

CENTRE D'INFORMATION
POUR L'EXPRESSION DE LA SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE TURC

S T A T U T S

I

BUTS ET COMPOSITION DE L'ASSOCIATION

Article 1 er.

Il est fondé entre les adhérents aux présents statuts une association régie par la loi du 1 er juillet 1901 et le décret du 16 août 1901, ayant pour titre : CENTRE D'INFORMATION POUR L'EXPRESSION DE LA SOLIDARITE AVEC LE PEUPLE TURC.

Article 2.

Cette association a pour but d'aider au rétablissement en Turquie des libertés essentielles garanties par la Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme et par la Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme, notamment par les articles 5, 6, 9, 11, 18 et 19 de la Déclaration et 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14 et 17 de la Convention.

Cette action s'exercera au moyen de l'information de l'opinion française et étrangère sur les conditions de la vie en Turquie, ainsi que par la propagande, par l'intervention auprès des autorités et par toutes les voies compatibles avec la légalité française.

L'association s'orientera notamment vers la libération des personnes emprisonnées, détenues, restreintes de leurs libertés ou sous l'objet d'une contrainte, au mépris des Déclaration et Convention visées ci-dessus ainsi que vers l'assistance à ces mêmes personnes.

Article 3.

La durée de l'association est illimitée.

Elle a son siège social à Kremlin-Bicêtre (94), 47 ter, rue Gabriel-Péri.

Article 4.

Les moyens d'action de l'association sont notamment les suivants :

- a - Publications, bulletins.
- b - Campagnes d'opinion publique et de presse.
- c - Manifestations d'ordre culturel comprenant expositions, projections et réalisations de films, conférences, spectacles de théâtre etc.
- d - Organisation de groupes de travail.

Article 5.

L'association se compose de membres adhérents et de membres d'honneur.

Pour être membre, il faut être présenté par deux ou plusieurs membres de l'association et être agréé par les deux tiers des membres composant le Comité de Fonctionnement.

La cotisation annuelle minimum est de 30 francs. Elle peut être modifiée par simple décision de l'Assemblée Générale.

Le titre de Membre d'Honneur peut être décerné par le Comité de Fonctionnement aux personnes qui rendent ou ont rendu des services signalés à l'association. Ce titre confère aux personnes qui l'ont obtenu le droit de faire partie de l'Assemblée Générale sans être tenues de payer une cotisation.

Article 6.

La qualité de membre de l'association se perd :

- 1 - Par la démission
- 2 - Par la radiation, prononcée par le non paiement de la cotisation ou pour motifs graves, par le Comité de Fonctionnement, sauf recours à l'Assemblée Générale. Le membre intéressé sera préalablement appelé à fournir ses explications.

II

ADMINISTRATION ET FONCTIONNEMENT

Article 7.

L'association est administrée par un Comité de Fonctionnement dont le nombre des membres est compris entre cinq au moins et neuf au plus.

Les membres du Comité de Fonctionnement sont élus au scrutin secret pour un an par l'Assemblée Générale et choisis parmi les membres adhérents.

En cas de vacance, le Comité de Fonctionnement pourvoit provisoirement au remplacement de ses membres. Il est procédé à leur remplacement définitif par la plus prochaine Assemblée Générale.

Les membres sortants sont rééligibles.

Le Comité de Fonctionnement choisit parmi ses membres, au scrutin secret, un Conseil de trois membres.

Article 8.

Le Comité de Fonctionnement se réunit une fois au moins tous les six mois, et chaque fois qu'il est convoqué par le Conseil ou sur la demande d'un tiers des membres du Comité.

La présence de la moitié plus un des membres du Comité de Fonctionnement est nécessaire pour la validité des délibérations.

Il est tenu procès-verbal des séances.

Les procès-verbaux sont signés par deux au moins des membres du Conseil. Ils sont établis sans blancs ni ratures sur des feuillets numérotés, conservés au siège de l'association.

Article 9

Les membres du Comité de Fonctionnement ne peuvent recevoir aucune rétribution en raison des fonctions qui leur sont confiées.

Des remboursements de frais sont seulement possibles. Ils doivent faire objet d'une décision expresse du Comité de Fonctionnement, statuant hors de la présence des intéressés ; des justifications doivent être produites qui font l'objet des vérifications.

Les agents rétribués de l'association peuvent être appelés par le Conseil à assister, avec voix consultative, aux séances de l'Assemblée Générale et du Comité de Fonctionnement.

Article 10.

L'Assemblée Générale de l'association comprend les membres adhérents et les membres d'honneur.

Elle se réunit une fois par an et chaque fois qu'elle est convoquée par le Comité de Fonctionnement ou sur la demande du quart au moins de ses membres.

Son ordre du jour est réglé par le Comité de Fonctionnement.

Elle choisit son bureau qui peut être constitué par les membres du Conseil.

Elle entend les rapports sur la gestion du Comité de Fonctionnement sur la situation financière et morale de l'association, sur l'activité des groupes de travail.

Elle approuve les comptes de l'exercice clos, vote le budget de l'exercice suivant, délibère sur les questions mises à l'ordre du jour et pourvoit au renouvellement des membres du Comité de Fonctionnement.

Le rapport annuel et les comptes sont communiqués chaque année, lors de l'Assemblée Générale, à tous les membres de l'association.

Sauf application des dispositions de l'article précédent, les agents rétribués de l'association n'ont pas accès à l'Assemblée Générale.

Article 11.

Le Conseil représente l'association dans tous les actes de la vie civile. Il ordonne les dépenses. Il peut donner délégation dans des conditions qui sont fixées par le règlement intérieur.

En cas de représentation en justice, le Conseil ne peut être remplacé que par un mandataire agissant en vertu d'une procuration spéciale.

Les représentants de l'association doivent jouir du plein exercice de leurs droits civils.

Article 12.

Les recettes annuelles de l'association se composent :

- 1 - Des cotisations et souscriptions de ses membres,
- 2 - Des ressources créées à titre exceptionnel, et, s'il y a lieu, avec l'agrément de l'autorité compétente,
- 3 - Du produit des rétributions perçues pour service rendu.

Article 13.

Il est tenu une comptabilité faisant apparaître annuellement un compte d'exploitation, le résultat de l'exercice et un bilan.

Chaque établissement de l'association doit tenir une comptabilité distincte, qui forme un chapitre spécial de la comptabilité d'ensemble de l'association.

III

MODIFICATION DES STATUTS ET DISSOLUTION

Article 14.

Les statuts peuvent être modifiés par l'Assemblée Générale sur la proposition du Comité de Fonctionnement ou sur la proposition du dixième des membres dont se compose l'Assemblée Générale.

Dans l'un et l'autre cas, les propositions de modifications sont inscrits à l'ordre du jour de la prochaine Assemblée Générale, lequel doit être envoyé à tous les membres de l'Assemblée au moins cinq jours à l'avance.

L'Assemblée doit se composer de la moitié plus un au moins des membres en exercice présents ou représentés. Un membre présent ne peut représenter qu'une seule personne, en dehors de lui-même. Si le quorum n'est pas atteint, l'Assemblée est convoquée de nouveau, et cette fois elle peut valablement délibérer, quel que soit le nombre des membres présents.

Les buts de l'association ne peuvent être modifiés qu'à la majorité des deux tiers des membres en exercice.

Article 15.

L'Assemblée Générale, appelée à se prononcer sur la dissolution de l'association et convoquée spécialement à cet effet, dans les conditions prévues dans l'article précédent, doit comprendre, au moins, la moitié plus un de ses membres en exercice, présents ou représentés.

Si cette proportion n'est pas atteinte, l'Assemblée est convoquée de nouveau dans un délai maximum de 10 jours, et, cette fois, elle peut valablement délibérer, quel que soit le nombre des membres présents.

Dans tous les cas, la dissolution ne peut être votée qu'à la majorité des deux tiers des membres présents.

Article 16.

En cas de dissolution, l'Assemblée Générale désigne un ou plusieurs commissaires, chargés de la liquidation des biens de l'association. Elle attribue l'actif net à un ou plusieurs établissements analogues, publics, reconnus d'utilité publique ou à des établissements visés par la loi du 14 janvier 1933, dans son article 35.

BULLETIN HEBDOMADAIRE
DU CENTRE D'INFORMATION
POUR L'EXPRESSION DE LA SOLIDARITE
AVEC LE PEUPLE TURC

naim talu formera
le nouveau cabinet

ziya yilmaz sous
l'ombre de la potence

où en sont
les "réformes" ?

le droit à la défense
existe-t-il en turquie ?

document
sur la torture

N°. 4

TURQUIE

du 9 Avril au 15 Avril 1973

NAIM TALU FORMERA LE NOUVEAU CABINET

La décision de l'Amiral Koruturk, Président de la République, de confier à l'ancien Ministre du Commerce la formation du nouveau gouvernement turc suscite des réserves.

Les contacts qu'a pris le nouveau Président de la République dès son élection, afin de remplacer l'ancien Premier Ministre démissionnaire, ont abouti le 12 Avril. C'est M. Naim Talu, ancien gouverneur de la Banque de Turquie et ancien Ministre du Commerce qui aura la tâche de former le nouveau gouvernement.

Avant de procéder à cette nomination, l'Amiral Koruturk avait jugé bon en priorité de consulter le Général Ozgur, Secrétaire Général du Conseil National de Sécurité et personnalité importante des Services de Renseignements, ainsi que M. Orhan Erbug, Directeur Général de la Sûreté Nationale; consultations suivies d'une visite au Q.G. de l'Etat Major, au cours de laquelle le nouveau président a déclaré: "Je suis très ému, ça me rappelle mes anciennes activités au sein des Services de Renseignements de l'Armée.

La priorité donnée à ces consultations et à cette visite est compréhensible dans la mesure où le nom de M. Koruturk avait été avancé, comme candidat à la présidence de la république, pour la première fois selon le quotidien Cumhuriyet, par l'amiral Fahri Coker, conseiller juridique de la Présidence et ancien Procureur Général de la Cour Militaire de Cassation, qui avait ratifié, il y a près d'un an les peines de mort des trois étudiants turcs exécutés le 6 Mai 1972. M. Koruturk était un collègue de l'amiral Coker au sein des Services de Renseignements, avant d'être nommé, en 1935, attaché militaire à Rome et en 1937 à Berlin. Parmi les postes les plus importants de la carrière militaire du Président Koruturk figure d'ailleurs celui de Chef des Services de Renseignements de l'Etat Major, qu'il occupa en 1954. On peut en déduire que le sénateur Koruturk a été fortement marqué par le "sens de la discipline" de cette longue carrière, puisqu'il avait exigé, comme condition préalable, quand on lui proposa la Présidence du Conseil à la suite de la démission du deuxième gouvernement Erim, les pleins pouvoirs et l'ajournement des élections législatives jusqu'en ...1978, et qu'il voit le régime d'Athènes d'un oeil conciliant.

Il est encore trop tôt pour affirmer que c'est précisément cette conception de la démocratie qui a guidé le Président Koruturk dans le choix du Premier Ministre. L'entrée de M. Talu dans la scène politique remonte à 1971, date à laquelle en temps que gouverneur de la Banque de Turquie, il avait sévèrement critiqué les positions radicales de certains ministres du premier gouvernement Erim. A la suite de la démission de ce cabinet il avait été nommé ministre du Commerce, éliminant ainsi ses adversaires radicaux. M. Talu, que M. Erim présentait comme "l'homme qui satisfera le secteur privé" a tout fait depuis pour mériter ces "éloges". Il s'est opposé fermement à une plus forte taxation des revenus élevés et au relèvement par l'Etat des prix de base des produits agricoles, ce qui lui a valu d'être qualifié par le sénateur du P.D., M. Dikecligil, comme "l'homme qui entrera dans l'histoire en tant que défenseur de certains milieux au détriment des classes moyennes". D'autres protestations viennent s'ajouter à cela: Les syndicats, les petits commerçants et les agriculteurs de Cukurova ont demandé au Président Koruturk de revenir sur sa décision de confier à M. Talu, la responsabilité des multiples problèmes qui pèsent toujours sur le peuple turc.

OU EN SONT LES "REFORMES" ?

L'une des principales raisons avancée par les militaires pour justifier leur intervention du 12 Mars 1971 était la négligence du gouvernement Demirel vis à vis des réformes prévues par la Constitution de 1961. Deux ans après cette intervention où en est la réalisation de ces réformes ?

En parlant des réformes, les chefs militaires, signataires du mémorandum de l'Armée, avaient vraisemblablement espéré rallier à leur cause les milieux favorables à la réalisation des réformes prévues par la Constitution et freiner les protestations de l'opinion publique étrangère quant à leur intervention. La Constitution de 1961 prévoyait en effet des réformes fondamentales dans les domaines suivants: Administration, Agriculture, Education, Finances, Prospection et Exploitation des Gisements Petrolifères et Métallifères. Bien que toutes ces réformes aient été incluses dans les programmes des trois gouvernements qui se sont succédés depuis 1971, aucune n'a été réalisée. Si un projet de loi concernant les gisements petrolifères a été adopté le 5 Avril 1973, il est toutefois difficile de parler d'une réforme proprement dite, puisque le nouveau texte limite dans de fortes proportions, les droits de prospection et d'exploitation de la société nationale T.P.A.O., alors que les sociétés étrangères bénéficient de droits illimités. D'ores et déjà, dans la pratique, certaines régions, comme celle de Bingöl, sont entièrement exploitées par ces dernières.

En ce qui concerne la réforme agraire, le projet de loi préparé par les ministres "Technocrates" du premier gouvernement Erim a été amendé à deux reprises. Il est difficile de parler du caractère "réformiste" du nouveau projet soumis au parlement, projet qui laisse en dehors de l'application de la loi, toute terre exploitée de façon "moderne", sans définir le sens exact de ce terme. Pour réaliser une "réforme" qui profitera seulement à 1/7 ème des 3,5 millions de familles sans terres, l'Etat Turc devra verser 30 milliards de Ltqs. d'indemnisation aux propriétaires terriens "expropriés" d'une partie seulement de leurs terres.

Le projet de réforme concernant l'Exploitation des Gisements Métallifères a suivi pour sa part la même procédure d'amendement, de sorte que l'étatisation de la lignite et du borax, prévue par le premier gouvernement Erim, sera soumise au parlement sous forme d'un droit d'exploitation ouvert à toute société étrangère.

Quant à la réforme de l'Education Nationale prévue toujours par les "technocrates" du premier gouvernement Erim, elle n'a pas fait l'objet d'un débat parlementaire. Tout au contraire, un projet de loi proposé par le gouvernement Melen et adopté par les deux chambres, supprime l'autonomie des universités, instaurée par la Constitution de 1961. La purge des universitaires considérés comme opposés au régime se poursuit et les enseignants du primaire et du secondaire ont fait l'objet de 3600 inculpations au cours des deux dernières années.

Il n'y a, par ailleurs, aucun indice quant à la réalisation prochaine des réformes administratives et fiscales. Même en se plaçant sous leur point de vue, il est difficile de prétendre que les dirigeants actuels ont réalisé les réformes au nom desquelles ils étaient intervenus dans la vie politique du pays. Qui plus est, rien ne laisse prévoir qu'ils réussiront à éviter les graves menaces de crise économique qui planent sur la Turquie.

ZIYA YILMAZ SOUS L'OMBRE DE LA POTENCE

La Commission de Justice de l'Assemblée Nationale Turque a approuvé le 10 Avril dernier, la peine de mort de Ziya Yilmaz. Si l'Assemblée Nationale et le Sénat ratifient le verdict, il sera exécuté comme Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan et Hüseyin İnan l'ont été le 6 Mai 1972. Voici les principaux faits concernant le procès de Z.Yilmaz.

Membre du Front Populaire de Libération de Turquie (FPLT), Ziya Yilmaz avait été condamné, le 15 Mars 1972, à la peine de mort par le 3. Tribunal de l'Etat de Siège d'Istanbul, sous l'accusation de "tentative de renverser le régime constitutionnel par la force".

Un des trois membres du tribunal militaire qui avait prononcé la sentence s'opposait à celle-ci en faisant constater que Ziya Yilmaz n'était pas un des leaders du FPLT, qu'il n'avait jamais pris part à une opération armée et à l'enlèvement du Consul Général d'Israel, M. Ephraïm Elrom. Il n'était responsable que des finances de l'organisation.

Ses avocats faisaient appel au verdict et la 4. section de la Cour Militaire de Cassation annulait celui-ci en acceptant les objections des défenseurs et du membre opposant du tribunal militaire.

Mais le procureur militaire, qui dépend du commandement de l'armée, porta le dossier devant l'Assemblée Générale de la Cour Militaire de Cassation qui approuva la sentence de mort. Cette décision fut prise à la majorité de voix, alors que 11 membres y compris le président de la cour s'opposaient au verdict.

Dans l'histoire parlementaire turque, il est de tradition de n'approuver aucune sentence de mort sans que celle-ci n'ait obtenu l'unanimité des juges. De plus, certains Peines de mort décidées à l'unanimité par les juges contre les responsables du Parti Démocrate en 1961 et contre les officiers de l'armée qui avaient tenté un coup d'état militaire en 1963 furent commuées en détention à vie.

Par ailleurs, en réponse du 15-16 Février 1972 concernant la demande d'annulation de la loi sur l'Etat de Siège par le Parti Ouvrier Turc, sept membres du Conseil Constitutionnel, y compris son président statuèrent que les tribunaux militaires ne pouvaient offrir de garanties juridiques. Ce point de vue fut confirmé par la dissolution du 1er Tribunal Militaire du Commandement de l'Etat de Siège d'Istanbul qui avait refusé de prononcer des peines de mort.

Prenant en considération tous ces arguments, la section belge de l'Amnesty International a présenté, le 12 Avril 1973, par l'intermédiaire de l'Ambassade de Turquie à Bruxelles, au Président de la République Turque, aux Présidents de l'Assemblée Nationale et du Sénat, une pétition signée par plus d'un millier de personnalités éminentes et demandé que cette peine de mort qui lui paraît injuste, soit commuée en peine de prison.

LE DROIT A LA DEFENSE EXISTE-T-IL EN TURQUIE ?

11 avocats, défenseurs des accusés politiques devant les tribunaux militaires, sont jugés à leur tour, alors que le juge Ali F. Cihan est arrêté par le commandement de l'état de siège d'Ankara.

Le procès de MM. Niyazi Agirnasli, Halit Celenk, Zeki O. Erel, Mukerrem Erdogan, Kemal Yucel, Sadik Akincilar, Ozeden Timurkaynak, Refik Ergun, Kamil Savas, Ersen Sansal, Orhan Izzet Kok, avocats de la défense au procès du THKO (Armée de Libération Populaire de Turquie), vient de reprendre au 3 ème Tribunal de l'Etat de Siège d'Ankara.

Défenseurs, entre autres, des trois étudiants condamnés à mort et exécutés le 6 Mai 1972, ces avocats avaient été condamnés à leur tour le 30 Juin 1972 à 3 mois d'emprisonnement, pour "avoir insulté les forces armées et le gouvernement" lors de leurs plaidoiries. Le verdict du tribunal ayant été annulé par la Cour Militaire de Cassation, ces 11 avocats sont à nouveau jugés. Au cours de la session du 4 Avril 1973, le procureur militaire, le Capitaine M. Savasan s'est opposé à la décision de la Cour de Cassation, pour requérir le rétablissement du jugement précédemment prononcé.

Ce procès intenté contre des juristes connus depuis longue date pour leur participation à la défense d'accusés politiques et parmi lesquels figure M. Agirnasli, ancien sénateur du Parti Ouvrier de Turquie, dissout après l'intervention militaire, pose une fois de plus la question, à savoir, s'il existe en Turquie un droit réel à la défense devant les tribunaux militaires.

Il faut souligner le cas d'un autre juriste, le juge Ali F. Cihan, arrêté le 3 Avril dernier sous l'inculpation d'avoir "fondé une organisation clandestine". Le juge Cihan, avait été déjà arrêté une première fois en 1966, pour "propagande communiste", à propos de son livre intitulé "La Turquie Socialiste", et condamné à 7 ans et demi d'emprisonnement, verdict qui avait été annulé par la Cour de Cassation. Après la proclamation de l'état de siège, le juge Cihan fut arrêté, le 1 Décembre 1971, avec 57 autres intellectuels, et ne devait être relâché qu'après un mois de détention.

On apprend par ailleurs, d'après un communiqué officiel du Commandement de l'Etat de Siège d'Adana, la mise en garde à vue de 38 personnes, accusées de faire partie d'une organisation clandestine "visant à renverser le régime". Selon le communiqué, "un duplicateur et des publications de gauche" auraient été saisis au domicile des "suspects".

COMITE DES "P.E.N. CLUBS" POUR LES ECRIVAINS EMPRISONNES

Suivant la décision prise à Berlin-Ouest, le 17 Novembre 1972, les P.E.N. Clubs Internationaux viennent de former un comité pour "les écrivains emprisonnés". Le Secrétaire Général Mrs. Betty Assheton, élue Secrétaire Honoraire de ce comité est entrée en fonction le 1er Février 1973.

Mrs. Assheton a déclaré l'étude des cas de la Turquie et de la Grèce comme urgent et digne d'une attention particulière. Dans ce but, tout matériel et tout document concernant les écrivains et les étudiants emprisonnés dans ces pays doivent être adressés à la Secrétaire Honoraire du Comité :
"Glebe House, 62/63 Glebe Place, London S.W. 3 - Great Britain."

REPUBLIQUE DE TURQUIE
COMMANDEMENT DES FORCES ARMEES
KARTAL - MALTEPE

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19.10.1971

MAISON D'ARRET : 7020 - 196 - 71
SUJET : Rasim Özkan

AU PRESIDENT DU 3 ème TRIBUNAL MILITAIRE DE L'ETAT DE SIEGE

SELIMIYE

Les ongles de pieds de l'accusé, dont l'identité est mentionnée ci-dessous, ont été arrachés le 18.10.1971

Il lui a été ordonné six jours de repos. C'est pourquoi, il ne pourra pas être présent au tribunal.

Je le soumet à votre attention.

Identité : Rasim Özkan

(signature)
RUŞEN BEYAZIT
Colonel d'Artillerie,
Commandant de la Maison d'Arrêt

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AU PRESIDENT DU 3 ème TRIBUNAL DE L'ETAT DE SIEGE D'ISTANBUL

J'ai été lourdement torturé à la Sureté Générale; mes ongles de pieds ont été arrachés, provoquant l'inflammation de 5 de mes doigts, ainsi que le révèle le rapport médical qui m'ordonne 6 jours de repos à partir du 18 Octobre 1971. Je demande, étant donné ma situation actuelle, à être dispensé de présence aux sessions du tribunal pendant cette durée.

(signature)
RASIM ÖZKAN
19.10.1971

WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

the major principles of the
governmental programme

p.r.p.'s amnesty project
for opinion offences

three mass trials,
322 defendants,
23 death sentence demands

an evening of solidarity of
turkish, greek and
cypriot students of paris

two different versions
of a murder

N° 5

TURKEY

of April 16-April 22, 1973

THE MAJOR PRINCIPLES OF THE GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMME

Whilst the Justice Party resumes its position at the head of the country, with the support of the Republican Party of the Confidence, the industrials and financiers proclaim their satisfaction.

The major principles of the governmental programme, announced by Mr. Talu, confirm what was already known concerning the action of the new cabinet from the protocol signed on the 13 th of April by the Prime Minister (independant), Mr. Demirel, president of the Justice Party (J.P.) and Mr. Feyzioglu, president of the Republican Party of the Confidence (R.P.C.) and in the absence of the People's Republican Party of Mr. Ecevit.

In agreement with the principles of the protocol, the government approves the policy followed during the last two years. That is to say, they approve the two constitutional amendments, the laws "permitting a fight, in a more efficient manner, against the anarchy and the subversive activities", the aim to reinforce "the national defence" and at the same time the propositions to take other necessary measures to maintain the "established order".

The programme stipulates on the other hand that the legislative elections will be held on the 14th of October next, as envisaged by the Constitution. It does not nevertheless give any precise details concerning the abrogation of the state of emergency before this date.

In the chapter on the "reforms", the cabinet will endeavour, according to the programme to realize the different "reforms"* written as principle objectives in all of the programmes of the governments since the military intervention in 1971, with the difference that the constitution of the "special tribunals" is considered, by the signatories of the protocol, as a "reform" project which should be adopted before the elections.

The governmental programme now being known, one can envisage without too much risk, where the executive of Mr. Talu will lead to. Dominated by the presence of 13 ministers, members of the J.P., supported by 6 ministers of the R.P.C. fierce partisans of the elimination of the entire left, the succes of the party of Mr. Demirel in the forthcoming elections is not in doubt. The opposition will be formed by the P.R.P., of social-democratic tendencies of Mr. Ecevit and by the Democratic Party of Mr. Bozbeyli who will canalize the reactionary impetus of a certain middle class by exploiting their religious convictions.

The industrials and financiers were the first to recognize the quasi certainty of the success of the J.P. by the declarations of their spokesmen: "We are very satisfied in so far as the private secteur" stated Mr. Adiguzel, President of the Chamber of the Industry of the Aegean region, whereas Mr. Aryal, President of the Turkish Federation of Tobacco Negotiators made known his "joy at the time of the nomination of Mr. Talu as Minister of Commerce".**

These expressions of satisfaction have all the chance of being justified with the time. After the elections, the country, which will probably be governed by Mr. Demirel, will no longer be the same as that which he left at the moment of his resignation in 1971. It will be rather, in transposing the terms of the famous proverb: "A rose garden, without any thorns."

* and ** : see TURKEY N° 4

P.R.P.'S AMNESTY PROJECT FOR "OPINION OFFENCES"

After the formation of the new government the People's Republican Party will be hereafter the principal force in the parliamentary opposition. Will the Amnesty Bill which this Party will submit to the National Assembly be sufficient to justify the hopes of the democrates of this following ?

At the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Turkish Republic, the P.R.P. will depose before the National Assembly a General Amnesty Bill. According to the daily Cumhuriyet, the Bill envisages the total or partial amnesty for offences against the public law, the opinion offences and a part of the political offences. If the Bill is adopted by the government one could expect a reduction in the sentences of 5 to 10 years in that which concerns the convictions under the two principal articles of the Turkish Penal Code the articles 141 and 142, both taken from the fascist Penal Code of Mussolini, and reductions of 5 years for the offences convicted under article 146. For all that, it must be recalled that during the last two years several hundred people have been condemned under articles 141 and 142 to prison sentences of up to 30 years and that several defendants received the death penalty or life imprisonment under article 146. In this context, one can claim that the Bill of the P.R.P. does not deal with the basis of the problem, which is to know if the offence of an opinion has the right to exist in a country of democratic institutions ? That it is content to propose a solution which is insufficient before the grave situation generated by the arrestation and the conviction of hundreds of universitarians, journalists, translators, editors, teachers etc. who will not benefit from any juridical guarantee with respect to a future wave of repression, more especially as there will remain in the turkish prisons, even if the Bill is adopted, several hundreds of polotical detainees.

However by its action in the last few years, the P.R.P., under the impulsion of Mr. Ecevit, then General Secretary, and conforming with the pressure from its base, has progressively eliminated the reactionary tendances in the Party and has traced a political line situated to the "left center". Always in the same spirit Mr. Ecevit has often been opposed to the political lines of the different governments which have followed one another since the military intervention on the 12th of March 1971. Notably he has on several occasions expressed his opinion in favour of a return to the normal functioning of the democracy, against the actual state of affairs where the working class and the other deprived groups of the population do not have any political organization by which they can express themselves.

Finally, Mr. Ecevit, by his interventions in the social and economic life, although not being able to go further than the open opposition on the left wing of his party, has endeavoured to stop as much as possible the repression that ravages the country.

It must be note nevertheless that Mr. Ecevit's Party, by its behaviour at the time of the first constitutional amendment and equally during the presidential elections finds itself in contradiction on the one hand with the image that its president wants to give it and on the other hand with the aspirations of its base. The attitude, which could still be changed, which will be adopted during the parliamentary debate on the Amnesty Bill and on that which concerns the measures and anti-democratic laws will show, upto what point, the hopes of the democrates can find a base in the P.R.P.

THREE MASS TRIALS, 322 DEFENDANTS, 23 DEATH SENTENCE DEMANDS

The majority of the defendants of new mass trials had been brutally tortured and the charges were based on fabricated "confessions".

The biggest mass trial with 256 defendants was started on April 16, 1973 at the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. All defendants are accused of "being affiliated to clandestine Popular Liberation Party of Turkey (THKP) and helping five urban guerillas to escape from the military prison in December 1971". Among the defendants are 109 army officers or cadets, 41 university students, 16 teachers, 7 lawyers, 8 architect and engineers, 4 university lecturers, 4 movie actors and producers, 13 state employees, 10 workers, 2 farmers, 3 tailors, 2 radio speakers and 1 reporter of the Council of State.

The majority of the defendants have been kept under detention for one year and were brutally tortured and the charges were based on fabricated "confessions". (The torture affidavits of them are in the archives of the CIESPT and will be published later.)

The most popular movie star of Turkey, Yilmaz Güney is also among the defendants and he is accused of financially supporting urban guerillas and hiding them.

In another mass trial started on April 12, 1973 before the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters the military prosecutor demanded death sentence for a student and imprisonments for other 12 defendants on a charge of involving a murder.

On the other hand, a new mass trial with 53 defendants will be started on May 4, 1973 before the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. The defendants are accused of "attempting subversive activities" and the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for 12 defendants including 2 former army officers, 3 lawyers and 1 psychiatrist.

58 STUDENTS CONDEMNED AGAIN

58 students of Hacettepe University in Ankara were condemned again to imprisonments up to 50 months on April 16, 1973 by the Military Court N° 1 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on the charge of "attacking the police". The condemnations had been overruled by the Military Court of Cassation, but the lower military court insisted on its own decision.

CETIN ALTAN'S IMPRISONMENT EXTENDED

Columnist Cetin Altan terminated his prison term for one year for insulting the President of the Republic and uninterruptedly started his second prison term of 1 1/2 years in the same prison, for his article on 50th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution published in 1967. His other 6 cases are still on trial and totally 40 years imprisonment demanded by the prosecutors.

AN EVENING OF SOLIDARITY OF TURKISH, GREEK AND CYPRIOT STUDENTS OF PARIS

The turkish, greek and cypriot student movements of Paris have organized for the 23rd of April, at the Grand Theatre of the Cité Internationale a common artistic and political evening. During this evening there will be performances by the "Theatre de Liberté" with "Legends to come" and Mikis Theodorakis. We extract the following from their text "Turkey, Greece, Cyprus - the same fight".

"For the first time, the turkish, Greek and Cypriot students of Paris, considering from a new point of view the contention of the general public in these three countries of the East Mediterranean, undertake to put in common and organize their forces.

"A same geographical region, the suffocating dependance and the exploitation by the american imperialism and of western Europe, the slowness of the economic development and the same social problems are the elements which bring into a common perspective the contention of the masses of these three countries.

"(...) The common enemy of the masses of these three countries is the imperialism, in collaboration with the dominating classes, the emanation of which are the military and reactionary governments and the fascist oppression, in particular in Greece and Turkey.

"Finally, the imperialists use the problem of Cyprus to reanimate the chauvinism and work to divide, weaken and disorient the popular movements of these three countries.

"It is **because** of these common points of view that the turkish, greek and cypriot students of Paris want to unite their struggle."

SPD RESOLUTION ON TURKEY

The Convention of the Social Democrat Party of Federal Republic of Germany passed a resolution reproaching the turkish regime with its anti-democratic attitude.

Although some delegates, in accordance with the resolution adopted by the Jung Socialists Congress, brought a harsher motion, aiming to suspend all kind of aid to Turkey unless they respected democratic rights and fundamental liberties, the majority of the Convention adopted a moderate line.

Nevertheless, even this moderate resolution has been a heavy blow on the anti-democratic regime in Turkey. Because the Federal Republic of Germany, has for the time being, the broadest economic relations with Turkey. First of all, more than half a million Turkish workers are employed in Germany and they repatriate some 1.000 million dollar every year.

On the other hand, the Federal Republic of Germany has the largest share in the Turkish exportation with a proportion of 20 per cent.

Although the semi-official Anatolia News Agency reflected this resolution as a new plot of international communism, the rulers of Turkey are obliged to think on this reaction from a political party governing a state on which their economic policy is depended.

TWO DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF A MURDER

In which way the man-hunts are carried out by the military ? The authorities always claim that the "suspects" attempt to clash with the security forces, thereupon they are shot by the police. Here are two versions of a man-hunt happened on March 9, 1972 in Ankara.

Version N° 1 :

"Police here on March 9, 1972 shot and killed a wanted urban guerilla after a brief gunbattle in the Kavaklidere neighbourhood. The Police was informed that Koray Dogan, 25, student of Middle East Technical University, was hiding out in a house in Mesnevi Sokak in Kavaklidere. Police surrounded the house and asked the young man to give himself up. Dogan burst out of his flat, shooting. He was cut down by police fire. He died en route to Numune Hospital...(This version was given by semi-official Anatolia News Agency and the translation was taken from the Daily News published in Ankara on March 10, 1972).

Version N° 2 :

"In contrary to the article in Daily News and other Turkish newspapers I saw the following:

"On March 9, 1972 about 11 o'clock I heard shooting and looked out of the window. From a house opposite the corner a young man (Koray Dogan) hurried out of the entrance (without gun) and he was followed in a distance of about 10 meters by a civil officer shooting with a pistol and 7 or 8 soldiers shooting with machine pistols at the young man. Because Dogan sprang through the garden at first nothing happened, but when he reached open road, the civilian and the soldiers had free line and Dogan soon fell down killed by many bullets. They threw him into a taxi and disappeared.

"After this event I heard from a woman, living in our road that this morning quite early a group of soldiers had already entered the house of Dogan's friend. From an acquaintance I heard furthermore that Dogan sometimes visited his friend there.

"It means that Dogan was not in the flat but police was waiting there for him. This can be proved by two other facts: 1) The soldiers ran 10 meters behind him and if they had entered the flat he would have had no chance to leave; 2) The soldiers had nothing on their head, generally unusual for soldiers and especially for Turkish soldiers. The soldiers must have been resting and were surprised by Dogan". (Written statement of a foreign eye-witness whose name and address are withheld by the CIESPT).

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

towards the elections
under a state of
martial law

deadlock on the trials
before the military courts

new cases against
university professors

an evening greco-turk
and cypriot

"they raped me by
police truncheons"

Nº 6

TURKEY

of April 23-April 29, 1973

TOWARDS THE ELECTIONS UNDER A STATE OF MARTIAL LAW

The same day that the state of emergency enters into its third year, the government of Mr. Talu obtained a vote of confidence from the parliament despite opposition of the D.P. and P.R.P.

The 26th of April 1973, to the day, two years after the proclamation of Martial Law which continues, the Turkish government obtained a vote of confidence from the Parliament despite the firm opposition of the P.R.P. of Mr. Ecevit, which reproaches, amongst other things in the new programme*, the lack precision with respect to the abrogation of the state of emergency before the legislative elections next October.

The spokesman for the parliamentary group of the P.R.P., Mr. Ahmet Durakoglu explained during the session of the National Assembly on the 24th of April why his group would refuse to give their confidence to the government:

"The government does not bring any propositions as regards to the terminating of the state of Martial Law. One cannot envisage, in a country which respects the principles of the law, the holding of legislative elections during a state of emergency. It is not possible to qualify, as the "national will", the results of elections held in a country where the democratic liberties of the people are restrained.

"More especially, as another rule of the democracy is the freedom of action and the opening to all ideologies of the institutions and means of expression which form the public opinion. The liberty to vote does not have any meaning when these conditions are not assured."

"(..) Mr. Talu was, by his action when Minister of Commerce, the person chiefly responsible for the rise in prices. Today, he does not bring any action against this rise. That is to say that the rise in prices continues and that in the stranglehold of this economic context the farmers, artisans, small shop-owners, workers and civil servants of modest incomes will suffer up to elections.

"The economic policy of Mr. Talu, because it is not on the side of the social peace, has brought upon itself the protestations of the public opinion, and has only obtained approval from the capitalists. Not being able to hope to see Mr. Talu acting in the interests of the population or in the interests of the nation, we will oppose the vote of confidence in the government."

The same day, Mr. Bozbeyli, President of the Democratic Party (conservative) criticised the governmental programme: "Certain classes have expressed their confidence in the government even before the parliamentary vote. We must take notice of these declarations which came to us from Istanbul and Izmir."**

Amongst these declarations, one of the most significant is, without a doubt, that of Mr. Venbi Koç, Chairman of Koç Holdings, the most important concentration of capital in the country: "The protocol of the government assures the conditions necessary for a calm approach to the legislative elections next October."

* and ** : see TURKEY N° 5

DEADLOCK ON THE TRIALS BEFORE THE MILITARY COURTS

Despite the decision of the Constitutional Court, Parliament has not yet passed the amendment to the law authorizing military courts and these courts happened to be illegal and unauthorized since April 14, 1973.

The newly started mass trial of the Popular Liberation Party of Turkey (PLPT) immediately come to a deadlock because of a procedural problem.

On the appeal by the Turkish Labour Party, the Constitutional Court of Turkey had annulled Article 15 of the Law on Martial Law (N° 1402) by declaring it unconstitutional as follows:

- (1) it purports to give to the Martial Law Commanders a discretion whether offences enumerated in article 15 shall be tried by civil or by military courts, whereas under the amended Article 138 of the Constitution military courts can have jurisdiction only over offences "prescribed by law";
- (2) it purports to give jurisdiction to military courts to try offences alleged to have been committed before the proclamation of martial law, whereas, in view of the amended Article 32 of the Constitution, the jurisdiction of the court must be specified by law before the offence has been committed.

According to the decision published in the Official Gazette on October 14, 1972, the Constitutional Court has exercised its power, under the amended Article 152 of the Constitution, to order the annulment of Article 15 of Law N° 1402 would come into effect six months after its announcement in the Official Gazette. That is to say, the Parliament should pass the mentioned articles in accordance with the Constitution before April 14, 1973. But these amendments have not yet been passed and as it was disclosed in their objections, by the defence lawyers of the PLPT defendants, all military courts of martial law happened to be illegal and unauthorized since April 14, 1973. On this objection, the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was obliged to postpone the hearings until May 3, 1973 in order to consider the legal situation.

In fact, the bill amending the Law N° 1402 had passed through the National Assembly, but it is still at the Senate. Moreover, the Senate did not adopt some amendments brought by the National Assembly and because of these disputes, the enactment of the law may take longer. Besides, as disclosed by the P.R.P., even if these amendments are enacted, since the majority of parliament insists on inserting unconstitutional provisions into the law, they will be annulled again by the Constitutional Court and the military courts will once again lose their authority.

Beyond the procedural disputes, the essence of the problem is the "retroactive cases" which are entirely against the Article 7 of the Human Rights Convention. Thousands of people have been condemned by this unconstitutional article and three youths were even executed. The International Commission of Jurists had already called attention to this point, in its letter to Turkish Premier on January 31, 1973:

"In view of the widespread interest in many of the cases which have been tried before military courts under this unconstitutional Article, the International Commission of Jurists respectfully urges your Excellency to consider making provision for a review by civil courts of all convictions by military courts under Article 15 of Law N° 1402 and in particular convictions for crimes alleged to have been committed before the institution of martial law."

NEW CASES AGAINST UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS

Sixty years old Professor Mustafa Akdag was accused of "attempting to overthrow the constitutional regime" and just before being brought in front of the military court died.

While the condemnations of Prof. Ugur Alacakaptan and Prof. Müntaz Soysal were being discussed before the Military Court of Cassation, the military prosecutors brought new cases against five members of the Faculty of Language, History and Geography of Ankara University on the charge of "attempting to overthrow the constitutional regime in Turkey" under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The legal proceedings were started on some denouncements by their colleagues claiming that the defendants had talked against the regime inside the faculty.

The military prosecutor demands imprisonments up to 10 years for Prof. Serafettin Turan, former dean of the faculty, Prof. Mustafa Akdag, authority on the Ottoman History, Assistant Professor Ozdemir Nutku, Assistant Musa Caidirci and Assistant Attila Eldem.

However, Prof. Mustafa Akdag, 60, just before being brought in front of the military court, died from stomach bleeding, on April 18, 1973.

REACTION AGAINST THE PRP'S AMNESTY PROJECT BY THE RIGHTIST PARTIES

The P.R.P. deposed before the National Assembly a General Amnesty Bill envisaging the total or partial amnesty for the opinion offences and a part of the political offences.*

The following are the reactions by the rightist parties:

JUSTICE PARTY : "The anarchists of Turkey are also communists. More effective measures must be taken against them." (Deputy Selahattin Kiliç on the Government Program, April 24, 1973) **

REPUBLICAN RELIANCE PARTY : "We are against an amnesty for communist bandits." (Deputy Sezai Orkunt on the Government Program, April 24, 1973)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY : "An amnesty for the activists of international conspiracy will destroy reliance on justice." (Announcement by the Parliamentary Group of the party, April 21, 1973)

NATIONAL ACTION PARTY: "Communists and traitors must be excluded from the general amnesty." (Chairman Alparslan Türkeş, April 21, 1973).

* see TURKEY N° 5.

** From the defence of Yasar Yilmaz, defendant of the Sabotage Case before the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul MLH on April 13, 1973 :

"I am here, because the gods wanted a victim. I have never seen the Culture Palace which was allegedly burnt by me. We are accused of being both anarchist and marxist. These are definitions contradicting each other. Which one we are ?"

AN EVENING GRECO-TURK AND CYPRIOT

The turkish, greek and cypriot student movements of Paris, organized the 23rd of April a common evening at the "Cité Internationale", during which a declaration and a tripartite motion were read.

The reunion started with the reading of the declaration, according to which "the Association of Cypriot students in France, the Union of the Turkish students in France and the Greek students of Paris, have taken the initiative to organize the evening with the firm resolution to inaugurate a new era in the relationships of the youth and the peoples of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey."

After having analyzed the history of the "imperialist domination" in their countries, which was accompanied by "the internal exploitation the large popular masses". The signatories of the declaration returned to the present situation in order to say that "the dominating classes, objective allies of the imperialism, have suppressed the democracy, even bourgeois, in order to repress all popular movement, the 21st of April 1967 in Greece, the 12 th of March 1971 in Turkey" and that "in exploiting the traditional chauvinism, the dominant classes use the cypriot problem to crush the movement in Greece and Turkey and to disorient the cypriot workers movement."

The evening continued with the performance by the "Théâtre de Liberté" of "Legends to come" and by a concert given by Mikis Theodorakis, to finish by the reading of a motion demanding the immediate abrogation of Martial Law in Turkey, the return to the democracy and the unconditional liberation of all of the political prisoners in Greece and Turkey, equally the suppression of all capital punishments directed towards the political prisoners, and by an appeal "to the solidarity antifascist and anti-imperialist of the youth of Turkey, Greece and Cyprus."

A DOCUMENTARY BOOK IN GERMAN ON TURKEY

Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH, one of the largest publishing firms of the Federal Republic of Germany, has published a documentary book on Turkey under the title of "Partner Türkei oder Foltern für die Freiheit des Westens?" Authors Brigitte Heinrich and Jürgen Roth firstly give a historical and economical background and later reflect the repression committed by the military rule. Mass trials, tortures, man-hunts, pressure on opinion are explained with facts in a volume of 160 pages.

Corresponding address: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag GmbH - Reinbek bei Hamburg GERMANY

"TURKEY ON THE SLIPPERY SLOPE"

The Spring 1973 issue of the review Index in England published material describing pressure on opinion that have taken place in Turkey in the last two years under the title of "Turkey on the Slippery Slope."

The contents of Index are published in accordance with the aims of "Writers and Scholars International" to promote the study of the suppression of freedom of expression. The issue includes an article by a turkish journalist placing the latest developments in a historical context, information about the Convention of International Federation of Journalists held in Istanbul, the story of how a film jury came to change its mind in "Altin Koza" Festival and the lists of sized books, banned newspapers and periodicals, and detained journalists, writers, publishers, university professors and lecturers. Corresponding address: Index - 35 Bow Street, London WC2R 7AU - ENGLAND

"THEY RAPED ME BY POLICE TRUNCHEONS"

256 defendants of the Case of the Popular Liberation Party of Turkey (PLPT) are being tried before the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. The majority of the defendants are accused according to their "confessions" obtained at counter-guerilla bases. Here is the affidavit of one female defendant on how her confession had been obtained.

Name: ULKER AKGÖL

(Working at the Turkish Electric Institution, TEK)

(Born on July 21, 1950 in Düzce)

"On the 16th of March, 1972, policemen came to the office where I worked, and took me to the Department of Security without telling why. Since once I had friendship for Mahir (Cayan), police were regarding me as informed about everything concerning him at the moment. I told them that for was a quite long time I have not seen Mahir, but they insisted and answered that they knew how to get me speaking. They told me, "you know very well how to speak under the projector light."

"Then they interrogated me by practicing torture for six hours, during which they were telling me that I could not resist the torture since I was thin and I must accept everything of what they alleged. But I was insistently answering them that the torture would not change my words since I know nothing. The night they stopped the practice saying that they would see me next day.

"The next day, that is, 17th of March, 1972, about 5 p.m., two plainclothed took me into a car and banded my eyes. They said, "we are going to an entertainment now", and took me somewhere I have never been to. There first interrogated me. I repeated my testimony, and they said "I must be taken to the operation."

"They first beat me by bastinado (falaka). - Before that they had showed me how Mrs. Nazan Alp appears after the torture was practised on her, and told me that I was going to be the same if I wouldn't change my testimony - . Bastinado held out for 2 hours, though that practice did not change what I had said before. Then they applied electric current on me. They started to apply electricity from my fingers and toes. For a long time they applied it with intervals, during which they were not asking me any question, but demanding that I should accept what they charged. They stopped this practice at midnight, but very early in the morning they took me back to bastinado once more.

"Then they went further ahead, and took my panties off. They laid me down, and as my hands, my arms and my feet were tied, they raped me both from anus and front (she means regular way - tr.) by police truncheons. And in the meantime, they were continuous swearing and insulting my personality by terrible words. During this operation, they made me to sign the testimony that they had prepared, and later, under the threat of the same practice of torture, they forced me to write it by my handwriting and I did."

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political options
are taking shape

condemnations of the tip
leaders approved
by the higher court

the military units
burnt revolutionaries

appeal to all democrats

38 dailies and
periodicals banned
within two years

N° 7

TURKEY

of April 30 - May 6, 1973

POLITICAL OPTIONS ARE TAKING SHAPE

The Turkish Parliament, within which the workers are no longer represented by any party, has only 8 weeks left to legislate the essential "reforms" before embarking upon the electoral campaign for Congress on October 14.

Only 35 parliamentary sessions remain in which the government can get adopted the "reforms" listed on its platform. Taking account of the 3 months necessary for the electoral campaign, and of the decision taken by the parliamentary groups of the PRP and of the DP to obstruct any bills they do not approve of, one may conclude that, in spite of the parliamentary majority of the JP (Justice Party) and the CRP (Confidence Republican Party), Mr. Talu will be at some pains to get his bills adopted within the limited time available.

In such a context the position of the parties in the political arena is taking shape. The majority parties, the JP and the CRP, represent the interests of the industrial and financial milieu. The chambers of commerce and industry do not conceal their satisfaction about the new law on measures to promote industry. The rates of interest for industrial loans have been lowered from 12 to 6 %, the State undertaking to assume the contingent losses of the banks practising such rates. On the other side there is the opposition composed, first, of the Democratic Party, and second, of the People's Republican Party and the Turkish Union Party. The DP, born of a split within the JP, tries to profit from the conservative tendencies of the petty bourgeoisie who feel more and more threatened by big capital in the process of capitalist development. Indeed, the small growers of tea, sugar beets and tobacco complain of the low prices for their products and of the restrictions (up to 65 %) on agricultural loans. As for the TUP, with its small following, and the PRP, they channelize the progressive and anti-capitalist yearnings of the same petty bourgeoisie while striving to attract the workers, now deprived of a political party since the 1972 dissolution of the Turkish Workers Party, as well as the peasants and the intelligentsia. The PRP is trying to get closer to these masses, posing as the defender of agrarian reform, of cooperatives and of democratic liberties - ideas on which it differs from the Democratic Party, which is opposed to agrarian reform and calls cooperatives a "collectivist practice", even proclaiming the First Congress of Agricultural Producers "outlaws" and "forerunners of revolution" when 12,000 small producers met at Adana, united against "the exploitation of the big landowners, the middlemen and the usurers". During this Congress, Mr. Ecevit, chairman of the PRP, made the following statement:

"Those who suspended the Constitution by means of March 12, 1971 military intervention have been able to realize only part of their plans. Now they may be able to do more. In its present form agrarian reform will be of no avail. Those who put their hopes in it will be disappointed.(...) According to official figures, the cost of living has risen 40 % in 10 years, while the prices for agricultural products have risen only 10-12.5%. The man who played the most important part in this process of pauperization of the peasants is prime minister today with the joint support of the two parties forming the government."

In the coming political confrontation for parliamentary elections, the PRP and the TUP, whatever their success with the petty bourgeoisie, will not be able to continue claiming they represent the working class and its interests while at the same time defending an economic system which is partial though it presumes to stand for "social justice". The place of the political left wing remains empty.

CONDEMNATIONS OF THE TIP LEADERS APPROVED BY THE HIGHER COURT

Mrs. Behice Boran and her comrades will be imprisoned for up to 15 years and then banished.

On April 26, 1973 the Military Court of Cassation approved the condemnations of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) leaders. The suppression of the Turkish socialist movement's only parliamentary representation has thus reached alarming proportions.

Following the 12th March military intervention, the Turkish Labour Party was banned by the Constitutional Court on June 24, 1971 on the charge of "trying to abolish partially or totally the public rights recognized by the Constitution concerning racial questions and to destroy and weaken national feelings." (Article 141/3 of Turkish Penal Code). The reason for this decision was a resolution on the democratic rights of the Kurdish People passed by the Fourth Convention of the party in October 1970.

This was the accusation under which Mrs. Behice Boran, the party's president, and other leaders had been arrested on May 27, 1971. Mrs. Boran and her 19 comrades were brought to trial on July 26 of that year by the military prosecutor of the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. But this time, in addition to the above charge, the military prosecutor also accused them of "attempting to form associations aimed at establishing the domination of one social class over other social classes and at overthrowing a social class and upsetting the basic economic and social order established in the country." (Article 141/1 of the Turkish Penal Code).

In the course of the trials, the defendants were released on October 6, 1971, but they were re-arrested on June 26, 1972. The trial ended on October 17, 1972 and the Military Court No 3 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters sentenced the defendants as follows: Mrs. Behice Boran, Osman Sakalsiz, Yalçın Cerit, Nejat Okten, Turgut Kazan, Can Açıkgöz, Yavuz Unal, Hüsanettin Güven to 15 year prison-terms and 5 years banishment each; Secretary General Saban Erik, Secretary General Sait Ciltas, Adil Ozkol, Prof. Sadun Aren, Bekir Yenigün to 12,5 years imprisonment and 4 years banishment each; Nejat Yazicioglu and Oral Calislar to 8 years imprisonment each; Hüseyin Ergün, Adnan Keserbiçer, Hüseyin Özşahin, Erdal Orhan, Mehmet Tuncer and Ejder Imer to 6 years and 10 months imprisonment each.

According to the defence lawyers, the condemnations are illegal, because while the Constitutional Court had refused to apply Article 141/1 and had banned the party only according to Article 141/3, the military courts did not take this verdict into consideration and increased the prison term three fold by applying both articles. Besides, the courts accepted the statutes and program of the party as evidence for the alleged offences, although both had been in effect since 1964, and the party had participated in general elections twice on the basis of these documents and held 15 seats in the Parliament. Moreover, the Constitutional Court had recognized the TIP as a legal party within the framework of its statutes and program and had annulled many laws according to the arguments presented by the party. From this point of view the case is retroactive and contrary to Article 7 of the European Convention.

THE MILITARY UNITS BURNT REVOLUTIONARIES

Two years ago, in order to protest against the military rule, a young teacher, Adil Kartal, burnt himself on May 4, 1971 in Bursa, just after the proclamation of martial law. This event has been concealed from the public. Today the military rule itself is burning revolutionaries in the course of its man-hunts and claims that they have committed suicide.

On April 29, 1973, the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul issued an official communique stating that 61 members of the clandestine Marxist-Leninist Communist Party of Turkey had been apprehended in different operations. According to the communique, two revolutionaries, Ali Haydar Yildiz and Muharrem Cicek were shot to death in the clash with the military units; another group of the same organization was surrounded in a house in Istanbul and faced with the impossibility of escaping, they set the house on fire. The daily newspapers published the photographs of young revolutionaries after being apprehended. On these photographs it is clearly seen that their faces and bodies had been completely burnt. The martial law authorities claimed that the revolutionaries had burnt themselves. But the same source also claimed that they had been apprehended with a lot of guns and ammunition in the burning house. As long as it was possible for them to continue shooting and to die fighting, it does not seem convincing that the revolutionaries had attempted to commit suicide by burning themselves.

The military authorities had use the same argument at the Kizildere Massacre, ending with the death of ten guerillas and their three hostages, and had claimed that seeing the impossibility of escaping, they had used explosives. But a few minutes after, considering the incredibility of this version, the military-backed government had annulled this official statement and launched a new version claiming that the guerillas had shot three hostages to death and later had been killed in a 45-minute room-to-room shootout by the security forces. But these versions contradicting each other could not convince world opinion, and the evidences obtained later proved that the guerillas and the hostages had died in a bomb explosion set by the security forces.

CONDEMNATIONS OF TWO EDITORS APPROVED

The First Department of the Court of Cassation approved the condemnations of two editors. Mr. Süleyman Ege, Director of the Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, had been condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment by aggravated felony court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published the official documents of the Chinese Communist Party leadership under the title "Workers of the world, unite!". Mr. Vahap Erdogdu, editor of the monthly review Aydinlik, had also been condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment for publishing an article. The total sentence is a 30 year prison-term for Mr. Ege, and 16.5 years for Mr. Erdogdu.

UNIVERSITY ASSISTANT DISMISSED

Mr. Rona Serozan, Assistant at the Law Faculty, was dismissed from the Istanbul University by the Senate on April 27, 1973 on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" because of a scientific article translated by him and published in the "Review of Comparative Law" of the faculty.

PROTESTS AND
SOLIDARITY

CONGRESS ON TURKEY IN AMSTERDAM

On april 28, 1973, the Dutch Committee for Turkey, Dutch Political Youth Contact Council and Dutch Committee For International Youth Work organized a Congress on Turkey at Hotel Krasnapolsky in Amsterdam. At the Congress three speakers from Turkey revealed the repression in their country. Later, Dutch Deputy Pieter Dankert presented a general information about discussions on Turkey at the Council of Europe. Professor Neudecker, member of the Dutch Committee For Turkey, also criticized the relations between the EEC and Turkey. In the Congress hall the Democratic Resistance of Turkey presented a photographic exhibition of the repression in Turkey. The Granada TV's film on "Torture in Turkey" was also shown. At the end of the Congress, in accordance with the views expressed by the Dutch speakers, the Congress On Turkey sent two telegrams to Mr. Pierre Lardinois, Dutch member of the EEC Commission, and to Mr. Van der Stoel, prospective Foreign Minister of Holland, and called on them to take necessary steps with the purpose of restoring democratic rights and liberties in Turkey.

APPEAL TO ALL DEMOCRATS :

The CIESPT is calling all democrats and urging them to rise against the condemnation to death of Ziya Yilmaz which has just been ratified by the National Assembly and will be enforced after the subsequent decisions of the Senate and the President of the Republic.

Ambassade de Turquie
17, rue d'Ankara
Paris 16° - France

T.C. Senatosu
Ankara - Turkey

A MOTION ON TURKEY BEFORE THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Mr. Frank Judd, Mr. William Molloy, Miss Joan Lester, Mr. Eric Deakins, Mr. James Wellbeloved, Mr. Raymond Fletcher and 76 other members of the British Parliament brought a motion on the "NATO Principles and the political situation in Turkey, Greece, Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Territories" on April 6, 1973. The motion states: "The House of Common expresses its deep concern at the continuing political situation in Turkey, Greece, Portugal and the Portuguese Overseas Territories; records its admiration for all those in these countries who are struggling to restore the principles of freedom, tolerance and justice which it is the stated purpose of NATO to protect; and calls on Her Majesty's Government urgently to consult with their other NATO Allies on how best to remove the threat within the alliance to the cause for which it was created."

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S DEMAND ON TURKEY

Amnesty International asked Sweden to draw the Council of Europe's attention officially to the mounting evidence of systematic torture in Turkey. According to the news appeared in "Amnesty International Newsletter" of April 1973, Secretary General Martin Ennals made the request in the course of talks with Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and other Swedish parliamentarians between March 21-25.

38 DAILIES AND PERIODICALS BANNED WITHIN TWO YEARS

Daily newspaper Yeni Halkçı was closed down on April 29, 1973 by the Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara on the charge of violating martial law rules. So the number of dailies and periodicals banned within the 2 year period of martial law in Turkey reached 38. The list of banned dailies and periodicals is given below:

1. CUMHURİYET (daily-Istanbul) - From 28.4.1971 (for 10 days)
2. AKSAM (daily-Istanbul) - From 28.4.1971 (for 10 days)
3. DEVRİM (weekly-Ankara) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
4. İSCI-KOYLU (bi-weekly-Ankara) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
5. PROLETER DEVRİMCI AYDINLIK (weekly-Ankara) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
6. TÜRKİYE SOLU (bi-weekly-Istanbul) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
7. AYDINLIK SOSYALİST DERGİ (monthly-Ankara) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
8. DAGYELİ (daily-Kirikhan) - From 29.4.1971 (indefinitely)
9. ANT (monthly - Istanbul) - From 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
10. BUGÜN (daily - Istanbul) - From 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
11. BABIALIDE SABAH (daily - Istanbul) - From 30.4.1971 (indefinitely)
12. EMEK (monthly - Ankara) - From 2.5.1971 (indefinitely)
13. VATANDAS (daily - Adana) - From 27.5.1971 (for 20 days)
14. CUKUROVA (daily - Adana) - From 27.5.1971 (for 20 days)
15. İTTİHAD (daily - Istanbul) - From 8.6.1971 (indefinitely)
16. DÜNYA (daily - Istanbul) - From 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
17. YENİ ASYA (daily - Istanbul) - From 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
18. BİZİM ANADOLU (daily - Istanbul) - From 8.7.1971 (for 7 days)
19. HALKIN DOSTLARI (monthly - Istanbul) - From 13.9.1971 (indefinitely)
20. HURİYOL (periodical - Ankara) - From 17.9.1971 (indefinitely)
21. ADALET (daily - Ankara) - From 17.9.1971 (indefinitely)
22. VATANDAS (daily - Adana) - From 17.9.1971 (for 7 days)
23. ORTAM (weekly - Istanbul) - From 8.10.1971 (indefinitely)
24. EGE EKSPRES (daily - Izmir) - From 12.10.1971 (for 7 days)
25. GÜNAYDIN (daily - Izmir edition) - From 12.10.1971 (for 7 days)
26. BİZİM ANADOLU (daily - Istanbul) - From 24.10.1971 (for 10 days)
27. YANKI (weekly - Ankara) - From 8.11.1971 (for 30 days)
28. DEMOKRAT İZMİR (daily - Izmir) - From 23.11.1971 (for 7 days)
29. AKSAM (daily - Istanbul) - From 17.2.1971 (Indefinitely - But a week after, the publishers declared that they had fired all left-minded personnel and promised to fight communism. Thereupon the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul permitted the publication.)
30. BARIS (daily - Ankara) - From 13.3.1972 (indefinitely)
31. GÜNAYDIN (daily - Ankara edition) - From 16.3.1972 (indefinitely)
32. SON HAVADIS (daily - Eskisehir edition) - From 2.5.1971 (for 10 days)
33. YENİ GÜN (daily - Ankara) - From 7.6.1972 (indefinitely)
34. TOPLUM (weekly - Ankara) - From 10.11.1972 (for 30 days)
35. YENİ ORTAM (daily - Ankara edition) - From 14.10.1972 (for 30 days)
36. TÜRKİYE (daily - Ankara) - From 15.12.1972 (for 10 days)
37. HURİYET (daily - Adana edition) - From 4.1.1973 (for 7 days)
38. YENİ HALKÇI (daily - Ankara) - From 29.4.1973 (indefinitely)

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

the inner contradictions
of the right

military courts :
an agent provocateur

the government is
advocating an
inflationist policy

information meeting
on turkey in belgium

a student shot to death
at the border

N° 8

TURKEY

of may 7 - may 13, 1973

THE INNER CONTRADICTIONS OF THE RIGHT

The Turkish Parliament has only 28 sessions and 140 hours of work left before the electoral campaign is launched on June 30, 1973. However, there is little chance, according to the daily Cumhuriyet, for Parliament to continue meeting after June 7, if previous electoral practices are taken as an example. Moreover, according to the government's program, Parliament is supposed to adopt in the next three weeks, the seven basic laws demanded by the memorandum of March 12, 1971. Though the present government was accorded confidence on April 26, the national assembly has had the required quorum only once to meet since then because the coalition parties' deputies left the capital to return to their constituencies. Of these seven basic laws contained in the government's program, only the law on the exploitation of mineral ores (which had been approved under the Melen government by the national assembly) has been adopted automatically because it was impossible for the Senate to meet within the allotted legal time. The Society of Mining Engineers has stated that in their view the bill which has been adopted does not in the least have the character of a reform, since the strategic underground wealth is being turned over almost exclusively to foreign companies for exploitation.

In such a Parliamentary impasse, Mr. Demirel, head of the Justice Party, has just accused the opposition of obstructing the Assembly's sessions, seeming to overlook the rather comfortable majority (268 deputies out of 450) which his party and the Confidence Republic Party dispose of in the lower house. All the more so since at the time of the introduction of the bill on amnesty presented by Mr. Ecevit's People's Republican Party, Mr. Demirel alluded to the fact that the JP and the CRP had a Parliamentary majority and said: "If they feel strong enough, let them get the bill adopted."

One may ask for what reasons the coalition deputies were induced to leave the capital so suddenly without any certainty of the government's program being realized, two months before the official start of the electoral campaign. In order to answer these questions, it may be useful to consider two facts:

1 - Mr. Bozbeyli's Democratic Party will benefit in the electoral campaign from the unexpected support of Mr. Celâl Bayar, former president of the Republic, deposed by the May 27, 1960 coup d'état and asserted to still enjoy some prestige among the former voters of his party (the Democrat Party, dissolved in 1960) who had transferred their choice to the JP.

2 - A new party, the Party for National Salvation, plays on the religious beliefs of the masses and is taking root all over the country, threatening in some areas the all-powerful Justice Party.

In fact, the DP and the PNS are the reactionary expressions of the middle classes who feel threatened by elimination when confronted with the accelerating capitalist process, represented by the JP.

One may expect that the Justice Party (which, at the time of the presidential election and the formation of a parliamentary government, did all it could to give world public opinion the illusion that political life in Turkey was going on in a democratic way) will, together with the other parties of the right and because of their inner contradictions which slowed up the realization of the "reforms" demanded by big capital, provoke interventions coming from the military wing of the Turkish right.

THE GOVERNMENT IS ADVOCATING AN INFLATIONIST POLICY

In an interview granted to an Izmir daily on May 6, Prime Minister Naim Talu explained the reasons for the inflationist trend in the Turkish economy. Rising prices are favorable to economic revival, he said, for it permits rapid amortization of investments. If the rise in prices were to level off, it would take much longer to pay off investments which now could be paid off in 20 years.

This statement conveys an accurate picture of the government's inflationary policy at the expense of the workers, who have already had to bear a 43% price increase since the 1971 military intervention. The inflation can also be measured by the increased money set in circulation in 1972 (7 billion Turkish pounds), so that the total rose from 43 to 50 billion Turkish pounds. In the last three months of this year alone, the Central Bank issued bank notes in the value of 4.5 billion Turkish pounds.

The consequences of inflation are borne mainly by the workers who paid twice as much in 1972 as in 1970 for such essential goods as milk, meat, cereals and fuel.

The proportion of wages in production prices, however is only 10 % and has actually been declining as much as 6 % per year since 1971. This brings foreign capital to somewhat modify their policy with regard to Turkish manpower, as stated by Mr. Edward Kopetzki, head of an Austrian economic mission which recently visited Turkey. "Turkey presents advantages of manpower and raw materials", he said, "while in Austria capital is more readily available. That is why we propose to invest our capital in Turkey instead of asking for Turkish manpower". Indeed, the low rate of wages in production prices and the government policy of allowing investments to get paid off more rapidly because of the rise in prices are two factors which work to the advantage of foreign investors, but which only increase the exploitation of the workers by domestic capital.

CREATION OF AN AERONAUTIC INDUSTRY

Turkey's military-industrial complex has just taken a big step forward with the introduction in the National Assembly of a bill creating an aeronautic industry. Prior to the March 12, 1971 intervention, the Fund for Aid to the Air Force and the Marine Foundation had proposed the idea of laying the foundations for a war industry. The financial capacity of the Fund for Aid has now reached the level of 300 million Turkish pounds (20 million US \$), thanks to public donations obtained by playing on the nationalist feelings of the masses, and to a special tax on amusement tickets. The aeronautic enterprise (TUSAS) to be created with the Fund for Aid to the Air Force as its nucleus will have a capital of 1,5 billion Turkish pounds (100 million US \$) and will make build 200 jet fighter planes between now and 1975, selecting one of four foreign constructors - Northrup and Lockheed for the United States, British Aircraft Corporation (BAC) and Hawker-Siddeley for Great Britain.

After a visit with Mr. Talu, General Muhsin Batur, commander of the Turkish air force, stated that the prime minister had given him considerable help creating an aeronautic industry. "The bill on this industry has been submitted to the National Assembly", stated General Batur, "and I asked the prime minister to have the bill adopted as soon as possible."

MILITARY COURTS: AN AGENT PROVOCATEUR

The maneuvers of the National Intelligence Agency (M.I.T.) to spy out progressive intellectuals

The trial of 25 people accused of "preparing a coup d'etat" prior to the military's intervention of March 12, 1971 is continuing at the Military Court No.2 of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. During the previous week's two sessions the court heard the testimony of Mahir Kaynak, an agent of the National Intelligence Agency, who is the main prosecution witness. He is a university assistant and was known in his milieu for his so-called extreme left views. Prior to March 12 he had listened to and recorded on tape private conversations between progressive intellectuals, which he then transmitted to the National Intelligence Agency.

Following March 12 military intervention, the M.I.T. used excerpts from these tapes to build up a case enabling the military commander to arrest many well-known intellectuals. In addition, Parliament was asked that parliamentary immunity be suspended for Senators Cenal Madanoglu and Osman Koksak, suspected of having participated in the attempted coup d'etat. The Constitutional Court rejected this measure on the grounds that it "refused to give credence to the testimony of an M.I.T. agent and to tape recordings." The military authorities nonetheless arrested the intellectuals denounced by Mahir Kaynak. Subjected to torture, they admitted false charges as true.

When they came to trial, the 25 accused men stated that their declarations had been obtained through torture in the M.I.T. Headquarters. Among the accused, in addition to the two senators, are writers Dogan Avciloglu, Ilhan Selcuk and Ilhami Soysal.

Mahir Kaynak, the MIT agent, was the only "witness" for this trial. His statements last week brought to light the following facts:

1. The M.I.T. has access to any home or place of work without a search warrant.
2. Electronic eavesdropping equipment is being installed in the homes of persons considered to be suspect.
3. The agents of the M.I.T. pretend as an extreme-left person and participate in the private conversations of the progressive intellectuals. Furthermore, these agents provoke the progressive intellectuals to declare their opinions in such a way that by recording these conversations and later by making montage it can be possible to fabricate the proofs of the "alleged" offence.

STILL A STEP FURTHER: A TRIAL WITH NEITHER PROOF NOR WITNESS

The trial of "subversive acts" which has just opened at the Military Court No.3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters calls for the execution of the 12 accused. It is based on neither proof nor witnesses but only on declarations obtained under torture. Here is the statement by the military prosecutor Nevzat Cizneci on May 4, 1973:

"We have been able to get at the truth by taking the concrete facts mentioned in the statements of the accused, the material facts in the case and the avowals of the accused themselves as well as their explanations, and fitting them all together, because in this case there are not other witnesses than the accused, as is otherwise normal."

At the session on May 8, two accused, Lawyer Nuri Yazici and Lawyer Abdulvahap Mutlugun said that the statements of themselves were obtained under torture, and that this was the only basis on which the death sentences were demanded.

INFORMATION MEETING ON TURKEY IN BELGIUM

"The Information Meeting on the Repression in Turkey", organized by the Belgian Committee For A Democratic Turkey in collaboration with the Belgian Association of Democratic Lawyers and the Youth Section of the Belgian League for Human Rights, was held on May 9, 1973 in the Theatre Poem of Brussels. At the meeting Dutch Deputy Pieter Dankert presented information on the latest developments concerning Turkey at the Council of Europe, and a speaker from Turkey told of the repression exerted by the military rule. Three members of the Belgian Committee, Jef Coeck, Jacques Bourgaux and P. Mertens, called on the Belgian public to express solidarity with the people of Turkey. In the meeting hall the Democratic Resistance of Turkey presented a photo exhibition on the repression in Turkey, and two documentary films were shown.

"TURKEY: TORTURE AND POLITICAL PERSECUTION"

In Great Britain, a documentary book on Turkey is scheduled to appear soon. "Turkey: Torture and Political Persecution" documents in detail the torture of political prisoners, the political trials, the events of the last two years and a full study of the constitutional changes. Author Jane Cousins worked as Harold Wilson's political researcher and went to Turkey to interview politicians, trade unionists, academics, lawyers and many ex-prisoners.

(Turkey: Torture and Political Persecution - 100 pages, illustrated, pre-publication price : £ 1 + postage (United Kingdom 15p/ Abroad 10 p) - Pluto Press Limited, unit 10 Spencer Court, 7 Chalcot Rd., London NW1 8LH)

TWO PUBLICATIONS ON TURKEY ISSUED BY "WAY"

The World Assembly of Youth has started to publish a special bulletin on Turkey. "Turkey For Democracy And Justice" gives a general analysis of the latest political developments and news on repression.

In addition, a youth mission composed of Ross Mountain (WAY), Otto Kauer (CENYC), Holker Balke (DNK) and Maurice Christiaens (Belgian Committee of the WAY) issued a report on its visit to Turkey between 31 July and 5 August, 1972. The report gives a general view of the political situation and precise information on the mass trials, torture, the position of the university, the mass media, trade unions, political parties and constitutional amendments.

(Corresponding address: WAY - 39, rue d'Arlon - 1040 Brussels - Belgium)

A STUDENT SHOT TO DEATH AT THE BORDER

Since the beginning of the martial law, a brutal man hunt has been carried out by the military authorities in Turkey. Last week a young student, Avni Gökoglu, was shot to death at the Syrian border while attempting to flee from Turkey. A full list of the victims of man hunts is below:

1. IBRAHIM OZTAS (student) - Shot to death on 22.5.1971 in Izmir
2. SINAN CENGIL (student) - Shot to death on 31.5.1971 in Elbistan
3. ALPARSLAN OZDOGAN (student) - " " " " " "
4. KADIR MANGA (student) - " " " " " "
5. HUSEYIN CEVAHİR (student) - Shot to death on 1.6.1971 in Istanbul
6. DERYA MAVILI (unemployed) - Shot to death on 3.6.1971 in Istanbul
7. IBRAHIM BAGIS (state employee) - Beaten to death on 17.10.1971 in Elazig
8. ALI AKHAN (peasant) - Shot to death on 30.10.1971 in Mardin
9. AHMET AVSAR (peasant) - " " " " " " " "
10. KADIR PEKER (worker) - Killed in a worker strike on 12.12.1971 in Istanbul
11. ULAS BARDAKCI (student) - Shot to death on 19.2.1972 in Istanbul
12. KORAY DOGAN (student) - Shot to death on 9.3.1972 in Ankara
13. MAHIR CAYAN (student) - Killed by bombing on 30.3.1972 in Kizildere
14. CIHAN ALPTEKİN (student) - " " " " " " " "
15. HUDAI ARIKAN (student) - " " " " " " " "
16. SINAN KAZIM OZUDOGRU (student) - " " " " " " " "
17. AHMET ATASOY () - " " " " " " " "
18. SAFFET ALP (lieutenant) - " " " " " " " "
19. ERTAN SARUHAN () - " " " " " " " "
20. SELAHATTIN KUNT - " " " " " " " "
21. NİHAT YILMAZ - " " " " " " " "
22. OMER AYNA (student) - " " " " " " " "
23. AHMET NIYAZI YILDIZHAN (student) - Shot to death on 4.5.1972 in Ankara
24. DENİZ GEZMİS (student) - Executed on 6.5.1972 in Ankara
25. YUSUF ARSLAN (student) - " " " " " " " "
26. HUSEYİN İNAN (student) - " " " " " " " "
27. VEDAT GEVREK (student) - Tortured to death on 28.6.1972 in Ankara
28. MEHMET BALTACI (peasant) - " " " " in June 1972 in Diyarbakir
29. MEHMET MARANGOZ (state employee) - Beaten to death on 16.12.1972 in Siverek
30. MEHMET USTUN - Beaten to death in November 1972 in Camlidere
31. ALI HAYDAR YILDIZ (student) - Shot to death on 23.1.1973 in Tunceli
32. AHMET MUHARREM CİCEK (student) - Shot to death on 19.3.1973 in Istanbul
33. AVNİ GÖKOĞLU (student) - Shot to death on 2.5.1973 in Syrian border

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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council of europe :
turkish regime
criticised at the
consultative assembly

speeches on turkey at
the consultative assembly

martial law and
extraordinary state
security courts

homage of the youth
to nazim hikmet

a tortured theatre
actress is speaking

N° 9

TURKEY

of May 14 - May 20, 1973

TURKISH REGIME CRITICISED AT THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

An agreement has been reached concerning the formation of a sub-committee for Turkey. A reporter has been named to establish a procedure for an inquiry on the violations of the human rights in this country.

The repressive regime in Turkey was one of the principal subjects discussed at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe when it met at Strasbourg between the 14th and 18th of May 1973. As was underlined by "Le Monde" of the 17th of May, the general atmosphere during these discussions recalled those which preceded the withdrawal of Greece four years ago.

The Turkish delegates to the Council used various tactics to divert the attention of the deputies and to calm the stormy discussions. One of these tactics was the non-renewal for the 25th session, of the candidature of Mr. Turhan Feyzioglu, vice-president of the Consultative Assembly for the past two years, by the Turkish government. One recalls, at the time of the January session of the Consultative Assembly, of the candidature to the Human Rights Commission of the ex-Prime Minister, Mr. Nihat Erim, submitted by the Ankara government, which was refused with the implied support of the Turkish delegates. This time the delegates which are members of the Justice Party and the People's Republican Party, considering that Mr. Turhan Feyzioglu, president of the Republican Confidence Party, has worn himself out in so far as eager defender of the present regime at the assembly, proposed a new candidate for the vice-presidency of the Consultative Assembly.

Despite this "change of a pawn" the first day of the reunion of the Assembly and immediately after the election of the vice-presidents, the Dutch delegate Mr. Pieter Dankert and the Norwegian delegate Mrs. Liv Aasen violently criticised the Turkish regime and called upon the Council of Europe to "make the Human Rights respected" in Turkey.

After these criticisms, the Turkish representatives of the Council, regrouping about Mr. Feyzioglu accused Mrs. Aasen and Mr. Dankert of being the instruments of "international communism". Even Mr. Munittin Ustundag, elected to the Consultative Assembly as member of the P.R.P. of Mr. Ecevit, associated himself, except for a few details, with the accusations of his colleagues. To accuse those who criticize the Turkish regime of being the "instruments of international communism" instead of replying to these definite criticisms, is an act without foundation if one takes into consideration that Mr. Dankert is the President of the Royal National Security Commission of the Netherlands, a commission to which communists are not admitted.

In another connection, Turkish diplomats tried to stop the projection, to the members of the Council, of a film on the testimonies of torture victims, produced by the British Company Granada TV. It is certain that it was as a result of steps taken by Mr. Rahmi Gümürükçüoğlu, plenipotentiary Ambassador of the Turkish Republic to the Council of Europe, that the "ORTF" refused to loan a projection room. Moreover Mr. Gümürükçüoğlu did not hide the fact that he had undertaken such steps. This intervention provoked animated discussions in the Assembly, following which the film was shown in a council chamber.

The motion presented by 20 deputies concerning the violation of the Human Rights in Turkey was debated at the reunion of the Political Affairs Commission on the 17th of May and despite the efforts to divert and the obstructions by the Turkish delegates, an agreement of principle was reached for the formation of a sub-committee of inquiry. The British delegate Mr. Fitzroy McLean was elected reporter to establish a procedure for the inquiry which will be made. It is highly probable that the commission will be formed during the coming months.

SPEECHES ON TURKEY AT THE CONSULTATIVE ASSEMBLY

The extracts were taken from the official report of the Twenty-Fifth Ordinary Session of 14th May.

Mr. DANKERT (Netherlands) : I believe that in the important cities of Turkey martial law is imposing very great pressure on people. In the Greek case, the Human Rights Commission answered negatively the question whether "such political instability and disorder" existed in that country or threatened it in the near future "that the organized life of the community could not be carried on." The situation in Turkey on 27 April 1971 was not so very different from the one prevailing in Greece four years earlier...There is no solid evidence for any "international (communist) plot often invoked by the Turkish Government...Time is running out. I am unable to see how an electoral campaign in Turkey and the elections to be held next October can be called democratic if they are held in circumstances of martial law. (AS (25) CR 1,26-30)

Mrs. AASEN (Norway) : I am aware of the fact that the Council of Europe does not have much power of ability to force a government of a member country to restore democratic institutions, but if we do not take seriously the very foundation on which the Council of Europe stands, then I fear that this organisation has started on the road towards a meaningless position. We need the Council of Europe in our fight for human rights..It is right to stress that the use of torture of political prisoners has created a widespread fear among the opponents of the regime. (AS (25) CR 1, 31-33)

Mr. KIRATLIOGLU (Turkey) : The prisoners are not political prisoners, but bank robbers, murderers and assassins and many people were affected by their attacks. There are no political prisoners in Turkey..I ask the Assembly to help those who are defending democracy in Turkey and not to make difficulties. (AS (25) CR 1, 37-40)

Mr. FEYZIOGLU (Turkey) : These criticisms are often inspired, as I will have the occasion to show soon, I hope, with the documents of Mr. Dankert, in the commission on political questions, by the powerful propaganda machine, I ought to say of slander, directed against my country by those who aim to cut our relations with the Council of Europe...All of those amendments applying to about forty articles of our Constitution were adopted by the unanimity of the four large parties existing in Turkey. Only several communists voted against. The Communist Party has been declared illegal by the Constitutional Court. This party is affiliated to Moscow*. Mr. Dankert who has only a superficial knowledge of the problems, a knowledge acquired in the presence of contacts or subversive elements who travel in Europe, terrorists who managed to escape and have found refuge in other countries. As deputy, he has talked with a lady member of the party affiliated to Moscow**, he has had conversations with several journalists (AS (25) CR 1, 179-213) - (translation of the french original.)

Mr. USTUNDAG (Turkey) : I am a member of the P.R.P., which is on the left of center in Turkey..My feelings were a little hurt when Mr. Dankert compared it with Greece. Turkish officers have in the past shown that they respect democracy; this has been proved by long experience..Those who are in charge of the army do not wish to go to elections under martial law since we do not wish any shadow to be cast on them..Most of prisoners are criminals but there are some political prisoners too...We agreed the most of the amendments to the Constitution...We are not, in fact, against the maintenance of special security courts but we are opposed to the appointment of judges for these courts. (AS (25) CR 1, 41-42)

*He means the Turkish Labour Party

** Mrs. Fatma Hikmet Ismen, Senator of the Turkish Labour Party

MARTIAL LAW AND EXTRAORDINARY STATE SECURITY COURTS

While the Turkish representatives at the Council of Europe were claiming that the martial law would be terminated before the general elections of October 1973, Mr. Süleyman Demirel, leader of the Justice Party in power, said to the journalists on May 13, 1973: "If it is necessary for the public order, we cannot give up martial law at the sake of general elections."

On the other hand, the government, in accordance with the latest amendments to the Constitution, brought the project of the Law of Extraordinary State Security Courts before the National Assembly, on May 10, 1973. These courts will be formed by two military and two civil judges and be authorized to try anyone and everyone on the charge of violating the Turkish Penal Code, the Demonstrations Act, the Associations Act, the Trade Unions Act, and the Strikes and Lockouts Act.

The military members of these extraordinary courts will be appointed by the military authorities and the civil members will be appointed by the government. It means that everyone including writers, association and trade union leaders, strikers seen as the enemy of the state by the generals or the government will be condemned by the dependant judges.

Thus, even if the martial law is lifted before the general elections, the extraordinary repression will be carried on by these courts.

NEW MASS ARRESTS AND MASS TRIALS

Notwithstanding the claims to end the martial law, the military prosecutors are still bringing new mass trials before the military courts. The mass trial of 20 workers, 11 resigned non commissioned (NCO) officers, 3 students and 8 other defendants charged of being affiliated to the People's Liberation Party of Turkey (THKP) will start in a few weeks at the Military Court N°3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, according to an official communique. On the other hand, the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters disclosed that 42 persons had been arrested for having been affiliated to a new resistance group named "United Front".

INNER CONTRADICTIONS OF THE MILITARY JUSTICE

The chief military prosecutor appealed to the General Council of the Penal Departments of the Military Court of Cassation to overrule the ratification of the court decision about the twelve Turkish Labour Party leaders from the point of procedure and demanded to condemn them according to another article of the Turkish Penal Code. The chief military prosecutor has not objected to the condemnations of President Mrs. Behice Boran and seven members of the central executive committee of the party.

On the other hand, the condemnations of 14 defendants charged of attempting to start a guerilla operation in Samandag and of Prof. Ugur Alacakaptan and his friends were overruled by the Military Court of Cassation.

HOMMAGE OF THE YOUTH TO NAZIM HIKMET

The Union of the Turkish Students in France have organized for the 29th-30th of May and the 1st-2nd of June 1973 four evenings of Hommage to Nazim Hikmet.

"Hommage of the youth to Nazim Hikmet" will be composed of debates during the first three evenings, the 29th and 30th of May and the 1st of June, debates dedicated to the work of Nazim Hikmet and to his rôle within the literature of Turkey.

These debates will be followed on the 2nd of June by an "Evening of Honour" composed of singing act by young french singers interpretations of Nazim Hikmet, of two sets after the work and the prison correspondence of the poet, of a piece of electronic music dedicated by the turkish composer Ilhan Mimaroglu to Nazim Hikmet and lastly an exhibition of canvases and designs by fifty painters of all nationalities having conceived their work after the theme of a verse of the celebrated turkish poet.

These evenings will all be held at the "Cité Internationale" starting at 20 h 30.

Cité Internationale : 21 Bld. Jourdan - 75014 Paris

Union of the Turkish Students in France (UETF) : 6, Place St.Michel - Paris 5°

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A TORTURED THEATRE ACTRESS IS SPEAKING

At the Council of Europe, the Turkish representatives claimed again that the allegations of torture were fabricated by the subversive groups. The following is the affidavit of theatre actress Ayse Semra Eker. She was detained on April 18, 1972, but could only give her affidavit on February 6, 1973, after being brought before the military court.

"I was surrounded by people whom I guessed to be military officers from the way they addressed each other. After a short while they forced me to take off my skirt and stockings, laid me down on the ground and tied my hands and feet to pegs. A person named Umit Erdal beat the soles of my feet for about half an hour. Later they attached wires to my fingers and toes and passed electric current through my body. At the same time they kept on beating my naked thighs with truncheons and held a mirror to my face by saying "look what is happening to your lovely green eyes. Soon you will not be able to see at all. You will lose your mind. You see, you have already started bleeding in your mouth." When they finished with electro-shocks, they lifted me on to my feet and several of them started beating me with truncheons. Then I fainted. When I came to, I discovered that I was lying half naked in a pool of dirty water..As if all these were not enough, Umit Erdal attacked me and forced me to the ground. I fell on my face. He stood on my back and with the assistance of somebody else forced a truncheon into my anus. As I struggled to stand, he kept on saying "you whore ! See what else we will do to you. First tell us how many people did you go to bed with ? You won't be able to do it any more. We shall next destroy your womanhood." They next made me lie on my back and tied my arms and legs to pegs. They attached an electric wire to the small toe of my right foot and another to the end of a truncheon. As I resisted they hit my body and legs with a large axe handle. They soon succeeded in penetrating my sexual organ with the truncheon with the electric wire on, and passed current. I fainted. A little later, the privates outside brought in a machine used for pumping air into people and said they would kill me. Then they untied me, brought me to my feet and took me out of the room. With a leather strap, they hanged me from my wrists onto a pipe in the corridor. As I hanged half naked, several people beat me with truncheons. I fainted again. When I woke, I found myself in the same room on a bed. They brought in a doctor to examine me. They tried to force me to take medicines and eat. I was bleeding a dark, thick blood.

The next morning a colonel came to my cell, beat me and threatened me: "Tonight I shall take you where your dead are. I shall have the corpses of all of you burnt." When he did not like the answers I gave him, he beat me again. Then they had my eyes covered and sent me to another building. I was brought into a room with my eyes covered, I was tied on the ground and electricity was passed through my right hand and foot. Then they applied "falaka".

During the whole time I was in Istanbul, my hands were tied to chains. Because of this and because my tongue had split, I could not eat. On April 28 I was sent to the house of detention. Despite the fact that I explained to the doctor of the house of detention that I had been badly tortured, I was given no treatment. Some of the physical complaints still continue."

WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

double-faced attitude
of the turkish rulers

the act of martial law
passed with the same
repressive articles

the employers reinforce
their controle
over the workers

pressures on the
educational life

tortures in turkey
and greece

N° 10

TURKEY

of May 21 - May 27, 1973

DOUBLE-FACED ATTITUDE OF THE TURKISH RULERS

The statements and behaviours of the Turkish representatives abroad and in the country contradict each other.

Notwithstanding the statements of the Turkish representatives at the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Turkish Foreign Minister disclosed last week that no promise had been given to the Council of Europe for the lifting of martial law before the general elections on the one hand, and on the other, new amendments to the Act of Martial Law were passed by the Parliament.

The spokesmen of the two wings of the Coalition Government, Mr. Esat Kiratlioglu of the Justice Party and Mr. Turhan Feyzioglu of the Republican Reliance Party had said on May 14, 1973 at the Consultative Assembly that every effort would be made to end martial law before the elections. On this promise, Mr. Giuseppe Vedovato, President of the Assembly had expressed the optimistic feelings of the Council of Europe on Turkey. But on May 17, 1973 Mr. Haluk Bayülken, the Turkish Foreign Minister interpreted this statement as the result of a misunderstanding or a wrong translation and told the press that the lifting of martial law was dependant on circumstances.

Although last week, on the suggestion by the National Security Council, the Turkish Parliament decided to lift martial law in three more provinces of Turkey, Kocaeli, Adana and Hatay, four provinces are still under martial law. Two of these, Ankara and Istanbul, are the most populated parts of Turkey where the industry, cultural life and press media have been concentrated. Two other cities, Diyarbakir and Siirt, are the main housing areas of the Kurdish communities.

Furthermore, last week the Parliament passed new amendments to the Act of Martial Law. These amendments authorize the military courts of martial law to try all offences allegedly committed within the martial law period even if the martial law is lifted. It means that the terror of military courts will continue even in the areas where martial law is terminated.

Also, the attitudes of the Turkish representatives towards their colleagues at the Council of Europe is double-faced. For exemple, Mr. Esat Kiratlioglu, in his press conference, accused Mr. Pieter Dankert, the Dutch deputy who raised the Turkish Question at the Consultative Assembly, of exploiting this question for his personal interests. He said that another Dutch deputy, Mr. Van Der Stoel had raised Greek Case at the Council of Europe by exploiting this case he succeeded to be the Duth Foreign Minister and Mr. Dankert too follows the same way.

Even Mr. Mustafa Ustundag, the representative of the Republican People's Party, in his speech to the party's administrative assembly, claimed that despite the tactless acts of the representatives of the JP and the RRP, he himself had succeeded in convincing the Council of Europe that democracy existed in Turkey and created a positive atmosphere for the Turkish regime. These facts show that all the political parties of Turkey, including the PRP, are attempting to deceive the world opinion to carry on the anti-democratic regime by taking no heed of the European Convention on Human Rights.

The Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe will continue the discussions on Turkey at its meeting in Florence on June 3, 1973.

THE ACT OF MARTIAL LAW PASSED WITH THE SAME REPRESSIVE ARTICLES

Despite the decision of the Constitutional Court, the Act of Martial Law passed through the Parliament last week with the same repressive articles. The Constitutional Court annuled Article 15 of the Law N° 1402 for the fact that it purported to give to the Martial Law Commanders a discretion as to whether offences enumerated in Article 15 should be tried by civil or by military courts and to give jurisdiction to military courts to try offences alleged to have been committed before the proclamation of martial law. After this decision by the Constitutional Court, the Parliament amended the Constitution instead of the Law N° 1402. Now the authority of the martial law commanders has been maintained by passing the same articles in accordance with the amended Constitution.

Moreover, the new amendments to the Law N° 1402 gives much more authority to the martial law commanders in comparison with the earlier text. According to the new amendments which came into force on May 20, 1973, the martial law commanders are authorized to search all dwellings, offices, the premises of associations, trade unions, political parties, to tap the telephones, to check all kind of correspondance, to impose censorship on every kind of mass media, to suspend strikes and lockouts, to put anyone and everyone into custody for fifteen days without any court warrant, and to have the security forces shoot on sight.

LAWYERS PREVENTED TO GET THE PHOTOCOPIES OF THE COURT MINUTES

The Martial Law Commander of Ankara has brought a new restriction on the right of defence and prevented the defence lawyers of the people being tried at the military courts of obtaining the photocopies of the court minutes. Thereupon, two defence lawyers, Mûkerrem Erdogan and Fehmi Can, applied to the Council of State on May 6, 1973 to annule this decision.

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THE CONVENTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS CONFEDERATION OF TURKEY

The largest trade unions confederation of Turkey (Türk-Is) will hold its convention on May 28, 1973 in Ankara. The convention is of great importance, because it will be the first time that a strong opposition against the policy of "above and beyond of all political parties" adopted by the leadership of the confederation will raise its voice.

As a matter of fact, the Türk-Is Confederation has been established under the influence of the US trade unionism and has kept the trade union movement under the control of the right wing parties under the guise of avoiding an involvement in politics. Although in 1967 four trade unions split from the Türk-Is and formed a progressive confederation (DISK), the Türk-Is has been able to remain the numerically strongest workers confederation by obtaining support from the AID fund and from the governments and employers. But in 1970 twelve trade unions started to show their opposition against the leadership and formed a "Social Democratic Trade Unions Council" within the Türk-Is by demanding to adopt a social democratic line and to support any political party supposed in favour of the working class.

Notwithstanding this strong opposition, the leadership of the Türk-Is still defends the policy of "beyond and above the political parties" and an important confrontation is expected at the Convention.

THE EMPLOYERS REINFORCE THEIR CONTROLE OVER THE WORKERS

(APL) - The daily "Cumhuriyet" reported that new questions have been added to the questionnaire that a worker, qualified or not, must fill-in when applying for work in the private sector. The applicant must, in the future, specify the name of the paper that he reads, the writers that he prefers, say which sports club he supports and to which political party he adheres. All "erroneous" information will be liable to entail the laying-off of the worker for "false declaration". Thus, the employers will be able to lay-off a worker, who, for example, changes the paper that he reads after being taken on.

A representative of the very docile trade union Türk-Is said of this decision "It is nothing, other than the dictatorship of capital". Remember that the conditions of the workers in Turkey has become only worse since the intervention of a group of soldiers on the 12th of March 1971. (3 million out of work and 1 million emigrated for 36 million inhabitants.)

THREE WORKER STRIKES AT THE MULTI-NATIONAL COMPANIES

The Chemical Workers Union (Kimya-Is) affiliated to the Progressive Trade Unions Confederations (DISK) went on strikes in factories of three multinational corporations, Pfizer, Abbott and Roche. The strikes in which 995 workers participated were supported by the ICF and the European trade unions. The workers of the pharmaceutical Roche Factory in Switzerland sent 10.000.- SF and also slowed down their work to show solidarity with the Turkish workers. This is the first time in Turkey that a worker's strike was supported from abroad.

"GRAY WOLVES" BAND TERRORIZING SCHOOLS

Within the last fortnight the rightist band named "Gray Wolves" (Bozkurtlar) initiated a campaign of terror against the progressive school teachers and students in several provinces. In fact this band had been organized by the National Action Party five years ago with the purpose of fighting leftists and its members had been trained at the commando camps established by the same party. Prior to the martial law more than 30 progressive militants had been victims of this organization. They salute their leader Alparslan Türkeş, a former army colonel and the President of the National Action Party, as "Führer" (basbug) and claim the superiority of the Turkish race. During the period of martial law, while all leftist and progressive organizations and persons were and are being suppressed, the NAP and the "Gray Wolves" band have maintained their immunity. On May 9, 1973 in Mimar Sinan Training School of Kayseri, on May 11, 1973 in Selçuk Training School of Konya, on May 14, 1973 in the High School of Manisa and on May 13, 1973 in the Bitlis Student Dormitory of Istanbul the "Gray Wolves" attempted to beat the progressive teachers and students. Seeing the escalation of the commando terror, even the Republican People's Party has been obliged to caution its members against any possible attack by the "Gray Wolves". Besides, Senator Hüseyin Öztürk called upon the authorities to prevent this rightist terror. However no measures has yet been taken.

THE BILL OF UNIVERSITY "REFORM" BEFORE THE PARLIAMENT

The "reform" bill pertaining to universities has been put on the agenda of the National Assembly. If the bill is enacted in the same way as imposed by the government, police forces will be authorized to enter the university buildings or annexes for the purpose of pursuing a criminal, without obtaining authorization from the university administration; all administrative organs of the universities will be placed under the strict control of the executive power; the Ministerial Council will be able to take over the administration of the universities and the faculties, institutes and foundations connected with the universities.

Within the 2-year period of martial law more than 200 university professors or lecturers have already been subjected to proceedings, many of them have been detained, arrested, tried and even condemned. After enacting this bill, the vestiges of the autonomy of university will be wiped out.

A UNIVERSITY ASSISTANT BANISHED DESPITE HIS ACQUITTAL

Dr. Ugur Mumcu, Assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University, was condemned to imprisonment by the military court of martial law. Later the Military Court of Cassation overruled the sentence and decided to release him. Despite this decision, the military authorities have not freed him and immediately after the acquittal banished him to the eastern border of Turkey as a private. Whereas, he has the right to be reserve officer.

POLITICAL PRESSURES ON TEACHERS

Mr. Ferda Güley, Second Secretary of the Republican People's Party, holding a press conference, disclosed that the political pressures on the teachers which started together with the martial law, continues. Many teachers are taken into custody or dismissed from their posts and many sections of the Teachers Association of Turkey (TOB-DER) are being closed down by the authorities without showing any convincing motives.

TORTURES IN TURKEY AND GREECE

In the latest part of a five week serial, Quick, one of the magazines with the highest circulation in the Federal Republic of Germany, the tortures applied to the political prisoners in Turkey and Greece are revealed. (N° 21 - May 17, 1973) -. Under the title of "Torture amidst a paradise of tourism", the methods of torture like falaka, electric shock, sexually oriented torture, beating, kicking, pumping air into the body, are explained in detail and later it is said that : "The Turkish authorities claim that there are no political prisoners at the military jails, but only the terrorists and the enemies of the State. In fact, in order to be accused of being a terrorist or an enemy of the state it is enough to read or to own leftist publications. At the Council of Europe, two deputies, Pieter Dankert and Frank Judd raised the question of torture applied in Turkey. Despite the undeniable evidences, the majority of the members of the Council of Europe have not yet taken any decision to reproach the Turkish regime and have tolerated the torture under the pretext of that the Turkish democracy is very young yet and it is necessary that the police fight against the terrorism."

HEINRICH BOLL CONFIRMED THE OPPRESSION OF WRITERS IN TURKEY

Nobel Prize Winner Heinrich Böll held a press conference on May 10, 1973 in New York and said that "the number of the detained writers is higher in western countries than in the countries of the Eastern Block. Especially in Turkey, Spain, Portugal and Greece, the number of the writers put in jail is very high". Mr. Böll is also the President of the International PEN Clubs and leads a campaign for freeing more than 500 writers all over the world.

THE BOOKLETS ON TURKEY IN SWITZERLAND

The Information Center On The Liberation Movements in Switzerland started to issue booklets on Turkey in cooperation with the Working Group For Turkey. The first two booklets in french: "The Escalation of the Fascism" and "The Torture: Base of the Military Justice". Seven more booklets on different subjects will follow them. (Price 1 SFr. - Corresponding address: Case Postale 90 - 1211 Geneve 7 - Switzerland)

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

anarchy : the
non-functioning of
democratic rights

military court condemned
one more student to death

the escalation of
military holdings

publication on turkey -
tribute to nazim hikmet

the turk-is congress:
the discussion has begun.

N° 11

TURKEY

of May 28 - June 2nd, '73

ANARCHY : THE NON-FUNCTIONING OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Since the military intervention of March 12, 1971 several Turkish resistance movements and organizations of solidarity with the Turkish people, as well as international bodies, have repeatedly exposed the Turkish government's repressive policy and actions flaunting the rights of man. Now for the first time an important person in Turkey's official life has taken a vigorous stand opposing these violations of the basic rights of citizens in the Turkish Republic. We quote below the main passages of the statement made by Mr. Bülent Ecevit, leader of the People's Republican Party (main opposition formation), at a recent meeting held by his party.

"There is in existence an official agency which is subordinated to the Prime Minister and whose function is general intelligence. However, neither the activities of this agency nor its existence have been clearly defined. Nonetheless it exists and is all-pervasive. Those whose position might permit them to give it orders, fear it. Even the most highly placed officials refuse to control it so as not to become suspect themselves. To be sure, persons of good sense and patriots are to be found in this agency. But the fact that it can act without any control and as it sees fit makes it a festering sore in the present regime that nobody can even attempt to cure."

"In such a context the government has no power of action, though in democratic countries it should be the most active organism."

"Those who are slandered, who suffer from illegal acts, or are victims of injustice, do not know to whom to turn or against whom to complain. They do not know where to seek redress in favor of their rights."

"People disappear after accusations have been made against them which nobody knows where they originate, on what proof they are based, and the very nature of which is often ill-understood; the same people reappear several months later, free, proven innocent of any suspicion, but disillusioned, outraged, and suspected in the eyes of society."

"While some people accused of political activity are condemned to heavy jail sentences, others benefit from the protection of the state; some who have committed no offence lose their liberty and their health because of meaningless suspicions or unfounded secret denunciations. Some have even lost their lives because of the brutality of the unjust treatment they were subjected to."

"Anarchy can be said to exist if the state administration loses its unitary character, if the authority of the state is dissolved and no longer exists, and if the functioning of the democratic state becomes paralysed. To that extent anarchy exists today in Turkey in the full meaning of term."

"Even more serious is that the police spies of the State, as we now know, have for years provoked and encouraged young people in official or private agencies to commit delinquent acts, and that certain actions believed to have been committed by terrorists were in fact the work of such spies. In such an atmosphere of suspicion, people live in a constant state of anxiety."

MILITARY COURT CONDEMNED ONE MORE STUDENT TO DEATH

While Turkish representatives claim that efforts are being made to lift the martial law as soon as possible, the military courts are still continuing to try the opponents of the regime, who are threatened with capital punishment.

The mass trial of the Istanbul Section of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) ended on May 29, 1973 and Military Court No 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters condemned one student, Nahit Töre, to death. Three other students, Oktay Kaynak, Osman Bahadır and Yavuz Yıldırım Türk were also condemned to death, but later the court commuted the sentence to life imprisonment. 15 other defendants were condemned to prison terms varying between 4 and 15 years.

This case has aroused considerable controversy regarding military "justice". The case had been brought before Military Court No 1 of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on October 6, 1971 and the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences for six of the defendants under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code on a charge of "attempting to change the Constitution by force". But the judges of that court did not accept this charge and decided on April 22, 1972 that Article 146 could not be applied in this case because the acts of the accused had special aims that could not be considered offences under that article of the Turkish Penal Code.

After this decision, the Ministry of National Defense immediately dissolved Military Court No 1 and banished all its military judges to the military units in Anatolia.

Under the pressure of the military rulers, the fourth section of the Military Court of Cassation overruled the verdict on November 2, 1972 and ordered that the defendants be tried again under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. Thereupon the trial was reopened on December 22, 1972 at another court, Military Court No 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. The same military court is still trying 22 defendants of two other mass trials threatened with death sentences.

On the other hand, confirmation of the death sentence of Ziya Yılmaz, a member of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC) is still on the agenda of the Grand National Assembly.

EXTREME RIGHTIST COMMANDOS OUT TO MURDER

In our last issue we mentioned the terrorism exerted by small groups of extreme rightists, the military formations of the Party of National Action, known as the "Gray Wolves".

A murder has now been added to the list of aggressions of these racist commandos against progressive teachers and students. Ali Dalseven, a 25 year old student, a member of the "Gray Wolves", was killed by his fellow members because he had expressed the wish to quit the organization whose political line he no longer shared.

Though seven "Gray Wolves" have been placed under preventive arrest, there is no proof whatsoever that the government intends to take effective measures against terrorism coming from the extreme right.

THE ESCALATION OF MILITARY HOLDINGS

The figures disclosed at the Convention of the Mutual Aid Corporation of the Armed Forces show the real reason for the anti-popular attitude of the high-ranking officers.

The Fifth Convention of Representatives of the Mutual Aid Corporation of the Armed Forces (OYAK) convened at Ankara on May 20, 1973. According to the opening speech of Major General Fikret Elbizim, Chairman of the OYAK Board, the assets of the Corporation have increased 30 times since the date of establishment.

The OYAK was established just after the coup d'etat of the 27th May 1960 and all army officers and non-commissioned officers were compelled to become members of this corporation. At the beginning the assets of the corporation amounted to only 40 million Turkish Liras. But the OYAK's Board, which included all top commanders of the Armed Forces and the biggest Turkish capitalists such as Vehbi Koç and Nejat Eczacıbaşı, soon began to make investments in collaboration with foreign capital such as Renault, International Harvester, Good Year, Mobil, etc.

At the end of 1972, the net assets of OYAK were 1,330 million Turkish Liras (100 million US \$). The rate of increase per year is 11,1 per cent. General Elbizim, who is also the Councillor of the Ministry of National Defense, said that a half of these assets were appropriated for social aid and the other half for investments aiming at profits.

In accordance with the official report of OYAK's Board, an army officer will get 415.530 TL (30,000 US \$) as profit called a "pension" when he retires, in a country where the annual per capita income is still only 321 US \$.

The Board and the Convention of representatives of OYAK are formed by army officers of different ranks, from NCOs to generals. The commanders of land, air and naval forces and the Chief of General Staff are the principal members of the Convention of Representatives and their decision determines the commercial and industrial policy of OYAK.

Today the Armed Forces has become not only the guardian of the big capital, but also an integral part of it.

GENERALS, BUSINESSMEN AND DIPLOMATS

General Memduh Tagmaç, formerly chief of the General Staff and co-signer of the Memorandum of March 12, 1971, who had retired soon thereafter, has appeared on the economic scene. He has just been appointed member of the Board of Directors of the Bank for Industry and Development, the biggest organization for industrial loans in the country. According to the weekly Yanki, close to the military milieu, General Tagmaç (the only general among those who engineered the Army coup de force not included in the list of military people abundantly decorated by the Army), stated that he would henceforth interest himself in economic matters.

It is rumored in the foreign affairs milieu that General Tagmaç successor General Gurler, after his misfortune with respect to the presidential elections, might be appointed Ambassador to the Vatican, a position occupied by retired Admiral Necdet Uran until his death. If not appointed to the Vatican, General Gurler might be assigned to Lisbon to fill the position held until now by General Fuat Dogu, former head of General Intelligence (MIT), who in turn may be chosen for an important position at Ankara.

"TURKEY ON TORTURE"

The Democratic Resistance of Turkey issued the third volume in a series revealing the repression in Turkey. "Turkey On Torture" includes three chapters. In the first chapter a general outline of the 2-year military regime is given; it is followed by supplementary documents disclosing the full lists of the detained, arrested, tried and condemned journalists, writers, university members, the murdered revolutionaries, the banned, confiscated and destroyed newspapers, periodicals, books, the mass trials. In the third chapter 34 affidavits of the victims of torture are presented.

This is the resistance organization which published "File On Turkey" in August 1972 and "Man Hunts In Turkey" in October 1972.

THE TRIBUTE DAYS OF THE YOUTH TO NAZIM HIKMET

The tribute days rendered by the youth to Nazim Hikmet and organized by the Union of the Turkish Students in France (UETF) and the Federation of the Turkish Students in Great Britain were held in the Cité Universitaire de Paris between May 29th and June 2nd. After three days devoted to panels about the work and philosophy of the great Turkish poet a tribute soirée gathered around his name singers, actors, musicians, poets, writers and painters of various nationalities. Messages from Aragon, Neruda, Simonof, Asturias, Guillevic, Voznessensky and from some many others were delivered, poems and songs were dedicated to him; a montage of his "Letters of Prison" was staged; all of these giving evidence his brothers' friendship and of his comrades solidarity with his oppressed people, on the 10 th anniversary of his death.

An appeal was launched by the Union of the Turkish Students in France asking all democrats to intervene massively by writing to the Turkish authorities and demanding an insurance that the lives of Ziya Yilmaz and the other prisoners sentenced to death will be spared. The CIESPT entirely supports this appeal.

The CIESPT has just published on the occasion of the tribute week to Nazim Hikmet a special bulletin entitled "Repression on Freedom of Expression in Turkey". This bulletin can be obtained for 5 FF (cf. subscription conditions). It will be sent free along with all subscription of 6 months or more to the weekly bulletin TURKEY.

FIRST AWARD TO A WRITER IN PRISON

The Jury of Orhan Kemal Foundation gave the First Novel Award of 1973 to writer Cetin Altan for his novel, The Huge Detention (Büyük Gözaltı). The award will be handed over to the writer at the Sagmalcilar Prison owing to the fact that he has been incarcerated there.

Cetin Altan, one of the most popular columnist of Turkey, was the first victim of the military regime and had been taken into custody immediately after the inception of martial law. Although he was released later, in August 1972 the Court of Cassation approved one of the condemnations for his articles written prior to the martial law, and he was then incarcerated.

Similarly, Yilmaz Güney, the most popular movie star of Turkey, had been given the same award in 1972 for his novel, the Destitute Ones. But he too was in a military prison when given this award.

THE TURK-IS CONGRESS : THE DISCUSSION HAS BEGUN

The 8 th Congress of the largest trade union confederation in Turkey is presently taking place at Ankara (see Turkey, N° 10). At the very first session the principal tendencies represented discussed the lines they advocate for Turk-Is.

The acting president of the confederation, Mr. Seyfi Demirsoy, while insisting on "apolitical and above the parties" options, did not fail to expose the pressures exerted on the working class since the enactment of martial law, as well as the restrictions on democratic and trade union rights.

During the first day of the congress there were statements and messages from leaders of the various political parties. In his message (cheered at length by the social-democratic opposition within Turk-Is), Mr. Bulent Ecevit, president of the People's Republican Party, drew the attention of the delegates to the "plots aimed at weakening democracy, restricting the democratic rights of the workers, and delaying the access of the people to a just and prosperous social order - plots which have still not been thwarted". In such a context, he said, certain organizations have not carried out their tasks. The PRP president concluded by expressing his faith in the Turkish workers who will be able to find the means to thwart such plots. On the other hand, Mr. Mustafa Timisi, president of the Turkish Union Party, underlined the "reformist aspect of the social-democratic movement", and said that the country's social and economic conditions called for a left-democratic policy.

The line adopted by Turkey's most important trade union will be known in the next few days.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

the prime minister rejects
the accusations brought
against the regime

the only survivor of
kızıldere massacre speaks

türk-ış:
unchanged political line

press:
"the unfinished republic"

i could comprehend the
differences of the screams
i had heard..

N° 12

TURKEY

of June 3 - June 10, 1973

THE PRIME MINISTER REJECTS THE ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT AGAINST THE REGIME

Mr. Naim Talu consecrated a large part of his first press conference as prime minister, given on the 3rd of June, in rejecting en bloc all of the accusations and criticisms brought against the actual regime by Mr. Ecevit, chief of the People's Republican Party (see Turkey N° 11) :

"The Martial Law authorities, starting with their commanding officers make superhuman efforts with a perfect sense of duty and at the price of immense sacrifices, in order to restore order in the country. We are persuaded that we must, in so far as a nation, show a profound gratitude towards our glorious army, the only guarantee of our independence and towards the Martial Law authorities. I reject with force and contempt the declarations of the chief of a political party accusing the Martial Law authorities of acting without any control and as they wish to. Our government strongly rejects the accusations about a so-called protection by the state of certain persons accused of political crimes and considers that they are not serious. In another connection, and as all of the state organizations are, the National Intelligence Agency (M.I.T.) serve the state and the nation with self-sacrifice, conscious of their duty."

Mr. Talu then declared that the government has shown certain financial facilities towards exporters and made known that, in order to fight against the rise of prices, the question of importing food-stuffs may be considered.

The Prime Minister once again refused to give any precisions about the lifting of Martial Law before legislative elections next October.

THE UNIVERSITY "REFORM" ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The Turkish National Assembly has just adopted a bill about the universities. According to the new text, university education will have to be payed for and their autonomy will be seriously limited: A university commission of control will be formed, comprising of representatives of the Ministry of National Education, Ministry of Justice, of the Army and of the Council of State, and will have as objective the bring of the universities under the direct control of the Council of Ministers, at the moments judged to be "dangerous". The law envisages also the creation of a "Council of Further Education" which will have full rights on all subjects of personal or on judicial subjects concerning the university. With respect to the Directive Council of the Universities, on the side of the teaching staff, only the lecturers of "Nationalist and Kemalist" following will be admitted. One should not forget to mention, that the University teaching staff do not have the right to adhere to a political party; and that all union activity within the university is suspended; that the Lecturers Union, as well as the Students Associations are forbidden.

The spokesman of the People's Republican Party declared before the vote in Parliament that his party considered this law as "reactionary and not reformist". The bill is not realistic and does not serve the people's interests." Whilst the law has been adopted, the university purge continues and more than a hundred university teachers have had to abandon their positions, either because of their being sentenced to prison or because they have been barred from the university.

THE ONLY SURVIVOR OF KIZILDERE MASSACRE SPEAKS

Ten members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey, with the purpose of preventing the executions of the death sentences against their three comrades, kidnapped three foreign technicians in Ünye a year ago. On March 30, 1972, in the village of Kızildere, the guerillas and the three hostages were killed in a massacre. The Turkish Government had issued two different communiques contradicting each other. In the first communique it was claimed that the guerillas had used explosives and killed themselves and the hostages. In the second communique the government claimed that first the guerillas killed the hostages, thereupon the security forces entered the house and killed them in a 45 minute room-to-room shootout. Among the guerillas, only Ertugrul Kurkcu, President of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç) survived. Being a defendant of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey Case, he revealed another version based on what he himself saw of the Kızildere Massacre, refuting both governmental versions. His version, given on the May 30, 1973 before the Military Court No 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was as follows:

"About 2 p.m. the helicopters were uninterruptedly landing and taking-off 150-200 meters away. At that time I, Mahir (Çayan) and Saffet (Alp) were at the embrasures. The others were just under the staircase where the Englishmen (hostages) were kept tied to each other. After a while, we were called on to talk with them (the security forces). I went out. We were told to wait for a certain while and to listen the message. All people were very nervous. After a short time, the sound of two shots was suddenly heard. Following it, the machine-guns started to shoot. We were terribly shaken-up. Mahir Çayan shouted: "Englishmen!". I had fallen down on the floor and felt that a warm liquid was pouring on me. I went to the upper flat. Mahir had been shot in the head and was lying on the floor. He was not breathing. I went downstairs. Within this period, one of our friends had shot the three Englishmen to death. Neither then nor later, did I ask who had shot the hostages. The shootout was being carried on. We were shooting and throwing the hand grenades. Ömer Ayna and Cihan Alptekin had been shot to death. Under these circumstances, nobody thought of surrendering. Later, they started to fire shells from larger guns. We heard first the sound of the firing and (5-6) seconds later the sound of the explosion from the place where the shell hit. I asked Saffet Alp (Air Force Lieutenant), he told me that they were missiles or mortars. All of a sudden, a big explosion occurred very near to the place where my friends were lying in ambush. Hearing the explosion, I threw myself out of the door and on to the ground. Later four or five more explosions happened and a deep silence followed it."

TURK-IS : UNCHANGED POLITICAL LINE

The 9th congress of Turk-Is, the strongest confederation of unions in Turkey ended with the re-election of the previous leaders of the organization to their positions, on the 6th of June 1973. The social-democratic opposition however, who have energetically manifested their presence during the last two years, suffered a heavy defeat, only managing to get one of their representatives elected to the Administrative Council.

Amongst the decisions taken by the General Assembly one must note the attribution to the Administrative Council, of full rights in that which concerns an eventual decision of a general strike and the decision to ask for a examination of the laws concerning the metallurgical exploitations and the university "reform". One must also note the absence, throughout all the discussions which continued several days, of even the slightest allusion to the imprisoned union members as well as the restriction of union rights, by the martial law authorities.

The President of the Confederation, Mr. Seyfi Demirsoy, made, for his own part, the following declaration to the congress: "There are no communists amongst the turkish workers. No member of Turk-Is participated in the anarchical events." In another connection, a leader of the confederation classed the education report prepared by the social democrats as a "communist manifesto". The long interventions by the members of the government and by the leaders of the political parties of the right did nothing but accentuated the maccarthyst feeling in the congress hall. The Minister of Labour Mr. Ali Naili Erdem, notably declared that "Turk-Is has struck a nationalistic blow at the anarchists who go in the streets, at the maoists who lift-up their left fists..The confederation of Revolutionary unions (DISK) is an organization founded on doctrinary principles, looming up as the striking force of a party which is today dissolved (he means the Turkish Labour Party). On the 15th and the 16th of June 1970 a rehearsal of a revolution took place." On those two days 100,000 workers of the Istanbul region manifested, at the appeal of DISK, against a bill limiting the union rights. The bill had to be revoked due to that manifestation. However, after the intervention on the 12th of March 1971 and the two constitutional amendments, it is normal that the Minister of Labour of the present government believes that he has the right to talk in this way.

THE MILITARY RULE HAS SUSPENDED THE DOCKERS' STRIKE

The strike proclaimed by the Dockers' Union in Istanbul was suspended on the 30th of May 1973 by the Martial Law headquarters of Istanbul on the pretext of finding a compromise between the employers and the trade union. Following this intervention the military backed government declared on the 2nd of June that the strike was suspended for one month.

According to the figures given by the daily Cumhuriyet, on the 1st of June 1973, within the two year period of the regime the trade unions have called only 112 strikes, while the employers have proclaimed 4792 lockouts. Besides 16 of these declared strikes were suspended by the martial law authorities or the government on the grounds of "destroying the national interests.

"THE UNFINISHED REPUBLIC"

The turkish artist Abidine Dino, who has lived in Paris since 1951, has written a long article for the Swiss review Tages Anzeiger Magazin, which appears in German at Zurich (N° 20 - 19th of May 1973). We have extracted passages from this article entitled "The unfinished Republic".

After having recalled the las days of the Ottoman Empire and the military career of Mustafa Kemal, the author continues with the war of independance and the difficulties that the new republic had to face. In that which concerns the Kemalist period, Abidine Dino asks the question: "was there a left in Turkey?". The reply is positive. The first strikes (1873), the influence of Jauresism (1905), the formation of the Socialist Party (1910) are each in their turn recalled as are the discussions between Mustafa Suphi, founder of the Turkish Communist Party and Mustafa Kemal. The death of the latter lead the country to follow a prudent political line under the presidency of Ismet Inonu. The coming to power of the Democratic Party in 1950, created a new "upper class" who are going to lead Turkey to the coup d'etat of the 27th of May 1960. Then it is the "new officers, the "evasion of the constitution" and "the new army", that is to say the show of strength by the army on the 12th of May 1971. Dino then gives a summary of the last two years under "a witch hunt without precedent" of which the prey was "not only the left, but also the liberal wing of the turkish political arena".

Abidine Dino concludes his articles with the words: "In a position of strength, by its very nature the army is faced with an inevitable choice: serve the people or the privileged. Such is the dilemma after fifty years of Republic."

VISIT OF THE OFFICIALS OF THE I.P.I. TO THE JOURNALISTS IN PRISON

Mr. Jakande, president of the International Press Institute (I.P.I), the vice-president Mr. Rigler, the Director of the Institute Mr. Meyer and another official are at the present moment in Istanbul. They visited on the 6th of June last, the journalists detained in the prison of Bay-ranpaşa who are Mr. Cetin Altan (condemned to 1,5 years), Mr. Dogan Kologlu (15 years), Mr. Alpay Kabacali (10 months), Mr. Sahir Yilmaz, Mr. Abdülkadir Billurcu (4 years and 1 month) and Osman Arolat (15 years), in order to bring them the best wishes of the I.P.I. and to assure them of the solidarity of the foreign colleagues.

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"I COULD COMPREHEND THE DIFFERENCES OF THE SCREAMS I HAD HEARD.." (+)

Name and Surname : Murat Belge
Profession : University assistant
Date of detention : March 19, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of arrest : April 7, 1972 - Istanbul
Date of first trial : April 16, 1973 - Istanbul

On March 19, hearing the police had wanted me, I did not return to my home and directly went to the Police Headquarters. (...) Later a camionette arrived. A tall plainclothes and two soldiers with automatic weapons got off. I was made to get on the vehicle. Following me the plainclothes also got on and chained my wrists, then put an eyeglasses covered with cotton on my eyes. (...) The one, who said that he was an army colonel, spoke more than the other and said: "First, I shall explain to you what this place is. This is the Counter Guerilla Base of the Turkish General Staff. All rooms here are full of your friends. If you want to leave here alive, tell us the truth. Never forget that you are a prisoner of war. The matter with you is to live or to die! Forget the law and the Constitution. (...) We can do whatever we want. Even we can kill you and later announce that you were shot to death while trying to escape. Talk, otherwise..(...)". After a while somebody came in. He ordered me to uncover my eyes and sit down. He asked me few questions. I really had not know those he asked. He called the soldiers and ordered: "Overthrow him down !" They set me lie down on my back. The wooden falaka was set to my feet. He lifted my legs up and started to beat. (...) The falaka was untied third time and again I went out to walk on water. When we came back I was thinking that I approached to the phase that my soles be burst open. But they did not applied the falaka. They started fastening me to a law chair. I felt that it was the turn of electroshock. But it could also be another thing too. I was tied up firmly. The covered glasses were still on my eyes. A wire was put to my ear. They began to apply the electricity. They probably were giving it for certain seconds and regulating its dose at such level that the heart can accept, but the period of seances were seeming to me too long. My body was entirely stretching. They were asking nothing, only mocking and swearing.

While the torture was going on, I remembered the screams I had heard until that time and wondered how my screams got on the nerves of the others. Later I was tied again to the little chair. In the same fashion the electroshock started again. So I could comprehend the differences of the screams I had heard. A person being subjected to falaka was shouting at intervals. Screams caused by electroshock were beastly, hoarse and reminding of strangling of a man. From that day, I was able to estimate the kind of applied tortures according to the screams of the victims. However, two times I could not estimate the reason of the screams, because they were harrowing and looked like howling. He must be in an unusual pain. Apparently his nails were being pulled up. I do not know how they apply this kind of torture. Nevertheless, one day two army officers in civilian suits came to my room and I saw a metal rectangular box with a supplementary part like a penknife in the hand of one of them. (...) So I spent 17 days at the Counter Guerilla Base."

(+) in "Turkey on Torture" published by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

on which platform
will the "popular will"
be manifested ?

martial law ended,
but military courts still
in action

Koruturk welcomed with
the shouting of
"bread", "water", "amnesty"

the industrialists
memorandum

16 years prison-term
for a journalist

N° 13

TURKEY

of June 11 - June 17, '73

ON WHICH PLATFORM WILL THE "POPULAR WILL" BE MANIFESTED ?

In accordance with the programme of the coalition government, the general elections will be held on October 14, 1973 in Turkey. The existing political parties have now started the electoral campaign and ceased parliamentary work. The following extracts from the daily newspapers of Turkey show on which platform the "popular will" will be manifested:

The Turkish National Assembly adopted yesterday a Bill which envisages the formation of a State Security Court in the country. This action is aimed at controlling the "subversive" activities in Turkey after the lifting of Martial Law which was declared on the 26th of April 1971. (Cumhuriyet, 14th June 1973.)

- THE REPRESSION WILL CONTINUE EVEN AFTER THE LIFTING OF THE MARTIAL LAW

The government has brought a file to the National Assembly with the purpose of suspending the parliamentary immunity of Mr. Bülent Ecevit, President of the People's Republican Party. According to the file, Mr. Ecevit is accused of allegedly violating Article 16 of the Act on Martial Law and Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code. The government has asked the parliament to authorize the military and public prosecutors to bring him before the military and civil courts. (Milliyet, June 7, 1973.)

- P.R.P. IS THE ONLY LEFT-WING POLITICAL PARTY SINCE 1971

Mrs. Behice Boran, President of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP), and Prof. Sadun Aren, member of the party's executive board, who have been incarcerated for 15-year prison-terms, are now also deprived of the facility of preparing their own diets in the military prison despite the fact that the doctors are dieting them very strictly. (Yeni Ortam, June 7-9, 1973.)

- TIP, THE ONLY WORKERS PARTY OF TURKEY, HAS BEEN BANNED SINCE 1971.

Former Colonel Alparslan Türkeş, leader of the National Action Party (MHP) was re-elected unanimously. The delegates saluted him by shouting "Başbuğ (Führer) Türkeş !". On the other hand, when Mr. Ecevit was giving a speech in Sivas, the militants of the MHP intervened and attempted to provoke an incident. (Cumhuriyet, June 11, 1973)

- MHP IS THE EXTREME RIGHT PARTY AND ENCOURAGED BY THE MILITARY

The governor, public prosecutor and police chief of Istanbul resigned from their posts and disclosed that they would take places among the candidates of the Justice Party. Besides, hundreds of high-level bureaucrats are affiliating to the Justice Party. (Cumhuriyet, June 9, 1973).

- A NEW PROOF OF THE CONTROL EXERCISED ON THE STATE APPARATUS

During his visit to Izmir, the industrialists of Aegean District handed over a memorandum to Prime Minister Naim Talu and asked the government to bring new penal measures against the workers. (Yeni Ortam, June 10, 1973.)

- NO COMMENT

MARTIAL LAW ENDED, BUT MILITARY COURTS STILL IN ACTION

Seeing the strong reaction from the Council of Europe, the rulers of Turkey, with the purpose of deceiving the world opinion, terminated the martial law on May 24, 1973 in three more provinces, Adana, Hatay and Kocaeli, while four others remain under martial law.

However, ten days after lifting martial law in Adana, the military prosecutors brought a new mass trial before the Military Court of Adana Martial Law Headquarters on June 6, 1973. The 46 defendants of the case are accused of having helped an aged socialist leader, Dr. Hikmet Kivilcimli, escape from Turkey and of forming a clandestine organization aimed at a communist revolution. The military prosecutor asked the court for prison sentences of up to 15 years.

In accordance with the latest amendments to the Constitution and to the Law N° 1402, the military courts are authorized to try civilians even if the martial law is lifted.

While the 46 persons are being tried before the military court, the Turkish representatives will come to the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe on the 3rd of July, 1973 and will attempt to obstruct the formation of a sub-committee for Turkey by stating the "termination" of Martial Law in three more provinces.

180 DEFENDANTS OUSTED FROM THE TRIBUNAL

During the mass trial of the Revolutionary Workers-Peasant Party (TIKKP) Case, the military judge ousted 180 defendants from the tribunal for their having protested against the fact that the military court had consistently ignored the right to defense. The trial before the Military Court N° 3 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters was carried on with only 40 defendants. The objections of the defence lawyer against this attitude was also rejected by the military tribunal.

NEW MASS TRIALS BEFORE THE MILITARY COURTS

The mass trial of 10 students and 5 teachers of the High School of Bolu Province started on June 6, 1973 before the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. The majority of the defendants are only 17-18 years old. They are accused of forming a clandestine organization named "Progressive High School Students (Dev-Lis)" and of sticking protest posters on the walls.

Another mass trial with 43 defendants was brought before the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on June 8, 1973. The majority of the defendants are workers and are accused of organizing, within the working class, on behalf of the Popular Liberation Party of Turkey.

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KORUTURK WELCOMED WITH THE SHOUTING OF "BREAD", "WATER", "AMNESTY"...

Following his inauguration, former Admiral Fahri Koruturk, the new president of the Turkish Republic, made an official visit to the eastern provinces of Anatolia with the purpose of seeing the people's situation. The trip escorted by General Semih Sancar, the Chief of General Staff and other high commanders, has been completely disappointing for the military rule. When he was entering the town of Batman in Diyarbakır, the women started to shout "bread, we need bread". In the city of Diyarbakır, a petition with 5,000 signatures requesting "general amnesty" was submitted to the president of the Republic. The most dramatic stage of the trip happened in the city of Mersin. While Koruturk and the military commanders were having a rest at the residence of the governor, thousands of people started to shout: "Water, water, water and again water!" The strict security measures could not prevent the people protesting against the military rule personified by the chief of state.

THE AGRICULTURAL "REFORM" IS VOTED BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

On the 14th of June last the Turkish National Assembly hastily voted the Bill, called "Agricultural Reform", before the parliamentary holidays and the beginning of the election campaign. The government project was lively discussed, but even so it was adopted without changing any of the basic principles (see TURKEY No 4). It is difficult to talk of a "reformist" character for a law which leaves outside of its field of application all the land which is exploited in a "modern" manner, without defining the exact sense of the term. In order to realize the "reform" which will profit only a 1/7th of the 3.5 millions of families without land, the Turkish State, that is to say the taxpayers, must pay 30,000 millions of Turkish pounds in indemnity to the land owners "expropriated" from only a part of their land.

REVELATIONS BY A FORMER MINISTER

On the 13th of May 1973 it was disclosed by Mr. Ismet Sezgin, Vice-President of the Justice Party and former member of the Demirel Government prior to the military intervention, that General Memduh Tagnaç, the Chief of General Staff at that time, had asked the government to change the constitution very much earlier than the 12th of March 1971 intervention. The purpose of this demand was the restriction of the fundamental rights and freedom of the people. He stated that the "social awakening has gone beyond the economic development. Therefore the social rights must be taken under control by amending the Constitution".

It must be remembered that the large workers resistance of 1970 was crushed by the Armed Forces under the command of this same General and that he was one of the four commanders who gave the 12th of March ultimatum.

THE INDUSTRIALISTS MEMORANDUM

Since the army memorandum of the 12 th of March 1971, the word "memorandum" has become a current expression in the turkish political life. Here are the last two examples: The 9th of June last, the Chamber of Industry of the Aegean Region addressed a memorandum to the government of Mr. Naim Talu, in which the businessmen notably demanded "that serious measures be taken against the worker's movement", menacing that "if not the workers will be the first to suffer from a deterioration of the relations between the capital and the man power" - of whom the democratic and union rights are already seriously restricted.

One does not know, for the moment, what "measures" will be conceived by the government, but it is certain that Mr. Talu can not not take notice of the demands of the capitalist and financial milieu, who did so much for his nomination as Prime Minister. More especially as all of the political parties of the right are in agreement for such a repression. The president of the National Salvation Party, Mr. Suleyman A. Enre declared that he was not satisfied with the laws to repress "anarchy" voted upto the present moment, and the colonel Turkes, President of the National Action Party, proposed stopping 50 turkish pounds from the salary of each worker, in order to finance the investments.

HANDCUFFED TURKISH WORKERS EXPELLED AND THE TURKISH REGIME

27 turkish workers, intercepted at Toul by the French authorities, were returned to their country under inhuman conditions. Accompanied by the police, chained two by two by the same pair of handcuffs, after waiting in public at the station of Toul, they were put in a reserved carriage of the train which took them to Marseille, where a Turkish ship awaited them. Equipped with valid passports and possessing enough money to live for several weeks, they had the right to stay three months in France, as all tourists have; however they were treated as criminals.

Except for a few newspapers the event passed unnoticed in Turkey, member of the Council of Europe and signatory of the Convention which guarantees the free circulation of the workers of the member countries. The spokesman for the Turkish Embassy in France and the Consulate General at Marseille contented themselves with remarking that "unfortunately such incidents occur from time to time" and that "the french police expel the turkish workers without allowing them to contact the turkish representatives".

MILITARY EXPENDITURE AND THE RISE IN PRICES

The last enquiry carried out by the State Planning Organization, showed that the rise in prices in Turkey would increase during the whole of 1973 and that the lack of energy would still be the principal worry of the industrial production. According to the reports of the OECD, Turkey is the second of the 22 countries of the OECD with respect to the rise in prices. Whereas the rise is on average 4.8 %, in Turkey it was more than 12,2 % for the period of April 1972 to April 1973. On the other hand, at the last reunion of the foreign ministers of the NATO member countries, held at Brussels on the 7th of June 1973, it was found that Turkey once again holds the record for military expenditure within the organization. Since 1971 the National Defense's part of the Turkish Republic's budget increased by 36 % with respect to the preceeding years and by 14 % with respect to 1972 only.

16 YEARS IMPRISONMENT FOR A JOURNALIST

The Military Court of Cassation approved the 7,5 years imprisonment for journalist Osman Saffet Arolat, responsible editor of the weekly review Ant, which was closed down by the martial law, for having published an article on "Revisionism" prior to the proclamation of martial law.

The legal proceeding were initiated by the public prosecutor of Istanbul on the charge of "spreading communist propaganda" and having obtained an expert's report, the law suit was brought before a civil court. Following the proclamation of martial law, the file of the case was immediately transferred to the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. Although this military court declared itself incompetent in October 1971, the Military Court of Cassation overruled the decision and ordered the lower court to condemn him. Thereupon the journalist was condemned to 7,5 years imprisonment, 2,5 years banishment and was deprived of being employed in the public services for life on June 30, 1972.

When the verdict was approved by the Military Court of Cassation, Arolat was already in prison. Last year he was condemned to one year imprisonment on the charge of "insulting the security forces" for having published another article and was incarcerated. Besides, Arolat has been condemned separately to 7,5 years imprisonment by a civil court for having published the words of the "International" in Ant. The verdict is still at the Court of Cassation.

THE REPRESSION OF THE STUDENT OFFICERS

A new bill, adopted by the National Defense Commission of the National Assembly, brings important modifications to the rules concerning the military service of the student officers. Every student, having obtained a university diploma has the right, in Turkey, to do his military service as reserve officer, receiving a reasonably important salary during his service. According to the new bill, the student officer (first six months of service) who has "illegal opinions" will effectuate the rest of his service as a second class. It is evident that the new law tries to intimidate the young university students, who will see themselves continually menaced by a military degradation due to a rule of which the arbitrary nature leaves no doubt.

FAMOUS FOLK SINGER AT THE MILITARY COURT

Aşık Mahzuni Şerif, famous folk singer of Turkey, is being tried before the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on the charge of allegedly instigating the people to revolt in a poem written for Mr. Ecevit, the leader of the P.R.P. He has already been condemned to one year for a satire on Erın, Premier of the first military-backed government, and was incarcerated.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

national assembly
refuse amnesty bill

new revelations of
torture before the
military courts

contradictions and
conflicts within the army

prof. alacakaptan
condemned again

campaign for
prof. boran in sweden -
two articles on turkey

Nº 14

TURKEY

of June 18 - June 24, '73

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY REFUSE AMNESTY BILL

The National Assembly refused on the 18th of June last, with the consent of the members of the two governmental parties, the Justice Party and the Republican Confidence Party, to include into the assembly's order of the day, the proposed amnesty bill, presented in April 1973, by the People's Republican Party. The debat was extremely noisy and the spokesman of the P.R.P., Mr. Hudai Oral, took two hours to finish his speech, often interrupted by cries of anger and the sound of fists on the benches. He stated that "there are at this moment more than 65.000 detainees in our prisons, with those that have been judged without being detained this number is doubled, even perhaps tripled. (...) The parliamentary holidays are approaching. An amnesty declared after the 50th anniversary of the Republic would not have any sense; and a promise of an amnesty after the legislative elections, could become the object of political speculation.(...) I insist on saying that the day is approaching when the people responsible for the unhealthy atmosphere in which we live, will have to settle their accounts with the people and will have to beg their pardon."

THE STATE SECURITY COURTS LAW BEFORE THE CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

We recall that on the 10th of June last, the government submitted to the parliament a bill proposing the formation of State Security Courts, which was immediately adopted by the majority, despite the opposition of certain members of the National Assembly who judged that these courts were anticonstitutional. After the acceptance of the project by the Senate these courts will be formed by civil and military judges named by the government and the army headquarters, their role being to continue the repression even if the martial law is abolished (Turkey N° 9). The proposed law was adopted on the 19th of June by the Provisional Commission of the Senate so that it will be submitted to the senators for approval in its original form.

Also in this context, 33 senators amongst whom figures Mr. Özer Derbil, ex-minister of Foreign Economic Relations, have brought a case before the Constitutional Court for the annulment of this law. We have recently learnt that the petition was signed by several senators of the P.R.P., by the senators of the presidential contingent and by the life senators, authors of the 1960 coup d'etat.

BAN ON TURKISH POPPIES: THE CAUSE OF A SHORTAGE OF PAIN-KILLER

The ban on the cultivation of opium poppies has caused impoverishment of the Turkish farmers on the one hand, and on the other, a shortage of pain-killers, particularly of codeine, in the world.

Just after the formation of the first Erim government, half a million poor peasants were deprived of their only source of income by the banning of opium poppy agriculture, under pressure from the United States. According to the State Planning Organization, because of this ban, Turkey annually loses 400 million US \$. The United States indemnifies only one twelfth of this loss (35 million US \$).

On June 17, 1973, Phillip Reed, president of S.B. Penick Co., one of three US firms licensed to make codeine from opium obtained from the poppies, said that because of the ban in Turkey, a worldwide shortage of the pain-killer codeine could come as early as this autumn.

NEW REVELATIONS ON TORTURE BEFORE THE MILITARY COURTS

While the Turkish authorities and representatives are consistently refusing the allegations on torture or at least claiming that the torturing has been stopped after the formation of new government, before the different military courts the defendants make new revelations on tortures applied in the very recent days as follows:

Former Army Captain Numan Esin, Member of the National Unity Committee which succeeded the 27th May, 1970 Military Intervention, was detained on May 31, 1973 and brought before the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters with the demand of the death sentence for allegedly being involved in "subversive" activities. At his trial on June 8, 1973, he said: "All the statements obtained from me during the interrogation were taken under torture. I still carry the traces of torture and demand a medical examination by the experts." During the same trial, another defendant, former Lieutenant Colonel Talat Turan also claimed that he had been subjected to torture and submitted a sketch showing the place where he had been tortured to the military court.

On these revelations, Senator Kamil Karavelioğlu delivered telegrams to Prime Minister Naim Talu and General Faik Turan, Commander of Istanbul Martial Law District and demanded them to make investigation on the allegations. Thereupon the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul charged three military physicians to examine the defendants. In their expert report submitted to the military court on June 12, 1973, the three military physicians claimed that no trace of torture had been observed. Defendant Numan Esin objected to this expert's report by saying that the military physicians are under the command of the military authorities and added: "This power who is authorized to arrest even the lawyers, generals and professors, is able to conceal also this fact." Esin revealed also the names of two other prisoners, Mehmet Çınar and Hasan Yalçınkaya tortured and demanded medical examine by civil physicians under the guarantee of the court.

Whilst the tribunal was listening to the medical report of the military doctors on the 13 th of June, Mr. Hasan Yalçınkaya jumped from his chair and shouted: "This report is a lie. Here are the traces of torture on my body and feet. They passed an electric current through my head." He took off his shoes so that the judges could see the soles of his feet, severely beaten. Mr. Mehmet Çınar and Mr. Atamer Eröl, other defendants in the same case, also denounced to the tribunal, the torture and physical constraints to which they had been submitted whilst being interrogated.

The question was brought before the Senat by the Senator Suphi Karaman, who accused the government of not taking into consideration the revelations about the torture. The deputy prime minister Mr. Kemal Satır, replied for the government saying that "they were only calumnies aimed at dishonouring the country in the eyes of its allies". Mr. Satır continued by speaking of a father who had affirmed that his son had been tortured - he said that "not even this assertion of torture had been affirmed by the doctors". The father in question however had declared to the press that he had seen in prison his son "whose arms were semi-paralysed as a result of the electro-shock" and added "Mr. Satır does not want to believe because his own son has not had the right to a similar treatment".

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CONTRADICTIONS AND CONFLICTS WITHIN THE ARMY

Former Lieutenant Colonel Talat Turan, one of the 57 defendants of the "Subversive Activities Case" made very important revelations before the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. These revelations also, show the ambition for political power of the high-ranking commanders of the Turkish Armed Forces :

"In the Armed Forces, there are two military juntas. One of them has been dependent on Cevdet Sunay (former President of the Republic) and Memduh Tagmaç (former Chief of Turkish General Staff), and the other on Faruk Gürler (former Commander of Land Force and the successor to Tagmaç), Muhsin Batur (Commander of the Air Force) and K. Kayacan (Commander of Naval Force). I, personally, was dependent on the second group. I have been present at several meetings. Both of these groups have not done anything other than quarrel with each other about seizing the power...As a result of this quarrel, we have been brought here as pawns...

"On March 9, 1971 (three days before the military intervention of March 12, 1971, fifty high-ranking officers took the decision for "revolution". Since I was a civilian, they did not accept me at the meeting. If the military prosecutor is able to do so, he must also bring these 50 officers to the military court..This case is a filled balloon. It has been based on the plots of the ones aiming to establish an order out of the century".

ESCALATION OF THE AIR FORCE IN TURKEY

According to the statement given by General Muhsin Batur, Commander of Air Force, on the 62th anniversary of the foundation of the Turkish Air Force, 40 Phantom fighters purchased from the United States will be handed over in September 1974. The total price of these Phantoms is about 200 million dollars. With the arrival of 40 Phantom fighters and the new project for establishing the Turkish Aeronautic Industry (TUSAŞ), the Turkish Air Force will double, even triple its strength and take its place in the general escalation of armament in Middle East.

Since 1971, the National Defense's part of the Turkish Republic's budget increased by 36 % with respect to the preceeding years and by 14 % with respect to 1972 only. (see TURKEY N° 2 and N° 13).

A NEW CONCESSION TO THE MILITARY

The bill aiming to give new privileges to the commanders of the Armed Forces was accepted by the National Assembly on June 14, 1973. According to the bill, the term of office of the commanders of land, air and naval forces can be extended for two years by the decision of the Ministerial Council. Besides, the chief of staff and the commanders of forces can obtain compensation even if they themselves resign from their posts.

On the other hand, according to a new decree, the following retired generals have been appointed to the boards of the state industrial and commercial corporations : Haydar Sükan, retired commander of the Gendarmerie, Bahattin Erturk, Necmettin Vangöl, Şefik Ilter, Nedret Utkan, Cavit Çevik, Celal Alkoç, Muhittin Okyayüz, Mehmet Ali Aytaç, Ali Keskiner, retired commander of Land Forces, Refik Yılmaz, retired commander of Land Forces, Fikret Esen, retired commander of the Gendarmerie.

PROF. UGUR ALACAKAPTAN CONDEMNED AGAIN

Notwithstanding the annulation by the Military Court of Cassation, on June 19, 1973, the Military Court N° 1 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters insisted on the condemnation of Prof. Uğur Alacakaptan and three other defendants. Prof. Uğur Alacakaptan is the lawyer who had told Mr. Van der Stoel, the representative of the Council of Europe, that the military courts were honest and neutral (April 1972). Two months after, this statement, Prof. Alacakaptan, Dean of the Law Faculty of Ankara University and seven other defendants were arrested and brought before the military court on the charge of "supporting the various organizations which intended to abrogate the Constitution" on June 7, 1972. The military court condemned him on December 23, 1972 to 6 years, 3 months and 15 days imprisonment, one year, 11 months, 10 days banishment plus a lifelong ban to teaching and public services. University assistant Dr. Uğur Mumcu too was condemned to 5 years 10 months imprisonment.

CONDEMNED TRANSLATOR AND HENRI LEFEBVRE

The well-known french author Henri Lefebvre sent a letter to the Turkish court and disclosing his opinion on the sentence given to translator Rasih Nuri Ileri who had been condemned by the court to seven and a half years imprisonment on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated the author's book on "Lenin, His Life and Works". In his letter, Mr. Lefebvre says: "My book is completely scientific research aimed at explaining the thought, life and historical role of a worldwide known person. This book has even been translated into many languages. It provides an education source for many universities of the world. Notwithstanding my respect of the court, I ask you to take these points into consideration". Mr. Ileri is still in prison for this condemnation.

THREE STUDENTS SENTENCED

The Military Court N° 1 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters condemned three students, Mahir Sayın, İlhami Aras and Mustafa Kaçaroğlu to 8-years imprisonment each, on the charge of "being involved in terrorist activities" on June 13, 1973. The defendants had been condemned to 11-years imprisonment in 1971, but the Military Court of Cassation had overruled the verdict and ordered a new trial.

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CAMPAIGN FOR PROF. BORAN IN SWEDEN

An appeal concerning Professor Behice Boran, President of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) has been started by 140 professors in Sweden. In a letter to the president of the Turkish Republic, they express their suspicion that basic human rights were violated during the trial of Mrs. Boran who was condemned to 15-years prison by a military court. Those who made the appeal belong to different political parties from left to right. In a comment to the Swedish newspaper Expressen, Professor Eneristus Torgny Segerstedt, Vice Chancellor of Uppsala University, stated: "One feels a definite solidarity in this case. Something has to be done for Mrs. Boran".

TWO ARTICLES ON TURKEY

The monthly review Notre Temps of Belgium published in its June edition an article on Turkey written by Mehmet Teşkin. The article analysis the latest political developments in Turkey and says: "Since the only left wing party of Turkey has been banned, following the general elections, only the representatives of the ruling classes, some of them in the guise of "center-left", will take places in the Parliament, and thanks to the amendments to the Constitution, a parliamentary fascism will be established in Turkey. The military-wing too will maintain its authority to intervene in the daily politics through the National Security Council. And at the presidential palace, a former admiral will maintain cooperation and coordination between the two wings of the repressive rule."

On the other hand, the monthly review "Tout Va Bien" of Switzerland published an article on Turkey in its May edition. Drawing attention to the reactionary front established in the Middle East, the article says: "A confederation of the three dictatorships (Turkey, Greece and Iran) is moreover the order of the day for the Pentagon which is always preparing itself to suppress even more, the revolution of the greek, turkish, kurd, iranian, arabic and palestinian peoples."

SWEDISH FILM ON TORTURE

Swedish Television, Channel 2, took up the question of torture on May 31, 1973. A 45-minute film by Thomas Hammarberg and Güneş Karabuda has documented torture allegations from several countries. On Turkey the film said that there had been widespread and extremely brutal torture since the martial law was declared in April 1971. Mr. Martin Ennals, Secretary General of Amnesty International, said in a statement that there could not be any doubt that torture was still going on in Turkey and he regretted that no government so far had brought these violations of human rights to the European Commission of Human Rights.

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BULLETIN HEBDOMADAIRE
DU CENTRE D'INFORMATION
POUR L'EXPRESSION DE LA SOLIDARITE
AVEC LE PEUPLE TURC

"reforms" and the
elections under
martial law

outright repression and
systematic torture

seven state security
courts to be created

resistance and
shootings in prisons

the turkish regime
comes up before the
council of europe

N° 15

TURQUIE

of June 25 - July 1, 1973

"REFORMS" AND THE ELECTIONS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

"In 50 days all of the reforms envisaged by the governmental program have been adopted by the parliament". It was by this victorious statement that Mr. Demirel, leader of the Justice Party saluted the work accomplished by the Turkish Parliament, who had approved forty proposed "reforms" last week and beat all of the records by ratifying sixteen proposed laws during one five hour session. However this "legislative deluge" does not seem to introduce into the country the change that the progressive milieu hoped for, and one must speak more of a recoil.

In effect, the J.P. and the Republican Confidence Party deputies, the two wings of Mr. Talu's coalition government did not even judge a real parliamentary debate necessary to throw out all of the laws proposed by the opposition amongst which figured the general amnesty for the 50th anniversary of the Republic, the right to vote at 18 and also for the 700,000 Turkish workers who are resident outside of Turkey, whereas they adopted amongst others: -

- the "Agricultural Reform" which authorises the large land-owners to keep upto 650 hectares (1600 acres) of their land and will only help a seventh of the 3,5 million peasant families who do not possess any land or who do not possess sufficient in order to assure their livelihood; and it will cost the state 30,000 million Turkish Liras (270 million for 1974 alone).
- the "Mineral Resources Reform" which favors only the foreign companies at the cost of the state.
- the "Higher Education Reform" which, by instituting the Superior Control Commission upon which political personages, representatives of the Ministry of the Interior, of the National Security and of the Army Headquarters will sit, gives to the government the right to take direct control of the universities.
- the "State Security Courts Law", special courts, formed by three civil judges and two military judges named respectively by the government and the army headquarters and who will be authorized to judge the so-called crimes committed during manifestations, strikes and of which the principal role is to continue after the ending of the Martial Law, the repression of the liberty of speech.
- the "Meeting and Manifestations Law" which is aimed at restraining even more the liberty of action of the democratic organizations.

This is, in short, what made Mr. Demirel say: "We have fully filled our contract". One could ask oneself "what contract and who is concerned?" Whereas Mr. President of the People's Republican Party, the prime opposition force, made a statement in the following terms: "The Justice Party makes a semblance on the one hand of deploring the Military Intervention which is only a result of their own policy, and on the other hand takes advantage of it, to change the constitution and the laws, and to degenerate the regime in a direction which is not warranted by the people". Also the leader of the Unionist Party, Mr. Mustafa Timisi declared: "The representatives of the ruling classes, violating the Constitution, have just approved the proposed anti-democratic laws, which are against the interests of the most unfavored popular masses."

The parliamentary session was closed on the 28th of June without discussing the ending of the Martial Law which still continues in four large cities of the country, Istanbul and Ankara on the one hand and Diyarbakir and Siirt on the other, where important Kurd communities exist.

OUTRIGHT REPRESSION AND SYSTEMATIC TORTURE

Two important statements by politicians, an oral question to the Prime Minister by a deputy and many declarations by political prisoners during their trials have once again raised the question of arbitrary arrests and that of the practice of torture, in a context becoming more and more motivated by the approaching legislative elections. The fact that these allegations of torture do not only come from the foreign democratic circles but on the contrary from the politicians gives a new dimension to the question, an overwhelming dimension for the present regime and will continue until proof to the contrary.

On the 24th of June 1973 at Bolu, Mr. Ferda Güley, assistant General Secretary of the P.R.P., after having given two examples, said that one could no longer "pretend" that the torture exists in Turkey, since it has become common practice. "It is a reality, he said, that after the 12th of March 1971, people, the exact number of which could not be determined, have been submitted to torture in the most brutal of ways." Mr. Güley denounced the existence of a "torture bed" obtained from the U.S.A. by giving a precise description of this torture instrument and then cited the example of a father who, having come to visit his son in prison, was presented with his body, who according to the authorities had "committed suicide". It was only on arriving at his village that the father discovered that his son was riddled with bullets.

Equally, many defendants of different political trials have denounced, before the court, the torture which they had been submitted during their interrogations. Some examples are Mr. Rafet Kaplangı, ex-inspector of the Police, of Mr. Muammer Soysal, lecturer at the Political Sciences Faculty at Ankara and of Mrs. Sevim Belli, Mrs. Seyhan Erdogdu and Mrs. Sibel Guvenc who were all tortured or physically constrained.

Another certain case has been revealed by Mr. Mehmet Ali Aybar, independant deputy, who in an oral question to the Prime Minister asked for details on the death of a worker, Mr. Ibrahim Kaypakkaya. It appears that the worker was tortured in the military prison at Diyarbakır and died as a result of the cruelty with which he had been treated. Mr. Aybar asked also if it was true that the defendants were tortured at the counter-guerilla centers of the army at the time of their interrogations. The case of Mr. Kaypakkaya had already been mentioned at the time of the trial called "Safak" (Dawn) by one of the accused, who managed to get written into the minutes of the court his accusations which follow the same line as those of Mr. Aybar.

Lastly, Mr. Bulent Ecevit, head of the P.R.P. has just published in his party's weekly "Halk" (People), an official document which shows in what circumstances and in what way the tens of thousands of people have been and still are arrested in Turkey. It concerns the decision of the first Military court of Diyarbakır Martial Law Headquarters who refused to arrest the 15 people accused of have acted against the famous articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code. The 15 people had been placed under observation following denunciation which was not signed and without it being possible to establish any concrete proof of their guilt. This case, with the hundreds of others, constitute the irrefutable proof that anybody can be arrested in Turkey, at any time and submitted, as we show above, to the most brutal torture.

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RESISTANCE AND SHOOTINGS IN PRISONS

The refusal of the National Assembly to put an amnesty proposal on its agenda for June 18 has set off numerous protests on the part of jurists as well as prisoners themselves. "Passive resistance" has been organized in the Ankara prisons, it is stated, and 2500 prisoners in the Buca detention house of Izmir are on a hunger strike since June 22.

As for Bayrampaşa prison in Istanbul, events seem to be much more serious than the authorities care to admit. According to the daily Cumhuriyet of June 24, "during the night of June 22 the gendarmes fired on the prisoners for almost an hour". Two days later the prison authorities gave their official version of what had happened: "Aroused by gunfire whose origin is still unknown, the gendarmes had to reply with 'a few' shots". But this resulted in a number of prisoners being wounded.

Whereas the president of the Izmir bar states that "the question of amnesty has become exploited for electoral purposes", democrats throughout the world must ask themselves this important and urgent question: Are the lives of prisoners safe in Turkish prisons?

ANOTHER STRIKE FORBIDDEN

On June 28 the martial law command of Diyarbakır forbade the strike of the Petrol-İş union voted by 3200 workers in the region's petrol industry. This shows one more the limits set on union rights of workers in those cities still under martial law where the right to strike depends on previous authorization by military authorities.

On the other hand, the Turk-İş, the largest trade union federation in the country, has just informed the Prime Minister that it would call for a general strike in the event that government workers were considered to be "civil servants" deprived of the right to strike. The Confederation of Employers, without awaiting the Prime Minister's reply, labelled the general strike "illegal" and demanded that the government take appropriate measures.

PLUNDERING OF WORKERS' SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDS

An atmosphere of scandal permeated the congress of the Social Security Organization (SSK) when it met on June 25. The report of the Executive Board showed that the Organization had not been able to collect the employers' share, a total of one and a half billion Turkish Liras (12 % of which is owed by the government and the rest by the private sector), nor the 41 million Turkish Liras, which were to have been paid by foreign countries employing Turkish workers, i.e. the German Federal Republic, Austria, Belgium and the Netherlands.

The SSK is thus unable to furnish the health services which are its responsibility and will soon be incapable of paying retirement, old age, sickness and death benefits, etc. Nonetheless, the Organization has deposits totalling one and a half billion Turkish Liras in various banks which pay a meager interest of 55 million Turkish Liras a year while providing generous loans to business men and industrialists from the money collected from workers.

SEVEN STATE SECURITY COURTS TO BE CREATED

Just before the close of its legislative session, the National Assembly passed the proposed law creating State security courts to replace the military courts once martial law has been lifted. These courts will be composed of five judges, three of whom will be civilian judges nominated by the Council of Ministers and the other two military judges designated by the army high command. This court will have jurisdiction to try all offences, including those of the press, under the pretext that they endanger the "security of the State". Mr. Hayri Mumcuoglu, Minister of Justice, claimed that this law could be defended not only in Turkey but even before the Court of The Hague. However, Mr. Hudai Oral, spokesman for the People's Republican Party, thinks otherwise: "Some of the sections of this law are contrary to the rules of democratic regimes, the Constitution and the Rights of Man. These courts are not bona fide law courts, but extraordinary bodies". The Council of Ministers has just allocated the necessary funds to the budget of the Ministry of Justice for creating seven State security courts in 1973.

FOUR MEMBERS OF THE UNIVERSITY STAFF ARE ARRESTED

The martial law command in Ankara has just placed under arrest four staff members of the Faculty of Political Science at the University of Ankara, Mr. Oguz Onaran, an instructor, and Alaettin Senel, Pars Esin and Kurthan Fisek, assistants, on charges of creating a "secret organization".

SIX DEATH PENALTIES REQUESTED

The prosecuting attorney of the Military Court of Cassation has just asked that the verdict of the Military Court of the Izmir Martial law command be annulled and that the death penalty be meted out to Aydın Çubukçu, Aktan Ince, Ertan Günçine, Kadir Kaymaz, Kenan Güngör and Hikmet Çiçek. These six men had been given prison terms for participating in a bank hold-up. The prosecuting attorney bases his request for the death penalty for the accused on his assertion that the hold-up had been carried out in order to "overthrow the Constitution by force".

THE MARTIAL LAW COURT BECOMES THE "ARMY CORPS COURT"

The martial law court of Adana, which has continued to function despite the lifting of martial law in that province, has just received a new name. From now on it will be called "Court of the 6th Army Corps". This court is at present considering the case of 34 people accused of having created a "secret organization". This trial began after martial law had been lifted in the province. Elsewhere, the 2nd court of the Istanbul martial law command is considering the case of 38 persons accused of "fomenting rebellion while in prison".

TWO PHONOGRAPH RECORDS SEIZED

The prosecuting attorney of Istanbul has just seized two phonograph recordings of poems of the popular poet Aşık İhsani. No reasons were given.

THE TURKISH REGIME COMES UP BEFORE THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

When the Council of Europe's Committee on Political Affairs meets in Florence on July 13 its agenda will include "the violation of the Rights of Man in Turkey". It will be recalled that when the Committee met on May 17 it agreed in principle to create a sub-committee on inquiry and designated the British delegate Fitzroy MacLean to establish the necessary procedure (See TURKEY N° 9).

SHOWING OF FILM ON TORTURE IN TURKEY

At a meeting held in Paris on June 28 the French section of Amnesty international showed a documentary film produced by Granada TV on the use of torture in Turkey. Included in the film was the testimony of a number of people who themselves had undergone torture, the testimony of others who had witnessed the torture of friend or their husbands, the testimony of a former prosecuting attorney who stated that he has seen with his own eyes the effects of torture on the prisoners with whom he had shared a prison cell, and the testimony of the famous Turkish novelist Yaşar Kemal. Many jurists and journalists were present at the showing of the film.

THE I.F.J. PROTESTS

At the close of its General Assembly in Washington the International Federation of Journalists (I.F.J.) issued the following statement concerning Turkey:

"The I.F.J. Executive Board once more expresses its deep concern over the state of freedom of the press in Turkey which does not exist in fact.

"The I.F.J. call for the freeing of those journalists who are at present in prison. The Executive Board protests their detention and the arrest of some of their colleagues following the I.F.J. Congress held in Istanbul. By committing these acts Turkey violates the basic rights of man.

"The I.F.J. further requests the Turkish authorities to amend the Constitution so that it will be in keeping with their international responsibilities, and to mark the 50th anniversary of the Turkish Republic by guaranteeing true freedom of the press and granting journalists full liberty in the exercise of their profession."

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

electoral campaign
starts under martial law

two state security
courts established

no amnesty for
opinion offences

the council of europe
was misled by
turkish politicians

torture still
being practiced

Nº 16

TURKEY

of July 30 - Aug. 5, '73

ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN STARTS UNDER MARTIAL LAW

Despite the Turkish authorities' promise to lift martial law before the general elections, the Grand National Assembly, after reconvening on July 24, 1973, voted at the suggestion of the National Security Council to extend martial law for two more months in Istanbul and Izmir, and one more month in Diyarbakir. This means that martial law, even if not extended further, will terminate just two weeks before election day and that the major part of the electoral campaign will be carried on under military control.

On the other hand, many anti-democratic laws such as those creating state security courts and concerning associations, rallies and meetings, martial law, the authority and duties of the police, the universities, basic education etc. were ratified by the president of the Republic in July 1973 and entered into immediate effect. The Republican People's Party has decided to appeal to the Constitutional Court to have these laws annulled.

After having all the constitutional amendments passed which the ruling circles wanted to see imposed, Mr. Demirel, leader of the Justice Party, has started an open attack on freedoms. Here are his words on freedom of opinion: "To hold an opinion undermining the foundations of the state is an offence. Although the JP supports liberalism, it will not pardon those who lay dynamite at the foundations of the state."

All the other right-wing parties - the Republican Reliance Party, the Democratic Party, the Nationalist Action Party and the National Salvation Party - share these anti-democratic views. Nonetheless, they lay claim to a certain part of the JP's votes, especially the DP and the NSP, who are trying to represent the reactionary Anatolian bourgeoisie and landowners in conflict with big capital. There are some signs that the Armed Forces, too, are seeking a coalition government rather than absolute power for the JP. The existence of a coalition government is necessary to maintain the balance between the military and parliamentary wings of the repressive rule as well as the arbitrary role of the Armed Forces in daily politics. But whatever the form of government, absolute JP power or a coalition between JP and RRP, the power will belong to the ruling classes and work against the interests of the poor masses.

The Republican People's Party and the Union Party of Turkey, in their present form, represent the progressive aspirations of the middle and petty bourgeoisie. After changing its leader, the Nation's Party too has started to use some progressive slogans. The working class, however, does not have its own political party in this electoral campaign, and one of the main questions of the campaign is the attitude of the socialist voters who had provided some 300,000 votes for the Labour Party of Turkey (LPT), now banned.

With the opening of the electoral campaign, the right-wing parties have immediately started to intrigue and play dirty tricks against the progressive parties. Although Ecevit has consistently stated that the RPP is the most effective barrier against communism, Justice Party spokesmen are accusing him of being in contact with communists abroad and are instigating rightist commandos to attack him during his electoral campaign.

In spite of these plots and the maintenance of repressive measures, the ruling circles will not be able to prevent the people of Turkey from raising its voice against the anti-democratic regime even within the limits set by the electoral campaign.

TWO STATE SECURITY COURTS ESTABLISHED

In accordance with the amendments to the Constitution and its special law, two extraordinary state security courts were established in the provinces of Adana and Izmir, on July 26, 1973. A total of 67 provinces will come under the jurisdiction of the two extraordinary courts; 39 provinces to the Adana Court and 28 provinces to the Izmir Court. For instance, if any citizen in the province of Hakkari, which is about 900 kilometers far from Adana, is accused of having committed one of the offences such as propagandizing for communism or separatism, instigating one social class against another class, defaming the president of the Republic, prime minister, government, the Armed Forces, the police forces, possessing arms or ammunition or of violating the laws concerning collective bargainings, strikes, lockouts, demonstrations, meetings, rallies, he will immediately be arrested and sent to the Adana State Security Court.

The police chiefs and agents are obliged to carry out the orders given by the prosecutors of these courts prior to other action. The state security courts are authorised to impose a ban against the publication of any incident that happened at the court. If anybody acts improperly at the state security court he can be immediately condemned to one-month imprisonment and put in a cell. If the defendant insists on acting improperly, he can be deprived of the right to attend the trial and to defence.

DEATH SENTENCES DEMANDED FOR FIVE MORE

The military prosecutors brought a new mass trial before the Military Court No.1 of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters and demanded death sentences for five defendants, Mustafa Akdeniz, Hasan Bakir, Mustafa Kiral, Mehmet Aslan and Mustafa Karadag. The 94 defendants of the case are charged with allegedly being members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO).

On the other hand, within the last month the military prosecutors have brought three other mass trials with totally 74 defendants before the military courts of Istanbul.

THE LPT LEADERS' SENTENCES UPHELD

The General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation upheld the prison terms of the leaders of the Labour Party of Turkey on July 1, 1973. After this decision, the lower military tribunal which had condemned Mrs Behice Boran, the leader of the party, and her 20 comrades, concluded the legal procedure and decided to transfer the defendants from military prisons to civil prisons in order to serve their prison terms up to 15 years.

A LAWYER CONDEMNED

Mr. Faik Muzaffer Amac, the defence lawyer of the political prisoners, himself was condemned to 9-month imprisonment by the Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on July 23, 1973 in Istanbul. Mr; Amac was accused of allegedly insulting the military court in his book consisting of the legal arguments about the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC) Case. The book entitled "The Case At The Military Court Of Cassation" consists also of a document about the mental disease of Military Judge Akdemir Akmut who condemned three youths to death and who still tries hundreds of political prisoners.

NO AMNESTY FOR OPINION OFFENCES

Notwithstanding the insistent efforts of international organizations and the Turkish journalist formations, the Parliament avoided granting an amnesty to the "offences" of opinion before the general election. Protesting this negative attitude of the parliamentarians, this year the trade unions of journalists boycotted the celebration of the 24th July Press Day. The Journalists Association of Ankara presented a symbolic pencil locked in a bird-cage to the Speaker of the National Assembly.

On the other hand, the president of the Republic Fahri Korutürk said on July 2, 1973 in the province of Van: "Freedom of press exists to a great extent in this country. All complaints are taken into consideration. Let us say: 'How lucky we are to be Turks!' Then there is not any difficulty for us to overcome."

The following are the highlights of the last month showing how lucky Turkish journalists were in practicing their profession in Turkey:

- The condemnations totaling 30 years imprisonment and 12 years exile for Publisher Süleyman Ege were upheld by the Court of Cassation on July 1, 1973. He had been condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment and 3 years exile for each book he had published.
- 6 years and 3 months prison term for Yasar Ucar, the responsible editor of the weekly review Ant, was upheld by the Court of Cassation on July 6, 1973. He had been condemned for having published the text of a conference four years ago.
- The condemnation totaling 22.5 years imprisonment and 4 years exile for Publisher Muzaffer Erdost was upheld by the Court of Cassation on July 15, 1973. He had been condemned to 7.5 years imprisonment for each one of the three books he had published.

A DRAMA ARTIST CONDEMNED

Drama artist Bülent Balakoglu was sentenced to a one-year jail term by the Aggravated Felony Court of the province of Bursa on July 3, 1973 for allegedly having propagandized for communism.

On the other hand, Yilmaz Güney, the most popular movie director and star of Turkey, was interrogated before the Military Court No.3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on July 4, 1973 for allegedly having helped urban guerilla activities. He has been under arrest since March 1972 and the military prosecutor demands a jail term of up to 15 years.

HOMONGOLOS OR NO LEFT TURN

The witch-hunt in the Turkish universities reached its climax when the Rector of the Atatürk University applied to the public prosecutor of Erzurum on June 27, 1973 claiming that ten university students of the Medical Faculty had issued a magazine named after a fictional hero, Homongolos, the last syllable of whose name, "los", read backwards, means "left" in Turkish.

However, the legal experts rejected the charges of "propagandizing for communism" by using this word on the ground that they were baseless and the public prosecutor refused to initiate legal proceedings against the

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE WAS MISLED BY TURKISH POLITICIANS

The Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe discussed the procedural report given by Mr. Fitzroy MacLean on July 3-5 in Florence and decided to form a study group to investigate dangers directed at democracy and personal freedoms in all member countries instead of forming a parliamentary investigating group to study specifically the violation of human rights in Turkey. (+)

The main argument against the formation of a special investigating group for Turkey was brought by the rapporteur Fitzroy MacLean who stated that such an intervention at a time when Turkey was about to hold a general election would endanger the reestablishment of democracy in Turkey. The same argument was abundantly used also by the Turkish representatives, Turhan Feyzioglu, Cevdet Akcal and Orhan Oguz.

Despite these efforts to prevent the formation of an investigating group, the majority of the Political Affairs Committee seemed decided on forming the group, and this attitude caused stormy debates between the Turkish representatives and the others.

Hearing the arguments of the right-wing Turkish politicians, the Political Affairs Committee asked Mustafa Üstündag, the deputy of the Republican People's Party, to disclose the view of his center-left party on the issue, because some of the members had mentioned the attempts of lifting the parliamentary immunity of Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the RPP, and of trying him before the military courts as one of the facts obliging the Committee to create an investigating group. But Üstündag said that the ones who tried to lift the immunity of Ecevit were not the military staff but the government, which was afraid of Ecevit's success, and added: "Nevertheless, the general election will be held soon. There is important progress towards the reestablishment of democracy. In such a period, it is not useful to form a sub-committee for Turkey. Bülent Ecevit too shares this opinion."

Thereupon, the majority of the Political Affairs Committee changed its mind and decided to form a general investigating group without naming Turkey. Decisions concerning the formation of the investigating group, including who will take part and what issues will receive priority for study, were postponed until a September meeting. Nevertheless, considering the continuation of the violation of human rights and the maintenance of repressive measures, the socialist deputies at the Political Affairs Committee will attempt at the September meeting to have the Turkish case receive priority for study by the investigating group.

ISMUN ASKS THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO REPLY

The International Student Movement For The United Nations (ISMUN) issued a report informing the world opinion of the tortures lately practiced on political prisoners in Turkey and especially the Ibrahim Kaypakkaya Case (++). The report concludes by saying: "We as the Turkish Government to reply to the reports in their own press and confirm whether Ibrahim Kaypakkaya is living or dead. We also ask the Turkish Government to make a full enquiry into the situation of other political prisoners in their country."

(+) TURKEY, No.9 and No.15

(++) TURKEY, No.15

TORTURE STILL BEING PRACTICED

The practice of torture is still being carried on by the military and police authorities in Turkey while the shifting of 35 generals in the Land Force is being interpreted by some newspapers as the liquidation of the commanders who carried out this illegal practice within the period of martial law. As a matter of fact, the main executors of this illegal practice, such as General Faik Turun and General Memduh Unluturk, still keep their posts in the Armed Forces. Furthermore, General Semih Sancar, the Chief of General Staff, himself has been one of the main executors of the illegal practice.

Following the death of Ibrahim Kaypakkaya as a result of torture in Tunceli*, on July 13, 1973 a youth named Vahdet Sagbil was tortured to death by five policemen in the Koprubasi Police Station in the province of Adana.

On the other hand, during the last one-month period tens of defendants in several mass trials have revealed before the military courts the tortures to which they were subjected.

The following are the defendants having disclosed the tortures in detail and the dates of revelation:

THE BOMBING CASE: Dr. Memduh Eren (10.7.73); Ibrahim Cenet (10.7.73).

Ibrahim Cenet is the defendant who had lost both his legs and one arm while attempting to place a bomb to protest the execution of three revolutionaries. He is in great physical pain for having to attend the trials, but in spite of his objections, the military has insistingly refused to interrogate him and compelled this incapacitated defendant to sit all day in the dock.

THE CASE OF THE POPULAR LIBERATION PARTY OF TURKEY (THKP) : Ali Kaynar (3.7.73), Army Captain Izzet Aydogdu (12.7.73), who gave the name of General Memduh Unluturk as the main torturer, University Assistant Zulfikar Dicleli (12.7.1973), Student Ulker Akgol (16.7.73), Army Lieutenant Mehmet Alkaya (17.7.1973).

THE WORKERS' SECTION OF THE P.L.P.T. : Mehmet Ekrem Yavuz, Recep Servet (9.7.1973), Salih Vural, Lokman Seven, Emin Karaca (11.7.1973), Alaaddin Zorlu (18.7.1973), Caner Saka (23.7.1973)

THE CASE OF PRO-KIVILCIMLI : Selma Ozkol, Mehmet Sahin and Cemal Celik (17.7.1973).

DEATH OF ONE OF THE ACCUSED

Mrs. Hatice Alankus, 27 year old architect, one of the accused in the P.L.P.T. trial, has just died at the military hospital on July 24 in very dubious circumstances. The announcement of her death aroused strong protests on the part of the 257 others accused in the same trial, among whom are Mrs. Alankus' husband and mother, who asked the court to protect their lives.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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the electoral campaign:
the right resorts to
provocations

turkey's dependence
on its "allies"

strikes are forbidden
but lock-outs flourish

are political prisoners'
lives protected
by the courts ?

legal experts protest
against new
laws legislation

N° 17

TURKEY

of August 6 - August 12, '73

THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN : THE RIGHT RESORTS TO PROVOCATIONS

Although the electoral campaign has only begun, one may already wonder whether it will not be characterized as a series of provocations. It appears almost certain that the real contest will be between Mr. Demirel's Justice Party and Mr. Ecevit's Republican People's Party, with the other rightist political groupings gnawing away as much as they can at the JP's votes. It seems that it will be rather difficult indeed for the JP to hold power by itself and that it will call on the Republican Party of Confidence in order to form the government, as is the case at present.

It is apparent that Mr. Demirel's lieutenants are attacking the RPP as a political group and Mr. Ecevit personally with unusual vigor precisely because the right is divided into numerous camps -- the Democratic Party, the Party of National Salvation and the Party of National Action must be taken into account, since each of the first two may obtain 6% or more of the votes. However, the form which these attacks take arouses doubt that the JP and the other rightist parties are respecting the "rules" of election campaigns in democratic countries. In the present stage, political "provocation" is resorted to most of the time. The Minister of Labor's unsuccessful trip to the Federal Republic of Germany -- where 700,000 Turkish workers have just been denied the right to vote -- is being used to besmirch Mr. Ecevit's standing by accusing him of meeting with "communists" living in exile there during his stay in the Federal Republic in 1970. The hostility of the Turkish workers in Germany towards Mr. Erdem, the Minister of Labor, which forced him to cut short his trip, may well lie behind the JP's attitude toward the leader of the Republican People's Party.

The National Action Party, led by Mr. Turkes, likewise misses no occasion to attack the RPP or the Turkish Union Party of Mr. Mustafa Timisi. At Karayazi, near Erzurum, a hundred people came to blows with sticks and knives when young militants from Mr. Ecevit's party were provoked by an NAP commando. A number of people were injured and seven were taken into custody. This kind of physical encounter can be expected to be repeated in the course of the electoral campaign.

Given this situation, it is essential to know whether democratic public opinion should have confidence in the regime's "liberalization" measures -- the announcement of legislative elections, the gradual abolition of martial law -- and not take into account the absence of a free press, of trade union liberties, of a party representing the working class nor the tens of trials still going on at military courts and the thousands of political prisoners still in jail. The context within which these elections are being held has been described as follows by Mr. Timisi, president of the Turkish Union Party, which has just been joined by Prof. Muammer Aksoy, an ardent defender of democratic liberties and one of the experts who had helped write the 1961 Constitution: "The struggle for democratic rights and liberties is being waged under much more difficult conditions, since the rightist political groupings have been greatly strengthened after the Memorandum of March 12, 1971. In order to perpetuate its hegemony, the monopolist industrial bourgeoisie will restrict even more the rights and liberties guaranteed by the Constitution, and crushing under foot all the rules of democratic law, it will try its utmost to install a state of siege based on a civilian regime."

TURKEY'S DEPENDENCE ON ITS "ALLIES"

Turkey's economic and political ties to other countries - under heavy attack by progressive Turks between 1960 and 1971 - have been aggravated by the present crisis, but criticism is effectively silenced.

The main branches of industry are increasingly dominated by foreign capital, especially from the United States and the Federal Republic of Germany. This domination has now reached the rate of 49% in iron metallurgy, 42% in the chemical industry and 18% in electrical equipment. As for the oil industry, foreign capital's share is 59% for prospection and extraction and 40% for refining and distribution. Despite such a large share of foreign capital in extraction, Turkey suffers each year from a lack of oil.

The new laws concerning oil and the measures to encourage foreign investments have resulted in improved conditions of exploitation, tax exemption and repatriation of benefits. As for the latter, official figures set it at 95% of the liquid capital originally invested.

Turkey's dependence on, primarily, the United States in political and military affairs is of the same order. The 54 bilateral treaties signed by various Turkish governments since Turkey's entrance into NATO in 1952 have never been presented to Parliament for approval, but are still in force.

The military material given to Turkey in the framework of these agreements can be used only for the purpose for which it was given. This purpose (decided by the United States alone, in the framework of Nato) being to secure the Eastern frontier of the Organization while serving as bridge-head in the Near East, president Nixon could state in 1972 that "the Phantom planes which the U.S. was going to sell to Turkey would also serve to maintain the equilibrium of the Near East and defend Israel."

Within that same framework, 101 strategic and missile bases have been established on Turkish territory, according to progressive press, before it was muzzled by the military intervention of March 12, 1971. Thus according to Mr. Mehmet Ali Aybar, president of the Turkish Workers Party until 1968, "35 million square metres of Turkish territory are under occupation". These bases have already been used as take-off points for spy-planes (Powers took off from the base at Adana) and for the American troops who landed at Lebanon. In addition, since the expression "military aggression, direct or indirect", cited in one of these bilateral treaties, has not been clearly defined, the way in which the United States might interpret this expression to crush a popular rising had provoked angry discussions in the years 1967-68 in the democratic circles and within Parliament itself.

Needless to say, these 54 treaties are still in force. Turkey's economic, political and military dependence on the United States must be taken into consideration in order to understand her present plight - a dependence which, in the very words of president Nixon, "is linked to equilibrium in the Near East".

STRIKES ARE FORBIDDEN BUT LOCK-OUTS FLOURISH

The lock-out in answer to a strike in the Eregli iron metallurgy works, the foremost industrial complex in Turkey in terms of investment and annual business, is the most recent link in the chain of lock-outs now being widely resorted to in Turkey. Among others, lock-outs are going on against 5,000 workers at Eregli and more than 6,000 workers in the auto industry at Bursa (Fiat-Tofas, Oyak-Renault and others).

It should be recalled that the right to strike, since the military intervention of March 12, 1971 depends on previous authorization by the martial law commanders and that in 1972 there were only one-fourth as many strikes as in 1970, according to official figures of the Labor Ministry, whereas the number of lock-outs doubled during the same period (see TURKEY No 2) and that the cost of living has been increasing by 15% per year, as opposed to a 6% drop in real wages (see TURKEY No 3).

Members of the political opposition and even trade unionists "above party politics", like the Turk-Is, have reacted against this government-encouraged practice. On August 4, 1973, Mr. Ecevit, leader of the RPP, stated: "Nowhere in the world can one close one's eyes to this abuse of the right to lock-out". Mr. Timisi, leader of the Turkish Union Party, said that "all the political and economic decisions taken during this period when the monopoly bourgeoisie has been dominant in our country are naturally in the interests of that exploiting class". And Mr. Mehmet Ali Aybar, independent member of the Parliament and former leader of Workers Party of Turkey, explained: "These recent lock-outs must be seen from a different point of view. They prove, once again, that the only solution for the workers is to organize their own political party against the employer class."

Known for his submissiveness to the regime, the General Secretary of Turk-Is (the largest trade union federation in Turkey) was obliged to state, no doubt under pressure from his rank and file, after an interview with the Prime Minister, that "the fact that the government has not declared any lock-out illegal, whereas this is the case for most strike decisions, demonstrates the government's "sympathy" for the bosses." And he added that his trade union federation might have to resort to a general strike in the event that lock-outs continue in this fashion.

Though reduced to silence for the last two years, will the working class of Turkey, through its unions, now spearhead the opposition's fight ?

PROVOCATION USED TO BREAK A STRIKE

Just before their union contract was to be renewed, 112 workers of the Turkish Airlines were subjected to questioning in connection with an anonymous warning of air piracy. A gun and a letter of "instructions for diverting the plane" had been found in a plane headed for Frankfurt. The Union of Aviation Workers (Hava-Is) issued a protest against this repressive action against the workers and against the fact that the president, vice-president and general secretary of the union, as well as the editor of its magazine, had been beaten and insulted . (August 8, 1973)

ARE POLITICAL PRISONERS' LIVES PROTECTED BY THE COURTS ?

The death of one of the 257 defendants in the so-called "PLPT" trial, Mrs. Hatice Alankus (27 years old), in the military hospital under dubious circumstances (TURKEY N° 16) has once more raised the question of how safe a political prisoner's life is. The military court did not deem consider it necessary to act on the request of some of the other defendants in the same case to guarantee the safety of their lives; thus the question remains unanswered, while new facts point to its urgency :

- Three other defendants in the PLPT trial, Huseyin Ozkan, Metin Bozdog and Mrs. Fatma Yesil, have asked to be freed in order to get adequate medical care. Mr. Ozkan, who had been seriously injured during his arrest, complained that he had not been able to get satisfactory medical care during his 17 months of detention and was not able to walk without crutches. As for 24 year old Mr. Bozdog, he submitted a medical report to the court which confirmed that he had a severe case of tuberculosis. Mrs. Yesil, a mother of three young children, based her request on an aggravated condition of calcification of her neck bones, and of her rheumatism as well as fluctuating blood pressure. The requests of these three defendants were rejected by the 3rd military court of the Martial Law Command of Istanbul.

- Mr. Avni Deniz, one of the accused men in the so-called "worker's section" trial, asked the court for legal action to guarantee his life. The court having refused his request, he decided to submit the written report of the proceedings to the Istanbul Martial Law Command for appropriate action.

NEW DISCLOSURES CONCERNING TORTURE

Political life in Turkey always gives headlines to alleged cases of torture inflicted on political prisoners under questioning; new disclosures were added to the list last week.

- In the so-called "Popular Liberation Party of Turkey" case being tried before the 3rd military court of the martial law command, Fahri Aral, a student, and Rafet Ozkan withdrew their former testimony on August 6, stating that it had been obtained under torture.

- In the so-called "worker's section of the PLPT" case, being tried before the 3rd military court of martial law command of Istanbul, defendants Avni Deniz, a student, Omer Demirbas and Turgut Bozgul, metalurgical workers, Necati Kocer, professor at the Sisli Technical College, and Ismail Atmaca, a student at that college, submitted shocking accusations concerning the torture inflicted on them to sign "pre-fabricated" testimony, and they stated that the whole trial was no more than a "grotesque scenario".

In accordance with the military prosecutor's request, the court took the position that "all these assertions have nothing to do with the trial in question".

LEGAL EXPERTS PROTEST AGAINST NEW LAWS LEGISLATION

Outstanding legal experts of Turkey are continuing to protest vigorously against the new legislation concerning state security courts, the universities and the state Council.

Prof. Faruk Erem has just resigned as professor of criminal law at Ankara Law Faculty in protest against the new law concerning universities. As president of the Turkish Barristers' Union, he also addressed a request on their behalf to the president of the Republic, asking him to veto the law creating state security courts.

In connection with his resignation from the university, Prof. Erem stated: "I have resigned from the university because I could not in conscience exercise my function which is in contradiction to the present practice of controlled freedom of opinion.(...) Essentially, the new law concerning universities is a two-edged sword, a "liquidation" law. On the one hand, the universities are no longer free to take a stand in the framework of Turkish public opinion. This can be called "ideological liquidation". On the other hand, those who do not conform to the imposed requirements will be harassed by questionings and pressures and will be kicked out of the universities. This can be called "individual liquidation".(...) To try to justify this law by pointing to anarchic events is far from the truth. It is not correct to seek the origin of these events in the university under the pretext that that is where they appeared. The real origin, as far as we are concerned, lies with the politicians who claim to govern our country".

In another action, Mr. Burhan Gungör, president of the Istanbul Bar, protested against the new motion added to article 82 of the law concerning the State Council and called on those interested to request the Constitutional Court to annul this article which, in his opinion, is contrary to article 31 of the Constitution, which guarantees the right to adequate defense for each citizens. In his statement of August 8 he said : "According to that article, no document concerning a State Council proceeding which is placed into the accused's file under the label "secret" may be examined by the accused or his counsel. Thus any accused man can be the victim of pre-fabricated plot, not knowing how to defend himself against accusations he is not conversant with, and runs the risk of not knowing why he has lost his case. (...) When such a practice is applied, citizens lose the right to defend themselves against the power of the executive."

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the left wing's votes just
before the elections

more strikes forbidden

"defense is forbidden"

ICJ report on turkey

arrest and maltreatment
of trade unionists

Nº 18

TURKEY

of August 13 - August 19, '73

THE LEFT WING'S VOTES JUST BEFORE THE ELECTIONS

As October 14, the date set for legislative elections, draws near, the democratic forces are intensifying their action despite the provocations of the right wing and the various restrictions which impede a democratic functioning of political life, above all the lack of a party representing the working class as such. Some 300?000 votes cast in the 1969 elections for the Turkish Workers Party, broken up after the military intervention of March 12, 1971, are being ardently, and often indirectly, solicited from the workers by the Republican People's Party and the Turkish Union Party. Although these votes would enable the TUP to gain only a few additional seats in the National Assembly, in view of the manner in which the election districts are carved out, Mr. Ecevit's RPP, on the other hand, might be able to increase the number of its seats from 15 to 20 if it were to receive the votes formerly given to the Turkish Workers Party.

Nonetheless, Mr. Mustafa Timisi's Turkish Union Party is highlighting the questions of freedom of expression, a left-oriented democratic government, and Turkish relations with the European Economic Community and NATO and therefore appears on the scene at present as the most "leftist" of all the political parties. Mr. Timisi has indeed just made two sensational statements, the first of which is about the EEC and NATO : "The Turkish Union Party is convinced that a true struggle for democracy is inseparably linked to the struggle for independence and for this reason it takes a stand against NATO, against the EEC and all the bilateral treaties (+) in order to defend the specific interests of the working masses and the peasants. It believes that it is the duty of all patriots and progressives to fight with all their strength against these institutions." In his second statement, Mr. Timisi attacks the idea of criminal opinions which he considers to be "anti-democratic". "The true criminals", Mr. Timisi said, "are the degenerate capitalist system and the financial groupings together with their political representatives who have interest in maintaining this system".

As for the Republican People's Party, it appears to have better chances of gaining the Turkish Workers Party votes. It is better known, and it is the main opposition party. In addition, an appeal in its favor has been made by Lastik-Is, an important union, whose president is Mr. Riza Kuas, independent member of Parliament from Istanbul (a formerly representative of the T.W.P.) and which is affiliated to the Federation of Progressive Workers Unions (DISK). The appeal appeared in the monthly organ of the union, edited by Mr. Kemal Sülker, General Secretary of DISK. Entitled "We shall vote for democracy", it stated : " It is not our duty to abstain from voting, but rather to vote in favor of a party - specifically, the People's Republican Party - which has demonstrated that it would enlarge the limits of democracy, that it would protect, as much as possible, the interests of the workers and peasants against the parties which represent capital. If today we have a People's Republican Party which defends democracy, it is in part because it knows it can rely on the support of the working class and the other labouring classes. Remembering always that our prime objective is to create our own political organization, we workers shall go to the ballot boxes on October 14 and vote for the People's Republican Party in order to obtain this objective, conscious that this is a part, but only a part, of the working class fight for democracy.

(+) The 54 bilateral treaties between Turkey and the United States (editor's note).

MORE STRIKES FORBIDDEN

A strike of 4,000 workers at 11 plants of the petroleum industry was scheduled to start on August 10, but the government acted a second time to suspend it for another two months.

Elsewhere, the strike of workers in the chemical fertilizer factories at Yarmca and Iskenderun has had to be postponed for 30 days. This decision to strike, like that at the petroleum industry, had been taken by the Petroleum Industry Workers Union (Petrol-Is) and it was forbidden for the same reason by a decree of the Council of Ministers, namely "national security".

Thus faced with such arbitrary governmental measures in addition to the severe restrictions imposed on the right to strike by two amendments to the Constitution and the law concerning strikes and lock-outs, the Turkish working class is more defenseless than ever. The increasing power of the employers to stifle workers' demands by means of lock-outs (see TURKEY N° 17) and illegal pressure (see REPRESSION) has been backed up by all the governments in power since the military intervention of March 12, 1971.

But despite all this, there has been some awakening of popular response putting pressure on the workers' representatives to break their self-imposed silence. Thus, after these new strike prohibitions, Mr. Ismail Topkar, the president of Petrol-Is, raised his voice to accuse the government of having "lost the impartiality" by forbidding strikes and refusing to take measures against the lock-outs. Mr. Topkar stated that his union gave full support to the struggle of the 25,000 automobile workers "condemned to starve because of the employers' lock-out" and called on all Turkish workers to undertake a 24-hour general strike of solidarity in their behalf.

It should be noted that the lock-out in the automobile industry at Bursa (see TURKEY N° 17) is still going on and that union officials give the reason as being "the desire of the employers to get the right to a 15 % increase of prices for the Renault-Oyak and Fiat-Tofaş."

WILL THE TURKISH WORKERS IN FRANCE AT LAST HAVE THE RIGHT TO SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS ?

The social security agreement between France and Turkey has at last been signed by the Turkish government and published in the Official Journal of July 23, to be effective as of August 1. Discussions concerning this agreement had been under way by the two governments concerned since April 1965. It took final form on January 20, 1972 when Mr. Nihat Erim, Turkish prime minister, came to Paris on a visit. It was ratified shortly after by the French government, but only 18 months later by Turkey, whose Parliament and government were at the time busying themselves with repressions against the workers instead of guaranteeing their rights. Will the ratification of the social security agreement suddenly change things ? One can hardly say so, since the bureaucratic work involved before the Turkish workers could fully benefit from the guarantees written into this agreement will take almost a year, according to the editor of the daily Yeni Ortan. The agreement, incidentally, requires that "individual requests be submitted by the interested party". This required formality will make it very difficult for the immigrant workers to present their requests, since only a tiny minority of them are able to express themselves in French and there is only one Turkish representative in Paris in charge of immigrant problems. That is how the Turkish immigrant workers are treated by their own country to whose economic viability they contribute the billion dollars they send back home each year.

"DEFENSE IS FORBIDDEN"

At the "Dev-Genç" trial, the defense lawyers will have 10 minutes each to defend the accused, and if the latter wishes to make a statement, these 10 minutes will be divided between the accused man and his lawyer. This decision was taken by the Military Court N° 1 of the Ankara Martial Law Command in accordance with Article 160 of the law (!) 353. It is difficult to see how an accused person threatened with 15 years of imprisonment could defend himself in 10 minutes. Yet this is not an isolated case in the military court procedure. During the trial of the 256 persons accused in the P.L.F.T. and P.L.P.T. case, now being held at the 3rd Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law command, Mr. Ertugrul Kurkçu, the sole survivor of the Kizildere massacre, has just been sentenced by this court to 10 days of solitary confinement in a second trial where he was accused of "threatening the court". Mr. Kurkçu had intervened in the name of Mr. Fuat Cakmak, also accused in that trial, who had been admitted to the military hospital after having been brutally treated by the prison guards. Another accused man, Mr. Hasan Saruhan, was also placed under solitary confinement for having requested the director of the prison to ease prison rules for Mr. Faik Muzaffer Amaç, an aged lawyer with a heart disease.

In the so-called "acts of sabotage" trial, most of the 16 witnesses who appeared before the 2nd Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Command stated that it was practically impossible for any one to sabotage the installations of the Istanbul Culture Palace if he was not informed of the very complicated work of these installations, and that it was likewise very difficult to enter into the naval yards of Haliç, where the ferry boat Eminönü had sunk. Following these statements, the prosecutor asked the court not to give credence to this evidence in case the accused were to use it in their defense (!). At the same trial, defense lawyer Ziya Nur Erün was threatened by the court's president to be excluded from the courtroom because he asked that a question be put to the witness, the same question that had already been put to another witness.

This is the kind of trial procedure that takes place in the military court. Most of this information has been gathered from reports issued by the semi-official Anatolia agency.

MORE ASSERTIONS OF TORTURE

More assertions of torture are being added to the torture file of the present Turkish rule:

In the trial of the "Popular Liberation Party of Turkey": Mr. Seyit Gökçe, an electrician, denounced before the court the torture he was subjected to when questioned by the police: "falaka", torture by means of electrified cudgels, and electric shocks. His torturers renewed the torture when they found out that he belonged to the *chiite* religious sect. Three other accused persons in the same case, Messrs. Riza Colak, Mete Sönmez and Faik Gülerüz, stated before the Court that they too had been tortured during their questioning.

In the "bomb" trial : Mr. Salim Yavuz, one of those accused, declared at court that he had been in solitary confinement for eight months in a cell without windows and forced to sign untrue statements.

ICJ REPORT ON TURKEY

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) has issued a 37 page staff study entitled "The Rule of Law in Turkey and the European Convention on Human Rights". The principal conclusions drawn from this study are:

"1. It is doubtful whether at the time of the original proclamation of martial law in Turkey on April 26, 1971, there was any 'public emergency threatening the life of the nation' as required under article 15 of the European Convention on Human Rights;

"2. Whatever the position in April 1971, there is no such emergency at the present time and it is difficult to see how the continuance of the state of martial law can be justified under the Convention;

"3. The emergency measures taken under martial law seriously derogate from the obligations under the Convention;

"4. Apart from the emergency measures, the changes which have been made in the Constitution and the permanent laws in the last two years conflict with the obligations contained in the Convention in numerous respects, and in particular in relation to freedom of expression, freedom of association and the right to a fair trial. Being alterations to the permanent legislation, these cannot be justified as 'emergency measures' under Article 15 of the Convention.

"Illegal practices are occurring in Turkey in violation of the Convention, in particular the torture and ill-treatment of political suspects, and the illegal detention of suspects."

AMNESTY CAMPAIGN FOR BEHICE BORAN

Amnesty International adopted Mrs. Behice Boran, former chairwoman of the now banned Turkish Workers Party, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment and 5 years exile in October 1972, and launched a postcard campaign with the purpose of having her released. Amnesty International, in its note to participants, presents Mrs. Boran as follows: "Behice Boran was the first woman to head a political party in Turkey. She studied at the University of Michigan in the United States and later became a professor of Sociology. She was previously imprisoned in the early 1950s for her opposition to the Korean War. She is now in her 60s, and her health has been described as 'fragile' by someone who knows her and who expressed the view that 'more years in prison will certainly kill her'".

WORLD FESTIVAL OF YOUTH AND TURKEY

The 10th World Festival of Youth and Students "for anti-imperialist solidarity, peace and friendship" took place in Berlin, the capital of the German Democratic Republic, between 28th July and 5th August 1973. The repression by the regime in Turkey prevents the youth and student organizations of Turkey from participating freely in the Festival. Nevertheless the Turkish youths abroad, on the basis of a call from the International Preparatory Committee for the Festival, have formed a "Turkish National Committee" representing organized or unorganized young workers, intellectuals and students together with the young patriots who have had to leave Turkey as a result of political persecution.

The Turkish National Committee confirmed the will of the Turkish youth to fight against imperialism and anti-democratic regimes and declared its solidarity with the peoples of Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, and with the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting for independence.

ARREST AND MALTREATMENT OF TRADE UNIONISTS

On August 9 the leaders of the Civil Aviation Workers Union (Hava-Is) held a press conference to denounce the ill treatment they were subjected to at the Istanbul police headquarters for 48 hours when they were arrested on the basis of an anonymous accusation which seems to bear all the earmarks of a provocation, coming as it did just prior to a possible strike decision (see TURKEY N° 17). Meanwhile trade unionists who dare to raise their voice face arrest and illegal attacks. Shortly after three trade unionists were freed at Seydisehir (Konya) after have been arrested and illegally held in prison for 21 days, police squads made a sudden appearance at the Izmir Sport Palace where a festival was being held on the occasion of the circumcision of some workers' children; the reason, as usual, was a "denunciation". The policemen brutally cleared out the hall, ill-treating the 1500 men, women and children who had gathered there that evening, and began a meticulous search in order to find "the bombs placed in the hall", so they said. Not having found any, the forces of "law and order" leave, under vigorous protests on the part of the workers and their families. Following this police intervention, the general secretary of the Lastik-Is Union, which had organized the festivities, took the floor and told those present: "This is just a base plot in which the pretext of a false denunciation was used, by those, I believe, who fear to see our organization stronger in Izmir by workers joining the ranks of our progressive trade union."

MILITARY AND POLICE TERROR

Repression in Turkey continues to grow and spread out over the entire country. Isolated but nonetheless significant cases are being added to an already well-filled file:

Mr. Huseyin Ustundag, a peasant from the village of Ahirözü, died at the hospital of Eskisehir, to which he had been brought as an urgent case after being subjected to physical cruelty at the hands of the local village police. Mr. Ustundag, who was 44 years old and the father of 7 children, had been condemned to three months imprisonment for a minor offense; many Ahirözü villagers saw him enter police headquarters to serve his time, in perfect health, and carried out, unconscious, 24 hours later.

In another case, two gendarmes, one of whom was a non-commissioned officer, were accused of having practised the bastonade torture known as "falaka" on Mr. Ali Tunca, a peasant from Karacabey (Bursa). They were condemned to three months imprisonment each, and the non-commissioned officer, in addition was forbidden employment in the public service for three months.

Can this rather mild sentence save the face of a regime which rages not only against intellectuals but against the entire population of Turkey, and especially in the Eastern part of the country where there are large Kurdish communities.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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political life :
first encounters

the cyprian conflict
as seen from
the turkish side

statement of the independent
trade unions :
6181 lock-outs in 3 years

three more death
penalties requested

"the right do defense
cannot be restricted"

N° 19

TURKEY

of August 20 - August 26, '73

FIRST ENCOUNTERS

As the date of the elections approaches, the first encounters between the politicians of the different followings bring to light the range of Turkish political thought, which will soon be crystallized by the official publication of "election manifestoes". Awaiting this, we quote below the last statements of the spokesmen of the political parties.

"By their inflationary policies, all of the governments which have followed one another, sabotage the concentration of capital". (Alparslan TURKES, President of the National Action Party - extreme right) - 22.8.1973

"We will make the present system work in reverse". (Bulent ECEVIT, President of the People's Republican Party - center left) - 19.8.1973

"The intention of the P.R.P., to make the present system work in reverse does not date from today, and means in reality that they want to 'overthrow' the system. The fact that the P.R.P. is actually the 'thought center' of the marxists, the communists and the anarchists who want only to overthrow the state and the established system, is just one more piece of evidence." (Ismet SEZGIN, vice-president of the Justice Party - governing party) - 20.8.1973

"We are the friends of free enterprise. We respect and like the businessmen who, in investing and creating new jobs, pay the state taxes, thus increasing the national product, contributing to the development of our country". (Turhan FEYZIOGLU, president of the Republican Confidence Party - second wing of the coalition government.) - 17.8.1973

"The past governments have left the field free to both internal and external exploitation; paralysing the correct application of the Constitution, they have suffocated the liberty of expression, restrained the scientific progress and reduced to silence all those who made steps in this direction." (Haydar OZDEMIR, secretary general of the Turkish Union Party - center left) - 18.8.73

"The Justice Party does not have the right to ask again for the government. (...) Was it not under their government that the military intervention of the 12th of March took place? Is it not the party of those who fled, abandoning the mandate which was given to them by the people? (...) Of those who voted after the intervention, the laws against the public will?" (Sadettin BILGIC, vice-president of the Democratic Party - conservative) - 17.8.1973

"In the present situation, the contradictions between the military tribunals and the State Security Courts risks to bring to bear, at the moment of the elections, a pressure on the free public will. The Statute law of these courts should not be used as weapon of pressure limiting the political freedom during an election campaign already marked by the provocations and false accusations of the J.P. and the R.C.P." (Hudai ORAL, vice-president of the parliamentary group of the P.R.P.) - 17.8.1973

THE CYPRIAN CONFLICT AS SEEN FROM THE TURKISH SIDE

The arrest in Cyprus of leaders of the Turkish Republican Party by local Turkish authorities once more points to Ankara's duplicity in the Cyprian conflict.

Is the repressive arm of the Turkish government reaching out beyond its borders ? There was reason to believe so when it was known that Messrs. Mithat Berberoglu and Naci Talat, President and general secretary respectively of the Turkish Republican Party, had been arrested on August 15 by the local Turkish authorities, bringing to a total of ten the members of this party now under arrest. Tried for "being in the possession of and distributing certain articles and bulletins originating in Turkey", they were sentenced to ten months imprisonment and a fine of 2,000 pounds sterling. This sentence appears to be a final warning in light of the fact that Mr. Berberoglu had been a candidate in 1972 for the vice-presidency of the Cyprian Republic in opposition to Mr. Denktas, elected after Mr. Berberoglu had been forced to withdraw his candidacy under pressure from Ankara.

What is the Turkish government's objective in intimidating the island's progressive circles and lending its unconditional support to Mr. Denktas, a fierce nationalist, partisan of the "partition" thesis put forward by Turkey after the 1956 events ? This attitude becomes all the more incomprehensible when it is recalled that Turkey did not deem it necessary to raise its voice when it learned that general Grivas, the former head of the EOKA and a partisan of "Enosis", had returned secretly to Cyprus. Nor is the attitude of the Greek colonels clear in this respect while giving official support to the Makarios government, they are encouraging the partisans of Grivas.

Makarios thus finds support for his position of independence for the island only among the progressives, be they Greeks or Turks, and he refuses to take any repressive action against them despite the pressures exerted by Ankara and Athens. The reactionary Turkish press has therefore labeled him the "red archbishop" and he is the object of curses on the part of a super-power like the United States, interested in everything pertaining to the Mediterranean and the Near East, and which openly states that "there shall be no Cuba in the Meditteranean".

Who, indeed, could be more interested in provoking a civil war in Cyprus which would lead either to "Enosis" - that is, the island's being assimilated to Greece - or to partition between Greece and Turkey ? In either case, the island would fall under control of the Atlantic Alliance, of which both interested countries are members.

This context must be borne in mind to understand the arrest of the leaders of the Cyprian Turkish Republican Party, a progressive party which, together with the Greek A.K.E.L. party is supporting president Makarios' government, that is, the independence of the Cyprian State. Faced with plots of this kind, the Greco-Turkish people of Cyprus are more conscious than ever that a fratricidal war could only serve interests contrary to their own and that national independence can be obtained only through unity.

Statement of the Independent Trade Unions : 6181 LOCK-OUTS IN 3 YEARS

Whilst a wave of lock-outs continues to break on the Turkish workers, five trade unions (Petkim-İş, Sosyal-İş, Tek-Bank-İş, Tu-İş and Teknik-İş), independent of the confederations, have just regrouped themselves in a "Support Council" and have called on the other independent unions to join them in order to form a "united front".

In their joint statement, of August the 19th last, these five unions violently criticised Turk-İş (the most important Trade Unions Confederation of the country) and its line "above the parties" which has warranted it "not to be taken seriously by the employers" and they state in particular: "These last lock-outs are the manifestation of a general aggression. The capitalist milieu wants to obtain the final victory of an exploitation plan carefully planned for a long time. In collaboration with the parties which represent their interests, they have seized the occasion of an exceptional regime caused by the military intervention on the 12th March; to instigate an economic system founded on the exploitation of the working masses; whilst the Trade Unions Confederations, who represent several hundreds of thousands of workers, have been lacking in their historical duty. Due to this the employers more organized than ever, have found themselves in a situation favourable for refusing the most just demands of the workers, for returning to the use of intimidation and of lock-outs. 6181 lock-outs in the last three years is the most significant evidence for this. Turk-İş carries a large part of the responsibility in the present situation, and in order that the possibility for the working class to defend their economic, social and cultural rights can exist, it is necessary for them to express a political awareness. To say that "the working class must rest above the parties" results, in effect, in closing the path by which it could exercise its influence on the political life of the country; and to recognize only from the employers, this right assured by the Constitution, to all citizens".

GOVERNMENT ACTION AGAINST THE RISE IN PRICES : IMPORTATION

The uncontrolled rise in prices has started to pose serious problems to the Turkish leaders. According to an official source, this rise reached 20% in 1972 and all sectors were equally affected. The rise in prices was equally valid for the raw materials as the everyday consumer goods.

How to juggle the rise in prices ? It seems that Mr. Talu's government has found a solution which will dispose of the large concentration of currency, due to the emigrated workers, and which in frightening the speculators will limit the rise in prices : Importation. All products which are scarce on the internal market will be imported : from school exercise books to tyres, in passing by butter, meat, shoes, sewing thread - and yes-needles and to be sure the industrial raw materials, according to a decree the government has just presented for signature to the president of the Republic.

Who is going to win ? It will not in any case, be the working masses who, besides the wave of lock-outs that threatens them more and more, find themselves facing an inflation with a regression of 6 % on their actual salaries.

THREE MORE DEATH PENALTIES REQUESTED

On August 15, in the so-called "suitcase murder" trial, the military prosecutor Lieut. Col. Dogan Dulgergil requested capital punishment for three of the accused, Miss Banu Erguder, and Messrs. Garbis Altinoglu and Umit Necef. Eight other persons on trial in the same case face imprisonment for up to 15 years, and three others for up to 12 years.

At issue in this trial is the murder of a student which occurred when members of a secret organization were squaring accounts. The victim's corpse had been found in a suitcase, hence the trial's "title". In the absence of the presumed assassin, Mr. Zeynel Altindag, whom the police were unable to arrest, the military court is trying his accomplices, accused of attempting to hide the corpse.

These three most recent death requests, added to those of various other military prosecutors, now bring the total of such requests to more than 150.

FOUR ACTORS SENTENCED

On August 21, the 3rd Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law Command sentenced four actors of the "A.B.S." theater to 6 years and 8 months in prison each. Among them was Mr. Vasif Öngören, one of the most outstanding dramatists and stage directors of his generation. Condemned for having created a "secret organization whose aim is to overthrow the established order and to institute the dictatorship of one social class over the others", Messrs. Halil Ibrahim Ergun, Erdogan Akduman and Mustafa Alabora, after serving their prison sentences, face exile to various cities in Anatolia for two years, two months and 20 days, and will be deprived indefinitely of the right to work in the public service.

In another case, the Court of Cassation has just confirmed the five months prison sentence of Mr. Fakir Baykurt. On August 18 this well-known Turkish novelist, ex-president of the Turkish Teachers Union (dissolved after the military intervention of March 12, 1971), was jailed in the prison of Kızılcahaman.

NEW ACCUSATIONS OF TORTURE

As more and more defendants, often imprisoned for months, are brought to trial before the military courts, their testimony again reveals the torture which the police of the military authorities resort to during their questioning:

In the trial of "the Turkish Popular Liberation Front and Party", Mr. Sener Sadi, a lawyer and eye witness of the "Kızıldere massacre", related in detail how the house where the guerilla leaders had sought refuge with their hostages had been attacked by mortar and anti-tank missiles. He stated that he had been tortured at the barracks of the Unye gendarmes in front of a hundred people accused of being accomplices of the guerrilla fighters. Mustafa Cimen, a former lieutenant in the Air Force, and Ziya Yücesan, a former officer, withdraw their previous testimony which, they said, had been obtained under torture at the anti-guerrilla center.

In the so-called "bombing" trial, upsetting revelations concerning torture were made by defendants Necati Eleveli, Mehmet Cinar and Ertug R. Karacibioglu, an engineer, adding their testimony to the many accusations of torture already heard in this trial.

"THE RIGHT TO DEFENSE CANNOT BE RESTRICTED"

Only ten minutes were allotted to the accused last week for their defense in the Dev-Geng trial (see TURKEY N° 18). This flagrant injustice is still a burning issue, as witnessed by an article written by Mr. Orhan Apaydin, a member of the Istanbul Bar, known for his conservative stand, parts of which we are quoting below.

"Had the right to defense been restricted to five minutes for example, at Socrates' trial exactly 2372 years ago when he was accused of opposing the Athenian government, humanity would never been able to read that incomparable speech reproduced in Xenophon's Anabasis and Socrates' Apology by Platon.(...) In the old Roman Empire, the right of even slaves to defense was considered "sacred".(...) Ever since the creation of the Ottoman Empire, which held justice to be the very basis of society, down to our days, the right to defense has always been considered sacred".

"(...) The equality of accuser and defendant before the law has been an unchangeable rule in the legislation pertaining to Turkish court procedures, together with a preference accorded to the defense to have the last word. Our state is signatory to texts which not only consider the right to defense to be a legal principle, but which inscribe this right among the principal Rights of Man (Article 11 of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man, and Article 6 of the European Convention on the Rights of Man)."

"(...) As for Article 31 of the 1961 Constitution, where the right to defense is included among the principle rights of a citizen, it has not been changed by any of the negative amendments to which the Constitution has been subjected in recent years. (...) On the occasion of a requested annulment of a law, our Constitutional Court took the position that the right to defense could not be restricted even in "exceptional" periods. It argued as follows: "Even in a state of general mobilization, which must be considered an exceptional situation, the restriction of the right to defense, which is a basic and sacred right, would without doubt deprive the person in question from defending himself in the manner he sees fit. That is why Article 31 of the Constitution states very clearly that the defense should be able to be presented by any method desired, using all legal means at its disposal. The slightest restriction would destroy the essence of this right (26.6.1963 E. N° 1963/143 K. N° 1963/167)".

"On June 8, 1972 a motion was added to Article 160 of Law 353 concerning military courts. It provided that "in case of war, the length of the written or oral presentation may be limited". Although the military courts themselves are not of an exceptional character, they hold that martial law is equivalent to a state of war. Under this interpretation, the defense loses its rights in the martial law courts, even though they are just ordinary courts. According to the Constitutional Court's decision, that motion is in direct contradiction to the provisions of Article 31 of the Constitution which we have referred to above, as well as to Turkey's International commitments. As long as that motion, which strikes at the very foundations of the sacred right to defense, has not been annulled by legislative or legal means, everyone, as a human being and as a citizen, has the right to expect that a Turkish judge will use his power to see that it is not applied in the case he is presiding."

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settlement of accounts
within the armed forces

the 6,182nd lock-out
in three years

the 1950 convention of rome
and the turkish government

the limitation of the
right of defence

two journalists kept in
solitary confinement
for 102 days

N° 20

TURKEY

of August 27 - Sept. 2, 1973

SETTLEMENT OF ACCOUNTS WITHIN THE ARMED FORCES

On the occasion of the 51st anniversary of the victory of the "National Liberation War", the Armed Forces promotion and retirement list came into force on August 30, 1973, making way for wide ranging changes in the officer ranks. Sixty generals and 130 colonels have been given their retirement notice due to "lack of positions."

General Muhsin Batur, Commander of the Air Force, has retired and has been succeeded by General Emin Alpkaya, a former Secretary-General of the National Security Council. Another important retirement was that of General Faik Türün, Commander of the First Turkish Army and Istanbul Martial Law Commander, who has been replaced by General Dogan Özgöçmen.

General Muhsin Batur is the one of the four high commanders who had issued the 12th March Ultimatum and practised repressive measures for the last two years. Three other commanders, Tagmaç, Gürler and Eyiceoglu, had already been retired previously. "The 12th March Memorandum", said General Batur at the ceremony where he handed over his command, "had a deep significance and many reasons behind it. Why and how was it issued? How far did it succeed in reaching its goal? And if there are some goals which were not achieved, how did this come about? Those who signed the 12th March Memorandum and those whom it was addressed to are both committed parties: it cannot be expected that either of them will give a wholly impartial answer to these questions. For this reason I consider that its evaluation should be left to time and to political historians..."

Whatever political historians say in the future, it is a fact that those who signed the 12th March Ultimatum have been liquidated on behalf of those whom the ultimatum was addressed to. First, on 30th August of last year, two of the signatories, Chief of General Staff General Memduh Tagmaç and Commander of Naval Forces Celal Eyiceoglu, had been retired. They were followed by the third signatory, General Faruk Gürler. Following his disastrous defeat in the presidential elections, 35 generals known as adherents of General Gürler were "put on the shelf" by a decree issued on July 4, 1973.

The retirement of General Muhsin Batur was a logical step in this liquidation process. Although a new law extended the term of service of military commanders who were appointed during the last two years of their waiting period for promotion, General Batur was not eligible for a term extension because he had served as force commander during the first two years of his generalship. On the contrary, the term of Land Force Commander General Esref Akıncı, who had completed four years as general, has been extended for a further year.

The real truth behind these shifts and retirements is a settling of accounts within the Armed Forces. Efforts are being made to establish a military cadre that would be in keeping with the compromise worked out between Süleyman Demirel, leader of the Justice Party and prospective Prime Minister after the coming general election, and General Semih Sancar, who had successfully replaced General Gürler by first encouraging him to be candidate for the presidency of the Republic and later not supporting him against Demirel's obstruction.

Although some circles interpret these shifts and retirements as the liquidation of the commanders who carried out illegal practices in the period of martial law, it is a fact that Chief of General Staff Sancar, Land Force Commander Esref Akıncı and Air Force Commander Emin Alpkaya, replacing the signatories of the 12th March Ultimatum, have cleared the road to power for Demirel, whom the ultimatum was addressed to.

THE 6,182nd LOCK-OUT IN THREE YEARS

Although the automobile industry's lock-out at Bursa came to an end on August 25 when a more or less satisfactory agreement was obtained by the 6,000 workers whose salaries had been blocked for more than three weeks (see TURKEY N° 17), that very day the 6,182nd lock-out of the last three years went into effect at the Derince metallurgical works in Izmit.

When no agreement could be reached in discussions between management and the Maden-İş Union, the services of an arbitration council were resorted to, whose proposals were rejected first by the employers and then by the union which gave notice that they would go on strike six days later. Without waiting for this time to elapse, the employers struck back with a lock-out, half an hour after the strike decision had been taken.

It should be emphasized here that the Maden-İş union is affiliated to the Confederation of Progressive Unions (DISK) and that the employers seem to resort to the lock-out solution whenever this trade union federation is involved in a conflict. In view of the fact that the working class is more and more opposed TURK-İs, the largest trade union federation in Turkey, because of its docility and "no-party" line, could this behaviour on the part of the employers be interpreted as intimidation against an organisation which might prove capable of channelling the Turkish workers' renewed combativity ?

THE MYTH SURROUNDING FOREIGN CAPITAL IN TURKEY

Discussions surrounding Turkey's need to resort to foreign investments are nothing new. Answering the criticism of progressive circles who pointed to the excessive influence of foreign capital in Turkey, Mr. Suleyman Demirel, prime minister at that time, used a rather strange argument when he compared the country to a plot of land whose owner "had to call in a promoter" because he himself did not have the money for building on it.

Significant figures on this subject are to be found in the proceedings of a seminar held in February 1973 which the Academy of Economic and Commercial Sciences at Bursa has just published. The following figures which are quoted from it shed light on the myth surrounding foreign capital in Turkey :

<u>Foreign investments</u>			<u>Repatriated profits</u>	<u>gain</u>
1969	61,366,815 Lb.T.	(\$ 4.3 million)	62,692,305 Lb.T.	100%
1970	90,558,561 "	(\$ 6.4 ")	68,226,573 "	75%
1971	102,917,044 "	(\$ 7.3 ")	63,454,473 "	61%
1972	129,125,214 "	(\$ 9.0 ")	74,945,453 "	57%

Prof. Erol Zytinoglu's report indicates a total of 1,048,476,815 lb.T. (\$ 77 million) of foreign capital invested in Turkey between 1952 and 1972, and 552,612,125 Lb.T. (\$ 40 million) repatriated profits for the same period, amounting to 53.77% of the initial investment.

In view of the fact that these figures show only "repatriated" profits and that 43% of foreign capital is concentrated in the pharmaceutical and rubber tire industry, i.e. in the consumer sector, Prof. Zeytinoglu comes to the conclusion that it is not the purpose of foreign capital to help set Turkey's economy right.

THE 1950 CONVENTION OF ROME AND THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT

Misled by the Turkish politicians, the Council of Europe's Committee on Political Affairs, it will be recalled, did not vote for the proposal to create a committee of inquiry on Turkey when it met in Florence on July 3-5 and instead designated a study group to investigate the impairment of democracy and individual freedoms in all of its member countries (see TURKEY N° 16). The Turkish government, having convinced the majority of the Committee's members that no violation of human rights is taking place in Turkey, thus seems to have escaped, at least for the present time, involvement in proceedings which, according to article 8 of the Council of Europe's Statutes, might lead to the exclusion of a member country.

Meanwhile, while waiting for the Council of Europe to launch this political procedure in an effective manner, legal proceedings should be initiated to protect those human rights and fundamental freedoms to which Turkey committed itself when it signed the 1950 Convention of Rome. In order to ensure that such commitments would be observed, the Convention had set up a "European Commission of Human Rights" and a "European Court of Human Rights". Article 25 of the Convention states: "The Commission may receive petitions addressed to the Secretary-General of the Council of Europe from any person, non-governmental organisation or group of individuals claiming to be the victim of a violation by one of the High Contracting Parties of the rights set forth in this Convention, provided that the High Contracting Party against which the complaint has been lodged has declared that it recognises the competence of the Commission to receive such petitions."

The overwhelming majority of the signers of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms recognise the competence of the Commission and the European Court of Human Rights to receive such petitions, while a minority, among them Turkey, are opposed. However, the Commission cannot undertake an investigation "for the effective conduct of which the States concerned shall furnish all necessary facilities" (article 28 of the Convention) unless Turkey recognises the right of persons to petition the Council of Europe.

But if Human Rights are not impaired in Turkey, as the Turkish representatives to the Council of Europe have steadily maintained; if in Turkey everyone's right to life is protected by law (Article 2); if no one may be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (article 3); if no one may be deprived of his liberty unless convicted by a competent court (article 5); if no one may be held guilty of any criminal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a criminal offence under national or international law at the time when it was committed (article 7); if everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion (article 9); if everyone has the right to freedom of expression (article 10), to freedom of peaceful assembly and to freedom of association with others (article 11) -- why then does Turkey not recognise the "right of everyone whose rights and freedoms as set forth in the Convention have been violated to have an effective remedy before a national authority (article 13)?

That is the question which Turkey's associates in the Council of Europe should ask themselves. That is the question to which Turkey's political parties, be they of the government or the opposition, must give an answer in their electoral programs.

THE LIMITATION OF THE RIGHT OF DEFENCE

The prof. Ugur Alacakaptan, ex-dean of the Law Faculty at the University of Ankara has just published a series of articles concerning the recent limitations to the right to defence, during the trial of the TPLF and of the TPLP (see TURKEY N° 18 and 19). We quote below extracts from his articles.

"According to a clause, included by the law 1596, to the article 160 of the law 353, 'in time of war, the length of the reading of the written or of the oral pleading by the defence counsel can be limited by the court'.

"(..) The article 18 of the law 1402 concerning Martial Law stipulates that the Military Tribunals must apply the dispositions of the law 353 applying to the state of war.

"According to intentions of the clause, '...in certain cases, it is a fact that the right to a defence is used as a method of obstruction and of propaganda'.

"(..) If such was the intention, by the articles of the same law, concerning the prohibition to the publication of the proceedings and the discipline of the trial, anybody attempting to obstruct its functioning could be neutralised. In other words, it was not necessary to interfere with the fundamental principles of the trial, which is of an oral nature.

"(..) In reality it is the right to a defence, defined by article 31 of the Constitution which is interfered with. (This right) is an unlimited right. (...) As the prof. Erem said '...all regulations which restrain the right to a defence are against the law...'

"(..) If there is no means of satisfying the pleadings of the defence, their dialectic does not yield any results. Nothing is revealed without its opposite. The accusation, the defence and the judgement, in order to define themselves need their respective counter-parts. The need for a dialectic for the accusation and for the defence, arises from this..'

"(..) Another fact that shows us that this article has been adopted so that the right to a defence can be limited even to the extreme, is the fact that, even though one speaks of neutralising the obstructions to the trials where the number of defendant is large, the article is written in such a way that it can be applied even when there is only one defendant. The last clause of article 160 gives the right to the tribunal, to limit the defence even when there is only one defendant.

"The law must not shun its real duty. When the instrument of mystification is the law, the person who is deceived loses his force. It is thus that the society loses its hope. Beyond this, it is the hate that starts, one is frightened. We have seen that where a real justice existed, the people supported even the worst of governments.(..) 'To convince that they are "the laws which punish the men" and not "the men which punish the men"..This is the whole question...'

"(..) The point of view, that the State should be safeguarded what ever happens, can not justify an attitude which leaves on the side the Constitutional system..The war and the state of Martial Law are the situations which have their place in a constitutional system; this is why they must answer to the principles of the Constitution."

TWO JOURNALISTS KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR 102 DAYS

Even though the duration of solitary confinement is limited to a maximum of 60 days, Mr. Yaşar Uçar, ex-director of the ANT magazine and Mr. Ahmet Dinler member of the dissolved Worker's Party, have been kept in solitary confinement for 102 days, in a prison at Izmit.

The prisoners have been submitted to this confinement since their arrival at Izmit on the 15th of May. After 60 days they requested to be liberated from this regime, the reply of the minister of Justice was however that they should be transferred to a civil prison at Adana; this transfer will probably be carried out in the near future. They will continue the rest of their prison sentences there: 7,5 years for Mr. Uçar convicted under articles 142/1 and 142/2 of the penal code for articles which appeared in ANT before the state Of Martial Law, and 7,5 years also for Ahmet Dinler for having, as a member of LPT distributed the revue "A blow to the exploiters" at Zonguldak.

They will join at Adana numerous other convicted intellectuals and teachers, which include amongst others the editor Suleyman Ege (30 years) and the writer Can Yücel.

THE THIRD STATE SECURITY COURT AT DIYARBAKIR

The government who meet on the 23rd of August last, decided to create a court of State Security in the department of Diyarbakır. This court should control 20 departments that were previously allocated to the State Security court at Adana.

The martial Law, which was lifted in the department of Diyarbakır this week, awaited the formation of this new court before being lifted. It seems that the government are being precautions, as the government spokesman, Mr. Hakkı Tekinel, stated that they were studying the formation of two other State Security courts for the departments of Ankara and Istanbul, which are today, as if intentionally, the only two cities which are still under martial law. It is highly probable that these measures will come into force in a short time, and before the elections, showing once again the real game of the government through their so-called liberal actions, such as the lifting of the Martial Law.

TORTURE : "THE MINISTER WAS PRESENT AT THE SESSIONS"

Just as it was possible to read in last week number of TURKEY (N° 19), new revelations about the tortures submitted to numerous prisoners, at the time of their interrogations, have been made during their defense before the military courts.

The trial called "the Worker's section" : the witness Celalettin Altınok stated that he had been beaten during his interrogation.

The trial of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey and the Popular Liberation Party of Turkey : The accused Harun Saruhan said that he had spoken under torture and menaces, he stated also that the Minister of Interior Ferit Kubat was present during certain torture sessions. The accused Abdulkadir Bulent Karataş, electrician, said that he refused the declaration that had been extracted from him by menaces and under psychological torture. The student Esat Korkmaz stated that he had been savagely tortured since his first interrogation and that he also refuses the declaration that he had been forced to sign in the offices of the MIT (National Intelligence Organisation).

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social strata of the
candidates to the
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the fight carried on by
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the turkish workers party
is banned twice

in the international
press

Nº 21

TURKEY

of Sept. 3 - Sept. 9, 1973

SOCIAL STRATA OF THE CANDIDATES TO THE LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

On September 2, more than half a million delegates from 8 political parties chose their official candidates from among 2,748 names presented. Each party had to prepare its electoral lists for the country's 67 territorial subdivisions, which have a total of 450 representatives in the National Assembly, and in addition designate Senatorial candidates for the 54 seats in the Senate up for renewal this year. These primary elections were of great importance because those candidates who scored high on the list of a big political party can be considered as practically elected. Several commentators in the Turkish daily press have thus concluded that more than half of the members of the future Assembly are already known. That is why we made a brief survey of the social strata to which the candidates of the two largest parties belong -- the Justice Party, the government's mainstay and the People's Republican Party, the chief oppositional formation which is also the only one to present complete lists of candidates in all the electoral districts. The survey is limited to seven territorial subdivisions in various parts of the country (Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Bursa, Samsun, Konya and Diyarbakır) which by themselves account for a total of 113 seats in the Assembly.

In these seven areas, the JP's 94 candidates and the PRP's 90 candidates (additional ones will be designated at a later date by the party's bodies) are divided as follows:

	<u>industry, whole-</u> <u>sale trade</u>	<u>retail</u> <u>trade</u>	<u>profes-</u> <u>sions</u>	<u>high-level</u> <u>public office</u>	<u>land-</u> <u>owners</u>
JP	20	3	14	25	10
PRP	8	5	23	10	3
	<u>teaching</u>	<u>university,</u> <u>journalism</u>	<u>juridical</u>	<u>religion</u>	<u>officers, workers,</u> <u>police</u> <u>unions</u>
JP	--	3	9	5	4 1
PRP	5	5	24	--	2 5

Thus we find the following class division for the candidates of the two parties:

	<u>upper class</u>	<u>middle class</u>	<u>lower class</u>
JP	59.8%	39.3%	0.9%
PRP	28.9%	65.6%	5.5%

From this it is clear that the Justice Party represents the industrial and financial circles, backed by the higher bureaucracy, whereas the PRP is more oriented to support from the middle class, despite its ties to ruling class. Deprived of any political party of their own in these elections, the working class and the peasants, who together come to 60% of the population, are represented by only 5.5% of the candidates of a party which calls itself social democratic.

That is a first-glance balance sheet of the primary elections. Moreover, the way in which they were held was often purely scandalous -- fighting took place in a number of areas; more than 30 people were hurt, 6 of whom were seriously injured; 20 armed partisans were arrested... Thus began an election campaign which is being carried on under martial law -- official in the two largest territorial subdivisions, and unofficial elsewhere in the country -- under conditions in which the left has been strangled and the most underprivileged layers of the population eliminated from the political scene.

THE FIGHT CARRIED ON BY TURKISH WORKERS ABROAD

Last week the exasperation of Turkish workers in the Federal Republic of Germany overflowed its bounds when some of Turkish workers of the Ford factory in Köln were dismissed. Hundreds of Turkish workers returning from summer vacation spent in Turkey had not been able to be back at work on time because their Turkish Airlines plane was delayed, a now chronic occurrence. As a result, about 300 Turkish workers were fired by the employer who used as pretext their lateness in returning to work. Thereupon 32,000 workers in the factory went on strike, the brunt of which was borne by the 13,000 Turkish workers, the largest national group among the various foreigners working at Ford.

At first the employer used a tactic which has now become classic, asserting that the workers were being influenced by "radical, extreme left-wing" propaganda. This rationale was immediately accepted by Mr. Ali Naili Erdem, the Turkish Minister of Labour. It is hard to imagine how a member of the government of the Turkish Republic could have taken such a position. However, once the first shock on learning his attitude has passed, it is evident that it is perfectly in harmony with the stand he took a little over a month ago on returning to Turkey from his trip to the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Turkish Minister of Labour had visited a number of cities of Germany on a study trip which very quickly took the form of an electoral campaign. Without in the least attempting to solve the problems of the Turkish workers abroad, the Minister launched an attack on the progressive and anti-fascist movements. At one of the meetings he held, his attitude aroused such strong protests on the part of the workers that the Minister was obliged to cut short his stay in the Federal Republic of Germany. Returning to Turkey, Mr. Erdem held the German authorities responsible as well as the Social Democratic party and the Turkish workers: "The German police should have taken necessary steps to ensure my protection during my visit. It wasn't even able to keep the building in which the meeting was organized from being decorated with communist banners. I could not speak from a platform harboring those banners. Extremist elements who have fled from Turkey and who are being sought by the martial law authorities are at present living in the Federal Republic of Germany and have infiltrated the workers' associations. The workers are a target for the propaganda of the Young Socialist faction of Mr. Willy Brandt's Social Democratic Party." To which the German police replied that Mr. Erdem's life was in no way threatened.

The Köln events were interpreted by the Minister of Labour to be the consequence of "subversive propaganda". But the combined efforts of the Turkish government and the employers were not able to stop the strike at the Ford factory. In their efforts to fight against it, the employers chose to incite the German workers against the Turkish workers by means of racist slogans which led to a number of incidents, as could be expected.

Despite the attitude of the Turkish government and a few regrettable incidents caused by racist circles, the Turkish Minister of Labour's trip to Germany proved that the Turkish workers have reached a high degree of awareness. What is necessary now is to speed up grouping the Turkish workers abroad into one overall organisation and to effectuate, within the trade unions, solidarity between the German and foreign workers.

ENORMOUS PROFITS FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY

According to statistics released by the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, Turkey is one of the countries where the private sector is able to get highest returns on its investments.

The table below is quoted from the daily Cumhuriyet of August 31, 1973. The figures indicates Turkish pounds. (year 1972).

<u>Companies</u>	<u>Assets</u>	<u>Net Profits</u>	<u>Rate of profit</u>
Cukurova Makine (machines)	14.528.485	17.243.244	49.9%
Alarko (metallurgy)	35.471.520	13.125.934	37.0%
Otomarsan (automobiles)	92.333.418	29.360.121	31.7%
Islon Sent.Iplik (textile)	57.483.269	16.796.655	29.2%
Sasa Suni Deri (synt.Leath)	106.575.784	42.629.160	27.2%
Antalya Ferrokrom (axtract)	79.911.612	19.073.707	23.8%
Sifaş Sent.Ipl. (textiles)	155.166.842	35.755.806	23.0%
Koruma T.I. (chem.prods)	70.389.552	15.414.161	21.9%
Profilo (metallurgy)	93.684.025	20.460.831	21.8%
Bossa (textile)	147.001.800	31.363.623	21.3%
Otosan (automobiles)	149.641.166	31.028.140	20.7%
Trakya Sanayii	20.836.116	4.298.583	20.6%
Güney Sanayii (textiles)	164.010.400	33.274.262	20.2%
Nuh Cimento (cement)	89.040.504	17.813.014	20.0%

These 14 were chosen among the largest companies in Turkey. The rate of profit among medium-sized and small firms is also high.

STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT AT THE EREGLI IRON COMPLEX

When negotiations with the employer led to no satisfactory result, 4100 workers affiliated to the Maden-İş trade union initiated a strike at the Ereğli iron complex, the largest Turkish concern from the point of view of sales. When the results of the negotiations between the union and the employer were presented the workers, they voted to strike by 3,615 for and 16 against. Thereupon the employer declared a lock-out.

Nonetheless, the present situation is such that a large part of the private sector is worried, particularly the metallurgical industry which will soon be in need of the raw materials supplied by Ereğli. This siderurgical complex had been created mostly by means of State funds; hence this is not an ordinary conflict between workers and employer. It is thus easy to understand why the private sector chose such a person as Mr. Vehbi Koç, President-Director of the Koç Holding Co. (the biggest accumulation of private capital in the country) as mediator to bring about a rapid solution.

Despite the fact that the Maden-İş union, affiliated to DISK, the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions, is about to engage in negotiations at Ankara with Mr. Koç, the mediator for the private sector, the situation remains serious in view of the continuing lock-out. It should be observed that in this situation the workers have nonetheless appointed a team of 150 of their comrades to keep the blast-furnaces going, despite the lock-out and its material consequences, in the hope that an agreement between union and employer will soon be reached.

TRIAL OF THE "MIHRI BELLI" GROUP

The 3rd military court of the Ankara martial law command has just pronounced sentence on the members of the "Mihri Belli" group; 6 of the accused have been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment; 7 of the accused to 8 years, 10 to 5 years 3 to 2 years, 1 to 1 year and 6 months, and another to one year. In addition, 6 of the accused were freed. The men sentenced to 10 years are: Vahap Erdogan, Muammer Soysal, Alaeddin Beyazit, Ahmet Kardan and Kaya Güvenç. To 8 years, Mrs. Sevin Belli (the wife of the group's leader) and the following group of men and women: Erhan Yıldırım, Murtaza Bor, Veli Kasımoğlu, Sakir Keçeli, Kayhan Edip Sakarya, Hüseyin Haldun Dasman. Akten Bozer, Siperi Güvenç, Nec-la Özgür, Güher Öztürk, Hasan Tarhan Özgür, Sebati Göken, Zeki Özkara, Mehmet Akarsu, Hüseyin Dogan and Süleyman Ars were sentenced to 5 years in prison; Ismet Köse, Yahya Özalp, and Mrs. Yaprak Zihnioğlu, 2 years; Adnan Badran, 1 year and 6 months; Mrs. Berin Kaynak, 1 year. Those liberated were Rüçhan Bozer, Yaşar Uzunlar, Mustafa Demir, Mahmut Özen, Cahit Musa and Macit Sab-ri.

FIVE DEATH SENTENCED REQUESTED

The military court of the Izmir martial law command had initially decreed prison sentences for those accused of having robbed a delivery van of the Agricultural Bank, getting away with 4 million Turkish pounds. However, the 3rd military court of cassation has overruled this verdict. On the pretext that this robbery had political motives and that its purpose was to supply a revolutionary organization with money, the court requested that the term of imprisonment of the accused be extended and that five of them be sentenced to death. The names of those for whom death is requested in accordance with article 146 of the Penal Code are Aydın Çubukçu, Kadir Kaymaz, Aktan Ince, Hikmet Çubukçu and Ertan Güciner.

THE TURKISH WORKERS PARTY IS BANNED TWICE

The newssheet TURKEY has on a number of occasions referred to the Turkish Workers Party, banned by the Constitutional Court, whose main leaders are in prison today serving sentences some of which are as long as 15 years. In reflecting on the facts in this case, the defense attorneys have brought the following to light.

1. For the same act, the Constitutional Court and the military court pronounced two different sentences. This is forbidden by law, as well as the fact that two different courts may not hold two trials arising from the same accusation.
2. For the same offence quite different sentences were pronounced for people whose legal responsibility was identical. The military court of the martial law command stated that it reduced the sentences of those who were "respectful towards the court"; the jurist state they are dealing here with very "peculiar" kind of law when sentences are sometimes reduced to 1/4 of the original verdict.
3. Even more important is that the reason for the ban on the T.W.P. and the sentencing of its leaders are based on one and the same offence, namely the adoption of a resolution at the 4th Congress of the T.W.P. acknowledging the right to existence of various ethnic minorities in the Eastern part of the country. This resolution was declared contrary to the law on political parties; however, at the time when this resolution was adopted, the election of the members of the party's directing groups had not yet taken place and the leaders were at that time only simple delegates. Yet their sentences had been approved by the military court of cassation "because they had not fulfilled their duty of denunciation".

Based on these arguments, the real problem appears to be that although the T.W.P. has been banned, no attempt was made to bring its program or its statutes to trial, and hence it should have the right to exist. It remains to be seen whether the double banning of the T.W.P. means that any socialist party is in and of itself illegal.

"FIFTY YEARS OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC"

That is the title of an article on Turkey which has just appeared in the September 4-10 issue of "France Nouvelle", national weekly of the French Communist Party. We are quoting below extracts from this study by Hilmi Demirci and Nadi Firat which deals, in particular with the agricultural structure of the country.

"In all the countries of the old world, the rise of the workers movement and of anti-imperialism is once more challenging the interests of the capitalists. (...) This obliges imperialism to introduce new forms of domination and exploitation in the so-called "under-developed" countries, based on an increased repression of the workers and the democratic and national movement, poorly masked by the "reforms" introduced in those countries."

After describing the agricultural structure of Turkey, which cannot be changed "without attacking the 'union sacrée' of finance capital and commercial and usurer capital", the authors analyse the country's new economic strategy "which will benefit only the biggest companies (...) and which will attempt to integrate the popular masses into the system of exploitation and economic and political repression". Drawing attention to the popular dissatisfaction prevailing in Turkey, the authors conclude that "the present situation is explosive. (...) More than ever before, what is needed is an alliance between workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals, civilians and military men, unity of the left wing and its alliance with all democratic forces."

A NEW BULLETIN ON TURKEY IN DUTCH

The Dutch Committee for Turkey" has just started publication of a monthly bulletin in the Flemish language entitled "Turkije Informatie". The latest issue contains detailed information on the repression exerted against teachers and a criticism of the stand taken by the Netherlands Minister of Foreign Affairs in the case of Turkey. (Corresponding address: H. Neudecker - Eikenweg 38 - Schagen - Holland. Tel: 02240-3303)

"TURKEY'S EQUIVOCAL STATUS"

The "London Times" has published in its issue of August 17 the revelations of Mr. Ibrahim Cenet, a victim of torture in Turkey. In the same issue, the British newspaper also published an article entitled "Turkey's equivocal status" which questioned whether Turkey is still a democracy today. The article suggested that it is not easy to give an answer citing the following: "Two and a half years ago the army intervened in politics to obtain the resignation of the government and the imposition of martial law. Since then over 1,700 people have been tried and sentenced for political offences, by no means all of them violent. A further 4,000 people are now on trial, and trials of about a thousand more will begin soon. Over a thousand books, most of them on Communism, have been banned. The Turkish Labour Party, which was the country's only socialist party, has been abolished and its leaders jailed. (...) Unfortunately there is no certainty that Mr. Demirel's return to power will mean a restoration of the political freedom... For Western Europe to turn a blind eye to acts of torture of arbitrary government in Turkey, even under a parliamentary system, would be no service either to Turkey or to Europe."

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Nº 22

TURKEY

of Sept. 10 - Sept. 16, '73

WHAT THE ELECTORAL PLATFORMS SAY

The main political parties have just published their election platforms a month prior to the coming legislative elections of October 14. An analysis of these statements shows that the real struggle is between the Justice Party and the People's Republican Party, the other groups merely rounding out the difference.

The Justice Party has made a painstaking effort to whitewash itself and justify its actions before and during the military intervention of March 12, 1971. For it should not be forgotten that the Justice Party was in power at the time the army thought it necessary to intervene in political life and disavow Mr. Demirel's administration, forcing it to resign. However, according to Mr. Sezgin, the party's vice-president who presented its platform to the press, there are two sides to Turkey's present crisis: First, the terrorist acts, encouraged and protected by "international communism" in order to place the political rulers in a difficult situation, and secondly, the flouting of "the will of the people" which had instituted a "legal government in the 1969 elections.

All is quite simple, according to the Justice Party. If there is a crisis, it's the fault of the "anarchists", and if the crisis continues, it's the fault of those who did not respect "the will of the people" which had voted in Mr. Demirel. However, this seems to be an over-simplified explanation. The JP lashes out against a left-wing which today is decimated and an army which, following the recent settling of accounts, is no longer the same one responsible for the 1971 intervention and is now completely in favor of Mr. Demirel's return to power. Of course he would institute a number of changes, states the election platform. First, a new constitutional amendment, the third in two years; then a "general" amnesty which excludes a good part of the political prisoners; and finally, to consolidate the JP's new power, the creation of a new institution, the "referendum", which could be used against constitutional institutions such as the Constitutional Court and the State Council.

But will the JP return to power again? Mr. Ecevit, head of the People's Republican Party, thinks not. At least, not alone. Indeed, no political grouping will be able to get a majority of the votes which would permit it to form the new government by itself. Believing in "widespread democracy", the PRP platform attacks the increasingly right-oriented policy of the various governments which have succeeded each other since March 12, 1971, as well as the privileged status of foreign capital, the present exploitation of underground wealth, and current financial and loan policies, declaring that the PRP stands for "a new human and just social order in which poverty will have no place, where there will be neither oppression, oppressors nor oppressed".

Although he believes that no party will be able to obtain a majority of the votes, Mr. Ecevit nonetheless talks about gaining power. That is what he said in Izmir when he spoke before 30,000 people who paid to hear him at the Alsancak stadium. In that event, whom does he consider to be his potential allies? The Turkish Union Party, whose president is Mr. Mustafa Timisi and which is presenting a joint list of candidates with 9 leaders of the Labour Party of Turkey, from which they had resigned? Although the president of the T.U.P. states that "the fight against all anti-democratic acts and for a true democracy and complete independence, given its anti-imperialist character" and that the TUP calls itself a "left-democratic" party, one can hardly count on the votes it will bring in. Therefore the real question is: on what does Mr. Ecevit base his statements, he who for the last two years has shown that he is a man of political stature whose words carry weight. If the statements of the leader of the P.R.P. prove to have no basis in fact, they will only be more "empty promises".

"TOWARDS ECONOMIC CHAOS"

That is the title of a long article which appeared in the September 7 issue of the daily "Cumhuriyet". We print below extracts from this article analyzing the state of Turkey's economy.

"From the hands of 'responsible observers' Turkey is slipping towards economic chaos.(...) It is now certain that the rise in prices will exceed those of the first two years following the March 12 military intervention. (Table showing price increases of goods on the wholesale market : 15.9% for 1971, 18.5% for 1972 and 16.0% for the first seven months alone of 1973.)"

"No one is taking the necessary measures to stop the price increases, but many are those who benefit from it. During a certain period of time, any measure taken was justified by the existence of 'anarchists'; then it was decided to industrialize and a system was built which benefits only itself. Thus, on the pretext of stopping prices from rising, the system of preliminary control of import prices was abolished so that anybody can now import as much as he wants and sell at his own price.(...) Income tax revenues are said to be high this year, but the Ministry of Finance has not published even the most elementary figures. That is only one side of the question, the other being that Turkey has become a paradise of fiscal immunity for certain kinds of business.(...) The government uses its authority, which is questionable according to the Constitution, to exempt all imports from customs taxes; it grants fiscal immunity to all investments..All together, this represents a considerable loss for the State's potential tax revenues. (...) Prices have increased. The prices of raw materials inside the country is rising. The only goods whose prices remain unchanged are those within the public sector. This means that the public sector will show a deficit, and this deficit will have to be met by State moneys taken from the taxes which should be used to finance public services. (...) To which must be added the degenerate investment policy favoring concentration of investments in the high-profit sectors - primarily the textile industry, followed by the automobile industry. The rush of national and foreign capital to invest in these sectors has already exceeded the potential demand. How can one possibly sell all the goods produced ? (...) No doubt there are those who hope to benefit politically from this economic chaos. But they should be told that one can never know in advance what may arise out of economic chaos."

HUNGER STRIKE OF 215 WORKERS AGAINST A LOCK-OUT

The bulletin TURKEY has already supplied considerable information on the wave of lock-outs which, thanks to direct government aid, is hitting the Turkish workers whose union rights have been reduced by a series of amendments to the Constitution and to existing legislation on working conditions introduced after the military intervention of March 12, 1971.

Far from capitulating, the Turkish workers are striking back to the extent possible under martial law conditions, by demonstrations and statements whose echoes are heard only in the columns of a few liberal papers. Perhaps in an effort to break through this wall of unconcern, a hunger strike was initiated on September 9 by 215 workers of the Ayvansaray bolt factory in Istanbul to protest the lock-out to which they have been subjected for the last five months by their employer; at the end of the first day, 10 of the strikers had to be hospitalized. It should be pointed out that when negotiations broke down, 80% of the workers were receiving monthly wages of 660 to 720 Turkish pounds (55 to 59 US dollars).

LIMITATION OF THE RIGHT TO DEFENSE AND INSECURITY OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

The families of a number of the defendants in the "Safak" trial have just signed a petition addressed to the President of the Turkish Republic in which they point to the limits set by the military courts on the right to defense, and accuse the authorities of inciting the defendants to revolt. We present below several extracts.

"At the session held on September 6, the court read the testimony of one of the defendants, Halis Özkan, in his absence. This testimony incriminated other prisoners. The session was adjourned without granting those involved the right to defense, and Halis Özkan was freed next day. This type of provocation appears most suspicious to most of the defendants. (...) A recent example: at the September 11 session of the 2nd Military Court of the Martial Law authorities in Ankara, one of the defendants who had by mistake taken the wrong exit door, was severely beaten right in the courtroom and sentenced to solitary confinement, together with 5 other defendants in the same case. (...) Although the trials are supposed to be open to the public, attendance cards are issued only to the defendants' families; this restriction has now been limited to ten people per session. (...) Likewise, no real right to defense exists unless the defense has access to the files in question; however the defense attorneys are not permitted to make photocopies of the documents in the file, thus seriously jeopardizing the right to defense. (...) Trusting that you, the State's highest judge

Mr. Aslan Haksal, defense attorney of the political prisoner beaten in front of the court, addressed the following telegram of protest on September 11 to the president of the Republic, the Prime Minister and the Martial Law Commander of Ankara:

"...At today's session of the 2nd Military Court of the Martial Law Authorities in Ankara, where I was attending as defense attorney, one of the defendants was beaten in the court room by the officer in charge. In view of the fact that this officer, who was not stopped from beating the defendant in front of the court itself, could do so even more easily outside of the court room, I request you to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the safety of the prisoners, a necessary pre-condition in legal proceedings, and keep such acts from being repeated."

The INFORMATION CENTER FOR EXPRESSION SOLIDARITY WITH
THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY solemnly protests the fascist
coup d'Etat perpetrated in Chile by the military forces;
it is imbued with a deep solidarity for the struggle of the people of Chile, and honors the memory of president Salvador Allende and all those who have died defending liberty and freedom in Chile.

STILL MORE ACCUSATIONS OF TORTURE

Important testimony presented by political defendants shows to what extent the truth had been hidden from the public in matters concerning police and army actions since March 12, 1971.

Accused of having hidden in her apartment Mr. Ulaş Bardakçı, killed by the police on February 19, 1972, Mrs. Lâle Arıkdal testified before the military court as to what had really happened. The court is trying 256 defendants in the P.L.P.T. P.L.F.T. case.

After stating that she had been tortured for 27 days, Mrs. Arıkdal said: "At 7 or 7.30 in the morning of February 19, 1972 there was loud knocking on my door. I woke up and opened the door. In front of me were a dozen men carrying automatic weapons. Some of them immediately rushed into the apartment. (...) One of the men asked me at the entrance if any one else was in the apartment. While we were talking, those inside said "there is no one here"; but just then someone at the end of the hall said "here are a man's hat and coat" and immediately began to blast the room with his machine gun. At that very moment all the windows of the apartment flew to bits. Those who were outside were shooting inside from all over. On hearing the shots, those who had entered ran to the door and climbed up to the storey above. I remained alone. I looked towards the hall from where the shots had come. I saw that the man who had set off the blast was injured. He shouted "I am hurt, take me away from here". But nobody came. I walked past the open door and climbed up to the storey above and entered the first apartment I saw. The shots lasted half an hour.

"(...) Then Ulaş came out of the apartment. He was bloody all over. He started to go down the stairs. He had gone only thirty feet when they aimed at him with their machine guns. He fell, the others caught up with him and machine gunned him once more. I hid Ulaş Bardakçı in my apartment."

At a previous session the court's president thus answered a defendant who revealed the torture to which he had been subjected: "I do not in the least hesitate to say that intentionally or not, you are supplying information to organisations which want to blot Turkey's name off the map, such as Amnesty International and the Association of Democratic Jurists. When here in the court, I was called a "fascist judge", this appeared next day in the Eastern Germany's newspapers before being published in the Turkish papers." TURKEY need not comment on these words.

Other defendants in the same case -- Metin Bozdağ, Abdulkadir Bedirboz and Hulki Iğdirli -- have also testified that they had been tortured in the counter-guerilla centers.

TWO NEWS AND TWO DOCUMENTS

"Miss Zuhale Aksoy was admitted to Haydarpaşa Military Hospital on 22 nd July 1972 with a spinal fracture. She was taken to prison on 14th August 1972. During her stay at the hospital, the patient received no medical examination or care. She had been lying on a bed with broken springs whereas she should at least have been provided with a wooden bed. She was discharged from the hospital and taken to prison when her family provided her with a steel brace prepared as recommended by private doctors." (Deposition by the eye witnesses Ulku Ahmet, Lale Arıkdal, Nurten Tuç, Elif Tolon, Muzaffer Ilgen, Füsun Gökmen, Ülker Akgöl.)

"...during the hearing before the Military Court N° 2 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, female defendant Zuhale Aksoy had a severe nervous break-down yesterday and was sent to the Haydarpaşa Military Hospital...Recognizing that she was looking abnormal, the judge at the hearing asked her if she had any trouble. Although Aksoy answered 'no', she began to strike her feet against the floor. When she was admitted to go to the toilet, she was heard to cry 'kill me'." (Daily Cumhuriyet, September 9, 1973)

Mrs. Lale Arıkdal has been suffering from colitis ulcerosa for a long time. She was taken to Haydarpaşa Military Hospital when a flow of blood and puss was discharged from the intestine. There, Dr. Ismail, specialist in internal diseases, wanted to return her to prison alleging that her trouble was of "psychological origin". Only at the insistence of the patient, who was running a temperature of 37,5, did he grant permission to keep her in hospital. Instead of special analyses and examinations for this disease, all that was done was to look for parasites in the feces. It was reported that there were no parasites in the feces and they evaluated the palpable mass as her spine. So she was taken back to the prison. The loss of liquids and blood caused a shock which was treated by giving serum in prison conditions. Though her sickness continues, she is still without treatment." (Deposition by Lale Arıkdal herself and other eye-witnesses Ulku Ahmet, Nurten Tuç, Elif Tolon, Muzaffer Ilgen, Füsun Gökmen, Ülker Akgöl).

"...During the hearing of the Military Court N° 3 of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, female defendant Lale Arıkdal left the court room after her interrogation. Colonel Akdemir Akmut, the judge, declared Lale Arıkdal so sick that she could not be present at the hearing any longer..." (Daily Cumhuriyet dated September 8, 1973)

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
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what the lifting of
martial law means

classes begin again in
turkey:

no schools for 630,000
children - teachers under
repression

25 women beaten in prison

an appeal for action
from the political
detainees

the truth behind the
death of Hatice Alankuş

N° 23

TURKEY

of Sept. 17 - Sept. 23, 1973

WHAT THE LIFTING OF MARTIAL LAW MEANS

The National Security Council has decided to end 29 months of martial law rule and "to enable the nation to hold the October general elections" under normal conditions. In a recommendation to the government, the Council said: "There is no further need to continue martial law in the remaining two provinces of Ankara and Istanbul, as terrorist activity has been brought under sufficient control."

Martial law will be terminated on September 26. It must immediately be pointed out that when martial law was proclaimed in April 1971, Prime Minister Nihat Erim had said, "The number of persons creating anarchy is not more than two hundred. In order to bring them under control, martial law has been proclaimed for a period of two months". But martial law has now been in force for 29 months, and the number of persons detained on the pretext of "creating anarchy" has reached not only 200, but over 15,000. More than two thousand of them have been either condemned or are still on trial before the military courts.

In reality, the phrase "terrorist activity has been brought under sufficient control" means :

- The Labour Party of Turkey (TIP) and other progressive organizations have been outlawed,
- All the socialist publications have been prohibited,
- Three young patriots were executed,
- The Constitution has been amended twice in order to suspend all democratic rights,
- Torture has been turned into a state institution,
- The military courts of martial law have been authorized to remain in session until they wind up cases now being tried,
- For the new alleged offences "against the security of the State", new extraordinary courts have been established under the name of "State security courts".

After establishing the Izmir and Adana State security courts, the Ministerial Council decided to add extraordinary courts in Ankara and Istanbul. Last week, the first of such cases was brought before these state security courts. Nine persons arrested on the charge of "being affiliated to the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey" will be tried at the State Security Court of Izmir.

In another development, while awaiting the Constitutional Court's action on the request brought to it by the Republican People's Party for a decision concerning the constitutionality of the law establishing State security courts, this subject has once more become of current interest when the military prosecutor in an espionage trial joined the defense attorneys in asking the court to obtain a decision from the Constitutional Court on the constitutionality of the State Security Courts.

CLASSES BEGIN AGAIN IN TURKEY : NO SCHOOLS FOR 630,000 CHILDREN,
TEACHERS UNDER REPRESSION

The new school year started in Turkey on September 15. According to a press release issued by the Ministry of Education, there are 5,224,000 students and currently 36,494 schools in 32,235 of the 36,273 villages in Turkey (counting the big cities, the number comes to 40,181 schools); however, 4,038 Turkish villages have no school at all, which means that 630,000 children are deprived of even the most elementary education. Considering that Turkey has been a republic for fifty years, this is a sombre picture.

The picture becomes even darker when it is seen against military expenditures, once more far in the forefront of the State budget; in addition, the cost of school materials rose 20 to 30% in 1973, and recent amendments to the Turkish legislation on national education provide that university studies will no longer be free...

As for the teaching staff (which numbers 160,000, according to the Ministry's release), they form one of the groups most affected by the military intervention of March 12, 1971. Mr. Cetin Yilmaz, a People's Republican Party member of parliament, states that 3,000 teachers have been detained in prison for more or less long periods of time following the proclamation of martial law, 848 of whom have been sentenced and the trials of hundreds of others are still under way. Following the charges brought against "those opposing the State", Turkish teachers began to leave for Europe as immigrant unskilled factory workers; this emigration has now reached the not insignificant number of 10,000. Amendments to Articles 46, 119 and 29 of the Constitution withdraw the right of teachers to form unions; the Turkish Teachers' Union (TÖS) has been declared illegal and 50 of its leaders have been condemned to long prison terms for having "changed TÖS into an illegal left-wing organization whose aim is to make Turkey a communist State". TÖS had included one hundred thousand teachers in its ranks; its president, Fakir Baykurt, and its secretary general, Dursun Akçam, have been condemned to 8 years and 10 months imprisonment each.

Indictments are likewise continuing at the level of TÖB-DER, an association created by teachers in accordance with the re-drafted provisions of article 119 of the Constitution, whose stated purpose is to "defend their interests and the respect of their profession". In addition, the repression exerted against teachers takes various other forms in practice, such as the brutal attacks that are sometimes carried out by fascist elements or plain dismissal of the teachers from their jobs. Despite the denials of the Minister of National Education, the newspapers carry almost every day stories about the brutalities to which teachers are subjected with the tacit complicity of the authorities. All this was summarized in the speech delivered by the president of TÖB-DER at its second convention (February 1973) when he said: "We wanted to educate the young generations to freedom of conscience. We have been beaten, insulted, kicked out of our jobs !"

25 WOMEN BEATEN IN PRISON

A new trial concerning incidents which occurred on 6, 7, 14, and 15 December 1972 at the women's jail in Ankara has just begun at the 1st Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law Command. The military prosecutor is accusing 25 political defendants of insulting the prison authorities. The women in question are : Türkân Yenigün, Tahire Merdol, Müzeyyen Kadayıfçılar, Meryem Esen, Hulya Zagyapan, Gulay Büyüközden, Fatma Gurdilek, Ufuk Alper, Kazime Erten, Siper Güvenç, Nur Üster, Yasemin Ipar, Peyza Perinçek, Yaprak Zihnioglu, Rumeysa Bozdağ, Lale Uzay, Nergis Savran, Ayşe Kutlar, Pennina Bencoya, Ayten Canatan, Ulku Göker, Peyziye Yalçın, Asuman Aray, Sunay Ege, Sabriye Yaylalı.

However, the statement presented jointly by the eight defense lawyers stresses that it is the women who are now on the defendants' bench who should by rights be lodging a complaint against the authorities who had beaten them severely with cudgels when they dared raise their voice against the indecent treatment to which they had been subjected for months.

After having shown how the various incidents which took place in December followed one on another (the defendants' protests against the presence of officers even while they were taking showers), the defense attorneys pointed out that they had at that time already lodged a complaint against the prison authorities but that they had not been able to obtain any kind of legal prosecution of these authorities "who today sit among the witnesses whereas they should be instead on the defendants' bench".

MUTILATED YOUTH BEATEN AT THE MILITARY HOSPITAL

On September 13, 1973, during the trial before the 3rd Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Command, defendant Ibrahim Cenet revealed that he had been brutally beaten the day before by a lieutenant at the Haydarpaşa military hospital where he had gone for treatment.

Cenet, in his early twenties, is on trial with a group of other young men on charges of participating in an armed movement. He was mutilated when a bomb he carried exploded prematurely. He is still in jail and appears in court on crutches.

Earlier, at the July 10 session of the trial, Cenet had stated that the day after being injured, on May 6, 1972, he was questioned by two intelligence officers in hospital and added : "I was still not fully conscious as a result of the anaesthetic and I had had both my legs and one arm amputated. I was facing death, the doctors kept giving me serum and blood, I kept on vomiting while they kept on questioning me. I was trying to tell them in whispers that I would speak in the court. They kept forcing me to tell them everything. This process continued for two days."

With no feet, and only one hand, he was confined to a cell for months. The food was put in front of him. As any hungry human being who has no hands, he tried to eat from the plate by tipping his head forward and using his tongue. In spite of these revelations, the military authorities are still keeping on torturing this mutilated youth.

AN APPEAL FOR ACTION FROM THE POLITICAL DETAINEES

Seven female political prisoners in Turkey address an appeal to world opinion. The following documents have been sent to us by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey.

"We are political detainees who have been imprisoned in Martial law jails for a long period of time.

"From the very first day of our detention, we have been subjected to illegal and inhuman repression and torture at several institutions of the present regime.

"Our faith in human dignity has permitted each of us to withstand this repression and tortures inflicted on us, and we will continue to face them fearlessly. However, we strongly believe that it is incumbent on all human beings who have a sense of honor, whatever their political tendencies, to take on themselves the responsibility of destroying this machinery of repression and terror.

"Present laws in Turkey oblige the State to protect an individual's personal security and his right to life. In addition, the laws in force contain, compulsory provisions stating no one shall be subjected to torture, repression and inhuman treatment.

"The torture inflicted at several institutions in Turkey is very well known today both inside of Turkey and before world opinion. It is a fact, and news of torture applied to political prisoners appears every day in the press.

"We are now trying to inform public opinion about another aspect of the repressive regime. This aspect, which resulted in the death of our revolutionary friend Hatice Alankus, concerns our "right to life". We are sending you documents showing how this right of ours is violated."

Ulku Ahmet, Lale Arıkdal, Nurten Tuç, Elif Tolon, Muzaffer İlgen, Füsün Gökmen, Ülker Akgöl (at the Sırmalı Prison)

THE TRUTH BEHIND THE DEATH OF HATICE ALANKUS

"On Thursday 19th July 1973, Hatice Alankuş became sick and had to leave the courtroom. The doctor in Selimiye Barracks who examined her found that her blood pressure was 70 mm.Hg, and her pulse 140. Because her whole body started contracting and became numb, her hands became blue and she got spasms in her abdomen, she was carried on a stretcher to Haydarpaşa Military Hospital. Although it was working hours when she was delivered to the hospital, a woman doctor who said she was a gynecologist was assigned to check her instead of a specialist on internal disease. Mrs. Alankuş told the doctor that she suspected poisoning and explained all the symptoms of her illness. But even though she vomited right there, she was not examined but sent back to Seli-

miye Barracks by this doctor whose diagnosis read : 'neurotic; a psychological disturbance'. That evening in prison she started to suffer from violent pains and spasms in her abdomen; her pulse reached 140 again and she began to vomit. Thereupon a physician, Lieutenant Doctor Erol Bostanci from the 66th Military Division, was brought in. Diagnosing the disease as "pyloric spasm and gastritis" he injected a dose of Baralgine to stop the pain. He also suggested a diet but did not find it necessary to hospitalise her. When the vomiting increased and the pain did not stop in spite of the injection, a physician was again demanded.

"The same military doctor came back at 2.00 a.m., (the first hours of 20th July 1973) and injected Emedur to stop the vomiting. He went away saying that the illness continued because of the loss of electrolytes and liquid. Hatice Alankuş vomited 12 times that night. She was not able to sleep or even to lie down. She suffered from pains and spasms which from time to time became very violent. At 11 o'clock Friday morning (20th July 1973) Lieutenant Doctor Fevzi Yilmaztepe from Gümüşsuyu Hospital came in and diagnosed the disease as "gastritis, pyloric spasm and pharyngitis". He said that the analgesics did not have any effect because of the pharyngitis and injected 1 000 000 units of penicillin. He also left some Epidosin, Emedur and Buscopan doses to be injected, but decided it was unnecessary to send her to a hospital. He suggested one-week's rest and wrote a prescription containing Epidesin (tablets), Calcibronate (effervescent tablets), Mexaforme (tablets), Enter-Sal (tablets), Coral (drops), Atrapo (drops). On Friday pains, vomiting, high pulse rate (100-140) and 37,5 temperature continued until the evening and she did not get any better in spite of the prescribed injections and medicines. In addition, she vomited everything she ate and all the medicines she had taken. A physician was demanded and Lieutenant Doctor Emin Türkalp from the 66th Military Division arrived around 10 p.m. When the progress of the illness was explained to him, he diagnosed the disease as "colon irritation" and reported that she should be sent to hospital.

"This medical report was sent to the Martial Law Legal Advisor attached to the note of the prison director, on Saturday, 21st July 1973 and numbered 73-17603. All symptoms continued and increased during this period, while loss of liquids and weight visibly exhausted her. Seeing the gravity of the situation, the prison authorities urged the Martial Law Legal Advisor by telephone to take appropriate action. Thereupon Hatice Alankuş was sent to Gümüşsuyu military Hospital at noon on Saturday. The gastro-enterologist who examined her diagnosed her illness as "acute gastritis", suggested a diet (rice pudding, light tea, grilled meat, mashed potatoes) and the medicines Ankol (tablets), Siligel (suspension), Emedur (suppository) and Bejectal (injection). Then he sent her back, asking that she be brought to the hospital one week later for control. The suggested diet and all the medicines were given her, but she threw up everything that she had eaten or swallowed. All the symptoms continued without diminishing and a physician was again demanded.

"On Sunday 22nd July 1973 at 2.00 a.m., Lieutenant Doctor Erol Yildirim from the 66th Military Division diagnosed the disease as "acute gastric bleeding", applied dextrose serum and gave her two 2 mgr. Diazem tablets. According to his suggestion, milk biscuits and a spoonful of Siligel were given to her every hour until the morning.

"When the serum was stopped around 9 o'clock in the morning palpitation started and she vomited everything she had got during the night. In spite of the fact that during the night examination the physician reported that she **should** be hospitalized and in spite of the prison executives' continuous telephone calls to the Martial Law Headquarters, she was not admitted to Haydarpaşa Military Hospital before 4 p.m. on Sunday 22nd July 1973. In the hospital she was put into the same room with Banu Ergüder and Nazan Alp. Serum and one or two injections were given.

"On Monday 23rd July 1973 after an X-ray examination she was given serum again. But during the application, when the serum was finished, no nurse had come to remove it. Much later a soldier came and took it away. On that same day the physicians, examining her X-ray picture, had been talking together of "intestinal occlusion" and "gastric hemorrhage". During the night, a bowlful of very dark - almost black - liquid had flown both from the mouth and nose. In the morning when a nurse came in, Banu Ergüder demanded the necessary medical help, pointing out to her the above-mentioned liquid, but the nurse scolded her saying, "it is none of your business, why do you interfere ?" After that nobody was interested in her condition. She became worse and her hands turned blue up to her elbows. Meanwhile, a physician passed by and asked her to open her mouth and stick out her tongue. Hatice Alankuş opened her mouth but was not able to stick out her tongue, so the physician left the room without examining her. A little later, she became comatose. A physician who came afterwards looked at her and pronounced her dead. One of the doctors who had examined her remarked loudly enough for Banu Ergüder to hear: 'She would have died in any case even if I had operated. The result would have been the same...'"

"This attitude goes beyond mere neglect of duty and shows that Hatice Alankuş has been murdered on purpose by premeditated negligence."

Eye-Witnesses:

Ülkü Ahmet, Lale Arıkdal, Nurten Tuç, Elif Tolon, Muzaffer İlgen, Füsün Gökmen, Ülker Akgöl.

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mr. denirel : "the period
following 12th march 1971
has seen the realization
of most of our plans"

a fine distinction:
martial law ends but
almost 2000 people will
still be tried before
military courts

leaders of the labour
party of turkey kept in
solitary confinement
for two months

a lawyer under the
menace of death

N° 24

TURKEY

of Sept. 24 - Sept. 30, 1973

MR. DEMIREL : "THE PERIOD FOLLOWING 12TH MARCH 1971 HAS SEEN THE REALIZATION OF MOST OF OUR PLANS"

On the day martial law was abolished in the two last sections of the country where it had still been in force, each of the leaders of the two main political parties,--Mr. Demirel, head of the main group in the present coalition government, and Mr. Ecevit, head of the People's Republican Party, the opposition--issued a statement concerning the end of this 29 month-long martial law period.

Mr. Demirel did not try to hide his satisfaction with political developments following the military intervention of 12th March 1971 which had forced him and his government to resign. "The period following March 12 saw most of our plans realized", Mr. Demirel said, claiming that the country had become "unmanageable" because of the 1961 Constitution and trying to justify the two constitutional amendments passed mainly because of the efforts of his party. Nor did the former prime minister stop there. According to Mr. Demirel, more than fifty basic laws needed to be revised in order to make them less democratic; excessive freedom of expression needed to be restricted; State security courts needed to be created to take the place of the martial law military courts; in short, a "civilian state of siege" needed to be instituted in order to govern the country after the elections. Such words on the part of the leader of the Justice Party are, indeed not surprising. It has been known to a good part of the public for a long time that the only purpose of the memorandum of the army chiefs, ostensibly directed against Mr. Demirel, was in fact to serve his party and the interests of the ruling class which it represents. How should one label the stand of a responsible political leader who expresses satisfaction at the end of martial law and nonetheless states that most of his plans have been realized during that period ?

Mr. Ecevit is pleased for other reasons, yet he voices some doubts. "In a certain sense one might say that the regime of military intervention has come to an end", he states, "but other causes for uneasiness continue, such as the legal amendments restricting freedom and democratic rights, the continuation of trials by military courts, the concealed existence of an illegal anti-guerilla organization whose actions are shielded by influential persons, freedom of action granted to one of the two extremist wings while the other one is destroyed by fierce repression..."

Mr. Ecevit's allusions proved to be well founded, hardly 24 hours later. At an electoral meeting held at Isparta, a Justice Party stronghold and birthplace of Mr. Demirel, who is its representative in the National Assembly, the leader of the People's Republican Party was attacked by groups armed with cudgels and stones. In the fighting that ensued, more than 20 people were injured, 7 of whom had to be hospitalized and one of whom had been cut with a knife. A few hours later Mr. Demirel stated that he did not think these events had any political connection, whereas Mr. Ecevit openly accused him of being behind this aggression.

The line of action seems to be remain the same. As early as 1965, under Mr. Demirel's first government, the Labour Party of Turkey became a target of rightist commandos which day after day increased their armed attacks throughout the country against the members of that party. Now that the Labour Party of Turkey has been banned and its place on the political scene is empty, the attacks of which it was formerly the target are directed today, more and more heavily, against all the democratic forces.

A FINE DISTINCTION : MARTIAL LAW ENDS BUT ALMOST 2000 PEOPLE WILL STILL BE TRIED BEFORE MILITARY COURTS

Martial law ended officially on 26th September 1973. Originally proclaimed on 26th April 1971 in 11 sections of the country, it lasted 29 months. However, a legal amendment foresees that 1,993 persons will still be tried by military courts, not to mention the dozens of trials soon to start at the State security courts.

Here is a balance sheet of the "work" of the military courts.

ANKARA

56 trials have ended; 31 cases involving 431 defendants have been sent to the Court of Cassation; 35 trials involving 1,123 defendants are still under way.

Main trials that have ended:

1. First trial of the Army of Popular Liberation of Turkey: Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Huseyin Inan were condemned to death and executed. Fifteen other death sentences were reversed by the Court of Cassation which substituted prison sentences for the defendants.
2. Trial of the Labour Party of Turkey: The president and leaders of the banned LPT were sentenced to 5 to 15 year prison terms.
3. Mr. Abdullah Nefes was sentenced to 7 1/2 years in prison for having translated Mao Tse Tung's "Selected Works".

Main cases being appealed:

1. Second trial of the A.P.L.T. : The court verdict had resulted in 2 death sentences and one sentence to life-long imprisonment.
2. Trial of the Teachers Union of Turkey : Mr. Fakir Baykurt and 95 of his colleagues.
3. "Uprising" at the Mamak military prison: 27 persons had been condemned to prison terms.
4. "Sit-ins" at the Middle East Technical University: 18 defendants had been sentenced to prison terms.
5. Mr. Niyazi Agirnasli and 10 of colleagues, all of whom defense lawyers at the first trial of the A.P.L.T., had been sentenced to prison terms for "insulting the court".
6. Prof. Muntaz Soysal had been sentenced to 7 years in prison, but this verdict had been annulled a number of times by the Court of Cassation. The General Assembly of the Court of Cassation is to take a decision on this case.
7. Sentences of 6 years and 8 months given to actors and directors of the United Ankara Theatre.

Main trials still under way:

1. The "Dev-Genç" trial : 282 defendants.
2. Trial of the Revolutionary Peasant-Worker Party (Safak)
3. Incidents at the Department of Philology, History and Geography of the Ankara University: "armed opposition to the State forces".
4. Third trial of the A.P.L.T.: 57 defendants.
5. Trial of the Patriotic United Front: 58 defendants.
6. First Safak Trial: "Insulting the court".
7. Second Safak Trial: "Insulting the court".
8. First trial of the A.P.L.T.: "Insulting the court".

ISTANBUL

Main cases being appealed:

1. Trial of the Clandestine Turkish Communist Party: A number of the defendants were sentenced to long prison terms. Another group will be tried together with the defendants of the "Dev-Genç" case.
2. The so-called "Lawyers" case: A number of defense lawyers were sentenced to prison terms for "insulting the court".

Main trials that have ended:

1. Lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç was condemned for "insulting the court and the

judge (see page 5).

2. Two journalists for the daily newspaper "Cumhuriyet" were acquitted at first, then the Court of Cassation pronounced itself incompetent to judge their case.

Main trials still under way:

1. Trial of Mr. Irfan Solmaz and his friends: 84 defendants.
2. Trial of Cemal Madanoglu and his friends.
3. The "Dev-Genç" trial.
4. The so-called "bombing" trial: 56 defendants.
5. The "sabotage" trial.
6. Trial of the Turkish Marxist-Leninist Communist Party: 130 defendants, 22 death sentences requested.

IZMIR

Main cases being appealed:

1. Bingöl Erdumlu and his friends: Sentenced for setting up a "secret organization".
2. Case of Mr. Aktan Ince and his friends: Sentenced to prison terms for having stolen 4 1/2 million Turkish pounds from the Agricultural Bank, they will be tried again after appeal and run the risk of death sentences.

ADANA AND DIYARBAKIR

A number of verdicts have been pronounced by the military courts of these two sections of the country. The kurdish community of the eastern and south-eastern regions of the country is suffering from unprecedented repression.

INFORMERS : IN 29 MONTHS, 11,000 VICTIMS OF SECRET ACCUSATIONS BROUGHT TO THE MARTIAL LAW AUTHORITIES

The martial law command of Istanbul has stated that secret accusations against 11,000 persons had been made to the martial law authorities in 29 months and that 1,002 accusations had been drawn up against 4,331 of them by the military prosecutors, the other persons being subjected to civil prosecution.

549 of these accusations, involving 2,803 defendants, culminated in trials. 257 cases (883 defendants) were thrown out; the courts pronounced themselves incompetent in 156 cases (406 defendants); 127 defendants could not be found by the police or the army (24 cases); and 16 cases involving 52 defendants could not be completed during the martial law period.

The results for 29 months:

- a - 549 defendants were sentenced (273 cases)
- b - 264 defendants were acquitted (198 cases)
- c - The courts declared themselves incompetent in 33 cases involving 232 defendants.
- d - TRIALS INVOLVING 1,993 DEFENDANTS (78 CASES) ARE STILL CONTINUING AT THE SECOND AND THIRD MILITARY COURTS OF THE 1st ARMY.

547 persons are still being kept in military prisons (thousands of others are in civilian prisons - Ed. note), while 102 defendants are being sought.

The martial law commands of other regions have not yet published their "balance sheet".

LEADERS OF THE LABOUR PARTY OF TURKEY KEPT IN SOLITARY CONFINEMENT FOR TWO MONTHS

While eight political parties are busy waging their election campaign, the leaders of the Labour Party of Turkey, disbanded in 1971 by decision of the Constitutional Court, have started their sentences of solitary confinement two months ago at the Nigde prison.

Mrs. Behice Boran, president of the Labour Party of Turkey, and 20 of her comrades had been sentenced by the military court of the Ankara martial law command to prison terms of up to 15 years, to be followed by exile. After confirmation of their sentences by the military court of cassation, the LPT leaders had been transferred from the military detention house to the Nigde civilian prison. According to the provisions of the Turkish Penal Code, their solitary confinement must end on September 30.

FAMOUS TURKISH NOVELIST ACCUSED OF "COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA"

The world-known Turkish novelist Yasar Kemal is being brought to trial at the 5th Court of Assizes of Istanbul. The author of "Menet, my hawk" is accused of carrying on "communist propaganda" in an article entitled "The mosques become barracks" which appeared more than five years ago in the magazine Ant. The prosecuting attorney has asked for a prison term of one to six years for Mr. Yasar Kemal and Mr. Alpay Kabacali, editor of the magazine.

13 DEFENDANTS ARE CONDEMNED FOR "INSULTING PRISON AUTHORITIES"

The 1st military court of the Ankara martial law command has just pronounced sentences ranging from one year to one month against 13 of the 25 defendants in the case of the incidents that took place in December 1972 at the women's prison of Ankara (see TURKEY N° 23).

The joint statement submitted by the eight defense lawyers had pointed out that by rights the defendants should be accusing the prison authorities, and not the other wayaround, since the defendants had been severely beaten with cudgels for having dared protest against the inhuman treatment to which they had been subjected for months. As was to be expected, the military court gave no credence to the defendants' assertions in view of the fact that, the day after the incidents, the other authorities had not acted on the complaint lodged by the defendants.

THE RIGHT TO DEFENSE SUFFERS NEW BLOWS

Two of the defendants in the so-called "Safak" case, Messrs. Selahattin Firat and Gün Zileli, were ordered out of the courtroom on September 21, the former because he wanted to read a statement which the court judged "foreign to the case on trial", and the latter because he "raised his hand against the judges". A second trial "for insulting the government and the military commanders" had been opened against Messrs. Firat and Zileli, already held in prison for having "set up a secret organization aiming to overthrow the established order".

This is only one more incident swelling the already heavy file of restrictions made on the right to defense. In another development, a number of defendants and their lawyers in the Dev-Genç trial are refusing to make any statements in their own behalf as a protest against the 10 minute limit per person placed on the defendants (see TURKEY N° 19 and N° 20).

A LAWYER UNDER THE MENACE OF DEATH

Mr. Faik Muzaffer Amaç, defense lawyer for a number of political defendants, has been sentenced to 9 months in prison for "insulting the court" when he made public the statement he presented before the military Court of Cassation. He is now in prison and, suffering from heart disease, his life is in danger. The document which we reproduce below, sent to us by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, brings new proof concerning the inhuman conditions in the Turkish military prisons and the violation of the political defendants' right to defense.

"To the 3rd Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Command,

"We have been under arrest in the Kartal - Maltepe military prison for about two years. From the beginning we have been subjected to illegal and inhuman treatment by the prison administration.

"Our prison mate, Mr. Faik Muzaffer Amaç, a lawyer under arrest, suffers from coronary thrombosis and has to be treated with medication at the time of his attacks. On August 4, 1973 during an attack, his request for medicine (trinitrine) was refused by Lt. A. Ersözalp, executive army officer on duty, and by 2nd Lt. Kadir, army officer on guard. All his insistent requests for medicine were refused until the next morning. Our friend Harun Saruhan (another political prisoner), was taken away to the administrative quarters and beaten for having intervened to protest such treatment. He was immediately put into a solitary confinement cell where he is still being kept.

"On August 8, 1973, Osman Mazlum of the same prison was beaten by soldiers with truncheons on the order of 2nd Lt. Kadir, on the pretext that he had purposely torn his pillow case.

"Hasan Arslan, also, was punished with 14 days of solitary confinement merely for his intention of informing the martial law authorities concerning this practice.

"In the prison we are kept together with non-political prisoners arrested for ordinary crimes. These persons, who have various moral weaknesses, are provoked by the administration to attack us. And then we (the political detainees) are the only ones punished, under the false pretence that we caused an incident.

"Another friend, Ismet Öztürk, who suffers from tuberculosis, was put into a basement cell by Major Nihat Altunçınar, the prison director, for having previously lodged a complaint with the martial law authorities against the illegal practices in the prison. He was kept there for five months.

"The room where solitary confinement punishment takes place is a cell 1,85 m long x 1 m wide without any window and deprived of minimal sanitary conditions. The prison administration also ignores our right to by basic necessities.

"These illegal practices endanger our health and make it impossible to follow the trials in a normal way. Therefore we request that the relevant authorities take the necessary measures in order to make our normal attendance possible. 13.8.1973"

Harun Saruhan, Ismet Öztürk, Hasan Arslan

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who has benefited,
in the final analysis,
from the military
intervention of March 12,
1971 ?

the competing
political parties in the
October 14
legislative elections

professional affiliation
of candidates in the
October 14 elections

comparative results of the
1965 and 1969 elections

N° 25

TURKEY

of October 1. - October 7, '73

WHO HAS BENEFITED, IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS,
FROM THE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF MARCH 12, 1971 ?

At 1 p.m. on March 12, 1971 all the Turkish radio stations broadcast an ultimatum signed by the head of the Army high command and the commanders of the three armed forces. This text, subsequently known as the "memorandum of March 12", had been brought directly to the radio authorities by two generals and included the following points: "The government must resign; a 'strong government capable of inspiring confidence' must be formed; the reforms provided in the Constitution must be carried out; if not, the Army was prepared to take over power itself"..

Events leading from the coup d'Etat of May 27, 1960 to March 12, 1971

The Demirel government immediately resigned. Public opinion - with the exception of the Labour Party of Turkey - was confused about the meaning of this intervention, for at first it recalled to mind the coup d'Etat of May 27, 1960. That coup had overthrown the Democratic Party government, replacing it by a Constituent Assembly which provided the Turkish Republic with a liberal Constitution in 1961. From that year on, relatively liberal conditions prevailed in Turkey, for the left wing at last had the right to speak and the working class the right to strike.. as long as they remained within the bounds of this legality which excluded the formation of any marxist-type organization.

But once the Army had returned to its barracks, the ruling class was no longer intimidated by it and decided to integrate the army directly into the capitalist system by granting it all kinds of economic privileges. And indeed, as early as the 1965 elections, the Justice Party, formed to take the place of the Democrat Party banned, came to power under the leadership of Mr. Demirel. Since then, the Justice Party's policies have been clearly dominated by U.S. interests. It gave special incentives to foreign investments and their Turkish collaborators; it refused to carry out those popular reforms benefiting the lower classes; it granted privileges to the big bourgeoisie at the expense of the middle class and the poorest layers of the population..The democratic groups resorted to an extra-parliamentary type of opposition by creating strong support for constitutional bodies such as the Constitutional Court, the State Council, etc..Opposition of this type proved very annoying to the Justice Party, despite its large majority in parliament, and it began to criticize the Constitution which, it claimed "limits governmental power and thus makes the country ungovernable". The working class became politicized, the Labour Party of Turkey developed into a real political force, even though its representation in parliament was small, and anti-imperialist opposition grew stronger. At that point attacks by rightist commandos began to increase with the tacit consent of the public authorities. These attacks were directed against progressive elements, the Labour Party and trade unions, in the course of which more than thirty young progressives were killed, their assassins remaining unknown even today. The Labour Party of Turkey refused to let itself be trapped by this provocation but the ultra left-wing militants were tempted to defend themselves by their own means by creating secret groups of activists.

But the ruling class was much less alarmed by a few bank hold-ups or kidnappings than by the growth of the workers movements, especially the powerful workers demonstration of June 16, 1970 protesting the restriction of trade union rights. Here, for the first time, workers and armed forces came into open conflict. The ruling classes decided that an impotent government needed the help and support of the military forces and thus a new era was inaugurated leading right up to the military intervention of March 12, 1971...

The regime set up by the military intervention of March 12

Public opinion soon came to realize the true nature of this intervention, which forced a rightist government to resign only in order to install by force a degree of repression which the former government had been unable to resort to.

From now on the ultra-left militants would be pitilessly tracked down, arrested, tortured, cut down right in the street, the Labour Party of Turkey banned and its leaders sentenced; there would no longer be legal progressively-oriented organizations; two amendments to the Constitution and a number of legislative changes then deprived the working class of its democratic rights; thousands of people were tried and sentenced by military courts; three militant revolutionists were executed; dozens of death penalties are pending..A true rule of informers and McCarthyism throughout the country.

Originally proclaimed for a period of two months on the pretext of "neutralizing 200 or so anarchist terrorists", according to Mr. Nihat Erin who headed the "non-party" government formed after the intervention, martial law did not end in fact until 29 months later, on September 26, leaving a balance sheet of 15,000 arrests and 30 "official" deaths.

That period saw four different governments. Mr. Erin's government, the first one, did not last long and withdrew when 11 of its ministers resigned. These men were the "technocrats" or a-political moderates, rejected by capitalist and financial circles when they refused to continue sharing responsibility for a blind kind of repression. Erin's second cabinet was more realistic, but in turn it was replaced by the government formed by Mr. Ferit Melen, a ferocious anti-communist and Republican Reliance Party member of parliament. Mr. Melen installed a "non-party" staff, thus strengthening his party's standing with the ruling class. So much so that the Justice Party became annoyed and, despite its outward show of hostility to military control, nonetheless used all possible occasions to vote for the anti-democratic amendments proposed by the government. Mr. Demirel's party took a decisive step in the direction of power when a coalition government of the Justice Party and the Republican Reliance Party was formed by Mr. Naim Talu, politically unaffiliated but known for his ties to business circles. In less than a week 50 "reforms" were voted, among which an "agrarian reform" which excluded the masses, a "reform" of the universities in order to shackle them, the creation of State security courts, etc..This was a face-saving operation for the armed intervention of March 12 whose new heads, now that the original signatories of the memorandum have been eliminated, support Mr. Demirel more or less openly. In keeping with his desires, Mr. Demirel will preside over a perfectly "governable" country following the elections, for, as he stated recently, "most of our plans have been carried out following March 12".

Present situation

All these attempts on the part of monopoly capital and the business world to install its own absolute power have pushed the middle and petit bourgeoisie into taking more or less progressive stands. This must be taken into account in any evaluation of the development of the People's Republican Party. No longer weighed down by its right wing and its old leader, Mr. İnönü, this party has now become the main oppositional force, having adopted a social-democratic policy under the leadership of Mr. Ecevit. It is therefore not surprising to see him attacked by right-wing commandos in Mr. Demirel's home town and parliamentary district. Having succeeded in "disciplining" the left, the rightist terror is now unleashed against all the democratic forces in the country, against any movement which might possibly upset the "path" chosen by those in power at present. This path closely resembles those taken by Spain and Greece : "Economic development at the price of suppressing democratic rights and pawning national independence".

THE COMPETING POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE OCTOBER 14 LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS

Eight political groupings will take part in the October 14 legislative elections. With the exception of the Democratic Party and the National Salvation Party, all of them had participated in the 1969 elections. The Labour Party of Turkey (+) having been banned in 1971 by decision of the Constitutional Court, the place of the left on the political scene is vacant. A description of Turkey's political parties follows:

Governmental parties

JUSTICE PARTY (A.P.)

The strongest wing in the present coalition government is the Justice Party. It had been created to take over the role of the Democrat Party which was banned following the coup d'etat of May 27, 1960. Headed since 1964 by Mr. Süleyman Demirel, the Justice Party remained in power from 1965 until the memorandum of March 12, 1971, although its lead in parliament was reduced when dissidents left it to create the Democratic Party. A true rightist party, the Justice Party basically represents the capitalists and financial interests of the big bourgeoisie but it also has a wide audience in rural circles. After the coming elections it will most probably remain the country's chief party but may no longer have the required majority in parliament to permit it form the government alone.

REPUBLICAN RELIANCE PARTY (C.G.P.)

A political grouping formed in 1973 when the Confidence Party (created in 1968 by a dissident group of the People's Republican Party who were opposed to its left-center orientation, and headed by Mr. Turhan Feyzioğlu) merged with the Republican Party, in turn created by a second group of dissidents under the leadership of Mr. Kemal Satır. Favoring a line rather close to that of the J.P., the Republican Reliance Party has been the champion of anti-communism and macarthyism since the March 12 intervention. Its electoral success will depend on the extent to which it can share in the support which the ruling class gives to the Justice Party, and on the success it may obtain by its anti-communist attacks aimed at depriving the P.R.P. of some of its centrist voters.

Center-left opposition

PEOPLE'S REPUBLICAN PARTY (C.H.P.)

This is the country's oldest political grouping, having been founded in 1923 by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk who remained its president until his death in 1938. It was the sole political party until 1946. Headed without interruption for 35 years by Mr. İsmet İnönü, the People's Republican Party changed its leader and its line in 1972 and adopted a social-democratic policy under the leadership of Mr. Bülent Ecevit. Since then it has been the main opposition force in parliament against the "non-party" governments which followed one on the other after the March 12 intervention. Both its program and the choice of its candidates show that this party seeks to channel the progressive aspirations of the middle class.

UNION PARTY OF TURKEY (T.B.P.)

This party, which is principally the political organization of a part of the Shiite minorities, now calls itself the "democratic left" and its program is to the left of all the other parties. Headed by Mr. Mustafa Timisi, this grouping has only limited appeal and does not seem to be able to affect the elections one way or the other, despite the fact that eight independent candidates head its electoral lists, all of whom are former members of the banned Labour Party, among them Mr. Mehmet Ali Aybar, its former president until 1968.

NATION PARTY (M.P.)

Again, a group of limited appeal, based on the popularity of its former leader Mr. Osman Bölükbaşı. Following his retirement, the Nation Party has been led by Mr. Cenâl Tural, former chief commander of the Army staff, who is trying out an unclear turn to the left; this has led to a split in the party and will probably reduce its appeal even more.

The rightist opposition

DEMOCRATIC PARTY (D.P.)

Created by a group of J.P. dissidents, the Democratic Party may be considered as the most conservative of all rightist parties. It aims to attract the vote of the Anatolian middle class and petit bourgeoisie. Headed by Mr. Ferruh Boz-beyli, the Democratic Party recently obtained active support from leaders of the former Democart Party (banned in 1961), particularly Mr. Celâl Bayar, former president of the republic, sentenced to death in 1961 and then annistied because of his age.

NATIONAL SALVATION PARTY (M.S.P.)

Created in 1972 to take the place of the National Order Party, banned in 1971 by the Constitutional Court, the National Salvation Party takes an anti-lay stand, though it does not say so openly, and preaches a return to Islamic law. The religious beliefs which previously had been exploited by the Justice Party might now be attracted to the National Salvation Party, which has been able to take root solidly in a short period of time, especially out in the provinces. This party is out to defend the middle class and the petit bourgeoisie of Anatolia, threatened by the stranglehold of big business and monopoly capital. Headed by Mr. Süleyman Arif Emre, but guided behind the scenes by Mr. Necmettin Erbakan, former president of the banned National Order Party, the N.S.P. might be able to change the electoral balance if it can win over some of the votes of the governmental parties.

NATIONAL ACTION PARTY (M.H.P.)

An ultra-right wing party with limited appeal, headed by Mr. Alparslan Türkeş, a retired colonel, the National Action Party has benefitted from the repression which followed March 12, 1971. It has been able to win over a part of the youth and to instigate an unprecedented reign of terror -- with the tacit consent of the authorities -- against leftist and democratic circles through its commando organization, the "grey wolves", directly inspired from Hitler's S.A., and who even before the 1971 military intervention were responsible for the assassination of a number of young progressives.

(+) LABOUR PARTY OF TURKEY (T.I.P.)

Created in 1961, only socialist grouping in the country, the Labour Party of Turkey was banned in August 1971 and its president, Mrs. Behice Boran, as well as its leaders, were imprisoned, tried and sentenced to terms as long as 15 years.

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATION OF CANDIDATES IN THE OCTOBER 14 ELECTIONS

16,865,510 voters will go to the polls on the October 14. All seats in the National Assembly and one-third of the Senate are to be filled. 70,607 seats will be available in Turkey's 67 territorial divisions. The eight political parties participating in the elections are presenting 3,447 candidates in all.

323 of whom are at the present members of parliament. The other candidates can be divided into categories as follows: 364 lawyers and jurists, 377 government employees, 172 engineers, 771 storekeepers and craftsmen, 146 workers, 293 farmer-landowners, 74 doctors, 65 journalists-writers, 138 economists, 55 religious leaders, 47 trade unionists, 21 pharmacists, 10 veterinarians, 28 non-professional women, 129 candidates from liberal professions.

COMPARATIVE RESULTS OF THE 1965 AND 1969 ELECTIONS

OCTOBER 1965						OCTOBER 1969				
Registered voters						Regis.voters				
Voting						Voting				
(of which 441 115 votes were void)						(of which				
Voting percentage: 71,3 %						429739 votes were void)				
						Voting percentage: 64,3 %				
	number of votes	%	Seats obtained			number of seats at the end of session	number of votes	%	seats ob- tained	number at the end of session
			direct- ly	with remai- ning votes	total					
J.P.	4921235	52,9	204	36	240	260	4229712	46,5	256	223
P.R.P.	2675785	28,7	102	32	134	95	2487006	27,4	143	95
R.R.P.	—	—	—	—	—	33	597818	6,6	15	44
D.P.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42
N.P.	582704	6,3	6	25	31	12	292961	3,2	6	3
L.P.T.	276101	3,0	2	13	15	14	243631	2,7	2	—
N.T.P.	346514	3,7	3	16	19	15	197829	2,2	6	—
N.A.P.	208696	2,2	—	11	11	6	275091	3,0	1	1
U.P.T.	—	—	—	—	—	1	254695	2,8	8	2
N.S.P.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Indep.	296528	3,2	—	—	—	12	511023	5,6	13	37
Vacant seats						2				

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elections:
a parliamentary "equilibrium"
doomed to
political instability ?

unofficial results of
october 14, 1973 elections

despite talk of a
"return to normal"...

the elections and the
turkish workers abroad

N° 27

TURKEY

of October 15 - October 21, '73

A PARLIAMENTARY "EQUILIBRIUM" DOOMED TO POLITICAL INSTABILITY ?

The Turkish electorate made its choice on October 14 selecting the winners for the 450 seats of the National Assembly and one third of the Senate seats. According to the latest unofficial information, the voting percentage was 64.3 %, just about the same as in the 1969 elections. Meanwhile, there has been an increase of 3 million voters. Added to the more than a million Turkish workers abroad, whose right to vote was not protected in any way by the government, it can safely be said that more than 6 million Turkish citizens either were not able to exercise their rights in this election or else refused to. The inhabitants of a number of villages refused en masse to go to the polls in protest against the lack of interest in their problems shown by the various governments in power since the military intervention of March 12, 1971. Trade unionists condemn the pressures exerted by employers to keep the workers from voting by various means, such as assigning them to work on election day (Sunday). A number of ballot boxes just disappeared, especially in the Istanbul district. On October 14 alone the various incidents which occurred between partisans of the various parties led to four deaths and twenty injured...

Nonetheless, the manner in which the elections took place as well as their results unquestionably show that the dissatisfaction of the masses has taken the form of political consciousness at the same time that contradictions have arisen within the bourgeoisie itself. The figures prove that the middle classes are in revolt against the menace of big monopoly and commercial capital and are rallying around the conservative or reformist parties, while mass of workers, in the absence of a socialist party have voted for more democracy. At first sight, Mr. Demirel's Justice Party appears to be the big loser in the elections and Mr. Ecevit's People's Republican Party the winner. Mr. Bozbeyli's Democratic Party and the Party of National Salvation led by Mr. Süleyman Arif Emre share between them votes which would normally have gone to the Justice Party (whose percentage of total votes dropped from 46.5% to 29.4%) and they have thus truly become a political force; whereas the People's Republican Party has become the foremost political grouping, with 33.2% of the votes. Mr. Feyzioglu's Republican Reliance Party, a champion of anti-communism, has had a sharp setback, and the National Action Party, Col. Alparslan Türkeş' extreme right wing grouping, despite slight headway, fell far short of realizing the hopes it had aroused since March 12 in a particularly favorable climate. As for the Turkish Union Party, they have practically eliminated from the political scene. Votes for independent candidates dropped to 3%, which again confirms that the masses reached a certain level of political consciousness since they prefer voting for a political force rather than the personal attractiveness of various unaffiliated candidates. The achievements of the Labour Party of Turkey (dissolved in 1971) and the democratic organisations active from 1961 to 1971 should be mentioned here in order to make more clear this new process of political awareness.

All this shows that the middle and disadvantaged layers of the population are strongly opposed to the domination of commercial and monopoly capital and the parties which serve those interests (J.P. and R.R.P.); they are also opposed to the policies of the J.P. prior to March 12, which were taken over and reinforced through anti-democratic repression by the four non-party governments which followed, and which led to inflation, unemployment and increased distress for wide masses of the population. The rank-and-file voters of the traditional rightist parties are being regrouped according to their interests and levels of consciousness around such conservative parties as the Democratic Party or the National Salvation Party, which stands for a "moslim type" policy with a social orientation, or else around the reformist program of the social-democratic party, the P.R.P. Be that as it may, the total of votes for the "right"

greatly exceed those for the left-center, as the president of the Democratic Party rightly pointed out. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that these votes, with the exception of those which went to the J.P. and the R.R.P., express in one way or another opposition to the present system and show that dissatisfaction with it is stronger than satisfaction.

As for the working class, it went to the polls on October 14 deprived of its own political grouping; the reformist program of Mr. Ecevit seems to have attracted, temporarily at least, the votes of all democratic elements. The very large increase in votes received by the P.R.P. in the poorer sections of the large industrialized cities seems to bear out this hypothesis. The positions taken by the progressive unions and the DISK labor federation are among the factors responsible for this shift. The Kurdish communities of the Eastern and South-Eastern regions of the country also seem to have made a clear-cut choice in favor of "enlarged democracy".

In a parliament where no single party has the absolute majority it can be expected that confidence will be granted only to a coalition government. What kind of a coalition will it be? On what political forces will it be based? Only a limited number of possibilities exist: a right coalition, as proposed by Mr. Bozbeyli, which would exclude the P.R.P.; a coalition between the J.P. and the P.R.P., based on a large parliamentary majority; or a coalition between the P.R.P. and the National Salvation Party. Given the internal contradictions within the right wing, the first solution appears to be highly improbable, especially because economic policy of the N.S.P. is diametrically opposed to that of the J.P. It would also be difficult for four separate parties to stand firmly united against a strong and centralized opposition. Although the third solution would not guarantee an easy majority, it is not out of the question since the P.R.P. and the N.S.P. do not represent the economic interests of radically different layers of society. There is, however, a deep ideological cleavage between them. Nonetheless, only these two groupings (if we exclude the T.U.P., with only one representative elected, and the N.P., without any) agree on a number of important issues such as freedom of expression, general amnesty for political prisoners, certain nationalizations, etc. On the other hand, the N.S.P., known for its moralistic and pro-religious stand, might encounter hostility on the part of the military powers. The only other solution is a possible alliance between Mr. Demirel's Justice Party and Mr. Ecevit's P.R.P. These two parties, diametrically opposed as they are both economically and ideologically, would of course not be happy to mix up in one bag their respective voters and the interests they represent. However, it cannot be excluded that the armed forces and the president of the Republic may exert pressure leading to the formation of a strong, "national unity" government, despite the statement made by the J.P.'s leader, following the setback of his party, to the effect that he would prefer to remain in the opposition. That setback might well in the short run result in his losing the leadership of the J.P., but it would be a very dangerous opposition for Mr. Ecevit..

Be that as it may, the present composition of the Turkish parliament may lead to a governmental crisis and one must warn against too great optimism. The ruling class has certainly been dealt a hard blow, but is it willing to step aside and let others rule? The democratic elements have certainly made a great forward stride, but are the social-democrats really capable of exercising power? A third of the Turkish electorate have indeed voted for reform and the restoration of democracy, but in view of the present parliamentary balance, will it be possible to repeal those anti-democratic laws which were passed by the self-same political forces which, together, still form the majority? How can what has been done be undone in order to regain the freedoms restricted by two different amendments to the Constitution? How can a general amnesty

be hoped for when a partial amnesty was refused a few months ago by parliament, if the contending forces have not really been basically changed, as one would like to think ? Is it possible to talk of a 'return to democracy' as long as the military prisons are overflowing with political prisoners ? As long as military courts continue to try 2,000 or so people even after martial law has been lifted ? As long as legislation exists which declares illegal the creation of a party of the working class of Turkey ?

UNOFFICIAL RESULTS OF OCTOBER 14, 1973 ELECTIONS

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY				SENATE		
Registered voters.... 16.865.510						
Voting ±10.600.000						
(of which ± 400.000 votes were void)						
Voting percentage: ± 64.3 %						
	number of votes	%	seats obtained		new seats	Total
P.R.P.	3.482.000	33,3	185	P.R.P.	25	40
J.P.	3.082.000	29,4	149	J.P.	22	78
N.S.P.	1.250.000	11,9	48	N.S.P.	3	3
D.P.	1.229.000	11,7	45	D.P.	--	7
R.R.P.	560.000	5,4	13	R.R.P.	1	9
N.A.P.	364.000	3,4	3	N.A.P.	--	--
T.U.P.	118.000	1,0	1	T.U.P.	--	--
N.P.	59.000	0,5	--	N.P.	--	--
Indep.	319.000	3,0	6	Indep.	1	13
				Presidential group		15
				Life term senators (+)		18
				Ex-presidents of Republic (++)		2

(+) Authors of May 27, 1960 coup d'etat.

(++) Messrs. Ismet İNÖNÜ and Cevdet SUNAY.

DESPITE TALK OF A RETURN TO NORMAL....

A defendant has a miscarriage at police headquarters

During the Popular Liberation Party of Turkey trial involving 256 defendants, one of the accused, Türkân Şahin, after stating that she had been kept 12 days at police headquarters and in the Ankara prison and was then sent on February 25, 1972 to the Istanbul police headquarters, continued her testimony as follows: "When I was arrested I was three and a half months pregnant. As a result of various ill treatments I had a miscarriage. This fact has been established in file N° 1635 of the maternity service registry of the Beyoglu Hospital for Emergency Cases where I was brought in the morning of March 5." Türkân Şahin then said that she had been brought back to police headquarters two days later, before she had been able to recuperate physically or morally. "As I had lost a lot of blood, I no longer had the strenght to resist the pressures and threats and so I agreed to sign the testimony prepared by the police." The defendant ended her testimony by stating that she had never belonged to any organization and that she had only prepared the meals for the persons hiding in her apartment to whom these meals had been brought by her husband. The request to free her and other defendants in the same case was denied.

Following in the footsteps of Süleyman Ege, publisher-author Muzaffer Erdost is likewise sentenced to a total of 30 years in prison for opinion offences.

Muzaffer Erdost, author and publisher, had been tried and acquitted by the 3rd court of Assizes of Ankara for having translated and published Nguyen Giap's book "The People's War, the People's Army". However, this sentence had been annulled by the court of cassation. The case went back to the original court, which sentenced Mr. Erdost to seven and a half years in prison and two and a half years of deportation.

Mr. Erdost had previously been sentenced to a total of twenty-two and a half years in prison for having translated and published Lenin's "What Is To Be Done ?" and Stalin's "Marxism and the National Question" as well as a selection of his writings. That sentence has already been confirmed by the court of cassation. This is the second time that an important person in Turkish life has been condemned to 30 years imprisonment for opinion offences, a previous 30-year sentence having been given to Mr. Süleyman Ege, named "prisoner of the year" in 1972 by Amnesty International. Two other trials against Mr. Erdost are continuing while he serves his sentence at the main prison of Ankara.

A defendant is slapped in the face at his trial by a non-commissioned officer

At a session of the Dev-Genç trial taking place on October 12 at the 2nd Military court of Istanbul, a non-commissioned officer slapped defendant Masis Kürkçügil in the face as he was talking to his mother at the end of the hearing. The judge declined the defense lawyers' request to enter this incident into the trial's proceedings. The defense lawyers then addressed a complaint to the 1st army corps and sent a telegram to Mr. Fahri Korutürk, president of the Republic, saying "The defendant's mother had asked us if something would happen to her son (...) In view of this mother's alarm which points to the physical and psychological state to which the prisoners as well as their families are subjected, we ask you, Mr. President, to take the necessary measures (...)".

THE ELECTIONS AND THE TURKISH WORKERS ABROAD

While workers in Turkey took part in the elections although there was no political party to defend their interests, those working in Europe - of whom there are more than a million - were deprived of any chance to vote.

The policies proposed by the various parties concerning the workers abroad were as important for them as for their families remaining in Turkey and for the million and a half workers awaiting their turn to go abroad.

A quick glance at the platforms of the eight contending parties shows that three of them did not even mention this problem which nonetheless is so crucial to the welfare of the country. As a matter of fact, neither the National Party, the Democratic Party or the National Action Party had anything to say on this question. Of the five remaining parties who dealt with this problem in a more or less thorough way, the Justice Party and the Republican Reliance Party made promises concerning the very complicated official procedures, the squandering of foreign currency sent home by the workers abroad, and measures that should be taken to protect against "dangerous ideologies". It should be noted that these two parties had participated in the various governments prior to March 12 as well as after, especially the Justice Party which represented the majority since 1965. One may therefore well wonder why they had not been able to master the problems arising from this question and take appropriate measures.

As for the three opposition parties, the National Salvation Party proposes that the foreign currency sent to Turkey by its workers abroad be invested in regional plans; the Union Party stipulates that this foreign currency be channeled into investments profitable to heavy industry. Only the People's Republican Party goes into this problem more deeply and suggests that the investments made possible by the foreign currency sent home by workers abroad should be managed by the workers themselves with the aid of the State. In addition it proposes that immigration be organized in a rational manner and that Turkish citizens working in Europe be assured of the right to vote.

The lack of interest shown by the majority of parties for this serious socio-economic problem is not astonishing since the Turkish workers in Europe are not organized although in the absence of a party representing the working class they could at least have formed a pressure group. It can be expected that the Turkish workers in Europe will from now on organize themselves so that their voice may be heard and they may indirectly participate in political battles by means of those organizations which the workers remaining in Turkey will not fail to build as a new rallying center.

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WEEKLY BULLETIN
OF THE INFORMATION CENTER
FOR EXPRESSING SOLIDARITY
WITH THE PEOPLE OF TURKEY

the legislative process
will be slow, difficult
and ... blocked ?

"amnesty" or freedom
for political prisoners ?

a short politico-economic
background review

appeal

Nº 28

TURKEY

of October 22 - Oct. 28, '73

THE LEGISLATIVE PROCESS WILL BE SLOW, DIFFICULT ANDBLOCKED ?

Two weeks after the October 14 elections the only thing that can be asserted with assurance is that from its very beginning the new legislative session is encountering difficulties. Despite all the desires that have been expressed to see the fiftieth anniversary of the Republic celebrated under a new government issuing from the election results, which would grant freedom to the thousands of prisoners and political defendants, thus opening the path to a policy of "reconciliation", reality proves to be less rosy than the heady but short-lived optimism in which certain Turkish and western democratic circles indulged.

Without shattering the hopes aroused by the victory of Mr. Ecevit's People's Republican Party, an analysis of what has transpired in the two weeks following the elections calls for a more objective evaluation of the political scene in Turkey.

How do things look on October 27 ? Parliament has adjourned without even electing the president of the new Assembly, the political parties having blocked together against Mr. Ferda Güley, the P.R.P. candidate. Three roll-calls could not muster the necessary majority for his election, despite the fact that it is customary to chose as president of the Assembly a member of the party having won the most seats in the elections, which had always been done in the past. The members of the government have only now handed in their resignations to the president of the Republic, who in turn has still not designated anyone to put together the new executive team. As for the heads of certain political parties, Mr. Feyzioglu (Republican Reliance Party - 13 seats in the National Assembly) has written to the president of the Republic asking him not to request Mr. Ecevit to form the new government, while Mr. Bozbeyli (Democratic Party - 45 seats) has declared that he "doesn't think it possible that an amnesty could be voted before the national celebration". Another party leader, Mr. Erbakan, just elected to the presidency of the Party of National Salvation, following its success at the legislative elections in which it gained 48 seats (thus becoming the third most important political force in the country) has chosen to play the opportunist game, fully aware of what is at stake and the role his party can play in participating in one or another of the possible governmental coalitions without which there would inevitably be a political crisis.

Thus the prospects are not too bright. But how could one so blithely hope for a rapid consensus among political groupings which in reality are rent asunder by their contradictions ? Could the important opinion-making newspapers (or the international press, which imitated them) be taken seriously when they predicted a coalition between the P.R.P. and the Justice Party - a first-class solution on paper reflecting, however, total ignorance of Turkey's problems and a lack of analysis of the people's real political choice after being subjected to two and a half years of repression thoroughly exposed to democratic public opinion ? Not if you want to remain rooted in reality. And yet one is obliged to believe this.

Mr. Ecevit will be probably called on to form the new government. His task will be much more difficult than was foreseen. At present it is impossible to say what this government's main choices or its program will be. Uncertainty prevails. Should Mr. Ecevit succeed, he will have to face the destructive opposition of the opposing parties. Should he fail, nothing will have changed since March 12, 1971. It remains to be seen whether the question raised in the first alternative will not have the same answer as in the second.

"AMNESTY" OR FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS ?

Immediately after the official results of the October 14 legislative elections were made known, a burning question became the center of juridical-political discussion, even before the formation of the new government. It concerns the "general amnesty" to be granted at the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the Turkish Republic. In their electoral platforms all the political parties had promised that a law of this kind would be passed quickly by the new Assembly. Today the people of Turkey may judge whether these were true or empty promises.

Mr. Demirel's Justice Party tried to prove its sincerity by submitting a proposed amnesty law to the Assembly's desk on October 25. This proposal excludes opinion "offences", for the Justice Party has always considered political prisoners to be "traitors sold out to the communists who want to poison the people, undermine the foundations of democracy and overthrow the established order by force". The other rightist political groupings are still more outspoken in this belief. Mr. Bozbeyli, head of the Democratic Party, stated on October 20 that "we are opposed to an amnesty which include anarchists, communists and all these destroyers of the State. In my opinion, ideas leading to public disorders should be called 'subversion' and not 'ideas'."

On the other hand, the main lines of the P.R.P.'s amnesty proposal have appeared in the press. It provides that death sentences will be commuted to 30 years imprisonment, life-long imprisonment to 20 years, seven and a half year terms based on twenty or so articles of the Penal Code will be erased, and prisoners less than 18 years old at the time the offense was committed will be freed...It can be seen that the P.R.P.'s proposal likewise is a half-way measure, especially with regard to annulling the sentences based on Articles 141 and 142 of the Penal Code concerning freedom of expression, which had been use to condemn hundreds of people. Nor is a review of retroactive accusations included in the proposal..So this proposal may also turn out to be a disappointment for those democrats in Turkey who counted on Mr. Ecevit's promises and those of his party to free the political prisoners. A number of defendants, among them Osman Köksal, life-long Senator, and the former leaders of the banned Labour Party of Turkey, have stated more or less openly that they will refuse to "benefit from" an "amnesty" which would be tantamount to acknowledging their "guilt".

Thus,,even if the P.R.P. proposal were brought to the Assembly floor and passed in its present form (which appears highly improbable, given the unity binding together rightist parties when it is a question of repressing the left and the democratic forces), it would be unfounded to hope that the prison doors in Turkey will be opened wide, and the objection raised by the victims of 29 months of Martial Law remains fully valid: "Freedom, not amnesty, for the political prisoners !"

A SHORT POLITICO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND REVIEW

For a deeper understanding of Turkey's present socio-political situation it is necessary to review the country's current history and developments which have taken place since the Republic was established.

The Turkish Republic was the creation of an alliance between the commercial bourgeoisie, the land-owners and the civilian and military bureaucratic layers. Turkey had no bourgeois class resulting from an industrialization process similar to the one that took place in the advanced capitalist countries, and so the bureaucracy, civil and military, assumed the bourgeoisie's progressive role in history, that is, their ideology was nationalism. United together in the People's Republican Party - the sole party until 1945 - these social layers favored an economic policy leading to the creation of a capitalist class, a class which grew strong at the expense of the various popular layers of society, using state control to accumulate resources for rebuilding the country's infra-structure. During this period, which lasted from 1923 to 1945, two social forces arose in opposition to the P.R.P., (which represented the bureaucratic bourgeoisie). One of them was the industrial bourgeoisie (although there never was any real heavy industry), which demanded conditions more favorable to its own development, conscious that it was now able to exert power directly; the other was the working class which had developed concurrently with the rise of capitalism. The other popular layers of the society, sick and tired of the totalitarian and bureaucratic powers of the P.R.P., supported the Democratic Party when it was formed in 1945 by the representatives of capital, and that party won the 1950 elections. The working class was able to obtain only an American-style trade union federation, created in 1952, without the right to strike.

Between 1950 and 1960 there was an anarchic development of capitalism in all the sectors of the economy as well as increased dependence on foreign capital and the world capitalist system. The big international corporations sought and found Turkish partners, and with this process -- as is only natural -- went politico-military dependence. This policy, which was also an inflationary one, hurt those layers of the population having fixed income, among them the civilian and military bureaucrats.

Thus these last-named groups were pushed into becoming the authors of the 1960 coup d'Etat which resulted in a relatively democratic Constitution in which the right to strike was included. The working class immediately began to organize itself into unions as well as within the Labour Party of Turkey, created in 1961, but the other popular layers of society continued to vote for the Justice Party, created by those self-same capitalist interests which had been behind the Democratic Party (dissolved as a result of the 1960 intervention). Thus we find that following the 1965 elections, power was once more in the hands of the industrial bourgeoisie. From that date on a policy which now favored big capital made more and more difficult the situation not only of the impoverished layers but also of the middle classes themselves, leading to more widespread popular movements demanding aid and democracy. At the same time, big capital made allies of the military forces by paying them well and making them part and parcel of the financial oligarchy. It is not at all incorrect to say that the March 12 intervention

was produced and directed by the industrial circles to outlaw popular actions and suppress democratic rights.

But the October 14 elections have clearly shown that all the popular layers of society are dissatisfied, above all the middle classes. The industrial circles have surely been deeply disappointed. From now on a permanent struggle may be expected to take place - and let us hope it will be a democratic one - between these opposing forces more and more aware of the conflict between them.

APPEAL

The Information Center for Expressing Solidarity with the People of Turkey calls on all democratic forces to use all means at their disposal to demand freedom for Turkey's political prisoners -- those sentenced as well as those not yet brought to trial.

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BULLETIN MENSUEL
DU CENTRE D'INFORMATION
POUR L'EXPRESSION DE LA SOLIDARITE
AVEC LE PEUPLE TURC

événements
du mois de janvier

gouvernement:
le pour et le contre

les problèmes économiques
du nouveau gouvernement

la question du pétrole
en Turquie

les projets de loi
d'annistie et les
détenus politiques

N° 30

TURQUIE

Janvier 1974

JANVIER 1974

Tandis que la crise gouvernementale continue toujours... M. Fahri KORUTURK, chef de l'Etat, souhaite par son message de fin d'année que 1974 soit pour les partis politiques et pour le peuple tout entier une année d'entente et de réconciliation;

LES TRIBUNAUX MILITAIRES DU COMMANDEMENT DE L'ETAT DE SIEGE D'ISTANBUL SONT ENTRES DANS LA NOUVELLE ANNEE (3 mois après la levée officielle de l'état de siège) AVEC 32 PROCES EN COURS, OU SONT JUGES 865 DETENUS POLITIQUES.

- 2 Le Parti du Salut National et le Parti Démocratique répondent favorablement à la proposition de M. Naim TALU de former une coalition de droite excluant le Parti Républicain du Peuple;
- 8 mais le Parti de la Justice refuse une telle éventualité qui évincerait, du gouvernement, son chef M. DEMIREL;
- 10 M. TALU demande à être déchargé de la tâche de former le gouvernement; sa démission étant acceptée par le chef de l'Etat, MM. ECEVIT et ERBAKAN, respectivement chefs du P.R.P. et du P.S.N., s'entretiennent sur les possibilités d'une coalition entre leurs formations;

L'ingénieur HARUN KARADENIZ, ancien détenu politique à qui le passeport a été refusé, bien qu'il ait été acquitté 18 mois auparavant, a été AMPUTE D'UN BRAS à Londres où il n'a pu se rendre que très tardivement.

- 12 Les projets de loi d'amnistie du P.R.P. et du P.S.N. sont rendus publics (voir: Libertés);
- 14 Le chef de l'Etat reçoit séparément MM. ECEVIT et ERBAKAN, à la suite de quoi il charge le leader du P.R.P. de former le nouveau gouvernement; des pourparlers sont entrepris entre les dirigeants des deux partis afin de rédiger un protocole qui serait à la base du programme de gouvernement;

Le Prof. MUMTAZ SOYSAL, ancien doyen de la Faculté des Sciences Politiques d'Ankara, est CONDAMNE (le 20 Janvier) UNE QUATRIEME FOIS à une peine de 6 ANS ET 8 MOIS D'EMPRISONNEMENT. Bien que le verdict ait été cassé à trois reprises par la Cour Militaire de Cassation, la Cour Martiale d'Ankara n'a pas jugé nécessaire la constitution d'une nouvelle commission d'experts pour examiner le livre scolaire à cause duquel le Prof. SOYSAL est accusé de faire de la "PROPAGANDE COMMUNISTE" et a insisté sur son verdict initial.

L'éditeur SULEYMAN EGE, condamné au total à 30 ANNEES DE DETENTION pour quatre livres qu'il a publiés, est sanctionné de régime cellulaire pour indiscipline aux autorités pénitentiaires de la prison d'Adana où il se trouve DETENU DEPUIS PLUS DE DEUX ANS. ("Cumhuriyet", 22 Janvier 1974)

- 23 Le premier ministre TALU rend public le résultat de l'enquête "officielle" sur les allégations de tortures (voir TURQUIE N°29): "Aucune preuve sérieuse n'a été découverte sur l'existence de cette pratique illégale en Turquie après l'intervention militaire du 12 Mars 1971;

Le jour même de la déclaration de M. TALU sur la torture... M. AYDOGAN BUYUKOZ-DEN, l'un des accusés du procès du "Parti Révolutionnaire Ouvrier-Paysan de Turquie", A DEMANDE L'OUVERTURE D'UNE INSTRUCTION SUR LES TORTURES QU'IL A SUBIES au cours de son interrogatoire; LA DEMANDE EST REJETEE par le 2. Tribunal Militaire d'Ankara.

- 25 M. ECEVIT soumet à l'approbation du chef de l'Etat la liste du gouvernement composée de 17 ministres du P.R.P. et de 8 du P.S.N.; le protocole de gouvernement est rendu public le même jour;

LA CONDAMNATION A 7 ANS ET 6 MOIS du poète CAN YUCEL, pour un livre qu'il avait traduit en 1968, EST RATIFIEE par la Cour de Cassation; ainsi la peine infligée à M. YUCEL, détenu à la prison d'Adana pour une première condamnation, atteint le total de 15 ANS ET 6 MOIS.

- 26 Le chef de l'Etat ratifie la composition du gouvernement; M. ECEVIT et ses ministres entrent officiellement en fonction et tandis qu'une commission bi-partite travaillent à l'élaboration du programme de gouvernement, M. ECEVIT s'entretient avec le général SANCAR, chef de l'Etat-Major des Armées;

Le 3. Tribunal Militaire d'Ankara a CONDAMNE A DES PEINES DE DETENTION ALLANT DE 6 A 12 ANNEES, 33 OFFICIERS de divers grades accusés d'avoir créé "une organisation communiste clandestine au sein des forces armées".

M. MUSTAFA TIMISI, président du Parti de l'Union de Turquie, a adressé au premier ministre M. ECEVIT une QUESTION ECRITE SUR LES ALLEGATIONS DE TORTURES INFLIGEEES AUX DETENUS POLITIQUES ("Cumhuriyet", 27 Janvier 1974).

La totalité des accusés du procès dit "des sabotages", détenus depuis plus de deux ans et jugés sous l'inculpation d'avoir incendié le Centre Culturel d'Atatürk à Istanbul et saboté les bateaux Marmara, Eminonu et Kastamonu, sont acquittés (30 Janvier 1974) par le 2. Tribunal Militaire d'Istanbul. Le procureur militaire qui, à l'ouverture du procès, avait REQUIS LA PEINE CAPITALE CONTRE 17 DES ACCUSEES, a par la suite DEMANDE LEUR ACQUITTEMENT POUR "MANQUE DE PREUVES"... Le tribunal ayant, par son verdict, arrêté que le sinistre qui avait fait couler le bateau Marmara n'était pas d'origine criminelle, la compagnie d'assurance devra verser aux Lignes Maritimes Turques un dédommagement de 60 millions de Ltqs., bloquées depuis l'ouverture du procès.

- 31 Les groupes parlementaires du P.R.P. et du P.S.N. ont pris, séparément, à l'unanimité, la décision d'accorder leur confiance au gouvernement constitué par leurs formations;
- 1 Fev. Le programme du gouvernement est présenté à l'Assemblée Nationale et au Sénat par le premier ministre ECEVIT; le vote de la confiance devrait survenir dans le courant de la semaine prochaine...

GOUVERNEMENT : LE POUR ET LE CONTRE

Près de trois ans après l'intervention, le 12 Mars 1971, des militaires dans la vie politique du pays, la Turquie renoue avec le processus démocratique. Le gouvernement issu de la coalition entre le Parti Républicain du Peuple de M. Ecevit et le Parti du Salut National de M. Erbakan prend, en fait, la relève du gouvernement de M. Demirel qui avait dû démissionner après le mémorandum du 12 Mars. Les gouvernements anti-démocratiques de MM. Erim, Melen et Talu ont pu, en diverses occasions, donner, à une opinion internationale mal informée et souvent indulgente, voire paternaliste, l'impression qu'ils oeuvraient pour un retour à la vie démocratique "normale". S'il est vrai que les élections du 14 Octobre 1973 ont eu lieu conformément à la Constitution, il n'est pas moins vrai que c'est par la volonté populaire des démocrates qu'il a été possible de mettre en place un gouvernement qui peut, malgré ses faiblesses, changer certaines données essentielles de la vie du pays, considérées jusqu'à présent comme traditionnellement immuables. C'est dans ce sens qu'il faudrait, de prime abord interpréter la "prise" du pouvoir par l'équipe de M. Ecevit.

Pourtant, la crise a été longue. (Voir TURQUIE N°s 28 et 29). La plus longue de la République de Turquie. Voici ses phases :

- 1 - Le Président de la République charge M. Ecevit de former le nouveau gouvernement. Le Parti du Salut National, à la suite des pressions exercées sur son électorat par le Parti de la Justice refuse de participer à une coalition avec le P.R.P. . M. Ecevit rend son mandat.
- 2 - M. Demirel prend la relève. Le P.S.N. se déclare prêt à participer à une coalition de droite, préconisée par le Parti Démocratique, mais ce dernier récuse la présidence de M. Demirel, qui abandonne à son tour.
- 3 - La tâche est confiée à M. Talu. Le P.R.P. refuse de faire équipe avec le P.J. de M. Demirel, qui réclame, quant à lui, soit une coalition de droite qu'il présiderait, soit une coalition "nationale" avec la participation de tous les partis. Le P.R.P. propose de former un gouvernement minoritaire ou bien de renouveler les élections. M. Talu échoue et rend son mandat.
- 4 - Un "laborieux" compromis est réalisé entre le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. M. Korumturk fait appel une deuxième fois à M. Ecevit qui forme un gouvernement de coalition de 25 membres (17 P.R.P. et 8 P.S.N.) dont la moyenne d'âge est de 47,2.

Un protocole très élaboré et assez explicite définit les conditions et les limites de l'entente entre le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. Ce document de 109 articles, qui fait plutôt office de programme de gouvernement nous donne l'occasion de relever quelques dispositions importantes:

- Le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. croient profondément au principe d'un Etat national, démocratique, laïque et social. Ils ont pour but de créer une société basée sur "la compréhension, la fraternité et la justice sociale".
- On ne peut pas attendre du P.R.P. et du P.S.N. qu'ils réalisent "pleinement leur propres programmes sans aucun sacrifice".

POLITIQUE (suite)

- Afin de développer le coopérativisme, une banque des coopératives sera créée et rattachée au ministère des Affaires Rurales et des Coopératives. Des dispositions seront prises pour que les coopératives puissent servir les intérêts de leurs associés en étant indépendants et fonctionnant dans un contexte démocratique.
- Une amnistie générale sera votée, incluant les délits d'opinion et de croyance. En ce qui concerne les droits et les libertés démocratiques, les restrictions qui les frappent seront abolies et les libertés d'opinion, de croyance et d'expression, tout comme la liberté totale de la presse seront garanties par la loi.
- Le droit de vote sera étendu à tous les citoyens âgés de 18 ans, sauf à ceux qui poursuivent des études secondaires. Les citoyens turcs résidant à l'étranger pourront, eux aussi, utiliser leur droit de vote.
- Un marché efficace et solide des capitaux qui fonctionnera au profit du peuple et qui encouragera l'entreprise populaire sera créé.
- Le minerai de borax sera étatisé.
- La politique des relations économiques extérieures de la Turquie et les décisions relatives à la balance des paiements seront révisées de façon radicale.
- Les exportations seront développées vers les pays du Proche-Orient, de l'Afrique et de l'Asie. Les protocoles annexes avec la C.E.E. seront révisés afin d'obtenir les meilleures conditions d'application des accords de base pour la Turquie.
- En ce qui concerne les conventions collectives, il sera procédé à un vote à bulletin secret afin d'établir la représentativité des syndicats, en cas de litige.
- Les écoles secondaires religieuses seront rouvertes dans le pays, tandis que les lycées enseigneront la "morale" afin d' "inculquer les valeurs nationales aux jeunes cerveaux".
- L'enseignement supérieur sera gratuit.
- Aucune modification n'est apportée dans le domaine de la politique étrangère.

La lecture du protocole d'accord autorise quelques réflexions:

On constate que le P.R.P. a du faire plus de concessions qu'il n'en prévoyait, tant au sujet de l'attribution des portefeuilles ministériels qu'à l'égard de son propre programme électoral. Ainsi, l'important portefeuille de l'Intérieur va au P.S.N., tout comme ceux de la Justice et de l'Industrie. Il n'est plus question de remettre en cause la "réforme" agraire ni d'envisager une éventuelle nationalisation des ressources pétrolières (voir page 7). C'est toujours le P.R.P. qui fait une concession quand il accepte que le principe même de laïcité soit mis en cause malgré l'engagement timide de son partenaire formulé dans l'article premier du protocole. Le projet initial d'amnistie générale préparé par le P.R.P. a, lui aussi, pris un rude coup (voir page 8). Ceci dit, on peut se permettre d'être quelque peu optimiste en ce qui concerne les libertés et les droits démocratiques. Le Code Pénal sera révisé dans ce sens; l'élargissement du droit de vote contribuera à la démocratisation du régime..

Mais les concessions du P.R.P. sont trop importantes pour ne pas se poser des questions quant aux raisons qui ont amené M. Ecevit à signer un accord avec le P.S.N. Dans le contexte actuel, seul le pouvoir "majoritaire" du parti de M. Ecevit pouvait permettre la réalisation de réformes profondes. Ce n'est

pas le cas. M. Ecevit a pu se résigner à un programme "minimum" qui lui permettrait de procéder à certaines réformes en agissant "étape par étape". Il a également pu prévoir un durcissement dans l'attitude des militaires qui ont suivi tous ces remous politiques d'une façon remarquablement silencieuse. Enfin, il a pu considérer que les "acquis" depuis les élections du 14 Octobre étaient trop importants pour refuser de se plier à une "nécessité" que constitue la coalition avec le P.S.N., faute d'avoir pu obtenir le renouvellement des élections.

Si M. Ecevit a réussi à former le cabinet, ayant pour point de départ un document peut-être trop "travaillé" il n'a, à l'heure actuelle aucune garantie quant au comportement futur de son partenaire au sein de celui-ci. N'est-ce pas M. Erbakan qui avait déclaré que son parti était prêt à participer à une coalition de droite ? Aux yeux du député de Konya l'opportunisme n'est pas une attitude qu'on doit forcément condamner. Celui-ci pourrait cependant profiter de la situation pour asséner un autre coup à M. Demirel et à son parti, en proie à de graves conflits internes. L'action du gouvernement, si elle est positive, bénéficie presque toujours de la sympathie de l'électorat. L'occasion se présente plus que jamais, pour attirer vers le P.S.N. celui du Parti de la Justice. Dans la mesure où M. Erbakan marchera "droit" tout en agissant "à gauche" cet espoir lui est permis. Sur ce point au moins M. Ecevit peut compter sur l'habileté du chef du P.S.N.

L'avenir de la nouvelle coalition ne dépend pas exclusivement de l'équilibre des deux partis qui la constituent. Tant que les intérêts de la bourgeoisie ne seront pas menacés, celle-ci autorisera un certain réformisme qui s'annonce pourtant assez timide. Mais si le gouvernement n'est pas un adversaire direct des couches possédantes, ces dernières pourront difficilement empêcher l'élargissement des droits et des libertés démocratiques en vue de la création d'une plateforme commune à toutes les forces progressistes. C'est par ce biais précisément que le gouvernement semble faire un pas - certes prudent - en avant. La réplique se situe elle aussi à la même échelle. Quelle est la vraie nature des "occupations de terres" notées ces derniers mois à l'est du pays ? Qu'y a-t-il derrière les affrontements d'étudiants survenus dans plusieurs facultés ? Cherche-t-on à impliquer dans ces affaires M. Ecevit qui avait déclaré en 1967 que "la terre appartient à celui qui la travaille" ? Peut-on parler de "provocation" ? On y est tenté mais nous préférons attendre.

Quant à l'armée, elle vient d'obtenir, par la formation du gouvernement et pour la première fois depuis de nombreuses années, l'occasion de rester en dehors de la vie politique et de se consacrer à sa raison d'être. In ne dépend que d'elle d'utiliser cette chance de la meilleure façon en tirant les leçons utiles de ces trois dernières années. Sa responsabilité en tant que principale force anti-démocratique tout au long de cette période dramatique n'en sera pas pour autant diminuée.

La nouvelle équipe dirigeante est considérée par certains milieux progressistes comme la meilleure depuis trente ans. S'il est difficile d'être aussi optimiste et en attendant les résultats "in vivo" on peut néanmoins espérer que sans parvenir à modifier profondément les structures de la société elle saura créer le climat de liberté et de démocratie qui a tant manqué au peuple et à la vie politique turque depuis de longues années. Si elle réussit, les démocrates considéreront qu'elle aura rempli son contrat.

LES PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES DU NOUVEAU GOUVERNEMENT

La pratique des trois dernières années a abouti à une situation économique des plus graves qui obligera le nouveau gouvernement qui se veut "populaire et démocratique" à prendre des mesures radicales. Jetons un coup d'oeil sur le tableau économique que doit affronter le gouvernement de M. Ecevit:

- La hausse des prix des produits alimentaires a été de 23 % en 1973.
- Le nombre des chômeurs a atteint le chiffre de 3 millions, soit 12 % de la population active.
- Le déficit du commerce extérieur en 1973 a été de 778,9 millions de dollars.
- La crise de l'énergie qui sévit en Turquie depuis plusieurs années à cause de la dépendance en matière de pétrole (voir page 7) et de l'extraction irrationnelle du charbon par les sociétés privées, s'est aggravée en causant une dépense supplémentaire de 3,5 milliards de livres turques (environ 1,2 milliards de Frs.) sur le budget de 1974. Le seul fait que le gouvernement de M. Talu ait retardé les augmentations du prix des produits pétroliers a causé une perte de 200 millions de Ltqs. en 22 jours. Le gouvernement devra verser cette somme aux sociétés pétrolières étrangères, selon les lois en vigueur.
- Les inégalités régionales se sont aggravées par la diminution de 300 millions de l'aide accordée aux régions situées à l'est du pays, par le gouvernement de M. Talu.
- Les problèmes sociaux engendrés par l'émigration en Europe et celui des effets inflationnistes de l'envoi des devises, attendent d'être résolus.
- La Turquie, pays agricole, importe des engrais et le chômage déguisé sévit dans tout le secteur. La majorité des petits producteurs subit un manque de crédit et une baisse des prix à la production. Les ouvriers agricoles n'ont aucune garantie sociale.
- La dette extérieure de la Turquie atteint 5 milliards de dollars.
- Les lock-outs ne subissent aucune restriction tandis que la grève générale et la grève de solidarité restent toujours interdites.
- L'industrie pharmaceutique dépend largement de l'étranger et les pouvoirs publics n'ont aucun contrôle sur l'importation, ni sur la distribution; d'où la hausse insupportable des prix des produits pharmaceutiques, surtout en l'absence d'un régime élargi de sécurité sociale.
- La Turquie possède 65 % des réserves mondiales de borax, mais 60% de ces réserves sont contrôlées par les capitaux étrangers.
- Le commerce extérieur de la Turquie est limité à quelques pays industrialisés, la R.F.A. en premier lieu et les U.S.A.; les exportations se limitent à quelques produits agricoles d'importance secondaire et les importations se réalisent de façon anarchique, presque entièrement par le secteur privé.

Les mesures prévues par le protocole d'accord entre le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. concernent "des révisions, des améliorations, des rationalisations, des accélérations..." sans jamais toucher aux fondements de l'économie, sans parler ni d'une planification, ni d'une réforme agraire. Le "changement de régime" prévu par le P.R.P. n'est guère apparent pour ce qui est du domaine économique. C'est là qu'il faut chercher le sens véritable d'une coalition entre un parti social-démocrate et un parti qui préfère se reposer sur une idéologie religieuse et qui n'a pas de programme économique cohérent, ce qui le rend vulnérable aux pressions des milieux du grand capital.

LA QUESTION DU PETROLE EN TURQUIE

Dans le contexte de la crise économique actuelle, le statut des champs pétrolifères et de leur exploitation prend une importance toute particulière en Turquie. Tandis que le programme de gouvernement du P.R.P. prévoyait des mesures radicales pouvant aller jusqu'à l'Etatisation de ce secteur de l'économie, le protocole signé entre le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. n'en fait nullement mention. Ceci constitue une des plus importantes concessions que le P.R.P. a du faire à l'égard de son partenaire.

Sur 14 millions de tonnes de pétrole utilisées en Turquie en 1973, 10 millions de tonnes ont été importées et vendues par les compagnies étrangères. Ce chiffre indique éloquemment le degré de dépendance énergétique de l'économie turque et c'est bien pourquoi la dernière flambée des prix du pétrole aggrave considérablement la situation économique du pays; les experts prévoient d'ors et déjà un déficit budgétaire supplémentaire de 800 millions de dollars pour la balance des paiements.

Depuis 1950, les gouvernements qui se sont proclamés à tour de rôle les ardents défenseurs de la "libre entreprise" avaient misé sur la découverte, par les trusts multinationaux, de vastes champs pétrolifères en Asie Mineure. Le gouvernement MENDERES s'adressa aux conseillers américains, qui, secondés par l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à Ankara, M. Mc Ghee (dont les attaches personnelles avec les compagnies de pétrole n'étaient ignorées de personne), préconisèrent l'élaboration d'une nouvelle législation susceptible d'allécher les capitaux étrangers. Déjà en 1952, Mc Ghee avait déclaré: "les recherches du pétrole en Turquie vont être retirées du monopole étatique"... Cette nouvelle loi fut votée sans hésitation par le parlement en 1954; seul M. INONU osa parler, à ce propos, de "clauses capitulaires". La nouvelle législation avantagait ouvertement le capital étranger et ses compagnies, au détriment des intérêts nationaux représentés par l'organisme d'état, la TPAO. Les compagnies étrangères s'octroyèrent les monopoles des sondages pour 75 immenses régions (1965), tandis que la TPAO devait se contenter de 7 régions, parmi les moins prometteuses. Ce qui n'a pas empêché, par la suite, la compagnie nationale d'atteindre une proportion supérieure à celle de toutes les compagnies étrangères réunies. La complaisance intéressée du gouvernement MENDERES fut peu payante pour la Turquie, cela pour une raison très simple: les compagnies étrangères avaient d'avantage d'intérêt à VENDRE du pétrole à la Turquie, qu'à lui en voir PRODUIRE. Les zones réservées par les nouveaux venus furent choisies de façon à bloquer les recherches de la TPAO. Il n'était pas question de faire un effort sincère en vue de trouver des quantités importantes de pétrole, car la dépendance économique d'Ankara renforçait l'emprise militaire et politique des Etats-Unis.

Dans les années qui suivirent la chute de MENDERES, particulièrement en 1965-1970, le Parti Ouvrier de Turquie, les organisations de jeunes et la presse progressiste demandèrent la nationalisation du pétrole. La seule réponse à ces revendications, qui avaient suscité de larges échos à l'échelle du pays, a été donnée par la sanglante répression de 1971-1973... Aujourd'hui c'est l'heure de vérité; même pour le pétrole extrait du sol turc, la Turquie va devoir payer aux compagnies étrangères son propre produit au prix cher. Face à cette situation insolite, l'ex-premier ministre, M. TALU, a tenté in extremis, de faire verser la nouvelle marge bénéficiaire des compagnies étrangères à un compte spécial consacré au financement des futurs sondages. Mais l'impitoyable loi de 1954, rédigée par les experts américains, ne permet aucunement les initiatives unilatérales de ce caractère. Signe des temps, ne voilà-t-il pas que la SHELL déclare soudain être en mesure de trouver du pétrole dans les eaux turques de la mer noire orientale, ceci dans les plus brefs délais! M. TALU a immédiatement donné la concession demandée.

Il semble bien que des nappes importantes de pétrole existent en Turquie. L'intérêt national exige donc leur exploitation, sans plus tarder, par la compagnie nationale. Cependant, le protocole d'accord ne comporte aucune disposition allant dans le sens d'une nationalisation. Il faut en déduire que l'équilibre des forces ne permet pas, dans ce domaine, aux aspirations progressistes de se concrétiser.

LES PROJETS DE LOI D'AMNISTIE ET LES DETENUS POLITIQUES

Aussitôt après la formation du gouvernement, les deux ailes de celui-ci, le Parti Républicain du Peuple et le Parti du Salut National, ont pris la décision de former une commission qui serait chargée d'arriver à un compromis entre les projets d'amnistie des deux formations. Les travaux de cette commission n'ont pas encore abouti, mais une brève analyse des projets initiaux permettrait déjà de prévoir le contenu éventuel d'un projet gouvernemental de loi d'amnistie.

Le projet du P.R.P. de M. ECEVIT prévoit l'annulation de toutes les condamnations (prononcées jusqu'au 29.10.1973) ne dépassant pas 15 années de détention ou la réduction de 15 ans, des peines plus longues; les condamnations à la peine capitale pour "délits politiques" seront réduites à une peine de 24 ans de détention et les peines de détention à perpétuité, à 20 ans; tandis que les détenus politiques condamnés selon les articles 146, 147, 148, 150, 156, 157, 168, 171, 172 et 384 du Code Pénal (délits commis contre la sécurité de l'Etat, appelés "actes de violence") ne profiteront que d'une réduction de 5 années de leurs peines... Le projet de la formation de M. ERBAKAN est encore plus restreint: la réduction de 15 ans, préconisée par le P.R.P., est de 10 ans dans le projet du P.S.N.; les condamnations à la peine capitale sont converties en détention à perpétuité et les détentions à perpétuité, à 24 ans. Mais la différence essentielle entre les deux projets se concentre sur l'interprétation de l'article 141 du Code Pénal: alors que le P.R.P. considère les délits énumérés dans cet article (pris directement dans le Code Fasciste Moussolinien) comme des délits d'opinion et prévoit l'amnistie pour ceux qui ont été condamnés d'après lui; le P.S.N., considérant les mêmes délits comme étant "contre la sécurité de l'Etat au même titre que les actes de violence, se contente d'une réduction de 5 ans. Or, la conformité de l'Article 141 à la Constitution a été et est toujours sujet à discussion parmi les juristes et la Cour Constitutionnelle ne l'a déclaré conforme à la Constitution qu'avec une faible majorité de 8 voix contre 7. D'autre part, des centaines de détenus politiques sont actuellement en prison et 2.100 accusés sont jugés par les tribunaux militaires en vertu de cet article.

Même si l'on espère que la commission bi-partite sera d'accord pour étendre la loi d'amnistie jusqu'aux limites proposées par le P.R.P., on ne peut croire que tous les détenus politiques retrouveront leur liberté; à cause, justement, de ces mêmes limites qui tiennent comptes de distinctions vagues entre les "délits politiques", et ceci pour ne pas indisposer "certains milieux influents"... Ce n'est pas pour autant que les partis de droite sont prêts à accueillir favorablement l'un ou l'autre projet. Tout au contraire, une vaste campagne est entreprise pour empêcher leur réalisation. L'affaire du "commando turco-palestinien", arrêté dernièrement à Paris et au sujet duquel peu de données concrètes sont connues, est largement exploitée à cette fin.

Nous considérons alors comme un devoir de nous associer aux parents des détenus politiques et aux diverses organisations turques (comme le Syndicat des Journalistes, L'Union des Barreaux, l'Associations des Enseignants, etc.) qui demandent une amnistie sans aucune restriction et rappellent aux partis politiques turcs leurs promesses électorales d'amnistie générale. Nous appelons tous les démocrates à se joindre à nous pour exiger la LIBERTE POUR TOUS LES DETENUS POLITIQUES.

Ecrire à: M. Fahri KORUTURK, Cumhurbaskani, Ankara, Turquie;
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événements des mois de
février, mars, avril
et mai

vie politique :
le cheval, les troyens
et troie

de la difficulté de
gérer l'économie turque

mensuel

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FEVRIER 1974

- 7 Le gouvernement constitué par M. Ecevit obtient la confiance de l'Assemblée Nationale par 235 voix pour sur 373 votants.
- 8 Le Prof. Erbakan, vice-premier ministre a reçu les familles des détenus politiques: "L'amnistie sera votée sans restrictions, a-t-il dit.
- 10 Des travaux sont entrepris pour modifier la loi sur les universités, adoptée avant les élections du 14 Octobre 1973. Les Chambres des Ingénieurs Agricoles et Chimiques réclament l'annulation de la décision du gouvernement Erim concernant l'interdiction de la culture du pavot. Le syndicat Maden-İş, affilié à la DISK (Confédération des Syndicats des Travailleurs Progressistes) a signé une convention collective avec le plus important complexe sidérurgique du pays, "Erdemir", au terme d'une grève qui aura duré 76 jours. Les travailleurs obtiennent satisfaction de leurs revendications.
- 11 Un député du Parti Republicain du Peuple réclame la poursuite et la punition des tortionnaires du régime issu de l'intervention militaire du 12 Mars 1971.
- 12 Le Ministre des Affaires Rurales a annoncé que 17.209 villages turcs sur 38.877 n'avaient pas de routes. 1,2 millions de travailleurs du secteur industriel sont syndiqués (sur 4 millions). Les 10 millions de travailleurs du secteur agricole n'ont aucune organisation.
- 13 Les syndicats ont déclenché une campagne pour l'amnistie générale promise par le gouvernement tandis que les Cours de Sureté de l'Etat commencent leurs travaux à Istanbul, pour juger cinq écrivains accusés de propagande communiste.
- 14 L'Association des Instituteurs réclame l'abolition de la loi des associations.
- 15 Un jeune journaliste, M. İsmail Cem İpekçi est nommé directeur-général de l'Office de la Radiodiffusion et de la Télévision turques. (T.R.T.). Les mouvements de grèves s'amplifient dans tout le pays.
- 16 Un hebdomadaire d'Istanbul, "Olay", lance un appel pour la constitution d'un parti socialiste.
- 17 11.547 villages sur 38.877 n'ont pas d'eau potable. 10.534 villages n'en ont pas suffisamment.
19. M. Tekin Arıburun, président du Sénat est réélu par 129 voix sur 157 votants.
- 20 Le Parti du Salut National déclare qu'il est en train d'élaborer un projet de loi sur la liberté d'expression.
- 22 La hausse des prix du papier suscite des protestations dans tous les milieux de l'édition.
- 23 Le ministre de la Justice a déclaré que la loi d'amnistie aura une grande portée.
- 25 Le projet de loi d'amnistie est déposé à l'Assemblée. Les peines de mort seront commuées en détention perpétuelle, ces dernières en 24 ans de réclusion criminelle. Les fameux articles 141 et 142 bénéficieront d'une réduction de peine de 12 ans et l'article 146/3 de 5 ans.
- 26 Le gouvernement réajuste le prix du sucre, du fer, des produits pétroliers, du papier journal, du ciment etc. La forte hausse des prix de ces produits conduit le gouvernement Ecevit vers une période difficile. Le revenu national brut per capita est de 7.616 Ltqs (507 \$).

- 27 Les télégrammes de protestations concernant les dernières hausses des prix, affluent de tous les coins du pays.
- 28 137 jours après les élections le projet de loi d'amnistie n'est toujours pas pris en main par l'Assemblée Nationale. Ce projet a d'ores et déjà subi des restrictions importantes.

MARS 1974

- 1 Remous au sein du Parti de la Justice qui tente de définir une nouvelle stratégie après le dépôt, devant le bureau de l'Assemblée, du projet de loi d'amnistie. Le premier ministre M. Ecevit ne partage pas les vues d'une partie de l'opinion publique qui réclame le châtiment des tortionnaires.
- 2 65.000 détenus bénéficieront de la loi d'amnistie.
- 5 L'Union des Barreaux estime que le fait de laisser certains délits en dehors de la loi d'amnistie porterait un grave préjudice aux principes d'égalité des lois.
- 7 La Commission juridique de l'Assemblée Nationale commence la discussion du projet de loi d'amnistie, à huis clos. Un procès est intenté à M. Mehmet Ali Aybar, président du Parti Ouvrier de Turquie jusqu'en 1968, qui est inculpé de propagande communiste par voie de presse.
- 8 Le P.J. se prépare à faire obstruction au projet de loi d'amnistie. Un groupuscule d'extrême-droite attaque le foyer universitaire Atatürk, d'Istanbul. Il y a 3 blessés. Le budget 1974 sera de 82 milliards de Ltqs. (27 milliards de F). Le gouvernement grec tente de dissimuler qu'il a entrepris des recherches pétrolières dans la mer Egée.
- 9 Les groupuscules d'extrême-droite intensifient leurs activités dans les universités. La culture du pavot reprendra à la fin du mois. Les turcs consomment 0,1 oeuf et 290 g. de lait per capita et par jour.
- 10 Les devises rapatriées par les travailleurs turcs de l'étranger se sont multipliées par 19 en 10 ans pour dépasser 5 milliards de F par an.
- 11 Plusieurs syndicats se détachent de la plus grande centrale syndicale du pays, la Türk-İş, pour s'affilier à la DISK. Les turcs consomment 13,3 g. de viande, par capita et par jour. En 1938 ils en consommaient 22 g., en 1950 19 g.
- 13 M. Ecevit affirme que son gouvernement a sauvé l'économie turque des dangers engendrés par les gouvernements précédents. Le ministre de la Jeunesse et des Sports déclare que les groupuscules de tendance fascistes seront éliminés.
- 14 Le gouvernement est critiqué pour la lenteur qu'il met à remplacer les hauts fonctionnaires nommés par les gouvernements précédents.
- 15 M. Ecevit déclare que la culture du pavot a d'ores et déjà commencé.
- 20 La loi d'amnistie est adoptée par la commission juridique de l'Assemblée Nationale. Le P.J. déclare son opposition à la loi.
- 21 Le P.J. entreprend une grande campagne afin de créer une scission au sein du P.S.N. Certaines municipalités refusent d'appliquer les décisions du gouvernement. M. Demirel déclare à la presse que le gouvernement se trouve devant deux problèmes importants: l'amnistie

- et le budget 1974. Un commando fasciste saccage le foyer universitaire de Cebeci, à Ankara.
- 23 La presse fait mention nommément de l'opposition qui s'est créée au sein du P.S.N. Plusieurs députés de ce parti voteraient contre la loi d'amnistie. MM. Ecevit et Erbakan affirment que le gouvernement travaille en parfaite harmonie.
 - 24 M. Ecevit affirme que "nul ne pourra obtenir le retour en arrière". L'Assemblée Nationale ouvre le dossier de la "réhabilitation" des membres du Parti Démocrate renversé par l'armée, le 27 Mai 1960. Pour ce faire, un amendement constitutionnel est nécessaire.
 - 26 Le désordre s'amplifie au sein du P.S.N. tandis que les camionneurs se préparent à faire grève ! Les commandos fascistes entament une épreuve de force à l'Université de Hacettepe, à Ankara. Les milieux d'affaires sont partagés au sujet de la politique à suivre concernant leurs rapports avec le gouvernement. A la suite de la découverte en mer Egée, d'importants gisements pétroliers, les relations gréco-turques traversent une nouvelle phase de tension.
 - 27 Le débat sur la loi d'amnistie est ouvert à l'Assemblée Nationale. Le coût de la vie a augmenté de 74 % au cours des 3 dernières années. Le ministre des finances se propose d'alléger les charges fiscales des salariés.
 - 28 L'Assemblée Nationale adopte le projet de loi d'amnistie tel qu'il avait été présenté par le gouvernement et l'envoie au Sénat où l'opposition est majoritaire.
 - 29 L'opposition se prépare à faire obstruction à la loi d'amnistie en déposant une grande quantité de motions devant le bureau de l'Assemblée. Répondant aux allégations, le ministre de la justice (P.S.N.) affirme que son parti "n'est pas contre l'amnistie".
 - 30 Le contrôle des prix est établi en ce qui concerne un certain nombre de produits de grande consommation.

AVRIL 1974

- 1 Les commandos fascistes commencent à s'organiser dans les usines. En mer Egée, la S.A. des Pétroles Turcs se prépare à entreprendre une série de forages pétroliers.
- 2 Les deux amendements constitutionnels qui réhabilitent les membres du Parti Démocrate dissout en 1960 (articles 68 et 11) sont adoptés par l'Assemblée Nationale par les voix de la majorité et de l'opposition.
- 3 L'Assemblée Nationale continue à débattre sur le projet de loi d'amnistie. 12 députés du P.S.N. ne sont pas présents aux discussions.
- 4 Tous les partis de l'opposition se sont réunis afin d'élaborer un plan qui leur permettrait d'empêcher l'adoption du projet de loi d'amnistie.
- 5 Les commandos fascistes contrôlent la faculté d'agronomie d'Istanbul.
- 6 Le ministre de l'Intérieur (P.S.N.): Nous ne permettrons pas l'anéantissement des libertés.
- 7 Le chef du P.J. invite les anciens responsables réhabilités du Parti Démocrate à réjoindre les rangs de son parti. Le ministre de la Justice réaffirme qu'il ne saurait être question que son parti change d'attitude en ce qui concerne les articles 141, 142 et 163 du Code Pénal. Les provocations s'intensifient dans tout le pays.
- 8 Les partis de droite se disputent les anciens responsables du Parti Démocrate.
- 9 Les anciens membres du Parti Démocrate se réuniront sous la présidence

- de M. Celâl Bayar, troisième président de la République de Turquie, condamné à mort en 1961, puis gracié.
- 10 Le gouvernement entreprend un vaste mouvement préfectoral et administratif. Le Sénat approuve la restitution des droits politiques aux anciens dirigeants du parti démocrate.
 - 13 M. Ecevit: "Une intervention militaire extérieure ne résoudra pas le problème de Chypre..La mer Egée doit être une mer de paix".
 - 15 Le ministre de la justice: "Nous considérons que les délits cités par les articles 141 et 142 sont des délits d'opinion." M. Demirel, qui a eu un certain nombre de contacts avec les milieux d'affaires, déclare qu'il est possible qu'on aille vers des élections anticipées.
 - 16 A Tunceli, un instituteur est blessé en pleine rue par une balle de revolver. En mer Egée, les travaux de forage commenceront dès le mois de juillet.
 - 18 Le consortium créé dans le cadre de l'OCDE déclare que pour ne pas avoir à affronter une vague de chômage, la Turquie devrait réaliser un vaste programme d'investissements.
 - 20 Depuis son investiture, le gouvernement a déposé devant le bureau de l'Assemblée 68 projets de lois. 20 d'entre eux concernent le budget 1974; 10 concernent divers traités et conventions internationaux; 16 concernent le budget de 1972; 7 modifient les tableaux annexes du budget. Aucun des 15 projets de loi qui restent n'a été adopté par le Parlement.
 - 21 M. Ecevit: "Le secteur privé n'obtiendra rien en s'opposant au gouvernement". Le premier ministre réaffirme sa confiance en son équipe.
 - 22 Au Sénat, la commission juridique modifie 15 des 23 articles que comporte le projet de loi d'amnistie. Les articles 141, 142, 146/3 et 149/3 sont laissés en dehors du projet de loi.
 - 23 Un député du P.R.P. démissionne de son parti et adhère au P.J. Le troisième numéro de l'hebdomadaire Ilke paraissant à Istanbul est saisi par la police. Quatre journalistes responsables de 6 articles parus dans l'hebdomadaire sont poursuivis pour "propagande communiste". 1500 fusiliers marins américains s'installent dans les bases britanniques de Chypre.
 - 27 L'Association des journalistes d'Ankara a élu le célèbre acteur et réalisateur Yilmaz Güney "artiste de l'année". Güney est en prison depuis 25 mois, accusé de délit politique. Si le projet de loi d'amnistie est adopté tel qu'il a été modifié par le Sénat, plus de mille détenus politiques, responsables de "délits" d'opinion, resteront en prison.
 - 29 La presse fait état des pressions exercées sur les députés du P.S.N. pour qu'ils votent contre la loi d'amnistie. Le budget 1974 comprend une série de mesures importantes en faveur des paysans.

Mai 1974

- 1 Certains députés du P.S.N. déclarent qu'ils n'ont nullement l'intention de voter le projet de loi d'amnistie. A Afyon, des élèves du secondaire ont été forcés à signer des pétitions contre la loi d'amnistie.
- 2 Le secteur privé est partagé au sujet de ses rapports avec le gouvernement.
- 3 Le Sénat a approuvé le budget 1974
- 4 A Sivas et Eskischir de violents affrontements éclatent entre des commandos fascistes et des étudiants qu'ils avaient attaqués.
- 5 Un commando fasciste attaque une nouvelle fois le foyer universitaire Ataturk, d'Istanbul.

- 7 L'Assemblée Nationale insiste (par 236 voix pour) sur le projet de loi d'amnistie, tel qu'il a été présenté par le gouvernement. Le Sénat l'ayant repoussé, une commission parlementaire mixte préparera un troisième texte qui sera soumis avec les deux premiers à l'Assemblée Nationale. La majorité absolue est requise pour l'adoption de la loi.
- 9 Le ministre des Affaires Etrangères: "La Turquie n'est pas le poste frontalier de l'Occident". A la suite des incidents survenus au foyer universitaire Atatürk, 41 terroristes fascistes sont placés sous garde à vue.
- 10 Le Président du Conseil d'Etat a réclamé l'annulation des amendements constitutionnels votés après l'intervention militaire du 12 Mars 1971.
- 12 Le Conseil Constitutionnel a commencé à examiner la requête du P.R.P. concernant l'anticonstitutionnalité des Cours de Sécurité de l'Etat.
- 13 2 milliards de Ltqs. en 1972, 2,5 milliards de Ltqs. en 1973 : c'est le montant de la fraude fiscale en Turquie.
- 14 Scission au sein du P.S.N. 20 député n'ont pas participé à la séance de l'Assemblée Nationale. M. Muzaffer Erdost se voit infliger une nouvelle peine de prison de 7 ans et demi. L'éditeur totalise ainsi 37 ans et demi de prison.
- 15 L'amnistie est votée définitivement par l'Assemblée Nationale. 20 députés du P.S.N., en votant avec l'opposition, contre l'article 5 de la loi, ont réussi à faire exclure du bénéfice de l'amnistie les auteurs des délits d'opinion tombant sous le coup des articles 141 et 142 du code pénal turc. Plusieurs organisations demandent au Président de la République d'opposer son veto à la loi. Les syndicats demandent au gouvernement de ne pas démissionner. M. Erbakan: "Nous devons réparer notre faute".
- 16 M. Ecevit a l'intention de démissionner, tandis que son parti souhaite qu'il poursuive sa tâche. L'Assemblée Nationale examine le budget 1974. Le gouvernement ne va pas démissionner. M. Celâl Bayar, ancien président de la République, destitué en 1960, va rencontrer M. Demirel afin de créer un front uni de la droite. En 1973 les prix de gros ont augmenté de 29 %.
- 18 M. Ecevit déclare que personnellement il souhaitait présenter la démission du gouvernement: "Notre conception de la démocratie, notre prestige international et les contradictions internes du P.S.N. rendent impossible la poursuite de la coalition". La loi d'amnistie est entrée en vigueur.
- 19 M. Ecevit demande les pleins pouvoirs au comité directeur de son parti.
- 20 Le gouvernement reste en place jusqu'à l'adoption du budget. Les "20 dissidents" du P.S.N. souhaitent le maintien de la coalition. L'acteur et réalisateur Yılmaz Güney est libéré après 26 mois de détention. Le P.R.P. ira au Conseil Constitutionnel afin d'obtenir l'annulation de l'article 5 de la loi d'amnistie.
- 21 Un des leaders des "20" du P.S.N. s'est longuement entretenu avec M. Alparslan Türkeş, président du Parti de l'Action Nationale, de tendance neo-fasciste.
- 22 M. Erbakan, président du P.S.N. tente de renforcer sa position au sein de son parti en organisant la réunion des responsables départementaux de la formation.
- 23 La presse fait état d'une rencontre entre l'un des leaders des "dissidents" du P.S.N. et le général en retraite Faik Türlün, ancien commandant de l'Etat de Siège d'Istanbul. C'est après cet entretien que les "20" auraient pris la décision de ne pas voter l'article 5 de la loi d'amnistie. M. Faik Türlün est connu par son opposition formelle à toute tendance progressiste.

LE CHEVAL, LES TROYENS ET TROIE

Donc, il aura fallu moins de temps pour porter le premier coup au gouvernement qu'il n'en a fallu pour le constituer. 97 jours après sa formation, à la suite d'une crise qui a duré exactement 100 jours, l'équipe de M. Ecevit a reçu le coup le plus "bas" qu'il pouvait imaginer.

On le sait, en Turquie les crises naissent, se développent et se dénouent dans les moments les plus inattendus. La dernière en date a, elle aussi, été présentée de la même manière. Pourtant, un certain nombre d'indices laissaient prévoir qu'à court ou moyen terme elle était inévitable. La presse turque et étrangère avait, dès la formation du ministère de M. Ecevit, fait mention de cette probabilité. Nous avons, quant à nous, soutenu qu' "il faudra s'attendre à une opposition destructive de la part des partis de droite", évoqué "un début de législature très difficile" et souligné que M. Ecevit "n'a aucune garantie quant au comportement futur de son partenaire" au sein du gouvernement, en cédant toutefois à la dynamique qui avait porté le Parti Républicain du Peuple au pouvoir, pour écrire qu'on "peut se permettre d'être quelque peu optimiste en ce qui concerne les libertés et les droits démocratiques". (voir TURQUIE 28, 29, 30)

Car, si des doutes persistaient quant aux intentions futures des élus du Parti du Salut National de M. Erbakan et sur l' "homogénéité" de la formation, le vie quotidienne renforçait timidement les espoirs d'un développement vers l'extension des libertés et des droits démocratiques ainsi qu'une relance de l'économie nationale en faveur des couches populaires les plus défavorisées: les articles courageux publiés dans un grand nombre de nouvelles publications, la mise en liberté de plusieurs accusés politiques des procès en cours, les libres discussions concernant la création d'un parti socialiste, l'évolution du climat social et le renforcement de la Confédération des Syndicats des Travailleurs Progressistes (DISK) semblaient confirmer les espoirs que l'on portait en la réalisation du programme de gouvernement du P.R.P. et du P.S.N.

Conscience et tolérance allaient de pair: on s'attendait à la lenteur de la procédure parlementaire, compte tenu de l'opposition catégorique des forces de droite à la loi d'amnistie et on savait qu'il était impossible de demander à l'exécutif d' "aller de l'avant" sans que les milliers de détenus politiques aient retrouvé leurs libertés.

C'est donc dans l'expectative qu'est née la crise, bien que le développement des rapports entre partis de droite, l'idée d'un "front uni" de ces forces, les activités des groupuscules fascistes attaquant les foyers d'étudiants, s'organisant dans les usines avec la bénédiction de M. Alparslan Türkeş, Président du Parti de l'Action Nationale, aient été suivis de près.

Pourtant, il y a plus de deux mois la presse avait donné une description presque parfaite du déroulement des opérations de "La Nuit du 15 Mai". M. Demirel, chef du Parti de la Justice, déclarait que le gouvernement se trouvait confronté à deux problèmes: "L'amnistie et le budget 1974". La presse faisait même état d'un courant qui se développait au sein du P.S.N. contre la loi d'amnistie et mentionnait les noms de 6 députés de ce parti qui étaient décidés à ne pas voter le texte de la majorité. Les événements ont confirmé ce "scénario", à un détail près: Le "cheval" était plus peuplé que prévu. En votant, aux côtés de l'opposition, contre l'article 5 de la loi d'amnistie, les 20 députés du parti de M. Erbakan ont non seulement porté au gouvernement un coup qui peut s'avérer fatal,

mais l'ont également condamné à l'incertitude pour tout ce qui est des projets futurs. Le refus d'inclure les articles 141 et 142 du code pénal turc dans la loi d'amnistie signifie qu'un des points essentiels du programme de gouvernement se termine par un échec cuisant pour M. Ecevit.

Le gouvernement ne démissionnera pas, du moins pas dans l'immédiat, contrairement à ce que l'on pouvait croire, après la déclaration du premier ministre: "Notre conception de la démocratie, notre prestige international et les contradictions internes du P.S.N. rendent impossible la poursuite de la coalition". Les prises de position en faveur de M. Ecevit des syndicats, de la presse, des intellectuels, et même de ceux qui vont continuer à purger de longues peines de prison, lui demandant tous de ne pas abandonner le pouvoir, ont certes contribué à faire changer d'avis le chef de gouvernement. Les raisons invoquées sont diverses: D'abord, la promesse d'une amnistie générale n'était pas la seule raison des électeurs, à voter pour le P.R.P. et le P.S.N. Le programme de gouvernement comporte plusieurs projets dont la réalisation constituerait un pas important vers "une société plus juste". Maintenant, il est temps de penser à cela. Les "20" n'ont-ils pas d'ailleurs déclaré qu'ils n'avaient nullement l'intention de quitter leur parti et qu'à leur avis la crise serait rapidement résolue? Ensuite, il y a le "front uni de la droite". Ne serait-ce que pour faire barrage à ce retour en arrière par lequel tous les espoirs seront anéantis, M. Ecevit doit poursuivre sa tâche.

Ces propos appellent deux remarques: premièrement, en acceptant de ne pas démissionner, sans la moindre certitude quant au comportement des "dissidents" du P.S.N., M. Ecevit risque non seulement une carrière, mais aussi la transformation en une immense désillusion de tous les espoirs qui se sont placés en lui, si demain il se trouvait, pour une raison ou une autre, contraint de quitter le pouvoir. Un homme d'état ne se fabrique pas en quelques heures et personne ne peut affirmer ce qui pourrait résulter du potentiel brisé qu'il représente et qui se retrouvera en prison dans un carcan. Deuxièmement, et c'est peut-être ici que réside l'argument le plus valable, à condition de lui donner une autre interprétation que celle du "barrage" contre les droites réunies, la Turquie a pris un tournant historique, le 14 Octobre 1973. Le processus d'un engagement qui aboutira tôt ou tard à une bipolarisation des forces politiques en Turquie, est entamé. Son issue dépendra de la conduite, sage et prévoyante, des responsables des forces de gauche, quelles que soient leurs places dans l'éventail politique. De surcroît, ces responsables bénéficient aujourd'hui, malgré les spéculations d'un "front uni des droites", des profondes dissensions qui déchirent ces formations et les forces qu'elles représentent. C'est probablement cela qui a engendré le "retour au bercail" des 15 députés du P.S.N. qui se seraient laissés convaincre par M. Erbakan. Peut-on affirmer pour autant, que le gouvernement a, s'il reste au pouvoir, des chances de réaliser son programme et ne pas tenir compte du danger que constitue l'alliance d'une certaine oligarchie militaire, nostalgique de la période du 12 Mars 1971 avec le parti néo-fasciste de M. Türkeş et ses commandos paramilitaires?

Fait exemplaire, tout le monde est au pied du mur. Pour la droite, le mur est trop haut, ne serait-ce qu'à court terme. Pour les élus du P.S.N., il est franchissable, à condition de se "racheter", en votant la loi sur la liberté d'opinion, présentée par le P.R.P. et les réformes économiques et sociales. Pour M. Ecevit et sa formation, c'est le va tout: on passe à travers ou on rebrousse chemin. Mais c'est l'ultime sursis.

DE LA DIFFICULTE DE GERER L'ECONOMIE TURQUE

Les progrès qu'ont enregistrés les deux partis constituant le gouvernement actuel aux élections du 14 Octobre dernier avaient à leur base le mécontentement des masses populaires suscité par la situation économique et politique. Les programmes économiques du P.R.P. et du P.S.N., ainsi que leurs promesses en matière de libertés et de droits politiques étaient plus proches des aspirations du peuple.

Depuis le mois de février, date de la formation du gouvernement, des changements radicaux n'ont pas pu être réalisés dans le domaine économique. Le grand capital, contre les projets de "secteur populaire" du gouvernement, qui consistent à réaliser des investissements grâce à l'épargne des couches populaires, a déjà mis en pratique sa politique dite d' "ouverture au peuple". Cette politique n'est que l'effort des grandes entreprises pour se soulager des désavantages en matière de crédit et de financement. Il est clair que le danger, pour les couches populaires qui n'ont pas l'habitude de l'entreprise ni de la coopération en l'absence du "leadership" de l'Etat et d'une prise de conscience, de tomber dans le piège du grand capital est imminent. La position du gouvernement vis à vis du capital étranger, des monopoles, des intermédiaires et des usuriers est plutôt défensive.

Dans une interview, M. Ecevit explique la nécessité d'agir dans le système actuel jusqu'à ce que des changements structurels dans l'économie et l'organisation du secteur populaire soient réalisés. "En attendant, dit-il, nous tâchons de mener une meilleure politique sociale et d'empêcher les effets inflationnistes de la hausse des prix des entreprises d'Etat."

En effet, un seul résultat a été obtenu dans le domaine économique au cours de ces quatre mois et demi: la machine à billets n'a pas fonctionné, malgré l'importante hausse des prix. Si l'on se souvient qu'un cinquième de la masse monétaire en circulation l'an dernier était le fruit de nouvelles émissions, ce résultat gagne d'autant plus d'importance. Il faut ajouter qu'à côté de la hausse des prix de la production des entreprises d'Etat, divers producteurs agricoles ont obtenu des augmentations substantielles quant à leurs prix de base. Les petits producteurs agricole ont vu leurs prix de base relevés, cette augmentation allant parfois jusqu'à 90 % pour le tabac, le coton, le blé et le thé, et se considèrent satisfaits pour le moment. En outre, le gouvernement a consacré une partie considérable du budget de 1974 à des réalisations en faveur des communautés rurales. C'est évidemment au gouvernement qu'il incombe d'empêcher la répercussion de ces augmentations de revenus sur les prix des produits de grande consommation et de lutter contre les intermédiaires.

Quant aux restrictions imposées aux crédits, elles pèsent plutôt sur les petites et moyennes entreprises dans l'industrie et l'agriculture. Diverses organisations de petits et moyens producteurs exigent des facilités de crédit. En effet, les restrictions en la matière affaiblissent les petites entreprises au profit des grandes et conduisent par ailleurs à la stagnation économique et au stockage. Le gouvernement se trouve dans l'obligation de veiller à ce que les petits et moyens producteurs ne soient pas les premières victimes des mesures prises contre la monopolisation.

Il en est de même pour la fiscalité. Les ressources monétaires de l'Etat provenaient jusqu'ici des impôts payés par les couches populaires, des in-

pôts indirectes sur les produits de consommation de première nécessité et l'augmentation de la masse monétaire.

Aujourd'hui, le gouvernement parle de supprimer les défaillances du système fiscal. Il est souhaitable que ses efforts soient dirigés vers un but "égalitaire" comme il est prévu dans le programme gouvernemental.

Pour ce qui est des changements structurels les plus importants comme les nationalisations aucun projet n'est intervenu. Maintes organisations professionnelles et la population de la ville de Bigadiç où existent de riches gisements de borax exigent la nationalisation des ressources minières se trouvant dans les mains des monopoles étrangers. Certains parlementaires du P.R.P. trouvent insuffisantes les propositions de nationalisation du programme gouvernemental. Le problème du pétrole a une importance particulière dans ce domaine. Depuis 1960, la production du pétrole est en continuelle régression. Pour 1974 on prévoit 14 milliards de Ltqs. pour l'importation du pétrole nécessaire au bon fonctionnement de l'économie nationale, chiffre qui atteint 16 % du budget de l'état. La récente crise gréco-turque au sujet du plateau continental de la mer Egée revendiqué par le Gouvernement de M. Ecevit et dans lequel ont été découverts de riches gisements pétroliers est la conséquence logique d'un effort d'indépendance des dirigeants turcs à l'égard des monopoles étrangers. Les Chambres des Ingénieurs du Pétrole et de Chimie exigent des mesures radicales en la matière. La Chambre des Ingénieurs Chimistes ainsi que le préfet d'Erzurum demandent la nationalisation des gisements de lignite. La Turquie est un pays riche en ressources minières. Malgré l'abondance des réserves pétrolières pouvant répondre à la consommation intérieure, malgré le fait que la Turquie possède 60 % des réserves mondiales en borax, la part des ressources minières dans le revenu national est de 1,5 %.

Enfin, bien que les grèves dans les entreprises d'Etat soient mieux "admissibles" par rapport à la période précédente, les syndicats réclament du gouvernement qu'il mette fin à la pratique abusive des lock-outs, chaque fois qu'un conflit intervient dans une entreprise. Les syndicats réclament en outre, l'augmentation du salaire minimum, l'adoption du système d'échelle mobile et l'augmentation des pensions des retraités, autant de sujets qui attendent d'être pris en main par le gouvernement.

Si le gouvernement ne démissionne pas, la période qui s'ouvrira devant lui sera inévitablement consacrée aux efforts économiques et sociaux, conformément au programme du P.R.P. et du P.S.N. Après l'échec cuisant dans le domaine des libertés et des droits démocratiques, l'avenir de l'exécutif dépendra de sa capacité à résoudre les problèmes vitaux auxquels se trouve confronté le peuple turc en matière économique et sociale.

TURQUIE - Bulletin Mensuel du Centre d'Information pour l'Expression de la Solidarité avec le Peuple Turc.

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Türk halkıyla dayanış
ifadesi için haberleşme
merkezi haftalık
bülteni.

Yeni kabineyi Naim Talu
kuracak

Ziya Yılmaz
daracının gölgesinde

Reformlar nerde
kalır?

Türkiyede müdafaa
hakkı var mıdır?

İşkence vesikası

Nº 4
TÜRKİYE

9 Nisandan 15 Nisan 1973 e

Naim Talu yeni kabineyi kuracak

Cumhurbaşkanı amiral Korkutürk'ün yeni türk hükûmetinin kurulmasını eski ticaret bakanına tevdi kararı, bir takım itirazlara sebep olmuştur.

Cumhurbaşkanının, hemen seçiminin sona, eski müstafa başvekilin yerine yerisini koymak için yaptığı temaslar 12 Nisanda sona erdi. Yeni hükûmeti teşkil işini, eski Türkiye Bankası müdürü ve eski ticaret vekili Naim Talu, yapacak.

Amiral Korkutürk, bu atamaya teşebbüsten önce general Özgür'e (Milli Emniyet meclisi genel sekreteri ve istihbarat hizmetlerinin önemli şahsiyeti) aynı zamanda Bay Erhan Erbuğ'a da (Milli Emniyet genel müdürü) danışmayı münasip bulmuştur. Yeni başkanın kurmay genel karar-gâhına yaptığı ziyaret esnasındaki müteakip konuşmalarında: « Çok müteessirim. Bu bana ordumun istihbarat işlerindeki eski çalışmalarını hatırlatıyor. » demiştir.

Bu konuşmalara ve bu ziyarete verilen öncelik, amiral Fahri Coker (Başkanlık adli müşaviri ve bir sene kadar evvel 6 Mayıs 1972'de infaz edilen üç türk öğrencisinin idam cezalarının tasdik eden askeri temyiz mahkemesi eski başsavcısı)

tarafından Cumhuriyet gazetesine göre birinci
 defa amiral Korurtürk'ün adını Cumhuriyet
 başkanlığına aday olarak öne sürülmesi
 ölçüsünde anlaşılabilir. Bay Korurtürk
 1935'te Roma attache militierliğine ve 1937'de
 Berlina atanmadan evvel istihbarat servi-
 sinde amiral Cokerin meslekdaşıydı. Zaten
 başbakan Korurtürk'ün askeri mesleği içinde
 en mühim merkezi, 1954'te işgal ettiği, Kurmay
 istihbarat servisi başkanlığı belirir. Bunda
 senator Korurtürk'ün bu uzun mesleğinin «disip-
 linciliği» tarafından şiddetle damgalanmış
 olduğu çıkarılabilir, çünkü ikinci Erim
 hükûmetinin istifasından sonra kendisine
 Meclis Riyaseti teklif edildiği zaman ilk şart olarak
 ısrarla geniş salâhiyetler ve 1978'e kadar seçimlerin
 ertelenmesini istemişti.

Reis Korurtürke, başbakan seçmesinde, bu
 demokratik zihniyetin müklavuzluk ettiğini, doğru
 söylemek için henüz çok erken. Bay Talun'un politika
 sahnesine girişi... 1971'lere dayanus, ki bu tarihte
 Türkiye bankası müdürüyken, bazı birinci Erim
 hükûmeti vekillerinin radikal durumlarını şiddetle
 tenkit etmişti. Bu kabinenin istifası ertesinde, ticaret

vekili oluverdi, bu suretle, radikal rakiplerini de elemiş oldu. Bay Erimin « Özel sektörü memnun edecek adam. » diye takdim ettiği Bay Talu bu methlere lâyık olabilmek için, o zamandan beri, elinden geleni yaptı. Yüksek gelirlerindan fazla vergilendirilmesine kuvvetle karşı çıktı ve Devlet tarafından tarım ürünleri kök fiyatlarının yükseltilmesine ^{de} karşı çıktı. Ki bu da D.P. senatörü Bay Dikeçgil tarafından « Orta tabakaların zararına, bazı ortamların koruyucusu olarak tarihe geçecek adam. » vasfına lâyık görüldü. Diğer itirazlar buna katıldı: Sendikalar, esnaflar, ve Çukurova çiftçileri, her zaman Türk halkının sırtına ağır basan bir sürü problemlerin mes'uliyetini Bay Talu'ya emânet etme kararından vazgeçmesini Başkan Kovurtürk'ten istemişlerdir.

SOSİYAL VE EKONOMİK HAYAT

« REFORMLAR » NERDE KALDI ?

12 Mart 1971 müdahalelerini haklı göstermek için askerler tarafından ileri sürülen başlıca sebeplerden biri de 1961 anayasasının öngördüğü reformlara karşı Demirel hükümetinin ihmâli idi. Müdahaleden iki sene sonra, reformların yapılması nerede?

Orda memorandumına imza koyan askerî şefler reformlardan söz ederken, belki de, anayasasının öngördüğü reformların getirilmesini isteyen ortamları kendi isteklerine bağlamak ve müdahale

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leleri dolayısıyla yabancı etkârumumiyenin itirazlarını frenlemek ümidiinde idiler. 1961 meşrutiyeti, hakıykatın, şu alanlarda köklü rōformları öngörüyordu: Hükümetçilik (administration), Tarım, eğitim* , Maliye, Kaynak araştırma (Prospection) ve Petrollü ve madenli tabakalara istismar (exploitation). 1971 den beri birbirini ta'kipeden üç hükûmetin programlarında da bütün bu rōformlar mevcut iseler de, hiç biri fi'iyata geçirilmiş değildir, Her ne kadar, 5 Nisan 1973 te petrol ve maden tabakalarına (Gisements) âit bir kanun projesi kabul edilmişse de tam bir reformdan bahsetmek biraz gıstür, çünkü, yabancı şirketler hadsiz haklardan faydalanırken, yeni teks. milli T.P.A.O. şirketinin araştırma ve işletme hakları büyük nisbette sinorlanıyordu. Öteden beri, fi'iyatta, yabancı şirketler, Bingöl'ünki gibi, bazı havalîler bu yabancılar tarafından tamamiyle sömürül-
mektedir. (exploiter)

Ziraat reformuna gelince, birinci Erim hükûmetinin «Teknokrat», vekilleri tarafından hazırlanan kanun projesi iki kere değiştirilmişti. M. meclisine sunulan yeni projenin «Reformist» karakterinden söz etmek güctür, «modern» usullerle işletilen bütün toprakları (bu deyinimin manasını açıklamadan) kanunun tâtbiği dışında bırakılan proje. Sadece, toprak svz 3,5 milyon ailenin 1/7 inin istifade edeceği bir «reform» için Türk hükûmeti, topraklarından yalnız bir parçası istimlâk edilmiş olan malsahiplerine 30 milyar TL. sı tazminat ödemelidir.

* (education)

Ma'denî damarların (gisement) işletilmesi reform projesi de, kendi payına, aynı ta'dilât hükûmlerini izledi; şöyleki: birinci Erim hükûmetinin öngördüğü boraks ve lingitin devletleştirilmesi bütün yabancı şirketlere açık bir işletme hakkı şeklinde Parlamente'ye sunulacak.

Çine, birinci Erim hükûmetinin «Teknokrat»ları tarafından öngörülen millî eğitim reformunu ise, Parlamente'de bir müzakere konuluğu yapamadı. Tam tersine, Melen hükûmeti tarafından teklif edilip her iki meclise kabul edilen kanun lâyihası üniversitelerin 1961 anayasasının koyduğu istiklâllerini (autonomie) kaldırıyor. Rejime aykırı ad edilen, üniversiteler arasında yapılan temizlik devam etmektedir ve ilk ve orta öğretmenleri son iki sene süresince 3600 vakfın (inculpations) kurusu olmuşlardır.

İdâri (administratif) ve malî reformların fi'iyatına görünürde hiç bir alâmet yok. Onların bakış noktasına bile girerek, şimdiki yöneticilerin, reformlar yaptıkları, bu reformlar namına memleketin politika hayatına müdahale etmişlerdi — iddia edilmesi güçtür. Türkiye üzerinde uçan iktisadî buhranın kötü (grave) tehtitlerini çelmeği becereceklerine imkân yok.

Ziya Yılmaz darıacı dibinde

Türk millet meclisi adalet komisyonu geçen 10 Nisanda Ziya Yılmazın idamın cezasını onaylamıştır. Eger Milli meclis ve Senato hükmü (verdict) tasdik ederse, 6 Mayıs 1972 de, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan ve Hüseyin İnan gibi, idam edilecektir. Ziya Yılmaz davasıyla alakalı başka biraat, işte bu.

Türkiye kurtuluş halk cephesi (T.K.H.C.) üyesi Ziya Yılmaz, 15 Mart 1972 de İstanbul 3. sıkıyönetim mahkemesi tarafından, "anayasa iye (constitutionne) rejimini kuvvet zorla devirmeye teşebbüs." iddiasıyla idama mahkum edilmiştir.

Hükmü veren askeri mahkemenin üç üyesinden biri Ziya Yılmazın THKC liderlerinden olmadığını, hiç bir silâhli faaliyete, İsrailin genel konsolosu M. Ephraim Elromun kaçırılmasına katılmadığını, teşkilatın yalnız, muhasebesine baktığını ispatlayarak itiraz ediyordu.

Arkatları hükmü itiraz ediyor, ve dördüncü askeri temyiz mahkemesi (cour de cassation) müdafaların ve muhalefet eden askeri mahkeme üyelerinin itirazlarını kabul ederek hükmü kaldırdı.

Fakat, ordu kumandanlığı mensubu olan askeri sarca, dosyası, idam hükmünü tasdik eden askeri temyiz mahkemesi genel meclisine götürüyor. Bu karar, mahkeme reisi dahil on bir üye muhalefet ettikleri halde, oy çoğunluğuyla alındı.

Türk parlamento tarihinde, hâkimlerin oy birliğini (unanimité) elde etmeyen hiç bir idam hükmünün tasdik edilmemesi bir gelenektir. Üstelik, 1961'de demokrat parti mensuplarının ve 1963'te, bir hükümet darbesi teşebbüsünde bulunan ordu zabıtlarının, aleyhinde, hâkimler tarafından oybirliğiyle alınan bazı idam kararları müebbet hapse indirilmisti.

Ayrıca, Türkiye işçi partisinin sıkıyönetim kanununun lağvı hakkındaki 15-16 Şubat 1972 isteğine cevap olarak, anayasa mahkemesinin (Conseil constitutionnel) yedi üyesi ve başkanı dahil, askeri mahkemelerin adli teminat veremeyecekleri kararını verdiler. Bu görüş, idam cezalarını vermediği red eden, İstanbul sıkıyönetim komutanlığı birinci askeri mahkemesinin dağılmasıyla, teyit edilmiş oldu.

Bütün bu delilleri itibare alarak, Belçika milletler arası cezaları ilgâ şubesi (La section belge de l'Amnistie international) 12 Nisan 1973'de Brüksel'de Türkiye sefaretî aracılığıyla Türkiye cumhurbaşkanına Millet meclisi ve senato başkanlarına, binden fazla yüksek şahsiyetlerin

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imzalandığı bir lâyihayı (Petition) sundular,
ve haksız gördükleri bu idam cezasının hapis
cezasına çevrilmesini istediler.

Türkiyede savunma hakkı varmıdır?

Askerî mahkemeler önünde, siyasi
mahkumları savunan 11 avukat dahi
mahkeme edildiler, bu esnada hakim
Ali F. Cihan da Ankara sıkı yönetim
komutanlığı tarafından tutuklandı.

Niyazi Ağınaslı, Habîb Çelenk, Zeki Ö. Erel, Mükerr-
rem Erdoğan, Kemal Tücel, Sadık Akıncılar, Özden
Timurkaynak, Refik Ergun, Kâmil Savaş, Ersen
Sansal, ^{ve} THKO (Türkiye halk kurtuluş ordusu) davası
müdafaa avukatlarından Orhan İzzet Kok bay-
ların davası Ankara sıkı yönetim 3. mahkeme-
sinde devanına başlamıştır.

müdafaa avukatları sırasında
Diğerleri arasında, 1972-6 Mayıs'ta mahkûm
ve idam edilen 3 üniversitelinin savunucuları dahi,
"silahla kuvvetlere ve hükûmete hakaret ettikleri",
dolayısıyla 30 Haziran'da 3 ay hapse mahkûm
edilmişlerdi. Mahkemenin kararı, askerî temyiz
mahkemesince (cour de cassation) iptâl edildiğinden
bu 11 avukat yeniden muhakeme edildiler.

4 Nisan 1973 oturumu sırasında, askerî savcı yüzbaşı M.
Savaşan ewelce verilen hükûmin yerine getirilmesi için Temyiz

mahkemesinin kararına itiraz etti.

Aralarında askeri müdahaleden sonra kapatılan işçi partisinin eski senatörü M. Ağırnaslı'nın da bulunduğu, siyasi mazmunların müdafaasına iştirak ettikleri ~~iki~~, uzun zamandan beri tanınan adliyecilere (juristes) karşı açılan bu dava, bir daha bilinmesi lâzım gelen "Türkiyede, askeri mahkemeler önünde, hakiki bir müdafaaya hakkı varmıdır acaba?!..." sorulunu soruyor.

Bir gizli teşkilât kurmakla suçlandırılan, geçen Nisanın 3'ünde, altının çizilmesi lâzım bir diğer adliyeci hakim Cihanın terkişi. Hakim Cihan "Sosyalist Türkiye" adlı kitabı dolayısıyla "Komünist propaganda - sından" 1966 da bir ilk defa daha terkiş edilmişti ve temyiz mahkemesi tarafından kaldırılan 7 sene hapse mahkûm edilmişti. Sıkıyönetimin ilânından sonra hakim Cihan, diğer 57 aydınla beraber 1 Aralık 1971 de ve bir sene tutuklandıktan sonra, ancak, bırakılmış.

Ayrıca, Adana sıkıyönetim komutanlığının bir resmi tebliğinden (communiqué) öğrenildiğine ^{göre} "Rejimi devirmeyi kasteden" 38 kişi, bir gizli teşkilâtıdan oldukları zannıyla göz hapsine alınmıştır. Tebliğe göre, mazmunların evinde bir teksir makinesi ve sol neşriyat yakalanmıştır.

"Mahpus yazarlar için" P.E.N. CLUBS,, komitesi

Batı Berlinde alınan karara göre, 12 Kasım 1972'de milletler arası P.E.N Clubs mahpus yazarlar için bir komite kurmuştur. Bu komiteye Fahri (honoraire) sekreter seçilen Genel Sekreter Mrs.

Betty Assheton 1 Şubat 1973'de işe başlamıştır.

Mrs. Assheton Türkiye ve Yunanistan meselelerinin müzâkeresinin acele ve ayrı bir dikkate değer olduğunu söylemiştir. Bu maksatla, bu memleketlerde mahpus olan yazar ve etüdyanlara ait materiel ve dokümanlar, komitenin Fahri Sekreteri adresine bildirilmelidir:

"Glebe House, 62/63 Glebe Place, London S.W. 3 - Great Britain."

İŞKENCE ARŞIVI

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ

SİLAHLI KUVVETLER KOMUTANLIĞI

KARTAL - MALTEPE

Tevkifhane : 7020-196-71

Konu : Rasim Özkan

Üçüncü Sıkıyönetim mahkemesi Başkanlığına.

Selimiye

Kimliği yukarıda zikredilen maznunun
18.10.1971 de ayak turnakları sökülmüştür.

Kendisine 6 gün istirahat verilmiştir. Bunun
için mahkemede bulunamayacaktır.

Dikkatinize sunarım.

(İmza)

RUŞEN BEYAZIT

Topçu albayı (colonel)

Terkifhane komutanı

Kimlik : Rasim Özkan

İSTANBUL 3. SIKIYÖNETİM MAHKEMESİ BAŞKANLIĞINA (Président)

Genel Emniyette ağır surette işkence gördüm ;
18 Ekim 1971 den itibaren 6 gün istirahat ^{veren} / tabib raporunun
açıkladığı gibi 5 parmağımın enflamasyonuna
sebebi olan ayak turnaklarını söküldü.

Durumum dolayısıyla bu süre mahkeme
oturumundan beri tutulmamı istiyorum.

(İmza)

RASİM ÖZKAN

TÜRKİYE - Türk halkıyla tesanüde 19.10.1971

haftalık enformasyon merkezi bülteni

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