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Ch. S. Kama



Amnesty International
International Secretariat
1 Easton Street
LONDON WC1X 8DJ
United Kingdom

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VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN TURKEY

1 Introduction

Although martial law has now been lifted from all but nine of Turkey's 67 provinces, Amnesty International continues to be concerned about the imprisonment of large numbers of prisoners of conscience, widespread and systematic torture and ill-treatment of prisoners and the imposition and execution of the death penalty. A state of emergency, under which the governor of the province has extraordinary powers, has replaced martial law in 16 provinces, including Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir.

Political offences continue to be tried by military courts, even in those provinces no longer under martial law, although some new cases are dealt with by State Security Courts, established to try political offences committed after 1 May 1984. Amnesty International believes that the fairness of political trials may be affected by the difficulties which lawyers experience in seeing their imprisoned clients and by the acceptance of statements as evidence which are alleged to have been induced by torture. These and other deficiencies raise questions as to whether the trials conform to internationally accepted standards.

2 Prisoners of Conscience

The exact number of prisoners of conscience in Turkey at the present time is not known. According to official statistics published in Cumhuriyet newspaper of 1 January 1986, on 1 November 1985 there were 15,569 political prisoners, of whom Amnesty International believes at least some hundreds to be prisoners of conscience. Among prisoners of conscience are members of political parties and groups, trade unionists, writers, journalists, publishers, academics, members of the Kurdish ethnic minority and members of religious groups. People imprisoned under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code, which prohibits "membership of illegal organizations", include those charged with membership of the illegal Turkish Communist Party and members of other left-wing parties which had been legal until they were banned after the September 1980 military coup. Among them are members of the Turkish Peace Association (TPA), the Turkish Workers' Party (TIP), the Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Party (TIKP), the Turkish Socialist Workers' Party (TSIP), the Teachers' Association (TÖB-DER) and the Progressive Youth Association (IGD).

Prosecutions of journalists, writers and publishers continue to take place under various articles of the penal code, including Article 142 which prohibits "making communist propaganda", and the Press Law. Some of those prosecuted remain free pending the completion of legal proceedings, while others are imprisoned for short periods or permitted to convert their prison sentences to fines. However, Amnesty International is informed of journalists now serving prison sentences, among them Özcan Özgür, who was sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment in May 1985. He is the editor of Ilk Adim (First Step), a weekly journal published in the city of Muğla, and also a correspondent for the Istanbul daily newspaper Cumhuriyet. As editor he was convicted, on the basis of an article published in Ilk Adim, of violating Decree 2969, passed shortly before the return to civilian government in November 1983, which prohibits criticism of any actions or decisions taken by the ruling National Security Council in the period 1980-83. Also in prison is Feyzullah Özer, formerly one of the editors of Kitle, a weekly political journal associated with TSIP, until it was banned in 1979. He is serving a total of 18 years and six months' imprisonment for "making communist propaganda" because of articles published in the journal in 1977-78 and is a defendant in two further trials on similar charges.

In many cases trials are in progress of people charged on account of their non-violent exercise of their rights to freedom of expression and association, where the defendants have either been released while the trial continues, or have not been taken into custody. People imprisoned in such cases are regarded by Amnesty International as prisoners of conscience.

The trial against leaders, officials and advisers of the Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions (DISK) and its 30 affiliated trade unions, which started in December 1981, continues, but all the defendants are now free pending completion of the legal proceedings, except those held in connection with other charges. In January 1986 the prosecutor withdrew the demand for death sentences for 78 of the 1,477 defendants and asked instead for sentences of from six to 20 years and in two cases for acquittal.

The trial, which began in August 1984, of 59 intellectuals charged with violating Martial Law Decree 1402, Article 16, by signing a petition which called for an end to human rights violations continues. The defendants are free pending completion of the legal proceedings.*

In November 1984 a second trial was initiated involving 48 members of the Turkish Peace Association charged under Article 141 of the penal code, but the defendants have not been taken into custody.

Another such case is that of officials of the Turkish Medical Association who have been prosecuted for signing a petition calling for the abolition of the death penalty, but have not been taken into custody.

* On 7 February 1986 all the defendants were acquitted by a military court in Ankara.

Many Kurds remain in prison. Some are charged with or convicted of violent offences; others have been charged on account of their non-violent activities for the preservation of the Kurdish language and culture and for the recognition of the Kurds as a separate ethnic group, which is denied by the authorities. Recep Maraşlı, the director and editor of Komal Publishing House in Istanbul which specialized in works about the Kurdish ethnic minority in Turkey, has been in prison since January 1982, serving a total of more than 36 years' imprisonment in connection with various publications, membership of an illegal Kurdish organization and statements he made in court as part of his defence.

Paşa Uzun, who is serving a 16-year prison sentence for alleged Kurdish separatist activities, has been in prison since 1979. At the time of his detention he was a student at a teachers' training institute in Konya. He was arrested with some 200 other members of the Progressive Democratic Cultural Association (DDKD), which was a legal organization until it was proscribed under martial law (imposed in Diyarbakir in April 1979). Paşa Uzun is reported to have been severely tortured at various times throughout his imprisonment (see Amnesty International File on Torture, May 1984).

Ismail Beşikçi, a sociologist who is not himself a Kurd, is serving a 10-year prison sentence passed in March 1982, because of a letter he sent to the President of the Swiss Writers' Association during a previous period of imprisonment, in which he argued that the Kurds are a separate ethnic group and criticized official denial of this. He was convicted of undermining the Turkish State's reputation abroad. This is his third prison sentence for expressing such views.

Other people regarded as prisoners of conscience by Amnesty International are those charged under Article 163 of the penal code with trying to change the secular nature of the Turkish state. Most of these are members of Islamic sects, but in December 1984 23 Jehovah's Witnesses, who had been detained in June and July 1984, were sentenced under Article 163 to prison terms of between four and six years. In June 1985 the court of appeal quashed the sentences and ordered their release. The case was returned for retrial to the court of first instance which upheld its previous verdict and imposed sentences of from five to eight years. The defendants remain free pending the hearing of a further appeal.

Emine Şenlikoğlu, a writer and chief editor of the periodical Mektup, was sentenced in May 1985 to six years three months' imprisonment because of her book Gençliğin İmanini Sorularla Çaldılar (They Stole Youth's Faith with Questions).

In December 1985 four members of the Nur sect were sentenced under Article 163; Sefa Sargin and Ali Yıldız to six years and eight months' imprisonment for organizing a "Nur Medresesi" (Nur School) and Yaşar Çağdaş and Kemal Mak to four years and two months imprisonment for attending the school.

3 Torture, Ill-treatment and Deaths in Custody

Amnesty International continues to receive allegations that both political prisoners and common criminals are tortured or subjected to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, while in police custody and in military and civilian prisons. Incommunicado detention, during which detainees appear to be in particular danger of torture or ill-treatment, is now permitted for 30 days in areas under martial law. A controversial bill amending the law on the duties and powers of the police, passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM) in June 1985, allowed the 24-hour maximum detention period in areas not under martial law to be extended to 15 days in cases involving three or more persons, into which category most political cases would fall. In areas under a state of emergency the detention period may be further extended by the order of the prosecutor. In addition, prisoners may be taken again for interrogation by the police at any time in connection with new information. Amnesty International is informed of many instances of this occurring and of prisoners being again subjected to torture while in police custody.

Most of the detailed statements alleging torture received by Amnesty International in recent years are about torture inflicted on people in police custody during interrogation, with the purpose of obtaining information and confessions. Many defendants in political trials are reported in the Turkish press as having retracted in court statements signed by them as a result of having been tortured in police custody.

Amnesty International has also received many reports of torture and ill-treatment in military and civilian prisons. Such ill-treatment appears to be inflicted for the purpose of maintaining strict prison authority and discipline and to ensure the observation of prison rules. In recent years there have been frequent reports of severe beatings of political prisoners in military prisons in connection with their refusal to wear prison uniforms (previously prisoners awaiting trial had been permitted to wear their own clothes). Military prisons about which reports of torture and ill-treatment have been received include Diyarbakir, Erzurum, Amasya, Adana, Elazığ, Hatay, Mamak (near Ankara) and Metris and Sağmalcılar in Istanbul. Beating of political prisoners has also been reported to take place in the special "E-type" civilian prisons of Malatya, Çanakkale, Bartın, Mersin and Bursa. These are prisons which have been established in recent years specifically for political prisoners and arms smugglers. Reports of ill-treatment of prisoners have also been received from Buca prison in Izmir.

In December 1985 Amnesty International wrote to the Turkish Chief of General Staff, General Necdet Üruğ, about some aspects of prison conditions in military prisons. Many prisoners are reported to have been held in solitary confinement for several years and to have had no contact with relatives, lawyers or fellow prisoners, or exercise in the open air. Amnesty International named some prisoners said to have been held in such conditions since 1983 and stated that it believed that prolonged solitary confinement could have serious psychological and physical effects and might constitute cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment of prisoners. The letter also referred to another concern of the organization; the reported lack of medical treatment for many seriously ill prisoners which in some cases is said to have resulted in death. Amnesty International pointed out that it is often difficult to judge from the information received whether deaths are due

to previous torture, to medical neglect or to a combination of both and that in such situations the lack of independent autopsies can only serve to arouse suspicion. Deaths reported to Amnesty International in 1985 as being caused by torture or lack of adequate medical treatment, or both, included those of Hüseyin Aydın, Selimiye Prison, April 1985; Adil Can, Metris Prison, April 1985 and Fikri Sönmez, Amasya Prison, May 1985. In all three cases it is alleged that torture had been inflicted at various times since their initial detention and that their state of health was clearly giving cause for concern some time prior to death. In all three cases Amnesty International was informed that adequate medical treatment was not provided, in spite of requests and protests from fellow prisoners.

Tuberculosis is reported to be widespread in Turkish prisons and treatment is said to be totally inadequate. The rapid spread of the disease is said to be caused by overcrowding, poor hygiene, poor nutrition and inadequate treatment.

In the latter months of 1985 and early 1986 the Turkish press carried many reports about torture of people in police custody, some of whom were alleged to have died as a result (see Appendix I for translated summaries of some of these reports). One case which was given publicity was that of Şakir Keçeli, a lawyer. Amnesty International received a detailed account by him of his alleged torture and that of others in July and August 1985 by policemen of the Arms-Ammunition Branch and Political Branch of Yozgat Directorate of Security. He described how he was detained as the result of false information given under torture and how he in turn gave false information, which resulted in further detentions, when he could no longer bear the torture being inflicted on him (see Appendix II for translation of Şakir Keçeli's statement).

In one case reported in Cumhuriyet newspaper in November and December 1985 the Mayor of Şebinkarahisar, Polat Sabuncu, and Mehmet Yeleş, the correspondent of Yeni Şebinkarahisar, a local newspaper, said that they had themselves been ill-treated by police after they had made public details of the torture of eight people detained in October. In interviews published in Cumhuriyet on 3 December, they said that they were forced to eat the newspaper in which their allegations had been made.

4 Trials of Political Prisoners

Amnesty International continues to receive reports that lawyers defending political prisoners are impeded in many ways, in particular by insufficient access to their clients and the denial of private consultations. Some prisoners who have been held in solitary confinement for several years have had no meetings with their lawyers in that time. In some prisons conversations between lawyers and their clients take place by telephone and are openly monitored by the prison authorities. Amnesty International is informed that tapes of such conversations have been presented in court as evidence against defendants. Conversations are also subject to frequent interjections by the person monitoring and the consultation is terminated immediately if the prisoner speaks of ill-treatment. The time allowed for lawyers to consult their clients is reportedly very limited: in some cases only five minutes a week. Lawyers emphasize that they are not permitted to see their clients during the detention period (when they

are in police custody) and that this is the time when ill-treatment is most likely to occur. In many cases lawyers have informed Amnesty International that defendants in political trials have been convicted solely on the basis of statements signed by detainees as the result of torture.

Amnesty International believes that these practices handicap lawyers in their attempts to provide an adequate defence and put in doubt the fairness of trials concerning people charged with political offences.

5 Death Penalty

Executions, which had not taken place in Turkey since 1972, were resumed within one month of the 1980 military coup and to date 50 people have been executed, 27 in connection with politically motivated killings. No executions have taken place in Turkey since October 1984, but death sentences continue to be passed - 102 were reported in 1985 - and several hundred prisoners are under sentence of death. Cumhuriyet, 26 December 1985, reported that 91 death sentences were awaiting ratification by parliament - following this ratification executions usually take place almost immediately.

Amnesty International opposes the use of the death penalty without reservation in all cases as a violation of the right to life and the right not to be subjected to cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment. Turkey is the only member country of the Council of Europe to have carried out executions in recent years.

Translations from the Turkish PressCumhuriyet 2 October 1985Torture in Sebinkarahisar

Mr Nuri Tan, a teacher, Seref Kelas, also a teacher, Oner Vartan, Sumerbank Sales Manager, Unal Tombuloglu, a health officer, Ilhan Ulutekin, Water Works Director, and three other citizens, Yasar Menzilci, Ozcan Altin and Mehmet Emin, were detained for 32 hours and tortured by the local police. The prosecutor stated that their bruises had been established by a medical report signed by three doctors. Four HP [Populist Party] MPs went to Sebinkarahisar and said: "A shame before mankind".

Minister of the Interior, Mr Yildirim Akbulut, said that the torture allegation had been examined and an inspector had been sent. "The first information that arrived to us did not reflect this picture. But we will find out what happened" he said.

Cumhuriyet 6 October 1985

Prof Cahit Talas, spokesman of the Human Rights Commission of SODEP [Social Democratic Party] called a press conference, attended by Cunevt Canver and Sabri Irmak (MPs from HP [Populist Party]) and a large number of relatives of prisoners.

He said: "The official authorities' claim is that there is no torture. This is refuted by statements prepared by defence lawyers. The prison authorities very boldly practice torture. This must be investigated and those responsible must be punished. ... even the most basic legal rights are trampled upon ... All practices in prisons must comply with basic human and legal rights. This is a view accepted by the Council of Europe and endorsed by us.

Later, mothers of prisoners spoke about the most horrible prison conditions and practices. They demanded the improvement of prison conditions, abolition of torture and executions, punishment of torturers and a general political amnesty at once.

They said they have not raised their children to be tortured. They said that it was the mothers and families who were being tortured alongside their relatives in prisons.

They said: "We want our children back. They are not responsible for what has happened. They were victims of others in higher and more responsible places."

Cumhuriyet 9 October 1985I was tortured at the police

Executive committee member of TSIP [Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey] Cagatay Anadol was questioned during the hearing at Istanbul Military Court No. 1. He is one of the defendants in the TSIP trial. He is facing up to 15 years' hard labour under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code. He stated

that he had been detained for 17 days in Gayrettepe Police Headquarters [Istanbul] following his arrest on 8 July [1985] and that he was "subjected many times to what the officers of the political police call 'a practice', but what the whole of mankind calls torture". He continued: "Electric shocks were applied to my body one after the other. I was tied by my arms to a thick stick, this being called aski. This thick wooden stick was then hung on two hooks on the wall or on the ceiling, and so I was hung from there by my arms, the entire weight of my body resting only on my arms. I was blindfolded and naked. I had to be naked so that they could apply the electric shock to various parts of my body. I have also seen more horrifying things. They took my wife to the torture room. They made us hold hands. And electric shocks were applied to our bodies. My wife fainted, was taken to a cell where she had to get over the shocks alone for several days. My wife as well as the wives of my friends were detained in order to "make us talk" or, in case that was not enough, to be tortured with us. Later the prosecutor decided that for all of them there were no grounds for further prosecution." Cagatay Anadol continued: "I was attentive enough to catch the names of some of them. But I am not going to press any charges against them. Because I do not want the regime to get away with the show trial of a handful of officers."

Cagatay Anadol said that TSIP was formed and functioned legally under the 1961 Constitution.

Cumhuriyet 11 October 1985

TKP - "Ilerici Genclik"

At the hearing of TKP-Ilerici Genclik at military court No 1 of Istanbul Martial Law Command, Mihriban Meltem Eren was interrogated. She rejected all accusations, said she'd been tortured by the Police and threatened with rape. She is one of the 35 defendants. She said: "I was 1.5 months pregnant when I was detained. They tortured me in front of my fiance very badly, to the brink of miscarriage. Later I had to have my baby aborted in case it would be deformed. I know the policemen who tortured me. They told me, "We'll rape you. We'll do anything." They touched me up sexually. After I was released from Selimiye, they took me into the police room at Gayrettepe Istanbul Police HQ which was known as "of 57" and told me that if I changed my previous statements, I would be tortured, even if it is for fun."

Another defendant, Mine Ozcakir also said that she'd been tortured at police headquarters and was too scared to speak up about it when she was taken to the military prosecutor in case they took her back for more torture.

Sehnaz Saadet and Nail Guler were released.

Cumhuriyet 29 October 1985

TSIP Trial

The defence lawyers' petition pointing to various incidents when the defendants were tortured was rejected by military court No 1 of Istanbul Martial Law Command. Atilla Coskun for the defence said that according to Act No 3005, police should not interrogate the detainees ... He pointed out that all of the defendants told him that they had been tortured and asked

for legal action to be taken against those responsible.

The court ruled that they should go to the relevant authorities and take their grievances there.

Cumhuriyet 14 November 1985

Death in Custody

Eskishehir Anatolian University's Open University 3rd year student, Hamra Tutan, 22, was taken into custody from Yuksekova Dogu Palas Hotel, owned by his father, who is on trial for heroin smuggling, on 8 November 1985. After two house searches, the police told him "say a warm hello to your mum, because you won't see her again" and took him to the station. Later in the night his mother was taken to the public security department and shown her son's body.

Cumhuriyet 14 November 1985

Independent MP, Korkmaz: Torture allegations spread like cancer

The proposed Bill, to increase the penalty for torture, prepared by former Populist Party, now independent, MP Nuri Korkman and his 29 colleagues was rejected in the Justice Committee with the votes of ANAP [Motherland Party] MPs. The committee's decision will be submitted to parliament.

Cumhuriyet 28 November 1985

TKKK Trial started: four face the death penalty

The trial of 16 defendants (four on bail), accused of forming the organization named "Turkiye ve Kuzey Kurdistan Kurtulus [Turkey and North Kurdistan Liberation] and robbing a number of banks, started at Istanbul Military Court No 2. They were arrested following the robbing of "Bank of Credit and Commerce International" on 27 March 1985.

Military prosecutor demanded capital punishment for Saban Iba, Azmi Pat, Haldun Karyol and Yasar Mehmet Ozbay, alleged to be members of the Central Committee. Eleven other defendants face prison sentences of 5-20 years.

Defendant Ali Demir complained about bad conditions in prison, while Irfan Cure said he was tortured at the police station by a team including Dr Erkan Mete.

Cumhuriyet 30 November 1985

SHP mayor and eight others in custody

The developments known as the "Sebinkarahisar Torture Incidents" regarding the alleged torture of eight people at Toprak-Su (Land-water) facilities gained a new dimension the other day with the detention of SHP mayor

Polat Sabuncu who was acting as defence counsel for the eight. A delegation for SHP leadership and MPs went to the town yesterday. One of the owners of Yeni [New] Sebinkarahisar newspaper, Mehmet Yeles is among

the detainees.

Cumhuriyet 30 November 1985

Prisons Inquiry Commission chief contradicts the report

ANAP [Motherland Party] MP Bulent Akarcali, chairman of the Prisons Inquiry Commission held a press conference yesterday to reveal the report prepared by the commission. He criticized those members of the commission who leaked the contents of the report to the press earlier, and said that he would resign after handing it to parliament's presidium.

He said the commission gave up the idea of making an inquiry into torture allegations at police stations and public security department buildings. He emphasised that the commission's seven members made investigations in military and civilian prisons, even risking their lives.

Cumhuriyet 1 December 1985

Three people detained in S. Karahisar were arrested and put in jail. SHP mayor and lawyer Polat Sabuncu and four others detained later were released. Those arrested were not told of the charges, but it was learnt that they are held in connection with "a previous investigation". SHP General Secretary Cahit Angin condemned the government and the local security officers who he claimed had been involved in the past in many incidents, as well as the Giresun Governor, for creating a wave of terror in the province since 27 September 1985 [when the alleged first torture incident happened], and subjecting many people to torture.

Cumhuriyet 3 December 1985

Torture at Giresun Public Security Department revealed: "they forced us to eat the newspaper"

SHP mayor Sabuncu: They hit my chin with their fists 4-5 times. They forced open my mouth, saying "we're getting you to eat what you have written" and put a newspaper in.

Journalist Yeles: They thrust the newspaper into my mouth, saying "swallow it now". I asked for a glass of water. They brought water and ordered me to swallow the newspaper in five gulps. I couldn't swallow it all.

Repairer Akyuz: Stripped off completely naked, they poured cold water on my body in the toilet. They hanged me from the ceiling, tying my hands at the back. They resorted to falaka. They applied electric shocks all over my body, and I became unconscious.

SHP mayor, Polat Sabuncu who uncovered practices of torture at Giresun Public Security Department, and Mehmet Yeles, correspondent of the town's [Sebinkarahisar] local newspaper "New Sebinkarahisar" which carried the report, were telling how they were treated by the police. The events were brought up in parliament by SHP MPs. A delegation of SHP MPs sent from HQ to the locality went to Giresun, but could not reach the town Sebinkarahisar, as the road was cut off by snow.

The torture of eight detainees (who were later released) on 27 October 1985 at Toprak-Su facilities for 32 hours, was made public and transmitted to parliament by Mr Sabuncu and the local newspaper. This led to the detention and torture of Sabuncu and journalist Yeles together with 11 others on 30 November 1985 at Giresun, after being taken from the town Sebinkarahisar. Car repairer Akyuz was taken from Istanbul on 15 November 1985 to Giresun and subjected to such torture that at one stage he attempted to commit suicide. All were released later.

Cumhuriyet 4 December 1985

Allegation: They first tortured and then got a medical report; report of good health in police custody; SHP decides to bring the matter in PM's Question Time, with a report

SHP mayor and 12 other detainees claimed they were taken by a torturer police officer to the doctor and obtained a "report of good health" under such conditions in Giresun.

After detention and torture [ending with "good health report"] detainees were sent to Sebinkarahisar public prosecutor's office on grounds that "the locality of the offence is not Giresun". When they complained there about torture, the public prosecutor, ordering their release, refused to consider this application on grounds that "the incident took place in Giresun".

Inquiries of the SHP parliamentary delegation were hindered by heavy snow in the area, but the Giresun leadership of SHP went to Sebinkarahisar despite all difficulties.

Cumhuriyet 4 December 1985

Torture by Hasan Cemal

Name : Polat Sabuncu
Occupation: Sebinkarahisar SHP president
Place : Giresun Public Security Department
Date : 30 November 1985

His story:

"At the Public Security Department our eyes were blindfolded, and we were made to wait for hours in a room, facing the wall, on our feet with hands on the wall. Later, when I was taken for interrogation, they hit my chin with fists 4-5 times, my mouth was forced open, and they thrust a newspaper into my mouth, saying "we're making you eat what you've written". During interrogations while I was in custody, I was asked whether I had hosted THKO militants Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Aslan and Huseyin Inan in my house."

Name : Mehmet Yeles
Occupation: Yeni [New] Sebinkarahisar newspaper correspondent
Place : Giresun Public Security Department

His story:

"I work for the paper as a typesetter, machinist and correspondent. Two police officers came from Giresun Public Security Department and took me into custody. Later they shut us into a room, facing the wall with hands on the wall. Meanwhile police officers were hitting us with fists as they passed by. Later they took me into the interrogation room and asked "did you write these?". I said my eyes were blindfolded and I couldn't see. When the band

was partly opened I saw the report carrying torture allegations in Yeni Sebinkarahisar newspaper issue of 19 November 1985. Saying "now we're going to have you eat this, swallow it", they thrust the newspaper into my mouth. I said the paper was dry and I could not swallow it like that and asked for a glass of water. They brought water and asked me to swallow the paper in only five gulps. I could not swallow all of it."

Name : Ahmet Emin Akyuz

Occupation: Car-repairer

He was taken from his home in Istanbul on 15 november and brought to Giresun.

Place : Giresun Public Security Department

His story:

"I was forced to wait, at Giresun PSD, my eyes blindfolded and hands on the wall. Later they stripped me bare naked and washed me with cold water in the toilet. They took me to the Archives Room on the PSD's third floor, tied my hands behind my back and hanged me to an iron bar between two closets, using fabric banners. The fabric holding me up tore off and I fell down. Later they applied falaka, electric shocks and beat me up. Then they had me walk in salted water for half an hour, washed with cold water again and hung me to the ceiling for a second time. They gave electricity to my sexual organ and right arm by tying cables. I lost my consciousness. When I recovered, I found myself lying on a cement floor blindfolded. I heard my brother Osman's voice. On the following day they started to torture me again. They once more applied electric-shocks. I went unconscious again. When I came to my senses they were applying electricity to my ear."

Cumhuriyet 5 December 1985

Sebinkarahisar torture incidents

It has been revealed that Giresun Governor's Office delayed sending the names of police officers, responsible for the torture of eight people on 27 October 1985 in Sebinkarahisar, to Sebinkarahisar public prosecutor for 45 days, although it was established that the detainees were held in custody for 32 hours at Toprak-Su's building in the town without notifying the public prosecutor and also there were medical reports proving torture. Detainees were: Sumerbank director Omer Vatan, Municipal Water and Bus Service Manager, Ihsan Ulutekin and six teachers.

This was followed by the detentions of 13 other people for 1 to 15 days between 15 and 30 November 1985 at Giresun PSD. Meanwhile the SHP MPs who returned from Giresun were strongly criticized by the public. [Apparently for "investigating" by talking to the governor and police chief, but not the victims/witnesses.]

Cumhuriyet 6 December 1985

Inquiry into torture

Mustafa Kocak, public prosecutor of Giresun said: "They were taken to Giresun without my knowledge. It was a legal mistake for us to extend the period of custody ... We regarded the reports in your newspaper [Cumhuriyet] as an information [report of crime] and started an inquiry. I wrote to Public Security and asked for the names of the police officers who took part in the operation."

Giresun governor, Bekcet Guler, refused to talk to the Cumhuriyet correspondent and suggested a discussion with Public Security Director Hasan Huseyin Balak. Balak also refused to meet the correspondent but had a conversation on the phone. His allegations, were that the detainees, although there was not a single incident since 12 September [1980], were connected with events prior to the coup and there were signs of regathering, although none of them had any previous conviction. Toprak-Su building which was five km out of town was used as a detention centre because Sebinkarahisar public security department building was too small and overcrowded, and both were public facilities. During the second operation the detainees were taken to the provincial centre, Giresun, because the public prosecutor of Sebinkarahisar had earlier refused to extend the duration of custody.

Cumhuriyet 7 December 1985

Some police officers found to have taken part in both operations in Sebinkarahisar

Among the names given by Giresun Governor's office to Sebinkarahisar public prosecutor are police officers Yuksel Ergenekon and Seref Coban, who took part in the first operation on 27 September 1985, who were also confirmed to have been involved by the eight detainees.

Superintendent Y. Ergenekon was the police chief, appointed by the Nationalist Front coalition government in 1977, who closely collaborated with the Grey Wolves. After many complaints, the Giresun governor of the time had given him leave on the eve of the general election.

One of the detainees during the second operation, Ahmet Akyuz, claimed that he was tortured by Y. Ergenekon at Gayrettepe [Istanbul] police HQ, although local policemen of Istanbul tried to stop him, because there was also a personal rivalry between them from the mid-1970s.

He was tortured by police officers from Giresun first in Istanbul and then in Giresun. After he recognized Y. Ergenekon and S. Coban they removed his blindfold and continued the torture. Most other detainees in the second operation confirmed that the two officers were involved.

Cumhuriyet 7 December 1985

Ozal and Akbulut respond to torture allegations in their own way

When asked what the government is doing about the Sebinkarahisar incidents:

Ozal: "Don't ask such questions. We're not doing anything ... If you ask such questions you can't come face to face with me any more. There's nothing else. There are no allegations, my friend, I'm not answering this".

Akbulut: "The tactic of those involved is this: on the one hand to render court decisions ineffective, on the other hand, to prevent the police from clamping down on such people. This is the tactic and it is an international tactic."

Response to SHP Appeal: Letters of Complaint from Prisoners Pile on Gürkan's Desk

Following SHP [Socialdemocrat Populist Party] leader Gürkan's statement appealing to citizens to report all illegal measures, ill-treatment and torture to SHP, lots of letters have started arriving at Gürkan's office. They include complaints from ten detainees at Ankara Central Closed Prison whose names are: Mehmet Günsel, Ümit Erkol, Faruk Nafiz Sayin, Yücel Demirer, Ünal Cengizoğlu, Uğur Eşgün, Dursun Güleç, Mustafa Cinkiliç, Kazim Arlı, Eriş Bilaloğlu and Mahmut Bülbül. They claimed that their "statements were extracted by various torture methods, and medical reports of good health were given to all detainees at the Yenimahalle Health Centre" [i.e. regardless of their condition].

Yeni Gündem 13-26 December 1985
Allegations Regarding State Security Court Deputy Prosecutor Coşkun:
"Prosecutor Beats Defendants"

Five people who are on trial at Ankara State Security Court (SSC) for political offences have appealed to the Ministry of Justice in two separate petitions. Until now there have been many allegations of torture at the political police departments and prisons, but these two letters bring a new element into the debate by claiming that they were subjected to torture at the Prosecutor's Office.

In the first letter sent to the Ministry of Justice by lawyers Olcay Mis and Tuğrul Çakin, and written by defendants Salih Bora Mutlu and Yüksel Durmuş, they say:

"We were taken into custody and arrested on the pretext that we were members of an illegal organization and carried out [its] activities, as a result of the investigations of Ankara Political Police Department. During the interrogation we were hanged by our arms, pressurized water was sprayed on our naked bodies and electric shocks were applied to our sexual organs, and thus we were made to sign a statement prepared on the basis of other statements extracted at the Security [political police] from other people with the same methods of pressure. The same treatment was repeated for a period of 15 days. At the end of this period we were taken to the SSC Prosecutor's Office on 7 November 1985. We were intending to reject the fabricated statements that we were compelled to accept under pressure and force at Ankara Public Security Department Political Branch and to tell the truth at the SSC Prosecutor's Office. When we entered the office of the prosecutor, we saw that two police officers from the Political Branch were also present. When we told the prosecutor, named Ülkü Coşkun, that we did not accept the statements taken at the Security [Dept.], he beat us and threatened to send us back to the Security [Dept.]; when we explained how our statements were extracted at the Security, he told us in an insulting language that he was going to extract statements from us at the Security [Dept.] with the same methods. Already during our departure from the Security [Dept.] the police were continuously making the same threats, they were saying that we were going to be brought back, if we rejected the Security [Dept.] statements at the Prosecutor's Office, that there was still nearly a week before our period of detention expired and that they had plenty of time.

We were compelled to accept the statements taken at the Security [Dept.] in view of the threats of the Security, the presence of Security officers at the time of statements at the Prosecutor's Office, and the attitude of the prosecutor which we plainly explained. Consequently, we were arrested and put in prison as the prosecutor, Mr. Ülkü Coşkun, wanted..."

In the second petition sent to the Ministry of Justice at the same time and written by Abdül Nahit Balaban, Yusuf Karakuş and Ayhan Aksoy, similar allegations are made regarding the same prosecutor:

"The SSC prosecutor, while receiving our statements, had the torturer policemen seated in the armchairs in his room. Then, in an extremely harsh and insulting language, he asked us to fully accept the statements taken from us at the Security

[Dept.]. He said, 'otherwise your corpses only will leave this place'. When we said that these statements were not true and that they were given under heavy torture and unwillingly, he walked towards us and insulted us. Then, turning to the torture policemen, he said, 'Take them back to the Security. Beat them murderously until they accept here the statements taken there. F... their mothers.'

Consequently we were again taken to the Security [Dept.] by the torturer policemen. There, the torture we described above was repeated in an even more severe manner. We were helpless. Our state was fatal. We were hardly able to stand on our feet. Under these conditions we accepted whatever they said... The same day, in the evening, we were again taken to the SSC Prosecutor's Office.

Before the magistrate we again rejected our statement extracted with the collaboration between the torture police and the SSC prosecutor. But the magistrate put only partly our account on record. For instance, he did not put on record that we were taken to the Security [Dept.] for a second time, that the prosecutor ordered our being tortured, and the torture to which we were again subjected at the Security [Dept.].

There is also a very important and interesting aspect of the incident. When we were taken to the Prosecutor's Office for the second time from the Security [Dept.], a person named Adnan Akbaş, who was with us, was beaten and insulted by the prosecutor in front of all of us at the detention room of the SSC."

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMALARI VAKFI
TÜSTAV

Cumhuriyet 17 December 1985

Torture Debate in Parliament

At the General Assembly of the Turkish Parliament the debate on the budget of the Ministry for Internal Affairs started with Mr. Cüneyt Canver, MP (SHP) for Adana showing from the rostrum how the "EE-8 Sahara Telephone", used in torture, operates and asked the house to expose and condemn torture.

Canver said that the present government's internal security policy "by turning a blind eye to, and hiding the evidence of, human rights violations, by protracting the trials, offered a covert support to these attacks". He added that "as the offence of killing by torture is not adequately pursued, and even as the torturers are virtually viewed with sympathy on the pretext that they punished those opposed to the State, torture investigations remain protracted". He reminded the members that no investigation has been started on the deaths under torture of Enver SAHAN, Faruk TUNA and Ali INAN.

Mr. Canver cited the names of Superintendents Mehmet Yilmaz and Kemal Kartal who were responsible for many torture cases, but who were promoted instead of being put on trial.

Canver later demonstrated how the magnets of a "EE-8 Sahara Telephone" are used as torture instrument, to apply electric shock. He went on to say: "The statements made by the Prime Minister to the effect that torture is applied by some over excited officers have no use other than giving support to the torturers. If you go to the Political Branches, to the police stations, the State Security Court Prosecution Offices and prisons without informing them in advance, you will encounter at those places many over-excited officers."

He also condemned the system of security investigations, saying: "If you go to America and become a Mason there, or receive education, no problem. No-one will doubt your patriotism. But you should never dare to go to eastern bloc countries, even for an excursion." he told that those who visited socialist countries were given a negative mark.

Before concluding Canver passed on to the Home Minister the names of 113 people who died under torture and asked for the "re-opening of old torture files".

Later the floor was taken by SHP Vice-President Halil Ibrahim Şahin, MP for Denizli. He told that the current filing of people according to their ideological and political inclinations was parallel only to the Argentine, Chile, Italy and Nazi Germany, and said: "Maltreatment in Turkey has become an indispensable form of behaviour."

Mr. Şahin listed his requests to the Parliament, summed up as follows:

- UN Convention against torture should be ratified, and the relevant section of the European Convention on Human Rights which gives the nationals of member states the right to individual appeal, should be recognized for Turkish citizens as well;
- On torture offences, passage of time should be abrogated, and torture trials should be re-staged;
- Lawyers should be present at preliminary interrogations and penalties for torture offences should be increased;
- It should be mandatory for political parties to set up specialized departments for watching over human rights violations, and a "Human Rights Watch Commission" should be added to the specialized commissions of the Turkish Parliament;
- Associations, professional institutions and trade unions should be involved in politics;
- Public servants sacked by way of 1482 should be re-instated, and Law No. 2969 should be abrogated.

In a reply to critics, the Home Secretary Mr. Akbulut said that torture could not be defended, but he added: "It will bring no benefit to anyone to accuse the whole[security] organization, to weaken it, to undermine its prestige, just because a few incidents occurred."

Mr. Sezai Pekuslu, one of the ANAP spokespersons, too, said: "I do not see it fitting to demonstrate isolated incidents which occur everywhere in the world as [a sign of] existence of torture in Turkey."

Another Allegation: Torture of Retired Teacher

Yesterday a press conference at SHP Headquarters was called by Mr. Nurettin Gedik, a retired teacher at Isabey village of Karakoçan township in Elazığ province. He told the press how he was tortured at "1800 Evler" area police station in Elazığ city. At the end of the conference SHP Deputy General Secretary M. Vasif Yücel stated that torture in Turkey is continuing at an increasing rate and asked the government to give at least assurances to detainees for safety of their lives.

Mr. Nurettin Gedik told the press that his son was arrested after 12 September [1980] for alleged "involvement in political disturbances" and later acquitted by a court decision. However, his son was detained a couple of times after the court decision and as a result of these arbitrary arrests he was forced to leave his home. Nevertheless, on the last occasion he was arrested by the police who could not find his son. He then went on to give an account of the torture he was subjected to as follows:

"They told me at the station to strip. I did. The policemen then tore off my underwear. They blindfolded me and laid me on a bed and gave electric shocks to my sexual organ and to my small finger. After the electric shocks they applied falaka. When my soles were torn they made me walk in salt water. They sprayed pressurized water on me. They took me to the toilet. Twice I collapsed [there]. Saying that I was doing that on purpose, they kicked me in the toilet. A policeman whom I could not see because I was blindfolded said: 'He is finished.' Another said: 'Take him and throw him off a cliff and we will say that he fell and died while going to show a hide-out.'

Later they took me into a room and put a car tyre over my head and tried to thrust a truncheon [into his anus]. When I asked them to kill me, they said 'choose any form of death you like'."

He later said that he was taken into another room and hanged by a yoke and afterwards ordered to bend up and down to recover use of his arms.

Cumhuriyet 25 December 1985

Akbulut Refutes Retired Teacher's Torture Allegations

Minister of Interior Yildirim Akbulut stated in a press announcement that the retired teacher who claimed to have been tortured had a medical report ~~taken~~ indicating that he was in good health.

Akbulut stated that Nurettin Gedik and some of his relatives were taken into custody on 16 July 1985 on the order of the 8th Army Corps and Martial Law Command for assisting illegal secessionist gangs, providing them with shelter and assisting in some of their activities in the area. They were put on trial and were deported from the area. Nurettin Gedik had alleged he was taken to a two-storey building and was tortured there together with his son and daughter for eleven days. Akbulut said his son Erdal Gedik was a PKK militant involved in many illegal armed actions, having been trained abroad; and his son Ihsan Gedik was also a PKK militant serving his sentence of 10 years 8 months' imprisonment in a military prison.

Cumhuriyet 26 December 1985

Retired Teacher's Case in Parliament

SHP Deputy General Secretary and MP for Zonguldak, Muhteşem Vasif Yücel, is taking the case of retired teacher Nurettin Gedik, who was tortured in Elazığ for eleven days, to Parliament.

Recalling Minister of Interior Akbulut's statement, he said: "If it is a lie, why did they wait for 25 years to detain the teacher. If the teacher was a PKK member, why was he released by the prosecutor's office? If it is a lie, why was the teacher kept for eleven days after the torture? I will ask the Minister of Interior to answer all these questions."

Cumhuriyet 8 January 1986

TSIP Trial Starts in Ankara

The trial of 39 TSIP [Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey] leaders and members, 31 of them under arrest, started at the State Security Court (SSC) in Ankara. The indictment prepared by the SSC prosecutor demands 5-15 years' imprisonment for the defendants.

The case was first opened on 25 November 1985 for 45 defendants. Later charges against six were dropped.

Presently, 9 defendants are facing 8-15 years' imprisonment under Article 141/1 of the Turkish Penal Code and 30 are facing 5-10 years under Article 141/5.

Cihandar Yilmaz stated in the court that he had been subjected to inhuman tortures while in police detention; he also said that the SSC prosecutor asked in a biased way when interrogating him. Afterwards he was thrown out of the court room by the presiding judge. His lawyer Günfer Karadeniz was not allowed to take the floor upon this.

All the defendants questioned during the hearing stated that their initial statements had been extracted from them by force under torture and they disowned their statements.

Thirty-one of the defendants are still under arrest, for two of them there is an arrest warrant in their absence, and three defendants are tried without being under arrest.

Cumhuriyet 13 January 1986

[Mustafa Ekmekçi, in his column on page 8, mentions a petition by Saniye and Celalettin Can, parents of a prisoner in Elaziğ Military Prison, who write that their son C.C. was being ill-treated and that torture in this prison had noticeably increased since NCO "M" had joined the prison staff. They wrote:]

"When we went to visit him on 8 January 1986 in Elaziğ Prison No. 3, we saw a completely different person, face black and swollen from beatings, exhausted and unable to stand on his feet... We had three sons, one died in a traffic accident, one was killed in Istanbul, and the other one is in prison being subjected to torture time and again."

[Mustafa Ekmekçi continues:]

I remembered this mother. It was the same mother who had shouted "Stop the torturers!" during the visit of some opposition MPs to Elaziğ.

TÜSTAV
TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI

Cumhuriyet 22 January 1986

Same Officer Accused of Two Separate Torture Cases

Captain Ali Şahin is on trial for torturing Osman Yilmaz, his wife Habibe, his brother Ömer and the latter's wife Çağnur who had been detained and kept under arrest in Muğla from 1 September 1984 to 25 October 1985 when they were acquitted of the charge of killing Süleyman Koca, a forest security officer.

Captain Şahin challenges the validity of the testimonies of the privates involved in or who witnessed the torture on the grounds that they were discharged from the military service. One of them, Nevzat Keskin, said in the statement he made in his home town: "These persons were beaten up with truncheons in the gendarmerie station and given electric shocks on the orders of Captain Ali Şahin. I was there too".

It has been established that Captain Ali Şahin who is claimed to have been involved in killing Siddik Bilgin in Bingöl is the same person who is on trial at Muğla Heavy Sentences Court for torturing the Yilmaz family as described above.

Muzaffer Bilgin, Siddik Bilgin's wife said: "Commando Captain Ali Şahin tortured my husband. He hung him by the tent hooks of a Reo truck. He was then taken to the woods and shot by a group of soldiers. Apparently, his body was buried with his clothes on in a ditch dug by an excavator machine in the court of the gendarme outpost in Suveren".

Siddik Bilgin was a school teacher in Dedebağ village of Genc town of Bingöl.

SHP is sending a delegate to Bingöl to investigate the case.

Cumhuriyet 23 January 1986

Minister of Interior: "His Family Did Not Come and Take the Corpse"

Yildirim Akbulut said that Siddik Bilgin was being observed by the security forces after receiving information that he had established links with PKK activists while living in Dedebağ village as a schoolteacher. The minister added that three PKK activists who were captured in the operation following the armed attack on Suveren gendarme outpost on 23 July 1985 had stated that Siddik Bilgin had had links with the organizations and subsequently Bilgin was detained. Akbulut added: "Siddik Bilgin first denied his links with the organization but later admitted to them. He said that the organization had a hide-out in Veraruj region and he could show it. He was taken to the said region on 31 July 1985 by the security forces. At an opportune moment he began to run away. He was warned first by shouting and then by firing in the air. He went on running despite these warnings. Then he was fired at in order to capture him. When he was falling injured he shouted the slogan "Long live PKK, victory is ours!" repeatedly. The fire was stopped when he fell on the ground. The doctor in the team was called upon for treatment but he was found dead."

Akbulut said that after the completion of legal and medical formalities, his uncle Giyasettin Bilgin was asked to collect the body, but he did not do it and as no other demand had come from the family, the body was interred somewhere near the gendarme outpost.



On the other hand, Siddik Bilgin's uncle, a former MSP Senator Mehmet Bilgin applied to Kartal civilian prosecutor's office asking for a prosecution in connection with the matter and demanding that those responsible in the gendarme outposts in Genç and Suveren should be punished. He said in the petition:

"My nephew Siddik Bilgin and his uncle Giyasettin Bilgin were invited to call at the gendarme outpost in Suveren, a few days before the incident. They went there to learn what it was about. For the reasons not known, they were tortured for four days by the security men in the station and then he (Siddik), along with his uncle and four other detainees, was put on a military truck, blindfolded. As has been established later, the truck stopped somewhere in Rasta Düzlüğü locality of Doğanlı village, and Siddik Bilgin was carried away into the field by the soldiers - we do not know whether he was alive or not at that stage - and shot. I and his mother went to collect the body but we were refused and told: 'We shot him and that's the end of it. We will not give you the body.' "

The petition states that no public prosecution was opened when the matter was published in the papers and that the need for this petition arose to demand punishment for those responsible.

On the other hand the trial of Captain Ali Şahin, four corporals and two soldiers is continuing in Muğla. The prosecutor's indictment states that the defendants were involved in torturing the Yilmaz family and Çagnur Yilmaz, one of the woman victims was raped by defendant Enver Keskinoglu, then a soldier.

Cumhuriyet 24 January 1986

Ministry of Education unaware of Siddik Bilgin's death

It has been revealed that the Ministry of Education and its directorate in Bingöl had not been informed by the authorities of the death of Siddik Bilgin on 31 July 1985.

However, his post as a school teacher in Dedebağ was filled by the appointment of a schoolteacher of the nearby Doğanlı village.

The officials of the Ministry of Education find the whole thing rather mysterious and they are starting an inquiry after six months.

Cumhuriyet 24 January 1986

Canver asked: "Why Not Buried in Cemetery?"

Cüneyt Canver put forward a written question in the parliament for the Minister of the Interior to reply to. The question was as follows:

- who gave the order for this operation which ended with Bilgin's death?
- who is the captain who carried it out?
- is he the same captain as the one in Muğla who is in the rape trial?
- is this captain charged with such duties as raping, firing to kill?
- what will his next task be?

- will you explain why the body of Siddik Bilgin was buried somewhere near the Gendarme outpost and not in the village cemetery?
- how would you explain the discrepancy between your version of the story and that of the 8th Army Corps?

Another question to Akbulut. This time from Ali Ihsan Elgin, SHP MP for Içel.

- how do you explain the escape in the presence of 89 soldiers, when even a ten year old boy was taken handcuffed by two security men, as published in the papers? (and other questions)

TÜRKİYE SOSYAL TARİH ARAŞTIRMA VAKFI
TÜSTAV

REPORT [by Şakir Keçeli] ON THE JOINT OPERATION CARRIED OUT BY
ARMS-AMMUNITION BRANCH AND POLITICAL BRANCH OF YOZGAT DIRECTORATE OF
SECURITY

- TEAMS ON DUTY
- 1) Director of Security
 - 2) Chief of Political Branch
 - 3) Constable Mazhar Bulut
 - 4) Ahmet from Çankiri (bearded)
 - 5) Mustafa from Pazarcik, Maraş
 - 6) A policeman from the Political Branch
who knows his job well

In short, all officers of the two branches with the exception of a policeman from Kozan, Adana.

DETAINEES

1. ŞAKIR KEÇELİ - Çayiralan Republican People's Party (RPP) Branch President, member of the Party's national assembly, RPP's No. 1 candidate in 1979 elections for the Senate, 47 years old.
2. DURMUŞ KÜLEKÇİ - RPP's candidate for Mayor at 1973 local elections; member of branch executive committee of the Party in the terms 1974 - 1978 - 1980; 62 years old.
3. HACI USLU ; Councillor from RPP for several terms; branch executive member of RPP in Çayiralan in 1974 - 1980; 58 years old.
4. NACI YILDIRIM - Chair of the Youth Section of the RPP Branch in Çayiralan in 1974 - 1976.
5. İHSAN KÜLCÜ - Chair of the Youth Section of the RPP in Çayiralan in the period 1976 - 1980.
6. ÖMER ATA - RPP member
7. RPP Member, delegate to provincial Conference, Headman of Fahrli village of Çayiralan in 1960 - 1980; selected "Exemplary Headman" by the local administrators of the post-12th September era.
8. FERİDUN YILMAZ - accused of injuring a leftist youth with a pistol.
9. MUSTAFA ATA - RPP member
10. BEKİR ATA - RPP member
11. MURAT YILMAZ - A 12 year old boy
12. TEMEL İPEK - Tradesman
13. TAHSİN İPEK - Temel İpek's brother, graduate of DTCF (Literature, History, Geography Faculty); tradesman
14. HURŞİT TURGUT - Teacher

15. MUSTAFA GÖK - High School graduate. Tried twice by the Military Court of the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command on the charges brought against him here and was acquitted.
16. NAŞİT DOĞAN - This person has been tried three times at the Military Court of 2nd Army and Martial Law Command on the charges made here and was acquitted.
17. BAKİ AYDOĞAN - Driver.

EVENT

The officers of the Smuggling and Ammunition Branch and the Political Branch of the Directorate of Security in Yozgat (same people manage both branches) had been detaining some persons in Çayıralan and severely torturing them. They asked these people for arms, and forced them to blame Mr. Şakir Keçeli, leader of the RPP Branch in Çayıralan.

Indeed, in July 1985, Naci YILDIRIM, Mustafa GÖK, Adem EKER, Emin SEÇGEN from the town were detained and tortured for several hours in the oak wood near Caputlu region.

On 6 August 1985, Baki AYDOĞAN was detained and tortured; and when he could not bear it any longer he said: "One day, Şakir Keçeli called me outside his office; he gave me the "Sten" machine gun wrapped in a cloth and told me to take it to Ömer Ata which I did straight away." So he was forced to make up this story that has nothing to do with truth.

On 7 August 1984, Ömer ATA was detained and swiftly sent to the torture chamber.

On 7 August 1985, around 5 pm, I was detained in my house and at about 9 - 10 in the evening, I was sent to Yozgat in a security car.

On the way, Police Chief Mazhar BULUT said, "Look, friend, we don't give a damn about your being a lawyer. Don't look down on us because you have had a university education. We were told that you have a sten machine gun in your possession. We were told this by Baki AYDOĞAN and Ömer ATA. If you don't tell us, we'll make you impotent by giving you

electric shocks, we'll even stick a truncheon into your anus. But we would not want a man of your calibre to get into this situation."

I told them, "This is a great big lie. But do not start torturing immediately, let me face the other defendants first."

So we came to Yozgat, They brought Baki AYDOĞAN and Ömer ATA into the room that we were in. They were asked to describe the event. Baki AYDOĞAN repeated the above words, namely that I had given him a sten machine gun. Ömer ATA said he did not remember the event; that it was possible that he had been given a packet, but he's never been given a sten gun.

I told the policemen, "Çayiralan is a small town of 4000 population. This event happened within an area of 100 m². If this event really had happened, why, then, should I give the gun to Baki? I'll walk 100 m down the road and hand it over myself. We are not playing a game, why should I take a taxi? I don't even know Baki AYDOĞAN. I am not friendly with him at all. You can ask him.

Baki AYDOĞAN said: "We used to be friendly before 12th September, but we have not been on speaking terms for five years."

The policemen made Ömer ATA, who was beside me and kept refusing [to speak], stand up, blindfolded him and took him out.

One hour later Ömer ATA came back into the room, with tears in his eyes. He said "Oh brother, let us do something, anything, to find a sten gun and get out of this mess."

It was obvious that he could not stand the tortures any longer and had confessed to something that was not true.

I told him "Ömer, have you lost your mind? What you are asking for is a sten machine gun. You can't buy it, you can't steal it."

Police Chief Mazhar BULUT said "Get up Şakir Keçeli."

I was blindfolded and made to get into a jeep which I thought was of type J5. They took me to the National Park (locally known as "Çamlık") in Yozgat. It was about midnight.

Police Chief Mazhar BULUT told me to undress. I said to him: "Have you lost your mind? I am a lawyer of 47. I have been in the top level leadership of RPP (as provincial representative in the Party Council). I got over 40,000 votes in the Senate elections. This will have untoward consequences both for me and for you."

To no avail. I was forcefully stripped naked. I was handcuffed behind my back with special handcuffs. I was made to lie down. They tied my feet. Two huge men sat on me, one on my feet and the other on my chest. They started to give me electric shocks on my feet and my penis.

I called upon Almighty God, I couldn't get free. I shamefully begged them [not to torture me]. "Allow me to kiss your hands, your feet, to eat your shit" I said. It didn't help. The minutes got longer and longer. I wished I could faint, but I couldn't. In the end, "Hold it" I said, "let us go to the fields, I will find you a gun."

The torture stopped. I was made to get dressed and brought to Yozgat Security. We took Ömer ATA, too, and set off for Çayıralan with the officers. The reason for Ömer ATA to be taken to Çayıralan was the fact that during the torture sessions he had said "I pray you stop it. I don't have a sten gun, but there is a pistol in my house and I'll give that to you."

We came to Çayıralan. They put me in the basement of the gendarme station to wait and took Ömer to his village. A few hours later Ömer came back in a terrible shape. Apparently he told the officers upon arrival in the village that he'd been lying and that he had no pistol.

Then the Chief of Police told him, "We'll see you tomorrow evening. And we won't accept any pistols your family might bring later on. We'll get this pistol out of you." Then they left the village and came to Çayıralan.

They took me out of the waiting room at about 4 - 5 am, put me into a Renault car and told me to find the gun. I told them I did not have a gun. They blindfolded me. We came to the oak wood to the right of the aşagi tekke village of Çayıralan. Here the police officer, Ahmet from Çankiri, told me in a low voice, "Look brother, you are a lawyer. Is the gun better than your sweet life? Let's have it and then you'll be left alone."

I told him "I don't have any gun. I would give it if I had one, wouldn't I? I'd rather serve a sentence in the prison than go through all this humiliating torture."

They undressed me and made me lie down among the oak trees. Again they handcuffed me behind my back. They tied my feet. I think it was Police Chief Mazhar BULUT who sat on my chest. And the driver Osman sat on my feet. But before he sat down, Mazhar BULUT connected the electrodes to my penis and my feet and he said "You pouff, you make us stroke and cuddle your cock!"

Then they started giving the electric shocks. The Police Chief kept saying "Higher, higher, right up to 5, 6, 7, 8 !" He finally instructed "Right up to the top!"

I was lying on the floor, struggling to get away, half trying to catch breath and half breathless. My legs got wounded from all the bashing about and my neck was hurt as well. I kept begging them to stop. I was begging in the most humiliating way. I was cursing to God, but without any results. About an hour later I told them, "Stop it and I'll tell you where it is."

They stopped and that gave me the opportunity to rest for one minute. Then I had to tell them again that I did not have any gun. Of course, torture started again. I had no other way but to give in to get out of this. But I really and truly did not have a sten. So I told them a lie and put the blame on Hacı USLU just as Baki AYDOĞAN and Ömer ATA had done to me.

I told the officers, "I gave the organization's gun to Hacı USLU."

They then dressed me again and took me to the Security office in Çayıralan. Hacı USLU was summoned from his home. He told the police he didn't have a gun in his possession. He was taken into the basement of the Security office in Çayıralan. It was about 9 o'clock. He was taken to the torture session. During this time the local people were coming in and out of the Security office. It was also the same day that those going on their annual pilgrimage to Mecca and their relatives and friends seeing them off were gathering opposite the Police Station. In short, there were about 300 - 400 people inside and outside the station that day. It was in front of all these people that Hacı USLU was tortured. At the end of the torture session and as a result of it he admitted to having a 16 mm Czech pistol. Furthermore, he first said that he'd given the sten machine gun to Durmuş KÜLEKÇİ, then he said he'd handed it over during the commando operation in 1981. (The Commando Taburu from Nevşehir collected arms in Çayıralan in 1981).

Then Durmuş KÜLEKÇİ was sent for. He was tortured in the same place in front of the same people. He is 60 - 65 years old. During torture, blood came from his penis or somewhere like that. So they stopped the torture.

They went back to Hacı USLU. He said he had given the sten to the local administrator (muhtar) of the Dere district. So this local administrator was sent for. He rejected Hacı USLU's allegations. At this point the officers must have realized that there was no sten gun to be found, so they took me downstairs. The Police Chief Mazhar BULUT said, "Look friend, I have already told my supervisors that I have found the sten. Either I'll die or I'll kill to get a gun out of you."

Following this brief orientation, I was undressed in Çayıralan Police Station for the third time. I was convinced that I'd never be able to get away. I had no gun to hand over, so I'd better give up all hope to get away from all this. I had no strength left to bear the tortures. The practices I had been subjected to caused me to lose my sense of values. I thought of some information I had received way back in 1976 - 77.

Ali BERK and Ibrahim BERK from the Fahrli village of Çayiralan had told me that they had sten machine guns. These men were already dead, but their brothers Seyfi BERK and Nuh Mehmet BERK were still alive. I gave their names to the Police Chief Mazhar BULUT. I told him that these guns belonged to the organization and that I had given them to the BERK brothers. I said that Seyfi BERK and Nuh Mehmet BERK would know where the gun would be. Furthermore, in order to get away from torture and to make the torturers believe me, I told them that I had a pistol with a silver butt in my home. The pistol was an old one, dating back 150 - 200 years. It was of 10.5 mm diameter. It is impossible to get the bullets for this pistol anywhere in the world today. In this sense, it is an antique pistol. Even if it cannot be classed as antique, it cannot be used because it has no bullets.

Following my accusations, the Police Chief Mazhar BULUT sent for Nuh Mehmet BERK from Fahrli village. This person was very severely tortured in Çayiralan Police Station. He was also kicked in the face, he had a scar under his chin. (I know this because they put us in the same cell in order to listen to our conversation).

Then the police took me, Nuh Mehmet BERK, Hacı USLU, Ömer ATA and Durmuş KÜLEKÇİ to Yozgat. In Yozgat I was put into a cell in the basement of Yozgat Security Department. For 15 days I was not allowed to establish any kind of contact with the other men.

The cell inside the security department was absolutely horrible. The walls were stained with blood. There was only a wooden bench to lie down on and it was unbearably cold in the night.

I stayed here for 24 hours. Meanwhile, they had taken there Ihsan KÜLCÜ and Hurşit TURGUT from Çayiralan. They took me to them. Police Chief Mazhar BULUT asked me in front of them: "Şakir KEÇELİ, can I get anything out of you?". And I said "Yes Sir, you made me talk." Then we parted. This time, they took me from the cell to the office of the Central Police Station. I spent the night there. At about 7 am Ihsan KÜLCÜ got out of a Renault car. He was carrying a sack full of books. Later I heard that he had also admitted to the possession of a pistol that belonged to somebody else.

The interesting thing is this: the books taken from Ihsan KÜLCÜ were the books that were in the library of Çayıralan Community Centre and that had been officially handed in to the office of the Public Prosecutor in Çayıralan. These books were said to belong to us and to an imaginary organization.

The same day I was brought to the Police Station and ordered to give information about the organization.

THE REAL NATURE OF THE SO-CALLED ORGANIZATION - I told the Security officials and Mazhar BULUT, the chief architect of the operation the following points:

- a) There is a letter written by the General Directorate of Security, the MIT and Yozgat Directorate of Security and sent to the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command. This letter states that "there ARE NO FACTIONS IN YOZGAT AND ITS DISTRICTS". For this reason, your search for an organization is meaningless.
- b) As for the events in Çayıralan:
 - aa) Naşit DOĞAN was tried in the military court of 2nd Army and Martial Law Command in connection with Hüseyin VAROL's death and he was acquitted. The same person cannot be tried again.
 - bb) Özbay TOKAT was tried in the Criminal Court of Boğazlıyan in connection with the death of a person known as Cebail and he was acquitted.
 - cc) The firing at the house of lawyer Nafi Ertuğrul, district president of MHP, has been the subject of prosecution at the Military Court of 2nd Army and Martial Law Command, a person named Ali Fuat was tried,
 - dd) The incident when Nadir Aknur's house was gunned was also subjected to prosecution in that court.
 - ff) There have been three prosecutions for Çayıralan Dev-Yol by the Military Court, and
 - 1) A person called Fahrettin Okur was convicted as Dev-Yol's organizer
 - 2) Mustafa Yildirim's son was convicted for membership of this organization
 - 3) Furthermore, the detainees Mustafa Gök, Naşit Doğan, Adem Eker and his friends were acquitted twice.

gg) All the documents of the organization were contained in the files of the Dev-Yol [Revolutionary Road] trial in Ankara. The organizations of Dev-Yol and its responsible persons were all listed there.

I went on to say to Constable Mazhar and his colleagues:

"The only sensible thing for you to do is to examine those files and find out the organization. Otherwise, there is no sense in finding suspects with the inquisition methods of the Middles Ages; this is also nothing but ruthlessness. It is senseless because when we get those files brought over and examined by the court, it will be revealed that all the confessions made here are only lies"....

[The material omitted deals with Şakir Keçeli's political background and political developments in the area during the late 1970s]

The general rule of Penal Law is to gather all evidence in favour of and against one defendant. The Security department of Yozgat has violated this rule and has not minuted any of the statements above. Not only that, they even forced me into telling and accepting statements quite opposite of the above.

The Creation of the "Organizations Scenario":

The police, after listening to my above statements, put me into a cell. The same day, towards midnight, they came into the cell. I was blindfolded and taken out.

They told me to bend and walk. I walked.

They told me to get up, I got up.

They told me to crawl, I crawled.

Then they put me into a car and we drove for about 15 minutes on a roughly surfaced road. Then I bent down again, then I crawled again and eventually I entered a room I did not know.

Here were the Chief of Police Mazhar BULUT, the police officers whose names are given above and Hüseyin, graduate of the Faculty of Law and Director of the Smuggling and Ammunition of the Security Department.



They told me, "Look friend, you're lying. You are the regional representative of Dev-Yol in Yozgat. A policeman from the First Branch started beating me and they threatened to give me electric shocks again. I tried to resist for a while. I kept telling myself, the legally recognised statement is the one at the Office of the Public Prosecutor, so it is no use resisting, you'll only get beaten more. So I decided to 'talk'. I told them, "Stop and I'll talk."

Yes, I said, I am the regional representative of Dev-Yol. The police asked, who authorized you to do that? I said Vural Arikan. They said, he is a Minister. I said, Well, the Minister Vural Arikan is quite different from the Vural Arikan who authorized me. This one is the President of the Office Workers' Union. They were convinced and minuted these words.

The Chief of Police, Mazhar BULUT said, Well, well, well! And you deceived us all this time that you are a member of RPP and that you are against anarchy and so forth. We'll make you tell us more.

The Head of the First Branch, Hüseyin, said, He is a liar. You will also make him admit to TKP [Turkish Communist Party] membership and many other things. Then we'll get the whole of TKP as a chain reaction. With this order, he left.

This is how I became the leader of Dev-Yol upon the authorization of Vural Arikan. But that wasn't all. They asked me who my deputy was. I didn't know. I had to make up something. While doing that, I got beaten a little bit more. But at the end I called on my knowledge of the legal profession. There was a youth called Fahrettin Okur who was sentenced by the Military Court of the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command for Dev-Yol membership and activities. I made him my deputy!

Mehmet Er, lawyer, RPP Yerköy District Branch President between 1978 - 1980.

So, the police officers had the satisfaction of capturing the whole of the Dev-Yol organization in Yozgat and I had the satisfaction of getting away with a little less pressure and beatings.

The police officer Ahmet said, "Tell us about the situation in the villages of Çayıralan." I said "OK, I'll tell you."

Menteşe Village

"Sureyya Pehlivan was NAP candidate

"Hüseyin Kargı, JP candidate

Konuklar

Ilyas Irmak Adam died 3 years ago and one of the village heads from JP

Günyayla

Adem Şen, a JP militant since 1950

Deli Şakir, a JP militant since 1950

Şeref Cesur, a worker in Germany and he has right wing ideology

Asağı Tekke

The present village head is right wing

Avşaralanı

The present village head is a close friend of the Governor of Yozgat and he is a NAP militant.

That was the end of the Dev-Yol question.

Forming a Party with Madanoğlu

Police Chief Mazhar BULUT said "Now, you formed a party in 1976 with Cemal Madanoğlu, Doğan Avcıoğlu, İlhan Selçuk and Oktay Akbal. Tell us now about these activities.

Of course, my first reaction was to object and give my detailed reasons for objection. But it did not help. So I said, "OK" and started to tell them.

a) Where were the party meetings held? In the office of the newspaper Devrim (it was closed down in 1971) and in Milka sweet shop Where is that? In Kavaklıdere. Why did you choose this place? Well, the MILKA sweet shop is an important place. All political organizations and potential juntas are formed here. The late Talat Aydemir also decided in this very place to have a coup d'état.

b) Who else took part in the activities of the party?
İrfan Özeydinli. But he is a Minister. It doesn't matter.

He'll come to a very important post inside our Party.

Muhsin Batur.

And yet, in the Dev-Yol trial at the military court of the Martial Law Command, all the representatives of Dev-Yol had been established and documents confiscated. Despite this reality, they decided to make me, an RPP candidate for Senate and 47 years old, the provincial representative of an organization like Dev-Yol.

One of the police officers, Ahmet from Çankiri, asked me to tell them who is in the other districts. I said, I am only responsible in Çayiralan. I don't know about the other districts. The notorious bearded police officer of the First Branch said, You know it very well, now you tell us, too. An important person like you Şakir Keçeli will know everything. Tell us. And he kicked me in my stomach.

I said, stop, and started to tell them

[In the following pages which are omitted, Şakir Keçeli purports to give names and information about Dev-Yol, TKP and DISK (Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions)]

The policemen said: "You planned all the activities above, and ordered Fahrettin Okur to implement them. All the Dev-Yol defendants [suspects - tr.] acted upon your directive. The Dev-Yol detainees confessed to this."

I attempted to say that this was absurd, but with the fear of the punches - which direction they will come from is impossible to tell with a bandage on your eyes - I felt obliged to accept what they told me to. But even the sheer acceptance of these accusations didn't remove the absurdities:

1. Gunning of the house of Constable Ali Ocak

I said, as I was ordered, that Mehmet Öztürk's elder son had performed this task with a 16 mm Czech pistol upon my order; this is what the policemen put down as my statement. After a few days, I was taken to

interrogation again at about 2 am. They said: "You said that you had got Ali Ocak's house gunned, but Naşit DOĞAN, one of the criminals (the police used to say 'criminal' for 'suspect') says that it was bombed, not gunned, and that he bombed it together with a few others (I forgot their names). Why did you lie to us ?"

- "Is that so?" I said, "That should be correct then, it must have been bombed." "And it wasn't Mehmet Öztürk's son who bombed it?"

"That's right, I had ordered Naşit DOĞAN to bomb this house. It was bombed by Naşit DOĞAN on my order."

2. Bombing the house of Nafi Ertuğrul, MHP Branch President.

A person called Ali FUAT was tried at the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command Military Court; he accepted that he had gunned this house and stated that it had nothing to do with me. He made this statement in the police; eventually he was acquitted of this charge. For this reason, the court records are in total contradiction with my owning up to this crime. I explained this to the police officers but they were not prepared to be convinced; so I had to accept the accusation.

3. Gunning Nadir Aknur's house.

That house was not gunned but bombed; but it was impossible to convince the policemen of this. The person who did this was identified by the Martial Law.

4. Hüseyin Varol's death.

I was not in Çayiralan when this incident took place. The then civilian prosecutor, the then Chief Constable, the police officers Turan and Yusuf Gemici, Commander of the gendarme outpost Mustafa Polat have testified to this fact. Despite this, I was forced to say that I had been involved in this incident, and Naşit DOĞAN had killed Hüseyin Varol on my order. Furthermore, Naşit Doğan had been tried for this charge by the Military Court of the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command and was acquitted.

5. Cebraail's death.

No doubt, this was also a result of my orders! I had apparently found out that Özbay TOKAT was the killer, three days after the murder; because (apparently) he came to my garden three days after the killing and told me about this. The fact is, however, that Özbay TOKAT was detained

immediately after the killing, in the evening of the same day, so he could not possibly come to my garden three days later. Moreover, he was acquitted on this charge.

THE EVENTS LEADING TO HÜSEYİN VAROL'S MURDER ARE CLAIMED TO HAVE BEEN INITIATED ON MY ORDERS.

The police officers extracted confessions, to substantiate this claim, from me and other relevant persons. However, this event has been the subject of a trial at the Military Court of the 2nd Army and Martial Law Command. The court established the incident as the following in its verdict: One day, Mr. Necati BAŞGÜL, a militant from Ülkü Ocakları, enters a cafe where usually CHP followers attended, and shouts with a loud voice: "I am fasting, I am not communist like you, the bullets of communists cannot do any harm to me; anyone who challenges this can come outside ... " A turbulence was caused and the attack on the coffee shop started. A massive conflict broke out; and as a result of the gun fire opened by right wing militants a soldier lost his eyes, two police officers were injured and Hüseyin Varol died.

There were two witnesses arguing that Naşit DOĞAN had killed Hüseyin Varol, but the court established that it was impossible to kill Hüseyin Varol by firing from where those witnesses claimed Naşit DOĞAN had. Indeed, Naşit DOĞAN was acquitted of this charge.

I could be initiator of this killing (ie: with my order) only if the real initiator Necati BAŞGÜL were my man. But this person is an "Ülkücü". In order for me to be able to order him to cause trouble, I also must be an "Ülkücü" [i.e. member of a right-wing group].

So some of the actions in which I was forced to confess to have been involved have not taken place at all; the others which did take place have nothing to do with me. But, with the effect of beating, myself and all other suspects admitted to involvement in actions that had nothing to do with us

THIS IS HOW THE INTERROGATION OF THE FIRST DAY WAS. I WAS TAKEN BACK TO THE CELL, EYES COVERED, AT 4 am.

The next day, I was taken out from my cell at 2 pm and put in a Renault car. There was someone else in another car. I was asked not to look at this person and not to get to know him. We drove to Çayıralan in this way.

When we came to the junction with the road to Sarıkaya, Chief Constable Mazhar BULUT gathered the police officers and gave them some secret directives. I could hear things like "Don't make any noise, do whatever you need until you get the rifle ... " After this, the Chief Constable went in the direction of Boğazlıyan; we, to Çayıralan. In the meantime I saw that the person in the other car was Hacı (TEKİN) Uslu. The policemen were saying things like "home", "his wife", etc. I deduced that my wife would be taken and tortured to reveal the rifle. I decided to commit suicide as soon as I got the opportunity. I would ask the policemen to take me home too, and I would plunge the knife in my heart. We came to Çayıralan. The policemen tied me up to a radiator pipe with a handcuff. I said to the policemen: "Look, if you're going to my house, let me come with you because my wife may resist you if I am not there. I will convince her to tell you what she knows".

The police constable said "OK, if what you say happens". I asked the guard on watch for a tea. He was a native of Çayıralan and knew me well. He didn't mind bringing me a glass of tea. I broke the glass and cut my left wrist at three places. It started bleeding from somewhere near my left elbow. The constable (the one from Pazarcık) came in while dealing with the others. He said: "What's wrong, you don't look well?" I said I was all right. But he took my arm and saw the blood. They brought the doctor of Çayıralan and prevented the suicide. My main motive was the fear of torture and particularly the possibility of my wife being tortured.

On the last day of the detention, the police officers called me and ordered: "You will write a statement for us, you'll say that you were frightened by the activists of the organization and for that reason you attempted to commit suicide. You were frightened because - you'll say -

all other suspects swore at you." I wrote these too by force. The fact, however, was that I had not even seen the other suspects.

WHY DID THEY BRING HACI TEKIN USLU ALONG ?

Apparently, H. Tekin Uslu, failing to bear the torture any more told the policemen that he - even he and me together - had buried the sten automatic pistol in my apple garden. He even said that it was buried beneath the 18th tree. They took two of us to my apple garden. Constable Mazhar (who had come together with Seyfi Berk from Boğazlıyan) turned to me and said:

- Şakir Keçeli, I understand that a sten automatic rifle has been buried here. Find it.
- Sir, let us bring 8 - 10 tractors from the village and dig the garden to uproot all 640 trees perhaps we can find it if it is really there. If you ask me, this is nothing but a slander.

This time he turned to Tekin Uslu:

- Haci, you tell them He said:
- My constable, he said, I told a lie in order to stop torture, to gain time.
- Haci, what a maniac you are, aren't you? said the constable and turned to me and told me to call the garden's watchman which I did. He asked the watchman:
- Do you keep a gun?
- I used to, said the watchman, but I returned it to the authorities after 12th September. If you want I can bring the receipt from my village. At the moment, I have a licensed hunting rifle.
- Give us the guns Şakir Keçeli gave you.
- Sir, Şakir Keçeli is not the sort of person who would deal with firearms. I have never seen him with a gun, said the watchman.

The officers asked whether to take the watchman. The constable told them to leave him alone saying that he was a stupid person. And we all went to Çayıralan Security Directorate.

There, the constable said to me: "Seyfi Berk does not give the sten. You convince him. Otherwise it will be very bad for you; and took me to Seyfi Berk. I told Seyfi Berk: "Give this bloody gun to them and save me from torture".

He said: "Brother Şakir, I like you, you are a great man, but you act childishly. I have not taken a machine rifle from you and I do not have it. I cannot produce it even if I was killed under torture. But I have an idea. Let us go to my village. I will beg them. If there is such a gun I am sure they will give it for my sake."

So we went to Fahrli village. All the villagers came along. Headman, watchmen of the village and an NCO and two soldiers from gendarmerie in Çayıralan were there. There were also policemen. He (Seyfi Berk) explained briefly what we wanted. He said that he had not been given any sten or anything like it by me and that he would not know where one could be found, and that he himself and I had done good work for the village in the past. So, if they could find a rifle in return both of us would be saved from torture.

Neither Seyfi nor I had to go out of the car because we did not know where this thing could be found, if at all. So there was no point. The villagers were spread out to the fields. We waited about three hours in the car. In the end, a teenager found an old rusty rifle buried in a field.

At night we came to Yozgat and I was taken to interrogation at midnight with a bandage over my eyes. I was instructed to say the following: "The machine gun we found belongs to the organization and I gave it to Baki Aydoğan in the first week of May 1981 and then he gave it to Ömer Ata. Then he returned it to me the same day. Then I took it to Fahrli village with my red Renault car to give it to Seyfi Berk."

I said: "Sir, this scenario is not very consistent logically. Çayıralan is not a big place, not longer than 500 meters in length.



I see Baki Aydoğan outside my office and I ask him to take something to Ömer Ata. Why? Ata's shop is only 50 meters away, I'd normally bring myself. Furthermore, I take the gun from him 5 minutes later. Why should I? I would directly take it to Fahrli myself. According to your scenario, we are not involved in a secret organization but in a child's game. This is far from convincing." But it was them who wrote the scenario, not us. We had only to play our parts as required. So we did; we, all three of us, accepted the accusations as described.

"THE SPEAR WAS STILL TOO BIG TO GO INTO THE SACK"; because

- a) I did not have a red Renault car in 1981, I had sold it in 1980.
- b) In the first week of May 1981 I was in detention in Akdağmadeni - Yozgat.

Why then had the police to stretch its logic in such a way to cause such inconsistencies?

- If they said 1979, we would get shorter sentences and there is no reason to bury the gun in 1980;
- In the summer and autumn of 1981 Ömer Ata was in Ankara; after having shut his shop in Çayiralan;
- 1982, '83, '84 not possible, because Seyfi Berk is under arrest for murder.

So the only gap was the first week of May 1981. This is the story of our organization's machine gun.

ON THE OTHER HAND

Some of the bullet shells from the guns used in Çayiralan are in the hands of the police. The Court will easily reveal that those shells won't fit the gun mentioned above. If you ask me how do I know, I'd say, yes, I do know because the "organization" had nothing to do with this gun and in fact, that organization does not exist in Çayiralan.

THE STATEMENTS CHANGE AGAIN

The next day I was taken to interrogation again. The Constable Mazhar Bulut:

- You, Şekir Keçeli, you deceived us.
- Why? I said.
- Apparently Zeki Baştımar died 13 years ago, why did you tell us so?
- Well, I have nothing to do with the TKP, how would I know?
- If you are not from the TKP, how did you know the name Zeki Baştımar?
- Anyone on the left in Turkey knows this name. Knowing that is not the proof of being from the TKP.
- How about Atilla Sav, Müm'taz Soysal, Bahri Savci ... Are these from TKP?
- No Sir, these are all intellectuals on democratic left.
- Why, then, did you tell us differently?
- You asked me to tell the leaders of the TKP. I did not know. These names happened to come to my mind and I just said them.
- MIT officers warned us and told that you were deceiving us. So, we shall have to delete these names.

So that part of the statement was deleted.

- Is Vural Arikan, the one who appointed you local Dev-Yol organizer, is this a real name or made up name or did you 'just spell out a name'.
- There is a real trade unionist called this.
- But we shall delete this part as well. It has undesired connotations [meaning the former cabinet minister Vural Arikan - tr].
- The name of the party you founded in 1979 together with Madanoğlu, Avcıoğlu, Akbal and Selçuk, what was its name?
- It was "Communist Homeland Party"
- We do not like it very much either. We'll delete this.
- OK Sir

So we wrote the statement anew.

VERY INTERESTING.

A television crew was brought to Yozgat from the General Directorate of Security. We were asked to read our statements in front of the cameras. We read the text as it was written. But the above-mentioned amendments had been done in the text, so we read it without them. If this tape can be found, the officers will be proved to have forced the detainees to make false statements.

At the same interrogation, I was asked to tell how I registered "Ömer Ata as a member of TKP. There was not such a thing. I told them so. An officer from the First Branch started to punch my stomach and my back. "You must accept, they said, "Ömer Ata told everything." I said "OK, I got him registered."

This time they turned to the registration ceremony:

- Which street in Ankara did you take "Ömer to?
- How can I know? There are thousands of streets in Ankara.
- You know, man, they said and a few punches came.
- Why do you keep hitting me, with a blindfold over my eyes?
You tell me what you want me to say, I will say Yes!
- Was it Karanfil Sokak? [Carnation Street - tr]?
- Yes, yes. I remember, that was it.
- Which building?
- How would I know? It is a long street
- You do know (beatings)
- Don't you know Karacaöğlü sweet shop?
- That's right, I took "Ömer Ata upstairs.
- Which floor?
- To the first floor
- (Beating) Take the lift, man.
- Fourth floor? (beating again)
- Fifth (beating again)
- Sixth? (that's fine)
- OK. Who was the person registering "Ömer in the Party?

I was puzzled. I could say any name. But when it differed from what "Omer Ata had told them, I would be beaten again.

- You tell me, I don't remember the names very well.
- Do you know Asaf Gören?
- Yes, he was the secretary of our cell.
- Ismail Aydın?
- Yes, chairman of the cell.
- Did they register "Omer Ata?
- Yes, they did.
- What was in the room?
- It was a lawyer's office. There were chairs, desk, typewriter and a portrait of Yilmaz Güney.
- How did you persuade "Omer to this?
- I said to him "Look "Omer, you are a man of trade. When TKP forms the government, we shall give you lots of credit from the banks. Also, we shall favour you in government contracts. Only TKP can save our country." "Omer was persuaded and accepted to register.

So this part of the scenario was completed. But

THE STATEMENT CAME BACK FROM MIT:

The next day, at about lunchtime, I was taken from my cell with a blindfold on my eyes. We passed through the crowds filling the Directorate of Security in Yozgat. Many of them must have recognised me. Because I know at least 20 thousand people in Yozgat. This is how I was taken to Tuzkaya police station. First I was interrogated in a dark, but very hot place. The interrogators sounded very competent and very kind to me. For this reason, I reckoned that they were from the MIT. I could even recognise the voice of one of them. They asked me about TKP and said:

- Şakir Keçeli, you are either a good actor or a liar. Tell us which is correct.
- Sir, I have been put in the position of a liar. I am none of these.

- Leave it, it does not interest us anyway. But tell us about Asaf and Ismail Aydin.
- I know neither of them. I understand that Omer Ata gave these names. I know two Ismail Aydins. Both of them are lawyers. One of them is an RPP MP from Uşak, the other is from Sivas. I know both of them as Ismail Aydin.
- OK. Take the detainee away!
- Sir, I wish you do all the interrogations.
- This is not our job; we listened to you only for information.

TAKEN UPSTAIRS

STATEMENT ALTERED YET AGAIN:

Chief Constable (to me):

- My friend, you keep making our job difficult.
- In what way Sir?
- What would you say for Hücre [cell] in the Party?
- My Constable; although I am from the TKP, I am, in fact, leading Dev-Yol with TKP's instructions. If the terminology has changed, please tell me.
- You should say Committee for Cell
- If that is so, let it be.
- Do you say registering with the Party or something else?
- I am afraid I don't know this either.
- You should use the term "Partileştirmek" [to render of the party].
- All right.

So, we took the first lesson on TKP in the First Branch in Yozgat and learned what the words "Komite" and "Partileştirme" meant. Certainly police officers also learned along with us.

Someone entered the room during the interrogation. He was the Director of Security in Yozgat. He gave a long lecture there. I don't need to mention what he said. But the important part of our talk was this:

- How long do you think you'll be sentenced for? he asked.
- I think 15 years under Article 168/1 of the Turkish Penal Code, Sir.
(I wouldn't dare to say that I would not be sentenced at all. If I said that they would start to create new charges. Because it was quite clear that they were not after a criminal but getting me sentenced.)
- Not very bad, you won't serve longer than seven years, he said and went on:
- Listen well Şakir Keçeli, you'd better repeat this statement when you go to the court. If you do not do that, we'll detain you again with the authority provided by the Law on Police Duties and Powers. You have not been tortured very much because you were only a suspect. This time you will be our personal enemy and subject yourself to ruthless torture, we may even kill you under torture.

I tried to argue a little bit. Then I said "All right, Sir" and closed the issue.

I recognize the voice of the Director of Security in Yozgat; I can tell his voice even when my eyes are covered.

We were brought to the court. I told all these at the court and got them recorded in the minutes one by one.

(Signed)

Şakir Keçeli