevented from consulting with his lawyers. The other defendants of the case also claimed that they lost their right to defend themselves due to the fact that their lawyers were taken into custody.

12 November, 1971: Mahir Güyan stated that he was still being kept in an isolation cell, that he was prevented from consulting with his lawyers, and for this reason he started a hunger strike eight days ago. (See page 50)

16 November, 1971: At the trial of Chih Al płě skin and his friends, the defendant Ali Aydin Cipi stated: "My composition was obtained at the Police Headquarters by applying 50 volts of electric current on my sexual organs. I lost my virility because of this torture. But now I am willing than those who caused me to lose my virility."

17 November, 1971: Mahir Güyan and his friends started to read their 200 pages defence. In the joint defence of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey, it is stated: "We, who are charged here of trying to change the Constitution by force, are the ones who have defended the 1921 Constitution against
those who have not put it into practice since 1965. The 1961 Constitution was violated by the ruling classes, who prevented it from being put into practice and classified it as "an illusion for Turkey." This is a historical paradox. The death sentences against us were already decided quite a long time ago. These trials are held in order to deceive world opinion."

25 November, 1971: During the trial, Mahir Çağan accused the military prosecutor, saying: "The military prosecutor is the paper, the representative of a big plotter, as is the creator," after the military prosecutor accused them of being thieves.

26 November, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Çağan and his friends, the defendants divulged that the judge Ahmet Atamaz was reading novels behind the bench when they were rendering their defence. Çağan also classified judge Ahmet Atamaz as a proponent and stated: "Ahmet Atamaz is the most reactionary and the most fascist of the martial law judges!"

29 November, 1971: All prisoners, including the ones sentenced to death, began passive resistance in order to protest ill-treatment in the military prison of Ankara. The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara officially announced that the prisoners had armed themselves by breaking and filling the iron legs of the tables and keeping up the bed-sheets behind the doors in order to prevent the guards from entering the cells. They boycotted the meals. Some of the attempted to pierce the ceiling of the prison.

30 November, 1971: In Istanbul, Mahir Çağan, Ulus Bardakçı, Sıyem Yılmaz, defendants of the TRKO Case, and Ufuk Algöz and Sinen Arıcan, defendants of the TRKO (Istanbul Section) Case, escaped from the military prison by digging a tunnel 15 meters long. The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul tried to conceal the fact of the escape from the public, because this would have revealed the criminal character of the military rule. But in spite of all attempts at concealment, Çağan's friends revealed the fact at the military court during their trial.

2 December, 1971: After the escape, four of the other defendants in the Mahir Çağan case—Kamil Bıçak, Kamil Deps, İlhami Kaplan, and Osman Bekşadı—put in isolation cells at Kızılçoruh (Military Police Headquarters). At the trial Kamil Bıçak said: "They did not even allow us to get our personal belongings. We have been kept under harsh conditions, and have been brought here executed. We have no strength to fight our defenses. The last 10 pages of our written defense have been lost." İlhami Kaplan declared that all the defendants began the "death fast" in order to protest the getting of their friends into isolation cells, and said: "Even the possibility of death would be too high, we prefer to fall in struggle instead of waiting to be cut off from our loved ones. Our five friends also foresaw this. They escaped because they wanted to fight for the independence of our country. As those of us who have remained under arrest, the military authorities have selected our four friends and began to inflict ill-treatment on them. Why were they taken to Kızılçoruh? Is there any court decision about this punishment? All of us began to resist, one by one, on Tuesday morning. We shall continue to fast until our friends are taken out of these isolation cells. Otherwise, they would put all of us into cells."

Mrs. Bıçak also added: "They sentenced 16 patriots to death and are also trying to sentence another 10 to death. If 80 patriots were sentenced to death, it would be impossible to execute all of them in today's Turkey. Thus, the trial is all too clear: To sentence to death as many patriots as possible, and then to save their lives by granting amnesty, so as on the one hand to
appear benvolent to the world, and on the other hand to effect the execution of the particular patriots originally marked out. None of us are in need of their forgiveness. If necessary, we have lost too few for the liberation struggle of our people. If we cannot die by fighting, it is glorious for us to be executed by being hung with the rope of oligarchy!"

3 December, 1971: At the trial of Ceyan's friends, the illegal behavior of the military judge provoked new disturbances. The defendants, who had been locked in isolation cells, could not complete their defense owing to the fact that the last pages of their joint written defense had been lost. In spite of this, the judge accepted their defense as completed and ordered them to say their last words. The defendants objected and said that as long as the defense was not completed, it was illegitimate to ask for the last words. But the judge reiterated his order. Thereupon, Ilkay Demir said: "Not only is he biased, but this judge is also deliberately trying to infuriate us. We have been on a hunger strike for four days, and cannot waste time on the personal grievances of Judge Ahmet dortar." Since the dispute between the judge and the defendants became severe, the court's president called on the officers and soldiers on guard to attack the defendants. Kemal Ded, Necati Demir and Ilkay Demir were kicked out of the court room.

6 December, 1971: During their trial, Ilkay Demir informed the court of the continuation of the defendant's death cart and said that the military authorities had begun severe ill-treatment against the prisoners, in addition to taking away their beds and blankets and letting them sleep on the cement floor without any protection. Kemal Ded, one of the defendants being kept in isolation cell, revealed that their health was getting worse in cells day by day and that the authorities would not give them any paper and pencil to write their defense. Defendant Necati Demir said: "We are not afraid of death. We split in the flames of death. But when they put the label of 'high treason' on our heads, we will show the people of Turkey that the struggle against imperialism..."

27 December, 1971: The Third Military Court of Istanbul MIA condemned Necati Demir, Kemal Ded, Ilkay Demir, Khalife Dezgi, and Byzan Hana to death, under Article 146. The death sentences of three female defendants were commuted to life term.

22 April, 1972: While the death sentences of Deniz Cevat, Yusuf Arslan, and Hussein Iski were being approved at the parliament, the First Military Court of Istanbul MIA contradicted these death sentences by rejecting to apply Article 146 of the TUE to the Istanbul Section of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey.

3 May, 1972: On the day the President of Republic signed the death sentences of the three young men, the First Military Court of Istanbul MIA contradicted these death sentences again by rejecting to apply Article 146 to the defendants of the Young Royal Officers' Coup.

6 May, 1972: In spite of the contradiction in the verdicts of the military courts on Article 146 of the TUE, Deniz Cevat, Yusuf Arslan and Hussein Iski were executed in Ankara.

16 June, 1972: The general assembly of the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentence on Elyan Yilmaz.
At the military courts, all defence objections that the legal procedure has been operated incorrectly have been rejected by the military judges and if the defence insisted on the objections, armed officers and guards have forcibly removed the lawyers and the defendants from the court room (above). In addition to this, many lawyers have been arrested by the military courts and sentenced to imprisonment on the charge of having insulted the military judges and the military prosecutors (right).
The young defendants sentenced to death: Ziya Yilmaz (above), Necmi Demir and Kamil Dede (right).

The Military Court which sentenced three other defendants to death.

Fascist-minded Military Judge Akdemir Akmut breaking his pencil.
OBLIGATIONS RAISED TO THE DEATH SENTENCES

After the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters con-
demned Deriz Semici, Yusuf Anil, Nihat Iraz and their 15 friends to death, the defendants' lawyers, Halit Çelebi, Niyazi Aktaş, Kemal Savas, Orhan İzet Kıp, Zeki Oruç Eral,uden Timurkuşak, Nihat Erkoçak, Recep Ergün, Hasik Akcilar, Enver Gümüş and Kemal İpek, appealed to the Military Court of Cassation (Section 2, File No. 4, 1974/457) to set aside the verdicts dated October 10, 1974 (No. 1974/13 and 23).

The following is a short summary of the 275 page text presented to the Military Court of Cassation by the 16 defense attorneys:

"In this historic trial, the Military Court of Martial Law paid no at-
tention to the defence's plea. Our case was submitted in 800 page long state-
ments prepared by us and our clients in which we analyzed the prevailing socio-
economic conditions which gave meaning to the deeds committed by our clients. We then sought to ascertain whether these deeds could in fact be considered 'crimes' under Articles 461 of the Penal Code. We requested that the Con-
stitutional Court rule on the constitutionality of the martial law itself and the extraordinary courts it instituted, but the court refused to go into this question. Nor would it give any weight to our arguments based on the country's socio-economic conditions. The court took no account of our right-
ful requests.

The Unconstitutionality of the Proceedings:

"Law No. 357, authorizing the designation of military judges and mili-
tary prosecutors, unconstitutional by virtue of articles 16 and 1/2 con-
tained therein. Indeed, in direct contradiction to articles 17, 130 and 138 of the Constitution which stipulate that courts and judges must be independ-
ent and sovereign, these articles provide that the military judges and mili-
tary prosecutors shall be designated by the Ministry of National Defense, that is, by the Government itself. Yet jurisprudence as well as previous
decisions of the Constitutional Court require, as does the constitution, that the courts remain free from any and all interference on the part of the exec-
utive power. In accordance with the historic decision of the Constitutional
Court in 1968 (44, 10 4, 965, 10787), even public prosecutors, are no longer
designated by the Ministry of Justice. Numerous precedents thus prove that the Constitutional Court would hold the designation of military judges by
the army chiefs of staff and by the Ministry of National Defence to be un-
constitutional.

"It is a mockery of the very principle of the 'rightful judge (normal
presiding judge)' and the 'independence of the courts'. Under these circum-
cumstances, several serious irregularities are evident which are bound to
independence of the courts. Furthermore, these omissions are unconstitu-
tional, none of the usual legal guarantees can be invoked.

"The creation of the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Head-
quarters runs counter to the principle of the "rightful judge", as defined
in Article 132 of the Constitution. For here we are clearly faced with a
'poor selection' case. Rightful proceedings are distinguished from exception-
al proceedings by the criterion of whether or not the nature of the court and
the competent judge were legally defined before the offence was committed. Now,
the actions charged against our clients were committed long before the courts
that are trying them were created. Martial law was proclaimed on April 26, 1971 and the judge were named on April 26, 1971. But our clients committed their 'crimes' prior to martial law. Their rightful judges therefore cannot be the military courts of martial law. For this purpose, articles 16 and 44 of Law 257 would directly conflict with articles 7, 8, 28, 130 and 131 of the Constitution.

"But the court took no heed of this argument. We insist that this law presents a serious question of unconstitutionality, and it is primarily on this point that we have our request to annul the verdict and order a new trial.

"The military prosecutor maintains that the constitution itself legitimizes resort to military tribunals. But such courts must conform to the principles of the 'rightful judge' and the 'independence of the courts', and there must be guarantees concerning the judges.

Article 16/1 of the Penal Code and the Actions of the Assailants:

"It is fundamental to the modern view of criminology that offenses and penalties must be clearly defined by law. In this way arbitrariness can be guarded against and complete justice assured. This, by the way, has become a basic principle underlying all constitutions.

"Offences must be defined by law together with their component parts. If such part is missing, the court must take this into consideration. In the case of these defendants, this has not been done. In articles 6-62 of our Penal Code provision is made for 'attempt'. Attempts and unsuccessful attempts. To which the court added the author's 'attitude to the punished act'. It is not in conformity with the principles of our penal code to assign Article 16/1 a separate status for being concerned with crimes against the 'established order'. Actions providing the offence are not to be included as component parts of the offence defined in Article 16/1. For those other actions are dealt with in articles 169-172 of the same penal code. Italian authors agree with us here. 'Action committed with special objectives in mind' is not enough to warrant talking of 'attempts'. Action in preparation of the offence are punished only in accordance with articles 169-172 of the CPC.

Attempts and Their Component Parts:

"Article 166 speaks of premeditated action, but it is violence which is the determining characteristic.

"In order to qualify as an offence, an action must clearly be defined by law. That is the tangible element of the offence. Article 166, however, does not clearly state what this action consists of, and hence even attempts can be considered as taxable elements of the offence. These actions must be appropriate to achieve results considered to be offences and punishable as such. For the actions which are punishable under Article 166 are acts actually carried out. If the action is not suitable and does not achieve the intended result, then the offence has not taken place, even if the action itself is extremely dangerous. There must be a causal link between the act committed and the intended result. The best criterion in this matter is whether or not a suitable means has been employed. This implies that actions incapable of achieving the intended results cannot be considered as the carrying out of those results.
"Now, Article 16 speaks of intended results: 'to completely or partially alter the Constitution, to abolish it; to prevent parliament from discharging its functions'. It is not enough to have engaged in acts with these objectives in mind; the means employed must also have been appropriate to their realization.

The Components of an Attempt:

"The Turkish Penal Code lists four requirements that have to be fulfilled before an action can be considered an attempt:

"1) Actual promulgation (abort)
"2) The use of a suitable means
"3) Execution of the attempt actually begun.
"4) If the objectives was not achieved, this was due to factors independent of the will of the author.

"Let us discuss our client's case in the light of those requirements.

"The court said: 'We have considered all the actions committed as parts of a whole and have thus defined the moral aspect of the offence. If those actions were considered separately, one would be dealing with ordinary crimes, but that would simply ignoring the ideological objective which is the basis for all these acts. And it is precisely this action in common which is the ultimate objective of the author.'

"Here we find expressed the nature of the offence: A political offence. However, our penal code deals with this political offence in a manner of cases. Hence other criteria have to be used, such as 'suitable means' and 'conception actually begun'.

"Was there promulgation behind those actions? And what the accused's objectives? According to the Court, their goal was to violate and abolish the Constitution.

"The court gave the trial an ideological coloring. But the articles it referred to were not even written by the accused. Some of the articles which were used as proof against them were written long after January 15, 1971, the date when the actions was carried out. Besides, their actions had nothing to do with marxism-leninism. Here is what they themselves say:

"'We worked for an independent and democratic Turkey, but we were brutally beaten... We wanted the Constitution put fully into practice, but we were murdered... We were arrested, incarcerated, tortured... We were attacked by the armed bands of those in power, so we had to arm ourselves in self-defense. Our purpose is not to violate the Constitution; on the contrary, we want the Constitution truly respected... Our aim is to carry out the reforms provided for in this Constitution, above all the land reforms. Our aim is to restore our country's independence...'

"'Why then does the military prosecutor speak of marxist-leninist ideology? Nothing the defendants sought was unconstitutional. Besides, the court ascribes to the defendants ideas they do not acknowledge as their own. They want to abolish private property, the capitalist class, the right to strike, individual freedom and the parliamentary system.' No proof is offered to show that in a way they actually wanted. But analogy is not considered a valid argument under penal law. Article 1 of the Penal Code clearly states that no one can be punished except for a specified offence clearly committed."
On the other hand, the accused have always defended the constitution against those in power. The last thing they would want is to abolish the basic principles of the constitution which they defend. During the trial, many defendants have shouted 'Long live the constitution!' Listen to Deniz Gemici: "It is said that we tried to abolish the constitution... On the contrary, we are the ones who have been its best defenders from the very beginning. Those who have violated it are on the other side. We are the ones who want it put fully into practice. And they are asking for our lives. They are using to letting the weight of 14 million people be born to us young men. As for us, we have desired only Turkey's independence and we are ready to lay down our lives for it. We are accustomed to Turkey's people... If the memorandum of March 12th had not been successful, those responsible for it would not be in the dock instead of us. For the memorandum of March 12th openly accused parliament of not having put the constitution into practice.'

"Indeed, as stated in the memorandum of March 12th, the constitution has constantly been violated by those in power, both by parliament and by the government.

"The defendants have actively supported land reforms. Land reform implies distributing land to the peasants, land which will be their private property. How can they be accused of wanting to abolish private property? Men is responsible for his actions. The accused, also, are responsible for theirs. Their actions are well known... An objective is not the same thing as premeditation. But the court asserts, in support of its sentence, that the accused wanted to institute a socialist order. And even if that were true, is that a reason for sentencing them? Is it in accordance with law to condemn a man for his long-term goals? Can a man be tried for his beliefs concerning a far-off future?"

"Let us look at this aspect of the case compared to the Council of Europe's Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, signed at Rome in 1950 and adopted as a law by Turkey on March 19, 1954.

"Article 2: Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

"Article 3: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

"Article 18: The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

"According to the Court, in order to prove the 'premeditated' component of these offences one has only to study the theory concerning national democratic revolutions to see that the accused are indeed marxist-activists. 'Our courts', says the text, 'has examined the actions as a whole and has thereby discovered the moral aspect of the offences. If we had examined the actions one by one, we would have lost the thread of the ideological objective which ties all these actions together. Their political opinions prove their guilt.' This is contrary to the provisions of our Constitution and to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The court has acted contrary to law. We demand that the verdict be annulled."
"Appropriate Means"

A real attempt that action was undertaken by appropriate means. Only on that condition can one talk of incident execution. According to the court, this incident execution took place on December 29, 1970 when Doris Gerson, Yossi Merom, Haim Gin.Timer and Ilan Tuvia fired at a police station in front of JS Embassy at Ankara. Four policemen were used in this action, and it is inconceivable that the achieved offence should begin by these means, which are incapable of bringing about the intended results of that action. The direct alludes to the armed superiority of the accused once when compared to the army! But in reality they were found to have only 6 revolvers, 6 stings, 1 Thompson, 10 guns, 11 grenades, 1 grenade-dose and certain amount of dynamite and caspules. With these arms it is not possible to abolish the Turkish Republic's Constitution nor to keep its rightful institutions from functioning!

"In order to judge whether a means is appropriate you have to bear in mind the intended goal and the means employed to attain it. In the given case, it is impossible to believe that with only 6 revolvers the State could be destroyed. For a hold up, or for killing someone, there we would agree that these arms could serve their purpose, but not for overthrowsing the government! Under such circumstances the offence defined in by Article 186 could not possibly have been committed! And these defendants must not be punished for an action they could not have committed, for no one may be punished for an unrealistic act.

Execution of the Offence Must Have Begun:

"To shoot at a police station is not necessarily the first step in the execution of the offence of overthrowing the government or abolishing the constitution. Besides, even if it were so, it would hold only for three of the defendants, since they are the only ones who did the shooting! All those actions which, when carried out, constitute offences, are considered to be 'acts of execution'. All others are held to be preparatory and may not be punished; even when they have been accomplished the offences of overthrowing the government and abolishing the constitution will not have been committed. Moreover, it is unnecessary to clearly prove premeditation on the part of each of the defendants, and the actions of each of the defendants must be placed in the framework of the execution of a coherent action intended to reach the goal pursued by the author. The defendant must be so close to the goal that he is at a point of no return. Our clients, however, were far removed from such a point. The intent to commit this crime can be attributed to them by analogy only, a method excluded under penal law. Our clients should normally be judged according to Articles 168-172 of the penal code and not Article 186.

"Article 168-172 punish actions taken in preparation of a crime, such as the formation of a guerrilla army, incitement to crime, etc. Actions of that kind are the component parts of a unique plan having a specific objective which is considered a punishable crime. Whatever the stage in their development, these actions are punished. The law punishes unlawful desires, but not desires in and of themselves. This desire must have been violently expressed in the formation of a guerrilla army in order to be punishable.

"On the other hand, there must also be present many authors of the actions having a common purpose (how many, the kind of arms, a common goal... p. 225). The guerrilla is the work of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey.
and thus only members of that organization, and no others, are punishable under Article 166. According to the court, the incipient execution of the offense took place at the time when the defendants shot at the police station. For the reasons we have already indicated, the material components of the offense which would warrant the defendants being punished are not present:

"a) The execution of the offense was not begun.

"b) Even according to Article 166, each defendant has the right to know when and where the execution of the offense began.

"c) Appropriate means were not used for committing the stated offense."

ARTICLES ORIGINATING IN THE FASCIST PENAL CODE OF MUSсолINI

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentence for three defendants, Demis Germis, Pasal Adaia and Ialayin Onn, who were convicted on May 6, 1972. To date, 21 defendants have been condemned to death under Article 166 of the PPC, and the military prosecutors are now demanding the same penalty for hundreds of other defendants.

The military prosecutors and judges have also used Articles 141 and 142 of the PPC as well as Article 146.

These articles, directly inspired by the fascist Penal Code of Mussolini of thirty years ago, have always been used against socialists intellectuals, workers' leaders, even liberals.

The following extracts are a clear indication of the extent to which Articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code and Articles 270 and 272 of Mussolini's Penal Code are similar:

Article 270 of Mussolini's Penal Code:

"Whoever attempts to create associations, establish, organize or direct them with the aim of imposing by force, the dictatorship of one social class over others or of maintaining a class is liable to a penalty of 5 to 12 years imprisonment."

Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code:

"All those who create, direct or inspire associations or commit activities with the aim of imposing by force the dictatorship of a social class over another or of instigating a social class to commit acts or maintain a social class which aim at overthrowing or undermining or more fundamental economic or social institutions existing in the country, or at destroy-
In addition to stiffening the penalties incurred, the Turkish Penal Code has also eliminated the clause "by force" present in the Italian articles so as to be able to apply the fascist articles to peaceful class struggle as well.

As can be clearly seen in the trials held in the military courts, these fascist articles can be applied to anyone who writes a personal letter to his friends or who makes "propaganda of much more importance than force" or who translates a book on socialism or publishes socio-economic research works. Under these articles, the award for undertaking scientific research on the socio-economic structure of Turkey or for translating Marxist classics into Turkish is fifteen years imprisonment.

In addition to these articles, hundreds of people have been brought before the military courts on the basis of three other articles of the Code.

1. Under Article 159, all those who insult the moral personality of the government, the armed forces or the security forces, are liable to up to 6 years imprisonment.

2. Under Article 155, all those who insult the president of the Republic are liable to up to 5 years imprisonment.

3. Under Article 312, all those who incite one class against other classes are liable to 2 years imprisonment.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE MILITARY PROSECUTORS AND SMUGGLES

The military prosecutors, who make ample use of such fascist slogans as "defeating the existence of different classes and the class struggle", "defeating the existence of different ethnic groups in Turkey", not only bring fascist militants in as their main witnesses at the military courts, but also smugglers.

For example, during the trial of young naval officers held at the First Military Court of Istanbul, Millet, the military prosecutor Lt.-Colonel Belkisjin first produced a well-known smuggler, Osman Nuri Celebi, as a witness to support the charges brought against these young officers and soldiers. The witness claimed, before the Court, that he had been robbed by none of the defendants. This slanderous attack was refuted by the defendants, and the contradictions in Celebi's statements and his false testimony were proved. As a result, the smuggler was forced to flee Turkey. Since their plot turned into a fiasco, the military prosecutors and police chiefs, in a state of panic, assisted his escape.

The most significant document on collaboration between the military prosecutors and smugglers was handed over to the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul by the wife of a smuggler on February 1, 1972. This document is on file at the Judicial Advisory Office of the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul under the code number 975/6520.
In the Judicial Advisory Office
Martal Law Headquarters
Sahliye-Istanbul

The case involving the robbery of Osman Huri Gelenk, a salaman in Tekin, is being tried in one of your courts.

Osman Huri Gelenk is my husband; it is therefore only natural that I am legally in contact with him.

He told me that he would go abroad. In the meantime, police officer Azer Karakchie informed me that my husband was accused of smuggling and was therefore not authorized to leave Turkey.

In September 1977, I officially informed the Istanbul Police Headquarters and the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters of his plan to flee from Turkey, in order to protect my own legal rights and to aid in carrying out justice.

He had sold some of his real estate for cash which he transferred abroad. It can be seen from the attached photocopies or certain letters that he travels abroad very often.

He told me that the following persons are supposed to be his men and that he could overcome any difficulties existing in the world with their help. I believed what he said since he often travels abroad quite easily. Like his other two Iranian smuggler friends, he also carries three different passports: Turkish, Iranian and Afghan.

He also told me that:

"Custom officers Ali Karata and Mursue Cevolgut, provided him and his gang with facilities at the border regularly."

"Mr. Ilves and Mr. Nadil are his smuggling accomplices. They would distribute the contraband inside the country in Mr. Ilve's car: license plate number 43-FK 463."

"Police chiefs, Ismail Demirag and Ali Ihtiyar, the two Turkish Police Headquarters, and also his collaborators, Military Prosecutor Mustafa Kolak of Gelenk and Colonel Bedri (whose nickname is Bobula) his protectors."

"Additional detailed information can be obtained from Asmat Engr, the police officer charge of the Financial Affairs Department at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, who is heading the investigation."

"Mustafa Kiyici, who has taken over control of his business, is my husband's nephew and assistant. He is also preparing to flee abroad. Sufficient information can be obtained from him."

"His collaborators threaten me anonymously by telephone and letter. The attached letters are proof of the threats. Therefore, I request that my life be protected, and that a court decision prevent the sale of the remaining real estate."

Signed: Hurrem Gelenk

P.S. Mr. Sadullah, the Public Prosecutor of Edirne and Mr. Sain, the Chief of the Financial Affairs Department of the Istanbul Police Headquar-
cers are also supposed to be his collaborators. I am informing you about the abovementioned persons, just as he explained all this to me earlier.

Address: Nessam Gelenc
Levent, Misbatya Caddesi
Duru Apt. No. 16/1, B/10 -Istanbul

The proposed present addresses of O. Nessam Gelenc: 1) Hussein, Madjarim, Theres-Ince
2) Export-Import
6 München 15
O7 Schnellstrasse-Germany
Tel: München 591758

COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE MILITARY JUDGES

The military judges, in trying cases coming before the military courts of martial law, do not take into account the requirements of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Law number 353 stipulates that a defendant may request consultation with his lawyer at every stage of the investigation. However, the defendants tried at the military courts have been consistently deprived of this right.

Mabir Cayan's lawyer, Fatih Muzaffer Ameq, requested a consultation with his client on the basis of Law No. 353 at the August 23, 1971 session of the Third Military Court of the Istanbul MHL (see page 49). The judicial assembly stated, however, that the court had no authority with respect to administrative and executive matters of those arrested or concerns their detention, personal problems and consultations, etc.

The defendants then filed a complaint with the Ministry of National Defence stating that the military court, despite their insistent demands, had not informed the responsible authorities of the use of torture and military confinement.

The members of the court against whom the formal complaint was lodged are: Infantry Colonel Veci Kütükgül, the president of the court; Lt. Colonel Atik Mir Akunt, judge; Major Coskun Dümäler, judge; Major Neci Ögr and Captain Ulden Böuer, the military prosecutors.

The lawyers also informed the court of the complaint and requested that the latter desist. The judicial assembly, however, rejected their request on the following basis:

"A judge cannot accept to desist because of abstract claims presented by the defendants. In so doing, a precednet would be setted for all defendants and lawyers who wish to change the court officials when it would be unpleasant for them."

The defendants and their lawyers then rejected the judges and demanded other judges in a formal request presented to the Court. In his reply to this request, Captain Ulden Böuer, the military prosecutor, claimed that Fatih Muzaffer Ameq, Mabir Cayan's lawyer, was in contempt of court and he should therefore be subjected to disciplinary action.

The Court decided to forward the defendants' claim to another judicial assembly. The new judicial assembly was formed by Artillery Colonel Targut
In the August 27, 1971 session, the defendants and their lawyers made the following statement to the court:

"1. They (the rejected judicial assembly) were interested in questions of torture.

"2. They reaffirmed their decision concerning torture: 'It is impossible to believe that the defendants were tortured in order to obtain the truth or whether they were forced to accept crimes that they never committed.' This means that torture, if used in order to obtain the truth, is lawful.

"3. The former assembly committed a violation of the law in rejecting the request to inform the concerned authorities of the use of torture. Furthermore, that assembly was aware of the torture, because the members had personally seen in what condition Irwin Upan, Julinda Zaim, were as a result of torture. The defendants were totally immobilized and were unable to go to court as a result of the torture inflicted. The military judges were therefore obliged to go to their cell to take them under arrest.

"4. There are various complaints about the judicial assembly:

"5. The defendants have complained to the Ministry of National Defence concerning the military judges. The assembly, however, objected to this complaint and stated: 'If it is accepted, a president will be created for all defendants who wish to change the court officials in order to delay a trial. What is the use of delaying a trial in a military court? It might come to mind that if a trial is delayed, it would then be possible to transfer the case to a civil court at the end of the period of martial law. However, according to the new law, even after the cessation of martial law, these defendants will be tried by the military courts. In that case, what is the use of delaying a trial? Perhaps the assembly has prejudged the case and are certain that these defendants will be sentenced to death. A defendant under arrest might wish to delay a trial so as to postpone the execution. Therefore, if a judge accuses a defendant of trying to delay a trial, this means that he has prejudged the case.

"6. The minutes of the trials are incorrect:

"7. The judge has not prevented the discussion of certain statements made by the defendants and of events which have occurred in the court room. Mahir Gyan was therefore obliged to present his statement to the court in writing and to force the judge to include it in his file on the case.

"8. The events which occurred on the August 25, 1971 session:

"At the August 27, 1971 session, as the judge directed the rejection of the claim concerning torture, the defendants sat on the chairs in silence of protest. To ensure discipline during a trial is the duty of the presiding magistrate. Since, however, Colonel Vociq Mettingla did not intervene, it was my duty. As I was the judge, I ordered the officers in charge to force the defendants to stand up, thereby surpassing the limits of his authority.

"9. Putting Gyan in chains:

"The judicial assembly to which objection is taken has given no consideration to protests made when Mahir Gyan was chained and has rejected demands to stop the use of torture.

After reading the official statement, the military prosecutor
stated that since the beginning of the trials the defendants and their lawyers have tried to delay the judgment and to raise suspicions as to the court so as to conceal their crimes.

The provisional judicial assembly rejected unanimously all of the demands and fined the defendants 25,000 each for allegedly attempting to delay the judgment and raising suspicions concerning the court by demanding other judges.

After the rejection of these demands, the judicial assembly, Colonel Mürşidoglu, Col. Ahmet and Major Gökhan Döşer, were at their posts again at the August 27, 1971 session.

At the same session, the judicial assembly made the following decision:

"Lazaro Falk Maraffi Amas, Nicos Gyfr, Selçuk Çatıbey and Ayhut Er-gil have consistently attempted to obstruct the trials, to obstruct the court from its legal procedure. It has, therefore, been decided to lodge a complaint with respect to these lawyers at the Istanbul Bar, the Bar Association of Turkey and to the Ministry of Justice so that legal action can be brought against them." (Court Minutes, p. 41)

AN ANXIOUS JUDGE

The same judicial assembly condemned two defendants, Necati Bimir and Kemal Bade, to death on December 27, 1971 and another defendant, Yiya Yilmaz, on March 15, 1972.

Falk Maraffi Amas, the lawyer of the condemned men, introduced an appeal to the Military Court of Cassation on May 15, 1972 and demanded the annulment of the verdict for the following reasons:

1. The title given to the court is unconstitutional and illegal. The law courts can only exercise "their rights to judge defendants" in the name of the Turkish Nation and not on behalf of a headquarters. In naming the court the Third Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters (İstanbul Silahsiz Emniyetle Ilgili Çözümü) proof is given that this court comes under the jurisdiction of the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul. This title of the court is also a violation of Article 11 of Law No. 1105.

2. The designation of military judges and military prosecutors is unconstitutional. In accordance with Article 136 of the Constitution, the courts and judges are independent and sovereign. The judges and prosecutors of the Third Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters were, however, designated by the Ministry of National Defence.

3. Trials are not held in open court. Only those who were able obtain special permission from the headquarters could attend the trials. In addition, the press was not authorised to publish all details of the trials.

4. The minutes of the trials do not present the full record. The judge prevented the dictation of certain statements made by the defendants and of events which occurred in the court room.

5. The court did not examine the cases of torture and consistently rejected requests to inform the authorities concerned of torture being practised.
5. The court restricted the defendants' right to defend themselves by not permitting them to put questions to witnesses, by banning their lawyers from the court room and in not providing access to their documents.

7. The judges displayed their hostility towards the defendants and their lawyers throughout the entire trial period.

One of the most important reasons, however, for the request to adjourn the verdict concerned the mental health of Aksener Abad, the judge who handled the trials.

According to the documents presented to the Military Court of Cassation by lawyer Mustafa Aksener, Judge Lt. Col. Aksener Abad is subject to extreme anxiety.

In 1964, when a student at Hiperbatik High School, he first displayed his reaction to progressive opinions in announcing his teacher became the latter and spoke in class on moral courage and advanced democracy.

After having acquainted three young people to death, he began to have illusions that anyone seeing a rope would automatically be kidnapped. He even went so far as to commit his 17-year-old son to psychiatric hospital because he had drawn a picture of a rope. His son was committed at the Cidda Psychiatric Clinic of Istanbul University, on March 11, 1972 as case number 772/158.

In the questionnaire concerning his son's "illness" Lt. Colonel Aksener stated the following:

"- Was he attempted to harm anyone? No?
- I was that he had prepared a piece of rope and some bread in order to tie up or kidnap someone and that he had drawn a meaningless plan on a piece of paper."

abolishing the right of defence

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved, on the one hand, one of the death sentences on June 16, 1972, and, on the other hand the same judges. Including Lt. Col. Aksener Abad, were extracted, on July 31, 1972, with the task of trying another group of defendants in the Duv-Bey (Internal Security) Case, under Article 41.

In addition to the arbitrary attitudes of these military judges, from that time on, trials have been held in accordance with the amended Military Code of Criminal Procedure.

In line with the amended Constitution, the Military Code of Criminal Procedure was also modified by parliament, new law coming into force on June 26, 1972.

The amendments of 23 articles of the code have completely suppressed the right of defense at the military court of martial law, as follows:

a) The military prosecutor and military judges may come under the authority of the local military commander. These military commanders are authorized to intervene in the investigation at any time.

b) The defendants, even if civilians, are considered military personnel by the military court of martial law and will be tried under the Military Code of Criminal Procedure.
a) Defendants are deprived of the right to reject a military judge and to demand other judges, even if the military judge displays partiality.

b) It is no longer possible to inform public opinion of the partiality of a military judge, since the latter is authorized to impose censorship on any news in the case.

c) If a defendant or his lawyer object to an objection, the military court may dismiss either or both from the court room and even put them under arrest. In this case, the trial may be held without the presence of the defendant and/or his lawyer, and judgment can be made by default.

d) If there is only one witness in any given case, the military court is not obliged to have him in the court room. The military judges are authorized to accept written statements of "witnesses", obtained and put on file, during the preliminary investigation. This is to say, the military judge can take a decision on the basis of a false statement. The defendants do not have the right to verify the authenticity of the statements or even if the witness actually exists. According to this amendment, the military prosecutors and military judges can send someone to prison without concrete evidence.

e) The military court is authorized to restrict the time allotted to the defence as they wish.

Under these conditions, a lawyer has no real function to perform in a military court.

Taking these amendments into consideration, Lawyer Felix Mannfer Anag wrote to clients being tried in the military court of martial law on July 24, 1972, explaining the amendments and their unavoidable consequences. In conclusion, Mr. Anag stated:

"As far as it has become impossible to defend anyone in a military court of martial law, I am obliged to inform you, with regret that I can no longer attend the trial. I therefore, suggest that you appeal to the Bar for the appointment of another counsel."

Five days after this letter was written, on July 29, 1972, the Military Court of the Istanbul HAF arrested Felix Mannfer Anag. The military prosecutor accused him of "insulting the military judges and prosecutors" by publishing a book entitled "The Case before the Military Court of Cassation" and indicted him under articles 386 and 387 of the TPC. The book contains nothing other than Mr. Anag's appeal to the Military Court of Cassation.

FIGURES ON TRIALS

The cases mentioned in this chapter are those which have been disclosed by the military authorities or appeared in the daily newspapers. However, other than for the mass trials, the military authorities do not provide any information on the cases of individuals. Since the beginning of 1972, the press has been forbidden from publishing any details even on the mass trials. The cases being tried by the military courts of Diyarbakir, Adana, Izmir, Kayseri, and the south-eastern military law headquarters have been completely silenced.

On March 20, 1972, the Press Administration issued statistics on the trials at the military courts of martial law. According to these statistics, the military courts have condemned 50 defendants in Ankara, 73 in Istanbul, 41 in Izmir, 51 in Kayseri, 50 in Adana and 62 in Diyarbakir. At the time,
ELIZABETH MASSACRE: Young
members of the Popular Libera-
tion Army of Turkey were killed
when they were fishing in a lake
in the mountains. Although they
had sur-
gived the mass murder at the
Cemmel (left), Alparslan Ozogan
(right) and Kadir Menga.
WAR HUNTS AND MASS ARRESTS

Since the inception of martial law, thousands of intellectuals, university professors, teachers, workers, peasants and student leaders from all corners of Turkey have been taken into custody and detained in military camps in the provinces of Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Eskişehir, Adana, Kocaeli, Hatay, Zonguldak, Sakarya, Diyarbakır and Siirt.

A network of informers has been created by the military rulers who promise a 6,000 dollar award for each “suspect.” All the media, the state-owned radio, even the loudspeakers of the mosques are used by the military authorities to invite citizens to denounce “suspects.” The martial law headquarters even force the parents of “suspects” to give them their addresses and to cooperate with police authorities. Many aged mothers and fathers have also been taken into custody because of their objections to such immoral pressure. Doorkeepers, drivers and shopkeepers are forced to become informers and police agents.

In the course of this brutal man hunt, the military authorities have used barbarous methods and provoked many “suspects” into clashes with well-trained firing squads. As a result of this type of plot, more than thirty persons have been murdered by “security” forces and leftist bands or forced to commit suicide.

It is a known fact, however, that the man hunt did not begin with the 1971 regime, but rather in 1965, the year the Justice Party came to power. As was mentioned previously, during the time of its reign, the Justice Party cracked down on the democratic movements, changed the constitution and abolished all fundamental rights and freedoms. The more the AF ignored constitutional rights, the more the resistance of the masses was strengthened. Unable to suppress the resistance movements defending their constitutional rights, the AF began recruiting police forces and military commando groups, and tolerated the formation of leftist guerilla groups for the purpose of subverting the resistance. Prime Minister Denizel went so far as to announce in his official speeches that he would arm 200,000 Justice Party militants.

In time, the high-ranking commanders also made clear their intention to crack down on the leftist forces and supported the man hunt projects of the Demirel government. In fact, the first victims of the man hunts carried out under the Justice Party’s regime were two workers, Kemal Çeter and Sultansıye, who were shot to death in 1965 by military troops who assaulted striking coal miners in Zonguldak. Meanwhile, AF militants started raiding the meetings of the Turkish Labour Party and other left-wing organizations; they even attempted to murder TIP leaders in Kocaeli and Bursa prior to the general elections of 1965.

In 1966, General Cemal Türel, Chief of General Staff, began issuing orders to military units to undergo anti-communist indoctrination and even published a book entitled “Handbook for Anti-Communist Action” which accused all leftist organizations and publications of being “enemies of the State.” General Türel was so splendid that his men kidnapped a journalist, İlhan Soy- sal, because he had criticized his anti-left attitude, and beat him badly.

As soon as it was clear that constitutional guarantees would not be respected by the AF, the police also began using their traditional, primitive
In the first year of the AIP's power, the police forced:

a) arrested a group of young people for "propagandizing for communism" by playing their guitars under a red lamp, in Ankara;

b) arrested a group of jazz musicians for "propagandizing for communism" by wearing red jackets during performances in Ankara.
c) arrested well-known writers such as Yaşar Kemal, Can Dündar and folk singer Saat İlaht, for "propagandising for communism" in speeches given at the 3rd Fiat Day;

d) arrested the famous novelist Orhan Kemal and his friends for "propagandising for communism" while chatting in a restaurant;

e) arrested a peace activist for "propagandising for communism" by comparing Lenin and Atatürk in his homework.

During the next five years of the AKP regime, the police, the military forces and the rightist fraternities greatly increased their attacks on the left and murdered more than forty persons one after another.

As will be seen in the following list, the main targets of these hunts were carried out by the military, the police and rightist fraternities under different guises: "government hunt", "student hunt", "guerrilla hunt", etc.

The main targets of these hunts have always been:

c) TİP (Turkish Labour Party) members,

b) Progressive trade union leaders and workers, (repression among trade unionists is not dealt with in this chapter, will be explained in a later chapter)

c) Leaders of the Peasants,

d) Progressive teachers and TİS (Teachers' Union of Turkey) members, (repression among teachers is not dealt with in this chapter, but will be explained in a later chapter)

e) Progressive and socialist writers, journalists and editors, artists, folk singers, (will be explained in a later chapter)

f) Student leaders, (From the very beginnings of AKP power, the latter attempted to defend constitutional rights and freedoms and the independence of Turkey. For example, three young men who were executed, Đaniz Daman, Yusuf Acar, Elifçin Anan, and others who were murdered, such as Sinan Camöl, Cihan Alptekin, Aparman Oğuzan, İbrahim Etay, first used democratic means, but as a result of increasing repression and the man hunts, they were finally forced to take up arms in 1971.)

g) Kurdish people, (will be explained in a later chapter).

In order to understand the gravity of the man hunt carried out during the period of AKP was in power, the following chronological list can be helpful:

March 1967:
- General General Cemal, Chief of the General Staff, issued an order of the day to all military units and ordered that anyone propagandising for communism be denounced.
- The Ministry of Justice prepared a bill aimed at abolishing all fundamental rights and freedoms.
- The Federation of Labourers issued a pamphlet for the purpose of inciting army officers to move against socialists.

April 1967:
- General General Cemal began sending his congratulations to the "associations to combat communism" formed by extreme rightist circles.
- Rightist groups raided the TİP's meeting in Adapazari.
- Rightist groups raided a conference in İzmir attended by two socialist writers, Gehin Aliyan and Sezhed Baburman.
June 1967:
- The Cultural Club of the Economics Department at Ataturk University in Istanbul was raided and closed by the police.

July 1967:
- The police forces raided both the Socialist Cultural Club of the Middle East Technical University (MITEU) and the houses of the club's members, confiscating the books and documents found there.
- In Izmir, students distributing mimeographed press releases protesting against the pressures put on the TIP were attacked by the police and AP militants. Engineer Muhmet Yildiz was wounded in the head during the attack.

August 1967:
- Yahya Gencer, a driver who had placed a sticker with the word "pro-Kemalist" on his minibus, was attacked by militants of the "Association to Combat Communism." He was then indicted for "propagandizing for communism" on the basis of the aforementioned sticker.

October 1967:
- Students, who placed a black wreath at Istmir fort in protest of the visit of the US Sixth Fleet, were beaten by police with truncheons.

November 1967:
- Agis Isalaid, folk singer, Deniz Ozenoglu, and Ugur Buse, students, were arrested for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet.

December 1967:
- Rightist commandos raided the Economics Department of Istanbul University and wounded Sezi Atas, the president of the Students Association.
- In Gumusve County of Adana Province, rightist commandos raided and destroyed the TIP center.

January 1968:
- "The Folk Singers' Festival," organized by the Students Association of the Istanbul Economics Department, was attacked by rightist commandos; bombs were placed in the festival hall.

February 1968:
- The President of the AP's Youth Section stated that a nationwide communist hunt would soon be launched.
- A photographic exhibition in the Sisle Student Dormitory, organized by the students, was raided and torn down by rightist commandos in Istanbul.
- In Ordub Province, a lieutenant-colonel stated, at a meeting of the Association to Combat Communism, "Don't be afraid. The army is with you. The Nation is capable of killing the communists".
- In parliament, Feruk Sibika, Minister of the Interior, personally instigated representatives of the AP to attack the TIP deputies. Cemal Atak and Yunus Korbir, two TIP members of parliament were badly beaten.
- Eleven student associations organized a meeting to protest against the attack of the TIP members of parliament. Rightist commandos raided the meeting, wounding 50 persons.

March 1968:
- The first dress rehearsal of the communist manhunt, instigated by
the Chief of the General Staff and AP leaders took place in Istanbul. Known as the "Meeting to Evacuate", the crowd took an oath to repeat the Indonesian measures in Turkey.

- The General Assembly of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry decided to fight communism in a more efficient manner.
- The Convention of the TIP's Venizelos Section was raided by rightist groups in Ankara. They attacked party members with stones, knives and pistols.
- The second dress rehearsal of the communist anti-hunt took place in Ankara. Groups of fascists from all over Turkey met in the capital.

- Semih Gezgin and seven others were arrested by the police while protesting against the speech of a State Minister at a meeting of the ANAP.

April 1968:

- In Istanbul, the Cultural Club of Anadoluhisari was raided by rightist groups. The Secretary of the Club was badly beaten.

May 1968:

- All the students associations organized a campaign called "No to ANAP". The police arrested 106 students.
- Folk singer Ayşin Ferhat was attacked by rightist groups in Adana and wounded.
- Six students were convicted to six months in prison in Istanbul for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet.
- Semih Gezgin and two others, who were arrested for the first time in November 1967 for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet, were acquitted by the court.
- 72 peasants were arrested by the governorship in Elmalı (Antalya) for protesting against landlords who had occupied the community land. In addition, forty students who attempted to back the peasants were forbidden to enter Elmalı.

June 1968:

- Afisherman, Sami Cebeci, was taken into custody for writing "No to ANAP" on his fishing boat in Istanbul.

July 1968:

- Folk singer Ayşin Ferhat's bookshop on Cagaloglu Square in Istanbul was raided by rightist groups and turned into a shambles.
- The Istanbul Section of the Cultural Clubs Federation was raided by the police in the dead of night.
- On the day the US Sixth Fleet arrived in Istanbul harbour, the police forces raided the student dormitory of the Istanbul Technical University in the middle of the night and beat up the sleeping students. One of the students, Yeşil Demirel, was murdered as the police threw him out of a window on third floor of the building. 32 students, with bloodstained pyjamas and underclothes were arrested for "attacking the police". Later, 49 students were arrested for protesting against the murder of their compatriot. In addition, the police raided the Bulakbey Students Dormitory and beat up the students with truncheons. In Ankara 6 students were arrested for protesting against the murder of the student. During their trial, a student, Mevlüt Sarı, was killed in a car accident while trying to flee from a police attack.

- Following mass student demonstrations aimed at protesting against the corrupt education system in Turkey, the public prosecutor of Istanbul ordered the police to arrest all student leaders and launch a student manhunt.
Degis Genis was taken into custody, kidnapped by the police during examinations at the Law Faculty of Istanbul University. This for instigating students to protest against the corrupt educational system.

August 1968:
- The leaders of the National Students Federation of Turkey (TMYT) who contacted people living in the slums of Istanbul were attacked by rightist groups on the instigation of the mayor.
- Ayhan Turkes, the National Action Party leader, stated that more than one thousand young men were being trained as "underground fighters" to challenge the left.
- On August 30, national liberation day, students protested against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet at Istanbul harbour. Rightist commandos attacked them wounding 8 students with knives, stones and sticks.
- In Sirkeci, two students were taken into custody for protesting against US hegemony and were beaten at police headquarters. In addition, Burhanul Efe, chief sanitation inspector of Sirkeci, was beaten up by the US soldiers. He tried to prevent from insulting Turkish women.

September 1968:
- Following a meeting of the Association to Combat Communism, rightist groups raided Asik Ismail's bookshop in Cagaloglu Square and destroyed it again.
- Harun Kocaman, President of the Student Association of Istanbul Technical University, was taken into custody for instigating students against the police.
- 24 workers and students organized a march from Sisliyayla to Ahirkapi to protest against US hegemony over Turkey and were arrested on the very first day of the march.

November 1968:
- Three folk singers, Asik Resmai, Asik Fermai and Asik Cingiz, were attacked by rightist groups while singing at a meeting organized by the Turk 7th Cultural Club of Sisliyayla.
- Osman Seffet Araci, the chief editor of the weekly Anit, was kidnapped by police agents. A law suit was later brought against him for "insulting the police.
- The police detained Yeni Yegun, the leader of Persian students in Turkey, for protesting against the death sentences inflicted upon some Persian students by a Persian court.
- Rightist groups raided the Kızılım Opera in Istanbul during a performance of the play entitled "The Sign of Solomon", presented by the Halk Operculi Group. The aggressors wounded actors and spectators alike with metal rods and explosives.

December 1968:
- Robert Komer, a well-known CIA agent, arrived in Turkey as American Ambassador. Degis Genis and other comrades were arrested for protesting against Komer's arrival.
- It was officially stated that the public prosecutor of Istanbul had started legal proceedings against 150 students since June 1968, when the student movement began.
January 1969:
- Deniz Gezmiş was again arrested for "instigating students to occupy university buildings".
- MNP commandos raided the Convention of the Higher Training School Students Association in Istanbul, the Science Faculty and Political Science Faculty of Ankara University.
- The public prosecutor indicted 175 students for resisting against the corrupt educational system.
- Yaşar Aksan and 23 others were arrested in Ankara for protesting against Robert F. Kennedy's arrival in the capital.
- 13 students were arrested in Ankara for protesting against Robert Kennedy's arrival in Ankar.

February 1969:
- A demonstration of tobacco processors in Akhisar was attacked by rightist groups; two persons were wounded.
- 50 students were taken into custody by the police for protesting against the visit of the USS Sixth Fleet in Istanbul harbour. Five were indicted.
- The police raided the headquarters of the DIP's Büyükçekmece Section detaining seven party members for distributing pamphlets attacking the visit of the Sixth Fleet.
- The Youth Section of the AP published a "Black List" including the names of Deniz Gezmiş and other student leaders and instigating rightist groups to move against them.
- Extreme rightists newspapers, such as Bugun and Sabahfide Sabah, issued rightist groups to move against progressive organizations and individuals, stating: "...The Kemalists measures must be opposed in Turkey."
- Progressive workers and student organizations organized a rally against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet in Istanbul. On the day the rally was to be held, rightist groups were not in the mosques inviting people to attack the demonstrators. As the groups of workers and students entered Taksim Square, rightist groups and MNP commandos, armed with pistols, rods, knives and stones opened fire on them. In collaboration with the police forces, the aggressors killed two people, Ali Turan Kaya and Emre Erdoğdu, and wounded hundreds of workers and students. Although the photographs of the murderers were published in the daily newspapers, the police and the public prosecutors took no legal action against them. On the contrary, 19 of them attacked and wounded were put on trial for "attacking the police".
- In Kuprası, the people reacted angrily, demonstrating against police terror and torture. The police shot into the crowd, wounding two people.

March 1969:
- MNP commandos raided Istanbul University and clashed with progressive students. The police did nothing to prevent the commando assault, on the contrary, they detained Deniz Gezmiş and his comrades for defending the university.

April 1969:
- MNP commandos raided the Law Faculty of Ankara University.
- The gendarmerie raided the Middle East Technical University during the night and arrested 109 students.
The public prosecutor of Surulizmiz, Rahmi Göktas, was murdered by three policemen in the center of the town for the previous arrest of a policeman who was charged with embezzlement.

33 progressive students of the Higher Training School were brought into court; three of them were sentenced. In addition, the school administration banned 250 progressive students from entering the school building.

Rightist groups raided the Sevgili Theater in saskara where the play entitled "Fehmi Naciçiz and His Servant" was being shown. Several actors were wounded.

Lawyer Kemal Buyuk, member of the TIP's Executive Committee, was attacked by rightist groups in eskisehir where he was setting up a local section of the party. A poetry reading organized by the Cultural Club of Eskisehir University was raided by rightist groups.

The exhibition of painter Balahan was raided by MHP commands in adana and his paintings cut into shreds.

May 1969:

- In istanbul, the Kudakı 11 Theater was raided by MHP commands during a performance of Atlas's play "Kavgacı - Horse-riding Horse". Several spectators were wounded.

- The Istanbul Section of the Cultural Clubs Federation was raided by MHP commands during the night.

- Driver Nalkin Sözen, who placed the "Proletarian" sticker on his minibus was attacked by rightist groups.

- The "Meeting for the Defense of the Constitution" was attacked by police forces, four students were wounded and 28 others arrested.

- Actors at the Markose Cabaret Theater were attacked by rightist groups in Antalya.

- In Trabzon, the folklore festival organized by the students of Trabzon Technical University was attacked by rightist groups; a large number of spectators were wounded. The aggressors even attacked the ambulances transporting the wounded to the hospital.

June 1969:

- The Anadoluhisari Cultural Club was raided by the MHP commands during the night in istanbul.

- The police forces intensified the student ban and arresting more than 100 students. Three students, Cetin Dogan, Nebiye Topuz and Sıtkı Çoğun were badly beaten at riot police headquarters in istanbul.

- In Samsun, the local TIP center was raided by rightist groups.

- In Izmir, MHP commands raided the Higher Technical Training School, wounding 20 students.

- The National Action Party (MHP) stated that it would set up training camps for commands in 36 provinces.

July 1969:

- Cetin Kargili and 14 other students were confined to 6 to 9 months in prison in saskara for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet.

- The Sivas Section of the TIP was raided by rightist groups during the night; party documents were torn into shreds.

- In Kayseri, rightist groups, on the instigation of 12 members of parliament, raided the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) headquarters, the Teachers' Union of Turkey (TOG) Convention and various bookshops. Attempts were made to lynch anyone known to have socialist or progressive leanings.
The police forces detained TIP members distributing newspapers and pamphlets to workers and peasants. Two members, Haluk Sarıkaya and Abdülrahim Daha, were badly beaten at police headquarters.

- Ergin Kolbek, a civic, was forced to leave Bilecik when the authorities banned his performances. Back in Istanbul, he committed suicide by throwing himself from the top floor of the Fine Arts Academy.

- In Kayseri, the Aksaray Barier theater was raided by rightist groups during a performance of The King's Clown. The attackers wounded a number of spectators and actors and later raided the homes of progressive intellectuals and teachers.

August 1969:

- Members of the Antalya Cultural Clubs were attacked by rightist groups while setting a wreath on Atatürk's Monument for Vahit Demircioglu, a student murdered by police.

- The police forces raided a meeting organized to protest against government policy with respect to democratic forces.

- Three organizers of the TIP, Altin Ayat, Burettin Yılmaz, and Mete Önal, were attacked by rightist groups.

- In Gaziantep, HSF commandos attacked local leaders of the TIP, wounding three of them. The police detained the TIP members but not the attackers.

- In Gaziantep, HSF commandos attacked the Association of Socialists and beat up the members.

- In Elazığ, spectators at the play Fır Sultan Abdil presented by the Halk Oyuncuları (People's Players) were attacked by rightist groups with stones and sticks.

- In Tunceli, the showing of the same play was banned by the governor. The people protested against the decision and held a demonstration. The police fired into the crowd and the Police Chief personally killed a peasant, Mehmet Dogaş Kılıç. The police later arrested 80 persons, including the actors and actresses and brutally beat them.

- Deniz Kerim, expelled from Istanbul University for speaking out against US hegemony on national liberation day.

September 1969:

- Mehmet Cengiz, student in the Forestry Department of Istanbul University, was shot to death by HSF commandos in Istanbul.

- Mustafa Yavuz Oğlu, student at the METU, was shot to death by police officers in Istanbul.

- Deniz Kemal was arrested at Istanbul University while discussing the decision to expel him from the university with the rector.

- Turhan Noy, a TIP candidate, and Celal Ersitayar, a TIP member, were attacked by HSF commandos while campaigning for the party.

October 1969:

- In Tokat, the Halkevi (a cultural center) was raided by the police and the center's documents were seized.

- A meeting of the TIP was raided by AP militants in Tokat. The police detained the TIP members but not the AP members.

- Mustafa Aslan and seven of his comrades were expelled from the METU for "insulting students".

- Sinan Cengiz was arrested in Aydin for protesting against Robert Komer, the US Ambassador.

- In Gèrentepe, the TIP headquarters was blown up by rightist groups.
November 1962:

- While Deniz Gemin was on trial, MDP commander and AP militiaman seized the Justice Palace in Istanbul. Later, they raids the Istanbul Section of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-G Demp). - The police arrested two Dev-G Demp leaders, Cihan Alp flesh in Istanbul and Yusef Yläfili in Ankara. - Deniz Gemin was released by the court and was then immediately arrested again on the pretext of that he was avoiding military service.

December 1962:

- Mehmet Bayakar, student at the State Engineering and Architecture Academy of Istanbul, was murdered by rightist commandos. During their raid, the attackers also wounded two students.

- The police forces raided the Dev-G Demp Center in Ankara and arrested its general secretary Rahi Xox.

- Ayatol Mustafa, student at the State Engineering and Architecture Academy of Istanbul, was murdered by rightist commandos.

- In İzmir, 400 students were taken into custody by the police for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet to Turkish ports.

- Deniz Gemin was released from prison but quickly arrested again, together with Cihan Alp flesh, charged with carrying arms.

- Serif Ayhan, a worker at the Evin Factory, was shot to death by the police. Many workers were also wounded by the police when they protested against the way firing of their comrades.

January 1963:

- Mustafa Kargıyan, student of the Chemistry Faculty of Istanbul University, was expelled from the university under the pretext of inciting the students.

- Five naval lieutenants, Serp Kurnu, Amin Kaya, Oğuz Çakmak, Oğuz Eslim, and Emin Akgun are dismissed the Navy because of protesting the murderous offenses of the students. Later seven naval cadets also are dismissed.

- In Söğütlük the members of the TIP are attacked by the rightist groups while they are distributing newspapers and pamphlets to workers. Instead of the Suppressors, Mehmet Bilici and Adnan Celik are arrested by the police and badly beaten.

- 80 students are dismissed from the Cape Higher Training School in Istanbul, because of being affiliated to the Dev-G Demp.

- 50 students are taken into custody because of protesting against the repressive measures.

February 1963:

- A group of university students was attacked by rightist commandos while distributing pamphlets condemning the US hegemony in Libya.

- Yavuz Aslan, Hüseyin İnan, Alperen Oğuz, Reda Namoğlu, Atilla Keşkin, Tocmani Kaveti, Ihsan Eng, Mitha Çakıcı, Tunar Sümer, Hacik Yakup, Ali Türk and Fatih Baran were arrested in Diyarbakir for having gone to Palestine for training in Al Fateh Camp.

March 1963:

- 96 students were expelled from the Higher Training Institute of Nurses for boycotting classes as a protest against repressive measures.

- 7 members of Dev-G Demp were arrested on the Black Sea coast while distributing pamphlets to the courageous people of the district.

- Trade union leader Necmettin Diriçioglu and six students were ar-
ruertoed and badly beaten in Bengaluru for protesting against an exhibition in favor of the United States of South Vietnam.

- Nine students were taken into custody for putting up anti-American posters on the walls of the UESD.
- Four workers of the Workers Union of Istanbul District (TBV) were arrested for putting up posters in memory of two workers, Necmet Cevdet and Sultana Cengiz, who were murdered by the military forces in 1965.
- More than 500 rightist commandos raided the Ankara Higher Training School wounding two students.

- Rightist commandos raided the Gspa Higher Training School and attempted to rape female students in the dormitory.

- The riot police raided the dormitory of the Istanbul Technical University and detained 36 students, including Ibrahim Oztas.

- Attila Sar, the President of New-Gazete, was arrested by the police court of Ankara for "inciting the army to rise up against the government."

- In Istanbul, a rally organized by university students for the purpose of protesting against US hegemony over Turkey was attacked by rightist commandos. Six students were wounded. Rightist commandos later raided trade union centers and student dormitories. The police took not the aggressors into custody but twelve wounded students.

- Renal Balamaz, a columnist for the daily newspaper Milliyet, was beaten up by rightist commandos.

- Rightist commandos raided an exhibition organized by students at the Balkesir Vocational Training Institute.

April 1970:

- 23 members of the TIP were arrested for distributing leaflets to coal-miners in Bengaluru.

- In Bozkır (Konya province), Necmet Yilmaz, a peasant, and two students were beaten up by rightist groups while distributing leaflets for a meeting against hunger and unemployment.

- Ahsen Boyal, president of the TIP Karaman section, was taken into custody by police in Konya while organizing the local convention of the party and tortured all night long.

- Rightist commandos raided Istanbul University and destroyed the office of the rector. They also wounded four students. The police did not take the aggressors into custody, but 61 students who tried to prevent the raid.

- In Ankara, 59 organizations issued a joint communique for the purpose of protesting against repression. The public prosecutor then introduced legal action against those organization to the Ankara Bar of the Bar Association.
- In collaboration with the Desired Government, the leadership of the Turkish Community in Cyprus began taking repressive measures against Cypriots in Turkey. Scholarships of progressive students were withdrawn. Later, 8 Cypriots were taken into custody and Must Fegan was expelled from Turkey for protesting against this decision.

- Rightist commanders stopped the performance of the Ulu Uraz Theater in Elazig.

- The military authorities launched a terror campaign against the Kurdish people in the southeastern part of Turkey. Troops raided the villages inhabited by Kurds, arrested thousands of people and tortured them.
- Dr. Necdet Uğur, a reserve officer, was shot to death by MHP commanders at Hacettepe University in Ankara. During the raid, some students were also wounded.

May 1970:

- In Kadiiri (Adana province), a young person who refused to give a bribe to the police, was detained and murdered during torture. The people rallied to protest against this torture and murder. A colonel, commander of the gendarmerie, flew into the crowd and murdered another young person.

- In Elazig (Elazig Province), a peasant was shot to death by the gendarmerie during a peasant protest demonstration against landlords who had occupied the community lands.
- Police brutality has reached an all-time high. The people of Yozgat (Yozgat Province) held a rally to protest against the system of brutality and even attempted to lynch the corrupt policemen.

- The Military Court of the Land Forces Headquarters decided that villains can also be arrested on warrant from the military courts. More than 100 policemen and gendarmes then raided the territory of the Political Science Department of Ankara during the night and arrested 96 students.

- Rightist commanders raided the Agriculture Department of Ankara University, wounding a student with gunshot and holding two students captive. These students were then tortured by the commandos for days on end.

- Rightist commanders also raided the Faculty of Letters, the Science Faculty and the Law Faculty of Ankara University wounding one student and a gate keeper with gunshot.

- Rightist commanders also raided the Black Sea Technical University in Trabzon and Izmit University in Izmit.

June 1970:

- Rightist commanders raided the headquarters of the TIP and the Turkish Teachers’ Union in Yozgat and wounded several of their members.
- Talip Ergüdbil, a member of the TIP, was murdered by rightist groups in Kayseri. They raided his home and put his to death by bullets. They left a letter saying that all socialists will be punished in the same way.
- Following the change in the Trade Unions Act, more than one hundred thousand workers rallied to protest against the new amendments. The government sent in the troops to crush the workers. Four workers, Abdurrahman Gürsoy, Yaşar Yıldırım, Yeşim Celik, Mustafa Baylan, were shot to death by the military forces. Martial law was then proclaimed and hundreds of trade union leaders and workers were arrested and tortured at the military and police headquarters.

July 1970:

- The Headquarters of the Progressive Trade Unions Federation (DİK) was raided and four lawyers who were preparing the defense of the arrested workers were taken into custody by the military.
- Ahin Erensel, a bookseller, and two of his friends were taken into custody for having placed Lenin's photograph in the shop-window. They were brutally beaten at the police.

- Rightist commandos raided the Ankara Section of the DIK and the vacation camp of the progressive Metal Workers Union (KES) in Gümüşhane. In Ordu province, a peasant rally, organized to support the democratic rights of cotton producers, was attacked by police forces and the gangsters. Yakup Çevik, an 80-year-old peasant, was shot to death by a factory owner. The police detained 106 peasants and brutally beaten them at police headquarters.

August 1970:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul has also extended its repressive measures to students. The student associations of the Istanbul Technical University and the State Engineering and Architecture Faculty were raided and 150 students were taken into custody. Later, the State Engineering and Architecture Faculty was handed over to the rightist commandos and turned into the headquarters of the fascist forces.

- The local sections of the DDV were bombed by rightist commandos. The Yıldız Section of TIP was raided by the same groups.

- Reşat Ergin, President of the Kayırica Cultural Club, was beaten up by MDP commandos. In Bucharest, bookseller Şevcan Gündüz was threatened by them for selling leftist publications.

- MDP commandos raided the Faculty of Letters and the Law Faculty of Ankara University.

- The Council of Ministers took the decision to expel all foreign and Palestinian students from Turkey. Although the Council of State canceled the decision, Nihat Birzohamedd, a foreign student was handed over to the Savak (Foreign Intelligence Agency).

September 1970:

- After five months, martial law was terminated. 200 defendants whose trials had not been wound up in the military courts of martial law, were transferred to the civil courts.

- In order to continue repressive measures in Istanbul following the end of martial law, a military command unit was dispatched to Istanbul and the riot police was reinforced.

- Metin Bilgen, president of the TIP Istanbul Section, and five of his comrades were taken into custody on charges of 'instructing the people to rise up against the government' while distributing leaflets.

- Şakir Evren, President of the Istanbul Technical University Students Association, and seven others were taken into custody by 30 policemen.

- Alper Han, a student in the Economics Department of Istanbul University, revealed that he had been tortured at KET headquarters for four days running.

- In Şile (Şile province) seven students who had come to attend the main producers' rally were attacked by rightist commandos. The aggressors also raided the hospital in which the wounded students were being treated and the home of the public prosecutor who ordered that the students be freed.

- The workers at the Aliaga Refinery organized a rally to protest against the fact that the contractor had not given them their pay. The military commando troops were sent in to fire on the workers. Necmettin Giriligi, the president of the Construction Workers Union, was shot to death by a member of the contractor.
On a decision of the Council of Ministers, five other overseas students were handed to the Turkish authorities. Enis Cavgun and Gihan Aligolian were released from prison on a decision of the judge who was convinced of their innocence. But as soon as they were released, the police arrested Enis Cavgun again for avoiding military service.

October 1970:

- The workers of Sisliet occupied their factory when the employer refused to accept collective bargaining with their trade union. Military commando troops and the police forces attacked the workers killing Nasrin Toykan and Hasan Birik.
- Dr. Ferit Ziya Ekincci, the former secretary-general of the TIP, Canis Yildirim, a member of the TIP Executive Committee, writer Mehmet Emin Bozsarhan, writer Mustafa Atiker and the leaders of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DAKO) were arrested on charges of颠覆ist activities.

November 1970:

- The police forces raided the headquarters of the Progressive Workers Union of Istanbul and took 30 workers and students into custody. They were all tortured in the security police offices.
- The Littoral Arts Faculty of Istanbul University was raided by MHP commandos and the police forces. Two students were wounded, several progressive students taken into custody and tortured in the security police offices.
- The police forces raided the Forestry Department of Istanbul University and took seven students into custody. The students were brutally beaten in the local police station.
- In Balikesir, the police forces raided the headquarters of Dev-Unci, the Modern Higher Training Institute; hundreds of books were confiscated.
- The police raided the residence of Cypriot students and beaten them at police headquarters.
- Twenty students who are putting up posters of a weekly leftist newspaper were arrested and brutally beaten at police headquarters.
- Another foreign student, Cahit Iskandarli, was handed over to the SIS.
- Some warships of the US Sixth Fleet visited Tartus Port again. They did not, however, dare to come to Istanbul Port because of the strong reaction of workers and students. The US State Department has stated that the Sixth Fleet will, however, visit Istanbul again.

December 1970:

- MHP commandos raided the Cypa Higher Training School and shot Nasrin Ayvazlou, a student, to death. When his body being transported to his place of birth, Silvan, the police stopped the car and beat up the driver. In Sisli, students rallied in order to protest against the murder. The police forces attacked them, detaining 22 persons.
- Sisliet commandos raided several叶集es of Akdeniz University wounding three students. They also held three students captive and tortured them by breaking their fingers and slashing at them with razor blades.
- Four police agents opened fire on students at Baskent University in Adana who identified them. Two students and one employee were wounded by the bullets of the police agents.
The police forces raided the Edirnekapı Student Dormitory, Nişatı Student Dormitory and the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia in Istanbul, the Vekilpir Student Dormitory in Sivri and the Kalikve in Ankara. They confiscated all documents and books.

Given the fact that every student is tortured at police headquarters, Cagatay Nallı, an agent of the Criminal Police, resigned stating: "Without exception, every suspect is subjected to ramon and beaten until his whole are blistered."

Yusuf Yassa, a Persian student of Agriculture at Ankara University was shot to death by Soviet agents in Ankara.

On a decision of the Council of Ministers, the leaders of the Cypriot students, Varos Galip, Halil Hesen, Kapudan Durar, Harzer Veblin, Dr. Saydam Ahmet and Dr. Türkan Duran were expelled from Turkey.

January 1971:

In Polatlı (Ankara Province), Serhatçin Arzun, student who appealed to the Council of State and obtained a decision to compel the big landlords to give expropriated lands back to poor peasants, was shot to death by the heavymen of the big landlords.

Serhatçin Altay, President of TIF Ancyef Section, was kidnapped by rightist commandos, taken from his house and shot to death.

In Siverçik (Giresun Province), Ali Rize Keskın, a peasant who defended the rights of poor peasants, was shot to death by a heavymen of the big landlords.

Rightist commandos raided the Science Faculty of Ankara University and shot and killed two students, Elif Mumcuoglu and Halil Yılmaz. Rightist commandos raided the Literary Arts Faculty, the Tokat Student Dormitory, and Edirnekapı Student Dormitory in Istanbul, set off bombs and tortured the progressive students taken captive.

Rightist commandos attacked students in Tuzson and Elazığ. They also shot and killed a secondary school student, Reis Gider, in Tuzson.

The police forces detained 11 students in Adana, 7 high school students in Arvin and wounded three students in Ankara. They also detained İrfanpaşa Kırıçoğlu, President of the Demokracı   February 1971:

More than 3,000 policemen raided the dormitory of the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. In collaboration with MHP commandos, the police attacked the students and attempted to rape the young women. 220 students were taken into custody and tortured while being driven in police cars and at police headquarters.

Rightist commandos raided the TIF Turkish Section and badly beat up President Yusif Gider and his brother. The police detained not the aggressors, but those attacked.

Considering the repression, murders, attacks and violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Hüseyin Inan, Yusef Aslan, Selim Cingil, Refik İnan, Alparslan Oktay, Kadir Hacar and other comrades formed the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey and kidnapped an American soldier as a warning to the ruling circles of the country. They quickly released him without causing him any harm.

On the pretext of protecting US subjects, a huge number of CIA and FBI agents have been sent to Turkey. In addition, General Nazasiri, head of Sarak has come to Turkey to negotiate on joint security problems with General Furtoglu, and the head of the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT).

General Memduh Tagıç, Chief of the General Staff, stated that the
armed forces are proving impatient because of "the assaults of terrorists." In addition, the Enlarged Command Council held a meeting at which the high-ranking commanders demanded that extraordinary measures be taken against the Left. Not a word about attacks by the Right.

- The security forces in the western province of Damaz Gaziyez previously had been involved in a serious dispute over the trial of a police chief who had been accused of treason and murder. The police chief was eventually released on bail.

- The police forces detained 20 students in Damascus, five students in Hama, four students in Qamishli, and raided the Science Faculty, the Technical University Student Association, the Teacher's Union, the Political Science Faculty, the Faculty of Arts, and the Faculty of Science.

- Four high-school students were taken into custody by the police in order to prevent "propagandizing for communism" and were exposed in the streets of the city.

- The Istanbul Police Headquarters stated that special forces had been formed and had seized 100 students.

- Kayhan Edip Sakarya, a student leader, went on trial for carrying a weapon. His lawyer stated that he had been forced to carry it in order to protect his family and demanded the release of his client. The judge rejected the plea, stating that: "The court is the safest place for a person if his life is in danger."

- In Sair, students protested against the visit of the 68th Fleet. The police detained 50.

March 1971:

- Since the authorities paid no attention to their first warning and insisted on putting the constitution into practice, the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (TIPK) kidnapped four American soldiers and issued a call to the people of Turkey to resist repression, corruption, and US hegemony. Once the situation of the people was drawn to the attention of the world, the KKO released its hostages without causing them any harm.

- Using as a pretext the need to clear the streets of 700,000 students, thousands of troops raided the KKO in Ankara. Student İdil Gencer was shot to death by the troops and hundreds of students were wounded. At the end of the operation, 1,900 university students were taken into custody. Of the 50 public prosecutors, seven legal proceedings against them and 50 students were sentenced by the courts.

- On March 15, 1971, four high-ranking commanders, military members of the National Security Council, issued a harsh ultimatum to the President of the Republic, forcing the government to resign and the parliament to form a new cabinet willing to apply extraordinary repressive measures.

- Yıldırım Atalay, the Turkish leader, was taken into custody by the police in Ankara and tortured for hours, after which he was thrown from the upper storey of Police Headquarters by police officers and died.

- Dr. Barış Erkoç, President of the TIP Hakaneli Section, was shot to death by leftist commandos. Also in images, the same group attacked six members of the New-Greek and beat them up.

- In Kirikhan (Hatay Province), leftist groups spread rumors that the leftist had placed bombs in a mosque and raped the women in the local TIP and TOS headquarters and the homes of Kurds and Shitities as well as the daily Nijadd building. Gazi İnal, mother of the TIP, and Muhaned Bayuz, a peasant, were murdered by the attackers.

- In Înqal (Homs Province), leftist groups incited the religious crowds on the same pretext. The TIP and TOS headquarters, bookshops, and the homes of progressive citizens were raided.
In Gaziantep, twenty members of the Dev-Geç group were attacked by rightist groups and beaten with metal rods. On the Dikalşiy-Gaziantep road, three lawyers, Orhan Burha, Celal Dogan and Kayri Oğuz, were stopped by rightist groups and badly beaten.

Salman Kayr, a student, was taken into custody by the police accused of robbing a bank in Istanbul. He was badly beaten by the police for a full week and was forced to list may innocent students as “Völkere” (It will be understood that at the trial it was clear that none of them had anything to do with the robbery.)

Thousands of policemen raided Hacettepe University, kept up the students and attempted to rape the girl students. At the end of the operation, 71 students were taken into custody. The police also raided the law Faculty of Istanbul, the Higher Training School of Ankara, the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia in Istanbul, the Agriculture Department of Ankara University and detained 95 students.

Charged with “propagandizing for communism”, the police detained four persons in Sanemci Esreği, 12 students in Karanthis, three Dev-Geç members in Kayseri, two students in Bursa, five high-school students in Adana. Five military students of the Ankara Medical Faculty were dismissed from the army.

Rightist commandos raided the TDS headquarters and a bookshop in Narag, the Socialist Youth Organization and the TDS buildings in Istanbul, the Technical Higher Training School in Ankara and burnt all radicals.

Rightist groups set off three bombs in a concert hall in Trabzon wounding thirty spectators.

The Organization of Nationalist Fighters issued a new black list including the names of 150 socialists.

Engineer Yücel Birdal and three of his friends were detained in Portakalı (Mugla province) for explaining the constitution to peasants.

April 1971:

Rightist commandos raided the Balıkçar student dormitory during the night and shot and killed Miyaz Takin, a student.

Rightist commandos dynamited the building of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia in Istanbul.

In Gernel, a village in Nusaybin township, teacher Mehmet Celic was shot to death by rightist attackers.

The police forces raided the faculties and academies throughout Turkey and took hundreds of students into custody.

In Istanbul, all public prosecutors, judges, police chiefs, high-ranking commanders and the biggest businessmen held a meeting during a dinner given by the Governor of Istanbul in the most luxurious hotel of the city. They were told to be ready for a crackdown on leftist students.

On the 9th anniversary of the Grand National Assembly, Prime Minister Niket Erce challenged the Left: “Now extraordinary measures will crush their heads like a dughter-kurrum”.

On April 26, 1971, the Council of Ministers proclaimed martial law in eleven provinces of Turkey and the “Sledge-hammer Operation was launched.”
A few days later the Sledge-Hammer Operation or Man Hunt was launched and the Prime Minister of the military regime informed foreign journalists on May 1, 1971, that “the number of persons goalhunting is not more than two hundred. So as to put them under suspicion, martial law has been proclaimed.”

Confirmation was thus given of the official communiqué issued by the Istanbul Police Headquarters noting that special manhunt squads had been formed for a list of 282 suspects.

Nevertheless, an examination of the eleven districts affected by martial law reveals the following facts:

a) Istanbul, Kocaeli, Istanbul, Acapulco, Ionian, Euphrat, Donat, and Adana are the most industrialised regions of Turkey and form the Progressive Trade Union Confederation’s (DIKT) strongest areas.

b) As for the districts of Konya, Diyarbakir and Elazığ, they represent the largest concentration of Kurds.

These facts were proof that the Sledge-Hammer Operation would go well beyond the tracking down of 200 or 282 “suspects”. In fact, some Act of
MAN HUNT: The police is authorized to shoot at every suspect.

On May 25, 1971, Izmir Martial Law Headquarters announced that a police squad had seized Nedim Oztas’ house and shot him to death at a clash. But two days later, when Nedim Oztas (below) surrendered, it was revealed that his brother Ibrahim Oztas had been shot instead of him, by mistake. The clipping at the top explains the mistake, carrying a photograph of Ibrahim Oztas.
MAD HUNT: The most spectacular man hunt was organized in Istanbul under the name of "Sibel Operation". All military and police forces were mobilized under the pretext of saving the life of a girl who had been taken hostage by two members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. Although they had promised to release the girl if the authorities let them leave the country, the military regime refused to negotiate and after public opinion had been manipulated against the two PLFT members, Huseyin Cevahir was murdered and Mahir Cayan was wounded by snipers on June 1, 1971. Here are the photographs of Huseyin Cevahir, before and after the murder. In the background General Fikir Turkoz directing the "Sibel Operation".
Martial Law was enacted on May 15, 1971, authorizing the Martial Law commanders:

1. To detain any individual for 48 days without a court warrant, whereas the 1961 Constitution limited the period of detention to 36 hours.
2. To bring not only "offenses" committed after the proclamation of martial law, but also the "offenses" committed three or four years earlier, before the military courts of martial law.
3. To apprehend and transfer to a martial law district, any "suspects" whatever the place his "political crime" was supposedly committed.
4. To use not only military forces, but also police forces and the gendarmerie in the man hunt.

This extraordinary law was enacted on May 15, 1971; however, from the very time martial law was instituted, the martial law commanders began using these prerogatives to the maxime.

On the first day the martial law was proclaimed, the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters arrested two well-known columnists, Cevat Atalay and Ilhan Selcuk, to get the man hunt under way, and the same day the six martial law commanders held a secret meeting with the heads of the security forces to formulate their plans for the "Steady-Handed Operation" or man hunt.

On the following day, the state radio stations began broadcasting the list of "suspects" wanted by the martial law headquarters. It was nonetheless clear that the number of people being hunted was much higher the figure mentioned by the Prime Minister.

On May 3, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul stated that the security forces had been ordered to shoot on sight "suspects" who did not surrender to the authorities.

In the very first week ending on May 5, 1971, the martial law headquarters had already gone far beyond the target mentioned by the Prime Minister arresting more than 500 "suspects". And on May 5th, Prime Minister Kibrit Krim stated that the government had established a fund at the Central Bank (Hazine Bankasısı) called "The Fund to Fight the Anarchists", thereby encouraging informers. In addition, the martial law headquarters even forced the parents of "suspects" to reveal their addresses and to cooperate with the police authorities. Poorsmen were also made responsible for providing information on every resident in their buildings to the authorities.

During the following two days, the martial law headquarters arrested more than 329 socialists and liberals. And while the state radio stations were announcing the names of other leftists or liberals who were wanted, the National Action Party (MHP) was holding its annual convention in the capital and the same state radio stations were broadcasting the speech of Alişar Harmancı, the party's leader (Fahrettin): attacking the left and instigating the citizens against the democratic forces.

The following chronological list reveals the progress of the man hunt during the 15 month period of the martial law:

**May 15, 1971:**
- In addition to 859 "suspects" taken into custody in 48 days, the martial law authorities detained 27 "suspects" and announced the names of 10 persons, including Dr. Hikmet Kivircik, an old socialist leader and chief editor of the weekly magazine Sosyolitesi (socialist), as wanted.
May 11, 1971:
- The military authorities detained 39 suspects.

May 12, 1971:
- The military authorities detained 312 "suspects" and broadcast the names of 21 persons, including assistant professor Çetin Cekik, writer Zeki Aktılık, writer Esref Oğuz, public prosecutor Şahin Yalçın, former secretary-general of the TIP Hikmat Sargin and secretary-general of the clandestine Turkish Communist Party, Zeki Başkınlar, as wanted.

May 13, 1971:
- 17 "suspects" including folk singer Asik Ferhat (in Maliköy), university assistant Mustafa Dardan (in Istanbul) and lawyer Mustafa Cem (Siyarbacak-Eyup) were detained.

May 15, 1971:
- The military authorities announced the detention of four people in Adana, 13 in Istanbul and 6 in Samsun.

May 19, 1971:
- When the number of detainees had passed the thousand mark, the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (TIP) kidnapped the General Consul of Israel with a view to saving the lives of the victims of the military regime. But the military-backed government, instead of seeking a reasonable solution, refused to cooperate with the TIP fighters and even Deputy Premier Süleyman Akçay, ignoring the most basic principles of law, threatened the kidnappers, with the enactment of the retrospective law, with execution whether the hostage was killed or not.

May 22, 1971:
- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul published a wanted list of 67 names of well-known personalities including the TIP leaders Süleyman Çiçek, Sabah Akkaya, Haci Elvay and Kemal Devran; writers Nuri belly, Muammer Kolçak, Doga Perincek, Cengiz Bagci, Yaşar Kemal, Semin Kızılgöz and İhsan Boyalik; university professors Süleyman Akçay, Sabri Davutoğlu, Tahir Zafar Temiz, İnan Sungarboyu and Mithat Boyalik; trade union leaders Kemal Türkay, Kemal Sencer and Íhsan Kayar. On the same day, the manhunt spread throughout Turkey and 160 persons including journalists, lawyers, teachers, were detained as suspects.

May 20, 1971:
- 38 persons, including Prof. Cahit Taşın, were taken into custody by the military authorities.

May 21, 1971:
- Throughout the country, 560 persons including university professors Uğur Alacakaplan, Elbert Nuri Eren, Hanf Marsançolu, Burhan Cebi Oğuz, Nihat Cığlar and Ume Akar and lawyers Ädet Akar and Halit Çelik, were taken into custody.

May 22, 1971:
- 34 "suspects" were taken into custody in several provinces.

The police forces raided the home of students in Otag, wanting the Istanbul MİN in Ímırz. They shot and killed a young man asleep in his bed; but the MİN of İmırz was to state that Sedat Otag was killed in a clash with the police.
May 23, 1971:

- Nedin Oetog surrendered to the gendarmerie in Izmir and it is under the official that the police shot and killed his brother, Ibrahim Oetog, on the previous day. This was the first murder committed by the security forces following the proclamation of martial law.

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul imposed a curfew in Istanbul district from 3 A.M. to 6 p.m. 30,000 army officers, troops and policemen raided homes, offices, and places of work. Leftists and liberals "people who were simply in possession of leftist publications" were apprehended. Hundreds of "suspects", including world famous Turkish caricaturist, Turhan Socal, and the well-known movie star Yiğit Goby, were detained at police and military headquarters. Many of these people were beaten or brutally tortured. However, at the end of the man hunt operation, the Martial Law Headquarters announced that only eleven persons had been detained. During the raids, the security forces also found the body of the General Counsel.

May 25, 1971:

- 27 "suspects", including two police chiefs, Musafer Yilmaz and Refet Elmanci, were detained.
- In spite of these arrests of thousands of "suspects", Parliament extended martial law for two months.

May 26, 1971:

- The military authorities posted the photographs of the "suspects" in the streets and had their photographs projected on the screens of the movie houses.
- Four people, including the world famous Turkish poet Nesil Ahmet Guler, were detained.

May 27, 1971:

- 96 "suspects", including Buhis Horun, the President of the Turkish Labour Party, and other TIP leaders were detained in several provinces.

May 28, 1971:

- 110 "suspects" were taken into custody in several provinces.
- The martial law authorities ordered the state radio stations to refer to the informers as "the acceptable informer citizens." Thereby encouraging the creation of a network. The Fund to Fight Anarchists began distributing awards to informers and police agents.

May 29, 1971:

- The Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry contributed 100,000 L to the Fund to Fight Anarchists.

May 30, 1971:

- 21 persons were detained in several provinces.
- Kadir Cayan and Eminoglu Cevahir, two members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey, were surrounded in the Maltepe quarter of Istanbul. Taking a young woman as a hostage, they stated that they would free her on the condition that safe passage out of the country be guaranteed for them. The Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, however, mobilized military and police forces surrounding the house and including public opinion against the two men by declaring that they had premeditated to kill the girl.
May 31, 1971:
- The military forces murdered three members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (TPLG) in Kilislan. Since the war has spread throughout Turkey, members of the TPLG had to withdraw to the Nakhchivan Mountains. Five young men, fishing in a lake near Inekli Köy, were denounced and surrounded by the military forces. Although they were defenseless and gave themselves up, the commander of the military unit opened fire on them with a machi- no gun and murdered Dzmitry Naguel, Sadir Mansir and Asoguelin Czoguel. Mustafa Yalçın, wounded, was apprehended.
- Two third members of the TPLG, Chiram Abubak and Tiziyun Czisone were apprehended in Tekirda. On orders, a general, police agents and offi- cers beat them up badly and isolated rightist groups to lynch them.
- Seven persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

June 1, 1971:
- At the end of the Malatya operation, army officials and policemen raided the home of and murdered Hüseyin Cevher, and wounded Maula Ceyhan.
- 36 persons, including the well-known film director Mekin Arkken and Prof. Mustafa Kepnerioglu, were detained.

June 3, 1971:
- Derya Mavili, unemployed, was shot to death by the police in Istanbul because he was not able to identify himself.

June 8, 1971:
- During a seven-day period, 316 persons were taken into custody in several provinces. Deputy Premier Nadir Kopr stated: "Up to this day, no one has been detained because of his opinions."

June 14, 1971:
- During this six-day period, 65 persons, including assistant profes- sor Mehmet Selik and editor Nasic Kirqvigil, were detained.

June 21, 1971:
- During this seven-day period, 32 persons, including Irfan Solamzer, member of the National Unity Committee of the May 27 Movement, and assistant professor Omer Onatay, were detained.

June 22, 1971:
- During this ten-day period, 166 persons including journalists Alamin Cynam, Ali Ciron, Tanja Olumgeli, publisher Milyaman Zce, editor Cewa Sefett Erol, university lecturers Nato Tunay and Jamali Basioglu were detained or arrested.

July 4, 1971:
- Mr. Bels, Chief of the CIA, visited Turkey and held briefings with Turkish secret security services.

July 23, 1971:
- During this one-month period, 136 persons, including Prof. Idris Kev- orefener, novelist Dzurum Akgh, lecturer Semahnin Eyboqulu, pianist Magdi Rater, translator Melila Otuqel, writer Tahsin Barm, Prof. Memmmir Akgh, were detained. On July 23, martial law was extended on the pretext that "terror groups are being trained in Palestine for the purpose of starting a civil war in Turkey."
August 15, 1971:

- Following the crackdown on the forces of the left for the first time since February 1969, the warships of the US Sixth Fleet visited Istanbul harbor.

August 20, 1971:

- While thousands of people were being arrested for supporting the armed guerrillas, the daily Hürriyat published a photograph of armed leftist groups pursuing leftist as an encouragement to the trackers.

August 31, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 216 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

- At the trial of the Young Naval Officers it was revealed that a MIT agent, Mahir Kaynak, had infiltrated Istanbul University posing as an assistant and had, over a four-year period, worked among students and intellectuals as a provocateur.

September 23, 1971:

- Martial law was extended for another two months by Parliament on the pretext that it was necessary to isolate another guerrilla group called the Black Sheep. After having extended martial law, however, nothing was ever heard again of the existence of such a group.

September 30, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 70 persons, including Senator Devlet Masalmoglu, were taken into custody or arrested.

October 3, 1971:

- 16 persons were apprehended for publishing a clandestine newspaper entitled 340/40 which denounced the military regime in Ankara.

October 10, 1971:

- Dr. Nihat Kivilcimli, the socialist leader wanted by the military authorities since the beginning of martial law, died of cancer in jail. He was 70 years old at the time of his death and had spent seventeen years in jail under the CHP and AP regimes. Since he was wanted by the military regime and had a death sentence hanging over his head, was forced to flee the country in May 1971.

October 17, 1971:

- In Uşak, Ibrahim Begia, a state employee, was badly beaten and murdered by the police at the police headquarters. The people rallied to protest against torture and murder, and rioted the government house. 13 people were taken into custody.

October 21, 1971:

- 15 persons, including Engineer Bingöl Erdulu, were detained as accused of "trying to kidnap some high-level authorities in order to secure the release of arrested members of the TÜMOC."

October 22, 1971:

- Two peasants, Ali Akgün and Husey Aşgar, were shot to death by agents of the Landscapers during a peasant demonstration for land in Mardin.
October 31, 1971:

During this one-month period, 174 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

November 20, 1971:

Prime Minister Erim stated: “Atrocious activities have come to an end. All necessary measures to prevent anarchy have been taken by the government.”

November 25, 1971:

Partial law was again extended for a two-month period supposedly because “atrocious activities have not entirely stopped.”

November 30, 1971:

During this one-month period, 77 persons were taken into custody by the authorities in several provinces. In addition, three members of the TKO, Namir Qayan, Uray Barakaci, Yiya Yılmaz, and two members of the TKO, Cihan Alptekin and Ozer Ayına, succeeded in escaping from the military jail in Istanbul.

December 1, 1971:

In Trabzon, 58 persons, including Judge Ali Fakhr Cihna, assistant professor Sadık Yagen, assistant jurist Ekhooglu, 56 teachers, 1 engineer, 1 lawyer and 2 businessmen were taken into custody accused of forming a criminal organization, and were brought to the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

December 3, 1971:

A nationwide manhunt was organized for the purpose of apprehending Namir Qayan and others. In several provinces five persons were apprehended simultaneously, all accused of being Namir Qayan.

December 12, 1971:

During a strike at the Pasa Köşk Glass Factory (Istanbul), the employer’s son murdered a worker, Emre Peker.

December 14, 1971:

14 persons, including journalist Tamer Uyar and assistant Doktor Kural, were detained for allegedly hiding guerrillas.

December 30, 1971:

In one month, 269 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

January 3, 1972:

Seyyman Rider, the president of the Roj Workers Union, was apprehended and beaten badly at police headquarters.

January 8, 1972:

Minister of National Defense Fuad Necef disclosed that 121 officers had been dismissed from the armed forces since March 12, 1971.
MAN HUNT:
The Martial Law Headquarters twice organized general searches in Istanbul. During the general search which was given the code name of "Tornado-I", on January 23, 1972, the whole city was searched house by house by 80,000 men, troops and policemen. Commando officers awakened innocent people by kicking at their doors early in the morning and questioned them under the threat of gun barrels (left). On February 19, 1972, security forces raided a house in Istanbul and shot Ulas Dardak, a member of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey who had escaped from a military jail (above).
MAN HUNT: Though a net of informers and police dogs has been mobilized, the police forces still keep up shooting people by mistake. For example, a young student named Koray Dogan (right) was shot to death in Ankara on March 9, 1972, because of his resemblance to Ömer Ayna (left) who had escaped from jail. Dogan's father protested this murder and was themselves arrested.
January 11, 1972:
- 17 peasants were detained in Martin.

January 23, 1972:
- The biggest search in Istanbul started with a curfew at 3 a.m., under the code name "Tornado I". Until 6 p.m., during a period of 15 hours, the city was controlled house by house. Over 90,000 troops and police agents took part in the massive manhunt and, according to an official communiqué, more than half a million houses, offices and workshops were searched. The raiding teams kicked in the doors of houses during the early hours of the morning, checking every inch of people's homes, entering their bedrooms, brutally weakening even the children and the aged as they slept. In many houses, they tore the beds into pieces, quilts into shreds and destroyed personal belongings. In some houses, the raiding squads went so far as to confiscate personal belongings, photographs, letters and books. Some were more violent, tearing books into shreds with their bayonets and taking their owners into custody. There exists not one concrete reason to justify such a search. The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters stated that the purpose of the search and curfew was to take in some "suspects" who might be hiding in the city. In actual fact, what could be the real intent of such a city-wide search of the state forces were only looking for a few "suspects". The real aim of the search was rather to terrorize the population with a show of the army's strength.

January 24, 1972:
- Martial law was extended for another two months on the pretext that guerrillas who have been trained in Palestine would return to Turkey at the beginning of 1972 and would launch a civil war.

February 3, 1972:
- Two actors, Hassen Kizilcevci and Hüseyin Najirliolu, were attacked by rightist groups and beaten during a show in which they criticised Democratic and Islamic, leaders of two main political parties in Samsun.

February 15, 1972:
- Ulu Bardakçi, the member of the TDK who escaped from the military jail, was shot to death by police agents in Istanbul. A squad raided the house in which he was hiding and opened fire. The same day, Ulya Ilvan, another member of the TDK, who had also escaped from the military jail, was wounded by police agents during a raid in another part of Istanbul. Following the curfew, the police began detaining large numbers of people; the neighbours of the raided apartments were even apprehended and tortured.
- 17 persons were taken into custody in Diyarbakır allegedly because they had connections with the clandestine newspaper Şafak.

February 26, 1972:
- 19 persons were taken into custody in Istanbul.

March 9, 1972:
- A young student, Ertugrul Dogan, was shot in the back and killed by a police squad, although he was not on the wanted list. The police mistook him for Gecce Ayta, who had escaped from a military jail and was wanted by the military authorities.
March 11, 1972:

- It was officially stated that 57 army officers and 11 NCOs had been dismissed from the armed forces for helping Muhir Qayim and his comrades to escape from the military jail.

March 12, 1972:

- On the first anniversary of the military coup d'etat, Prime Minister Erks stated: "Our country is free to face with a plot hatched deviously from outside Turkey." A year earlier, he had promised to end the state of emergency after having apprehended 200 "anarchists". In one year, the military authorities had detained more than ten thousand persons.

March 24, 1972:

- 139 persons, including Dogan Ogudul, Yaban Erdogu, and Onur Guer- tteni, chief editors of three socialist newspapers, were placed on the wanted list of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

March 25, 1972:

- Despite the fact that during his official visit to the United States, Prime Minister Erks had said that martial law will be ended in certain provinces, the National Assembly extended martial law for another two months in eleven provinces.

March 26, 1972:

- For one purpose of preventing the execution of three death sentences approved by the President of the Republic, YDK and TDK members kidnapped three foreign technicians from the Hittite Olympos Radar Base. They promised to release the three hostages if Denis Ozman, Yusuf Salim and Huseyin Ihan were allowed to leave the country.

March 27, 1972:

- Yilmaz Cengiz, the most famous film star in Turkey, and 22 others were taken into custody allegedly for "doing guerrilla".

March 28, 1972:

- Interior Minister Peri Habib went to Buyse to lead personally the searches being organized in the Buyse-Chalazon area. The authorities offered 100,000 LKP to any person providing information concerning the hostages location. Prime Minister Erks stated that he had no intention of bargaining "immunity". Habib stated that they would mobilize as many troops as necessary.

- The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters launched a new "terrorist hunt" and warned citizens to be vigilant with respect to any attempt at sabotage.

March 29, 1972:

- The Interior Ministry announced that the hostages were safe. This announcement made it clear that the authorities were at least indirectly in touch with the guerrillas.
The militiamen claimed that the young fighters of the TKEG and the TUGC died in a rout-to-route shootout. The mutilated leg of a young victim is clearly seen on the photograph. Can it be the result of bullets?
KIZILDERE MASSACRE:
The corpses of Omer Ayna and Nihat Yilmaz are being put on an ox-cart. Yilmaz' leg is mutilated. Even the daily newspaper Cumaydin mentioned this fact in the caption of the photograph published in its issue dated April 1, 1972.

Anarsistlerin cesetleri kağı ile şehre indirilirken

Fotografaya suçlanan polis memuriyetinin verdiği ifade sonunda Omer Ayna (Soldaki) ve Nihat Yilmaz'ın ( Sağ ayağın kopması) cesetleri kağı arabaınca yüklenir.
March 30, 1972:

- Ten members of the TKG and the TKK, Nahik Çayva, Cüneyt Alper, Cem Ayhan, Mahir Altık, Cemal Kaya, Ayhan Aybek, Serif Ali, Er- tunc Karabulut, Selçuk Kalk, and Nikhat Yüksel, and three hostages were mur- dered by the "security" forces in a bomb explosion. In the morning, the authorities announced that the guerillas and their hostages were in Kızılda- ru Village, 30 kilometers from Nicosia. Security forces were mobilized to surround the home of the village head where the guerillas were hiding and hold their hostages. In addition, a police squad armed with bulletproof vests, was sent to Kızılderû. Here is the account published by Le Monde on April 1, 1972:

"At 1:45 PM Interior Minister Nihat arrived at the village and re- fused once again the demands of the guerilla.

"At 4:05 PM the guerillas demanded that the Chief of the General Staff come personally for discussions with them. Police Chief Cem Aybek stated: 'If they force us to, we can finish them off in five minutes time.'"

"At 4:15 PM lawyer Şener Gazi, arrested a few days previously for being involved in the kidnapping, was brought to the village in order to compel them to surrender.

"At 2:03 PM the Anatolian News Agency, semi-official news agency of the Turkish Government, published the following information: "The surrounding terrorists, after having refused to surrender, blew up the house. Ten terrorists, the three hostages and mediator all died."

"At 5:14 PM the officials on the scene stated that the 'terrorists' de- cided to blow up the house when the security forces began their de- cision assault.

"At 5:20 PM the officials issued a corrected statement: "At 3:20 PM local time, the police forces entered the house without firing a shot. The terrorists had killed the hostages before noon by shooting them in the head. In a 15 minute room-to-room shootout with the terror- ists in another part of the two-story timber house, all the occupants were killed."

The two different versions of the tragedy confused the foreign press. The French newspapers brought out the contradictions between the two officials versions:

- It is impossible to discover the truth. In any case, the event ended in tragedy. But whenever accurate to true, the second version misses the Turkish authorities best, for it presents the rumor getting around that they did not do their best to save the hostages. (Le Figaro, March 31, 1972)

- How did the tragedy end? Obviously, we will never know the truth. (Ozgur, March 31, 1972)

The Turkish authorities made two contradictory announcements within a short interval of time. Moreover, both announcements contained the information given to journalists on the spot. According to the Journalists present, the troops launched their assault after an explo- sion blew the roof off the house. (France Soir, April 1, 1972)

Indeed, there are many contradictions in the official announcements. Here are a few others:

- Earlier, officials said that lawyer Şener Gazi had also been killed.
But the Intercommunial said no mention of whether he had been killed with the guerrillas or not.

Integral Karkil, president of Dew-Com (Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), was at first included among those dead, but later Interior Minister said that the police made a mistake and had assumed that one of the mutilated bodies was his. However, he is the only survivor of the tragedy.

Earlier an Interior Ministry statement stated that Karkil had insisted that the police was responsible for the death of the hostages as well. But later, the Interior Minister said that Karkil "confessed" that he took part in the kidnap-murder of the three foreign hostages. (In a matter of fact, Karkil had not been brought before any tribunal as yet, and his attitude as well as his fate, is still in the balance.) The contradictions between the official statements and testimony is proof that the Kisdere Massacre was committed by the "Security Forces":

a) It is impossible to consider that the guerrillas shot the hostages at noon, that is to say five hours before the police assault, since these hostages were the only witnesses to the lives of their three friends sentenced to death, and of themselves.

b) It is impossible to consider that the ten guerrillas, who were skilled in handling arms were not able to kill or wound a single policeman during the supposed 15-minute room-to-room shootout.

c) The photographs published in the press clearly demonstrate that the bodies of the hostages and the guerrillas were completely dismembered. Even the officials were not able to identify them for some time. The photographs clearly show the impaled bodies.

d) The house with its roof blown off and walls cracked can be clearly seen in the photographs.

e) At the end of the tragedy it was stated that not only the guerrillas and hostage, but also the house in the stable had been dead. One can hardly imagine that the house also took part in the room-to-room shootout.

f) The daily newspapers, Çenkins, published a photograph and a sketch of how a commando office penetrated into the house and threw a bomb inside. The newspaper says that it was a tear gas-bomb, but how could a tear gas-bomb blow off the roof and crack the walls of the house and kill thirteen persons.

a) Another daily newspaper, Milliyet, in its first edition, mentioned the fact that the troops had used bulldozers against the house; in its later edition, the newspaper omitted this sentence.

b) The following are extracts of an article by a regime journalist, Ahmet Şakirpaş's, published in a local newspaper, Akhisar (Ordu):

"Here are Cihan Alpakti, Engin Southern and Ahmet Aksay from Fateh and home to Mehat Gözan... and other heads, the dismembered legs and heads." (April 5, 1974, p. 1)

"The bullet-holes in the heads of the three foreign technicians. But they did not bleed." (April 5, 1974, p. 1)

"Inside the house, nothing remained standing. Everything had been broken to bits and the scattered about." (April 5, 1974, p. 1)

1) The coroner's report prepared by the Ankara University Medicine Faculty, the legal Medicine Department and the Social Medicine department states that there were 10 bullet-holes in Gordon Danner's body, six bullet-holes in John Stuart Law's body and seven bullet-holes in Charles Lawrence Turner's body. (Daily Milliyet, April 22, 1972) The official communiques
KIZILDERE MASSACRE:

Tiles were torn from the roof of the house as the bombs exploded (above). The arrows on the clipping show how a commando lieutenant infiltrated and threw a gas bomb into the house (left). Below, the four victims.
KIZILDERE MASSACRE:

How can it be imagined that the defender of Cihan, Alptekin (left) and the three hostages (above) were the result of shooting! The dust and dirt stains by bombs is clearly visible on both photos. The three hostages were also murdered as the house was bombed. But later, the police shot at the heads of the corpses to claim that the hostages had been killed previously by the young patriots.
issued just after the massacre, however, make no mention of any shooting prior to the massacre. The only claim made was that the troops stormed the house after hearing only three shots fired. Even if this claim is considered as a fact, 25 shootings have never been mentioned in any newspaper. Moreover, this news contradicts the official statement which stated that the hostages had been shot to death at least one and one-half hours before the death of the guerrillas. It is obvious that after having murdered them by bomb, the police then shot into the bodies of the three hostages so as to create the impression that they had been shot by the guerrillas. As stated in the daily Nadire of April 3, 1971, there was no blood around the bullet holes in the heads of the three hostages.

(The Kiliçedere Tragedy did not end with the death of the thirteen men. The authorities refused to give the Nadire Cevap's body to his family for burial. The burial could only take place at night in Ankara with two people in attendance. The two people who carried the caskets to the cemetery were overcome by General İvilk Türel, the Military Police Chief of Ankara and the brother of the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul. The general was drunk and even ordered that a steamroller pass over the place of burial so as to demolish the memorial to the young independence fighters.)

-39 persons from Kayseri and Kiliçedere were taken into custody accused of "helping the guerrillas". 26 students of the Political Science Faculty of Ankara were taken into custody for "protesting against the Kiliçedere Massacre".
- During a one-month period 150 persons in Ankara, 64 persons in Istanbul, 27 persons in Siverce, 7 persons in Erzincan were taken into custody.

April 1, 1972:
- Professor Uşur Alankapı was detained by the military authorities during a luncheon with the Minister of Tourism and Agai. Assistant Prof. Mükbi Kargı and two assistants, Adil Cakmak and Uşur Muvaci, were also detained.

April 2, 1972:
- The Police Chief of Istanbul stated that the police forces would be reinforced with planes and armored vehicles.

April 30, 1972:
- 66 persons were taken into custody in Ankara during the month.

May 3, 1972:
- Four members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey hijacked a Turkish Airlines plane to Sofia Airport and stated that if their six comrades condemned to death were not released, they would blow up the plane with the passengers.

May 4, 1972:
- The four guerrillas abandoned the project to blow up the plane and took refuge in Budapest.
- Four other members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey attempted to kidnap General Kesanlettin Eken, Commander of the Gendarmerie, so as to save three of their comrades condemned to death. The commander's guards opened fire on them. One of the guerrillas, Ahmet Niyazi Yıldırım, was shot to death. Another guerrilla and the commander were wounded. The military authorities once again attempted to deceive public opinion by claiming that the guerrillas had attempted to assassinate the commander.
May 6, 1972:

- Three members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey, Demir Osman, Tunç and Ali, were executed by hanging.

May 9, 1972:

- 13 persons were detained in Ankara.

May 16, 1972:

- 20 persons, including lawyer Aysen Bulut and Engineer Aydın Polatlı, detained for "distributing the clandestine newspaper Safak" in Istanbul.

May 23, 1972:

- Martial law was extended for another two months by Parliament on the pretext that the extreme left had instigated workers and peasants to rise up against the regime.

May 25, 1972:

- A new bill was passed by Parliament. The security forces are now authorized to shoot on sight "suspects" and convicts at large who do not surrender to the authorities. The names of "suspects" and convicts at large will be published in the press and if they do not surrender within 30 days, the security forces are authorized to shoot them on sight.

June 5, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara announced the detention of 100 persons, including journalists Emre Cakırcam, Ahmet Gökay and Cihat Sama, writer Ezal Co, university assistant Dogu Perincek, Halil Barkay, Nur Gökçenler and Nurettin Karaman. They are accused of "forming a new clandestine organization called the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey" and "participating in the hijacking and the attempted kidnaping of the Commander of the Gendarmerie".

May 31, 1972:

- During one month, 10 persons including editor Vahap Erdogan were detained in several provinces.

June 1, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Izmir stated that 14 members of the clandestine Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey had been apprehended in Izmir.

June 2, 1972:

- Recep Yenik was arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters because he praised his brother, Haci Yenik, who had been condemned to death.

June 13, 1972:

- Abdulkadir Yavuztan and 13 others were apprehended by the Aksaray Martial Law Headquarters for trying to launch an armed resistance movement in Sivas.

June 14, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara issued list of 37 persons wanted, including Mihri Belili.
KIZILDERE MASSACRE: The mutilated bodies of the fighters of the Popular Liberation Army and the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey being checked by police and military men (left). The faces of the victims were so destroyed that the police was not able to identify them for a long time. It was in fact believed that Ertegun Kurucu was among the dead, until he was found the next day, the only survivor of the massacre. The mutilated corpse of Omer Ayis lying in the house, where cracked walls and heavy disorder bear evidence of the bombing, above.
Mahir ÇAYAN:

C. ALPTEKİN:

KIZILDERE MASSACRE:

Three of the young victims of the Kızılderı Massacre. After having bombed the house and killed everybody, including the three hostages, the military forces shot at the corpses to make it look as if they had been killed during the shootout.

Saffet ALP:
June 23, 1972:

The Dersim Martial Law Headquarters published a list of 25 persons wanted, including former president of the TIP Kobut Ali Aksöz, editor Doymaz Çağlayan and writer Sabit Kınıkstıpkoğlu.

June 23, 1972:

A young man by the name of Vedat Serrek was tortured and murdered by the police in Ankara. A short news item appeared in the papers stating that he had died from falling from the top storey of the Ankara Police Headquarters.

June 23, 1972:

The Ankara Police Headquarters announced that Vedat Serrek was one of the "suspects" wanted by the military authorities and that while being interrogated at the police headquarters, he went into the lavatory hand-cuffed and committed suicide by throwing himself from the window.

The Martial Law Headquarters of Dersim detained 34 persons and list four others as wanted.

11 persons were detained in several provinces, including Melide Zain who had been acquitted previously in the TUN case. She is accused of "hiding her fiancé, Mehri Ahal, wanted by the military authorities".

July 4, 1972:

The Martial Law Headquarters of Dersim issued a new official communiqué to the "honorable informers system" and called upon them to inform on "suspects" disguised as peddlers when they spend their vacations at the seaside in the meantime.

July 15, 1972:

The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara announced that 32 persons, including editor Züha Özen and three writers, Mustafa Aras, Remzi Olçag and Mithat Han, were wanted.

July 20, 1972:

In Ermenek, police agents detained a taxi-driver, Hasan Öcal, and beat him up badly in police headquarters. The people rallied to protest against police terror and released the police headquarters.

July 21, 1972:

In Sivas (Kırşehir province), 13 persons including secondary school students were taken into custody for attempting to organize a demonstration in favor of setting up a secondary school and a library in Çurlar.

Ahmet Aksöz, student, was shot by the police while he was visiting his friend in Bursa, Istanbul.

Mass Arrests Throughout Turkey

As can be seen from this chronological listing, the mass hunts and mass arrests are still being continued by the military and civil authorities at the same rate. On the basis of the new prerogatives accorded to the military and police forces to raid anywhere, to search anyone and shoot any "suspect" without a court decision, the mass hunts will obviously become more severe. The military authorities pay no attention whatsoever to the stipulations of the constitution and the basic principles of the law. They keep those detained for
weeks and months in torture centers and cells and torture them despite the fact that the constitution clearly opposes the use of torture and extended detention.

The military authorities violate daily the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Article 2 of the European Convention stipulates that: "everyone’s right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a competent court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law." The military authorities of Turkey have deprived more than thirty persons of their lives without court sentences.

In addition to this report, the Democratic Resistance of Turkey has prepared a supplementary report including the names of those arrested or detained or sentenced since the beginning of the period of Martial Law, April 26, 1971. The names, places and dates in that list have been taken from the newspapers which have published information on the subject within the limits of the official summaries or the news provided by the military authorities.

Furthermore, the martial law authorities have never given out the names of those released after their innocence has been proved. Only the number of those detained has been disclosed at times by the authorities, but their names are not published.

According to the supplementary report prepared by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, the number of detainees whose names have been disclosed is 5,989; the total number of detainees whose names have not been disclosed is 3,897; the total number of detainees taken in between April 26, 1971 and July 1972 is 9,985.

It can easily be seen that the number of victims detained or arrested throughout Turkey is actually much higher than this figure. Otherwise why would the martial law authorities not have disclosed the names and the number of detainees. According to the official communiques, the military and police forces had, by August 1972, brought 5,177 cases before the military prosecutors in Ankara, 3,000 in Istanbul as of May 20, 1972, and more than 5,000 in Izmir as of April 27, 1972. The martial law headquarters of Adana, Izmir and Bolu have never disclosed the figures concerning legal cases. While many of these cases have been submitted to the public prosecutors, others have never been subjected to legal action; detainees have nevertheless, in both cases, been held in police or military headquarters for days and weeks on end. Moreover, the majority of the detainees brought before the public prosecutors are released but are placed under arrest by the civil courts.

With regard to the aforementioned figures and facts, it is not an exaggeration to say that approximately two thousand intellectuals, university professors, teachers, writers, workers, peasants and students leaders from all corners of Turkey have been victims of the man hunts and mass arrests.

There exists deep concern as to the lives and liberties of many people who are wanted by the authorities, who up till now have not been caught and who have never surrendered to the fascist rulers of Turkey.
EXECUTION OF DEATH SENTENCES

On May 6th, 1972 three young patriots—Denis Gousis, 25 years old, Yusuf Aslan, 27, and Ekrem Inan, 25—died a martyr's death as they were hanged by the fascist regime's executioners.

These three young men, just as their many brothers fallen over the past year in the halls aimed by the fascists, will live forever in the hearts and minds of all freedom and independence fighters. They are the very symbol of the people of Turkey's historic struggle against imperialism, Fascism and exploitation.

The execution of Denis Gousis, Yusuf Aslan and Ekrem Inan is the latest and most shameful link in the whole chain of base plots planned and carried out by the army, by corrupt politicians.

As explained in the chapters on Illegal Trials and the Man Hunt, the bloodthirsty military rulers reported to every means available to send the three young men to the gallows, for struggling by the most primitive of methods.

While many countries long ago abolished capital punishment for political offences, these three young patriots—in spite of their by now unanimously recognized humanitarian attitude towards those they were forced to betray—were nevertheless sentenced to death. The military court's death warrant gave rise to tremendous protests in the country as well as abroad. Tens of thousands of signatures were amassed in Turkey, abroad, hundreds of thousands of people, hundreds of organizations and even governments addressed messages to the President of the Republic to stop the executions.

The fascist Turkish regime, however, paid no attention to these protests and the death sentences were voted by parliament. The verdict in favour of capital punishment was at first found legally sound, and the Constitutional Court cancelled it. The military junta then had the law hurriedly revised by parliament once again, this time following the "proper legal procedures".

Long before the death sentences were voted in parliament, the fascist executioners had arranged another of their notorious tricks: three young men were to be freed from punishment by death if they "confessed" their "errors" and agreed to denounce their comrades.

The three revolutionaries, however, reacted as one by reaffirming the pride and honour they felt concerning their legitimate fight for the liberation of the people of Turkey and refusing categorically any unchained deal. Gousis, Aslan and Inan were then refused all contact with the outside world, waiting only the executioners who could knock on their doors at any time.

As there seemed to be no other legal way to save the three young patriots' lives, their comrades undertook actions to reciprocate and neutralise the fascists' decision. But their ultimate attempts were to be inconclusive and the President of the Republic signed the death warrants on May 5, 1972.

Their two lawyers, Mibarek Erdogan and Besim Gansel, went to the An-
kure Central Prison at 2 P.M. and demanded a final consultation with their clients. The prison administration rejected their demands.

On May 2, 1972 and May 4, 1972 the lawyers appealed to the Military Court of Cassation to review the decision on legal grounds (see p.59). However, the executioners were so impatient that they began executing death sentences without waiting for the decision on the appeal.

On May 6, 1972, Halit Celik and Mhktorren Ibragan, two other lawyers of Gennia and his comrades, were brought to the Central Prison at 1 a.m. The prison was illuminated both inside and out and all roads leading to the building were closed to traffic. The city was surrounded by military troops and the prison was kept under strict military control. On entering the prison, the lawyers were searched down to their socks. Once inside, the executive prosecutor Samil Iqpar informed the lawyers that their latest appeal had been rejected by the Military Court of Cassation but they were shown no written document.

The lawyers first saw Denis Gennia. Handcuffed and in chains, he sat in the chief warden’s office. He welcomed the lawyers with a smile and said:

"I want you to know what we are going to our deaths so that future generations will know. Embrace all the revolutionaries in jail for me. May my blood be the blood of the revolutionaries."

"How do you feel?" He replied: "Too happy, too peaceful."

The lawyers were then shown into the room where Yusuf Ailam was standing, showing no signs of weakness. He asked whether his father knew about the execution. The lawyers said that he knew. Ailam asked about his father’s reaction and they replied: "Your father is very calm and firm." He thanked the lawyers for taking an interest in his brother’s health and asked: "We believe that the revolutionary struggle will not end with our deaths."

He then asked to meet his commander, Denis Gennia and Mhktorren Ibragan. The executive prosecutor immediately rejected this request. The lawyers stated that the prosecutor had no right to turn down this modest demand when he was going to his death. They then met in handcuffs and embraced each other.

Lastly, the lawyers went into the room where Jhuyin Iqpar was being held. He asked whether his father was in Jugurda. The answer was affirmative and he asked: "Who is he?" The lawyers said that the father of Jhuyin Iqpar was proud of his son. He said that he had written a letter to his father asking him to bring up his brother as a revolutionary like himself.

The lawyers went back to Gennia’s room. He was dictating a letter to his father. While the letter was being written, the executive prosecutors, Samil Iqpar and Mhktorren Iqpar, Military Police Chief General Mustufik Tëkin, and General Ali Ibragan, who had convened them to death, were getting ready in another room.

They tried to remove the chains for fifteen minutes but were unsuccessful. One of the executors then suggested that they give up, expressing his fear by saying, "We must be careful or else they take him away to the gallows." The executive prosecutor finally ordered that the chains be taken off, after which they put a white execution-cloth on him. Denis Gennia remarked: "When they took us from the prison, they did not allow us to tie our shoes-laces. Tie them, otherwise my shoes may fall after I am hanged." They tied the shoes-laces.

He was shot to death by the police on September 23, 1969.
The young defenders of independence and democracy clearly proved that the 1961 Constitution was not changed by them, on the contrary by the military junta. Though three of them, Yusuf Aslan (above left), Deniz Gezmis (above right), and Huseyin Inan were hanged by the same power, history shall absolve them.
He then looked at the executioners around him with a smile on his lips. His eyes were filled with pity for them. He walked towards the gallows with a firm step. He climbed onto the footstool with the help of the wardens since he was still handcuffed and the long executioner's robe prevented him from moving freely. Once on the footstool, he put his head in the noose by himself, and shouted:

"Long live the struggle of the people of Turkey for independence... Long live national-liberation!... Long live the revolutionary struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples!... Down with imperialism!..."

In a state of panic on hearing his words, the executive prosecutor shouted to the executioner: "Pick the footstool!" The footstool was kicked out from under him. Given his height, however, Denis Gezmî's feet still rested on the table. This time, the executioners also pulled the table out from under him. Denis Gezmî's body shook and turned, the rope twisted and stopped... It was 1:25 a.m. After the execution, the wardens and other civilian personnel showed their respect for the victim. General Elverdi, taking suitable pleasure in the whole scene, stood with his hands on his hips, grinning. The executive prosecutor tried to make a joke about the execution and laughed at himself. Denis Gezmî's corpse was taken from the gallows at 2:15 a.m.

Yusuf Anlan was then brought into the chief warden's room. He said: "I heard Denis's voice." The executive prosecutor read the death sentence. Anlan asked the prosecutor: "Will you read my letters for me?" The prosecutor replied: "Surely... Don't you have confidence in me?" Yusuf said: "Is there any reason to have confidence in you?" (In a matter of fact, the prosecutor did not send one of the letters addressed to Anlan's village.) Yusuf Anlan asked: "Wouldn't you hang me without putting the executioner's robe on?" The prosecutor replied: "It is a matter of procedure." Yusuf Anlan turned to a fat man called the "director" and asked: "Do you still use torture?" The fat man objected: "No, we never use torture." Yusuf Anlan said again: "What about the electric shock treatment?" The fat man again denied it, but he was bruised with shame. Yusuf Anlan added: "Do you have children?" He said that he had a little daughter. The dialogue was over. The lawyers offered him a cigarette. While he was smoking, the gallows were prepared for the execution.

Yusuf Anlan bid farewell to his lawyers and walked to the gallows with firm a step. He climbed onto the footstool, put his head in the noose, and shouted:

"I am dying on honourable death, one death, for the sake of independence and the prosperity of our people. (Pointing to the sixty colonels around the gallows) You, the ones who are bringing us... to die each day for your dishonesty. We are in the service of our people, but you are the servants of the United States. Long live revolutionary... Down with French..."

Before he could finish, the footstool was hurriedly kicked out from under him by the executioners. His body turned and turned on the rope. It was 2:35 a.m. They cut the rope at 2:56 a.m. and took his body away.

Mehmet Ilnâs also was then brought into the chief warden's room and the death sentence was read. The executive prosecutor asked him whether he had any objections. He looked at the prosecutor with a smile and then turned...
to his lawyer: "There are snipers on my feet. When they were brought up here, they would not even allow us to wear our shoes. I give my shoes to the military prison."

They led Nigar to the scaffold. As he passed in front of his lawyer, he fell to his knees and said: "This struggle will not end with our executions."

He got up the table and shouted:

"It is fought for the independence and prosperity of my people with no consideration for my own interests. I have carried the banner hopefully to this day. From you on, I had it on to the people of Turkey. Long live the workers and peasants... Long live revolutionaries, even with seperation and executions!"

Nigar then stuck onto the footstool and put his head in the noose. He kicked the footstool himself.

It was 3 a.m. They took away Nigar Inan at 3:25...

Three men, Joseph Zanet, Husein Cantacuin and Samettin Inan, were arrested for carrying photographs of Denis Gamis and Yusuf Alian in Gaziantep. (Daily Yenidogan, May 9, 1971)

Veli Serinyen, a teacher from Kayseri, was tried at the Military Court of the Akkaya Military Law Headquarters for protesting Denis Guzri. (Daily Cumhuriyet, November 2, 1971)

Three girls, Fatma Serap, Figen Akayat, and Aygin Uslu, were detained in Adana by the military authorities on February 24, 1971 for trying to place a wreath on the grave of Vahap Kurkcu who had been shot to death by police. (Daily Cumhuriyet, February 25, 1971)

A state employee, Abdurrahman Guleren, was arrested in Adana for laying three roses on the grave of the three assassinated revolutionaries, Denis Gekas, Yusuf Alian and Nigar Inan. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 10, 1971)

Two young men, Salih Topcu and Sepeh Akadan, were arrested in Gaziantep for protesting the four persons who had hijacked a Turkish plane to Libya in order to save the lives of Denis Guzri and his two comrades. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 10, 1971)

Two high school students, Nigar Inan and Adnan Gekas, were arrested by the Third Military Court of the Akkaya MEB for protesting Denis Gekas and his two comrades. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 20, 1971)

Two workers, Hasan Upu and Mehmet Ali Cakun, were arrested in Gaziantep for destroying Nigar Inan's photographs. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 20, 1971)
The year 1971 marked the beginning of a new period of terror in the history of Turkey's working class. Carried out by the armed forces on behalf of the working class, this reign of terror represented the most recent link in the chain of longstanding manoeuvres aimed at assuring absolute hegemony of the finance-capital group.

As explained in the chapter on the background of the military rule, the Turkish bourgeoisie, dreaming of Westernisation for the last two centuries, saw in it a means of capital accumulation at the expense of the toiling masses, of close cooperation with imperialism and of superficial reforms in favour of the ruling classes. On the other hand, the ruling classes of Turkey consciously and deliberately spread the class struggle which had marked the Western world, as well as the existence of socialist political parties and progressive trade unions and the coming into power of socialist political parties in various countries, all characteristic of the West.

In this chapter, emphasis is given to the economic, democratic and political struggles of Turkey's working class and to the repression exerted against it and the peasants by the ruling classes since the end of the 19th century.

The period of 1870–1908 saw the beginning of the workers' movement in Turkey. The first workers' organisation was established in 1871, under the name of Amelipazarı Cemiyeti (Workers Association). Later, in 1898, the workers of the Tuphane factories formed the Osmanlı Amel Cemiyeti (Ottoman Workers Association), but this primitive organisation was banned by the authorities and all its leaders were arrested. It appeared again in 1901, but did not last long.

The 1908 "Bourgeois Democratic Movement" was an important turning point for the working class. After the proclamation of the 4th Constitutional government, numerous political organisations and associations could now be established. Besides, throughout the Empire the workers started spontaneous strikes under the banner of "freedom, justice and equality". In August and September of 1908 a wave of strikes spread all over the Ottoman Empire and the ineffective government ordered the military and police forces to crush the strikes of the transportation and brick workers in Istanbul, the tram, gas, tobacco, cigarette paper, leather, sugar, bakery and brick workers in Bursa; the tram workers in Izmir; the cotton workers in Adana; and the coal-miners in Zonguldak. Under the pressure of the foreign companies, the İttihat ve Terakki power enacted Law on October 12, 1909, forbidding every kind of strike and outlawing the trade unions. Nevertheless, in spite of this repressive act, the working class did not surrender, and various trade unions and associations were formed, especially in Rumeli (Thrace and the Black Sea). In 1910 the workers of Istanbul established several clandestine organisations, named İttihat Osmanlı Amel Cemiyeti (Clandestine Ottoman Workers' Association), Osmanlı Terakki Cemiyeti (Ottoman Industrial Association), and Osmanlı Sanatkarlar Cemiyeti (Ottoman Artisans Association). Besides, Labour Day (May 1) began to be celebrated in 1909 (Rumeli) and 1912 (Istanbul). In 1910 the workers went on a series of strikes in Istanbul, Bi-
In the same year, the first socialist party was founded under the name of Cemal决赛共产主义（奥斯曼社会主义党）。In 1911 the strikes of tobacco workers were crushed by the security forces in Istanbul and İzmir. Prior to the First World War, the Young-Turkish rule adopted a repressive policy and banned the Ottoman Socialist Party and all trade unions.

During the war period it was impossible to establish any workers' organizations. At the end of the war, the workers' movement started to gain strength again, and in 1919 two socialist parties were established: the Türkiye Socialist Partisi (Socialist Party of Turkey) and the Türkiye İşçi ve Çocuklar Topluluğu (Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey). On the other hand, the Turkish Communist Party (TCP) was founded in 1940, by Turkish socialists abroad. In 1919 the workers of Istanbul went out on 30 strikes, demanding an eight-hour work day, social security, free education, and protection of working women and children. During the period of the Allied occupation, all labor-based organizations took part in the national liberation war. While the Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey was organizing the struggle of armed resistance from Istanbul to Antalıa, the Turkish Communist Party acted, on the other hand, in providing financial and material support to the Ankara Government and dispatching well-trained guerrilla groups to Antalıa. With the mass participation of workers and peasants, the guerrilla fight soon turned into an unprecedented popular struggle. But with approaching victory, the representatives of the newly-developing bourgeoisie and landlords used the Ottoman police— who also had been dreaming of creating a "national" bourgeoisie ever since Ottoman times—to eliminate the guerrilla leaders and destroy the socialist organizations. Mustafa Derviş, leader of the Turkish Communist Party, and his fourteen comrades were executed in the Black Sea.

Repression by the CEP and CP Powers

No sooner was the armed struggle over than an Economic Congress met at İzmir in 1922. According with the resolutions of this congress, the rulers of the newly established Republic adopted a capitalist line of development. Although with the establishment of the Republic a more active interest in labor legislation began to emerge, the rulers took no heed of the fundamental democratic rights of workers and peasants. Indeed, at a time when the armed struggle had not yet ended, the National Assembly had already voted new tax levies on the poor peasantry. At the end of the struggle, not only were the promised land reforms thwarted aside, but the communist officers appropriated to themselves— with the politico-bureaucratic back-up of the National Assembly— thousands of hectares of land, thus becoming large-scale landlords at the poor peasants' expense.

Nevertheless, during the first year of the republic—in 1923—32,000 workers went out on strike. The most important strike was that of the coal-miners in Izmir.

In 1924, the new constitution was modified to increase guarantees of private property. At that time there were 160,000 workers in the industrial sector and 300,000 in the agricultural sector. Meanwhile, the Amalat Salesi Cemiyeti (Association for Workers' Advancement) was founded, and the workers of the modern railways and Istanbul textile factories went on strike.

In 1925, a law providing for exceptional powers (Fatihce Sultan Kemal) was enacted and the Socialists Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey was outlawed.
et, Serik Ismail and other leaders of the party were condemned to imprisonment.

Despite the severe repression, during the following years the workers continued to carry on strikes, but the government crushed all resistance movements by force, and shot 15 dockers to death at Istanbul in 1927.

In 1932, Turkey joined the League of Nations, but in spite of the obligatory provisions on labour, the rulers avoided legislating a labour code until 1936. At that time the number of workers had reached 646,491, and the working class increased its pressure on the government in order to obtain social security. But again the workers were shot or jailed by the authorities.

Finally, in 1936, the Basic Labour Code was passed. As originally expected, it applied only to manual workers in enterprises with 10 or more employees, engaged in certain sectors. The Kemalist leadership did not, moreover, consider it necessary to incorporate into the basic labour code provisions for the formation of independent unions. The code forbade strikes and established machinery for settling labor disputes either through conciliation by a government mediator, or if conciliation could not be accomplished, through arbitration by a board under the Department of Labour. A subsequent enactment, the Association Act of 1936, prohibited the establishment of labour-based organizations. Besides, certain articles of Musavi's fascist penal code were made part and parcel of the Turkish Penal Code and used against socialist intellectuals and labor leaders.

In 1940 a new enactment, the National Defence Act, extended the working day to 12 hours and abolished the right to rest. Although Turkey itself was not an actor in the Second World War, nonetheless the employment of children increased 20 times in five years. During the war years, while the capitalists were gaining huge profits by the exploitation of workers and in the blackmarket, the workers and poor peasants on the other hand, became impoverished and the contradictions between the social classes deepened.

After the Second World War, with the adoption of the multi-party system, the impoverished masses, struggling for years against misery and police pressures, began in 1946 for the first time, to voice their opposition to the dictatorship. Trade unions were created in the industrial centers, and socialists previously forced into exile under threats of imprisonment were able to create the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party (Turkisk Komünist Partisi Halki Partisi), and the Turkish Socialist Workers Party (Türkiye Komünist İşçi Partisi). But shortly thereafter both the KP and the CIP agreed to crush these first attempts; the two socialist parties and the trade-unionism were dissolved and the socialist intelligentsia once more imprisoned.

In 1947 the legislature passed a Trade Union Act which apparently allowed unions to be established without obtaining prior permission from the administrative authorities; but all the trade unions were placed under the strict control of police agents, and the right to strike was not recognized. Nevertheless, in 1950, the number of trade unions reached 30, with 78,000 affiliated workers.

In 1950, the Democratic Party, the representative of the bourgeoisie, came to power by obtaining the support of workers also with the promise to recognize the right to strike.

On the other hand, the oppression and exploitation of the poor peas-
sentry continued after the Second World War. Although in 1945 the Assembly passed a bill entitled "A Law Making the Farmer a Landowner," very little actual assistance was given to those who might have benefited from the law, and after a short while all were obliged to sell their land grants to the big landowners, again owing to their pressure. The general condition of land- less farm labourers, shoe-crawlers and tenants did not change. But once in power, the Democratic Party ignored its former promise and maintained the prohibition of strikes. During the period of the DP rule, as a result of rapid capitalization, millions of poor peasants left their villages and migrated to industrial centers and slum town areas to surround the outskirts of such big cities as Istanbul, İzmir, Ankara and Adana. Faced with an increasingly numerous working class, the United States and its local collaborators felt the need to bring this class completely under their control and hence, through the KCEP, created the Confederation of Turkish Workers' Unions (Türk-İş Konfederasyonu). Subsidized by considerable sums of American dollars, the Türk-İş under cover of a policy "above and beyond political parties", promised to keep working class action within the framework set for it by the bourgeois parties.

Nevertheless, in spite of the prohibition of strikes and strict control of the yellow unions, the working class undertook a series of strikes in İstanbul, İzmir, Ankara, Mersin and Siirt, demanding their democratic rights. Meanwhile, the DP power arrested many workers, trade union leaders and socialist intellectuals, and banned many trade unions.

1961 Constitution, TIP and DIHK

But as a result of the Democratic Party's inflationist policy, dissatis- faction mounted within the working class, among the poor peasants and the petit-bourgeoisie layers of the population. And as popular unrest spread, the DP government was overthrown on May 27, 1960.

After the coup d'état, the banned trade unions were once again permitted to function, and under the pressure of the rank and file, the November 1960 Convention of the Türk-İş Confederation adopted many democratic demands. The first large-scale workers' demonstration to take place in that period was a meeting held in Istanbul in December 1961, which attracted 100,000 people. Moreover, in the climate of relative liberty created and protected by the 1961 Constitution, socialist intellectuals found the possibility of publishing leftist books and newspapers, and workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands.

As a result of this progress, on February 13, 1961, twelve trade union leaders who were opposed to the prevailing American type of unionism founded the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) in order to give the working class an independ- ent political structure to represent its interests. Especially after the so- cialist intellectuals joined, the Turkish Labour Party started to represent the democratic and political demands of the people of Turkey which had been mentioned in the 1961 Constitution. In this way the anti-imperialist and de- mocratic movements of the toiling masses gained impetus.

In accordance with the 1961 Constitution, the working class used its right to strike without any restriction until 1962. The construction workers of the US Morrison Company in Karadeniz Ereğli, the metal workers of the Ral- mi Motor Factory and Naval Factory, the glass workers of the Papatlyay Factory in Istanbul, and the rubber workers of the Good Year Factory in Konya were
on strike. In 1965 these strikes took on an anti-imperialist character, and the workers at the EGOV and UO tannery and installations at Istanbul, Izmir, Istanbul, Gres, Ataas and S≠nep clashed with US soldiers. In Ankara, the construction workers held a bare-foot rally in front of the National Assembly in order to protest unemployment; 500 workers were arrested.

In 1965, the Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lockout Act brought many restrictions to the right to strike. This act was directly inspired by the Taft-Hartley Act and authorized the government to postpone any strike for months. But the collaborationist Turkish government decided to adopt July 24, the day the act came into force, as 'Labour Day.'

Thereupon four of the bigger unions, in reaction to the TDK-i's leadership, formed a "Solidarity Front" in 1964 in order to follow an independent policy.

So, the struggle became more conscious; in the course of the struggle of the Goznig workers in 1965, the government called in troops, reinforcing the era of the new constitution with the blood of two workers, Kemal Cevdet and Selim Vepe.

As the strength of the workers' movement increased, police terrorism was reinforced, and following the 1965 victory of the Justice Party, resent of quasi-fascist religious groups were set in motion. A number of verdicts and conferences of the Turkish Labour Party were broken up by these reactionary forces and by the police.

A significant step forward was taken by the working class on February 13, 1967 when four big unions, the Metal Workers Union of Turkey (TDK-i), the Beker Workers Union of Turkey (Gizlik-i), the Nutrition Workers Union (Oda-i) and the Printers Union of Turkey (Sari-i) got off from the TDK-i and formed the Turkish Confederation of Progressive Workers' Unions (DİSK). Shortly after its foundation, there were over 100,000 workers affiliated to DISK, whose stated objective was to "unite workers' struggle for power by means of their own political organization."

It was after the formation of DISK that important quantitative and qualitative developments took place in the struggle of the working class of Turkey. In the turmoil of their struggles, the industrial workers of the Singer, Good Year, Magnor, Chrysler, Buick, BWM and Portixl factories allied themselves with the progressive youth movement which had been fighting imperialism in its own way at the expense of several of its members. The occupation of the university quarters under the slogan "democratic education" and the occupation of factories were part of a common front forged in 1966 against the brutality unleashed by that other common front of the employers and the police. The occupation of the Derlìç factory in July 1968 was the first manifestation of this joint action. When both government and employers were manoeuvring to negotiate union contracts with the yellow unions, the workers affiliated to progressive unions initiated the occupation of factories, to which the progressive youth movement gave wide support.

It was the union of workers' forces and progressive youth which chased away the Sixth Fleet from Turkish territorial waters on February 16, 1969. On that day progressive trade unionists and the progressive youth movement had jointly organized a demonstration against the Sixth Fleet. Well aware of the significance of this common-front demonstration, imperialism's local collaborators mobilized the entire police force as well as the militiamen of the Serious reactionary groups and dispatched them to Taksim Square, where the
readers' view was to take place, to use their revolvers, daggers, bombs, stones and sledge-hammers against the workers and the youth. All Target, Aytaç and Duran Erdoğha lost their lives in this attack. In the history of the working class of Turkey, February 16, 1969 is known as "Bloody Sunday".

August 1969 saw the most significant workers' occupation movement. In answer to the refusal of the metallurgical factory Yıldırımspor's directors (owned by Yeşil Göz, the biggest Turkish capitalistic) to negotiate with the representatives of the progressive trade union Modern-İ, 2,000 workers decided to occupy the factory. Their action was supported by the participation of other workers of that highly industrialized section of the city, Hüllü, and of the families living in the weaving slum area, who forced back the troops sent in to crush them.

Another step forward in the progressive struggle of the working class was taken in November 1969 with the initiative of ties to the poor peasantry, its objective ally. In spite of the certain provision of the Constitution, the ruling circles did not bring a Land Reform Bill and the oppression of the poor peasantry was still continuing. This was when poor peasants all over Turkey were beginning to squat down on the lands which the big landowners had appropriated by force and form a mass movement engaged in an economic struggle to obtain higher prices for their products. It started at Silivri, where the impoverished peasants, who had occupied 5,000 acres of land, received the moral aid and support of the workers of the Zey Enşafli Factory is Istanbul. This lay behind DİKK's decision to form a trade union association for progressive and poor peasants, parallel to its organization of the industrial workers of Anatolia into unions.

Shortly after the forging of a common front of struggle which included the working class, the poor peasantry and the progressive youth movement, the lower and under-privileged layers of the bureaucracy joined these ranks. Even non-commissioned officers and members of the police force soon began to formulate their own demands. The most exemplary struggle was that of the primary and highschool teachers organized in the TG. Even while waging their own struggle in the framework of their union organization, the teachers did not hesitate to give effective support to the struggles of the working class, the peasants and the progressive youth movement.

In the spring of 1970, the working class raised its slogan, "Turkey Without Bosses". Scared to death, the collaborating bourgeoisie began manoeuvring with the government to destroy the progressive unions, leaving only Türkiye to represent the working class.

At its May 1970 convention, the TBİ-Kiş (which received AİD subsidies amounting to 3,546,615 LL, as revealed in its annual report) attacked DİKK openly, calling for changes in the legislation on unions, strikes and lockouts and demanding that DİKK be dissolved. A first step towards the settling of accounts with DİKK was taken in June 1970 when the National Assembly passed the Government's proposed amendments to the legislation on unions. But the bourgeoisie had not foreseen the militant reaction of the working class. Hundreds of thousands of industrial workers thronged Istanbul's three high thoroughfares in defence of their progressive unions. Once again soldiers were brought in to crush the workers' demonstration, and in the course of the fierce fighting Abdullah Deniz and Yusuf Vildırım, Yeşil Göz Oldım and Mustafa Taymaz perished. Marziali law was subsequently proclaimed in the districts of Istanbul and Kocaeli; the leaders of progressive unions were arrested, and hundreds of workers, rounded up at police and army headquarters, were viciously tortured.
Benefitting from the state of siege, the employers hurried to expel from their factories the representatives of the progressive unions. And, as was to be expected, strikes were declared illegal in the sectors covered by martial law.

Throughout the four months that martial law reigned, the trade unionists and workers who had been brought before military courts defended themselves valiantly and courageously unmasked the maneuvers of finance-capital.

This is what the DSK leader Ismail Obru, has to say about the tortures he witnessed:

"At six o'clock in the evening of June 16, 1970 a non-commissioned officer of the troops, together with five policemen in plain clothes, came to arrest me at Kader Street, where the headquarters of the Cetkici-Ig union is located. They took me off in the direction of the criminal section of the police. As I stepped down from the jeep, I was kicked and thrown into a dark cell full of water. A little later policemen came in, addressing me with insults and calling me 'Communist', and proceeded with the 'flagellation'. Despite the fact that I told them my feet were molded as a result of an automobile accident, they continued the flagellation. When they stopped now and then, it was only to piny me with questions and extinguish their cigarettes on my hands. And then they forced me to walk on the floor all covered with water. During the 23 hours that I underwent these tortures they took away the 186 liras I was carrying on me, my cigarettes, cigarette lighter, fountain pen and my address book. These were never returned to me."

This is how Ergun Selcioğlu of the Konya union describes the police torture:

"I was picked up in front of the Panoray factory by a policeman in plain clothes on June 18 and taken to the police headquarters of Konya. There I was transferred to the security police. There I saw Muratca Dağdelen, a Panoray factory worker. His face was all battered and swollen. His head had been injured and blood was flowing down onto his shirt. He was incapable of moving. The next day I was transferred to the army barracks at Saldıraya. There I saw my fellow workers being beaten by policemen and troopers in front No. 3 in an atrocious manner. They were no longer able to move."

Yusuf Kocagül tells of the torture he witnessed at the security police:

"They were flagellating the workers, shouting, 'you, stupid dog! why do you resist against the employers who give you daily bread?' In another corner, two workers with bloody eyes told how they had been beaten at the police headquarters of Konya by the troopers and members of the military police." (Monthly Soviet Out, August 1970, p.1)

And when the state of siege was lifted, it was evident that it had been impossible to purely and simply eliminate progressive unions; moreover, throughout the country thousands of workers were joining DSK, a proof that DSK was the main true representative of the working class. In the region of Cihanbey alone, 10,000 workers in the textile industry adhered to progressive unions, defying the pressures, the violence and the cruelty which the police, the armed forces and the rest of the State machinery hold in store for them. Such determinations on the part of the working class rendered unendurable the standpoint to union legislation, and progressive unions continued to represent the workers in fact. In December of 1970, at the Bregi steelworks, the most important center of heavy industry in Turkey, 3,000 workers in a body went over to DSK."

For the most part these were bloody struggles, under attack by the forces of law and order and by the army.

As mentioned in the chapter on the "Red Hunter", these struggles were also as in other conflicts, the working class lost Gafa Kyml, Recep Carikli and others.

March 12 or War Against Working Class

And thus the democratic and anti-imperialist movement's road to arm itself in self-defense and oppose violence with violence in this criminal, terrorist atmosphere that prevailed in Turkey was labelled "anarchy" by the Turkish ruling circles who used this pretext to unleash their "Sledge-Hammer Operation" on March 12, 1971 against the Left and the country's democratic forces.

Immediately after the March 12 coup, the DİSK issued a call for a mass "Union of Forces", asking all mass organizations to exercise pressure on the military authorities, to pose their demands clearly and threaten to continue their struggle as long as these demands remained unsatisfied. The Turkish Teachers' Union (OGE), the Union of State Employees, the professionals chambers and the various trade unions which participated in these "United Forces" meetings decided to transmit a memorandum to the Government demanding:

a) Measures to put an end rapidly to the economic, political, ideological and military domination of the United States.

b) An immediate end to the fascist methods employed against democratic and progressive forces.

c) Speedy implementation of social and economic reforms in the interests of the impoverished masses.

It was made clear that the working class and its allies would not cease struggling as long as these demands remained unsatisfied and fascist pressures were allowed to continue.

The Erb railway Government, however, true to its class structure, did not take any of these demands into consideration when presenting its program to Parliament. On the contrary, every single point in its program favored the interests of the United States and its local associates. It was a program after the bent of a Velcli Kop, leader of a fascist character.

The first concrete application of this program was the initiation of a "Sledge-Hammer Operation" against the entire Left on April 26, 1971 with the proclamation, at the Ministerial Council, of martial law for 11 provinces.
Right of these provinces, Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adana, İzmir, Zonguldak, Balıkesir and Adana are the most industrialized districts of Turkey and form strongest bases of the progressive unions.

The martial law regime's first cudgel blow fell on the socialist movement. All the socialist organizations and publications were dissolved and banned. And then began a large-scale, nation-wide program of arrests. From the very start of the martial law regime, strikes were forbidden and union leaders and workers were arrested. Armed troops were sent in wherever groups of workers were fighting for their rights. And the smell of the workers' movement and of socialism was to be exorcized in the constitution and in new legislation by the passage of amendments voted while communist shots rained menacingly by.

In this struggle to destroy the workers' movement, the fascist government found a great ally in the Türk-İş leaders who, in order to completely wipe out progressive trade unionism in Turkey, were enacting in a policy of concessions. Thus, strikes were postponed, salary increases limited, unionists arrested.

The list below presents a chronological picture of the terrorist movement unleashed against the working class and progressive trade-unions following the proclamation of martial law:

23.6.71 - All union activity is forbidden in the districts under martial law.

26.6.71 - The striking workers at the Portixol, Pirelli, I. Z. Uşapay and Eken factories decide to continue their strike despite the ban. The militiamen sent in and broke up the strike.

2.7.71 - The Ministerial Council decides to postpone the national railway strike for 29 days.

5.7.71 - A trade unionist, Ahmet Deyen, is arrested at Etemen.

8.7.71 - Labour leaders Damuca Çıtır and Cemal Özen, together with the workers Hımet Topcan, Yusuf Bayt, Rehmet Ali Kayam and Nesirçal Çetin are placed under arrest.

8.7.71 - A worker at Sakarya is placed under arrest. His name is not made known.

8.7.71 - The Martial Law authorities have taken into custody Kemal Türker, General President of İISK, and Kemal Özen, its General Secretary, and among other progressive leaders, Kemal Kebişçu, Şinasi Kaya, Hidayet Öner, Hacı Gürsoy Kuzayak and the worker Osman Saran.

- The following workers are placed under arrest at Kayseri: Erhan Şüçluer, Osman Yılmaz, Nadir Nazlı, Şinasi Monako, Mustafa Yıldırım, Fatih Arici, Kemal Erden, Ahmet Kınalılar, Şefik Kem, Leyla Türbeci, Hasan Kemer and Nazer Arıkan.

9.5.71 - Trade unionist Recep Vetanmaev is placed under arrest at Kayseri.

31.5.71 - The strike of the Chemical and Machine Industries (MBS) is postponed by decision of the Ministerial Council.

21.5.71 - Union leaders Tuncel Yegül and Osman Kirbay are placed under arrest at Sakarya, and trade union leader Aydın Tunceremi at Adana.

24.5.71 - Trade union leader Osman Gür is detained at Adana.
27.5.71 - Trade union leaders Osman Sahalis, Dincer Dogu and Yalvar Birinci are placed under arrest at Ankara.

- Seni Yuceli, a worker, is placed under arrest at Arvina. Trade union leader Cem Uslu is arrested at Arvina together with the following workers: Nuri Goll, Mustafa Kandili, Bayram Dilice and Haydarn Guleric.

2.6.71 - Ramadan Vali, a worker, is placed under arrest at Sivas.

3.6.71 - Trade union leader Sekir Yeniaga is placed under arrest at Ankara.

3.6.71 - The national railway strike is postponed for the more months by decision of the Ministerial Council.

(Opening May 19 and June 1, 1971 now arrests took place in which a total of 6,150 persons were arrested, according to newspaper accounts. However, it is impossible to identify the trade union leaders and workers among those whose names and occupations of those prisoners were never published.)

4.6.71 - The martial law authorities state that Cihan Durak, Sirri Cetinlik and Geyik Bircan have been placed under arrest.

12.6.71 - The Court of Cassation decides that government employees do not have the right to strike.

20.6.71 - It is announced that the Government will ask for restrictive amendments to the legislation on union contracts, strikes and lock-outs.

21.6.71 - Two workers, Ibrahim Geyrma and Mehmet Ali Omer, are detained in Gaziantep. Trade union leader Safet Cokel is arrested in Samsun.

- Hali Durg, General Secretary of the Turkish, admits that more than 2,000 workers have been fired at Istanbul since the beginning of the martial law regime. He also reveals that a number of employers refuse to pay their workers.

27.6.71 - Labour Minister Atilla Sav states that 13,000 persons are joining the ranks of those unemployed each year in Turkey.

- A consul of the Consul states that Turkish workers employed in Germany have very high accident rates and that 285 out of every 1,000 workers have experienced accidents at work.

2.7.71 - The following workers have been placed under arrest at İzmir: Mehmet Cetinlik, Hayran Doganler, Palardin Cihan. A car in Ankara, the terrified worker is detained.

3.7.71 - The martial law authorities postpone the strike of 2,372 workers on Istanbul's suburban trains.

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**Turkish Workers Abroad**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Germany</td>
<td>500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>3,272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>22,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Belgium</td>
<td>14,951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>17,212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Britain</td>
<td>1,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holland</td>
<td>20,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Switzerland</td>
<td>3,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other countries</td>
<td>6,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>590,877</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
state that the Government is limiting the applicability of union contracts, endangering union rights and liberties, and has become a strike breaker. He also says that employers are expelling trade unionists in those districts where strikes have been banned.

26.7.11- 156 workers are cut out on strike in the customs warehouse of the national railways in Istanbul.
- The Sinir Government, which has appointed numerous military officials to civilian functions, designates General Nedim Iroman as employer representative to the Supreme Arbitration Commission.

27.7.11- The Ankara Chamber of Commerce states that employment has fallen 9.7% in the course of the first five months of 1971 as compared to the same period in 1970.

1.8.1- The Association of Turkish Employers and Industrialists, created in order to better control the government, declares through its president Yedioglu: "Now that we are about to enter the Common Market, our two forces must work together to increase our exports and the productivity of our industry. Competition within the Common Market will also pose the problem of workers' wages. The industrial workers' wages must not endanger Turkish industry by making it less competitive."

2.8.1- 36,000 railway workers at Eskisehir announce that they are going out on strike immediately. The postal law authorities at Eskisehir are obliged to reverse the prohibition of strikes in that city.

17.8.11- The Ankara VHP announces the dissolution of the National Union of Construction Workers for an indefinite period.

21.8.1- Meeting with the Prime Minister and other government ministers, the capitalists request that wages be blocked for the period of one year.

23.8.1- At discussions between the Government and the unions, only the BISK is represented. DBK leaders were not invited.

31.10.14- The Ministerial Council decides to postpone the strike of the maritime transport workers for a month.

25.10.11- General Fikirten, Istanbul Maritime Law Commissioner, asks to meet with workers and employers of the NEFA paper factory at Kocaeli; the workers were told not to strike because of differences with the employer. The workers were informed that the forces of law and order would put an immediate end to the strike if the workers did not accept the wage increase proposed by the employer. The union leaders having declared these terms untenable, the strike was broken by martial law forces.

15.11.11- The Administrative Committee of Türk-İş turns down a report proposed by twelve of its unions who oppose the "no-policy" policy of Türk-İş and propose the adoption of a social-democratic policy, the creation of a Social-Democratic Party or, if necessary, support for the creation of a social-Democratic Party.

16.11.11- Workers' representation at the labour court is discontinued. For the last 15 years workers have been able to take part in these tribunals.
- The Minister of Labour postpones the strike announced by the Maritime Bank employees.
17.11.17—Following the refusal of their proposal for a social-democratic policy, the 12 PAKS-10 unions state that "the real effect of the 'politics' policy of TDK-1 is to divide the Turkish workers' movement into supporters of this or that policy of existing political parties".

25.11.17—At a time when the government and the martial law authorities are holding wages down, the Economic Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce officially announce that prices have increased by 3.7%, according to current price indices of the Ministry of Commerce, the index of 145.7 for the year 1970 had risen to 170.5 by July 1971.

- At the 5th Labour Assembly, Minister of Labour Atilla Dav announced that the number of unemployed in Turkey had increased to 2 million. According to the Deputy Prime Minister Atilla Kocasoy, "within the next twenty years employment must be found for 25 million citizens. 400,000 persons enter the labour market each year, of whom 200,000 are able to find work in the agricultural sector, but the remaining 150,000 are unemployed."

25.11.17—The strike at the Industrial Carman, Magushite and Oke establishment in Smyrna is postponed for 30 days by decision of the Ministerial Council. The union president accused the government of playing the role of strike breaker.

25.11.17—The demand for Turkish workers decreases in those foreign countries which were offering a solution, or a wage-gap, to the unemployment crisis in Turkey. Nearly 200,000 Turkish workers are employed in foreign countries, it is officially stated. But this figure comes close to 800,000 if it includes workers without official work contracts and those who leave the country clandestinely. The savings of Turkish workers amount to 3.5 billion German marks, a sum sent useful to the German economy. And thanks to the 1.5 billion German marks which these same workers have sent back to Turkey, they have enabled the country to restore its balance of payments. But now, with the increasing number of dissidents among those foreign workers and growing unemployment within Turkey itself, this source of foreign currency is drying up and Turkey is faced with inextricable difficulties. It is known through official sources that whereas Turkey receives 126 million dollars from foreign trade, 500 million dollars enter the country from money sent back home by Turkish workers in foreign countries. The foreign currency which tourism brings is stored only to line the pockets of the privileged classes.

- According to Mr. Cello, State Minister of Finances and Customs, 200,000 foreign workers are unemployed in Switzerland. All the political parties include in their electoral platform and demand that these unemployed workers be forbidden to remain in Switzerland.

- Australia also, where there are thousands of Turkish workers, is going through a period of economic stagnation. The number of unemployed in Australia will reach 100,000 by the end of the year. This economic stagnation will undoubtedly be intensified by great Britain's entry into the Common Market.

—Mr. Minaster, Director General of the Belgian Labour Ministry, states that the Belgian recession is beginning to affect the foreign workers. Only 12 out of the 26 cities where Turkish workers are employed are actually functioning at present. Soon there will be only 5 sites, which will make the situation of the foreign workers even more precarious.

—Unemployment in Canada, which has risen to 7.1% of the population, has also affected the Turkish immigrants.

5.12.17—At Adana the following workers have been brought to trial on charges of "having held secret meetings": Hussein Bayar, Necmett Soygen, Refi Vilanas and Aziz Istik Oksigen.
6.12.11- Shortly after having been freed, a number of DISK leaders are once again brought to trial, this time on account of the mass workers' movement of June 1970. Following the huge demonstrations held on June 15 and 16, 1970, twenty-seven labour leaders had been placed under arrest and brought before the military courts. They had been freed at the end of this first martial law period and their cases transferred to the 4th District Court of Istanbul. Now, a year later, these trade union leaders are brought back before the military court on the very same charges. The names of these DISK officials and union leaders affiliated to DISK are: Kemal Türküler, General President of DISK; Kemal Bükker, General Secretary of DISK; İsmail Çorlulu, Vice-Presidents of Meder-İ; and the following union leaders affiliated to DISK: Bedri Cetinkaya, Selim Berzat, İsmet Demir, Uğur Özdoğan, Necip Snallı, Selam Yılmaz, Orhan Genel, Ismail Kavas, Mehmet Kural, Hüseyin Yildiz, Osman Akıntay, İhsan Akçelik, Rıza Karabal, Zeki Kocaköse, Omer Yıldırım, and Ali Ersoy. Several other union leaders are detained.

6.12.11 - Of workers of the Osmanlı Automotive Factory are brought to trial at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MUS. They are accused of organizing an illegal demonstration during the general boycott of industrial workers held on June 15-16, 1970.

6.12.11 - The bakery workers have gone out on strike in the district of Maneci, not covered by martial law. An injunction is issued against the workers who hold a silent demonstration throughout the city in connection with their strike. The president of the HÜFİİ union, Osman Birmin, and four other union members are detained.

6.12.11 - The DISK representative for the Ankara region, Uğur Çakmakçı, is sentenced to one and a half years of prison for having "cast a slur on national sentiments" in an article published in the official organ of DISK.

6.12.11 - In answer to the Türk-İş petition on a social-democratic policy, twelve unions create a Council of Social Democratic Unions. They are dominated by Sevfı Demircioğlu, General President of Türk-İş: They want to transport ideological discussions and conflicts. The Turkish workers' movement has no need for foreign models of this kind. Turkish unions have adopted Kamilist methods... The Council of Social Democratic Unions may become a new labour force and create the political party they advocate... They will add to the unfortunate situation of French and Italian workers."

6.12.11- A truck went in by the employer to force its way into a glass factory at Karabük where the workers were on strike for the last 30 days run over and killed a worker, Emir Peker, father of six children. The president of Petrol 19, İsmail Peker, says that it was a premeditated act on the part of the employers.

6.12.11 - According to a statement issued by The Rümerberg Labour Office, the need of German companies for foreign labour has fallen by 60%. The German Association of Employers announces that it will be able to give work to only 52,000 workers in 1972 and that almost 400,000 workers may have to be put on a temporary basis.

6.12.11 - The Ministerial Council Edip Soymuğur, senator, declares that the price of tea rose to 5 TL.

6.12.11 - In Eastern Anatolia, the price of a cart-load of tea rose to 200 Turkish pounds. (Cumhuriyet, January 31, 1972).

6.12.11 - FEZER: Tried dung used as fuel by peasants in Eastern Anatolia.

6.12.11 - One Turkish pound = Half of the per capita annual income of Eastern Anatolian peasantry.
has once again postponed for 60 days the strikes of the Maritime Bank employees and the workers of the Government, Magnetite and tile enterprises ofbrew.

1.1.7.2— In his New Year message, Musli Kaias, President of the Turkish Employers Association, calls for changes in the present liberal legislation on union contracts and strikes.

2.1.7.2— The Government announces that a Supreme Advisory Board will be formed in the near future whose task will be to forestall wage differentials in various branches of industry due to different union contracts and to prevent wage increases.

2.1.7.2— The President of the Zulkazi union, Melda Yelten, is tortured at the Kayseri police headquarters. The unionist was shot to walk barefoot on gravel with a policeman mounted on his back.

2.1.7.2— Minister of Labour Yenier states that only 72 strikes occurred in 1971 and 4,436 workers were engaged in them whereas, before the military rule, on an average there were 600 strikes every year. According to Yenier's statement, the number of unemployed reached 2,000,000.

2.1.7.2— Kemal Türk, President of the DBK, states that "most strikes carried out during the period martial law were deprived of certain conditions and cannot be considered as real strikes".

2.1.7.2— During the official visit of Prime Minister Tmax to France, a mutual social security agreement was signed and France undertook to employ more Turkish workers.

2.1.7.2— 200 workers of the newly established Stibble Aluminium Factory went on a stay-in strike.

2.1.7.2— Mustafa Onalak, President of the Agricultural Workers Union, demands a 40 hour work week, payment in cash instead of in kind and collective bargaining for one million agricultural workers.

2.1.7.2— The workers of Aynin Textile Factory went on strike.

2.1.7.2— The workers of Beykoz Hoca Reke Textile Factory boycotted meals in order to protest the cut in their premiums.

2.1.7.2— The Constitutional Court cancelled the amendments to eleven articles of the Trade Unions Act enacted in June 1970 which had caused the militant reaction of the working class. One of the cancelled amendments authorized a trade union or federation only if it represented one-third of all workers in an industry-wide basis. This article aimed to dissolve the DBK.

2.1.7.2— Virmen Cen and Kocen Dugel, two cabinet employees, were arrested on the charge of propagandizing for communism.

2.1.7.2— The Fermal Martial Law Headquarters detained worker Rcep Dursa on the pretext of instigating civil war against the authorities.

2.1.7.2— According to the daily Sermep, unemployment in Turkey has reached a record level among the European countries. Turkey: 48%, Italy 5%, England 4.5%, etc.

2.1.7.2— 3,000 workers of the Caylanlihan State Farm went on strike. The authorities brought military to crush the strike and in the clashes many workers were wounded.

2.1.7.2— The workers' strike at Aynin Textile Factory ended after 66 days.
27.6.72—In a construction enterprise at Fikirtepe-Istanbul an employer shot one of the workers, Gochin Alany, who had demanded wages not paid for months.

10.6.72—The Metal Workers Union of Turkey decided to go on strike at Kocaeli Foundry, the union demanding an increase in wages of 25 percent for all workers.

- The Türk-İş Confederation submitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister demanding an end to the ban on strikes instituted in eleven provinces under the pretext of earthquake disasters. According to the memorandum, the employers are exploiting the workers to the utmost.

25.6.72—The trade union leaders, Ismet Basir Ullug and Ismail Baysal, are sentenced to six months imprisonment each for protesting the US Sixth Fleet’s visit to Turkish ports.

11.7.72—The Social Security Administration announced a new project to restrict the social security benefits of the working class. According to this new project, the minimum limit to receive old-age pensions will be raised from 55 to 60 for men and from 50 to 59 for women.

-In Istanbul, 600 telecommunication workers went on strike and 200 workers on a stay-in strike.

18.7.72—750 workers of the Meisjet Drasman Oil Factory went on strike.

20.7.72—The Federation of Road Construction Workers Unions decided to go on strike on behalf of 50,000 workers.

- 500 thousand workers, mostly from Ankara, went to Germany. There are still 1,051,198 workers awaiting admission.

25.7.72—in Balıkesir, 900 municipal service workers went on strike.

- Davut Ali Ünver, leader of the oil workers’ strike, was arrested.

27.7.72—the trade union of İzmir stated that in the Izmir law district, the employers exploit the workers to the utmost, depriving them of the right to strike.

19.7.72—in Kayseri, during the strike of the municipal service workers, right-wing groups attack the strikers. The Governor made a request to the Government to stop the strike.

20.7.72—the workers of Antalya Harbour Construction decided to go on strike.

1.8.72—Halil Tunç, Secretary-General of Türk-İş Confederation, stated that the government granted many privileges and facilities to the private sector while the living conditions of the workers are worsening day by day. He criticized the attempt to create a black market and to restrict the social and economic rights of the workers.

3.8.72—Özgür Soydel, President of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, accused the Secretary-General of Türk-İş of being an enemy of the private sector and defended the restriction on strikes.
The Objective: To Crush the Workers' Movement

It can easily be seen from this brief historical account and its concrete portrayal of events that the objective of the fascist leaders in Turkey is to crush the socialist movement and the working class on behalf of the big bourgeoisie.

1. All mass organizations as well as the socialist organizations have been dissolved. And as a result of a constitutional amendment, it is now no longer possible to form a new political party using a social label as its base, as required by scientific socialism.

2. In this climate of terror, progressive unionism has been cut off from all possible forms of action. DISK continues in name only. The progressive worker leaders are being tried by military courts and can no longer engage in the struggle for the rights of workers. In order to eliminate progressive unionism completely from the social scene, the fascist regime is preparing to alter existing labor legislation on unions, strikes and lock-outs.

3. The leaders of the TDKA-Confederation have supported the fascist rule until the last days. Proof of this collaboration and complicity is the fact that 12 unions affiliated to TDKA took a stand in opposition to this.

4. In order to keep Turkish industry at a level competitive with that of the Common Market countries, the capitalists are calling for a ceiling to wages and intent to make strike and union contract legislation inoperative. Strikes being virtually forbidden, the fascist government has shown by its actions in the course of the last year that it is without the shadow of a doubt in the service of these capitalists.

5. The fascist administration, with its concessions to the capitalists, is incapable of finding a solution to the unemployment crisis threatening the laboring masses. It is admitted by the fascist regime's own ministers that there are two million unemployed in Turkey. The situation of Turkish workers in Europe, Canada, and Australia, where Turkish labor has been employed, is becoming more and more precarious because of the present recession in these countries. The forces of law and order, greatly reinforced in the course of the last year, will also try to crush the spontaneous uprisings of the jobless existing as a near-famine level.

But, in spite of increasing repressive measures, the big bourgeoisie and the fascist rulers cannot defeat the working class of Turkey. Because, the working force is estimated to be 10 million in 1973; 35% of the total population aged 15 and over. 1/3 of this working force, approximately 2 million, is engaged in manufacturing and 1,400,836 workers are registered by the Social Security Foundation. The number of unemployed is 2 million, and 400,000 persons enter the labor market each year, of whom 100,000 are not able to find work. Within the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens.

Besides its quantitative force, the working class has been organized in trade unions and labor party and gained the capability of fighting against the exploitation. Furthermore, more than half a million workers are now in the developed countries; they can see the huge gap between these countries and their own. They can learn how to live as a human-being and to fight for their rights.

Yet whether its political organizations were banned and its progressive unions are under the threat of being eliminated, the working class can organize again in various forms and can defend its political and democratic rights.
The oppression of the Kurdish people

It can be stated without any hesitation that the terror and horrors of martial law in Turkey have been also felt by the Kurdish people who live mainly in the eastern part of Turkey.

Since the beginning of the Republic, the military and civil authorities forced the Kurds to accept assimilation. They have been denied the right to be Kurds. Their language, Kurdish, is banned.

The national liberation movement of Turkey achieved victory through the combined efforts of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the First Grand National Assembly, it was publicly stated: "Now, at the stroke of the nation, only Turks and Kurds have the right to speak." At the Luxembourg Conference, Janet Ismail, the Chief Delegate of Turkey, stated: "For centuries the Turks and the Kurds have been parts of a united whole. In the world war as well as in the liberation war, the Kurds fought to their utmost."

But after the victory, the Kemalist regime applied a chauvinistic and assimilationist policy with respect to the Kurdish people and as a result of this repression they revolted against the Ankara Government several times: 1924 Hartfort, 1925 Haman and Hudayna, 1925 Shabih Salt, 1926 Kayseri, 1927 Bour, 1930 Eilam, 1928, 1927, 1930-32 April, 1937-38 Sivas results.

After the Second World War, in the framework of the "multi-party system", the political parties were forced to recognize a certain measure of freedom for the Kurdish people in order to attract their votes. However, in the period from 1946 to 1960 an agreement was made between Kurdish landowners, the sheikhs, tribal chiefs and bourgeois power structure, all of whom jointly exploited the Kurdish people.

After the May 12th, 1960 Movement, however, the military rulers began to apply repressive measures on the Kurdish people, they even banished 55 Kurdish landowners, not because of their economic power, but for their ethnical stand. The same military power structure changed the names of the Kurdish villages and introduces an assimilationist policy once again.

Even after the 1961 Constitution was put into force, the repressive measures were continued by the ruling circles. During the period of martial law in 1961-69, many Kurdish leaders were arrested and tried in the military courts.

The Political Parties Act passed in 1963 deprived political parties of the right to mention the existence of different ethnic groups or languages in Turkey.

However, in the relatively liberal, atmosphere of 1961-1965, Kurdish intellectuals were able to fight for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Kurdish people.

Following the 1965 elections, however, the AK reproduced repressive policies against the Kurdish people and Kurdish intellectuals.

In January 1967, 16 Kurdish intellectuals, including two parliamentarians, Ali Kacar, Haci Erol and Yorgos Hafizadeh (Welko) were given prison sentences several times by the Military Court of the General Staff Headquarters.
In August 1967, the Kurdish people demonstrated in several provinces in order to protest against the underdevelopment of eastern Anatolia and fascist repression. In Diyarbakir, the organizers of these rallies, journalist Zalp Karshen, lawyer Oktay Olgan, Kasim Kamer, Berni Koptay and Selit Elif were arrested.

In April 1968, the public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against Kerim, Olgan, Akman, Koptev, Elif, Ali Demirali, Necip Bagkas, Hidayet Kirci, Murtuza Akin, Tahsin Ozen, Yozgat Boylark and Ayvat Kar for allegedly "conveying and propagating ideas" during the meetings in the eastern provinces and demanded up to 15 years for each.

In May 1968, the Military Court of the General Staff Headquarters condemned Mert Kaya, Mehmet Ali Diler, Husrev Sener, Seyyid Yen, Yilmaz Aydin, Ali Derin, Necati Akin, Mehmet Keskinci, Suleyman Tarhan, Nihat Kurbelli, Mevlut Aydin, Cemal Gokce, Rahmet Akin, Mehmet Keskinci, Servet Keskinci, Seid Khayal, Murtuza Akin, Yozgat Boylark, Gazi Boylark and Ayvat Kar for 15 months imprisonment each for "separatism".

In November 1968, a Kurdish legend, Men M Sin, written three centuries ago by Alim Kani, was raided in a publishing house. The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Mehmet Smail Bostanci, translator of the book.

In the same months, two students, M. Emir Ozen and Ayvat Kutzer, were arrested for reading the Kurdish alphabet.

In July 1969, Sadi Kocak, secretary of the Asurun Cultural Club, was arrested for "separatism".

Writer Mehmet Smail Bostanci was arrested for publishing the Kurdish alphabet and went on trial in August 1969 in Istanbul.

The Compulsory Turkishization of the Kurdish People

In the early 1970s, the terrorism against the Kurdish people on the part of the authorities was severely intensified and reached a high point. The Kurdish villages were raided continuously by military commands on the orders of searching for arms. During these searches, inhuman torture was inflicted on the local people.

The Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (EMKO) prepared a full report concerning the terrorism and torture and presented it to the President of the Republic, Erdal Ince. In April 1970, in this report, the EMKO requested the President to take the necessary measures to stop this fascist type of treatment of the Kurds, but this report was never taken into consideration by the authorities.

The following excerpts are taken from the report submitted to the President in April 1970:

"On April 8, 1970, the town of Silvan was surrounded by nearly 4,000 gendarmes and military command units supported by six army helicopters, 200 military vehicles and two light artillery observation planes. From 4 a.m., until 7 p.m., all houses and shops were searched with utmost care by the troops. During the searches, the people of the town were gathered in three different areas outside the town and were brutally tortured by the troops. Abdullah Ceyhan from the town of Silvan gave the following statement regarding the incidents which occurred on that day:
On April 8, 1970, the soldiers surrounded Bilad at 8 o'clock in the morning. They started beating people and forced them out of their houses without any explanation. Then, they took the people into three different areas which had been selected before the operations began. After three hours of severe torture, they released the government employees and students. The rest of the people were kept under guard and the torture, by military troops, continued until 7 o'clock at night.

In county of Iamili, in the village of Collinda, Kenza Zan, his son, his uncle and his cousin were apprehended by force and were shown to their wives and their daughters-in-law completely naked. Their feet were beaten in front of their families and relatives. Zan's uncle, who was subjected to this torture and insult, could not stand it any longer and attempted to commit suicide by trying to rope around his neck. However, his life was saved at the last minute by his relatives, when he was almost dead.

Again, in the county of Iamili, in the village of Aidi Alate, Abdilkeris Kaplan and his brother were tortured for three hours continuously. When the torture was over, they were in a state of coma.

In the village of Komboali, Ramada Hamoud, Nemat Kaya, Hadi Yasa, and some other citizens were subjected to 'torture' by the military personnel. After the torturing, the soldiers forced these people to dance in front of everyone for their own amusement. In the same village, another citizen, called Hamoud, was forced to cut human fences; but when he resisted, he was beaten by the soldiers until he was unconscious. This citizen remained in a coma for an entire week.

In the village of Dikadi, citizen Yasa, his two sons and the headman of the village were tortured in the same fashion as explained in the previous paragraph. Even the headman of the village was undressed completely and was then whipped by the soldiers.

In the province of Skýrak, in the village of Durum, Dura Yama was forced by the soldiers to watch his son being tortured. When he could not stand this scene of savagery any longer, he threw himself on his cot as he lay on the floor in order to protect him from any further beating. The guardsmen, furious at Yama for his act, then beat him heavily. They beat him on the head with the butt of their rifles and Yama died and had to be taken to the clinic at Medical School in Skýrak in a state of coma. Four days later, he died in hospital.

In the province of Marín, the soldiers entered into the village of Kürkale and raided the houses just as any occupation army. The soldiers forced the people of the village to make military drills as 'simile torture.' They also insulted the male citizens of the village in front of their wives and daughters.

Again, in the province of Marín, in the village of Helan, the military commanders shouted at the villagers after heavy torture: 'From now on your lives will belong to us for one week, and we will use them for our own pleasure. They will return your wives to you, for one week only, and you can use them too. And this will be continued in the same pattern.'

In the same province, the village of novax was raided nine different times. Each time, the people of the village were forced to carry out military drills for hours on the command of the military personnel. The Imam (moham religious leader) of the village was undressed, left completely naked with his male organs tied to a heavy string. The other end of the string was given to his wife who was told to pull on it. They were then forced with
baymante at them to run around the village with the people looking on. The commanders of the gendarmerie threatened the people of the village, stating: We know that you bastards are the scum of Barzani! We will approve you until you leave this land. If you refuse, you can go live in paradise wherever you want! We don’t give a damn! We have an order in our hands even to exterminate all of you. Nobody can stop us!

"Again in the same province, in the village of Arma, Christians were harassed and thrown to the ground. The military personnel even forced them to be circumcised. Everyone in the village was completely unharmed and the religious leaders of the Christians were insured for their religious beliefs.

"Again in the same province, in the village of Barma, Mustafa Celic, his wife and his daughter were totally unharmed by force. They were then forced to walk naked in the streets of the village all day long.

"In Gladik, the people of the village were also forced to do military drills in the square for more than five hours.

"In the village of Nigyam, a pregnant woman had a miscarriage when tortured. In two days she was dead.

"In the village of Lamm, citizen Hamed Otaq was also killed by soldiers under brutal torture.

"In the village of Dau, a citizen died from a heart attack when the military personnel tortured his son in front of his eyes.

"In the province of Sirt, in the village of Gize, a pregnant woman threw herself onto her brother in order to protect him from the torture of being beaten by soldiers in the main square of the village. When she did this, the torturers angered, beat her severely. She had a miscarriage and a few minutes later, she died herself. Hundred of families in this village, no longer able to stand the repression, fled from Turkey.

"In October 1976, Dr. Murat Ziya Ekici, the former secretary-general of the Turkish Labor Party (TIP), Cemil Yildirim, member of the TIP executive committee, writer Mustafa Rainin, writer Yuce Alioglu and the leaders of the KOY were all arrested, accused of "separatism".

"The increasing repression of the Kurdish people provoked strong reaction among the democratic forces of the country and on October 31, 1976, the 4th Congress of the Turkish Labor Party (TIP) passed a resolution in defence of the democratic rights and fundamental freedoms of the Kurdish people. It reads as follows:

"The Kurdish people live in the eastern part of Turkey.

"The fascist governments of the ruling classes have applied a policy of repression, terror and assimilationism with respect to the Kurdish people and this policy has often been turned into bloody reality.

"Our party supports the struggle of the Kurdish people who aspire to exercise their constitutional rights, as well as their other fundamental democratic demands and supports the Kurdish people's fight against the anti-democratic,
suspicious, repressive, chauvinist-nationalistic tendencies.

- Following the publication of this resolution, the ruling circles moved with their administrative and judicial apparatus against the TDP and the socialist press. The public prosecutors initiated legal actions against TDP leaders and other members of the left-wing personnel. The prosecutors also brought law-suits against the chief editors of various periodicals for publishing the above mentioned resolution.

In addition, the public prosecutors brought several law-suits against Dr. İsmayıl Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Science Department, who had written an article on the multi-racial structure of eastern Anatolia, and Dogan Çağdılı, who had published the article in 1970.

- In December 1970, the DDKO Istanbul Section was raided by the police forces and its documents confiscated.

- In March 1971, in Kirklareli (Izmit Province), rightist groups spread rumors that the leftists had placed bombs in mosques and incited the crowds to raid the homes of Kurds as well as the headquarters of the progressive organizations, newspapers and homes of leftist.

The Oppression After the Partial Law

After imposing martial law, repressive actions against the Kurdish people became open brutality. Although no urban guerilla activities existed in the near-eastern region, the military-backed government proclaimed martial law in the Diyarbakir-Sirnak area as well. The Diyarbakir-Sirnak Martial Law Headquarters did not, however, limit itself to those two provinces, but applied repressive measures throughout eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

- On the first day of the enforcement of martial law, April 27, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara banned the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia and, in quick succession, other martial law headquarters took similar measures, banning the local sections of the DDKO.

- On May 1, 1971, Prime Minister Muhsin Ertugrul stated: "We accept no other nation as living in Turkey other than Turks. In accordance with our understanding, there is only one nation in Turkey: The Turkish nation. All citizens living in different parts of the country are content to be Turkish."

- On May 18, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Yozgat published a list of names of eminent Kurdish intellectuals including the DDKO leaders.

- On June 23, 1971, the Military Court of Diyarbakir (EEB) began trying 3 teachers, 4 state employees, 31 students, 21 professionals, a physician, a religious leader and a foreigner for allegedly carrying out "separatist propaganda activities".

- On June 23, 1971, Dr. İsmayıl Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Science Department of Ankara University, was taken into custody for having undertaken socio-economic research work on Eastern Anatolia and the Kurdish People. He was tried by the First Military Court of Diyarbakir (EEB) and sentenced to 15 years and 7 days imprisonment and 3 years exile. The decision was held on August 14, 1972.

- On July 20, 1971, the Turkish Labour Party was closed by the Constitutional Court for adopting the resolution on the democratic rights of the Kurdish people. All party premises were seized by the authorities.
Not only hunger drives the Kurdish away. Hundreds of Kurdish families flee from Turkey because of the army's terrorism. The Kurds have been oppressed since the beginning of the Republic and officially they do not exist. Authorities call them as 'Turkish Mountain People'.

Also the Kurdish language does not exist officially. According to Pierre Montagné Erpin, it is a 'mixture of Persian, Turkish and Arabic, with only 3,000 complete Kurdish words'.

Another well-known philologist, Jacques Minster, named Izmail Lear, is more open-minded, he counted 8,000 Kurdish words.

However, we will never be able to learn the truth. Because, the publisher of a Kurdish—Turkish dictionary runs the danger to be condemned for his scientific work with ten years imprisonment, and his book, dangerous for the country, is confiscated.

Weekly SIMD (Brussels), March 10, 1974.
Hundreds of intellectuals have been arrested and brought to trial before military courts. Among them are İlhan Selçuk, columnist of Cumhuriyet (above) and Yılmaz Güney, the most popular movie star.
The military regime has carried out a harsh commando operation in the south-eastern part of Anatolia where the Kurdish people live (above). Today, even mentioning the existence of the Kurdish people or defending their right to speak their own language is a crime in Turkey. The Turkish Labour Party (TIP) and the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (PDPA) were banned by the military regime because they were defending the democratic rights of Kurds. While progressive organizations are banned and thousands of intellectuals are detained, the militants of fascist organizations who had murdered more than forty persons one by one before March 12th, are still tolerated and even encouraged by the military regime. The photograph below shows a young girl who was attacked and wounded by fascist bands.
VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF PRESS, OPINION AND THE ARTS

Under the military dictatorship, the life of the press, culture and the arts in Turkey has been turned into a desert. For the military rule is also guilty of violating those articles of the European Convention and the 1961 Constitution which concern freedom of press, opinion and the arts.

Article 10 of the European Convention states, "Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers."

Today, nobody in Turkey has the right to freedom of expression except a handful of high-ranking generals and big capitalists.

At the outset of martial law, all progressive or social periodicals were closed down, hundreds of thousands of books were confiscated, the daily newspapers were compelled to change their policy, the radio-television network was placed under the control of army generals, and theaters, movies and all cultural activities were subjected to censorship. Hundreds of writers, journalists, editors, actors, actresses, artists, novelists and poets were detained and even tortured. Tried before military courts established by the martial law headquarters, and threatened with long periods of imprisonment, many of them have already been condemned.

In fact, the freedoms of press, opinion and the arts has already been violated for the last six years under the Justice Party's rule, which had engaged in an honest and various other forms of repression against the working class, the peasantry, the teachers and the youth. But the March 12, 1971 coup d'état is a turning point in the extermination of free expression. Although all kinds of repressive measures against the press and the arts had been taken by the AF in power, courts of the independent judicial system had been able to act as a brake, preventing the execution of these measures maintaining the right to freedom of expression.

But with the imposition of martial law on April 26, 1971, all executive and judicial power was placed in the hands of the Fascist-minded generals, and so this guarantee was lost. Furthermore, an amendment to the 1961 Constitution, enacted after the coup, considerably limits the legitimate authority of the courts of law.

An amendment to Article 22 actually enables the executive power to limit the freedom of the press and information gathering for the protection of the territorial and national unity of the state, public order, and the protection of secrecy necessary for national security. Therefore, administrative bodies are authorized to confiscate any publication or censor any correspondence at their discretion.

An amendment to Article 121 puts an end to the autonomy of the TRC (Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation) turning it into a governmental body. Actually the highest body to the TRC's autonomy was the appointment of an army general as its Director just prior to the rewriting of the Constitution.
In this chapter, violation of the freedom of press, opinion and the arts is considered not only after the March 12th coup, but since 1965, the year the Justice Party (AP) came to power. For, in order to achieve world opinion, the military rulers may organize money "elections" (without a real alternative) and may even grant an amnesty for the political offenders. But under the supervision of the fascist-minded generals, the Justice Party, authorized by the new amendments to the Constitution, will carry out much more repressive measures against the press, opinion and the arts than the ones taken for the last six years.

Historical Background

In fact, the situation of the Turkish press reflects the main characteristics of an underdeveloped country. In a country like Turkey where the illiteracy rate is still 48%, the information function of the press cannot go beyond a certain limit. Moreover, printed matter cannot reach all corners of the country owing to the fact that 6% of the 37 million population still live in rural areas. Hence, oral communication such as radio and television, is still a vital means of public information, even in urban centers.

Although Turkey is fourth in the world with respect to the number of daily newspapers (854:1750, 888:616, India:456, Turkey:432), with the respect to the number of newspaper per thousand population, it is the 79th (45 per thousand). The main reason for this paradox is that most of the local newspapers are published only in order to gain money by printing official advertising and have no information function. Outside of the big cities, official advertising is distributed by the provincial governors; hence these single-sheet newspapers support the rulers.

Five daily Turkish newspapers alone account for almost 25% of the total daily circulation of 1,079,286; and these newspapers are under the financial domination of big capital.

The Turkish press was actually established in the latter half of the 19th century, although a Turkish printing press had been introduced as early as 1797. The first newspaper in Turkish, Sabah-i Yakuti (Guardian of Events), founded in 1831, was an official gazette. Consequently, Ferhatמח Amendments to the Constitution (1868) considered to be the first Turkish newspaper; although an Englishman, William Churchill, published a paper Ceza-i Hicma (Newspaper), beginning in 1873.

In the centralized, despotic structure of Ottoman society with its efficient, absolute political regime, it was in fact impossible to create a Western-type opinion organ. The newspapers mentioned above were published in the framework of superficial reforms promised in order to guarantee the interests of Western countries.

Nevertheless, in time the Young Turks began to publish some clandestine newspapers for the purpose of spreading their ideas; they prepared the Mecrulugut (constitutional government) movement.

Following the proclamation of Mecrulugut, in 1908, during a brief period of liberal rule hundreds of newspapers appeared and nationalism became one of the main themes expressed by them. Meanwhile, the first socialist newspaper, Ocbir (1908-Tanz) and Arms (1909-Selam) were published. But the dictatorship of Enver Pasha and his associates brought an end to this freedom.
This pattern of liberalization and repression has characterized the history of the press in Turkey. For example, a new period of freedom followed World War I, during the period of the national liberation war (1919-1922) when various newspapers were published in Anatolia for the purpose of supporting the liberation movement. It was even a socialist journalist, Resu
t"ulan, who fired the first shot at the army in Isparta prior to the na
tional liberation war. Two socialist newspapers, Yeni Dönen and Yaqinîh, were also published in this period. But with the approach of victory Yeni Dönen was forbidden, and following it the newspaper Yaqinîh, and all their writ
ers and editors were arrested.

Until the end of World War II, the Kemalists in power maintained a rule of terror against liberal, democratic and socialist intellectuals, and censorship was established to clamp down on the press. Moreover, the Pen
cil articles of Musulmân's Penal code were adopted and every progressive thought was condemned under the rubric of "propagandizing for the director
ship of the working class". That is how Kemal Hilmet, the world-renowned poet, came to spend thirteen years in jail.

Liberalization followed World War II, once more a development which paralleled the growth of legal political opposition. But after a short while the bourgeoisie politicians agreed to eliminate the left from the political r
rums and banned all socialist publications. Furthermore, the most effective daily newspaper of that period, Yeni, was raided and destroyed by fascist hands at the instigation of the government. Hundreds of socialist or progres
sive writers, editors and artists were either arrested or compelled to flee Turkey. Meanwhile, Sabahattin Ali, world-renowned Turkish novelist, was murdered as a result of a plot prepared by the police.

In the 1946-1960 period, the influence of the United States over Tur
key was decisively increased. Ideologically, anti-communism was adopted as a state policy; the Turkish press and the state-owned radio station provided least enthusiastic examples of McCarthyism. Until 1960, not only socialists, but also liberal-minded writers, thinkers and artists who dared to criticize the hegemony of the United States were exposed to police terror.

On the other hand, the big daily newspapers completely adopted this pro-American and pro-capitalist line and reaped the reward of this attitude. While the biggest circulation did not exceed 25-30,000 at the end of World War II, in the 1960's the circulation of one simple daily newspaper alone, Hürriyet, reached 500,000. This was possible because all newspapers enjoyed huge financial support from the state banks and from the rising bourgeoisie, which put advertisement in these newspapers. In this way the big newspapers were able to import the latest technological innovations and to attract new readers by selling largely in sensation.

Nevertheless, the Democratic Party in power could not bear this "free
edom of the press" even without a left, and after early 1959 government control was strengthened by assending the press laws. The 1959 regulations imposed heavy fines on journalists convicted of writing articles which might harm "the political and financial prestige of the state". Journalists were jailed and publishers fined as the Democratic Party became increasingly sensitive to criticism of economic problems. These measures alienated many intellectual
s and contributed to the May 77, 1960 coup.

A high school student, Muratka Yetlik, was arrested for allegedly "propagandizing for communism" by reading poems in an Isparta high

I High on June 8, 1972. (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 9, 1972)
The Climate of Relative Liberty

Many measures of the 1950's that restricted the press were repealed after the coup. Article 22 of the 1961 Constitution safeguarded freedom of the press against the government. Under the protection of the 1961 Constitution, socialist newspapers and periodicals could be published for the first time. In this climate of relative liberty, socialist intellectuals found the possibility of translating and publishing socialist classics. Indeed, until that time not only the works of Marx or Lenin but also the social democratic books of western socialists could not be published.

Now that workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands with larger-scale workers' demonstrations following one on the other, with the founding of a labour party and mass masses demanding their constitutional rights and expressing anti-imperialist attitudes, some large-circulation newspapers opened up their columns to leftist writers in order to obtain new readers. But the publishing of anti-imperialist and socialist ideas caused the anger of the big capitalists who provide the main income of the daily newspapers. Therefore the publishers of these left-wing newspapers were forced to adopt a pro-capitalist, even a pro-American policy in their front pages, but at the same time, in order not to loose their left-wing readers, kept the left-wing columns until the martial law of 1971.

In spite of this climate of relative liberty, the coup of May 27, 1960 and the coalition governments which followed continued to keep the fascists articles in the Penal Code, using them as a threat against the left-wing publications, thinkers and artists. For example, in 1961, an aged state employee, Adil Akkic, was condemned to six years and two months imprisonment for sending an article entitled "The only road to liberation: Socialism" to the daily Cumhuriyet. This was a real scandal, because the article had been sent to the newspaper in response to a competition it was sponsoring. The article had been selected from among hundreds by a jury, and published. But, a cürd was issued not the author of the article, but the irresponsible author of the competition article. Besides these fascist articles 141 and 142, the public prosecutors also used articles 158 and 159 concerning "incitement" of the President, the Prime Minister, the Government and the security forces.

Although a system of self-control was adopted by the press in 1960 and a code of ethics and a Court of Honour were established with the rules' approved, the self-control system was flooded by the mass-circulation newspapers dealing largely in sensation.

Prosecutions for press offences were reviewed by a panel of three judges. But if the journalist was accused of violating articles 159 or 142, his case was brought to and tried before the augmented felony court where he could be sentenced to imprisonment of up to 15 years.

Channels for government influence over the press were not limited to legislation. Turkey had a system of official advertising which subsidized the press. A further potential means of government control was the sale of newsprint. The press has been handicapped by the sale of this essential product at prices higher than the market price.

Although the working journalists had obtained some social guarantees such as minimum wage regulations, compensation for dismissed, social security, etc., the government dismissed hundreds of journalists, above all the left-wing writers and editors, and freedom of the press was threatened by the danger of unemployment also.
Under these conditions, the daily circulation of major newspaper and their tenden cies, prior to the March 12, 1971 coup d'etat, were as follows:

- Mi'hrac (center-right, sensational)........... 4,38,899
- Gunogün (center-right, sensational)............. 3,26,938
- Sermiyon (left-wing, sensational).............. 2,46,805
- Sermiyon (non-political, sensational)........... 2,21,235
- Mi'hrac (center-right, opinion)................ 1,95,998
- Dershane (center-left, opinion)............... 1,07,450
- Atamag (center-left, opinion).................... 39,341
- Sen Avamlar (pro-V.I.R., right-wing)........... 28,432
- Akhisar (extreme right)............................ 17,336
- Ulus (pro-C.R.P.).................................. 16,017
- Ahiya (extreme right).......................... 12,081
- Buyuk (religious fanatic).......................... 12,607
- Buse Sanadi (religious fanatic)................... 11,119
- Yeni Asya (religious fanatic)..................... 10,350
- Yeni Cevade (center-right, opinion).............. 9,771
- Sera'ildik Savaş (religious fanatic)............. 7,479

Three of the highest circulation papers, Mi'hrac, Gunogün and Sab-\ntoşka, belong to the same press group, to Şimşec Family. On the other hand, all of these newspapers were dependent on financial capital because they could obtain a large part of their income from the advertisements of the big capt-
ialists. In 1969, financial capital made the following payments to daily news-
papers for advertisements: Mi'hrac, 65 million L; Gunogün, 53 million L; Sab-
toşka, 14 million L; etc. These figures represent 50% of their total in-
come.

As opposed to this large circulation in favor of big capital, the so-
cialist movement could raise its voice by means of periodicals. The first left-wing periodical, Han, had appeared in 1925 and was able to carry on pub-
lication until 1967, at the beginning of 1971, socialist weekly but publish-
ed and it continued publication until the March 12 coup d'etat. Besides,
during the ten year period of relative freedom of press, Sosyal Adilet, Ty-
lan, Türk Sesi, Sosyalistik, Basit, Hayat, İstiklal, Misköy Sesi, Sosyalistik Sosyalist,
Ders and Dershane (pro-C.R.P.) were also published.

On the other hand, in addition to the commercial publishers, many pub-
lishing firms were established during this period of ten years, for the pur-
pose of publishing socialist literature. These publishing firms — Mag, 
Sosyal Hayat, Çevre Hayatı, Cevre Hayatı, Bilinc ve Sosyalizm Hayatı, 
Rahber Yargıçlar, Ort Hayatı, Ort Hayatı, Proje Yargıçlar, Ser Yargıçlar, 
Toplam Yargıçlar, Eski Yargıçlar, etc. — succeeded in publishing various so-
cialist classics and scientific works on the socio-economic structure of 
Turkey. But the government exerted heavy pressure on these publishing firms as well as on socialist periodicals, and brought hundreds of lawsuits against 
their publishers, writers and translators, even arresting some of them.

In addition, the distribution of these periodicals and books was sys-
tematically obstructed by the government and rightist organizations, many 
books being confiscated as soon as published and financial pressures applied.

Pressures Carried Out by the Justice Party

In order to fully apprehend the gravity of these pressures on the 
press, on thought and the arts, it is necessary to glance at the following
chronological table showing the repression which took place during the period when the Justice Party was in power.

In the first year of the Justice Party government, the police and the public prosecutor began using repressive measures against left and liberal-minded persons and publications. They arrested jazz musicians for "propagandizing for communism" by playing their guitars under a red lamp or by wearing red jackets during performances in Istanbul; they arrested well-known writers such as Yasar Kemal, Cem Yucel, Orhan Kemal and the folk singer Malik Ismet.

January 1967 - Police's "Basic Principles of Socialist Philosophy" was confiscated.
- Amnesty International criticized Sadi Alkilic, who was still in prison, as "the prisoner of the month".

February 1967 - Five different charges were brought against Cetin Altan, the columnist of the daily Asya, also deputy of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP). The public prosecutor demanded that his legislative immunity be annulled.
- Muzaffer Erdgoz, publisher of Sol Tayini, was arrested for publishing Yen Tan-Tang's "Theory and Practice".
- Dr. Husan Alpay, editor of Keremazl, was arrested for his poems, "Nationalism", and charged with "propagandizing for communism".
- The Ministry of National Education forbade the publication of the novels of Tirsoy and Destovdeely in the series of Translations from World Classics. They had been previously published by the ministry itself and sold out.
- Nazmi Metin, publisher of De Tayini, was tried on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Ismail Hikmet's poems written in jail.
- Ali Ulvi, the caricatureist of the daily Cumhuriyet, was tried for a caricature mocking the OHA.
- A charge was brought against Ayse Oge, editor of the weekly review Ad, for publishing the campaign of Amnesty International in behalf of Alkilic.

March 1967 - Writer Yasi Sadiullah and Oguz Celebek, responsible editor of the weekly Kari, were condemned to one and a half years imprisonment each on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published memoirs about Hikmet.
- A technician, Hayri Aydogdu, was condemned to three and a half years imprisonment for "propagandizing for communism" in Istanbul.
- The translation of John Steinbeck's "Fenomenolog Struggle" was confiscated and Shah Dervis, Orhan Cagri, and Vedat Oztrak, the translators, were charged with "propagandizing for communism".
- The performance of the play "Tahsin" (Tahsin) at Bakirkoy Altunverdi Theater was prevented by rightist hands.
- Selcuk Kaya was condemned to 9 months imprisonment on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a translated book about Hungarian peasants.
- Orhan Kemal, the famous novelist, was detained by police on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" while he was interviewing teachers in Kocaeli.

April 1967 - Louis's On Marches was confiscated and the prosecutor brought a charge against Vehmet Ali Erbil, publisher of On Marches, for propagandizing for communism.
- Emirgin Demir Gail and teacher Yezettin Yazi were arrested while under their military service and deported to the "regiment of exile" in eastern Anatolia, on a charge of "being leftist.

May 1967 - Judge Ali Salt Okan was tried and acquitted on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having written a book entitled "Socialist Turkey.

- On appeal by Amnesty International, the Fourth Criminal Section of the Court of Cassation cancelled the verdict concerning Salt Okan and released him.

- Dogan Ogudan, editor of Anlat, was tried at the Military Court of the First Turkish Army, on a charge of "injuring the armed forces and the people to rise against the authorities".

- The Governor of Izmir banned the performance of Nazim Hikmet's play Yozan (Traveler), staged by Gen-Air Theater.

- The performance of the film "Bir Ciger 40 Kati (Defeating Roach)" was banned by the Censorship Administration.

- In his message on the occasion of the anniversary of 27th May, President Celeb Sisay stated that "socialism is contrary to the Constitution".

June 1967 - Three workers, Sani Orur, Izzettin Tuna, and Emin Kirgiiz and a student, Raseglin Ati, were sentenced to three years imprisonment each on charges of "propagandizing for communism" in Sakarya.

- Writer Yasar Kemal and editor Dogan Ogudan of the weekly Anlat were brought before the court on a charge of "instigating to rebellion" in an article "High Dreamers in Mihalpasa".

- Anka Kasein, a world-famous Turkish writer, was detained for 48 hours immediately after his return from a trip to the USSR on a charge of "bringing to Nazim Hikmet's written will".

- Yasar Kemal and editor Yasar Yuruc of the weekly Anlat were brought before the court on a charge of "instigating different classes against each other" in an article "The Ungrateful Days".

- Bartha Kurzbone and Stukoy Kurzbone, the freelance reporters of Swedish press and television, were detained for 29 hours during their visit on the charge of "making destructive propaganda against Turkey" in their book "Eastern Part of the Express" published in Sweden in 1966.

- The National Assembly cancelled the parliamentary immunity of Cetin Altan and allowed the public prosecutor to bring lawsuits against him on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in his various articles. Altan's immunity was immediately cancelled by the Constitutional Court.

- Despite the President of the Republic's opinion to the contrary, the Constitutional Court decided that immunity is constitutional.

August 1967 - Nezati Yuruc, President of the TIP Sillik Section, Ye- til Paslaroglu and Izzettin Yazi were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having distributed the written text of Cetin Altan's parliamentary speech.

- Kemal Kud, editor of daily Zek (Yokal), was arrested for "inciting the government" by criticizing the cancellation of Altan's parliamentary immunity in his article and condemned to one year imprisonment.

- Tolu Halak, President of the TIP Mes Section, and Ser- halatkin Yuruc, President of the TIP Adams Section, were arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Writer Cen Yild and editor Yezettin Yazi of the weekly Anlat
were brought before the court for "criticizing the cancelled of Alamein's legislative immunity". - Shefik Rababagha was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Luhn's works on the peasant problem.

September 1957 - Folk singer Aziz Mesfin was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" by reciting his poem in Arabic.
- Aziz Mesfin was brought before the court on the charge of "discrediting the Turkish State" by his address given at the Congress of Afro-Asian Authors' Union in Tokyo.
- The military prosecutor started legal proceedings against writer Mohamed Kemal because of his article published in al-Nahar in Athens.

October 1957 - Irfan Nihaan, editor of the periodical Zan, was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government" through his publication.
- The translation of Noureddine's works was confiscated and Mohamed Ali Emam, publisher of al-Dustur, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

November 1957 - Yasser Ugar, editor of the weekly Ant, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for publishing Gatin Aslan's parliamentary speech.
- Cem Vizet was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Che Guevara and Noureddine's works on guerrilla warfare.
- The administrator of the Iraqi Broadcasting Service was brought before the court on the charge of "instigating to rebellion" because of broadcasting a program entitled The Rot-A-Manger.

December 1957 - The public prosecutor brought six lawsuits against the writers and editors of the weekly Ant; two for Zman Aslan, two for Yasser Kemal and two for Yasser Ugar on the charges of "insulting the morality of the government", "instigating different classes against each other" and "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic" in different articles.
- While answering an interpolation, the Minister of Interior Affairs announced in Parliament that the importation or publication of 1,500 different books has been prohibited during the period of October 29, 1955 - May 1, 1956.
- A book entitled Fidel Castro Speaks which contained an interview with Castro previously published by Playboy Magazine, was confiscated and Bilal Aboua, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".
- Three writers of the daily Umm Alqawm (Ardia) - Ibrahim al-Husayn, Kemal Aslan and Ahmet Alkhan - were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

January 1958 - Necdet Omer, correspondent of the daily Yeni Asr, was brought before the court, handcuffed, on the charge of "insulting a minister".
- The public prosecutor brought seven lawsuits against the writers and editors of the weekly Ant - Al-Adal, Deyah Ummut, Yaser Ugar and Musaie Bish - on the charges of "propagandizing for communism", "insulting the morality of government" and "criticizing a court decision".
- Marcel Villard's book on the famous political prisoners...
defences were confiscated and Mustafa Ali Bagis, publisher of Cem Yarimlar, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism".

- Columnist Ihsan Salih was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic". During the trial Prime Minister Necmettin's lawyer claimed that the columnist had designated not the President, but the Prime Minister and the charge was turned into "insulting the morality of the Prime Minister".

- The translation of Mao Tse-tung's works on liberation war was confiscated and Must Senor, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism".

Februrary 1968 - Ulu Orhan, president of the Political Science Faculty Student Association, 257 Turan Malt, editor of the student review Seldeg, were arrested on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published an article on revolutionary movements in Latin America.

- Records of Mozart's and Beethoven's music made in the USSR were prohibited in Turkey on the possibility of "including propaganda for communism".

- The translation of Che Guevara's book on Socialism an Man in Cuba was confiscated and Cem Vizel, the translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism".

- The translation of A. Vervine's book on Trade Unions of the USSR was confiscated.

- Vahap Erginçlı was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published Stalin's book on Dialectics and Materialism.

- Mustafşor Kemal, director of Cem Yarimlar, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published Stalin's works on Problems of the Socialist Economy and Money and the National Question.

- Two writers, Ihsan Selçuk and Mihri Bal, brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having spoken at a forum on revolutionary strategy, editor Vahap Uyar of the weekly Aiat and editor Vahap Erginçlı of the weekly Türk S vacancy also were accused on the same charge for having published the speeches.

- Necip Hakan, editor of the periodical Proletar, was arrested in Adana on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published an article on production relations.

- Ismet Ararat, president of the Cultural Clubs Federation (KBF), and 15 others were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having distributed the text of Celal Atalan's parliamentary speech.

- Poet Naciem Demirtay, poet Arif Duman and Vahap Erginçlı, editor of the weekly Türk S vacancy, were arrested on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published two poems.

March 1968 - Semsi Ikiyet's book entitled Sozvetia was confiscated and Mustafa Ali Bagis, publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism".

- Mustafşor Kemal, director of Cem Yarimlar, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism".

- Isset Ararat, president of the KBF, and editor of the periodical Proletar, was arrested on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published Semsi Ikiyet's poem Korum Ölüm (Like Love),

- Writer Mihri Bal brought on the charge of "making
propaganda for communism" for his speech given at the Political Sciences Department of Ankara University.
- The police prohibited the performance of the play 'Seyahat' by the Halk Oyunçuluk which criticizes the AK regime, on the pretext of "insulting the authorities".

April 1968 - Ismet Avcioglu, editor of the periodical Proletar, was released, but immediately after was arrested again on the charge of "insulting the Minister of Interior".
- The translation of Mao Tse-tung's works on New Democracy was confiscated.
- Mehmet Ali Erbil, director of Çah sapaki, died as a heart attack in the Justice Palace while he was waiting for his incarcration. He was facing a 50 years imprisonment in six different courts for six books that he had published.
- Simaviye Assyreci, a periodical published in Istanbul, was confiscated and the responsible editor was brought before the court.
- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against two deputies of the Turkish Labour Party on the charge of "discrediting the Turkish state" for having attended the Conference of Progressive Parties held in Italy.
- The governor of Antalya Province prohibited the Poetry Session where folk singer Agis Themi was also invited.
- It was disclosed that 28 books including Gladkov's Communist Manifesto, Khrushchev's book on socialist thought, Khrushchev's book on socialist thought, Halkov's works on revolution, besides the ones mentioned previously, were confiscated.
- Public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against Remzi Isik, director of Yozgat Ekmekci, on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published in his newspaper Yozgat Ekmekci's Resolution to Revolution?
- A prosecution was initiated against the author of "propagandising for communism" for having published the picture of a white dove, symbol of peace.
- The records of Aras Hobiaturan produced by Columbia Records Co., was prohibited in Turkey on the pretext of "including propoganda for communism".
- Fatih Balaban was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for painting "some figures like a sickle - hammer" and the review Caraf was confiscated for having published the picture. On the other hand, another of Balaban's paintings had been seized on the same pretext because the public prosecutor had claimed that the figures of man's head on the painting resembled a sickle - hammer.
- Ingo, the book by Andre Malraux, French Minister of Cultural Affairs, was confiscated on the pretext of "including propaganda for communism".
- Lenz's book on The Infallible Discovery of Communism was confiscated on the pretext of "including propaganda for communism".

May 1968 - Public prosecutor Cevat Yalgin was placed at the Ministry's disposal for criticizing the legal proceedings and lawsuits against socialist thoughts in his articles.
- B Emma Heydari, editor of the monthly İnçe, was arrested on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published an article criticizing the social order.
- Public Prosecutor Mehmet Yavuz was placed at the Ministry's
disposal for criticizing in his articles the arbitrary acts of the government.

- The performance of Orhan Kemal's play 7 Julay was prohibited by the police of Bodrum Town.

- Regis Ghébremariam, editor of the weekly Āmō, was brought before the court on the charge of "criticizing the access of political defendants".

- Agam Gla's book The Popular War in Vietnam was confiscated and Dillel Jabbar, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "praising communism".

- Jean Preville's book L'âge d'or et l'âge d'or littraire was confiscated and Albert Osterk, publisher of Faycal Yagiard, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The performances of four films: Stanley Kubrick's Paths of Glory, Anthony Mann's El Cid, Otto Preminger's Advise and Consent and Sidney Poitier's Lilies of the Field were prohibited by the Censor Administration.

- Gujar Alem, columnist of the daily Āmō, was condemned to one year and four months imprisonment.

- The book entitled Socialism in Turkey, 1948-1925 was confiscated and its author, Kerim Ozu, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Mehmet Ali Yalca, director of May Vagant, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published upon Sinclair's Forenoon.

- Munafar Sokei, director of El Kavilan, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published his Fano's book on Popular War in China.

- The public prosecutor of Sabirabbas started legal proceedings against the public prosecutor of Royalism, Siar Yelcin, on the charge of "criticizing the legal proceedings against socialist thought".

July 1968 - Davit Savci, president of the National Student Federation of Turkey (MFS), was condemned to two and a half months imprisonment on the charge of "insulting the public prosecutor of Konya".

- Necip Akma, editor of the periodical Problemi, was condemned to six months imprisonment for having published an article on production relations.

- Chief editor Regis Ghébremariam and editor Aljamy Sebali of weekly Āmō were brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the President of the Republic" in an article criticizing his speech against socialism.

- Folk singer Aygul Parmanc was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism". The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against folk singer Aygul Parasli on the pretext of "insulting the Minister of Interior" on a poster hung in his workshop.

- Durukan, editor of the weekly 7 Julay, was arrested on the charge of "instigating students to rally".

July 1968 - The International Peace Festival organized by the student organizations was prohibited by the government for having invited Miguel Angel Aguirre, Jean Paul Sartre, Claude de Forvot, Konstantin Simonov, Yevgeni Tvoroschenko, Ezer Abcholok and Pablo Noreña. A Nigerian folklore group which had come earlier for the festival was ousted by the police.

- The performance of folk singers organized in Konya Koubli was prohibited by the Minister of Interior.
The government prohibited the importation of Alexeev Karapetyan’s book *Turkish* on Chech-Kurk in the context of “propagandizing for communism,” although the public prosecutor had started legal proceedings against the book a year before and it was decided that it was not propaganda for communism. In spite of this judicial decision, the government found the book dangerous. This decision was indeed surprising since one could read propaganda for communism in Turkish, for example, in the monthly *Kayı Interview* published in Cologne (Köln) by the Turkish workers and students.

Writer Yaser Kemal and editor Yasar Uyar of the weekly *Art* were brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government" in an article on Ince’s contradictions.

The police chief of Fethiye Town prohibited the performance of Austin’s *Theater*.

September 1966 - The public prosecutor brought eight lawsuits against the editors of the weekly *Art*, Dogan Oezdemir and Aliye Kabasem, on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government and the security forces" in seven different articles criticizing the visit of the US Ninth Fleet and the student protest.

Meryem Konuralp, member of TIP’s Beyaz Section, was arrested for criticizing the unsuccessful cultivation of tobacco, which is prohibited by the United States.

Writer Minler Beliz was convicted to 5 years imprisonment and three years exile by the First Agravated Penalty Court of Ankara on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in his speech given at the Political Science Faculty.

Five program producers of the PTT: Aliye Bay, Ayse Biray, Uchitay Ateş, Adilet Aslan and Aliye Alper - were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having broadcast a program on Sartre’s Impressions about Cuba.

The translation of Ernesto Che Guevara’s *Revolution Diary* was confiscated and Hikmet Çetin, translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

The government prohibited the importation of a lot of books including Maurice Fordham’s *Diagnostics of Capitalism*, John Capple’s *Democracy and Class Struggle*, and *The Case for Socialism in the Diamat* by Haruz Kaw’s *The Mind* and Hans Heurt’s *Anarchism* (Les Hort).

Lawyer Turgut Kesen, president of the TIP Kahdet Section, was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government and the security forces".

October 1966 - Writer Yaser Kemal and editor Yasar Uyar of the weekly *Art* were convicted to six months imprisonment each on the charge of "insulting the clauses against each other" in an article. On the other hand, the public prosecutor brought a new lawsuit against Yaser Kemal and Aliye Kabasem, editor of same weekly, on the charge of "insulting the morality of security forces".

Idem Selçuk, columnist of *Catholic* weekly, was condemned to three months imprisonment on the charge of "insulting the morality of the prime minister".

Razi Isaac, publisher of *Toplum Ekipim*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published his Col. Mihir’s works on the national liberation war.

Pak singer Ayse Perzen was brought before the court.
on the charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having made a record entitled Police.

- Driver Yelkit Gevrek was arrested, before the court on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having placed a sticker with the word "Kıraşım" on his minibus. During his trial, the president of Kadıköy Aggravated Felony Court told him: "And my son, the Sandalos describe you by promising promiscuity, later they hang you. Be cautious!"

- "The General Assembly of the Court of Cassation cancelled the decision of the Fourth Criminal Section and approved the six years and two months imprisonment for Gazi Alkilili.

- Driver Yelkit Gevrek was acquitted for having placed a sticker on his car with the slogan "Troy in France, ALKILI in Turkey."

- The translation of Yelkit's works on Lena was seized.

- The public prosecutors brought two law-suits against Sıtkı İsmail, folk singer, on the charge of "insulting the security forces" in Turkey and "propagandising for communism" in Akhara-Alikindu.

November 1968: Ilham Salguk, columnist of the daily Cumhuriyet, was brought before the court for his two articles.

- "Needet Gür, correspondent of the daily Yeni Türkiye, was summoned to nine months imprisonment for having written a news story concerning the Minister of Tourism.

- The public prosecutor brought four different law-suits against the writers and editors of the weekly Ant, Alpay Karaman, Doğan Özbilen and Yaşar Kemal, on the charges of "insulting the morality of the army, the president of the Republic, the government."

- During a performance in Beylerbeyi-Istanbul, four actors of the theatre DÜLF, Ali Özişik, Savaş Şengiz, Hamdi Ulaşım, Sıtkı İsmail, and two spectators, Orhan Akay and Nihan Karamer, were detained by the police.

- Emnet Yenal, the president of the Turkish Students Association, was detained for having issued a leaflet protesting against the death sentence in Iraq.

- By decision of the General Assembly of the Court of Cassation, Gazi Alkilili was jailed again.

- A Kurdish legend, Mevze Ahr, written three centuries ago by Alımet Xani, was confiscated and translated by Nurmet Elçin Kuroslan, the translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "apartheid".

- Ferhat Hürsrıl, Korkmazgil was condemned to three years imprisonment and two years banishment by the Third Aggravated Felony Court of Amasya on the charge of "propagandising for communism" in his poem Kıştılak.

December 1968: A book of poetry by Nurmet Alazet was confiscated and Nurmet Merli, director of Post Office, was arrested on the charge of "propagandising for communism."

- Writer Fethi Xalıd and editor Yaşar Yasar of the weekly Ant were condemned to one and one-half years imprisonment each on the charge of "propagandising for communism" for having published an article on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

- "The translation of Sıtkı İsmail's book Introduzione to Nazifian was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against translator Yaşar Kemal on the charge of "propagandising for communism."

- Fevzi Atalay Babanoglu was exiled to the "regiment of exile" in Kalnagrit by the commander of the land forces, while he was doing his military service in Turkey. This decision, given on the pretext of his
being a leftist, was voided by the Council of State, but in spite of this judicial decision the commander of the 3rd Turkish Army carried out the banishment.

— Nine air-force officers were banished to different units for having published a student almanac entitled "Göze", in July of 85th, the cadets of the air force academy had published progressive articles and poems.

January 1962 — Vedat Ergüth, editor of the monthly review "Siyah" was arrested in Ankara on the charge of "propagandizing for communism". - Nomor Serki Seymen, member of the TIP executive committee, was arrested in İzmir on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in a speech given at the TIP convention. Attika Omoa, a local leader of TIP, was also arrested in İzmir on the same charge.

— During the budget debates in parliament, the minister of interior stated that, in the last three and a half years, 668 persons were brought before the courts on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" and 14 of them were condemned.

— Mekin Serki's book on "Popular Culture was confiscates.

— A book entitled "Kızılderili was confiscated on the charge of "discriminating the Turkish nation and Muslims".

— Technical director Ali Kaya, CHP'li was arrested in İzmir for having protested against an exhibition propagandizing for the Tınk regime in South Vietnam.

— Selçuk Ergo, director of Bilin ve Gözählt, propaganda was arrested in İzmir for having protested against an exhibition propagandizing for the Tınk regime in South Vietnam.

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February 1969 — The public prosecutor of Istanbul brought six different cases against the writers and editors of the weekly art, Varsha, Cem, Vahit, and Ahmet Karamilli, on the charges of "propagandizing for communism", "infringing the morality of the government", "inciting the Turkish nation" and "publishing court decisions".

— Writer Yavuz Ergo was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having written a review of Omer's "National Diary".

March 1969 — A book including the articles of work youth leaders, published by Altına Rüzgar, was confiscated on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

— Thelampos's book on the class struggle was confiscated and Serif Balik, the translator, was arrested before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

— Lenin's What is to be Done? was confiscated and Mustafa Haker, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

— Altına Rüzgar, translator of Gladkov's "Communism", was condemned to 15 months imprisonment and 3 months in banishment. The court also decided to confiscate the book.
The public prosecutor started five legal proceedings against the writers and editors of the weekly Akt, Zogun Caglidin, Yaser Kemal, Alpay Kabanali and Mifti Zinzer, on the charges of "propagandizing for communism" and "insulting the morality of the government.

Yaser Kemal's book on the life and works of Lenin was confiscated and translator Mustafa Duranli was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

The anthology of poetry books was confiscated and translator Atilla Tokatli was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

Theater actor Aybek Ucel was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having over-enthusiastically applauded the Albanian folk-song group.

Police raided the Andale Publishing firm in Ankara and seized its books worth 60,000 Lire.

Writer Mihri Balli was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having made a speech on counter-revolution at the Political Sciences Department of the University of Ankara.

April 1966 - Three records of folk-singer Asik Hasani were confiscated on the charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

Writer Yaser Kemal and editors Dogan Caglidin and Alpay Kabanali of the weekly Akt were brought before the court on charges of "instigating to rebellion" and "insulting the morality of security forces".

The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the play Oluk (pox) staged by Selami Selam in Theater since five months.

The police forces raided the office of the monthly review Aydinlik in Ankara and confiscated all its documents, including the list of its subscribers.

The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the Rulk Oyunculari Theater on the charge of "propagandizing for communism and separation" for having staged the play Fir Sultan Abdul in Istanbul.

The president of songwriters Cultural Club, was brought before the court on the charge of propagandizing for communism for having written two articles in the periodical Komsomol.

Stalin's book on right and left deviations was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against the publisher Mansur Erosoy on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

May 1966 - Arif Gelin was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Lenin's Proletarian Revolution and Revolutionary Tendencies.

Ozasim Safiye Arayici, editor of the weekly Akt, was arrested on charges of "instigating workers to strike illegally".

Mural Koyuncuoglu, president of the Political Science Department Student's Association, was arrested for articulating a speech by the MEIU rector in which he labelled youth leaders as "Fetullah".

June 1966 - Baris Kesevi, director of Douglas Books, was sentenced to 15 months in prison and six months banishment by the Third Aggregate Policy Court of Ankara on charges of "praising communism" for having published Ho Chi Minh's works on the war of national liberation.

Nasli Niyaz's book on Stalins, Trade Unions and Political Parties was confiscated and translator Ahmet Ergin was brought before the court on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

The government withdrew the student scholarship of Habiti
Erskin, President of the Federation of Turkish Students in Germany (ATOD), Mustafa Demir, Omer Balgama, Osman Yeklik and Almaz Holma, because of involvement in leftist activities.

Oguz Saygian, Chief Editor of the weekly Anit, was condemned to six months in prison, charged with "criticizing the existence of a Kurdish state". Oguz Saygian was also condemned to one year in prison and six months banishment for "insulting the morality of the security forces" in an article criticising police raids.

The translation of Trotsky's October Lessons was confiscated and Bekir Hepzih, director of San Payla, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

Nurset Hatiko was condemned to one year in prison on charges of "derogating the Turkish nation" for having translated Kasapoglu's book, Captain Nidehaz.

July 1969- The translation of Lenin's works on socialism was confiscated. The translation of Lenin's The State and Revolution was confiscated and Selcylinder Ipe, director of Ethem its publication, was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism". The censorship administration refused authorization for the filming of Isser Rozal's world-famous novel From Nuret (Nuret, My Slave) in Turkey.

The government banned the periodical Etilik, published by Turkish students in Germany, from Turkey.

Ozair Fekko, secretary of the Frontier Cultural Club and member of TIP, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism and separatism".

Avin Vidam, a student, was arrested in Nuret on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

The Governor of Adiyaman refused authorization for the holding of Zihir Bay Festival organized by the Shifte.

Kamal Ibres, a student at Amasya University, was arrested in Eskişehir on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for posting newspapers on walls.

Assistant Professor Burhan Cahit Oktay, member of the TIP, was brought before the courts on charges of "acting contrary to the national interest" for having attended the Congress of the Italian Protestant Socialist Party in Naples.

Alpay Kocabali, editor of the weekly Erk, was condemned to one year in prison and four months banishment by the Second Aggregate Police Court of Istanbul on charges of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having criticized the fact that the police questioned folk from the Sixth Fleet. The public prosecutor brought two law suits against Olguz Saygian, one against Alpay Kocabali and one against Osman Gulten Aras for "insulting to rebellion".

August 1969- Kemal Ozer, a teacher and TIP candidate for Parliament, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" during his election campaign.

Bosphoros, a periodical founded by a group of peasants for the purpose of defending their rights, was closed down and its seven founders were arrested for protesting against the arrest of some youth leaders.

Ahmet Raya Turan, a teacher, was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a book entitled Voice of the Prophet.
- The Governor of Elazığ banned a performance of the play 'Fire' by Ismail Alâeddin staged by the Balkan Opera.
- Writer Mevlüt Ebru Kocak was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for secession" for having published the Kurdish Almanac.
- Twenty naval cadets, Hasan Çetin, Cuma Ali and Mehmet Oğuz, were condemned to three years in prison for having shouted "independent Turkey" during an excursion to Sivas.
- The translation of a book consisting of Douglas Brinkley's interviews was confiscated and translator Cemal Üreyen was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".
- The translation of Paul Louis' book on Friedrich Engels was confiscated on the charges "propagandizing for communism".
- The public prosecutor brought a new lawsuit against Alpay Esenbey, editor of the weekly "Art", accusing him of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

**September 1969** - The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Yusuf Aytemiz, a member of Parliament, for his article on teachera published by the monthly "Derde".
- The fourth issue of the periodical "İşgel" was confiscated and editor Adnan Calpay was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".
- Writer Didem Demiröz and editor Alpay Esenbey of the weekly "Art" were brought before the courts on charges of "inciting working class against others" for having published a report on a workers' strike.
- Nazlıyar Ergün, editor of the monthly "Derde", was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published an article on the anniversary of the liberation of Tuzla.
- The Court of Correction overturned the sentences of poet Hasan İskender Konyaçak and writer Pelit Naci.

**October 1969** - Mustafa Camuçu, President of the ZİF Congress Section, was arrested on charges of "insulting the morality of the Prime Minister".
- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Kemal Türkten, President of the Progressive Trade Union Confederation (DİSK), and writer Altin Aydin on charges of "inciting social classes against each other" during the ZİF election campaign.
- Dogen Özgür, editor-in-chief of "Derde", was condemned to one month in prison for criticizing the arrest of a number of writers.
- The 12th issue of the monthly "Aydos" was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against assistant Dogen Perincek for his speech on the death of Eşike published in the review.
- Aydin Üzüm, a student, was convicted to five years in prison for "propagandizing for communism" in Sivas.

**November 1969** - Dogen Özgün and Alpay Esenbey, editors of the weekly "Art", were brought before the courts for "insulting the morality of the security forces" in criticizing the murders committed by the police.
- The National Intelligence Agency (MİT) prevented the showing on the state television of a film on Stalin made by Soviet film makers in 1934.
- The translation of Dostoevsky's works on Pascal was confiscated and translator Ali Oğuz was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".
The government banned the periodical Zeytûn Dostu on December 5th. The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Orhan Kemal for his play "Black Widow", a story of an old Ottoman dervish's wife, and he issued a warrant against the author and persuaded the authorities to postpone Orhan Kemal's departure for Paris until the legal proceedings were over.

59 naval officers issued a protest against the repression of youth. They issued a statement condemning the arrest of a noted publisher and editor, who was imprisoned for publishing a book that criticized the government's policy towards the youth.

A TV program titled "The Struggle of Youth" was banned on April 10th to prevent the press from publishing the results of a court verdict against a publisher for publishing a book that criticized the government's policy towards the youth.

Another publisher's book, which was published on March 15th, was banned by the police on April 1st for publishing "insulting" articles.

On February 1st, a newspaper publisher was arrested for publishing an article criticizing the government's policy towards the youth.

On January 15th, a newspaper publisher was arrested for publishing an article criticizing the government's policy towards the youth.

On January 1st, a newspaper publisher was arrested for publishing an article criticizing the government's policy towards the youth.

On December 5th, a newspaper publisher was arrested for publishing an article criticizing the government's policy towards the youth.
lice headquarters after a performance in Kirsehir. Although they had put on the same play 152 times previously in different provinces, the public prosecutor started legal proceedings under Article 181/4 because they criticized the United States. It was later revealed that the article in question contained in the Turkish Penal Code had been abrogated eight years earlier so the actors were released after being detained for several hours.

The public prosecutor brought three lawsuits against Osman Saffet Arıcan, editor of the weekly Ânt, on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published the international and two other articles.

June 1970 - The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul banned the publication of periodical Maktery, a newspaper of the Metal Workers Union of Turkey.

July 1970 - The monthly review Ânt was confiscated and the public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Degan Ozgüden, chief editor of the review, on charges of "propagandizing for communism". In addition, the public prosecutors took legal action against the editors and writers of Ânt, Degan Ozgüden, Osman Saffet Arıcan, Haci Pekin and Murat Ayvalu—for allegedly "propagandizing for communism", "inciting one class against another" and "insulting the members of the army".

San Young, translator of Che Guevara's book on Socialism in Cuba, was sentenced to 7 and one-half years in prison for "propagandizing for communism".

Nagorny's Legend of Lenin was confiscated and translator İhsan Bozkaya was brought before the courts charged with "propagandizing for communism".

Poet Murat Yurdakul was condemned to six months in prison for publishing a book of poetry entitled The US Soldier in Lenin.

Translator Semri Sahin Yurdagul was condemned to one and one-half years in prison for translating Maxim Gorky's book on popular culture.

Abdur Rahmi Sindir, publisher of the periodical Zembeytayi Harik, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

August 1970 - Three issues of the periodical Âşıgi-Kayıla were confiscated by the martial law authorities and seven persons were arrested in Antakya and Malatya for distributing those issues.

The public prosecutor brought legal action against Icli Ozgüden, editor of the monthly review Ânt, on charges of "inciting soldiers to rise up against their superiors", and another legal action against Osman Saffet Arıcan, another editor of the same review on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

September 1970 - The police forces raided the offices of the periodical Âşıgi-Kayıla and detained 10 persons.

Bral Ös, essayist and book-seller, was brought before the courts on charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having used paper on which quotations of famous revolutionary leaders were printed to wrap books.

Nihat Keskin, President of the Federation of Turkish Students in Germany (DTSF), was diverted of his citizenship by the Government.

The public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against Icli Ozgüden, editor of the monthly Ânt, on charges of "insulting the army" for having published an article criticizing collaboration between businessmen and army generals.

November 1970 - The translation of Carlos Marighella's Minimual of
the urban guerrillas published by the Atı Kayıklar was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought two law-suits against publisher Dagen Gökçen and cover designer Erol Kayıklar for "propagandizing for communism".

December 1971 - Semi Yesil, director of Sol Kayıklar, was jailed on a one-year prison term.

- The Ministry of Interior Affairs confiscated four books published by Sol Kayıklar without obtaining a proper court decision.
- The public prosecutor brought two law-suits against Osman Safvat Necat and designer Fer Ceral on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a pamphlet entitled We, the Workers, are Within Our Rights!
- The TÜF administration refused authorization to producer Abdullah Yilmaz to broadcast because of his programs on "tipping" and "honor".
- Folk singer Atila İnanlı was sentenced to one and one-half year in prison and four-month banishment for allegedly "insulting the security forces" in three of his records.

January 1972 - Despite the decision of the Court of Cassation, the Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul condemned Dagen Gökçen, editor of Atı, to one year in prison and four-month banishment for "insulting the morality of the security forces".

February 1972 - Transfer Enver, director of Sol Kayıklar, was sentenced to seven and one-half years in prison on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Laim's What Is to Be Done?
- Writer Yeşil Kumal and editor Yavuz Uysal were sentenced to six months prison terms for an article published in the weekly Artı.

March 1972 - Journalists Sinan Siddik, İhsan Alkilo, Salim Vural and Ikrahim Alkilo were arrested in Vanköy, Istanbul, on charges of "propagandizing for communism".
- Dagen Gökçen, editor of the monthly As, was brought before the courts on counts of "propagandizing" and "insulting the class against another" for having published the resolution on Kurdish problem passed by the TİP Convention and news on present movements in Lebanon.

April 1972 - The translation of Trotsky's book on the Permanent Revolution was confiscated.
- Dagen Gökçen's book entitled Revolutionary Struggle is Hope was confiscated and the writer was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".
- The translation of Karl Marx's The Civil War in France was confiscated.
- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the Sabah publishing house for publishing Yalın Bilge's Last Words.
- Assistant Professor Qurin Oster's book Records and the Revolutionary Popular Front was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a lawsuit against him accusing him of "propagandizing for communism".
- Aliye Cam, director of Il Diş'i Kayıklar, was tried for having published Leila's Scales and Revolution and was acquitted. The Court of Cassation overthrew this decision, however, and ordered a new trial.

- Amsel Timel and Cem Sarmaşlı, two program directors of the TÜF, were brought before the courts for having broadcast a program entitled Kampın (Band Evi).
The public prosecutor brought eight lawsuits against the editors and writers of the monthly 6ul. Dogan Cagaldan, editor of the review, was charged with "propagandizing for communism and separatism" for having written an article on "Propaganda and Agitation" and having published an article on "Eastern Anatolia". Assistant Insel Benkqi was charged with "separatism" for having written an article on "Eastern Anatolia". Writer Ismail Akay and editor Insel Cagaldan were charged with "separatism", writer Farkh Fokin and editor Insel Cagaldan were charged with "propagandizing for communism".

Repression During the Period of the Martial Law

As can be seen in these chronological notes, up until April 1971, repression of the press, thought and arts reached all-time high. While independent judges acquitted most of the writers, editors and translators, some of them, for example Gazi Akhilin, Rustu Ergen, Olgunoglu Ergen, Musaffer Budac, Hasan Huseyin Koroglu and Ufuk Silici, Vasip Ergin and Huseyin Ergin were actually jailed from time to time. Furthermore, hundreds of new legal actions and lawsuits were to become a source of permanent threat to writers, editors and translators. For example, for the writers and editors of 6ul alone, the public prosecutors demanded more than 800 years imprisonment and for chief editor Dogan Cagaldan over 200 years in all. Three other editors of the same review, Osman Kafch, Alpay Koroglu and Insel Cagaldan were also threatened with over 100 years imprisonment. Most of the repressive measures undertaken by the executive power could be obstructed by judicial organs such as the Council of State, the Constitutional Court, the Court of Cassation.

With the proclamation of martial law on April 26, 1971, all economic and judicial powers were handed over to six martial law commandoes operating directly under the military junta. One of the first acts of these generals was to close down all socialist and liberal periodicals and newspapers, to arrest leftists and liberal intellectuals, writers, artists and journalists. Immediately thereafter, the martial law commandoes created eleven military courts in six martial law districts. Not only the "offences" committed during the period of martial law, but also the "offences" committed three or four years earlier were brought before these military courts. Hundreds of writers, journalists, translators, editors and artists were tried in the military courts of martial law on the basis of publications edited by them prior to the time that martial law was instituted. Moreover, many political cases in the civil courts were transferred to the military courts of martial law.

The following chronological notes are an indication the repression practiced against the press, thought and arts during the period of the martial law in Turkey:

April 26, 1971 - The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul prohibited every type of publication, film or theater performance "discrediting the government or siding at the overthrow of basic institution or inciting to rebellion".

The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara closed the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (CIFL), the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDEM) and the Federation of Social Democracy Associations (HDSF).
April 26, 1971 - The two oldest daily newspapers of Turkey, Cumhuriyet and Abulkombah, were closed down by the Istanbul MLO. Their columnists, Cenkin Ali Kazim and Ilham Sall, and editors, Chintoo Furtado and Erol Cevikel, were detained.

The Istanbul MLO announced that any person selling a forbidden book would be detained. Thereupon, the security forces began confiscating every type or copy of forbidden or not. The book-sellers, in fear of being detained, began sending back all leftist books to the publishing houses.

- The martial law headquarters banned three associations in Istanbul, three in Kars and seven in Adana.

April 26, 1971 - The Ankara MLO closed down five periodicals, Yurt, Migfer, Biradar, Mebusanin Yurdu and Eftekalı Divan, in Ankara.

- The Ankara Martial Law Headquarters closed down the daily İstiklal in Kırıkkale.

- The Diyarbekir MLO banned seven associations.

April 30, 1971 - The Istanbul MLO closed down the monthly review Sel and announced that legal action would be taken against its officials on the basis of articles 192, 156, 159 and 232 of the Turkish Penal Code. The military forces raided the offices of the review.

- Two editors, Dikşik and Babacan, were detained by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

May 1, 1971 - The Ankara Martial Law Headquarters banned 32 associations.

May 2, 1971 - The Istanbul MLO ordered the stars Theater to stop showing James Cagney-Eisenhower's Homen-Joos.

- Four book-sellers, Ahmad Tunç, Kamer Karamuz, Burhanettin Ivrang, Mehmet Hamit Demir and Remzi Yasar, were detained on charges of "having sold forbidden books."

May 5, 1971 - The Ankara MLO closed the monthly review Selk.

- General Polik Türkan, Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, stated: "It has never occurred to us to violate the freedom of the press."

May 6, 1971 - It was disclosed that all cases of journalists, writers, editors and translators were being transferred from the civil courts to the military courts of martial law.

May 7, 1971 - Cemal Kaygusuz and Aliyaziz Galip, editors of the daily Ankaş, Mustafa Pınar and Talat Pehlivan, book-sellers, were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

- Mustafa Balangeroğlu, actor at the Diptile Theater, was detained in Istanbul on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

May 9, 1971 - The famous Turkish novelist Fikir Boyancı was detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

May 12, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters detained writer Said Alkal, Assistant Professor Günsa Ok, Public Prosecutor Cemal Yalcın, The Speaker Ertul Bozdogan, and the publisher of the paper Yurt and of the periodical Yurt. The publisher Mevle Kırıkçıl was also on the wanted list.

- Folk singer Ağır Ferhatlı was detained in Uzun on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

May 13, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published a list of 77 "forbidden" books. The publishers of 57 of these books had been tried
"BAHAR" CIGARETTES
CONFISCATED BECAUSE
THEIR TRADE MARK
RESEMBLES MAO’S PHOTOS.

The administration of the
State Tobacco Monopoly has
confiscated Bahar (spring)
cigarettes because, when
the package is turned up-
side down the trade mark
resembles a portrait of
Mao. According to official
statements, legal proceed-
ings have been opened on
this case. The trade mark
will be changed and Bahar
cigarettes will be put on
sale within twenty days
with a new packing.
(T改mceham, July 20, 1971)

by the civil courts previously and acquitted.

May 15, 1971 - The Eskisehir Martial Law Headquarters detained a jour-
nalist but did not disclose his name.

May 19, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published a want-
ed list including writers Mihri Bollu, Musaffer Erdoot, Dogu Ferliek, Dogan
Avcigolu, Nacar Kemal, Samim Kocagön, Ilhami Soyali; university professors
Husnier Acenoy, Bahri Savci, Ferik Zafet Yunus, Ismet Sungurtepe and
Vesit Soyali.

May 21, 1971 - University professors Oguz Alacakapta, Bilent Nuri
Kesen, Kafir Nasuhoglu, Burhan Cahit Onal, Mihat Şall, Oguz Ako, and
lawyers Mişri Ağırmisli and Halit Çelik were detained by the Ankara M.L.

May 24, 1971 - During general search in Istanbul, every known left-
list intellectual, including the famous movie star Yilmaz Güney and caricau-
turist Torun Selçuk, were detained by the Istanbul M.L.

May 26, 1971 - Porsiyaf Kseni Boglara was detained.

May 27, 1971 - Assistant Professor Bahice Marian, leader of the TIP,
Prof. Sadun Aron and other party leaders were detained by the Ankara M.L.
- The Adana M.L. closed two Adana daily newspapers, Yatimci and Qu-
suvoice, for twenty days.

May 28, 1971 - University assistants Cya Niyaz and Gurbuz Yilmaz Si-
fier were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.
May 21, 1971 - University assistant Oya Senecer and lawyer Servet Helvacı were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 1, 1971 - Film Director Mustafa Yaman and university assistant Oya Senecer were detained by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

June 2, 1971 - Ahmet Oktay, General Director of the TDC, was compelled to resign from his post.

June 3, 1971 - Editor Gurrettin Özcak of the monthly Dimk was detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 4, 1971 - Deputy Premier Süleyman Kocagöz said that no one has been detained for his ideal.

June 5, 1971 - The Lawyers' Organization of Turkey was banned by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 6, 1971 - Bookseller Erdağ Adanır was detained in Giresun.

June 6, 1971 - The daily Kalkan was closed down by the Istanbul MAM.

June 9, 1971 - The weekly review Ağızlık, was continued to 7 and one-half years in prison and two and one-half years of banishment by the First Appeals Felony Court of Ankara on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

June 14, 1971 - Two assistant professors, Mehmet Özdemir and Yılmaz Saygın, were dismissed from Istanbul University for allegedly "distributing forbidden publications".

June 15, 1971 - Mehmet Bahri Gündüz, Director of the State Television, was removed from his post for six months.

June 16, 1971 - The Senate of Istanbul University dismissed Assistant Professor Çetin Özen from the Law Faculty.

June 21, 1971 - Essayist and bookseller Kodad Öz was arrested by the Ankara MAM on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having used paper on which quotations of famous revolutionary leaders were printed as wrapping paper. He had also been tried on the same charge in September 1970.

June 21, 1971 - S须ger Sabancı's novel, Yılmaz, was confiscated by the military authorities for being obscene and a lawsuit was filed against the author. This novel had won first prize in a 1970 contest.

One earthquake, assistant professor at Ankara University, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated a book on
Marx's Conception of Society. The book was confiscated.

June 26, 1971 – Three journalists, Ali Simen, Turgut Cihanoglu and Altan Ceylan, were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 27, 1971 – Mummer Sun, member of the TTB Board, Gilyaman Eve, Director of Billa ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, Zekkin Cengiz, translator, Osman Safi, head of the weekly Dersim, Celal Çakır, director of Çevik Publishing House, Sakin Kılıç, professor of the TTB, were detained by the martial law headquarters of Ankara and Istanbul.

Mete Tunçay, assistant professor at Ankara University, was detained on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having written the preface to Ocampo's translation.

June 29, 1971 – Assistant Professor Dr. Ihsanregisi was arrested by the Dilyarbat Naval Command Headquarters on the charges of "propagandizing for separation" for having written a scientific research work on the socio-economic structure of Eastern Anatolia.

Army Captain Ayhan Saglam and Dr. Atik Yegül, a teacher, were arrested by the Ankara MEB on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

Assistant Judge Burhan was dismissed from Ankara University and Assistant Professor Mustafa Geylani was dismissed from the MEB for allegedly being involved in leftist activities.

June 26, 1971 – İhsan Kelece, president of the Electrical Engineers Union, and Cem Özbil, president of the Sanitation Workers Trade Union, were arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 30, 1971 – The military prosecutor opened legal proceedings against Ayhan Çakır, former Director General of the TRT, Seniç Turgul, the Vice-Director of the TRT, Abd. Namaz Koyulu, member of the TRT Board, Ayhan Karapars, Kenan Deger, Uluç Kılıç, program producers in the TRT, and Mahmut Talı Otçöre, the Director of State Television on charges of "propagandizing for communism" on the state radio and television.

July 1, 1971 – The public prosecutor brought a law suit against the well-known movie star Vahit Çebi, producer of film Kemp, at the Anatolian Film Festival. The very same film had won first prize at the Adana Film Festival and the special jury award at Cannes.

July 3, 1971 – Professor İlsç Sogut of the Istanbul University Economics Department, was detained by the Istanbul MEB.

Veterinary Dogan Çakır was detained in Gaziantep for having Lenin's picture in his wallet.

July 5, 1971 – Duran Akgoz, novelist and Vice-President of the TOS, and university assistant Aydin Karagözli were detained by the Ankara MEB.

Columnist Ihsan Selçuk and editor Oktay Natiköse of the daily Demokrat were sentenced to one year prison terms by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MEB for an article published prior to the introduction of martial law.

The Journalists Union of Turkey stated that the draft amendments to the constitution "were in violation of the freedom of press".

July 6, 1971 – Professors and assistants at Ankara University attempted to organize a protest rally following the detention of their colleagues, but the Ankara MEB prevented its being held.

July 7, 1971 – The government announced that a central council would be constituted, called the "National Academy". This academy would defend the
principles of "nationalism" and later all educational curriculum, from primary school through the university. The members of the Ankara Academy would be nominated by the generals of the National Security Council.

July 8, 1971 - Columnist Çağatay Altan was sentenced to one year in prison on charges of 'insulting the morality of the President of the Republic' in a speech delivered four years ago at an ISL meeting.

" Abdullah Kefer was arrested by the Ankara MEB on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.

Yasar Kemal was sentenced to one and one-half years in prison and four months banishment by the Sixth Aggregate Felony Court of Istanbul on charges of "praising communism" for having translated Breille Burne's 'Introduction to Marxism.'

The Istanbul MEB closed three daily newspapers, "Dünya," "Kent Aya" and "Büyük Ankara," for seven days each.

July 11, 1971 - Writer Reyhan Hatice, publisher Vedat Özyazı, translator Metin Döğerli, writer Ara Bahad and pianist Nagülema Kafer were arrested by the Istanbul Military Court of MEB.

July 12, 1971 - The weekly Yenik declared that General Memet Yerlik, Chief of the General Staff, wanted to abolish the Zee and university autonomy.

Actress Ayni Sesli Mengi, actress Zeynep Sagun, actor Mustafa Özkü and actor Arif Yalçın were arrested by the Istanbul MEB on charges of "helping urban guerrillas.

July 16, 1971 - Writer Taysim Sarar was arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on a similar charge.

July 20, 1971 - The Turkish Labour Party (DTP) was closed down by the Constitutional Court for "following a separatist policy" in having supported the Democratic Demands of the Kurdish people.

July 23, 1971 - Columnist Çağatay Altan and editor Tahir Derman of the daily "Aksa" were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MEB for an article published prior to the institution of martial law.

On the 53rd anniversary of the abolishment of official censorship on the Turkish press, the Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGC) announced that it would not celebrate Press Day as a sign of protest against the new constitutional changes.

Yilmaz Öney's film "Hope" won another award at the Grenoble Film Festival. Öney was still being tried for having smuggled the film out of the country.

July 25, 1971 - Army General Muzaffer Yılmaz was appointed Director General of the Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation (TRT).

July 26, 1971 - Prof. Meşrur Akargil was detained at Denenkent.

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On April 20, 1971, the military administration of the TRK banned 30 folk songs from the air because they encouraged the problems of working people. (Correspondence, April 25, 1972)

July 26, 1971 - Sedi Öztürk, director of "Dön" publishing house, was sentenced to a five-year prison term by the Second Military Court of the Istanbul MEB for having forbidden books in stock.

July 30, 1971 - Five members of the Construction Engineers Build Board, Uzor Edizte, Hikmat Ece, Benem Tuyunting, Öney Osabe and Emran Tumer, were arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism."
Three assistants at the Dijærberk Medical School, Perzan Payzak, Musaffer Sipahioglu and Qaglar Kirgiz, were detained by the Dijærberk M.N.

July 31, 1971 - The daily Jorj Gazete stopped publication and in a week's time, more than fifty journalists were without jobs.

August 1, 1971 - Columnist Yetin Alkan and editor Dogan Kologlu were sentenced to one and one-half years in prison and four months banishment by the Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul for "propagating communism" in publishing an article on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

August 5, 1971 - Writer Avedik Saymaa Soykal, actor Mehmet Kemaloglu and TRT producer Hikmet Shentekin were arrested on charges of "breaking martial law regulations".

Uluc Garanc, editor of the weekly Devarim, was sentenced to six months in prison for "possessing a dagger".

August 10, 1971 - Burhan Shentekin was condemned to 10 months in prison by the Military Court of the Istanbul M.N., accused of "insulting the morality of the government."

The Adana Martial Law Headquarters closed down four newspapers.

Lawyer Aslan Keqel was arrested by the Second Military Court of the Istanbul M.N. on charges of "propagandising for communism."

August 12, 1971 - Emir Celip Sundalci, member of the TRT Board, Hain Yalin Seliklik, Selahettin Seligay and Selim Yaman, program producers at the TRT, were detained by the Ankara M.N. on charges of "propagandising for communism" on the state radio.

Seven members of the Electrical Engineers Guild Board, Nihat Caglayan, Alat Cakmurov, Olguncu Gumbs, Raif Tepselenkgoglu, Lütfi Alkan, Yilmaz Kaygor and Cevdet Aydemir, were arrested by the Ankara M.N. on charges of "propagandising for communism."

Vasif Cagren, director of the Ankara Birlik Theater, was detained by the Ankara M.N. and his home was searched.

August 16, 1971 - Dr. Ayaz Odat, assistant at the Ege University, was detained by the Izmir M.N. on charges of "helping guerrillas."

August 19, 1971 - Two members of the TRP, Ayten Okra and Veletli Datan, were arrested by the Izmir M.N. on charges of "propagandising for communism."

August 20, 1971 - The board of the semi-official news agency İstosia (IA) revealed that the government had pressured the agency.

September 2, 1971 - General Musa Odat, the new Director General of the TRP stated that the TRP has been used in such a way as to favor a certain ideology and would therefore be recognized in the context of Atikler principles.

The military prosecutor filed a suit against Emir Celip Sundalci, member of the TRT Board, accusing him of "propagandising for communism."

September 4, 1971 - The public prosecutor regarded the statement of the TRP Director General as demoralization and sparked legal proceedings against the former administration of the TRP.

September 13, 1971 - The monthly literary review Yalikin Dostlari was closed down by the Istanbul M.N. and editor Nilat Behram was detained.

September 15, 1971 - Metin Sayma, Director of Bilim ve Bayanlilik Publishing House, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison and two and one-half years banishment by the Second Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara.
on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Lenin's State and Revolution.

September 17, 1971 - The Ankara Martial Law Headquarters closed two newspapers, Yenidex and Adana. — The Adana MVD closed the daily Yenidex for one week.

September 26, 1971 - Movie actor Yilmaz Kayyim's other film, Elvam, won first prize at the Third Asian Film Festival.

September 30, 1971 - The trial of Prof. Mustafa Boyals, who was a consultant to the Third Military Court of the Ankara MVD. He was charged with "propagandizing for communism" and "being under the orders of the world Communist Party".

October 4, 1971 - Eighteen persons were arrested for publishing a clandestine newspaper, Gufak, which attacked the military regime. — Nazmi Tail Cemil, Director of State Television, was permanently dismissed from his post.

October 8, 1971 - The weekly Orman was closed down by the Istanbul MVD. — First Lieutenant Yavur Savere, Lieutenant Nazmi Ata, and Sergeant Nurettin Teker were arrested by the Ankara MVD on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

October 12, 1971 - Two dailies, Ege Ekspres and Kolyon, were closed by the Izmir MVD after seven days.

October 20, 1971 - Süleyman Kay, director of Bilin ve Beyaz Publications Publishing House, was condemned to seven and one-half years imprisonment and two and one-half years banishment for "propagandizing for communism" for having published Mars and Rema Newspapers.

October 22, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published the names of 12 forbidden books. The Military Court of Cessation also approved this decision.

The Public Prosecutor of Ankara informed the Ankara MVD that 25 books had been forbidden prior to the introduction of martial law.

October 24, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters closed the daily Marmara for ten days.

October 25, 1971 - The Journalists Union of Turkey (TGF) announced that in amending the constitution, freedom of press had been restricted.

October 25, 1971 - The trial of Ahmet Goykurt, novelist and president of the IAD, and 122 members of the IAD began at the Second Military Court of the Ankara MVD. They were indicted for "reforming a clandestine communist organization".

October 27, 1971 - The trial of writer Şadi Akök, assistant professor Cevat Seck, writer-editor İrem Güzder, publisher Vedat Atagüm, publisher Hamit Ün, editor Osman Sahid, consultant Metin Şanlıgu, pianist Nurettin Gürler, editor and actor Aydın Koc, translator Selvi Göksen, MVD prosecutor Erdal Keser, journalist Tezg Erbil, public prosecutor Saruhan Saruhan, engineer Nurettin Karadöken and engineer Süleyman Balasna began at the Third Military Court of the Istanbul MVD. The defendants were accused of "membership in the clandestine Turkish Communist Party".

November 8, 1971 - The weekly Eski was closed by the Ankara MVD for one month.

On the request of the Third Military Court of the Ankara Martial
Ley Headquarters, the Public Prosecutor of Istanbul disclosed the titles of
55 books previously forbidden.

November 23, 1971 - Teacher Niyazi Burgut and editor Ahmet Çınal were
sentenced to 13 years in prison for allegedly "propagandizing for communism"
in publishing an article criticizing the pressures on teachers.

- The daily newspaper İmam was closed down for one week by the Imam
       Martial law Headquarters.

November 24, 1971 - Two retired colonels were appointed, one as assist-
       ant director general and the other as director of State television.

November 25, 1971 - After the closing of the weekly Orum by M.N., the
       publisher began a new weekly entitled Kent Osman. The Istanbul M.N. stopped
       the printer from putting out the magazine, whereas the publisher was fore-
       ce to cease publication.

December 1, 1971 - Hidayet Yaman and Erdem Aşkın, assistant professors
       at the Black Sea Technical University, Kemal Birgul, assistant at the same
       university, Judge Ali Funik Cilve, 26 teachers, one engineer and one lawyer
       were detained by the Anbar M.N. Their cases were accused of "promoting a class-
       wise organization".

Local G: was acquitted by the Military Court of the Ankara M.N.

December 3, 1971 - Prof. Midat Soydaş was sentenced to 6 years and
       8 months imprisonment by the Third Military Court of the Ankara M.N. for
       "propagandizing for communism". The military court also decided to confis-
       cate Prof. Soydaş's book, Introduction to the Constitution.

December 5, 1971 - A DP representative introduced a motion for a
       press amnesty. The motion, however, excluded those offenses qualified as
       "propagandizing for communism".

December 6, 1971 - Two teachers, Hikmet Şen and Çelik Demirteş, were
       detained for possessing leftist publications.

- Hıdır Çarşıoğlu was sentenced to ten and one-half years in prison on
  charges of "sowing the national feeling" for having published in article
  in the periodical DER on November 13, 1970.

December 9, 1971 - İhsan Kayaçınar, publisher of Birlikte Yargıla-
       rı, arrested by the Anbar M.N. on charges of "propagandizing for communism
       for having published a book entitled Uninterrupted Revolution.

- Vasfi Emekçioğlu, editor of Türk Solu, was sentenced to 9 and one-half
  years in prison and 3 years house arrest on charges of "propagandizing for
  communism" by the Third Ambediated Felony Court of Ankara.

December 10, 1971 - Commend Memorar Nam, member of the T.P. Board,
       was detained by the Ankara Martial law Headquarters.

December 14, 1971 - Journalist Yaşar Yigır was arrested on charges of
       "aiding urban guerrillas".

- Writer Nihat Ahmet Bakaralaş, writer Musa Ateş, former secretary-
  general of the T.P. Party Sımyei Boz, were brought before the Military
  Court of the Diyarbakır M.N. for "propagandizing for separatism".

December 21, 1971 - A new law was brought against public prosecu-
       tor Gürses Tafşin for his article entitled A Warning to Frontiers published
       in İmam.

December 23, 1971 - Yaşar Demir, the director of an insurance com-
       pany, was arrested by the Istanbul M.N. and charged with "propagandizing for
       communism".

- Three journalists, Dogan Arslan, Ilhan Selcuk and Ilham Soykal, were released after six months in prison.

December 31, 1971 - Rogan Jord Adem and Goup Kufarol, editors of the weekly Akt, were sentenced to ten months in prison or six months in prison or charges of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic."

- Mehmet Nafz, translator of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts was sentenced to seven and one-half years of prison by the Military Court of the Ankara M.E.
- Gogun Sefet Arslan, editor of the monthly review Akt, received a seven and one-half year prison term for "propaganda for communism" in having published the text of the International.
- Folk singer Selim Ferhat was sentenced to one and a half years by the 1st Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul charged with "insulting the morality of the security forces."

January 7, 1972 - Emel Gelpi Sadaleli, member of the TTB Board, was acquitted by the Second Military Court of Ankara M.E. In spite of his acquittal, he was dismissed from the TTB.

January 12, 1972 - The book entitled Turkey with Dogar Jas was confiscated by the Ankara M.E. and its author, Aziz Adan, was detained on charges of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and Parliament."

January 14, 1972 - The showing of the Turkish film, Dorka Band, was forbidden by the Censorship Administration.

The military prosecutor started legal proceedings against members of the TTB Board for distributing STM awards on the basis of Ideological propaganda. Two members of the board, Emel Gelpi Sadaleli and Sami Cev, were first interrogated.

January 15, 1972 - Journalist Biam Gilel, Işık Alner, Ilhan Soykal and Hacmi Turgun were brought before the First Military Court of Istanbul Mill be charge of "propaganda for communism." They had been under arrest for eight months.

January 15, 1972 - The Court of Cassation overruled the decision for acquittal of Colthing Gelin Atan and ordered a new trial on his article, List, Public Prosecutor of Istanbul! Four years earlier, the Public Prosecutor of Istanbul had started legal proceedings against four lawyers who had rejected Atatürk's August speech on the charge that they were "propagandizing for communism." He claimed that the speech in question was not Atatürk's, but Stalin's. Gelin Atan had then written this article as a criticism of him. This time, the public prosecutor of Istanbul started legal proceedings against Gelin Atan accusing him of "propagandizing for communism" and requested the National Assembly to deprive him of his congressional immunity. During the debate on this subject, Gelin Atan read his article to parliament and stated that a deputy could not be made accountable before the law for speeches made in Parliament. The Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul sustained his objections and acquitted him. The Court of Cassation, however, ordered Gelin Atan to be re-arrested.

January 24, 1972 - Four high school students were detained by the Istanbul Mill and charged with "propagandizing for communism" while on their way to the theater.

January 24, 1972 - Mustaffer Forest, director of Sol Yaprak, was sentenced to six and a half years in prison for "propagandizing for communism."
February 11, 1972 - Writer Nihal Helil was given a 6 year and 8 months prison sentence for “propagandizing for communism” in his speech on “revolutionary strategy.” The Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul also sentenced Vahap Ergüden, editor of Thürk Solu, and Yasar Uyar, editor of Anı, to 6 years and 3 months in prison for publishing that speech.

- Nihat Tali Özbilen, former director of the State television, was arrested by default by the Second Militarization Court of Ankara MEB.

February 17, 1972 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters closed the daily Anı for an indefinite period. This newspaper had launched a campaign to abolish capital punishment.

February 18, 1972 - First Lieutenant Nevzat Seneci was sentenced to 17 months and 15 days in prison by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MEB for “praising communism.”

- 17 persons were detained by the Diyarbakir MEB for maintaining relations with the clandestine newspaper Şafak.

February 22, 1972 - Engineer Yılmaz Aydin was given a one-year, four-month prison sentence by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MEB for “propagandizing for communism” when explaining the Constitution to peasants.

- Selim Danyaloğlu, president of the FOMB Ikmen Section, and seven other teachers, Vahap Öngörü, Selim Sanayman, Mehmet Önal, Sabir Cemiloglu, Ahmet Ali Ayyıldız, Tahir Pınarbaşı and Hasan Kemal Öcal were sentenced to 8 years in prison and 6 years banishment by the Military Court of the Adana MEB for allegedly “forming a clandestine organization.”

- The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters allowed the daily Anı to resume publication. The publishers of the newspaper pledged to dismiss all left-wing elements and to fight communism.

March 1, 1972 - Ayhan Karapınar, program producer at the IMF, was arrested by the Second Military Court of the Ankara MEB.

March 6, 1972 - During the military regime’s first year of rule, 52 newspapers and periodicals were closed down by the authorities or forced to stop publication.

March 13, 1972 - The daily newspaper Şanlı was closed down by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

March 16, 1972 - The daily newspaper Ergenç was closed down by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

March 26, 1972 - The government prohibited importing certain books, including Class Struggle in Africa, Neo-Colonialism, Jimlonsa (Habrat, Mideel Habrat) and the new edition of Revolutionary.

March 28, 1972 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published the name of those on the wanted list which included Şogam Coğadın, editor of Anı, Vahap Ergüden, editor of Aydin, and Ömer Göksu, editor of 1972-Öyküler.

March 27, 1972 - Famous movie star Yılmaz İkőey was arrested by the Istanbul MEB on charges of helping urban guerrillas.

March 29, 1972 - Bora Odem, editor of Thürk Solu, was sentenced to 17 months in prison for publishing that speech.

March 30, 1972 - Het de Heger, editor of the periodical Sokak-ge Basın (Zaman), was condemned to 8 and one-half years in prison by the
Second Military Court of Istanbul Mili on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

MUSTAFA Ekil, a student, was sentenced to seven and one-half years in prison by the Third Military Court of Istanbul Mili on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

April 1, 1972 - Prof. Umer Akekkapi, Assistant Prof. Makbili Onyurlu, Assistants A. Cicek and Uzur Ece were detained by the Ankara Mili.

April 3, 1972 - Writer Sorgi Sogut was arrested again by the Ankara Mili on charges of "propagandizing for communism" just after her husband, Prof. Neon Soysal, was released.

April 10, 1972 - Retired Lieutenant Colonel Asansin Gokytar was appointed Director of Istanbul Radio.

The Public Prosecutor of Ankara started legal proceedings against Nevzat Baskoy, member of Parliament from the DDK, on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

April 16, 1972 - General Masa Ozen, General Director of the DDK, went to London on a invitation from the BBC.

April 25, 1972 - Writer Sorgi Sogut was sentenced to one year in prison by the First Military Court of Ankara Mili.

Translator Debeyr Aogu was sentenced to one year in prison by the Fourth Aggravated Palace Court of Istanbul on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated a book entitled Politics and Philosophy.

May 1, 1972 - Three students, Nihat Sensoy, Zaki Yemutlu and Agin Sriutlu, were arrested in Advin on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

May 4, 1972 - The Martial Law Headquarters of Baskoy furnished the distribution of the daily newspaper Son Yeni in the province of Baskoy for ten days.

May 3, 1972 - Veysel Bedoglu, editor of Adnilik and Rubi Bile, was apprehended in Advin (Osman province). He had been sentenced in absentia.

May 16, 1972 - Koca Duran, editor of the periodical Onl Tavil was sentenced to seven and one-half years imprisonment by the Second Aggravated Palace Court of Ankara on charges of "propagandizing for communism."

May 23, 1972 - Abdullah Benol, a teacher, was arrested in Sehine-Mayza on charges of "propagandizing for communism" and "possessing forbidden leftist publications."

The above is an excerpt from an article by Metin Yoken, Imam Ismet's son-in-law. He is well-known Turkish anti-communist.
writer Erdal Oez, university assistants Dogu Perincek, Halil Berkay, Nuri Goldakani, Mustafa Akgul and Mustafa Cem, were detained by the Atakara GUM accused of being involved in the resistance movement.

- Yilik Basak, former president of the Progressive Cultural Organization of İzmir Anatolik (TOIK), was sentenced to one year in prison and four months banishment to the First Appellate Court of İzmir on charges of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having issued a tract on police terrorism.

May 31, 1972 - Ismail Ayvaz, a student at the Ankara Law Faculty, received a six-month prison sentence for distributing the clandestine newspaper Sefik.

June 7, 1972 - The daily newspaper Yeni Cumhuriyet was closed down by the Ankara pub for an indefinite period.

June 12, 1972 - Semi-official news agency ATA accused Radio Cologne of "propagandizing for communism" in its Turkish broadcasts aimed at Turkish workers in Germany.

June 16, 1972 - Journalist Elmas Soyosan and editor Erol Sengur were sentenced to one-year prison terms and four-month banishment by the First Appellate Court of İzmir on charges of "insulting the morality of the government" for having published criticism in the newspaper Akgan.

- Hadi Kesk, a Turkish student at the Free University of Berlin, was deprived of his citizenship by the government. He had been deprived of his citizenship two years previously, but the Council of State had voided the decision.

June 19, 1972 - Petra Isik, a professor of the TRT, assistant Asim Girgin and two other persons were arrested by the Atakara GUM on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

June 22, 1972 - Editor Osman Safi, a student Atakan was sentenced to two and one-half years of prison by the Second Military Court of İzmir on charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

June 23, 1972 - The Court of Cassation approved the one-year prison term of columnist Günter Altun. He had been indicted for "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic" in a speech to a party meeting.

July 8, 1972 - The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Sait Soylas, president of the CIP, and Selimyan Gung, former president of the CIP Youth Section, for speeches made at the Youth Section Convention.

- The Journalists Union of Turkey (TGM) demanded a press amnesty.

July 9, 1972 - Some members of Parliament announced in Parliament that certain affiliated unions had decided not to organize the Congress of the International Journalists Federation in Turkey in order to protest against the pressures on the Turkish press.

July 14, 1972 - Cabir Alisan, secretary of the School of Journalism at Ankara University, was arrested on charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The Military Court of Cassation overruled the decision to imprison writer Soyosan Soyosan.

July 15, 1972 - The journalists union of Germany and Holland stated that they would not attend the International Journalists Congress in Turkey in sign of protest against the pressures exercised on the Turkish press.
July 13, 1972 - Columnist Cetin Altan was incarcerated at Sincan prison for ten months.

July 21, 1972 - Folk singer Agis Mehmet Guerif was arrested in Galata on a warrant issued by the Istanbul Mii.

Prime Minister Ferdi Halil stated: "In regard to the doctrine of Turkish laws, practically no journalist has been judged for a press offense. Under the present system, a press array cannot be taken into consideration."  

July 20, 1972 - On International Press Day, the Journalists Union of Turkey (1972) repeated its demands for a press amnesty and reiterated its objections to the charges in the constitution introduced by the government and the political parties.

July 26, 1972 - Justice Minister Tekeli Alpoglu stated: "In Turkey no member of the press has been found guilty for his opinions.

July 20, 1972 - Between 5 and 6 p.m., some 3,000 policemen headed by civil authorities empowered by the Istanbul Mii raided 30 publishing houses in Istanbul. They confiscated from 290,000 to 400,000 books (50 titles including Ahmet Cevdet's books) and detained over 50 publishers, distributors and bookshoppers including Kenan Yenerci (Kontak Publications), Cevdet Sancar (Sancar Publications), Cevdet Cevdet (Cini Publications), Sibel Esbera (Secine Publications), Ramazan Fadil (Arcan Publications)....

July 20, 1972 - Oygun Vascplu, editor of the newspaper Yeni Sath, was incarcerated at Sincan Prison. He had been judged and sentenced for an article published in the daily Yenik when he had been its editor.

July 30, 1972 - Lawyer Fehmi Uzuner's book entitled The Case at the Military Court of Cassation was accused of "insulting the moral of the military procurators and the judge", and the author arrested by the Istanbul Mii. Although the book included only the official appeal to the Military Court of Cassation on death sentences, the lawyer was arrested. Lawyer Uzuner's other book entitled The Cogen's Case was confiscated previously, although it only contained the affair of a terrorist inflected on political prisoners.

July 11, 1972 - Aygaz Tuncay, editor of the weekly Aygaz, was incarcerated at Sincan Prison for ten months. He was accused of "insulting the moral of the President of the Republic," similar accusations were brought against chief editor Cevdet Cubukcu when the authorities were not able to ingrate.

August 1, 1972 - Dr. Ismail Yavuz, assistant at the Political Science Department of the Istanbul University, was dismissed from 12 years and 9 days imprisonment by the First Military Court of the Diyarbakir Mii. He was arrested just after the proclamation of martial law and has been tried for months. The military court condemned him 6 years and 6 months in prison and three years' banishment on the charges of "propagandizing for communism" for his speeches at the Istanbul University of Sciences and Arts, 6 months and 3 days prison and 5 months' banishment on the charges of "propagandizing for separatism" for his article on the socio-economic structure of Eastern Anatolia published in the monthly review Anit.

Obviously, the facts mentioned in this chronological survey do not include all the pressure to which the press has been subjected by the military authorities. Especially in the recent months, the military authorities have applied strict censorship to the press. For example, newspapers
have been compelled to use the word "bandits" in describing urban guerrillas. It has been forbidden to supply any information on the mass arrests or trials outside that contained in official communiques. Hundreds of people have been arrested for the ideas expressed in their writings or orally. The military authorities have acted, however, disclosed their names.

On the other hand, the military rulers of Turkey have not been satisfied with simply modifying the constitution and providing the martial law commanders with arbitrary powers; they have ordered the Government and Parliament to change all laws and regulations concerning the press, thought and the arts. (see The Violation of the Constitution)

According to the amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure, "offences against the State" need to be subjected to a preliminary investigation in order to decide whether they can be prosecuted or to determine the identity of the "offender." In accordance with the amendment of the Military Criminal Code, if any journalist criticizes military expenditures, he can be tried in the military courts. The same amendment strictly forbids military personnel from reading political books or from recommending them to other persons in the military. Punishment for such crimes is five years imprisonment.

The military-backed government brought the bill amending the Film Control Act before parliament on June 23, 1972. In accordance with this draft bill, the administrative bodies will be authorized to allow the making of any film or to ban performing any film.

With the amendment of the Duties and Authorities of Police Act, the police forces are empowered to close down any theater or cinema, to raid the offices of newspapers and publish houses without obtaining a court warrant, and the administrative authorities can confiscate any publication or censor any correspondence.

The military junta is not, however, satisfied with all these amendments and on July 7, 1972, impressed upon the political parties the necessity of new changes in the Constitution aimed at giving more authority to the executive power. If the Parliament accepts these new amendments, the authorities will be able to avoid all thinking citizens "enemies of the State" and to try them in the extraordinary security courts which will be constituted under these new provisions.

Meanwhile, some circles are advocating "press amnesty in line with democratic ideals." These demands include only the "press offenses" mentioned in the Turkish Press Code and in certain articles of the Turkish Penal Code. The political offenses mentioned in the fascist article 152 of the TPC (see page 150) are not included in the press amnesty. On the other hand, as has been seen in the chronological survey, hundreds of intellectuals, journalists and artists have been charged with "propagandizing for communism" under this article and to prison sentences of 7 and one-half years for single articles or a single translation or poem or speech. While communist parties are legal and can openly propagate their opinions in the other member countries of the Council of Europe, how can one condemn the fact that publishing a book of Marx or criticizing the social order or singing a song reflecting the problems of the people is subject to 7 and one-half years of prison on the pretext that this constitutes "communist propaganda."

This is the question: Is Turkey a member of the Council of Europe? If so, in accordance with the European Convention of Human Rights: "Everyone has the right to freedom of thought." (article 1)

How can the members of the Council of Europe justify the military regime's practices on the basis of the European Convention of Human Rights? Is this a matter of freedom of thought, not a question of amnesty!
The oppression of the teachers

The teaching profession has been one of the main targets of the military rule in Turkey since the general's memorandum of March 17th. Following the Prime Minister Denk's declaration concerning the "Sledge-Hammer Operation", followed by the proclamation of the martial law in 11 regions, hundreds of teachers and university professors have been arrested. Their progressive organizations have been banned and their members have been tried under the threat of long term imprisonments.

But a veiled sanction was in force in Turkey even before the military coup d'état, and the rank and file teachers were also one of the social groups most affected. For this reason it seems necessary to examine what has happened since 1987, when the violent repression of teachers started, and to divide the chapter into two parts:

- The period preceding the martial law (1981)
- The period following the martial law,

Up to the Martial Law of 1981

Teachers have always been in the forefront of movements for modernization in Turkey, notably during the years of the War of National Liberation (1919-1923). Thousands of teachers played a leading role, taking executive positions or joining the armed struggle.

But for the great mass of teachers, conscious of the need to ally themselves with the underprivileged masses and uphold infrastructural as well as superstructural changes in the national interest, the period of "Village Institutes (Köy Etablisi)" was a turning point. In 1933, the population's productive level was very low. The single party (CSP), in an attempt to enlarge the participation of the masses in agricultural and manufacturing production and to overcome the serious shortage of teachers, founded the system of "teaching in practice" — "educating peasant children to become teachers in their own villages".

This system for the first time in Turkey's history gave the children of the poor peasant population the chance to learn, to participate in their country's destiny, to educate their own masses (1941).

17,000 teachers and 4,000 lecturers qualified during the short period which the institution lasted. The success demonstrated that the creative force of the people can reverse an unjust order, achieve a revolutionary change in the future and educate creative, exemplary figures. But it is obvious that a reactionary political structure dominated by the economic interests of a privileged minority, will not uphold a progressive institution of this kind. This explains why the first attack on the Village Institutes, in 1987, came from the People's Republican Party which founded them. The administrators and teachers belonging to the institutes were dispersed and
accused of "being communist," they were exiled or imprisoned. The Democratic Party, in 1950, finally liquidated the institute completely.

Given a political and economic structure of this type, the institute—which we dared call their weakness—could not be allowed to succeed. It was naturally necessary to change the system and the power structure first. But notwithstanding, during their seven years of existence those institutes, founded by the party in power for reasons of their own, produced thousands of schoolteachers scattered throughout the country, and well-known writers like Faik Beykurt, Mehmet Nabi and Talip Apaydin from among the peasant population.

It was they who, from 1950 to 1960, under the dictatorship of the Democratic Party, valiantly withstand the repression in its multiple forms and after a new, relatively democratic constitution of 1961 (the result of the 1960 coup d'etat) began to organize again. Those who for a long period worked under the name of the "National Federation of Turkish Teachers" took advantage of a new act and founded the "Teachers' Union of Turkey" (1965) in 1965, thus assembling thousands of primary, secondary and university teachers. Nevertheless, the right to strike has always been denied to teachers and all state personnel and is still not recognized.

With the founding of the TOG the ruling circles returned to their methods of terror and repression in their dealings with teachers. Faik Beykurt, known internationally for his novels and President of the TOG, five years ago explained the forms and causes of the repression as follows:

"When the TOG was first founded we talked a lot about inadequate salaries: my colleagues earned an average 600 LTL (34 dollars) a month."

"...There is another problem—that of security. You cannot imagine an employer more hostile to his employer. The ministry of education with local politicians, provincial administrations and foreign specialists act together to ensure the suppression of unrest.

"The Supreme Disciplinary Court, the Directors' Commission, the Inspector, all are against the teachers. Regardless of their circumstances they are depurated, released and fired and placed at the Ministry's disposal.

"They're 'great workers'—to have refused foreign influence in education and formed solid defenses of national independence, of our natural resources, to have harmed the people about these problems...

"...The TOG, nearly 1.4 years of age now, today placed a formal protest about 600 cases of teachers brought before the Council of State or local magistrature courts."

(Jut Review, January 3, 1967)

Five years ago the attacks against teachers in general intensified and the repression has since followed the following course:

January 1967

- Mehmet Nabi, teacher and well-known novelist (author of An Anatolian Village) and Ahmet Ali, teacher, placed at the Ministry's disposal.

- Faik Beykurt, President of the TOG, relieved of his post as Inspector of Primary Education at Akbar.

- At Anamur six teachers—Fahrettin Deniz, Abdülkerim Bulut, Sabri Temir, Mehmet Işılt, Ali Yalal and Melik Hsmit—placed at the Ministry's disposal.
The teaching profession has been one of the main targets of the military rule in Turkey since the general's memorandum of March 26th. Following Prime Minister Kirci's declaration concerning the "Midece-Gümüş Operation," followed by the proclamation of the martial law in 12 regions, hundreds of teachers and university professors have been arrested. Their progressive organizations have been banned and their members have been tried under the threat of long term imprisonments.

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February 1967
- Councillor of the Ministry of Education: "Let 100 teachers be placed at the Ministry's disposal, there is nothing to fear..."

- A letter sent to a friend by Serif Tekcan, who is dismissed from his post of Inspector of Primary Education at Istanbul and exiled at Elazig, opened and published in a disputing only paper.

April 1967
- Refat Hakal, quoted in a model personality by the U.S. magazine "Sarac du Nade", arrested during a discussion with friends at the village of Yekesi, Izmir.

July 1967
- Primary School Inspector Rıhmet Ay, of Şirin, exiled to Erzincan because of his writings and speeches.
- İsmail Alkan, placed at the Ministry's disposal and accused of communist propaganda, acquitted by the Court of Izmir.

August 1967
- The promotions to professorships of Senan Divitcioglu and Elysio Kılıçbaker, lecturers at Istanbul University Economics Faculty, are denied confirmation by the University Senate. Reason: Left-wing affiliations.

September 1967
- A branch of the TOS is brought to trial for having placed a wreath carrying an anti-imperialist quotation on Mustafa Kemal's monument.
- The Minister of Education Ilham Esen accedes the TOS of political activities. Former president of the 1930 Republic Council is condemned for political activities and sentenced to three months in prison.

October 1967
- Eight teachers: Huri Beliç, Refet Vital, Ahmet Valioglu, Ahmet Obu, Nazif Sahin, Serif Galisir, Baki Ural, Ömer Serim- are dismissed from their posts at, respectively, Çevirgan, Erzincan, Van, Kars, Musul, Şirin, Asta, Kars.

At Eskişehir, decision to expel Ahmet Kaya Dürüm, teacher, from the town.

An inquiry opens into the case of Kemal Karadeniz, Primary School Inspector at Ermelo. Accusation: Left-wing affiliation.

2,000 teachers meet at Antalya and resolve to resist "the repression directed at members".

November 1967
- The administrative headquarters of the TOS and of the TÜRSO (National Federation of Turkish Teachers' Associations) together resolve to resist the repression.
- The TOS declares that it will support strikes by school curators and will if necessary declare a boycott in protest against "the repression directed at teachers".

Abdi Akşakal, teacher, expelled from the profession for political activities.
Acquitted by the court, Djam Alesk (of Zaghouan, Tunisia) is discharged to Tunis.

- Abdou Salam, teacher and former president of the Tunisian branch of the PDS, goes to trial for having "encouraged the people to revolt". He had spoken in favor of the reopening of the Village Institutes during a poetry reading.

December 1987

- Akbul Kaygut, President of PDS, placed at the Ministry's disposal on the charge of "deliberately in favor of democracy".

- A fresh inquiry begins into the case of Muhammad Kabal, appointed to a post at the East and West School in Istanbul. He is charged with recommending Mardik's speech to Karen as reading for his pupils. The inquiry is followed by six others.

- The youth organizations of Istanbul declare 23rd-30th December a "Week of Protest Against the Repression Directed at Teachers".

- Arif Payasoglu, Dean of the School of Administrative Science at the Middle East Technical University, is suspended and the students protest at the decision.

January 1988

- On instruction from the Ministry of Justice a court inquiry concerning the PDS and 13 other progressive organizations is held and their dissolution is called for. Accusations: Political activism.

- 30 progressive organizations, in a pamphlet published for the "Week of Protest Against the Repression of Teachers", indicate that:
  1. Turkey has 18,025,000 illiterate citizens.
  2. There are 72,807 villages in Turkey. 12,807 villages have no schools.
  3. Crude death rate 14 per 1,000; infant mortality rate 166 per 1,000 live births.
  4. 17% of primary age students have no schools to attend.
  5. These circumstances do not surprise the Ministry of Education continuing his campaign of repression affecting 800 of teachers.

- Nearly 1,000 teachers responsible for branches of the PDS meet at Ankara and declare their resistance in the face of the repression.

- The president of the PDS' Kastel branch is attacked by gangs armed by the Justice Party (F.P).

March 1988

- Secondary teachers are removed from their posts at Tekst, Bedri Cihan, Mustafa Kiliç et al, Lamouner Elkea.

- A new inquiry is held against Nihal Kabal. This time the charge is "incite propagation directed at dem" pupils".

- The decision of the University Senate at Istanbul which prevented Divrigli obtains a professorship is overruled by the Council of State.

April 1988

- The decision of the University Senate which prevented Khojibair obtaining a professorship is also overturned.

- Lamoun Elkea. Teacher of philosophy, is withdrawn from his post by the Ministry.
- The TOS and the TOUPF presidents are charged with calling teachers into action to resist the repression.

- Two teachers at the Girls' Handicraft Institute, Murat Obasan and Ali Cayva, attack by armed gang. Both were members of the TOS.

**June 1968**

- Two teachers expelled by the Teacher's Training Institute at Amasya, Talip Apaydin and Ahmet Kayfa Turan, are vindicated after an appeal to the Council of State.

- The Minister of the Republic replies to the TOUPF, with reference to his message to the Minister: "I assure you that the government will continue its efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of this conflict."

- The President of the Republic replies to the TOUPF, with reference to his message to the Minister: "I assure you that the government will continue its efforts to achieve the peaceful settlement of this conflict."

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**August 1968**

- R. Sarıhan, a village schoolteacher at İrmaköprü (Gorgan), loses his post accused of "communist propaganda". Two trials are held.

- Despite the Council of State's decision, the University Senate persists in its refusal to award a professorship toEyüp Kaya, the head of the Teachers' Union of Turkey.

- Kavuncu, a village schoolteacher at Haceldere, is removed from his post for encouraging the peasant foresters to organize themselves into cooperatives.

- The teacher at the Theological College of Diyarbakır, Hasan Taşmaz, loses his post for having organized an exhibition devoted to Abdullah Öcalan.

- ordering the teachers to renounce political activity.

**September 1968**

- Sadiye Özgür, Primary School Inspector of Diyarbakır, is expelled from his post for encouraging the peasant foresters to organize themselves into cooperatives.

- The Minister of Education has postponed a promised "Educational Council" indefinitely and opposed any attempts to organize it. The TOS desires to hold a "Progressive Educational Council" from 4th to 7th September. When proceedings ended it was agreed between the representatives of the TOUPF and the progressive youth organizations that all further action be based on the principle of "Education for the Revolution".

- As a result, the Minister of Education accuses the teachers of "insubordination". TOS reacts strongly at the insult.
The President of the Kars Teachers' Association is beaten up by police.

Selvul Şahin and Ismet Topcuday are removed from their posts at the Primary Schoolteachers Training College, Kayseri, because of their KGS membership.

Hacı Bayram, President of the KGS, is attacked by right-wing militants during a speech at Birecik.

The intellectuals, artists and teachers participating at a meeting in place, are attacked by right-wing extremists and only just escape assassination.

Village schoolteacher and the KGS member Yılmaz Eres, of Çıraklar in Soma Province, is attacked by the militants of the Justice Party during a discussion with localrelease farmers.

Founded by a succession of court inquiries and persecutions, Mahmut Nalbant is forced to leave the teaching profession.

Erdoğdu Yılmaz, President of the Kayseri branch of the KGS, is placed at the Ministry's disposal for having written an article criticizing the persecution of teachers.

Ozma Evi Kuydük, honorary member of the KGS and Turkey's only university specialist, is refused a professorship after seven years as assistant professor of the School of Medicine at Ankara. The KGS protests to the Council of State.

A trial on Marxist lines presented by Oya Sencer, assistant lecturer in Sociology at Istanbul, is rejected. Oya Sencer resigns and appeals to the Council of State.

The public prosecutor brings new charges against KGS, which is accused of "political propaganda" following the Progressive Educational Council.

In protest against the repression, the Istanbul branch of the KGS organizes a demonstration in which thousands of young people take part.

Five KGS delegates at Umraniye, Ankara, are the object of an inquiry by Ministry inspectors on account of their trade union activities.

New complaints and accusations concerning Yılmaz Eres, seriously charged and called to Vefa Medium.

Village schoolteacher Hacı Aydin is placed at the Ministry's disposal.

Since branch president Hacı Bayram loses his post for having protest ed at the Ministry's refusal to pay teacher benefits.

In Kayseri, Kayseri, five teachers are targeted by the public prosecutor in order to enact the enactment of a disciplinary punishment against the son of an important local politician.

University lecturers at Istanbul and Ankara unanimously decide to boycott an account of a non-respect of their rights. They are supported by the Professors' Councils.
February 1969
- Demonstration called by the TDS to protest at the prosecution of teachers and also at the neo-American educational system. Thousands of teachers from all over Turkey attend.
- Two teachers at the Educational Institute Ocal, Bopas Ergen and Mausefter Olsman are withdrawn. No reason given.
- The TDS Istanbul protests at the visible to Turkish ports by the Sixth Fleet and at the massacre which resulted. "Bloody Sunday".
March 1969
- The public prosecutor's office charges the TDS and the TDSB representatives with organizing the Adana demonstration and demands their dissolution. The Ministry of Education has also organized its own inquiry concerning the teachers who took part in the demonstration.
- A teacher at Kayseri is withdrawn for having read "Hamad, My Hawk" by Yasar Kemal.
April 1969
- The commander of the Fascist National Action Party (NAP) attack the Kosovo branch and destroy all it find, also break up those present.
- Koyuluhisar Secondary School Director Ismo Mayyak is withdrawn from his post. No reason given. His pupils decide to boycott.
- Following the Ministry's decision to exile the president (Malara) Nezim Sahinofenclu, nearly 100 village mayors publish a tract protesting.
- To put a stop to his presidential activities Fatih Beykurt, President of the TDS and the TDSB is arrested in Istanbul.
May 1969
- The University Senate which presented Ismet Inonu offering up a professorship is forced to pay a Dl 50,000 fine by the State Council.
- A plan for university reforms is submitted to parliament. One rector, 11 deans and 2 professors resign in protest.
June 1969
- Deputy Director of the High School at Mac, Cenat Saygili, and teachers all Gose are removed from their posts and paid only a quarter of their salaries because of reading of progressive texts.
July 1969
- A public prosecution against the TDS once again proceeds for its dissolution.
- Consequence of a pact by the AP, an attack by the fascist groups on the TDS Congress, which they are trying to ignore, is considering responsible for "the indifference of the representatives of Turkish society to the operation of communists in Indonesia". The right wing extremists attack read piper progressive headquarters and bookshops and try to lynch teachers, several of whom are badly hurt.
- A complaint is brought against Assistant Professor Duran Cubil Tepal, member of the Executive Committee of the Turkish Labor Party (TDP). He had taken part in a Proletarian Socialist Congress in Italy as representative
of his party. Accused of having acted "not in the national interest." (The 1961 Constitution grants professors and assistants the right to be a member and to take part in the leadership of the political party of their choice.)

- The Ankara Boulevard Theatre is invited to Beggyleyir by the local TOS. During the performance, 300 right-wing extremists attack the spectators with metal rods and destroy the home of three teachers.

- The Ministry of Education in a new publication declares that "any teacher having an activity that threatens the established order will be expelled to the poorest regions!"

- At a TOS meeting at Adana, teachers call for the right to strike to be accorded to state employees and teachers' unions.

- The result of a large-scale repression at Malatya: 27 teachers expelled and prosecuted by the courts.

- Court inquiries at Hacettepe directed at the teachers Behmet Ay, Murat Ekinci, Adil Odun, Nils Varum and Ali Teumir.

August 1969

- Village school teachers at Seyitgazi in the province of Konya, Ali Kurt and Nihal Emre, expelled from the teaching profession because of their TOS membership.

- The public prosecutor starts a legal proceeding against the local TOS representative of Thracia, Kemal Kaya Turan, for having published a book entitled "The Teacher's Voice." Charge: Propaganda for terrorism.

October 1969

- A group of armed rightists, organized and excited by the SP, break into the TOS headquarters in Evralin and injure teachers present.

November 1969

- A right-wing group who block the path of the TOS union branch president, Erdal Atik, and beat him badly.

August 1969

- 350,000 teachers take part in a national boycott organized by the TOS and the Ilk-sec (minor registering part of the primary school teaching corps) directed at low living standards, pre-American education and the persecution of teachers. The result is 350 teachers discharged, accused of having played leading roles in the boycott, and inquiries opened into the cases of 2,000 others, accused of having encouraged it.

- A prominent local landowner at Acipayam, village near Kibistan, has together with others assassinated for having kept his son in school.

- Cannon fire and bullets at home of Professor Vidur Yerim (Ankara, Law Faculty) and the office of Ceilt Taleh (Professor at the Political Science Faculty).

- The public prosecutor's office again brings a court action for the dissolution of TOS end of Ilk-sec, accused of organizing the boycott.

January 1970

- The council of State decides to void the dismissal of Ilk-sec's president and 52 other teachers.
- TGB representatives at Boyabat attacked by the Nurec group, religious sect which demands the establishment of an Islamic state.
- TGB President Behir Saykurt, exiled at Jenkho, is this time "placed at the Minister's disposal".
- While speaking at Corum, Fahri Saykurt is attacked by AF members and pupils of Iktisat High School (religious teaching establishment at secondary level which form numerous right-wing extremists).

February 1970
- 5% more teachers find themselves at the "Ministry's disposal" following the boycott.
- For the same reason three teachers at Aybadi, Mustafa Ozturk, Hadif Oral and Ahmet Eyres, are arrested.

March 1970
- A TGB declaration estimates the boycott's consequences as follows: 20,000 teachers have paid fines amounting two million pounds, 200 teachers have been transferred.
- An Assistant Lecturer at the Middle East Technical University (Ankara), Sengin Buy, is sentenced to 15 months in prison and 6 months in exile for having published a pamphlet.
- The Gioldekarisia branch of TGB is the object of a bomb attack and three teachers are wounded.
- In court, the TGB and Iktisat representatives charged with organizing the boycott make a declaration: As a result of the repression more than two thousand teachers to take jobs as unskilled workers in foreign countries.
- Five teachers at Duzce are expelled from the province.

June 1970
- Armed right wing groups pillage TGB Headquarters at Yozgat and wound teachers.

August 1970
- Under the protection of the police "spectators" right-wing aggressors attack TGB premises at Edirne. Two teachers are hurt.
- TGB premises at Istanbul and those of Iktisat are the object of bomb attack.

September 1970
- At the meeting for "the fight to overcome sorrows" organized by reactionary groups in Adıyaman, the president of the TGB section Behir Ozer and the teacher Hasan Kaynak are beaten badly.
- The vice president of the TGB, Duran Alpas, and his friends are attacked in the Yozgat mountains and kept for 7 hours.
- Two teachers, Alzur Ali Cengiz and Mustafa Karamanolu are attacked by armed reactionary groups in Burak near Burdur.
- The car of the teacher Munes Ceylan is cut off by reactionaries in Tekirdag near Eski.
The teachers of the Gaziantep High School in Mersin, Huseyin Oguzoglu, Ismail Akkar, Vasif Cibana, Bedri Cemalcan and Helin Furkan, are attacked with clubs by rightist groups in front of the TOS premises.

In Konya, town of Yozgat, after the weekly protestor meeting, the TOS Section is attacked by armed right-wing groups and the premises burned.

November 1970

The police search the center of the TOS, the Nusret High Teaching Institute, as well as the house of the teachers and confiscate the books.

December 1970

The Adana TOS section is attacked by fascist commandos. The teachers are beaten and everything around is destroyed.

February 1971

The Director of the Kula (Manisa) Primary School, Ilkay Erginoglu, is attacked by reactionaries, for being affiliated to the TOS.

The Kuzeyi TOS section is attacked by the police under the pretext of search of arms. Five teachers are detained.

The Dinar TOS Section is blown up and two teachers, M. Ali Ayhan, Ilkayi soyuer are seriously wounded.

The TOS premises in Gaziantep town of Malatya is blown up with explosive.

In the Adana town of the Omer, the TOS section is attacked by armed reactionary groups, two teachers, Cihangir Boru and Neci Yilmaz, are badly beaten.

The meeting organized by the Adana TOS section "to protest against the attacks done to the teachers" is attacked by bands of reactionaries. Four teachers are wounded.

The Erciyesi TOS Section is destroyed by the reactionaries.

The Teachers' Association in Istanbul in attacks and destroyed by the armed reactionaries.

The TOS, because of the intensified attacks, is obliged to postpone the 2nd Progressive Educational Council which had to take place between 9th and 11th of February 1971.

The International Federation of Teachers' Unions (FIZB) manifests the solidarity of teachers of all countries against the attacks mentioned.

The Advisory Council of the TOS assembled with the participation of all the presidents of the sections insists on "the gravity of the situation".

March 1971

In the towns of Finike and Konya in Mersin and Burdur, reactionary militants provoke the population by installing books in mosques. The TOS premises and other progressive organizations are attacked, the teachers wounded by the fascist groups.

In Mersin, the TOS premises and some libraries are attacked.

In the Gaziantep town of Yeşil, reactionary militants try to lynch a primary school teacher who is blackening a poster representing the US and Turkish collaboration.
In the Alanya town of Vigo, the high school teacher and administrative director of the 102 Sefa Tunay, is wounded with a dagger by the rightist command.

The house of Arifcan Husez, teacher of the Derpa High School in Kayseri, is blown up with explosive and his motorcycle is destroyed.

The Antalya 70S section is blown up with explosive.

In Tarsus, Yavuz Osman, the teacher of the Devrin Primary School, is beaten badly while he is teaching.

The reactionary militants try to lynch the teacher of the Gorenkoy village in Incirliova town of Aydin.

In Sivas, Soki Geren, the teacher and the President of the Cultural Association of the September 8th, and other 8 persons are arrested under the pretext of having tried to abolish the established order.

In Isparta Murattin Dogan, the teacher of Merkez High School, is arrested for having in his house forbidden books.

Kemal Oral, the primary school teacher, who is travelling from Ord to Sanay, is apprehended by the police in a car under the pretext of carrying arms.

The President of TÜG declares that the number of teachers who left Turkey because of the mounting pressure and went as workers abroad is around seven thousand.

An investigation is done about the Ayyar High school teacher Ali Pasa who is exiled for making left propaganda.

Talat Sarı, teacher at Gazi Training Institute and a writer, is exiled to Balikesir.

It is under these conditions that the teachers and the responsibilities of the 70S accept hopefully the generals' ultimatum aiming "the installation of the order and law in Turkey and the application of the reforms imposed by the constitution". They even declare that they will support a hundred percent government founded with this aim. But Erkin's government far from taking into consideration the 70S's points of view and other progressive organisations, and hiding behind the pretext of "the realization of the reforms and the law and order" prepares a program defending entirely the interests of the ruling circles. After March the 17th terror and repression are applied mercilessly then before to the teachers as well as to all the progressive groups.

April 1971

In Erzincan Mehmet Çelek, teacher of the Geredik village, is shot to death while he is going to the town on a tractor.

Ozan Tıran (in İstanbul), Kadır Erdil (in Ulıburgaz), Kemal Dincer, Kemal Arıkan, and Said Filiz (in Yozgat/Minia) are beaten by reactionary militants.

The house of the Verfaşlı High School's Director in Sanay is volleyed.

Melih Serengi, teacher of the Barbras Primary School in Kayseri, is dismissed for having praised Deniz Osman.

Hasan Hatlar, teacher of the Cibili village in Ormanlı is arrested for carrying anti-regime pamphlets.
A report is sent to all provinces for the application of the punishment of the 3,111 teachers who had participated in the massive boycott organised by the TEB and the FLB-Sen.

After the Martial Law of 1971:

The Prime Minister Muhammed Evren, in spite of this continuing repression and without taking into consideration the worsening terror installed by the fascist groups encouraged by the ruling classes, declares the "Sledgehammer Operation" against the progressive forces.

Just after this declaration, on April 26, 1971, the martial law is proclaimed in 21 provinces of the country. In fact, the martial law is not limited to these 21 provinces and a curfew is started throughout Turkey.

The following chronology shows the repression applied to the teachers and the TEB since the beginning of the martial law.

27.4.71: The martial law authorities search the TEB Center in Slihat.
28.4.71: After search, the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters bans the TEB.
30.4.71: The Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters bans the TEB.
4.5.71: The Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters bans the TEB for an indefinite period.
5.5.71: The Association of University Assistants in Ankara is banned by the Martial Law.
6.5.71: A legal proceeding is brought against professor Sabri Seri who contributed to a symposium on the problems of the students.
7.5.71: In the Cameron town of Adana, two teachers, Necmettin Sar and Sufon Selifar, are detained.
9.5.71: The President of TEB, Fevzi Baykurt, is detained in Antakya.
10.5.71: Baykurt is released.
- After a search TEB Section in Samsun is closed.
11.5.71: Emin Tunçbilek (teacher) is detained in Adana.
12.5.71: Gökhan Cevik, assistant professor at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, is detained for being affiliated to an organisation aiming at the domination of a class over others classes.
- İsmihan Türkoğlu, three teachers, Halil Özer, Hanuk Aydemir, and Nurgül Kiman, are detained.
13.5.71: Oğuzhan Aker, assistant at the Istanbul Technical University, is banished out of the martial law frontier.
- Nesret Demir, president of the Ankara TEB Section, is detained.
- Two teachers, Nural Eşenur and Sabri Ekin, are detained in Batman.
15.5.71: In Sakarya, 3 teachers are detained by the MEB.
- Mustafa Terzi, teacher, is detained in Doreli.
- Oğuzhan Eksen, teacher, is detained in Varanac/Karagöl.
18.5.71: The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters announced the list of wanted university lecturers and the teachers. The wanted persons are as
follwors: Gökhan Akkay (teacher), Yenap Erdogdu (teacher), Dora Pervinay (assistant at Law Faculty-Ankara), Sahin Alpay (assistant), Mustafa Bostal (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), Ismet Sunugrutoğlu (professor at Law Faculty-İstanbul), Ugur muncu (assistant), Hamzâr Acoz (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), Sahin Alpay (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), Torku Cevat Tunac (professor at Law Faculty-İstanbul), Sedat Tanac (assistant).

In the Adana-İzmir departments all TÜK sections are named by TÜK.

Teachers detailed in Kayseri: Zelal Yalçınkaya, Mustafa Alibey, Necmet Mihaylı, Muzaffer Dikm, Mehmet İnci, Ihsan Canbolat, Malatya İnci, Mustafa Dikm, Yelda Aca, Muzaffer Dikm, Babacan Nihat.

Teachers detailed in Burdur: Malek Sahin, Muzaffer Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Muzaffer Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Mustafa Dikm, Musta
23.5.71: In Ankara, Professor Sadun Arz is detained.

- In Kula, teachers, Hasim Baglan, Ferhat Mustafa Yüksel, Utku Bayram, Yücel Demir, Ali Kılıç Başaran, Yusuf Lencas, Reyhan Tev."Keskin are detained.

23.5.71: Mesut Gökbir (professor), Etil Koken (assistant), Nazım Soyên (assistant) are detained in Ankara.

27.5.71: Bekzan Ay (teacher) is detained in Ankara.

20.5.71: Assistant Cema Atay is detained in Ankara.

29.5.71: Fatih Bıyık, President of the TÜG, is arrested in Ankara.

30.5.71: Ahmet Ali Ayvaz, teacher, is detained in Ankara.

31.5.71: Cema Atay, assistant, is detained in Ankara. Nevzat Halavici, Judicial Councillor of the TÜG is also detained in Ankara.

1.6.71: In Gaziantep, the teachers Abdurrahman Beren, Hasim Ural and Mustafa Çelikten, in Istanbul, assistant Cemil Bilgiç, in Malatya teacher Yekta Ali are detained.

2.6.71: Işık Gülgün, teacher, is detained in Girosun. In İzmir, teacher Mehmet Barışgan and in İstanbul teacher Ozer Damar are detained.

3.6.71: Fatih Bıyık, president of TÜG, is dismissed from his post, Public Relation Director of the Middle East Technical University (METU).

(From May 10th 1971 to June 7th 1971 massive detentions and arrest take place. The number given by the newspapers of people apprehended during this period of time is 1228. But other names and professions are not declared, it is impossible for us to know which ones are teachers)

11.6.71: In Adana, 12 teachers are detained. The names are not declared.

12.6.71: Mehmet Suik (assistant professor at the Political Sciences Faculty) is detained in Ankara.

14.6.71: Prof. Mihail Sokol and Prof. Sabri Savci are arrested and imprisoned in Ankara.

-- at the Law Faculty of Istanbul, two assistants, Altun Tunc and Yildiz Soyên are dismissed.

17.6.71: Gökhan Özyak, assistant professor of criminal law at the Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, is dismissed.

21.6.71: Oser Önlüyay (assistant professor at the Political Sciences Faculty) is imprisoned for having translated a book entitled "The Man's

22.6.71: In the Sarpincik town of Mersin, three teachers, Süleyman Kapuçu, İbrahim Alkan and Ahmet Karpil are arrested.

23.6.71: Hüseyin Gökbel, assistant professor at the Political Sciences Faculty, is imprisoned for having written a preface to Özer Önlüyay's translation.

24.6.71: Boğa Porstek, assistant at the Law Faculty of Ankara, and Muzaffer Soyên, assistant at the Middle East Technical University of Ankara, are dismissed.
25.6.71: Ismail Besikci, assistant at the Political Science Faculty, and Atje Yasar, teacher, are detained.

30.6.71: DIYANET ASKER, teacher, is detained in Ankara.

1.7.71: Mustafa Kose, teacher, is detained in Istanbul.

3.7.71: Zeki Mucuk, professor at the Economics Faculty of the Istanbul University, is detained in Istanbul.

5.7.71: Dursun Agan, Vice President of the YOS, and Osman Akol, General Secretary of YOS are detained in Ankara.

Aydin Kargioglu, assistant at the MDTU, and Sehad Ayar, teacher, in Ankara, are detained.

5.7.71: Veli Kanlioglu, member of the YOS Executive Committee, is arrested.

General Beril Sipahioglu, Ankara Urban Law Commander, declares that a number of professors wanted to manifest themselves in their academic gown "to protest against the detention of the teachers" and that this attempt was prevented by "officious" interventions.

7.7.71: Cemal Ballioglu and Dursun Erdem, teachers and members of the YOS administration, are imprisoned in Ankara.

11.7.71: Two writers are university lecturers, Cebesaha Kiyonglu and Arif Ozal, are detained in Istanbul.

16.7.71: Teachers at the Gazi High Training Institute, Rasit Aydin, Elini Altun, Ismail Asilmez, Mahmut Dervis and Tekin Siraz, are detained in Ankara.

7.7.71: In Samsun, ten teachers, Abdullah Aklin, Mustafa Cevre, Mevlut Altin, Hayri Tan, Hamid Beyazit, Recep Berber, Firuz Celikten, Amin Alipar, Altin Cevre, are imprisoned.

The trials of Ismet Deniz, President of the Ankara YOS Section, and Selim Yungilak, the former president, begin at the Military Court of the Ankara MDA.

In Izmir, four teachers, Ismet Yalcinay, Yavuz Tunc, Tevfik Akdemir and Hilmiye Ersoy are imprisoned.

19.7.71: Kaya Ozbaygi, President of the Samsun YOS Section, Mahmut Kalkan, Mehmet Ceyt, Ekrem Kiehl, members of the YOS administration, are detained.

26.7.71: Professor Hamza Alcay is arrested and imprisoned in Ankara.

29.7.71: Assistant Professor Bawar Sahit Ertal and Assistant Aydog Karagozlu are arrested in Ankara.

Ismail Besikci, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara is arrested and his trial is started at the Military Court of Diyarbakir Military Law Headquarters. Ismail Besikci is accused of spreading propaganda.

Nurettin Ercan, teacher, is imprisoned in Ankara.

Three assistants, Perihan Taydik, Nurettin Sirakaya and Caglar Kiraz are detained in Diyarbakir.

5.8.71: The trial of Prof. Seher Demoglu, vice-rector of the MDTU is started in the third Military Court of Ankara MDA.

General Sekil Ergend, new Rector of the Middle East Technical University (MDTU) named five lecturers, Aydog Selcuk, Ismail Sirakaya, Latif Eter, Cem Iliev, Selvi Yildiz and Leon Matfen, from
the university because of their objection against the appointment of the peace corps.

"The director of the Sani Teachers School, Saicye Oniil, and the first vice-director Hii Dani were arrested for "propagandizing for communism".

10.9.71: Festo Aswata, teacher, is arrested in Istanbul.

11.9.71: Assistant Professor Mustapha Yorulmaz and teacher Mustafa Parak 'Yorin are brought before the First Military Court of Istanbul MG1, together with the defendants of Young Social Officers' Case.

13.9.71: Omer Hasboun, teacher at the Adana Institute, is arrested by the Military Court of Ankara MG2.

15.9.71: Four teachers, Musafer Sahir, Scosti Hart, Mehemtin Tekin and Burhan Burna, are released from the military jail.

Assistant Dr. Ayed Giff is detained in Ismir.

14.9.71: General Itzaf Cagil, the army's Special Law Commander, states: "I have banned the TOS and the ISK-DE because they were extreme-left organizations."


15.9.71: With the amendments to the constitution, teachers' right to establish trade unions is restricted. Therefore, the Progressive Teachers' Association of Turkey (TOSE) is founded instead of the ISK-DE. This union has not have a trade union function.

22.9.71: The TOSE, which loses its trade union functions and turns into teachers' Association of Turkey (TOS).

26.9.71: Festo Aswata, teacher, is transferred to Ankara Military Jail.

28.9.71: Siinai Oral, Minister of the National Education, declares that, only for secondary schools, the need for teachers is 17,000.

30.9.71: In Istanbul, 7 persons are brought on trial, having founded an illegal organization and "propagandizing for communism. Most of the accused are teachers.

10.10.71: Assistant Prof. Melit Tekman and the assistants, Selcik Sener, Mah- takin Arsl, Abdurrahman Ergun, of the Agriculture Department of Ankara University are detained in Aksaray.

28.10.71: Mehmet Raci Turkmen, teacher, is arrested in Aksaray.

30.10.71: The trial of Fahir Baykurt, the President of TOS, and the 142 persons begins in the Second Military Court of Ankara MG1. The teachers object the contradictory character in the foundation of the military tribunal and pretend that this tribunal cannot judge them. After the objection refused, Fahir Baykurt, the military prosecutor, reads his charges. In this 29 pages of accusation, the President of TOS Fahir Baykurt, the vice-president Duran Aksu, the secretary general Osman Akol and the administrators, Yeli Kamlip, Abdullah Ozmen, Hidayet Zafer, Selcik Yilici, Ahmet Cilli, Mustafa Bekir, Nevizes Ozen, Fikret Soyak, Olu Siili, Ahmet Ek, Mean Serik, Yilmaz Demir, Ibrahim Bayrak, Hamdi Ozdogan, Sayih Ushali, Cetin Cekic, Melvun Dogram, Selcik Ergeney, Cecir Efei are accused under article 411 of the TOS of being organized with the aim to establish the dictatorship of one class
over the others. The military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 15 years for each.

Attila Sav, Minister of Labour, declares that 10,000 teachers are working in foreign countries as teachers. In this way, it is officially admitted that the teachers have been oppressed since years.

27.10.71: Prof. Sadiq Seri, is judged for "propaganda for communism" before the First Military Court of Ankara. The military prosecutor demands 5 years imprisonment because of his early writings. His lawyer Prof. Yaral Aslan, objects to the fact that the foundation and the procedure of the military tribunals are in contradiction with the constitution and consequently Seri could not be judged. He demanded also to prohibit publication of the formal change which contains parts that are serious offences against the law. All objections are refused.

1.11.71: In Ankara, during the process of the TOS Case, the lawyers, Halit Guler, Mevlut Bolcak, Cemal Bulut, Tahir Aydin, Hagia Gokrer, Selim Eren and Mithat Erolc, leave the court room stating that the rights of defence are violated.

2.11.71: During the trial of the TOS Case, Fakir Kaykurt, president of the TOS, refuses the prosecutor's accusation and states: "If I had founded a clandestine organization, it would have not only six sections but at least 60. The TOS is not a security organization; on the contrary it is just a Legal one."

3.11.71: Vezi Savcoglu, teacher at the Noyun Primary School who was imprisoned for having praised Deniz Gezgin, is released after two months of detention.

Among the teachers who were detained for the TOS Case, Hizmi Tan, Cananettin Altin, Seki Onuo, and others, are released after several months of detention.

16.11.71: Assistants Oya Soyer, Asenber, Hayrettin Bozal, Tarhanseven, Feyhan Odahay, Cemal Gosek, Emir Memar, Hanem Etir, Ali Emin, Osman, Onderci, Cetin Adjada, Fuat Turgut who are detained as the TOS Case, are released.

A young teacher, Adil Kartal, committed suicide by burning himself in front of the Ataturk Monument in Ankara. First leaving a sign and a note at the back of the monument, he then poured gas all over him and set fire to himself. In five minutes his body was reduced to ashes.

In the news and on the sign left on the monument Adil Kartal protested against the military regime and sacrificed his life in order to attract the attention of world opinion to what is happening in Turkey. The newspapers, however, are not authorized to give the reasons for his suicide.
17.11.71: Among the prisoners convicted at the CSO Process Cebit Bocali, Salih Yilka, Kerim Mekik, Necdet Clear, Kemal Soygel, Semih Vural, Ahmet Ozkaynak, Hilmi Ergin, Ali Sakik, Mehmet Tekin, Ahmet Soskan, Ismet Yavuz, and Ahmet Yavuz are released.

15.11.71: Dr. Tufan Alpayden (assistant lecturer) is detained in İzmir.

19.11.71: Among the prisoners convicted at the 18th Process, İsmet Aybar, Ersin Demir, Orhan Atay, and Gazi Aydın are released.

23.11.71: Mustafa Turgut, teacher, is sentenced to 13 months and 10 days imprisonment for his article entitled "A Teacher in the Space" which was published in a newspaper.

Vali Sevişcan, accused for having praised Deniz Sevinç, is cautioned to 5 years term by the Third Military Court of Ankara M.W.


2.12.71: Ahmet Soygel, Dean of the Ankara Political Sciences Faculty, is sentenced to five years and eight months imprisonment and two years exile by the Third Military Court of Ankara M.W. His right of teaching is cancelled.

5.12.71: Students of the Political Sciences Faculty protest against Prof. Soygel's condemnation by boycotting the classes for one day.

8.12.71: In Erzurum two teachers, Kadir Oğuz and Celal Devran, are detained for coming in their house left publications.

7.12.71: The military prosecutor of the Second Military Court of Ankara M.W. asks for two years imprisonment for two teachers, Barutin Cevat and Mehmet Duran, under the pretext of being affiliated to an illegal organization.

9.12.71: A new process is declared for the 24 accused concerned by the CSO process. 16 of them are teachers. Among them are Orhan İlhan, Mehmet Hançer, Seda Gönül, and Mehmet Hançer.

16.12.71: Yoop Ozyüz Akalin, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty and Ahmet Erkin, teacher, are detained in Çaylıgınlar.

19.12.71: Four teachers, Mehmet Kılıç, Mehmet Ekin Özte, Mehmet Kazancıoglu and Bakır Alan, are detained in Çaylıgınlar, placed to Ataköy and Çankaya.

30.12.71: The Military Court of Ankara M.W. releases Fuat Baykur, the president of the TUC. Mr. Baykur is brought immediately sent to Meşrutiyet for three months because of an old decision of a civil court of Ankara.

14.1.72: Fahir Baykur is tried as the First Aggravated Penalty Court of Ankara under Article 159 of the TC, on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government".

17.1.72: Ertuğrul Keremoglu, the vice-director of the MTÜ, is tried at the
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third Military Court of the Ankara NSL under the accusation of "hindering suspects and helping them to escape", but he is acquitted.

18.1.72: The trial of Mehri Dervis, professor at the Political Sciences Faculty, starts at the Third Military Court of the Ankara NSL. The military prosecutor accuses him of "misleading the people against the Law".

21.2.72: The trials of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey ( Dew-Gen) Case begin at the First Military Court of Ankara NSL. Among the defendants are also two professors, Osman Bayrakli of the Political Sciences Faculty and Onur Oral of the METU. The military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 15 years for each, because of "trying to establish the domination of one class over the others."

21.2.72: The 17 defendants of the TCG Adana Section Case are tried at the Military Court of Adana NSL. The military prosecutor accuses them of trying to establish the domination of one class over the others, under Article 141 of the TCG. The military court convicts eight of the defendants, Nida Turgut, Hasan Okyay, Seyit Demirci, Mehmet Naci, Mehmet Kumlul, Ahmet Ayhan, Tahir Pamuk and Mehmet Hasan Oral to eight years imprisonment each. The other defendants, Necati Demirci, Ramazan Alpayl, Mehmet Tarhan, Hüseyin Orhan, Nefiz Ayhan, Nazife Akgar, Ali Soydan, Bülent and Nihat Türkusu are acquitted.

22.2.72: The General President of the TOS Fakir Tahkurt is released from the Ankara Prison.

28.2.72: Three teachers, Hasan Fiter, Kenan Kapar and Sıya Kilic, are arrested in Kayseri for posting anti-regime placards on the walls.

1.3.72: The trial of four teachers from Orhaneli, Ramazan Köşüş, Sabri Birbil, Fırat İlima and Nafiz Sıla, begins at the Second Military Court of Istanbul NSL. The military prosecutor accuses them of "forming a clandestine organization."

2.3.72: After Gazi Yıldız, teacher, is released, the number of the arrested defendants of the TCG Case in Ankara decreases to 15.

8.3.72: The Military Court of Ca sahiye cancels the imprisonment of Prof. Mustafa Beyaz and orders a new trial.

28.4.72: The Third Military Court of Ankara NSL rejects to adopt the amendment of the Court of Ca sahiye and insists on condemning Prof. Beyaz to 6 years and 6 months imprisonment.

28.4.72: The military prosecutor brought a new suit against 34 persons under the accusation of "helping the guerrillas" and demands death sentences for 24 of them. Among the defendants there are five teachers, Furay Dinc, Selçuk Sergin, Mustafa Ayhan, Mustafa Sağır, Ekrem Gürsoy and Reis Çubukçu. They will be tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara.

9.5.72: The Third Military Court of Ankara NSL acquits Prof. Mehri Dervis.

10.5.72: The house of three teachers, Süleyman Sahinler, Rauf Bakir Karaca and Saffet Arısoya was blown up by rightist groups with dynamite in Mersin.

20.5.72: Abdullah Besam, teacher of Darebey Village in Gökova town, is arrested for "propagandising for communism and hiding some forbidden publications."

22.5.72: Two teachers of Trabzon High School are arrested and the public pro-
sector starts a legal proceeding against them for "propagandizing for communism". Their names are not disclosed.

35.5.72: In Kegihan, five teachers and two students are arrested.

31.5.72: Serakettin Özbek, teacher of Turmel-Darpalangi village school, Yeşil Yılmaz and Sabahettin Yıldız, teachers of Erıkköyt village school, are detained for having left publications.

2.6.72: İsmet Uluçay, teacher of Yozgat Herkes Secondary School, and Atakın Özyiğit, director of Kula High School, are beaten up by rightist groups.

20.6.72: The rightist groups attack one four teachers, Kemal Çelebi, Ferit Törümsü, Ahmet Başaran, and Ahmet Özyiğit, and cut their hair by force in Denizli town.

26.6.72: Teacher İhsan Zeygayan, the defendant of the TÜG Case, is also tried by the First Military Court of the Adana MİF for "obstructing the military judge of the Second Military Court". He is condemned to six months imprisonment.

7.7.72: Prof. Uğur Akçakaplan, dean of the Ankara Law Faculty, Nabil Çıkçı, assistant professor, Uğur Hançoğlu and Ahmet Çiçek, assistants, are tried by the First Military Court of Adana MİF. The military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 25 years for each for "their anti-regime activities."

7.7.72: The Syrakarik MİF declared that in the south-eastern Anatolia 37 teachers have been expelled to other provinces; the military prosecutors have started legal proceedings against 95 teachers and 30 teachers were taken in for "their dangerous activities."

Conclusion:

In this report clearly demonstrates, since 1962, the beginning of the Justice Party's regime in Turkey, when teachers started organizing trade unions, they have been subjected to all sorts of repression.

Repressive measures were intensified following the proclamation of martial law on April 26, 1971. Teachers have been detained in large groups, hundreds have been kept in military prisons and in police dungeons for months at a time. Moreover, deprived of their freedom, they have not been able to continue their profession and even after being released many of them have lost their jobs.

In addition to the repressive measures imposed by military rule, the most important step towards the abolition of the fundamental rights and freedoms of teachers was the amending of the constitution.

According to the amendments to Article 46 of the 1961 Constitution, all state employees, including teachers, are now deprived of the right to establish trade unions. Moreover, in accordance with Article 119 of the Constitution, state employees and teachers can establish associations with an aim “to protect and improve their interests with respect to their professions”, these associations do not have the right to collective bargaining or to strike, which are necessary means to protect and improve their economic and social status.

Moreover, according to the amendment introduced in Article 49, the
right to establish associations has also been restricted. This amendment authorizes the concerned administrative body appointed by law to close down an association without obtaining a court order. This is the interest of "preserving the territorial and national unity of the state, national security, public order and morality".

Through the amendment of the Associations Act, passed by the National Assembly on July 15, 1975, governors and police chiefs are authorized to permanently control or ban any association without a court order. Associations must obtain the approval of the public prosecutor in order to issue an announcement or communique. The radio-television and press cannot bring to the public's attention any announcement without prior approval of the public prosecutor.

Associations are forbidden from having international relations or affiliation to an international organization. Associations are deprived of the right to declare their views on political matters on the basis of this provision, any association can be dissolved on the pretext that it is carrying out political activities.

Although, in accordance with the constitutional amendments, two teacher trade unions, the TOG and the ITO, have been turned into associations, they are constantly under the threat of being closed down at any moment's notice.

Another blow to members of the educational profession is the abrogation of the university autonomy. According to the amendment to Article 120 of the Constitution:

- Police forces are authorized to enter the university buildings or areas for the purpose of pursuing a student's, without obtaining authorization from the university administration.
- All administrative organs of the university are placed under the direct control of the executive power.
- The council of ministers can take over the administration of the universities and the faculties, institutes and foundations connected with the universities of freedom of education is endangered or if the administrative bodies of the universities are unable to meet the higher's wishes.
- University professors and assistant professors are deprived of the right of affiliation to a political party.

Since they have no longer enjoyed any political, social or economic freedoms or guarantees, teachers started immigrating to Europe as workers. According to official statistics, there are more than ten thousand Turkish teachers in Europe. At a time when the school-age children of half a million Turkish workers in Europe have no possibility of being trained in their mother tongue, the Turkish government takes no account of the existence of these Turkish teachers in Europe. On the one hand, therefore, these children are deprived of an education and, on the other hand, the teachers are exploited by foreign employers.

When the people of Turkey are in dire need of some thousand teachers in order to educate their children, when 15,000 villages are still deprived of primary schools and half the population is still illiterate, this can only be qualified as a shameful display of the rulers of Turkey.
The Democratic Resistance of Turkey, considering the facts and
the documentary evidence put forth in this volume states the follow-
ing:

1. It has been established beyond doubt that torture or ill-
treatment, in direct violation of Article 3 of the European Convention
for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, has been
inflicted in numerous cases. Given the repetition of these acts and
the official tolerance of these acts, the practice of torture consti-
tutes an administrative practice.

2. There was not on March 20, 1971 and on April 20, 1971 a con-
spiracy to overthrow a constitutional government nor was there a
breakdown in public order which could constitute a "public emergency
threatening the life of the nation".

3. The people of Turkey are prevented from choosing a legisla-
ture under conditions which will ensure free expression in accordance
with Article 8 of the Petas Protocol to the Convention.

4. The Turkish regime has violated all the fundamental freedoms
and rights guaranteed under the European Convention of Human Rights
pertaining to:

   a) right to life (Article 2),
   b) right to liberty and security (Article 5),
   c) freedom of fair trial (Article 6, 7),
   d) right to respect for private and family life, home and
      correspondence (Article 8),
   e) freedom of thought, conscience and belief (Article 9),
   f) freedom of expression (Article 10),
   g) freedom of association and combination (Article 11),
   h) freedom of effective remedy (Article 13).

And the Democratic Resistance of Turkey calls on the High Con-
tracting Parties of the Council of Europe to examine the facts, the
documentary evidence and the claims laid forth in this volume and to
secure to the people of Turkey within their jurisdiction the rights
and freedoms defined in the European Convention of Human Rights and
Fundamental Freedoms.
Les semaines d'état de siège en Turquie

Le gouvernement renforce les mesures de maintien de l'ordre

Turkish army
A good number of leftist militants are being tracked down by the security forces and arrested. On the other hand, many personalities including journalists, editors, public prosecutors and writers are also being detained by the authorities. The new law passed by Parliament authorizes the martial law commanders to take extraordinary measures. The Ankara Government has also started a vast repressive campaign against the Kurdish people, on the pretext that there is a possibility of an uprising. But as has been seen in former attempts of this sort, such repression has no chance of success.

Fourty-five of Sweden's most distinguished writers, scholars and artists have issued the following statement: "Since the end of April, freedom of speech and democratic opposition have been abolished in Turkey. Not only the left-wing politicians, but also journalists, writers and university professors have been subjected to repression. Waves of arrests have taken place all over Turkey. The situation of this NATO member is no different from that of Greece. Considering this situation, we call on everyone, all organizations and individuals, to defend the democratic rights of the people of Turkey."

The Turkish army is spread all over the country as the heavy boot is ready to fall at any moment. The army generals hold the strings of the newly-formed government. Democratic process is in danger. Today in Turkey, democracy means: (a) a government formed by the generals on the pretext that the former government was not able to maintain law and order; (b) a parliament formed by eight bourgeois parties. A single word from General Dogan is enough to drive the country to a Greek-type dictatorship. (Lars Westa)

The Turkish government controlled by the army generals has launched an intrusive man hunt against the leftist forces in the country. Most of the radical organizations have been banned, leftist sympathizers detained and the freedom of press which was already restricted, has been completely abolished. The prosecutions are demanding a total of 800 years imprisonment for the editors and writers of a radical review. This kind of "law and order" is no different from that of the Greek Colonels. Within NATO, another member country has embarked on the path of fascist dictatorship.
The military authorities have prepared a list of five thousand names for arrest. The newspapers are forbidden from publishing any news without obtaining prior approval from the military headquarters. All anti-Fascist, anti-imperialist and socialist publications have been prohibited. For the editors and writers of the political review Anti, the procurators are demanding a total of 800 years imprisonment. All trade-union activities have been prohibited and democratic organisations like Dev-Gemp, SMG, HUGP, BDMG banned.

Concerning this article, the Director of the Press Administration of Turkey sent a denial to the editor of Le Monde and claimed that the information published by Le Monde was pure fabrication. Le Monde, however, insisted on the soundness of the information and stated: "The information was given by personalities who are reliable. But given the circumstances, we are obliged to withhold their names."

APPROBATION, June 8, 1971

The military rule of Turkey is gaining strength from day to day, repression against the left has increased and thousands of intellectuals are being held in the jails. The manhunt against the guerrillas has been intensified. The unrest of the masses of people has reached a high point and seems more serious than in Greece or Spain. If the deep contradictions of the country are not overcome, Turkey will be shaken not by an earthquake, but by a popular rebellion. (Staffan Heinerson, Artesa Kohlgren)

LE MONDE, June 4, 1971

The revolutionary hunt has become the dominant repressive action in Turkey. Everyone, including famous academicians and artists, is being arrested without consideration for whether they have relations with the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey or not. The security forces are attempting to put to use every type of repressive measure not applicable within the framework of the Constitution.
Almost 2,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals and students have been arrested during a three-month period. The military rule has launched a real war against everyone struggling for democracy and against imperialism. That is the philosophy of Turkey, member of NATO and the Council of Europe. Hundreds of people from the press, the arts and the universities are compelled to live clandestinely. Most of the militia face imprisonment for periods of a few generations. (In this issue, Qvicklaus presents an interview with a Turkish revolutionary living in clandestinity.)

STERN (Germany), July 6, 1971

In Turkey, the Army is in power. The political destiny of the country is conducted by four generals under the chairmanship of General Necdet Yagci, Chief of the General Staff. These four generals are carrying out a well-planned scheme to maintain a veiled democracy in order not to provoke reactions from the members of NATO and the EC. Turkey, however, is under martial law and the military authorities can jail all writers, journalists, trade union leaders, political party leaders and students. We visited a military jail near Istanbul. The situation in that jail reminded us of the Frankfurt Zoo. (Randolph Emerson)

EXPRESS (Sweden), July 10, 1971

Today in Turkey, the police forces are authorized to raid and search everywhere. During these searches police agents seize any book which they consider dangerous material. Anyone can be detained for one month without a court warrant. Hundreds of intellectuals have been jailed. Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, but what happens in Turkey today is in violation of the Convention of Human Rights. When will other member states understand this situation? Especially Sweden? (Marie Anne Skarander)

EXPRESS (Sweden), August 1971

Was Contraceptive the Turkish Case not be discussed in the Council of Europe in the same way as the repression in Greece was discussed some years ago? Turkey has also signed the European Convention of Human Rights and the military rulers do not respect its provisions. Another problem is the Council of Europe should look into is the situation of the Kurds who are now more oppressed than ever. (Thomas Hemmings)

FORD CHILE (Chile), October 9, 1971

In comparison to the Turkish guerrillas, the Greek generals seem more liberal and open-minded, because Turkey is actually governed by a military dictatorship under the cloak of a so-called civilian government. The country has been turned into a large concentration camp. There is a tremendous hunt on, aimed at men, ideas and books.

RAMOSA (Chile), October 6, 1971

There are thousands of students, workers, trade-union leaders, peasants and intellectuals in prisons waiting their turn to be tried by the military courts. This perversion of justice was created by the military dictatorship of Turkey. The sinister machinery of the fascist dictator-
ship — which makes the Greek generals look like tin soldiers — is carried out with a blood bath. Police terrorism has reached its climax. Ten military courts, ten assassination machines have condemned young men to death. The youth of all countries must protest against these condemnations.

SUDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG (Germany), October 6, 1971

The first step of a military-backed Prime Minister Erim was to proclaim martial law in eleven provinces, for the purpose of cracking down on "extremists". Since that time, all left-wing political organizations have been banned as well as Marxist student organizations. Even the Turkish Labour Party, in fact not a communist organization, was also banned. Besides, a great number of intellectuals, writers, journalists, and professors have been brought before the military courts. But despite these extraordinary measures, inflation rises at great speed, and will lead the country to new unrest sooner or later. So, law and order will never be established. (Rudolph Obwalt)

THE GUARDIAN (U.K.), October 23, 1971

But the most serious victim of the anti-communist backlash is freedom of speech. Under the penal code anyone who seeks to " disrupt the basic economic and social order" by making "propaganda in anyway whatever for establishing the domination of one social class over another" can get up to 10 years in prison. For years this has hung like a sword of Damocles over the heads of left-wing writers — and now, for some of them, in the harsh political climate of today, the sword has fallen.

PURO CAILE, October 28, 1971

Tomorrow, Friday, is the national day of Turkey. Obviously, the Turkish ambassador will talk on the Chilean National Television. For me it is a shame. This ambassador whom I have nothing against personally is the representative of a bloody dictatorship which has abolished all constitutional freedoms, which has applied torture as a matter of policy and entertains a parody of justice which has condemned 18 young men to death. (Fernando Ramirez)

AFONSTELLET, October 29, 1971

The resemblance between today's Turkey and Greece is shocking. The democratic façade of the Erim Government is starting to crumble and one can see that the military generals are those who rule the country. Turkey has all the marks of the classical dictatorship: trials, arrests and censorship. (Ulla Landstrom)
TRIUMVIRATE (Izba), November 1971

On March 12, 1971, the army again took power in Turkey, depoting the government of General and President, Ikilim. Since that time, Turkey has lived under permanent martial law. Professors, students, intellectuals, journalists and even housewives have been arrested. Thousands have been transferred to military prisons and the leftist organizations temporarily reduced to silence. Their leaders are in jail, in the underground or in exile. We interviewed one of them who, for obvious reasons, wishes to remain anonymous at this time.

THE GUARDIAN, December 4, 1971

Left-wing intellectuals have been arrested, often on the most tenuous basis, investigated, and put under pressure in a wide-scale witch-hunt through of anyone suspected of connections with the urban guerillas or revolutionary groups. Even the right-wing besides that these measures were over-reaction... All left-wing magazines have been closed. In the universities, many professors on the left have been dismissed, arrested, replaced, or have not had their contracts renewed.

LE MONDE, OBSERVATORY, January 17-25, 1972

Nihat Ergin states in 1948 that he had been able touell freedom as a matter of fact, as soon as he took power, his first act was to try to change the Constitution. He qualified the Constitution a "luxury for Turkey." Through the amendment of the Constitution, executive powers were strengthened. The military was authorized to intervene at any time using the pretext of national security. During the last ten months, the left-wing has been reduced to silence, on the other hand the right-wing has been strengthened. Yes, Turkey is once again attractive for foreign capital.

NEW REPUBLIC, January 25, 1972

One might say that the Turkish Parliament is still in session and in force. But what is the value of a parliament when all socialist movements and parties, unions and cultural organizations are banned? When most of the leaders have been replaced by laymen of the right. When parliamentarians are paid wages doubled as a reward for their stoogeish following of orders... There should be an international non-biased investigation on torture that has been and is still going on against political prisoners. The aggressive actions of the military rulers against the Kurdish people in eastern Turkey must be halted. There should be freedom of press, freedom for trade unions, freedom of party organizations and freedom of the universities... If anybody wants to learn the facts about Turkey, he can go and see. The problem is the following: Are you coward or not? (Yun Doğ Organ)

SUNAM (Caragn-Tammakul), January 30-31, 1972

The police patrols and military troops searches all houses and offices in Istanbul, the most important city of Turkey. A short official communiqué stated that this was done in order to prevent a plot engineered by a foreign power. This was supposed to be a communist plot against the security of the state and the Turkish nation. One of the plotters was Mimar Boyal, a professor of constitutional law. The evidence...
used to prove his "offense" was really incredible: His book, *Introduction to the Constitution.*

**KURD CRISIS, January 26, 1978**

Turkey today is a living hell. Turkish prisons are filled with revolutionary militants who have been savagely tortured. The tragic destiny of Turkey oppressed under a military fascistic dictatorship is a call of alert for every Chilean. The situation in Turkey is a true reflection of what happens in any country where fascistic and CIA agents rule.

**CZECHOSLOVAKIA (Czechoslovakia), February 6, 1978**

In the NATOoland of Turkey, since proclaiming martial law, intellectuals, writers, students, journalists and artists have been subjected to mass trials. A noose of Buckeyes hangs over the heads of leftist intellectuals. In addition, the authorities inflict brutal torture on political prisoners. The 1961 Constitution has been entirely changed by the military rulers.

**ROMA (Belgium), March 5-16, 1978**

Since March 12, 1971, the brown petrol has reached — after Portugal, Spain and Greece — Turkey as well. Repression of the left had started a long time before General Eirin was kidnapped. In the beginning of May 1971,
it was well known that the military rulers would curtail the fundament-

al freedoms laid down in the Constitution... After the proclamation of

martial law, repression became more virulent. It is not a surprise

that Demir Gezmiş, a student who was shot down four US soldiers, is con-

sidered a Robin Hood, especially in eastern Turkey. The truth is that

the battle continues not only against "isolated anarchists", but also

against the masses of people who are well aware of the real reasons

of their steadily declining living conditions. (Güde Van Neim)

SUNDAY TIMES, March 16, 1972

Relative calm has been restored but there are still 1,000 people at

trials on charges connected with Communist activities. Last

week Daily Gezmiş, one of the founders of the "Turkish People's Libera-
tion Army", and two others had their death sentences confirmed by a

parliamentary commission. But a petition has been circulated to abol-

ish the death penalty for political offfences. It was immediately sign-

ed by 1,700 politicians, judges, writers, engineers, teachers, workers

and the former air force Commander. He is originally intended to

last only two months. It was extended after three months, then six and is still in force after a year. (Eric Marden)

APRIL 30, May 1, 1972

It is an undeniable fact that one year after the March 12th ulti-
matum, Turkey is a large concentration camp. All democratic organiza-
tions have been banned, all socialist and progressive publications

seized, tens of thousands of books have been confiscated, more

than ten thousand people imprisoned, hundreds of them tortured, 21 pat-
triots have been condemned to death. In addition, 20 year old men were

mutilated and the savage manner in which the generals and the cor-

rige politicians, their offence was "to try to change the Con-

stitution by force". In fact, the 1951 Constitution was changes by

force not by these young men, but by the generals and their support par-

liament. The freedom fighters fought against the United States and for

their constitutional rights.

THE GUARDIAN, April 1, 1972

Turkey can gain political benefit both within the country and interna-
tionally by avoiding the sort of action which, taken with the exter-

sive arrest of leftwingers in past months, would be associated more

with revenge than justice... The effect of executions on public opinion

has to be taken seriously... There are numerous others facing death
sentences. This problem is thus not one which can be disposed of now once and for all. There is all the more reason for Turkey to give thought to amending the execution sentences.

CHURCHILL, April 1, 1972

Since the military coup d'état, more than ten thousand people have been arrested for their opposition to the regime. Almost 5,000 persons are awaiting trial in the military prisons. In addition to the increasing unemployment and rising prices, the restrictions on fundamental rights and freedoms have generated a popular reaction against the military generals.

LE MONDE, April 1, 1972

The martial law authorities often close down on defendants without verifying the charges. These measures increase the tendency for guerrilla warfare. How can the rulers expect that these young people who have nothing to lose will be terrorized while the galloway or long prison terms are all that is waiting for them? The Turkish Government was able to eliminate a few of its adversaries, but it was at the same time defeated in showing its incapacity to save the hostages whose lives it had to guarantee.

FRANCE SOIR, April 1, 1972

The Kizilcahamam massacre has proved it again: the advocates of violence and repression in the Turkish Government got the better of the champions of a moderate policy. So, the tendency towards violence has been strengthened. On the other hand, none of the radical reforms which was supposed to be the main reason for bringing Erin to power by the military were put into practice. The social contradictions have been deepened. (P. Puittay)

VINDICATOR (London), April 1, 1972

"The ten extremists were killed in a fight with the military troops after they had shot the British hostages." This is the picture which the Turkish Government has given to the outside world. Who were these "extremists"? They were accused of "trying to change the constitution by force". But the truth is that they wanted to put the 1961 constitution into practice. Those who changed the constitution by force are the military rulers themselves who got their reins on Turkey on March 12, 1971. According to information provided by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, the house was blown up by the military troops. Since the death sentence of Besik Oceani, Durar Hasan and Mustafa Hahm evoked widespread reaction throughout the world, the military rulers have not hesitated in eliminating others among the masses.

FRANCE NOUVELLE, April 4 - 10, 1972

The repression began on March 12, 1971 by the army has reached a climax during this period of one year. More than ten thousand people have been arrested. These young men are under the threat of execution. It is a fact that the governments of Turkey and Argentina are using every kind of repressive tactic in order to overcome the increasing problems and difficulties.
THE OBSERVER, April 9, 1971

Since Martial Law in Turkey was declared, more than 70,000 people have been detained. The death penalty may be prescribed for those deemed to have undertaken "any actions aimed at changing the Constitution.". Furthermore, the VAY claims to have received well-documented eye-witness accounts of torture used by the police and army against detainees. In such a situation, people will continue to resort to violence. (Michael N. Asiamah)

D.JOHN WEBER (Sweden), May 6, 1973

Three young students were hanged. They, as many of their compatriots, only wanted to develop their country. For this reason, thousands of people have been arrested, hundreds have been tortured, not only "extremists", but also moderate members of the opposition have been subjected to repression. This is a real man hunt. Turkey is a country where violence controls violence. The execution of three young members of the Republican Liberation Army of Turkey is proof of how deep the moral depression within the military has become. (Husam Heimatt)

L'HUMOUR, May 6, 1973

On Saturday, before dawn, three Turkish patriots were executed in the Central Prison of Ankara. The executions stirred world opinion to know its reaction. The French Communist Party sent a message to the President of the Republic on Friday. The military rulers are preoccupied with new crimes. Another six young men are also under the threat of execution. The hands of the executioners must be stayed.

LE MONDE, May 7-8, 1973

These are the first executions since the government under the control of the army was constituted. The tragic fate of three guerrillas will obviously affect their young compatriots. They had not even reached their 25th birthdays. In the execution-cell they awaited their tragic fate for 190 days. Until the last moment, they defended their beliefs. Many European governments reacted against the death sentences. Just two hours before the execution, Bruno Kreisky, the Prime Minister of Austria, conveyed a final appeal to President Suvri. But despairism got the better of intervention.

AFRICA-NIA, May 8, 1973

It is a rule that the enemy servants must be dismissed. That was the reason for dismissing General and his party on March 12, 1971. With the initiative of the General, the people were also to get into line. Meanwhile the Constitution was altered. By destroying the spirit of the constitution, executive power was bolstered, the autonomy of the Radio-Television and universities was abolished and the period of detention was extended. The right to strike was made dependent on the will of the martial law command. In Turkey a new order has been established; with a more convenient term, fascist (Ahmed Chalid)

APORRECAST, May 8, 1973

A kind of dramatic portrait of how it feels to be in Turkey when mass arrests are being carried out: "Some are inside the walls, others are
outside. It does not matter in Turkey now. As a matter of fact, everybody is in jail.” (Björn Lindström)

WORLD DEMOCRACY (Florida), May 23, 1972

Formally Turkey has a multi-party system, but the social-democratic party is outlawed, not to speak of the communist party. A major part of the country is under martial law. During this time thousands of people have been put in prison. Prisoners are tortured in order to get unfounded confessions. Just having liberal views you can get a sentence of several years and even capital punishment is easy to obtain. In Turkey there is also a Kurdish minority population. Several millions of them, but their existence is contested by the government.

INTERNATIONAL REBELL TRIBUNE, May 21, 1972

Kam, Kay ZA (1937), Amnesty International today appealed to the 15 foreign ministers attending the NATO Council meeting this week for the immediate release of all political prisoners being held in MACTO countries. In a petition sealed today to the ministers, the organization said the governments of Portugal, Greece and Turkey were the most guilty of "destroying freedom".

LE CRONQKED COMPUTER, June 1972

...The Dernel Government was not able to carry out the measures which the industrial bourgeoisie had imposed. The industrial bourgeoisie wanted a new powerful government which would be able both to maintain order and to eliminate the reaction of the masses of people who are receiving greater share of the national income. It was made easy because of the traumatisms and the socialist left. Another important factor was the UN’s anxiety. The latter was deplored with the anti-American tendency and the left movement which had attained with proportioness. They were forced to abandon resistance. Now, the industrial bourr-

Därfor kvävdes friheten i Turkiet

Voller 448 und 500. S. 1972
The International Journalists’ Federation (IFJ) is going to hold its world congress this year in Istanbul, Turkey, where freedom of the press is precisely restricted, where many journalists have been jailed and beaten; where the military courts are everywhere armed, and where every newspaper and magazine have been closed. At this moment it is impossible to talk about freedom of the press in Turkey. All daily newspapers have been turned into personal diaries of the military. (Ihla Lundtvedt)

The situation in Turkey in 1977 was one of great tension. People protested against the existing order under the hegemony of the US, landowners, large landowners. In April 1973 there were no more slogans on the walls. Strikes, demonstrations and demonstrations are forbidden. Power is in the hands of the military. It is a kind of police raids and military courts where armed soldiers guarantee "law and order". The suicides massacre and the hanging of the three students are the worst examples of this tremendous wave of terror.

Film star and director Filmmaster Olney has been in prison for four months. Olney faces a plot centered against talent. Why, in some third world countries, is talent considered subversive? It may be hoped that the Ankara Government will take a lesson from history. History has always condemned those political regimes which prepared to use reason on hearing the word "culture" and condemned the artist.

Turkish politicians have a strange tendency. They jail their best artists. They now want to find a new victim for this traditional repression. How can a film like "Othello" which has nothing to do with it cause such a rage on the part of the Film Censorship Administration and the Turkish authorities? It is really mysterious.

Welcome to Turkey, the fantastic country, where terror shows the mouth of all opposition (realism) ... although labour unions and political activities are forbidden, the Turkish people maintain their resistance. In January, 2,000 persons intellectuals, lawyers, technical engineers, members of Parliament signed a petition against the death penalty. The students in Ankara assembled in protest meetings after the massacre of 10 guerrillas by security. All over the country the homes of land being occupied. The government has, however, not hesitated to show the army shot at the peasants who do the occupying.

Turkey: Terror - Silence... From the outside, Turkey resembles a democracy. But behind this veil, severe terror hides... Guerrillas are killed like hunting wild animals. There are no other regimes like Turkey which talk so much about "terrorists", and itself uses terror too much. (Thomas Heine-Hzernburg)
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