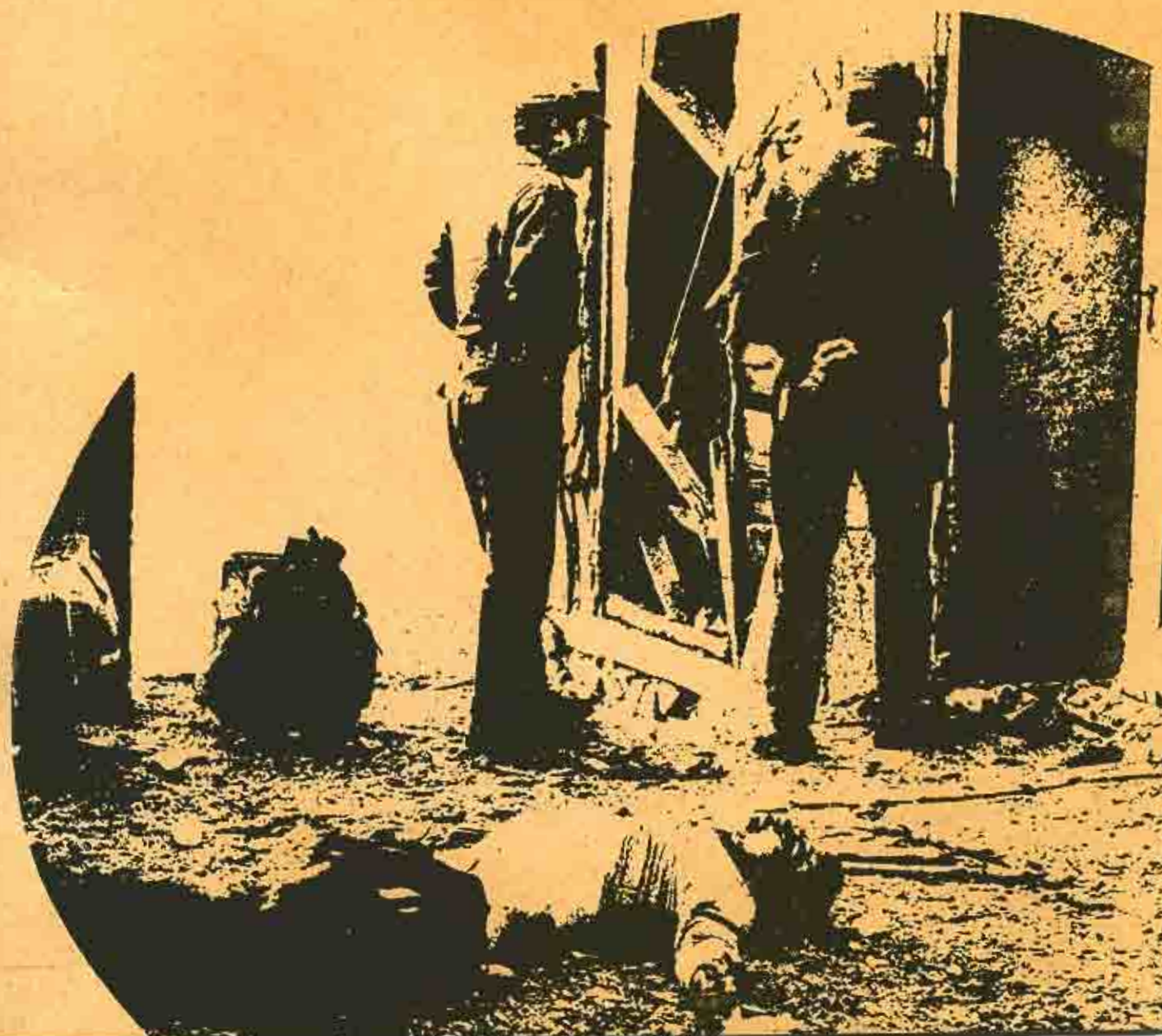


# File on Turkey

DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE OF TURKEY



# FILE ON TURKEY

Military Rule in Turkey  
The Staff of the Military Rule  
Fascism Under the Guise of Parliamentary Democracy  
The Violation of the Constitution  
Tortures Applied to Political Prisoners  
The Illegal Trials Before the Military Courts  
Man Hunts and Mass Arrests  
Execution of Death Sentences  
The Oppression of the Working Class  
The Oppression of the Kurdish People  
Violation of Freedom of Press, Opinion and Arts  
The Oppression of Teachers  
Turkish Military Rule and the Foreign Press

AUGUST 1972

## P R E F A C E

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

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

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

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

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

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

5. The teacher's unions have been banned, hundreds of teachers and university professors arrested and are being tried by the military

courts of martial law. The autonomy of the universities has been abolished by changing the Constitution.

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

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

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

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

But the military rule has not been satisfied even by the "sledgehammer operation" undertaken by Erim's governments and appointed a well-known McCarthyist, Ferit Melen, as prime minister. One of his first decisions was to charge one of the state ministries with the task of "fighting against communism". Since this appointment, the man-hunt operation has worsened day by day. Detainees and prisoners are deprived of seeing their lawyers and families. They are kept in strict isolation and also being brutally tortured.

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

The Democratic Resistance of Turkey is a movement which includes the anti-fascist forces of Turkey. It aims:

1. To prevent death sentences, tortures and ill-treatments;
2. To free all political prisoners;
3. To put an end to the Martial Law;
4. To restore the Constitution of 1961 and to annul all anti-democratic laws passed after March 12, 1971;

5. To liquidate the hegemony of the United States and its collaborators, who impose and back the "parliamentary" and military fascism in Turkey.

In this volume, the emphasis is on the objective descriptions of the economic, social and political sources of this fascist rule, its staff, the role of the so-called "parliament"; the oppression of the working class, the intellectuals, the press, teachers, university professors, youth and peasantry; the man-hunts, the mass arrests, the tortures and the illegitimate trials by the military courts.

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

An effort has been made to make the volume as comprehensive as possible. But it has been necessary to mention the concrete pressures to which the working class, the intellectuals and teachers were subjected since 1965, the year the Justice Party (AP) came to power. Because the infraction of the Constitution, the oppression of the democratic forces were started by the Justice Party (AP), representing the interests of the United States and the ruling circles. The more the repressions increased, the more the resistance of the democratic forces and of the masses was strengthened; and it was because the AP was unable to overcome the resistance and to change the democratic Constitution that the military rule was imposed on March 12, 1971. The military coup d'etat is the second stage of the fascist course which had already started under the mask of "parliamentary government" in 1965. It is even possible that after liquidating all democratic forces and principal rights and freedoms the military-backed government may organize a so-called "election" and bring the Justice Party to power again. In order not to be deceived, world opinion should know of the murders and crimes committed during the Justice Party's previous term in power. Even if the Justice Party were to come to power again, the real power would still be in the hands of the National Security Council and the veiled military rule will continue in a so-called "democratic" life without constitutional guarantees and institutions, without left-wing parties, without a free press.

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

Turkey is also a member of the United Nations.

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

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

Besides this volume, a detailed list of the victims detained or arrested since the beginning of the Martial Law is being

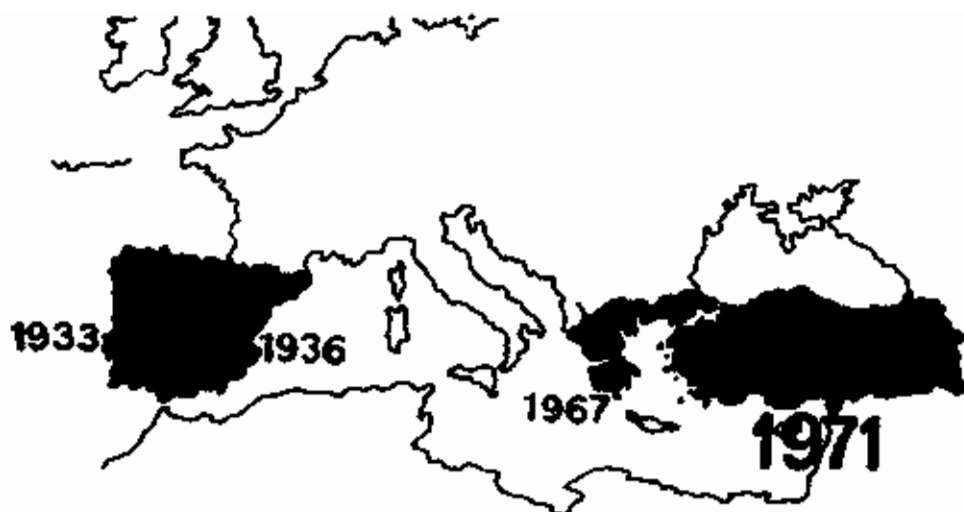
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issued separately by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey and will be presented to the appropriate international bodies.

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

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

DEMOCRATIC RESISTANCE  
OF TURKEY



### COUNTRY SUMMARY

1. **COUNTRY:** Republic of Turkey. Title adopted in 1923 after the former name Ottoman Empire, was abolished.
2. **SIZE:** Area, 300.600 square mile; 9.800 square mile in Europe and 290.800 square mile in Asia. Greatest north-south distance 395 mile; greatest east-west distance, about 950 miles.
3. **TOPOGRAPHY:** Five natural regions: the Aegean Coastlands, denseley populated plateau in European Turkey; the Black Sea Region, steep and rocky coast covered with lush vegetation; Mediterranean Coastlands, plains rich in agricultural resources; Central Plateau, arid grazing area; and Eastern Highlands, rugged country with severe climate.
4. **CLIMATE:** Contrasting climates: warm, temperate Mediterranean; cold, rainy Caucasus, desert and steppe running from the Sahara to Central Asia.
5. **POPULATION:** About 37 million; annual growth rate, 2.6%. Density about 110 per square mile; approximately 40 % of the total population live in urban area. Major peoples of Turkey are Turks, Kurds and Arabs. Non-Moslem minorities, including Greeks, Armenians and Jews, for 1% of the total population. Approximately 700 thousand persons have migrated to the developed European countries as workers.
6. **LANGUAGES:** Official language, Turkish, spoken by 90% of the population. Other principal languages: Kurdish, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Caucasian, Ladino and Yiddish.
7. **RELIGION:** No official religion, but 98% of the population are Moslem. Other religions include Judaism and Christianity.
8. **EDUCATION:** Literacy rate, 48% in 1965. Only 73% of primary-age students have schools to attend, and many of these are schools in which one teacher must handle several classes on different levels. 13 thousand villages have no schools. Less than 20% of Turkish students can expect to reach first-cycle secondary education (junior high), some 8% of these reach second-cycle secondary education (lycée), and about 6% of these attain higher education.

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9. **HEALTH:** Crude birth rate in 1968, approximately 43 per 1,000; crude death rate in 1965, approximately 10 to 12 per 1,000. Infant mortality rate in 1960-64 estimated as 165 per 1,000 live births. Principal diseases: Trachoma (0.5 per 1,000), tuberculosis (2.5 per 1,000), measles, influenza, whooping cough, typhoid-paratyphoid, malaria, infectious hepatitis, scarlet fever, diphtheria, gonorrhoea, syphilis, leprosy, poliomyelitis. The ratio of hospital beds to population is 2.3 per 1,000. The overall doctor to population ratio is 1 to 3,200. But two-thirds are practicing in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, where only 5% of the total population live. The rural villages with two-thirds of the population are served by about 15% of doctors.
10. **ECONOMY:** Predominantly agricultural. Economy is one of mixed private and public enterprise with a growing commercial and industrial sector. Industry contributed 19% of the gross national product in 1971. Over 60% of those engaged in manufacturing worked in establishments employing less than 10 people; remainder worked mostly for state economic enterprises. In the last years the private sector established some industrial mills in collaboration with foreign capital. But the foreign capital is invested in manufacturing consumer goods, only 20% of it is invested in heavy industry. Furthermore, the ratio of profit transfer to foreign capital investment is 143.7%. Main industrial products are pig iron, ingots and steel for casting, sheets, pipes, sulphuric acid, ammonium sulphate, cement, coke, bottles, glass manufactures, paper, super phosphate, cotton yarn, woolen yarn, sugar, tobacco, alcohol, rubber, etc. Major minerals: Coal, iron, chromium. The total foreign debt is 3,000 million dollars, the interest and servicing charges amount to 1,000 million dollars. The foreign debts are proportional to 40% of the national income.
11. **AGRICULTURE:** Accounts for about 33% of the gross national product. Cereals constitute about 35% of total agricultural output while livestock products account for about 30%. Another 20% came from the main export crops which are tobacco, cotton, hazelnuts and dried grapes. About 85% of the nation's exports originate in the agricultural sector. Only 22% of total land area is under crops during one year. While 90% of the population in the agricultural sector receives only 42% of the agricultural income, 10% of this population appropriates 58%. About 95% of the farm families own their own farms, but about three quarters of these holdings are less than 12 acres, with the average holding 7 acres. Consequently, the majority of the peasantry do not own sufficient land to support their families. Many of them have to rent additional land or to be engaged in supplementary money-earning activities, or abandon their villages and migrate to big cities or to European countries.
12. **LABOUR:** Force estimated to be 15 million in 1970 or 38% of the total population and 70% of the population ages 15 and over. In 1970, approximately 64% of the working force was engaged in agriculture and related pursuits, 13% in manufacturing. Only 1,404, 816 of the working population are registered by the Social Security Foundation, others have no social security. The number of unemployed was 2 million in 1971. 400,000 persons enter the labour market each year, of whom 250,000 are able to find work in the agricultural sector, but the remaining 150,000 are unemployed. Within the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens.



13. NATIONAL INCOME: The annual income is about 10.000 million dollars. This was distributed as follows in 1967: Agriculture, forestry and fishing 36.1%, mining, manufacturing and utilities 18.2%, construction 6.5%, commerce 8.3%, transport and communications 7.4%, financial institutions 2.9%, public services and administration 10.2%; others including net income from abroad 10.4%. The per capita national income is 321 dollars. Furthermore, the distribution of national income is so far from social justice that the maximum individual income is 10.000 times greater than the minimum. While 20% of the population receives 57% of the national income, 80% of the population, the toiling masses, receives only 43%.
14. HOUSING: 45% of the population of Ankara, 21% of that of Istanbul and 18% of that of Izmir live in shanty towns built overnight. 16% of 5.544.000 families all over Turkey live in a single room used for eating, sleeping and cooking. 40% of all dwellings are without kitchens, 26% without sewage disposal facilities, 55% without running water and washing facilities. Electric power reached only 30% of the people. Only 2.4% of the villages have the electricity.
15. NUTRITION: The daily per capita caloric intake is 3.110, largely in the form of carbohydrates. The daily per capita cereals consumption is 611 grams, while it is 398 grams in Greece. On the contrary the daily per capita meat consumption is only 37 grams while it is 85 grams in Greece. Meat and milk are scarce during most months of the year and is normally considered as a luxury.
16. ARMED FORCES: Consist of army, navy and air force. The military establishment, comprised of an army of 425.000 men, an air force of 50.000; and a navy of 39.000. All these units are under the command of U.S. generals as a result of Turkey's membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). More than 20% of the total budget is devoted to military purposes. This sum is about 5% of the gross national product and higher than the expenditures for education and health. All male citizens over the age of 20 are obliged to perform military duty for 20 months.

## BACKGROUND OF THE MILITARY RULE

Since March 12, 1971 Turkey has been ruled by a fascist-type military regime. Once again, this time in Turkey, the United States and its local collaborators have resorted to the same methods it used four years ago in Greece, another southern European country. According to the generals, the reason for the coup d'etat and the subsequent terror was that the state was endangered and threatened with "anarchy". It will be remembered that the colonels of Greece had also claimed this justification for their coup d'etat of 1967.

The real reason for each of the coup d'etats is to guarantee the interests of the United States and local ruling circles in the area. In order to protect its military, economic and political hegemony over the south-eastern part of Europe, the United States had organized and backed the military coup d'etat in Greece in 1967. At that time Turkey was already under the rule of the pro-American Justice Party (AP), and there was not any serious anxiety on their part because the AP, when it had come to power in 1965 by a great majority and declared that it would modify the Constitution of 1961, abolish all democratic rights and liberties and establish an order in favor of the US and its local collaborators. But the left-wing organizations, the democratic forces, the constitutional institutions, the universities and the press resisted the AP's anti-democratic program and its unconstitutional legislation and executions. This resistance movement against the hegemony of the United States over Turkey spread to all corners of Turkey and gained support from the masses, hit by the social collapse. However, during the period of last ten years the capitalization has gained an impetus, Turkey has still remained one of the poorest and most under-developed countries of the world: Per capita national income still only 321 dollars a year; more than 60% of the population still in the agricultural sector; more than 50% of the population still illiterate. As an ally of the United States in NATO and CENTO, Turkey has been obliged to devote more than 20% of its budget to military purposes. While 90% of the population in the agricultural sector received only 42% of the agricultural income, 10% of this population was appropriating 58%. This unjust distribution of wealth and national income has been one of the main reasons for the social explosion in Turkey.

In order to crackdown on the mass resistance the Justice Party in power took many unconstitutional measures, increased the police and commando forces, tolerated the formation of armed fascist bands, arrested many intellectuals and youth leaders, forbade worker strikes, used the military forces against the workers, youth and poor peasants... During the period of the Justice Party power, more than forty defenders of the constitution were murdered, one by one, by either police forces or rightist bands.

Furthermore, in 1970, having completed its preparations and entered the transitional phase of the Common Market, the big bourgeoisie began to pry loose the framework of the social and political order which it found too narrow for its own aims. Keeping step with increasingly restrictive anti-labour measures, the Demirel Government passed legislation facilitating financing, devaluating the Turkish pound and attracting foreign investments. But even the Justice Party, which basically represented that same big industrial bourgeoisie in Parliament, was no longer able to satisfy the pressing demands of the big capital. On the contrary, the measures adopted in 1970 to partially satisfy the needs of the big bourgeoisie merely provoked very strong reactions on the part of the masses.

Since the Justice Party could neither stop mass resistance against the US hegemony nor answer the demands of the big bourgeoisie, the military commanders forced Demirel's government to resign by issuing a harsh ultimatum on March 12, 1971. The military junta consisting of armed forces commanders also threatened all the political parties with the same ultimatum, forcing them to give up the parliamentary system and accept all the extraordinary measures imposed by the Armed Forces.

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

This was the background for the coup which the army high command carried out on March 12, 1971 at the behest of finance-capital. It was this military industrial complex which forced the government to resign and replaced it with a government of technocrats.

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

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

Dream of Westernization!

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

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

There are internal and external reasons.

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

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

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

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

Furthermore, the Ottoman Empire had granted some privileges to the Western countries. Subsequent Western influence in the Empire was marked by a treaty between Suleiman the Magnificent and Francis I of France in 1545. What began as a concession from an empire at the height of its power evolved into the extensive system of capitulations. These capitulations gave the European powers commercial and financial privileges and were extended from time to time, notably to Great Britain (1579), Austria (1615), Holland (1680), and Sweden (1737). In 1830 the United States and Turkey signed a treaty containing a "most favored nation" clause.

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

Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, Russia, Great Britain, Germany, France and Austria-Hungary were concerned with the Eastern question.

In essence the Eastern question involved the decline of the Ottoman Empire, and the anticipated benefit that each western state expected to derive from the steady weakening of the Ottoman state.

### Superficial Reforms in 19th Century

By the second half of the 18th century the succession of failures, primarily military, had convinced the Ottoman bureaucracy of the need for reform within the Empire. The leading group in these reform efforts was the military. The Ottomans first looked to Western Europe for new ideas after the military power shifted in favor of the up-to-date forces of the European powers.

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

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

This treaty was followed by the Gülhane Hatti Hümayunu (Noble Edict of Gülhane) in 1839. This edict, prepared by Sadrazam Mustafa Reşid Pasha under the pressure of the British Government, promised further reforms in order to guarantee the interests of Western countries.

Moreover, during the reign of Abdülaziz new debt treaties had been signed. In 1881, Dünyu Umumiye (Council of Administration of the Ottoman Public Debt) was created at the instigation of the European powers.

It is very well known that the Western states forced the Ottoman Empire to become indebted. Just prior to World War I the debt totaled a little over 700 million dollars; in 1912, 30% of the imperial budget was allocated to payments to the Dünyu Umumiye. On the other hand, during the reign of Abdülhamid II, German influence greatly increased. Germans won a 99-year concession for Berlin-to-Bagdad railroad construction from the Sultan in 1902. The financial position of the Empire was not substantially improved in this period.

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

The despotic rule of Abdülhamid II created huge internal and external reaction in time. The European powers particularly disliked his pan-islamic methods of dealing with nationalist currents among the christian minorities. The repressive policy also fostered disaffection, especially among those educated in the Westernized schools, such as the military officers. And in 1908 these western-minded army officers, the Young Turks, revolted and established the Constitutional Government (Meşrutiyet)

The Young Turks' primary concern was to strengthen the Empire and to prevent territorial losses. This concern led to an emphasis on Ottomanism, but they were under the influence of German imperialism and the interests of Germany required that the Ottoman Empire fight in the First World War. This cadre hastened the collapse of the Empire by drawing it into the World War and the country was surrendered to the Allies by signing the armistice at Mondros, in 1918.

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

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

#### Independence War (1919-1922)

The future of Turkey was not bright when the armistice was signed at Mondros. Secret wartime treaties among the Allies provided for the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. None of the leaders of the victorious powers was interested in preserving the Empire. The Empire was in ruins. The Allies, who planned to take under their own control, the natural resources of the Middle East, occupied parts of the Empire, including the capital. In addition, the United States was trying to establish its own mandate over Turkey in this territory, and many eminent Turkish intellectuals, including Colonel Ismet (Inönü), adhered to this plan.

But in spite of these imperialist plans and treasons, a national independence struggle was launched in the form of guerilla fights all over Anatolia. With the mass participation of workers, peasants and the patriotic wing of petit-bourgeoisie, the guerilla fights soon turned into an unprecedented popular struggle. In Western Anatolia, the guerilla leader Çerkez Ethem created a popular liberation army under the name of Kuvvai Seyyare (Mobile Forces). Besides, some young Ottoman generals as Ali Fuat Pasha, Kazım Karabekir Pasha began to form resistance groups and to mobilize their units in central and eastern Anatolia.

Care was taken to assure legitimacy to the liberation movement and to involve as many people as possible in struggle. After the mobilization of popular forces, Mustafa Kemal Pasha, the aide-de-camp of the Sultan, was sent by the Istanbul Government to Anatolia to supervise the disbanding of the Turkish forces, but after arriving in Anatolia on May 19, 1919, he took part in the national liberation war. As a skillful commander, Mustafa Kemal's participation became an important step in organizing all the liberation forces. Thus, on July 23, 1919 a nationalist congress met at Erzurum in response to a call from the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia (Anadolu Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti). After the Sivas Congress, on September 4, the group became the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia (Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti). The Sivas Congress voiced its loyalty to the Sultan-Caliph, but pledged to maintain the integrity of the nation. It adopted a six-point National Pact.

(Milli Misak), which defined the objectives of the nationalist movement that were not open to compromise.

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

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

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

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

But with the approach of victory, the representatives of the newly developing bourgeoisie and the land-owners used the Ottoman pashas to eliminate the guerilla leaders, destroy the socialist organizations, and assassinate in the Black Sea Mustafa Suphi, the leader of the Communist Party of Turkey, and his fourteen friends.

This was the result of the fact that in spite of the mass participation of working class and peasantry in the national liberation war, the First Grand National Assembly were chiefly composed of land-owners, merchants, theocrats and high-ranking military and civil bureaucrats. The majority of the people, i.e. peasants and workers, were not represented in Parliament. During the struggle for independence, there were also two political groups in the Grand National Assembly and a struggle for political power, but both groups were also the representatives of the ruling classes. The handful of left-minded deputies were immediately liquidated. Mustafa Kemal Pasha, as the Chairman of the Grand National Assembly, was effecting a compromise between two political wings of the ruling classes.

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

After the victory, in the Lausanne Conference, the National Pact of 1919 was the basis for the Turkish negotiating position; in fact, all of the provisions in the pact were recognized in the treaty concluded on July 23, 1923 by Turkey, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia. The United States also participated in the conference but did not sign the treaty.

Republic or Single Party Dictatorship (1923-1938)

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

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

The leaders of the Kemalist movement were in fact, the inheritors of the old champions of "Westernization" - Tanzimat, New Ottomans, Young Turks, Ittihad Terakki, etc. Many of their dreams, such as superficial reforms, the creation of a bourgeoisie, the imposing of a nationalist ideology, could be realized by the Kemalists. Moreover, the Kemalists were fed by the influence of German nazism and Italian fascism.

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

Indeed, at a time when the armed struggle for national independence was not yet over, the National Assembly had already voted new tax levies on the poor peasantry. At the end of the struggle, not only were the promised land reforms shunted aside, but the commanding officers appropriated to themselves - with the political backing of the National Assembly - thousands of hectares of land, thus becoming large-scale landowners who, at a later stage and than thanks to state aid, were able to found banks. They thus created the "national bourgeoisie" - a century-old dream - by turning themselves into big capitalists.

As a result of the Big Depression of 1929, the Turkish bourgeoisie was



not able to find foreign capital anxious to invest in Turkey; it was thus obliged to adopt the economic policy of autarchy (devletcilik) in order to strengthen itself.

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

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

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

During the period of 1923-1938 the bourgeoisie was able to accumulate capital at the workers' and peasants' expense, and the number of factories reached 1087; in 1939 industrial production rose to 331 million Turkish pounds. From only 76,216 in 1921, the number of workers increased to 266,000 in 1938.

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

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

The Republican People's Party, which had been under the undebatable

authority of the "Eternal Chief", after his death in 1938 fall into the hands of the "National Chief" İsmet İnönü who likewise held undebatable authority. Censorship was established to clamp down on the press. The period during which the Republican People's Party considered itself to be both the State and the People was of darkest in Turkey's more recent history and continued until 1946. In this period a great terror hung over liberals, democrats and socialist intellectuals. All the varied movements of the people had been crushed, and the dictatorship of one single party reigned supreme. Yet a so-called parliament continued to exist while these repressions were in force.

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

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

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

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

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

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

But after a short period, both the DP and the CHP agreed to crush

these first attempts at an opening up to the left; the two socialist parties and the trade-unions were dissolved and the socialist intelligentsia once more imprisoned. A parliamentary, multi-party system, yes; but only for the representatives of the ruling classes. A so-called "democracy", but without the Left! Here is the basic speciality of the parliamentary system which began in 1908 and which has continued to the present day.

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

### U.S. Hegemony and D.F. Power (1946-1960)

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

It was by exploiting the dissatisfaction of the masses, unconscious of their class interests, that the Democratic Party gained an overwhelming majority of votes and came to power in 1950. The period of 1950-60, during which the Democratic Party ruled the country, is an important turning point for Turkey from the point of view of its socio-economic development. The share of industry in the GNP rose from 10.3% to 17.2% in this period. The number of the working places reached to 31919 in 1960 while it was 9865 in 1950 and the number of the workers registered by the Social Security Foundation rose to 620,900 from 342,000 in the same period. At the same time, the process of industrialization of agriculture leaped forward: Within the space of ten years the number of tractors rose from 16,585 to 42,136 and the area of mechanically exploited land grew from 1,250,000 to 3,160,000 hectares. The urban population, likewise, increased from 25% to 31.5% of the population.

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

In the diplomatic field, Turkey was depended on the foreign policy of the US and became a member of Bagdad Pact whose purpose was to crush the national liberation movements in the Middle East. In the United Nations, Turkey became a most obedient servant of the US and always took a position against the national liberation movements. Even on the Cyprus Problem, the attitude of the DP governments were in favor of imperialism. After the Second World War, in Cyprus, just as in other colonies, the Greek originated people had started to fight against the British domination. But the leadership of

the Turkish community have behaved as the British agents against the independence war and created a superficial hostility between two communities of the island. They were supported enthusiastically also by the DP power. By exploiting the nationalistic feelings and the superficial "hostility" between two communities, the British Government instigated two people against each other and succeeded to create an unrest and to keep its own interests on the island. These everlasting conflicts between two communities have affected also the internal politics of the neighbour countries and both the Greek and the Turkish governments have also exploited the Cyprus problem in order to gain vote support from the unconscious masses.

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

In 1954 the Democratic Party guaranteed legal protection for foreign capitalist investing in Turkey by passing the Law for the Encouragement of Foreign Capital Investment. This enactment and several subsequent laws defined the conditions and objectives for inviting foreign capital; provided for certain safeguards and facilities permitting repatriation of capital and profits. This legislation applies to agriculture, industry and commerce. The Minerals Law permits foreign capital to participate with collaborating local enterprises in mining operations, and for the first time allows the exploitation of minerals by foreigners. The Petroleum Law allows foreign companies to explore and exploit their findings for a period of 40 years.

In the industrial field, the Democratic Party decided to sell all the installations owned by the public sector to the private sector and to liberalize foreign trade. Foreign capital, totally 103 million dollars between 1951 and 1960, was invested not in the heavy industry but only in the manufacture of consumer goods or to the montage industry. Furthermore, the ratio of profit repatriation to foreign capital investment reached to 135% in 1957 while it was only 0.6% in 1953.

Turkey's foreign trade deficit reached 147,4 million dollars in 1960, whereas it had been only 46 million dollars in 1950, and foreign debts mounted to 756 million dollars.

On the other hand as a result of capitalization, shanty towns began to appear all around the outskirts of such big cities as Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Adana. Faced with an increasingly numerous working class, the United States felt the need to bring this class completely under its control and hence, with the aid of company unions, helped to create the Confederation of Turkish Workers' Unions (Türk-İş Konfederasyonu). Subsidized by considerable sums of American dollars, the Türk-İş, under cover of a policy "above and beyond political parties", promised to keep working class action within the framework set for it by the bourgeois parties.

But in spite of this treason, a result of the Democratic Party's inflationist policy, with a price index rising to 174 in 1957 (1950-100), dissatisfaction mounted within the working class, among the peasants and the petit-bourgeois layers of the population. And as popular unrest spread, the Democratic Party was forced to resort to police measures, jailing the intellectual leaders, the students, workers, peasants, even the army officers.

#### 27th May Coup and 1961 Constitution

Thereupon the university youth began mass demonstrations to protest the terror. The answer of the DP government was to send the armed forces against them. One student was shot to death and many students were wounded. As a last measure, Menderes, the prime minister, declared martial law and the military took control in Istanbul and Ankara. On May 27, 1960 a group of army officers overthrew the DP government, dissolved parliament and abolished the Constitution of 1923. A National Unity Committee (MBK) composed of 36 officers took over the legislative and executive powers.

The basic meaning of the May 27th Movement reveals the intense longing of the military and civil bureaucracy to take back the power of the bourgeoisie which had been created and developed under cover of the formers. In fact, during the ten years of its power and with foreign help, the Democratic Party had brushed aside bureaucratic barriers, and the civil and military bureaucracy had lost its importance in the political life of the country. Moreover, the living conditions of the bureaucracy worsened and the army officers shared the growing discontentment of the masses. But because of NATO brainwashing and being dependant on Pentagon, they could not see the important role played by the United States and contented themselves with accusing and trying the leaders of the Democratic Party. On the very day they took power, the officers who had engineered this coup did not fail to reaffirm Turkey's interests in maintaining such pacts as NATO and CENTO. They even signed a whole series of bilateral treaties with the United States aimed at reinforcing its economic and military ties. Just three months after the coup d'etat, in July 1960, the National Unity Committee recognized the right of foreign capitalists, to repatriate their profits. That same month the National Unity Committee and the United States signed an agreement of donation about 1,000 million Turkish pounds. On September 15, 1960, the National Unity Committee and the World Bank agreed on the participation of foreign capitalists in founding the Eregli Iron and Steel Works. In January 1961, West Germany granted Turkey a loan of 100 million DM. In March 1961, the National Unity Committee and the AID signed an agreement aiming "to establish new private companies and to finance them by means of the Industrial Development Bank (Sanayi Kalkinma Bankasi)".

It is a fact that the United States was well informed about the coup d'etat, but did not try to prevent it in spite of a bilateral agreement suggesting US military intervention in the case of an attempt against the Turkish government. The CIA knew that the majority of army officers were not opposed to NATO, CENTO or the hegemony of the US and that the position of Menderes government was too weak. Moreover, the Menderes government was showing its intention to increase commercial and economic ties with the USSR and planning to visit Moscow. If the armed forces had not made a coup d'etat, the socio-economic conditions would have prepared greater social explosions. In the economic field, the results of this coup d'etat would become profitable for both the US and the Turkish armed forces.

As mentioned, the National Unity Committee granted many new privileges to the United States, on the other hand the armed forces opened the way to be integration with finance capital by establishing financial holding company for army officers.

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

Nevertheless, in view of the support given the coup d'etat by the masses, whose actions had led to it, there can be no question of the progressive character of the coup d'etat of 27th May in democratic field. The Constitution of 1961 is its proof.

The new constitution, drawn up by the Constituent Assembly, was accepted by referendum on July 9, 1961, in spite of counter propaganda of the newly formed Justice Party (AP). Containing 157 articles plus the 11 provisional articles of the National Unity Committee, it was an attempt to prevent the abuses which had been possible under the Organic Law of 1924. The Constitution separated the functions of government so that the Grand National Assembly could no longer be controlled exclusively by one party. It established a bicameral legislature made up of a Senate and a House of Representatives, a separate executive, and an independent judiciary.

The 1961 Constitution, modeled on the Italian Constitution of 1947 and the German Constitution of 1949, grants Turkish citizens fundamental rights which provide for personal immunities and the protection of individual privacy, and generally insure that the government cannot violate the rights of the individual without due legal process. As an example, a person taken into custody must be informed immediately in writing of the charges against him, he must be arraigned within 24 hours, and he cannot be deprived of his freedom without a court judgment. The individual is also guaranteed the right to work, to rest, to benefit from social security, and to receive education. Citizens have the right to establish political parties, enter public service, and have the further right to petition the Grand National Assembly concerning requests and complaints.

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

In addition, in order to insure that the government cannot violate the rights of the individual, the 1961 Constitution strengthened Council of State. This council is the highest administrative court and citizens can initiate any case in exercise of their constitutional right to challenge the legality or equity of laws which they believe have injured them.

Because of the abuses of the 1950-60 period, the 1961 Constitution contains definite provisions to insure the independence of the courts and to make obedience to decisions mandatory. Limits and conditions of judicial service are clearly stated, and all matters pertaining to judges themselves are under the Supreme Council of Judges, composed of and elected by judges.

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

But because of not being able to make sub-structural changes, the democratic 1961 Constitution also proved to be no more than a dead letter, instituted though it was with the support of the masses, the trade-unions and the intellectuals. And the State Planning Organization fell under the control of a big bourgeoisie, and its radical administrators and specialists were compelled to resign. The aim of raising the economic well-being of the nation within the limits of social justice was ignored and the 5-year plans were prepared with a view to interests of international finance capital and its local partners.

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

#### Period of Coalitions and Plot Against Constitution (1961-1964)

The first step toward the resumption of civil administration were the elections for the Senate and the National Assembly, on October 15, 1961. Fourteen parties were in the field, but there was not a single left-wing party. The results of the balloting were inconclusive; no party received a majority. The immediate consequence was a coalition government under Ismet İnönü, the former "National Chief".

During the period 1961-65 coalition government became the order of the day. The Grand National Assembly elected General Cemal Gürsel, the leader of 27th May Coup d'Etat, to the presidency. The presence of the army was still felt in forcing the Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Justice Party (AP) to cooperate under İnönü. In practice coalition government did not turn out well, whether between the major parties or between the CHP and the other parties.

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

Early in 1965, the third İnönü coalition dominated by the Republican People's Party lost on a budget vote in the Assembly and was obliged to resign. This was also the result of US hegemony over Turkish political life. Since the independence of Cyprus recognized by the Great Britain, Turkey and Greece in 1960, this time, the conflicts between two communities of Cyprus have been whipped by the United States in order to maintain the unrest and

to compel the Cypriots to accept a NATO intervention and to turn the island into a NATO base in the Mediterranean. As a result of these instigations, some bloody clashes occurred in Cyprus in 1964 and the Turkish government had threatened to intervene militarily, but the landing of Turkish troops on Cyprus was impeded by the US Sixth Fleet. Prime Minister İnönü was also counseled against intervention by the visit of the NATO commander, and also President Johnson threatened Turkey by sending İnönü an insolent letter. Thereupon anti-American protests were tolerated by İnönü government. Moreover, a Turkish parliamentary delegation was sent to the Soviet Union; in the following year a group of Soviet parliamentarians paid a return visit. Also in 1964, a Soviet-Turkish trade agreement was arranged.

Concerned about this anti-American atmosphere, the United States planned to overthrow the İnönü government and establish a pro-American government. Just before the Justice Party's convention in 1964, engineer Süleyman Demirel, the representative of the US Morisson Company, was imposed as the main candidate for chairman. The pro-American newspapers made a huge campaign for Demirel by publishing picture of him with President Johnson. After his election as chairman of the Justice Party, Demirel obtained the support of three minor parties and compelled the İnönü government to resign by vetoing his budget. In the general elections of 1965, the Justice Party was supported financially by the big capitalists and landowners and won an absolute majority - 52.87% of the votes.

This was a turning point in the period of constitutional democracy because the Justice Party, ever since 1961, had persistently upheld to the following aims:

1. Change the 1961 Constitution.
2. Suppress and liquidate the anti-imperialist and socialist movements.
3. Grant more and more privileges to finance capital.

The truth of the matter is that the third aim was of greatest importance from the point of view of the financial capital which had backed the Justice Party. Even before the Justice Party came to power, the National Unity Committee and the coalition governments had already tried their best to satisfy the big capitalists. For example, foreign capital investment reached LT 147,000,000 in 1961 and LT 560,694,000 in 1965, whereas it had been LT 85,233,000 in 1959. Total bank deposits reached LT 7,864 million in 1960 and LT 18,989 million in 1966, whereas they had been LT 1,230 million in 1950. The number of tractors climbed to 53,984, as opposed to 42,136 in 1960.

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

Moreover, in the climate of relative liberty created and protected by the constitution, socialist intellectuals found the possibility of publishing leftist books and new media, and workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands. The first large-scale workers' demonstration to take place



in that period was a meeting held in Istanbul in 1961, which attracted 100 thousand people. This was followed by big workers' demonstrations at Ankara and Karadeniz Ereğlisi. In Ankara, thousands of barefoot workers rallied to the Grand National Assembly in order to demand their constitutional rights.

In order to give the working class an independent political structure to represent its interests, 12 trade-union leaders who were opposed to the prevailing American type of unionism founded the Turkish Labour Party (TİP) on February 12, 1961. Under the leadership of the Turkish Labour Party, the anti-imperialist and democratic movements of the toiling masses gained impetus.

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

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

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

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

### Justice Party Power and Capitalization (1965-1970)

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

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

In the manufacturing sector, the number of newly formed companies climbed to 3,282 in 1968, from 1,839 in 1961. In the same period, the assets

of these companies rose from LT 337,006,000 to LT 1,306,556,000. The ratio of joint-stock companies to all companies was 12% in 1966, whereas it was only 2% in 1961. In the same period, shares of the joint-stock companies in the total assets of all companies rose from 15.2% to 73%. Moreover 37.1% of all newly formed companies were concentrated at Istanbul and represented 43.7% of total capital. These figures confirm the centralization of capital which took place during the Justice Party's period of power.

Total bank deposits reached LT 38,000 million in 1970, from LT 10,989 million in 1966. The number of bank branches and agencies increased to 3,210 in 1970, from 335 in 1950, and 1762 in 1960.

Capitalization in agriculture also gained impetus in the same period. In 1970 there were 96,407 tractors as opposed to 53,984 in 1965. In 1970 there were 7,231,000 hectares of mechanically cultivated land as against 4,100,000 hectares in 1965.

The share of foreign capital in manufacturing also greatly increased. During the period of the Justice Party's power it reached the following ratios: 14.4% in the food industry, 78.2% in chemistry, 52.9% in medical products, 49.3% in machinery, 79.1% in agricultural equipment and tractors, 42.1% in electrical machinery and equipment, 36.4% in the transportation industry, 96.7% in soap and detergents, 50% in margarine, 39.9% in iron and steel manufacturing.

The main foreign investments in the manufacturing sector are: Good Year, U.S. royal (Uniroyal), Chrysler, Dodge, Fargo, Desoto, M.A.N., Peugeot, American Motors Corporation, Mercedes, Magirus, K.H. Deutz, Renault, BMC, Landrouver, Genoto, Bedford, UAZ Lorry Factory, Willys Jeeps, Sadolin, Ytong, Holmblat, The Marley, Siemens, Kaiser Co., The Everready Co., Schaeffers, Vernis Claessens Co., Scripps, Monsanto Chemical Co., Belersa, Dunlop Sentex, Francis Show and Co., Zimmer Co., Eastova Ltd., Persil Gesellschaft, Sandoz, Philips, E. Merck A.G., Gebr. Böhler und Co. A.G., OMO, Palmolive, CocaCola, PepsiCola, Oralet, Colgate, Kolynos, Ipana, Parker, Carlo Erba, Bidfarma, Wyeth, A.Wander Ciba, Hoechst, Squibb, Roche, Pfizer, Sandoz, Anglo-American Consolidated Co., Mobil, Shell, British Petroleum, etc.

Let us recall here that the ratio of the repatriated profit to foreign capital investment is 143.7. As it has been seen above, most foreign capital is invested in the manufacture of consumer goods. The 78.63% of the foreign capital investments belong to four countries, the USA (17.66%), Holland (16.02%), Switzerland (17.66%) and West Germany (14.60%). Moreover, the USA has certain shares in the investments coming from three other countries.

On the other hand, the military hegemony of the United States over Turkey was fortified under the Justice Party's term in power. It is a fact that hundreds of bilateral military agreements between Turkey and the United States had also been signed by the Republican People's Party, Democratic Party, and National Unity Committee governments. All of them had granted many privileges and immunities to the United States. According to the Installations Directory of the US Air Force, there were 101 US military bases and installations all over Turkey, 1 in Afyon, 6 in Adana, 4 in Manisa, 1 in Diyarbakir, 6 in Istanbul, 2 in Karamürsel, 1 in Kocaeli, 3 in Hatay, 6 in Konya, 4 in Trabzon, 4 in Samsun, 2 in Erzurum, 32 in Izmir and 29 in Ankara. Even the Turkish president and generals had no right to enter many of these bases and installations. In such US air bases as Incirlik and Cigli there are the missiles with nuclear warheads. Reconnaissance aircraft of the US Air Forces fly over the Soviet Union from bases in Turkey. The flight of such a U-2 reconnaissance aircraft created a deep crisis in world diplomacy

a decade ago. These nuclear headed missiles and reconnaissance flights threaten the security of Turkey. Even, the Demirel's government went so far as to offer at a NATO Meeting the eastern part of Turkey for experimental nuclear mining.

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

Finally, after long debates, a new bilateral military agreement was signed by the Demirel government and the United States on July 3, 1969. But this new agreement did not restrict the privileges and immunities of the US mission in Turkey; it only revised the several bilateral agreements and incorporated them in a single basic agreement.

### EEC and Ambitions of Big Bourgeoisie

The most important and latest step toward so-called "westernization" are the attempts to enter the European Economic Community. In the process of capitalization, Turkey's big bourgeoisie aimed to be integrated into the EEC. The first contacts were started by the National Unity Committee just after the coup d'etat of 1960, and the Association Agreement was signed in 1963 by Ismet Inönü's coalition government. This agreement, which became effective late in 1964, foresees a two-part transitional period leading to the third and final stage - full customs union membership with the EEC. The first, or preparatory stage extended through 1969. The agreement names a limited list of Turkish exports to be allowed into the EEC under either common internal tariffs or increased external quotas. The exports covered for this stage are mostly Turkish agricultural products - tobacco, fruits and nuts, and cotton. In addition, the European Investment Bank (EIB) of the EEC granted Turkey a development loan of 175 million dollars to be disbursed in 5 equal installments throughout the preparatory stage. The second, or transitional stage was to commence in 1970 and extend through 1977.

However, the Association Agreement recognized the right of prolonging the preparatory stage until 1975. But just after the Justice Party came to power, the big bourgeoisie made manifest its intention to begin the transitional stage at the stipulated time. The Union of Trade and Industry Chambers established an Economic Development Foundation on November 26, 1965 with the aim of beginning the transitional stage. In fact, the preparatory stage proved that the economic situation of Turkey was not far enough advanced to enter the transitional stage. During the period of the preparatory stage; Turkey was able to use only the contingent of dried fruits. At the end of the preparatory stage, the deficit from foreign trade with the EEC was more than the loan of 175 million dollars which the EEC had granted.

Moreover, in the preparatory stage the Turkish economy specialized in agricultural products and exports primarily intended for the Germany market. Germany's share in Turkish EEC exports rose from 44.5% in 1963 to 52.2% in 1969. In addition, West Germany became Turkey's main creditor.

In spite of not having special advantages and being dependent upon the most developed countries of the world, the big bourgeoisie and its political representatives insisted on beginning the transitional stage. The

Turkish bourgeoisie dreams a broader collaboration with foreign capital in the EEC. But the transitional period would be unfavorable for Turkey's agricultural and industrial products. In fact, the EEC does not need Turkey's agricultural products because its main partners are already faced with the problem of liquidating their own agricultural products. In addition, the reduced custom tariff for oranges and lemons is accorded not only to Turkey, but also to the non-partner countries of Israel and Spain. The EEC did not recognize any concessions for textiles, Turkey's only industrial export, during the transitional period. At the end of the 12-year transitional period, when all custom tariffs will be abolished, Turkey's weak national industry will collapse and Turkey will turn into a source of cheap raw materials, low-wage labour and a sunny vacation paradise for the citizens of the developed European countries. Furthermore, with the abolishing of custom tariffs, Turkey will lose 15% of its revenue. Thus Turkey will be an under-developed and dependant partner of the most developed countries of the world.

This is the bankruptcy of the 200 years old dream of "westernization". It is ridiculous to think that an under-developed country like Turkey can participate in an organization of developed countries like the EEC. For whereas the working population of the six partners is divided into 43% for industry, 39% for services and 16% for agriculture, Turkey's working population is divided into 13% for industry, 23% for services and 64% for agriculture. Steel production per capita is 370 kilograms in Europe, while it is only 27 kilograms in Turkey. While electricity consumption is 2,131 kilowatts per capita in Europe, it is only 106 kilowatts in Turkey. The consumption of fertilizer per hectare is 203 kilograms in Europe, but only 4 kilograms in Turkey.

On the one hand, the developed countries of Europe with an average per capita income of 2000 dollars; on the other hand, an under-developed country, Turkey, with a per capita income of only 321 dollars.

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

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

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

#### Infraction of the Constitution

Parallel to this action in favor of the ruling classes, the Justice Party, during the entire period of its power, has never recognized the funda-

mental human rights and freedoms guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution.

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

The constitution provided for guarantees of employment, housing, health, education; but in spite of an increasing population, the AP government has done nothing about social problems nor has it been able to increase the degree of literacy. Millions and millions of citizens have been compelled to live in slums surrounding the big cities and in caves, especially in the south-eastern part of Turkey. The Justice Party also followed an inflationist policy and the currency rose to Lf 9,100 million in June 1970 while it was Lf 4,200 million in 1962. As a result, the price index also rose to 143,3 in 1970 while it was 100 in 1963. And protection of health has been a matter of wealth.

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

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

Unable to suppress the resistance movements defending their constitutional rights the AP started to organize police forces and military commando troops, and tolerated the formation of rightist bands in order to wipe out the resistance. The prime minister Demirel even dared to say in his official speeches that he would arm 200,000 Justice Party militants. While the commando troops operated in the south-eastern part of Turkey, riot police and rightist bands attacked the democratic conventions, meetings, rallies of the TIP, the TOS (Teachers' Union of Turkey), the Dev-Genç (Progressive Youth's Confederation), the DISK (Progressive Trade Unions' Confederation), DDKO (Progressive Cultural Organization of the Eastern Anatolia).

The extreme rightist organizations have been based on chauvinist and religious ideologies. First, the more than 40 thousands mosques have been turned into cells of the extreme rightist movement. This religious movement (Cemeticilik) has been organized by the Ilim Yayma Cemiyeti (Association for Propagating Religion), the Yeşilay (Green Moon), the Cami Yaptırma Dernekleri (Associations for Building and Restoring Mosques), the Kuran Kursları (Courses for Teaching Kor'an). They enjoy huge financial support not only from the big capitalists and landowners, but also from Aramco and Saudi Arabia.

On the other hand, the chauvinist movement was organized by the National Action Party (MHP) of fascist-minded Colonel Alparslan Türkeş. This party also was tolerated to organize an armed and uniformed rightist band, named Ulkî Ocakları (Foyers of Ideal).

These rightist bands increased their attacks on the democratic and anti-imperialist movements, and during the Justice Party's five year rule, 42 persons had been murdered one by one by the military troops, police forces and rightist bands.

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

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

### The Armed Forces: Integral Part of Finance Capital

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

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

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

The first clash between the armed forces and the working class occurred during the June 1970 mass demonstration in Istanbul of more than a hundred thousand industrial workers aiming to defend their progressive unions.

Soldiers were brought in to crush the demonstration, and three workers were killed. Martial law was thereupon proclaimed in the districts of Istanbul and Kocaeli; the leaders of progressive unions and workers were arrested and many of them atrociously tortured. The economic reason behind this crack-down was only too clear because it was the army officers' OYAK which also employed these workers. And ideologically the army officers were convinced that the workers' demonstration was a communist action.

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

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

Thus the functions of the military wing in the National Security Council shifted from being advisory to being political.

Cevdet Sunay, president of the Republic, worked hand in hand with the big bourgeoisie and the high-ranking officers. After being elected president in 1966, he appointed an intelligence officer, General Cihat Alpan, as the general secretary of the presidency. In a short time this cunning officer took the Sunay's strings into his own hands. He had been in the service of NATO for years and had also gained the confidence of the United States. One of General Alpan's first acts was to mine the environs of the presidential palace and the residences of the high commanders for security considerations. In fact, the high commanders formed the most privileged strata of the bureaucracy in Turkey. The four commanders lived in their official luxurious residences in the neighbourhood of the presidential palace. Both the president and the high-ranking commanders had the same fate. While the commanders flirted with the big capitalists, Sunay also was involved in many shady business deals. Charges of bribery against his relatives were even brought to parliament in February 1971.

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

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

In duty bound to the finance capital, the armed forces this time would do their best to abolish the fundamental rights and freedoms and to liquidate the left.

## MILITARY RULE IN TURKEY

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

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

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

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

The big bourgeoisie, was anxious to match its economic development with parallel control of the government's reins, including all its institutions, cadres and organisms; it wanted to reshape them to its own purposes and intended to wipe out the socialist movement and the labour unions, which were the major obstacles to its plans. Indeed, even the Justice Party, which basically represented that same big bourgeoisie in the parliament, was no longer able to satisfy the pressing "reform" demands of the big capitalists. Although in its present parliamentary form the Justice Party is the representative of the big bourgeoisie, it has to cater to other classes and layers of the population in order to get elected. Even the partial measures adopted in 1970 to satisfy the needs of the big bourgeoisie provoked very strong reactions on the part of the masses, on the one hand, and on the other, ended up with the representatives of the Anatolian bourgeoisie, the usurers and go-betweens, and the big landowners opposing Demirel and leaving the Justice Party to form the Democratic Party (DP).



The "reform" demands of the collaborating bourgeoisie were made public by Vehbi Koç, Turkey's biggest capitalist who represents more than hundred US and European companies in Turkey, on his return from a trip to Japan, and were described as follows in 1970:

1. Political stability must be guaranteed. All parties must act in accordance with a common political platform on matters of foreign policy, extreme left-wing or extreme right-wing groups, relations between management and workers, and problems of education and youth.
2. Concerning policies with regard to external commerce, the European Economic Community, foreign investments, etc., a clear understanding of these problems must be arrived at, solutions sought, then planned and finally implemented.
3. The regime of a mixed economy must be maintained.
4. The state economic institutions should form two holding companies, one for public sector services, the other for commercial services. These holding companies should follow the general policy of the parent organisms.
5. A stock market should be established and companies created in which the public can participate.

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

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

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

#### The Ultimatum or Coup d'Etat of March 12th

The corruption, speculation and collaboration of the high-ranking commanders also engendered opposition on the part of those officers who had not lost connection with their own poor backgrounds and who remained imbued with the ideals of national liberation. Hundreds of such officers had been liquidated from time to time, even before the coup d'etat of March 12, 1971. But in spite of many liquidations, the ruling circles were not able to annihilate all resistance within the armed forces, and on March 8, 1971 the radical army officers issued a communique denouncing the corrupt order and the hegemony of the US and demanding radical reforms in favor of masses. This action of the radical officers dealt a heavy blow to the United States and its local collaborators. All the secret intelligence services were immediately mobilized to play their traditional role of intrigue. The coup d'etat had already been planned by these secret services beforehand, and they were merely waiting for a pretext in order to suppress all progressive forces.

Three key men of these secret services put the plan into execution. The most important was Cihat Alpan, the General Secretary of the Presidency. The second key man of the operation was General Atif Ergikan, Chief of the Plans and Principles Department of The General Staff Headquarters. He seemed to be the leader of the radical officers until March 8, 1971, but at the last moment informed the high commanders on all his companions. Then he met Cihan Alpan and the CIA representatives at the US Embassy in Ankara. At this secret meeting the two key men planned the execution of the plot in collaboration with CIA agents. According to this plan, on March 12, 1971, the four high commanders would issue an ultimatum consisting of a promise for reforms and force the government to resign. Under the cloak of promise for reforms they could thus take the initiative into their own hands and pacify the radical officers. Immediately after this step, they would liquidate the radical officers, interpret the "reforms" mentioned in their own ultimatum in favor of big bourgeoisie and establish a reactionary military dictatorship by maintaining a puppet parliament and forming a puppet government.

This plan was skillfully applied. On March 12, 1971, the military members of the National Security Council, Chief of General Staff Memduh Tagmaç, Commander of Land Forces Faruk Gürler, Commander of Naval Forces Celal Eyiceoglu and Commander of Air Forces Muhsin Batur, presented their Ultimatum, forced Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel to resign and liquidated all radical army officers immediately.

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

The Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) was formed by youth leaders and peasants who sought to fight the hegemony of the United States and compel the political power to put the 1961 Constitution into practice. For these purposes, THKO organized certain activities such as expropriations, kidnappings, etc. But it murdered nobody and released all of its hostages after a short period. The aim of the above mentioned activities was to attract the attention of the people to US hegemony and the infraction of the 1961 Constitution. Before the coup d'etat, the THKO had openly declared its aims and program, and taken responsibility for its activities. At the same time, another clandestine organization, the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC) likewise organized some expropriations and kidnappings with the same aim, but it also murdered nobody. (Contrary to the official claims, the kidnapping of Efraim Elrom, General Consul of Israel, was not the reason of the "sledge-hammer operation", but a result of it. Because, the "sledge-hammer" operation was started by the military on April 26, 1971. The fighters of the THKC kidnapped Elrom on May 10, 1971 with the aim of compelling the military backed government to release the political detainees. But the military authorities, instead of finding a reasonable solution, refused negotiation with the kidnappers and caused the death of the hostage. Moreover, since the defendants of THKC Case refused its responsibility, it has not been clear who shot at Elrom.)

In spite of the liquidation of the radical officers, the progressive forces of Turkey, including the THKO and the THKC, did not hurry to take a negative position toward the Coup and preferred to wait with great composure until the program of the new government was made known.

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

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

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

#### Martial Law and Sledge-Hammer Operations

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

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

- a) Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adapazari, Zonguldak, Eskişehir, Izmir and Adana are the most industrial districts of Turkey and form DISK's strongest bases.
- b) As for the districts of Hatay, Diyarbakır and Siirt, they contain the greatest concentration of the Kurdish people, and it is here that the bourgeois powers have been imposing their chauvinism vigorously for decades already.

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

So, after March 12, 1971 the coalition of the Army-Big Capitalists-Parliamentarians changed the 1961 Constitution on the one hand, and on the other, carried on a country-wide man-hunt and repression. All of the progressive, socialist periodicals were banned; thousands of socialist, social democrat or liberal-minded intellectuals have been detained; hundreds of them

have been tortured and tried by military courts of martial law under the threat of death sentence or life-imprisonment; three young students have been executed; the cultural life of Turkey has been turned into a desert.

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

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

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

On the other hand, the conflicts between Greece and Turkey had always caused annoyance to the Pentagon and NATO. After the military coup d'etat of March 12, 1971, the military juntas of both countries, Turkey and Greece, could find a common language on different problems, including the Cyprus problem, in accordance with the Pentagon's desire.

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

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

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

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

#### For Big Bourgeoisie and Against the Toiling Masses

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

"In the new government's program, the country's great problems are shown in a realistic way and the necessary reforms are promised in order to solve them. Everyone who wishes a speedy development in economic and political stabilization can expect only the best from this program."

In order to create a powerful political advisory body, 85 of the biggest capitalists formed the Türk Sanayicileri ve İşadamları Derneği (Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen), and issued a declaration on August 2, 1971. In this communique, the big capitalists called on the Government to support the private sector, and suggested some new measures favoring big capital. They also threatened the news media to decrease their advertisement income if they follow a policy against the interests of the private sector.

On the other hand, we find the workers, peasants, state employees, all salaried elements and artisans, increasingly oppressed by rising prices, indirect taxes and new legal measures. The prices of all commodities and public services have increased more than 100% since the beginning of the military regime because, as a result of the military-backed government's inflationist policy the currency rose to Lİ 17,300 million in December 1971, from Lİ 9,100 million in June 1970. The price increase was 30% for consumers goods and 120% for imported goods. The price index also rose to 179,7 in November 1971, whereas it was 143.3% in July 1970.

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

While the military rule was trying to pay for its dictatorship at the expense of the poor masses and turning the life for the common people into an inferno, it did not neglect to satisfy the parliamentarians by increasing their salaries to astronomical figures. Some parliamentarians, including the overthrown premier Demirel and opposition leader İnönü, had at first reacted from a formal point of view against the 12 March coup d'etat. Later the military rulers and the politicians resorted to a compromise on the subject of suppressing democratic movements and modifying the 1961 Constitution. But first the military junta permitted the parliamentarians to increase their salaries 100%. In a country where the average per capita income is only 321 dollars, an annual income of more than 10,000 dollars per member of parliament is a high price to pay for silence.

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

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

The members of parliament have supported the military rule because the great majority of them, even the ones who seem to be "center-left", are

the representatives of the ruling classes and opposed to the fundamental rights and freedoms of the toiling masses which had been guaranteed by the 1961 Constitution. They know very well that changing the constitution so to abolish its freedoms and rights can be realized only by the armed forces. However, the military rule was not satisfied with these amendments and forced parliament to approve new bills aiming to change legislation on the press, associations, juridical procedure, penal code, political parties, university and to abolish all vestiges of the 1961 Constitution.

The military rule abolished the 1961 Constitution in practice on March 12, 1971 and officially on September 22, 1971.

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

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

#### Inner Contradictions of the Ruling Circles

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

At the beginning, the first government of Nihat Erim -which included some so-called "radical" members- passed certain measures that in the long run would be beneficial to the industrial bourgeoisie of Turkey, in the process of integration with the EEC. But these measures seemed unpractical and unprofitable in the short run to the commercial bourgeoisie and the big landowners. For example, the first government introduced a "land reform bill" aiming to realize a capital transfer from the agrarian sector to the industrial sector. But it is a fact that there are also representatives of the landowners in the political parties, and they reacted immediately. The military junta represents the big industrial bourgeoisie whose interests require the realization of this land reform. But since they did not have the support of the masses, the generals were afraid of losing also the support of the big landowners. Moreover, the commercial bourgeoisie had also given an ultimatum to the president of the Republic on August 4, 1971 criticizing the measures taken by the so-called "radical" ministers. Thereupon the military junta had to submit to the demands of the commercial bourgeoisie and the landowners, and Erim's first government had to resign. Nevertheless, the second military-backed government was again formed under the premiership of Nihat Erim, but this time without even the "radical" ministers. One of the first decisions of the second government was to withdraw the "Land Reform Bill" under the pretext of preparing a more realistic bill. The following figures also reveal the retreat of the military junta: In 1971, the imposed on agricultural income was LT 1,500 million, but the government could collect only LT 100 million of it.

After the second government was formed, the military regime sought to establish a mass base in the petty-bourgeoisie by appeals to their petit-bourgeois ideals. Religious beliefs, chauvinism and traditions have been

exploited under the terms of "kemalism" and "reformism"! McCarthyism has been encouraged day by day.

One of the most contradictory results of the first Erim government period was that Süleyman Demirel, the leader of the AP, re-gained his prestige. It is a fact that Demirel was one of the main targets of the 12th March coup d'etat. In the ultimatum of the generals, Demirel had been accused of creating a chaotic atmosphere and was forced to resign. For five months, Demirel succeeded in waiting stealthily to exploit the traditional contradictions between the toiling masses and the bureaucratic cadres. While avoiding a direct attack on Erim's Government, he did not, on the other hand, neglect to point out that the worsening economic and social conditions were a result of bureaucratic intervention -although the increase in prices and taxes had started under his government. When the inner contradictions of the ruling classes reappeared and the unrest of the masses was strengthened, Demirel began to speak with great insolence. Thereupon prime minister Erim tried to accuse Demirel of having made misappropriations in the interests of his brothers. Even the president of the Republic and the high-ranking commanders were obliged to defend the military-backed government against Demirel and forced parliament to investigate the charges raised against him. But it was too late. The military backed government had not been able to gain the support of the masses, and on the other hand Demirel, acting as a martyr, not only succeeded in gaining the sympathy of the uninformed masses, but also established his undebatable authority within the Justice Party. In addition, the second most important political party, the CHP, was caught up in inner conflicts, and the AP seemed to be the only well-organized political party. So after the resignation of the first military-backed government, Nihat Erim was obliged to recognize Demirel as the most esteemed political leader, apologized for accusing him of misappropriation and formed his second government under the domination of the AP, on December 12, 1971.

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

Another important development in the political life of Turkey was the split in the CHP. The leadership of the party had been the most enthusiastic supporters of Erim's governments, but in the last months of 1971, the grass-roots level of the party started to express opposition to the military rule. İnönü had to change his pro-government policy in order to satisfy the party members and declared his opposition to the prolongation of martial law and to the execution of the death sentences on January 24, 1972.

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

At first, prime minister Nihat Erim had stated that all the "anarchists" and "bandits" together were not more than 300 and that they could be arrested in a few months. But in the period of his premiership the man-hunt spread all over Turkey; not only 300 "anarchists", but more than 10 thousand intellectuals have been detained; martial law has been prolonged four times; the 1961 Constitution was modified and all democratic rights and liberties were abolished.

The more the repression increased, the more the external and internal reaction against the military rule was strengthened. The external pressure was concentrated especially on the unlawful trials, the tortures, the ill-treatments. This external pressure frightened the military rulers; the

eleven "radical" members of the first Erim government even gave the oppression of the intellectuals and the reaction of world opinion against this repression as one of the main reasons for their resignation.

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

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

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

### New Terror Wave in the Second Year of Military Rule

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

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

"If not, would they dare to ignore also the so-called 'parliamentary' system and to establish an open and official fascist dictatorship?"

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

The new course began just after premier Erim's official visit to France. Because of the immense foreign reactions which had taken place, on the threshold of this visit the military regime tried to seem more liberal in order to prevent new reactions on the part of French public opinion. But on the very day Erim's official visit ended, a new course of terror began in a most shocking manner. On January 23, 1972 over 80,000 troops and police searched more than half a million houses, offices and workshops in Istanbul and terrorized the people, under the code name "Tornado-I".

Just after this operation, Istanbul martial law headquarters arrested 57 army officers on March 11, 1972, on the pretext of helping the urban guerillas.

The military junta gave most important proof of the new terror wave by forcing parliament to approve the death sentences of three fighters of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO), Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan, on March 16, 1972. And in spite of widespread foreign reac-



tions, President Sunay did not hesitate to sign the death sentences on March 23, 1972. Thus all the legal possibilities for saving the lives of the three young revolutionaries disappeared, and the members of THKO were obliged to kidnap three foreign technicians employed in a NATO spy center, in order to save the lives of their friends. They promised that if the death sentences would be commuted to imprisonment, they would release the hostages. But the military authorities held of no account even world opinion's reaction against the death sentences and instead of finding a reasonable solution in order to save the lives of the three young revolutionaries and the three hostages, refused negotiations with the THKO and murdered all of them by setting off a bomb explosion. The military junta tried to deceive world opinion by issuing contradictory statements to prove that the three hostages were first killed by the revolutionaries and thereupon ten members of the THKO were shot to death in a room-to-room shoot-out with the police forces. But in reality this was a mass murder committed by the military rule. (The facts about this massacre are presented in the following chapters.)

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

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

For this purpose, President Sunay issued a note to the political leaders demanding new constitutional changes to give the government extraordinary power to rule the country by decree and for a temporary suspension of all political activities on April 3, 1972.

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

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

Nevertheless, the political leaders did not take notice of the threat this time because they knew that the military junta had no mass support and if it dared to dissolve parliament and to ban the political parties, the external and internal opposition to the regime would be strengthened. On the other hand, the political parties believed that they had gained the support of the masses once again thanks to the faults of the military-backed government and that it was necessary to form a new government which would lead the country to general elections. Having modified the 1961 Constitution, liquidated the left forces and abolished the fundamental rights and freedoms, the political parties considered themselves to be the best alternative to govern best in favor of the United States and the big bourgeoisie.

### One More Step: A McCarthyist Government!

On the other hand, the military junta was aware of the fact that with the economic and social situation worsening day by day, the military-backed government was losing its prestige. Under these conditions, the best solution for the military junta was to sacrifice the puppet prime minister and to regain prestige by forming a new cabinet with the support of the political parties. In fact, Prime Minister Erim had to resign and the military junta formed a cabinet under the premiership of a well-known McCarthyist, Ferit Melen.

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

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

As was mentioned in the historical background presented earlier, the CHP had been established as the representatives of the ruling classes and applied every kind of repression during the entire period of its 25 years in power. Under the new conditions of the country after the Second World War, the CHP had tried to impose itself as an ardent fighter for democratic rights and freedoms. But during the period of its coalition governments following the 27th May Coup d'Etat, this party could no longer offer anything but disappointment. In 1965 new forces, the working class and the toiling peasants, proved their political potential, and as the representative of these forces the Turkish Labour Party had gained 15 seats in parliament.

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

After the 12th March coup d'etat, the reaction of Ecevit against Erim's premiership was only a personal matter, because Erim was his main rival in the party. After being compelled to resign from his post, as a

deputy he supported the modification of the 1961 Constitution, and the prolongation of martial law.

But at the end of 1971, the grass-roots level of the party started to react against the military rule because of the worsening economic and social situation. Being one of the candidates for the succession of 88-year old İnönü, former general secretary Ecevit understood that it was impossible to win the coming convention of the CHP unless acting against the military backed government. By exploiting the anti-military feelings of the party members, Ecevit and his "center-left" friends came into possession of the party by overthrowing the "eternal leader" İnönü, on May 7, 1972.

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

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

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

#### Ministry Charged With Anti-Communist Action

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

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

- a) The man-hunt has spread throughout the country. Although the Constitution forbids to hold any person in custody more than one week, hundreds of people have been detained without court warrant and kept for months illegally. Many young persons have been tortured for weeks and murdered by being thrown down from the upper stories of the police centers.
- b) One year after martial law was imposed, the military authorities not only brought new cases of hundreds of people before the military courts, but also considered the previous decisions of the military courts unsatisfactory and forced the courts of martial law to change

them. For example, the leaders of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP), and the defendants of the Turkish Communist Party (TKP), who had been released eight months before, were arrested again. The First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, which had refused to apply death sentences to the defendants of two cases in spite of the military prosecutor's insistence, was even immediately dissolved. Despite the huge reaction against the execution of the three death sentences, the military authorities insisted on executing the other death sentences. For example, the death sentence for Ziya Yilmaz was approved by the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation, whereas the Fourth Section of the same Court of Cassation had previously annulled this sentence.

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

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

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

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

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

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

In any case, big capital was well satisfied, because all the contending political forces were competing to prove themselves the best servants of finance capital. Hence Melen's government and its program enjoy the support of both the military rulers and the various parliamentary wings.

Phantom Fighters and Renault Cars

In the last months, through several channels, the militaries have satisfied both themselves and their external and internal partners. In only one year of military rule, Turkey's military expenditures had already reached a record level. According to the official figures given by NATO in 1971, the Turkish military budget increased 30%, while the average increase of all NATO countries' total military budgets was only 2% in the same period.

But the high-ranking commanders were not satisfied even with this increase, and immediately after the formation of Melen's government, forced parliament to authorize additional military expenditures worth LT 16,000 million for the next ten years. In an underdeveloped country like Turkey, such an additional military budget was a real stroke of business for the capitalists. Under the pretext of "reorganizing the armed forces", a big part of this additional budget would go into the pockets of corrupt officers and their external and internal partners.

For example, LT4,500 million of this budget will be transferred to the United States because the military junta decided the Turkish Air Force needed to own 60 phantom fighters, since the Greek Air Force had a phantom fighters squadron. Although the military rulers of both countries had agreed to liquidate the Cyprus problem, they are still exploiting it in order to increase military expenditures. Firstly, Turkish public opinion had been persuaded that the United States would grant these phantoms as military aid to its most obedient and most self-sacrificing ally. But during Erim's visit to the United States, President Nixon said that if Turkey wanted to own phantom fighters, it should pay LT 75 million for each of them. So the United States would double its exportations to Greece and Turkey, and obtain huge profits by arming its two allies against each other. Just a few weeks earlier, before this extra budget was passed by on June 6, 1972, State Secretary Rogers had declared that in 1971 US exports to Turkey had reached 324 million dollars, while imports from Turkey were only 71 million dollars. This new order for phantoms meant an extra income of 300 million dollars for the U.S. at the expense of the poor masses of Turkey.

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

But those most satisfied, obviously, were the army officers. They were sure that a great deal of these contracts, this time, would be signed by their own holding company, OYAK because it had proved its financial power at its annual shareholders meeting on May 29, 1972. The Chief of General Staff, the forces commanders and high-ranking generals attended this meeting, and General Fikret Elbizim, the Chairman of OYAK and the Councillor of the National Defense Ministry, stated that the financial power of the holding reached an unprecedented level and thanks to it, the army officers had been granted a total of LT 1,627 million as profit, credit or social aid. In addition, the army officers had the privilege of buying Renault cars manufactured by the OYAK-Renault Company- through monthly instalments with a very low interest rate. But all this was only a start. The high-ranking commanders knew very well that in time the army officers would request more and more luxuries. In order to grant these requests OYAK would be obliged to increase its trade and investments. Under the pretext of creating a war industry, this extra military budget would also give many advantages to OYAK.

### Military or Parliamentary Fascism

Although the big industrial bourgeoisie had been granted many privileges and attractive conditions, there was general unrest among the different strata of the bourgeoisie, especially industrialists of Anatolia and the commercial bourgeoisie. The political future of the country was not clear, and this situation created timidity in business life. The number of protested bonds reached a high point. On July 10, 1972, the Chairman of the Izmir Chamber of Industry even declared the necessity of general elections and a civil administration.

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

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

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

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

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

Following this joint demarche, Demirel, the advocate of "parliamentary" fascism, went overreached himself too far and directed the following series of accusations against the adherents of military fascism:

"The spring of parliament was broken. The clock has stopped." (June 13, 1972). "What a pity that some people consider the Greek model as the only way to secure their property!" (June 14, 1972). "It is impossible to always

point to 'anarchy' as the reason for the crisis in the regime. The political crisis is one thing, and the necessity of martial law is another." (July 6, 1972).

While the leader of the AP was defying the military rulers, the AP deputies on the other hand sought to satisfy the bourgeoisie and guarantee their support by introducing a bill on June 18, 1972 to liquidate all tax debts. This was another gamble on the financial standing of the state, since the budget already showed an annual deficit of LT 10,000 million. But these politicians had proved that they were ready for anything for the sake of political power.

There was also another reason encouraging Demirel to defy the military wing. In the municipal elections held on June 4, 1972, the Justice Party won 94 of 204 mayoralties, while the CHP, its main rival, got only 29. Although this was a normal result -the traditional reaction of the masses against the military bureaucratic rule- Demirel considered it a guarantee for his future electoral victory and even demanded new amendments to the Constitution.

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

#### Wiping Out of the 1961 Constitution

But the military rulers did not intend to surrender to the politicians immediately. They still had many accusations against them. First of all, the military claimed that none of the political parties, even the Justice Party, would be able to satisfy the big bourgeoisie as much as military rule. Because all of them had inner contradictions and were obliged to consider the interests of other social groups as well as the big industrialists. For example, in spite of the military rule's pressure on parliament, the political parties had not been able to pass a land reform bill favoring the big industrialists. In parliament, the representatives of the landowners had persistently obstructed the land reform bill of the Erim governments. Later a new reform bill was brought in front of parliament. Although this time, as a concession to the landowners, the government reduced the size of the land to be expropriated, the landowners were not satisfied even with these reductions and again obstructed the bill. In order to finance the expropriation of the land, the military-backed government had also introduced a tax reform bill suggesting to a tax of 10 per thousands on land and 8 per thousand on buildings. But on June 20, 1972, a parliamentary majority passed the bill by reducing the land tax to 3 per thousand and the building tax to 6 per thousand. This meant that "land reform" would be impossible and that the state would not be able to transfer capital from the agricultural sector to industry.

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

Taking these obstructions into consideration, the military regime started to advocate the prolongation of martial law and the postponement of general elections until the "reform" bills were passed by the present parliament.

And while the arguments on this subject were being carried on and the antagonism between the military rulers and the political leaders was growing, on July 7, 1972, the President of the Republic called all the political leaders together and impressed on them the necessity of a new change in the Constitution aiming to give more authority to the executive power.

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

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

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

This is a matter of balance. The latest developments of July 1972 show that both sides are trying to impose themselves as the best servants of finance capital by using the most secretive and hypocritical of methods.

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

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

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

### They Cannot Defeat the People of Turkey

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

a. The masses of workers, peasants, state employees, teachers, professionals, and artisans are against this corrupt order because their democratic organizations have been closed down, their leaders have been detained, jailed, tortured or murdered by the militarymen and an overwhelming majority of the politicians have supported these crimes, let alone manifest any reaction. Moreover, the military rule tries to pay for its dictatorship at the poor toiling masses' expense. Prices and indirect taxes have been increased 100%, while wages of workers and employees have been stabilized by forbidding collective bargaining and strikes and banning the unions of state-employees.



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And the toiling masses are well aware of the plots aiming to liquidate the progressive workers' unions and to restrict the rights pertaining to social security. In spite of the prohibitions, the workers have organized many strikes and demonstrations against the fascist repression and proved their will to resist.

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

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

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

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

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

Prime Minister Erim said: "The 1961 Constitution is a luxury for Turkey". (Daily Milliyet, May 2, 1971)

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Prime Minister Erim held a meeting with the law professors in order to obtain scientific approval for the modification of the Constitution. After meeting, Professor Tarik Zafer Tunaya said: "We stated that it is unnecessary to alter the Constitution. We are sure that all necessary reforms can be realized by putting this Constitution into practice." (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 13, 1971)

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Four law professors, Tarik Zafer Tunaya, Miantaz Soysal, Bahri Savci and Muammer Aksoy were taken into custody by the military authorities. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 19, 1971)



The four generals who established the military rule: Gen. Faruk Gürler, Gen. Memduh Tagmaç, Adm. Celal Eyiceoglu, Gen. Muhsin Batur



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



Gen. Sancar (Ankara)



Gen. Elgin (Adana)



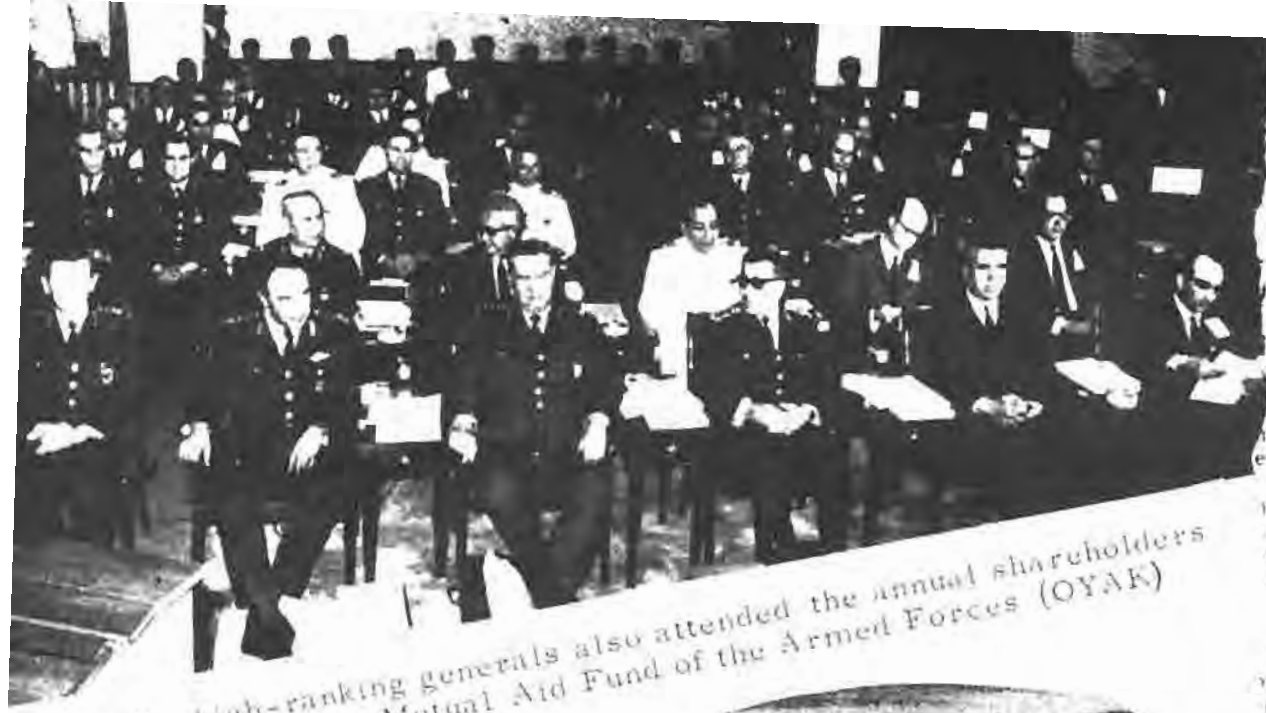
Gen. Üzaydinli (Eskişehir)



Gen. Aktulga (Diyarbakir)



Admiral Süer (Izmir)



The high-ranking generals also attended the annual shareholders meeting of the Mutual Aid Fund of the Armed Forces (OYAK)



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### 3 şekil

Vadedili satış şartnamesinin, 10.000 ve 15 bin lira peşin ödeme yapılmasını öngören şekil tesbit edilmiştir. Burada, 10 bin lira peşin ödenen müracaat sahibi otomobili almak için 20 ay bekleme süresi bunu takiben 30 ay süre içinde bin lira taksit ödeyecektir.

10.600 lira peşin ödenen müracaat sahibi kurulu otosunu almak için 15 ay süre bekleyecek ve 19 ay süre içinde 300 lira taksit ödeyecek şekilde 11 ay olan teslim tarihinden itibaren süre ile ayda 1500 lira ödenecektir. Bu vadedili satış şartları Kurum üyelerinden faydalayacaktır.



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The Turkish Armed Forces collaborate with business circles. By OYAK, all military personnel have been turned into shareholders of a big industrial holding company. Renault cars are also manufactured by this holding in Turkey. The clipping on top reveals how army officers can buy Renault cars on favourable terms.

## THE STAFF OF THE MILITARY RULE

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

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

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

### High Commanders and Secret Services

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

Where does the source of this power lie?

First of all, as explained in detail previously, these four commanders have maintained close relationships with the big bourgeoisie through OYAK and the enterprise for a war industry. The big capitalists rely heavily on them and since the parliamentary wing of bourgeois power, Demirel's government, was unable to satisfy the demands of finance-capital, the military wing was then invited by the United States and their collaborators to replace Demirel.

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Secondly, given the chauvinistic and "anti-communist" brain-washing, the great majority of army officers were alarmed by rumors that the Turkish State was confronted with a "communist threat".

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

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

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

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

#### Martial Law Commanders and the Military Courts

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

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

They also have the authority to ban any publication or organization, to detain anyone for a period of one month without a court warrant, to impose curfews at any time, etc.

According to this legislation, the martial law commanders come directly under the prime minister and must report their activities to him. This rule has, however, never been put into practice and the martial law commanders act independently, protected and supported by the military junta.

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

1. *General Faik Tirtin: Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, Kocaeli and Zonguldak.*
2. *Gen. Semih Sancar: Martial Law Commander of Ankara.*
3. *Admiral Cemal Süer: Martial Law Commander of Izmir.*
4. *General İrfan Öcazdinli: Martial Law Commander of Eskişehir and Sakarya.*
5. *General Vehbi Elgin: Martial Law Commander of Adana and Hatay (later replaced by General Vecihi Akin).*
6. *General Suat Aktulga: Martial Law Commander of Diyarbakir and Siirt (later replaced by General Sükrü Olca).*

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

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

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

Collaboration With a Fascist Party

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

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

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

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

*"The French police arrested a member of the Turkish Senate who tried to smuggle 321 pounds of morphine base, worth 36.5 million dollars, into France from Italy. Carrying a diplomatic passport, Sen. Kudret Bayhan, 60, is a member of the rightist National Action Party in the Senate."* (International Herald Tribune, 8 March 1972)

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

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

Then he organized commando camps to train youth in the manner of Hitler's SA's. Certain articles of the Political Parties Law notwithstanding, these commando camps are still tolerated by the government whose inten-

tention is to use them to crush the anti-imperialist and democratic mass movements.

Colonel Türkes, who is still hailed as "Başbug" in the meaning of "Führer" by his commandos, first challenged the left on August 19, 1968:

*"In Turkey there are thousands of young nationalists who are able to act in a way which the left will understand. We are training these young men as mihancı (fighters). More than one thousand well-trained well-trained and disciplined young men are now ready to fight. Henceforth the Communist movement will not find it possible to spread in this country."* (Daily Hürriyet, August 19, 1968)

Başbug's speech was received as an order by the commandos and on the pretext of "replying to the communists", these armed bands undertook systematic attack of the democratic mass movements. As a result of the joint operations of the fascist commandos and the police forces, 41 persons including workers, peasants, students and intellectuals were murdered one after another prior to the military coup of March 1971.

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

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

### Inner Conflicts of the Military

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

Thereupon, Mr. İsmet İnönü, the CHP leader, protested against the behavior of the military prosecutors in a message addressed to the prime minister and in a speech delivered in parliament on March 25, 1972. So as to prevent split in the government, composed of a three-party coalition, General Memduh Tagmaç, Chief of the General Staff, attempted to pacify İnönü by asserting that the charges against the CHP were not made by design.

However, following the Kizildere Massacre and the extension of martial law for another two months, General Semih Sancar, Martial Law Commander of Ankara, issued an official communique on March 31, 1972, accusing İnönü of slandering the military prosecutors and repeated that İnönü and his party were the main instigators of "anarchy". This communique was fol-



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lowed by official communiques from the five other martial law commanders in quick succession.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

How could they dare disobey their superiors?

Since the term of office of three high commanders -General Tagmaç, Chief of the General Staff; General Faruk Gürler, Commander of the Army; Admiral Celal Eyiceoglu, Commander of the Naval Forces- could terminate a few months later. Through seniority, some of the martial law commanders would be called upon to replace them.

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

#### Rise of the Fascist-Oriented Staff

It is a fact that the martial law commanders carry more weight than their superiors, because of the fact that the strategic and tactical land, air and naval forces come under their command. For example, General Faik

Türün is also Commander of the First Turkish Army and General Semih Sancar is Commander of the Second Turkish Army. If the superior commanders insisted on remaining in office, the martial law commanders could use these armed forces to threaten them and their supporters.

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

The Martial Law commanders also reacted against Cihat Alpan, the General Secretary of the President's office. Cihat Alpan had been one of the three key men in the planning of the March 12th coup and one who has kept strict control over the armed forces on behalf of President Sunay. This was another obstacle to the ambitions of the martial law commanders. The term of office of President Sunay will also come to an end in 1973, and they knew that he wanted to be re-elected for another seven year term. However, Sunay was not clever enough in his maneuvers to guarantee re-election. If they could eliminate his general secretary who is the master mind of such political intrigues, one of them would be able to be elected President of the Republic. Since 1960, the tradition has been to elect a high commander as President of the Republic.

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

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

General Ihsan Göksaran was appointed General Director of Turkish Airlines (THY). (Daily Terakkiyat, May 10, 1971)

General Kemalettin Gökakin was appointed Chairman of the THY Board. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 18, 1971)

General Sefik Erensü was appointed Rector of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 6, 1971)

General Musa Oğün was appointed General Director of the Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation (TRT). (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 26, 1971)

General Fethi Ertem was appointed Employer Representative to the Supreme Arbitration Commission. (Daily Cumhuriyet, July 27, 1971)

General Nihat Arslantürk was appointed Chief of Police of Istanbul. (Daily Cumhuriyet, July 31, 1971)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Prime Minister Nihat Erim gave an interview to the French Television and said: "One month later than the martial law imposed, today, the anarchists have lost their all possibilities to hide themselves in Anatolia. At the end of a two-months period the situation will return into normal." (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 26, 1971)

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Prime Minister Ferit Melen said: "Although the anarchy has been got under control, it is deeply rooted. Therefore we are obliged to take necessary measures in order to exterminate it." (Daily Milliyet, July 17, 1972)

## FASCISM UNDER THE GUISE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Despite the everincreasing crimes of fascist military rule in Turkey, the impression might be gained that a democracy of western type still exists in Turkey since there is still a parliament; but on closer examination it can be seen that the Turkish Parliament does not resemble the western type parliament: It is in fact its opposite. This brief summary of the political history of Turkey will also demonstrate that the events which have transpired since 1971 can only perpetuate the particular political traditions of the country.

### First Constitutional Acts

The first constitutional act in the history of the Ottoman Empire can be traced back to 1810 and the Sened-i Ittifak (Treaty of Alliance) signed between the Sultan and the local authorities. Another important pact was signed in 1839 the Gülhane Hattı Hümayunu (Noble Edict of Gülhane) or Tanzimat Fermani (Edict for Reforms), drawn up by the Sadrazam Resit Pasha. These acts were the result of pressures from the western countries and the ruling minorities which exercised their influence through large-scale trading; likewise, the "New Ottoman Movement" and the first Constitution of the Ottoman Empire (1876), under which a "parliament" was created, were the consequences of the pressures of the western countries and the efforts of intellectuals such as Namik Kemal, Ziya Pasha, Mithat Pasha more than of class struggles inside the country. In point of fact, however, Sultan Abdülhamid II was able to abolish the Constitution and the parliament, which had only been in existence for two years; the Sultan's monarchy survived until 1908.

### The Movement of the "Young Turks" (1908)

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

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

In the face of the social unrest which was gathering momentum, the leaders of the movement abandoned their slogans of liberty and democracy, of

which they posed as champions, and soon created a military and civilian oligarchy. At the time of the First World War, they persuaded the Emperor to enter the war contributing thereby to the rapid defeat of the Empire, after which they fled the country.

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

### The First Turkish National Assembly

On April 11, 1920, with the invasion of Istanbul, the Ottoman Assembly was dissolved by the Sultan, and the leaders of the National Independence Movement under Mustafa Kemal formed the first Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920 in Ankara. The 338 deputies were chiefly composed of landowners, merchants, theocrats and high-ranking bureaucrats. The majority of the people, i.e. the peasants and the workers, were not represented in parliament.

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

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

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

### The Dictatorship of the Republican People's Party

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

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

".....In a national society, the best structure for the state is a sys-

tem which gives the outstanding and most brilliant intellectuals the possibility of becoming leaders."

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

### Changeover to a Multy-Party System

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

The real motivation behind this decision was as follows:

- a) Social discontent had reached a high point. The masses demanded their democratic rights.
- b) The bureaucratic leadership of the Republican People's Party thwarted the development of the bourgeoisie.
- c) The defeat of fascism at the end of the Second World War.

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

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

In the 1950 elections, the Democratic Party seized power by an overwhelming majority, i.e. the collaborationist bourgeoisie replaced the bureaucratic regime. Indeed, within a short period of time, the leadership of the Democratic Party adopted a form of dictatorship. Between 1950 and 1960, time was spent in vain struggles between the DP and the CHP and some minor parties coming under their aegis. The DP Government, so as to censor the press and suppress any opposition, introduced extraordinary measures similar to those Mustafa Kemal and Ismet İnönü had enacted previously. Meanwhile, the discontent of the masses was on the increase since the DP brought no real solution to the economic and social problems of the country. As a result of oppression and discontentment, a group of military officers put an end to the dictatorship of the DP on May 27, 1960.

### A Parliament Including the Left

In actual fact, the basic motivation behind the May 27th Movement of the armed forces was the intense desire of the military and civilian bureaucracy to regain political power. Under pressure from the working masses and leftist intellectuals, a progressive constitution and some radical laws were passed. Protected by the 1961 Constitution, for the first time in Turkish

history, a left-wing party, the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) was able to develop legally. The TIP succeeded in obtaining 15 seats in parliament during the 1965 elections. However, the coalition of the collaborating bourgeoisie and the landowners, which dominated the economic sector in the country, took power again in the same elections, obtaining an overwhelming majority for the "Justice Party" (AP) as their political vehicle was now called. One of the main objectives of the AP was to change the 1961 Constitution and to eliminate the leftist opposition. Between 1965 and 1971, the meetings of the TIP and other democratic organizations were the objects of police raids and attacks by rightist gangs. Parliamentary immunity of socialist deputies was suspended and several legal cases against them were brought before the courts. The AP deputies even went so far as to beat up socialist parliamentarians in the National Assembly meeting halls.

In spite of these pressures, the Turkish Labour Party, with its 15 deputies, was able to bring a good number of social and economic problems of Turkey before parliament, to defend fundamental rights and freedoms despite the AP majority. On appeals by the TIP, many unconstitutional laws were annulled by the Constitutional Court.

The majority, representing the Justice Party then applied new tactics in order to eliminate the socialist opposition in parliament. The electoral law was modified and the Turkish Labour Party lost its 13 seats in the 1969 elections. It became impossible to act as a political group and to speak on behalf of the TIP. The parliament, after four years of activity, returned to its former traditions and became a parliament without a left!

### Which Factors Affect Elections?

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

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

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

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

In actual fact, these rights are only on paper:

1. In Turkey, it is a known fact that almost 50% of the population is illiterate. These are people who cannot even sign their own names and who identify themselves only by fingerprints. They are unable to read the information on the different political movements and therefore, to choose between the candidates according to their own will.

2. In reality, left wing parties in Turkey do not have the slightest chance of reaching the people and presenting their views and ideas, especially in the small Anatolian towns and villages where furious and aggressive repression of leftist groups is the usual practise of the local authorities and rightist gangs. On the other hand, in this same Anatolia, more than 40 thousand mosques operate as propaganda centers for the right-wing parties.

3. In Anatolia, peasants are economically dependent on the moneylenders, landowners and merchants. They are obliged to vote for the parties or candidates imposed by the latter.

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

#### Class Structure of the Parliament

Under these circumstances, only the representatives of the ruling classes can gain entrance to parliament. The following table is an indication of the class structure of the candidates nominated by the left, center and rightist parties in the 1969 elections.

LEFT: Only the Turkish Labour Party (TIP). It was banned after March 12th coup.

CENTER: The Republican People's Party (CHP) and the Union Party (BP).

RIGHT: The Justice Party (AP), the National Action Party (MHP), the National Security Party (MGP), the New Turkey Party (YTP) and the Nation Party (MP).

<u>SOCIAL BACKGROUND OF CANDIDATES</u>	<u>LEFT (%)</u>		<u>CENTER (%)</u>		<u>RIGHT (%)</u>	
Businessmen	---	---	129	18.-	577	27.-
Workers	117	26.-	13	1.8	27	1.3
Large Landowners	1	0.2	80	11.-	175	8.2
Poor Peasants	63	14.-	---	---	3	0.1
Professionals	39	8.1	296	41.-	655	31.-
Artisans	149	33.1	14	1.8	51	2.3
State Employees	52	11.-	93	13.-	340	15.-
Trade-Union Leaders	22	4.9	14	1.8	52	2.3
Former Deputies	7	1.5	72	10.-	256	11.5
Total		450		713		2136

In the 1969 elections, the right wing obtained 61.64% of the votes, the center 30% and the left-wing 2.54%. This table clearly shows that, despite the provisions of the constitution, given the above mentioned factors, elections always favor the ruling classes.

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

RIGHT WING: 283 deputies (Justice Party: 223, Democratic Party: 40, National Security Party: 14, Nation Party: 4, National Action Party: 1, New Turkey Party: 1)

CENTER: 137 deputies (Republican People's Party: 135, Union Party: 2)

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



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

### On Behalf of Ruling Classes

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

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

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

.....  
 A new will aiming to protect the present regime was brought to the National Assembly. According to this new bill, anybody who tries to establish domination of a class over other classes or to abrogate the social and/or economic orders will be condemned up to 12 years imprisonment. They will be tried at special courts and trials will terminate in a week. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 21, 1933)

\*

Prime Minister Nihat Erim declared that the government would bring a new bill aiming to protect the present regime. According to this new bill, new extraordinary courts will be established and they will try anybody who commits a crime against the social and/or economic orders. (Daily Cumhuriyet, March 23, 1972)

## THE VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

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

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

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

On the contrary, in the speech made following approval of his government by parliament, Mr. Erim stated: *"...We came here to put the constitution into practice. For example, to protect the functions of the Constitutional Court, the Council of State, the Court of Cassation, the autonomy of the courts, the autonomy of the state radio and television, the autonomy of the universities... I became the head of this government because I personally believe in the importance of such institutions. Therefore, I cannot just come forward and as for these constitutional rights to be changed."* (Daily Cumhuriyet, April 10, 1971)

Only a few weeks later, the same Mr. Erim proclaimed martial law and on launching his famous "Sledge-hammer Operation", he described the 1961 Constitution in a speech delivered on May 1, 1971 as a "luxury for Turkey". On June 5, 1971, Mr. Erim put forward draft amendments on 40 different articles of the democratic constitution. The amendments of the constitution were voted by parliament in short order and came into force on September 22, 1971. The amendments received the approval of 357 members of parliament being rejected by only two independent members.

The attitude of the political parties and the parliamentarians can only be regarded with suspicion. Until March 12th, 1971, none of the political parties in Turkey other than the Justice Party, had ever spoken publicly of the need for such amendments. On the contrary, the political parties had systematically opposed the idea whenever the question was brought up for discussion or proposed by the Justice Party. After the draft amendments were made public by the Erim government, the other political parties, including the "center-left" wing of the Republican People's Party, did not express any opposition to them and gave in to all the desires of the military rulers of Turkey by voting in parliament for the amendments with only a few slight, insignificant changes. Even Mr. Ecevit, leader of the center-left-wing of the Republican People's Party, publicly stated on August 19, 1971 that, *"....We*

have prepared a text which will ensure the continuation of democracy in Turkey, keeping our sacrifices at a minimum level." In addition to the threat of abolishing parliament if these constitutional amendments were not accepted, personal interests of the parliamentarians played a major role in determining the attitude of the political parties. It was crystal clear that if the constitution was not modified, it would be impossible to increase the salaries of the parliamentarians by almost 100%. Mr. Nihat Erim who had strongly opposed the action of certain parliamentarians who, prior to March 12, 1971, proposed an increase in their salaries by amending the appropriate article of the 1961 Constitution, became one of the main supporters of the same proposal, and as Prime Minister he promised his parliamentarian colleagues an increase of salary of almost 100%, on the condition that the junta's demands be implemented. It was only in this way that both the intention of the junta to stifle freedom and the hopes of the parliamentarians to receive a ten-thousand-dollar annual salary as a pay-off for their work, could be realized. On the other hand, one must also remember that in this same Turkey, the national annual per capita income is only 321 dollars.

### Who is Guilty: The Constitution or the Political Authorities?

The government of the junta stressed the following points in their attempt to explain the constitutional amendments:

*"The 1961 Constitution has many loop-holes. In this constitution there is not one single decree or statement which would prevent exercising fundamental rights and freedoms against a free and democratic society. Therefore, such unlimited conditions of freedom create considerably large operational fields for the extremists as well as a constant state of anarchy."*

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Aim: The Destruction of the Constitution

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

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

The following is the former text of the article:

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

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

The new text of the article reads as follows:

*"Basic rights and freedoms can be restricted by law, in accordance*

*with the spirit and text of the constitution, for the purpose of protecting the territorial and national unity of the State or the Republic, national security, public order, public interests, the general welfare and morality as well as for the particular reasons indicated in other articles of the constitution.*

*"The law cannot break or destroy the spirit of basic rights and freedoms.*

*"None of the rights and freedoms laid forth in this constitution can be used or exercised for the purpose of nullifying human rights and freedoms or the territorial and national unity of the Turkish State or for destroying the Republic by misusing or exploiting the differences between linguistic groups, races, social classes, religions or creeds."*

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

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

### Mistrust of the Courts of Law

In his defence of his government's amendment of Article 11, Prime Minister Erim cited in particular Article 18 of the German (Bonn) Constitution as an example to back-up his action. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 28, 1971). However, Article 18 of the Bonn Constitution can only come into force on a decision of the Constitutional Court and no authority whatsoever is recognized as competent for a change in the executive and/or legislative powers. However, in Turkey, the political power structure mistrusts the courts of law.

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

The authority of the Council of State to revise decrees or executive orders has been restricted by the new wording of Article 114 of the constitution: *"Authority of control cannot be used or exercised for the purpose of limiting the accomplishment of the duties of the executive power."*

Article 149 concerning the abrogation of laws by the Constitutional Court has been made restrictive. The military junta based its view on the fact that, even though the outlawed Turkish Labour Party had no parliamentary group, it could apply to the Constitutional Court for annulment of hundreds of anti-democratic laws passed by parliament within the last ten years. To stop such attempts, Article 149 was amended as follows:

*"Only those political parties which have their own groups in parliament or the political parties which receive at least 10% of the legal vote at a general election may apply to the Constitutional Court for annulment of laws."*

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

According to the amendments to Article 138, the legal attributions of the military tribunals have been increased and crimes committed by civilians against military personnel shall no longer be tried in civil court but in military courts.

#### Violation of the Rights of the Individual

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

In demanding such amendments, the military junta has once again expressed its mistrust of the judges. The authority of the executive power was therefore substantially increased.

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

Furthermore, in accordance with Article 32 of the Constitution, it was clearly stated that no person could be put on trial by an extraordinary or special tribunal without a decision from his normal presiding judge. However, concerning this article, the title was first amended to read "Legal Means of Judgement" and then a phrase was inserted in the article stating that "no obstruction exists within the law for establishing special courts." By inserting this wording in the article in question, the doors were left open to establish or appoint special courts after the termination of martial law. As a result, any Turkish citizen may be divested at any time of his constitutional right to be tried only by a civil court judge.

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

An amendment of Article 46 also limits the right of employees to es-

establish labour unions. State employees and teachers are now deprived of this fundamental right. Furthermore, the right of workers to establish unions can be restricted for the purpose of *"protecting the territorial and national unity of the State, national security, public order and morality."*

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

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

#### Abrogation of University and Radio Autonomy

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

Academic and administrative autonomy has granted to the universities in 1946. However, the Menderes Government (DP) responded to growing university criticism of the government by restricting university autonomy in 1953. Several professors were suspended or not promoted because of their opposition to the government. At that time, Nihat Erim, then a university professor, resigned from his academic post so as to defend the principle of university autonomy and to protest against Prime Minister Menderes' decision.

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

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

*"...There are some professors who instigate the youth by stating, '...human rights, basic freedoms are tricks of the bourgeoisie. They cannot be considered as genuine freedoms. Genuine freedoms can be obtained by applying Maoism and Marxism.' We cannot tolerate this kind of attitude."* (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 13, 1971)

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

*"Police forces are authorized to enter the university buildings and annexes for the purpose of pursuing a criminal, without obtaining authorization from the university administration."*

*"All administrative organs of the universities are placed under the strict control of the executive power.*

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

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

### Extraordinary Prerogatives of the Martial Law Commanders

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

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

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

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

Later, the military compelled parliament to enact a special law to authorize the appointment of martial law commanders. The new Act of Martial Law came into force 20 days after the proclamation of martial law, on May 15, 1971, and restricted fundamental rights and freedoms by authorizing the martial law commanders:

1. To search all dwellings, all buildings of political parties, associations, trade unions, clubs, all offices and workshops, all establishments (including autonomous ones), to search individuals and to confiscate their belongings and personal correspondences without obtaining a court order.
2. To censor all broadcasts or publications of the radio and television, photos, written documents, spoken texts and films; to examine individual correspondence, letters, telegrams, etc.; to restrict the publishing or printing of newspapers, magazines and books and to censor them; to forbid the entrance of publications in provinces under martial law; to close printing houses which print banned publications.
3. To outlaw strikes.
4. To close casinos, clubs and coffee-houses.
5. Under the same act, all military and police forces were put under



the command of the martial law commanders. These forces were authorized to shoot on sight.

6. The military courts of martial law were authorized to try anyone under arrest on charges levelled by the martial law commanders.

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

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

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

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

The new Act of Martial Law not only constitutes a violation of the former text of the 1961 Constitution, but also of its modified version. It is not in accordance with the original text of the 1961 Constitution for the following reasons:

1. *Whereas the 1961 Constitution limited the period of detention to 24 hours, the special act authorized the martial law commanders to detain an individual for 30 days without a court warrant. In applying this unconstitutional provision, the martial law commanders were able to keep thousands of people in the military jails for more than 24 hours without a court warrant. Furthermore, whereas Article 14 of the 1961 Constitution strictly forbid any and all forms of torture, hundreds of political detainees were brutally tortured in military headquarters and police centers by agents under the command of the martial law commanders.*

2. *In accordance with the Article 32 of the 1961 Constitution, it was clearly stated that no person could be sent for trial to an extraordinary or special tribunal other than by his presiding judge. In spite of this provision, not only the "crimes" committed during the period of martial law, but also the "crimes" committed three or four years ago were also brought before the military courts of martial law. Hundreds of writers, journalists, translators, editors and university professors were tried in the military courts of martial law on the basis of publications edited by them prior to the time when martial law was instituted.*

*In addition, the martial law commanders have not limited themselves to the eleven provinces but have put anyone and everyone in the military jails of the six martial law headquarters; and the military courts of martial law have tried and condemned them for "political crimes".*

3. *The martial law commanders have also violated articles 15, 16, 22, and 29 of the 1961 Constitution by closing down all sorts of associations, by searching dwellings, by confiscating newspapers, periodicals and books, by searching individuals' belongings and personal correspondence and by confiscating the latter without a court order.*

#### Despite the Constitutional Court's Decision

Between April 26, 1971, the date on which martial law was enforced, and September 22, 1971, the date the amendments of the 1961 Constitution came into force, during a period of six months, the orders and actions of the six martial law commanders were in direct violation of the Constitution.

After September 22, 1971, the majority of these extraordinary powers became "constitutional", but two important provisions of the special act were even a violation of the new text of the constitution.

In accordance with the new text of the Constitution, no Turkish citizen could be detained more than 48 hours for crimes committed by a single person and seven days for crimes jointly by more than one person. However, even after September 22, 1971, on the basis of the unconstitutional articles of the Act of Martial Law, the martial law commanders continued to keep their victims in the military jails for weeks and months without a proper court warrant.

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

1. *The article which authorized the martial law commanders to maintain an individual in custody for thirty days without a proper court warrant.*
2. *And the article which authorized the military courts to try non-military personnel even after the period of martial law had been terminated.*

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

Kadriye Ezel Incili was taken into custody by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on March 25, 1972 and arrested on April 25, 1972 (31 days).

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

Ayse Bilge Dicleli was taken into custody by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on March 25, 1972 and arrested on April 24, 1972 (30 days).

Ayse Baykara was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on February 12, 1972 and arrested on March 10, 1972 (28 days).

Selma Veyisoglu was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on February 14, 1972 and arrested on March 16, 1972 (32 days).

Altan Öymen (writer) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 26, 1972 and arrested on June 22, 1972 (28 days).

Erdal Öz (writer) was taken into custody by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on May 26, 1972 and arrested on June 22, 1972 (28 days).

Dogu Perinçek (university assistant) was taken into custody by the Izmir Martial Law Headquarters on May 21, 1972 and arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on June 24, 1972 (35 days).

Halil Berktaş (university assistant) was taken into custody by the Izmir Martial Law Headquarters on May 21, 1972 and arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on June 24, 1972 (35 days).

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

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

If the files of the cases before the military courts of martial law were examined, hundreds of examples of unconstitutional detentions would be observed.

The martial law commanders do not take into account the constitutional provisions concerning freedom of the press. Even after the amendment of the Constitution, Article 22 pertaining to press freedom did not give power to the martial law commanders to confiscate books published previously. In accordance with the Press Code currently in force, it is illegal to confiscate any book more than six months after its publication. But the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH decided to confiscate books edited prior to the six-month period. Among the confiscated books are some written 350 years ago and reprinted in the last three or four years.

#### The Laws Are Now Being Adapted to the Modified Version of the Constitution

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

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

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

#### Restrictions on Democratic and Political Activities

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

Associations must obtain the approval of the public prosecutor in order

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Restriction of Justice

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

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

The Military Criminal Procedure Code was also changed in the same spirit by parliament on June 8, 1972. First of all, the military prosecutors and judges come under the authority of the local military commanders and the

military commanders are authorized to intervene in to the investigation at any moment.

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

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

The amendment of the Military Criminal Code passed by the National Assembly on July 4, 1972, authorized the military courts to try not only military personnel, but also civilians. If a civilian is accused of "*insulting the armed forces or any military person on duty*", he will be considered military personnel and the military court may sentence him to up to 5 years of prison. For example, if a driver has an argument with a private who is conducting traffic or if a journalist criticizes military expenditures, they can be tried in the military courts.

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

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

The Military-backed government brought the bill amending the Films Control Act before parliament on June 13, 1972. If this bill is enacted by parliament, the administrative bodies will be authorized to outlaw the making of any film in order to "protecting the territorial and national unity of the state, public order, morality". The same authorities can also ban any film on the pretext that it is "insulting for the armed forces or the security forces".

The military junta is not, however, satisfied with all these amendments and the President of the Republic called all the political leaders together on July 7, 1972 to impress upon them the necessity of new changes in the Constitution aimed at giving more authority to the executive power. If the parliament accepts these new amendments, the parliament itself, the Council of State, the judicial organs will loose all power of control with respect to the executive authorities. The military insists on establishing extraordinary security courts and is demanding the amendment of Article 32 of the Constitution. This because the Constitutional Court declared nul and void the article of the Martial Law Act which authorized the military courts to try non-military personnel after the period of martial law is terminated. The military junta demands that all citizens stamped as "enemies of the state" not to be tried in the normal courts, but rather in the extraordinary security courts.

## TORTURES APPLIED TO POLITICAL PRISONERS

Since March 12, 1971, the military rule of Turkey has adopted inhuman methods and applied torture to the political prisoners as a matter of policy. The military junta and its government are clearly responsible for torture in Turkey, not simply in the way government is responsible for the acts of their agents, but because the practice has been known for one and a half years and the regime has taken no known measures to stop it or to punish the guilty.

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

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

The military-backed government has consistently denied all the charges of torture. The prime ministers of the military-backed governments have shown considerable ill-temper over such charges. The first prime minister of the military rule, Mr. Nihat Erim, complained these charges and said that if any proof were given, the government would punish the guilty. Thereupon hundreds of proofs were brought, but the government did not take into consideration any of them. The second prime minister of the military rule, Mr. Ferit Melen, also denied all charges and qualified them as the "*lies of international communist conspiracy*". On the other hand, General Faik Türün, Istanbul Martial Law Commander, said: "*I made an investigation on these charges and saw that they are not more than few blows on the soles and a few slaps.*" (Daily Milliyet, May 29, 1972). While the general was given this speech, as it will be seen in the following affidavits, many young women were violated with truncheons and miscarried their babies or went off their minds.

In fact, immediately after the martial law was imposed, the regime arrested thousands of people and beat them up in order to discourage them and others from resisting the new regime. But the phase of systematic torture against those suspected of being engaged in underground resistance be-

gan in earnest a month after the coup. The affidavits in the first part of this chapter belong to this phase.

Those who are being tortured today in Turkey are those who are suspected of being active in resistance to the military regime. Not all suspects are automatically tortured, but only those who are believed to have useful information and to be susceptible to torture. Though resistance comes from all quarters, the brunt of the regime's brutality has fallen on the left, both in terms of number tortured and degree of torture. But also the internationally known artists like caricaturist Turhan Selçuk or movie star Yilmaz Güney, lawyers like Yalçın Öztürk, professors as Cevat Çapan were also tortured.

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

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

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

- a) *Brutal arrests carried out between midnight and dawn without a court warrant.*
- b) *The methods which make the prisoner feel that it is futile to resist consisting of taking away all the elements of his daily life which give him security, holding him incommunicado until he speaks under fear of torture.*
- c) *Physical tortures as falanga (bastinado), electro-shock, burning, sexually oriented tortures.*
- d) *Non-physical methods as assaulting the prisoner by obscenities, lies and threats from the very first moment, exposing him to noise, stripping him or her naked, exploitation of psychological weaknesses, obliging the prisoner to listen to others being tortured, mock executions, destroying the prisoner's sense of reality and forcing him to sign declarations against his beliefs.*

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

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

Those who are tortured will never be the same again. The following affidavits give depressing and tragic clinical evidence of the devastating affects of tortures.

The affidavits of the victims, the observations of the foreign journalists and jurists show that the military rule of Turkey has violated both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the European Convention of Human Rights. Both of them state that "no one shall be subjected to torture". Although they do not define it, Article 3 of the European Convention is broader in scope: "No one shall be subjected to torture or to inhuman or degrading treatment." Although under Article 15 of the European Convention a state may suspend certain articles in time of "grave national emergency", but under no circumstances may it violate Article 3. The military rule of Turkey has violated not only the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and European Convention, which had been signed by the Turkish government, but also the Constitution of Republic in force. The Article 14 of the Constitution says: "No one shall be subjected to ill-treatment or to torture. No one shall be subjected to degrading punishment".

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

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

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

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FROM THE THRESHOLD OF DEATH

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

And now I'm with you  
 The flash and burst of lightning amidst the clouds!  
 And now I'm with you  
 My pulsation, child of my steely breast!  
 Now I'm with you  
 The sky rejoices out of prison!  
 .....  
 And now I'm with you  
 My love.  
 While I write these lines for you  
 The sparks of life  
 Are firing me  
 What does life mean to them,  
 To the torturers:  
 Nothing but a dull motionless portrait!  
 And how frenzied they become  
 When I smile gently under their torture  
 .....





TORTURES APPLIED TO THE  
DEFENDANTS OF MAHIR ÇAYAN CASE

The statements in this chapter were given by the defendants of Mahir Çayan Case at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. But none of these statements appeared on the daily newspapers under the pressure of the military rule. Thereupon the lawyer of the tortured defendants attempted to publish a booklet including the statements on tortures on September 27, 1971. The booklet was printed, but the lawyer was not able to distribute them, because they were confiscated by the military authorities, while it was being bound. A few copies of the booklet could be saved from the military authorities and be brought secretly out of Turkey.

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

NECMI DEMİR: Born in 1944. 8th semester student at the Economics Faculty of Istanbul University. He was tried according to Article 146 of Turkish Penal Code and condemned to death on December 27, 1971, but his sentence was commuted into life term by the Military Court of Cassation later on. During the trials, his deposition, taken down at the Police Headquarters on June 1, 1971 was read in the court. The defendant rejected the deposition revealing that it was taken down under severe torture by police. He also did not accept the prosecutor's formal charge based on the same deposition. (Court's minutes, p.33). The following statement about tortures was written by Necmi Demir and put into his official court file after being read in the court on August 25, 1971.

"I was taken into custody on the evening of May 27, 1971. I was first locked in a cell at the political section of Police headquarters (security police). About two hours later, I was brought into the room of Istanbul

Police Chief Muzaffer Caglar, being kicked and cuffed on the way. In the room, there was also an army general. They talked quite shortly and definitely: "Do him to death! Kill him!"

"Thereupon, they brought me into the security police chief Ilgiz Aykutlu's room. There were also two army officers; one major, and one colonel. Aykutlu shouted at me: 'here neither the constitution nor the Declaration of Human Rights exists any more. You are going to confess everything that we want you to say!' Then I was carried into the first cell in which I had been locked before, and the torture started. The torture, which they call 'operation' continued for 14 hours. During this time, the torture teams were permanently changing and while two policemen were beating me, the others were watching the 'operation'. After 14 hours, at 12 a.m., on May 28, 1971, I was carried into the criminal section of the headquarters. There, they bound my hands behind my back and threw me onto the ground, tied my feet to a stick and started to beat my soles. There were about ten policemen. Among them I could recognize the police superintendant Dursun Karaduman, Cazip Isik, Zekeriya Aydin (the leader of the torture team who always applies electrodes to defendants). During the torture they wanted me to say that I shot at the Consul. But later I learnt that Irfan Uçar and Necati Sagir were also forced to 'confess' to the same 'crime'.

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

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

"...On June 13th, eighteen days after the operation I was still not able to walk easily. But Irfan Uçar and Jülide Zaim were worse off than I; so the members of the military court had to hold the trial in their cells in order to arrest them. On June 30th they sent me to Haydarpasa Military Hospital with Irfan Uçar, Jülide Zaim and Kadriye Deniz Özen. I was treated there until the 20th of July, then they brought me to Maltepe Military Prison. Now, I still have traces of tortures in spite of passing 87 days after the 'operation'. Two toe nails of my right foot and one toe nail of my left foot had fallen off because of the falanga torture and the others were severely bruised. A deep split up to the bones was open on my right foot. I still have the traces of all of them."

After Necmi Demir read this statement, his lawyer Yilmaz Derele appealed to the court for obtaining a decision in order to nominate an expert for ascertaining the physical damages which had been inflicted upon the defendant. His application was followed by the requests by the other tortured ones: Abdullah Ceceloglu, Rasim Ozkan, Irfan Uçar, Necati Sagir, Ömer Erim Süerkan, Jülide Zaim, Kadriye Deniz Özen and Yüksel Erdoğan in order to have medical expertise. (Minutes of the Court p. 34)



On May 27, 1971 Ilgiz Aykutlu, Security Police Chief, phoned to an army colonel and said: "We have taken their photographs. Now we are going to start the operation. After the operation we cannot give their photos to the press. What about giving them to the press right now, together with the news about their seizure?" Above, the mentioned photo of Necmi Demir, Ilkay Demir, Irfan Uçar, and Necati Sagir. Below: Jülide Zaim, Rüçhan Manas, and Kadriye Deniz Özen, the most badly tortured female defendants of the Çayan Case. Affidavits and photos of the other tortured victims on the following pages.





En student visar upp sina blodiga och sönderslagna ben. Sår som vittnar om den brutala tortyr, som de politiska färgarna utsätts för i polishäktet. Detta trots att paragraf 14 i den turkiska författningslagen lyder: "Tortyr och repressalier får ej förekomma". Dessutom är Turkiet medlem av Europarådet, som totalförbjöd all form av tortyr!

Yunus Emin İ Haziran günü yabalandığım Küçükçekir-  
 ki inzibat korucularına getirilerek saatler forala  
 nun ora verilmelendir işkence görürüm. Dyakta  
 yacak bir durumda getirildiğim, emniyet ee de  
 26 gün Aq bırakılarak dövüldüm insanlık dışı işkence  
 aruz kaldım. Emniyet müdürlüğünde poliler taraf  
 almış bir ifadede işkence ve vakte tehdidi ile  
 tarak Selimiye getirildim, ve Patır Savcılığa  
 alın makrın, Polister tarafından derzaktmiş oolsuz  
 ve zabıtlara day dayanılarak tutuklandım.



Tayfun Demir  
 (Savcılıkta)  
 İmetteyeri  
 için cevap verilmedi  
 Zerrin Vahidshmatiglu  
 Ahmetiyeşev

İfat Güne  
 Rukiye Dülgere



ier edildi ve hakaretler  
 bıraktım ve 20 gün sonra

Kadri Çağlı  
 K. Çağlı



da...

stara yapilan işkence  
 de tamirler.  
 E. S. Tolun  
 Elif Gönül Tolun  
 İbrahim...  
 İbrahim...  
 İbrahim...

ILKAY DEMIR: Born in 1946. 10th semester student at Istanbul Medicine Faculty. She was tried according to Article 146 of Turkish Penal Code and condemned to death on December 27, 1971. But her sentence was commuted into life term later on.

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

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

"But when Mahir Çayan and Hüseyin Cevahir were surrounded at Maltepe the police authorities forced us to 'confess' that Çayan is the killer this time." (Minutes of the Court pp. 45-46)

The following affidavit, written by Ilkay Demir, was also read at the session on August 25, 1971 and put into the court's file.

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

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

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

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

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

"3. On the evening of May 28, Ilgiz Aykutlu brought me to the criminal Section. He showed my bloodstained husband Necmi who was just carried out of the 'torture room' and laid on a desk before me. They were trying

to wrap his bleeding feet. The corridor was like a lake of blood. A woman was trying to wash the blood in vain. Later I learnt it was not only the blood of Necmi but also the blood of Irfan.

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

"4. On May 28, they had beaten Irfan Uçar starting at 9 a.m.; till 5 p.m. At the same time they were also beating Necmi. I know all the details about the situation of Irfan's health beginning from that day until we were brought to Harbiye Caserme. In fact he was at death's door. For many days he laid motionless on the concrete floor of his cell. He was continuously talking in his sleep. His breath was very short. For fifteen days his urine was quite bloody. The first medical treatment to his feet was done by me, therefore I know the wounds very well.

"5. On May 27 and 28 I saw Kadriye D. Özen twice and Jülide Zaimmm once in Aykutlu's room. Aykutlu was trying to frighten me by saying that the same thing would happen to me, showing their swollen feet and their exhausted states.

"6. A few days later Rasim Özkan and Cihan Alptekin were also violently tortured. I gave medical treatment to them also. Savaskan Oral, who is under arrest in Kartal now, also witnessed the states of Irfan, Necmi, Rasim and Cihan. In addition, Nadir Ozal, student of Istanbul Technical University and Tektas Agaoglu, writer who is now under arrest at Sagsmalci-lar Prison, also saw the scene.

"...A friend of Aykutlu's, Dr. Garabet Arman from Çapa Hospital is also witnessed these tortures. He examined Uçar, Necmi Demir, Jülide Zaim and Kadriye Deniz Özen medically in front of me, prescribed three ointment for their feet and ordered me to cure them.

"7. (.....)

"8. On the 18th of June Irfan and Jülide could not be brought in- to the court hall because of being unable to move. So the court members were obliged to come to their cells and communicate the court's decision about their arrest. They both applied for medical expertise in order to as- certain the physical damages that had been inflicted upon them.

"Later the court members controlled every cell and saw our friends in their exhausted state, suffering from the pains of torture. The chief of the military police forces, General Sahap Yardimoglu, had also at many times seen the state we were in.

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

"10. I was brought in front of the military prosecutors on June 28. I told both military prosecutors, Mr. Naci Gür and Mr. Ülgen Sözer, all about the tortures. I wanted my revelations taken down in the minutes but the prosecutors refused my application."

KADRIYE DENİZ ÖZEN: Born in 1948. 6th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. She was tried according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC) and condemned to death on December 27, 1971. But her sentence was commuted into life term later on. The following affidavit was written by Miss Ozen and put into the court's file after being read at the trial dated September 1, 1971.

- "1. I was taken into custody on May 17, 1971.
- "2. I was arrested by the military court on June 18, 33 days after being kept in custody.
- "3. I was brought to prison on July 20, 1971
- "4. Before being brought to prison:
  - "a.) Between May 17 and June 12 I was kept in the political section of Istanbul police headquarters.
  - "b.) Between June 12 and June 30 I was kept in a solitary confinement cell at Harbiye Caserne.
  - "c.) Between June 30 and July 20 I was kept at Haydarpasa Military Hospital in order to be treated medically.
  - "d.) Since the 20th of July I have been in Maltepe Military Prison.
- "5. From May 17 to June 12, I was tortured and pressured physically and morally in the police headquarters.

"On the night of May 27, they applied electroshock to me at the criminal section of police headquarters. I was blindfolded so that I was not able to see how many persons were in the torture room. But as I could recognize them by their voices, they were: Ilgiz Aykutlu, Police Superintendent Fahrettin, army officers on duty from the Martial Law Headquarters, officials from the National Security Agency (MIT).

"The electroshock was applied twice, the dose being increased the second time. The electric current was applied first to my legs and later to my arms, and then concentrated to my head. They were rubbing the electrodes against my head forcibly so as to cut through the skin of my head. Not being satisfied with this, they wanted me to strip naked. I refused and resisted it. One of the army officers who became angry with me hit me on my head with his fists at least fifteen times. Then I was told that they would bring my family from Ankara and torture them also. One of them was sent out in order to inform the Martial Law Headquarters (MLH) of Ankara about my family. They gave up the 'operation' when my head, my legs and my arms began to bleed in different places. Then still as blindfolded I was carried out by a policeman. In order to prevent me remembering the location of the torture room he went around with me for a while, then left me at another place.

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

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



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

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

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

"The following day, on May 19, Istanbul Martial Law Commander General Faik Türün visited the Police Headquarters. When he saw my state, he said if I were to continue resisting and not inform them of the names of the kidnappers and if they could not catch them, they were going to execute me by hanging instead of the kidnappers. Also, an army colonel from the MLH stated: 'We shall exterminate you! We shall not leave this country in the hands of vagabonds such as you. To hell with the lot of you!' And Ilgiz Aykutlu added that they could easily sacrifice all of us, and among the 36 million people, we, one million of them, had no value.

"Later on June 12, we were all locked into the solitary confinement cells of Harbiye Caserne. The same day the military prosecutor made up our identities, and forced us to sign some papers stating that we had approved the depositions taken down at the police headquarters.

"A few days later I felt that some illness was manifesting itself in my body. Formerly I had slight gastric pains in my stomach. Now it was getting stronger and the pain was becoming unbearable. I was fainting from time to time. The wounds on my soles were still suppurating and swelling more and more. According to the regulations we were being treated in our cells. But our 'doctor' was a non-commissioned officer instead of a doctor. When I was called by the prosecutor for interrogation I could not carry this order because of not being able to walk. So, an army colonel, the political section's chief of military police headquarters, examined my soles and ordered them not to use force on me during investigations until I would get better. I was getting worse from day to day, and at last on June 30, at night, they have obliged to send me to the Haydarpasa Military Hospital together with three other tortured ones. I was brought to the hospital with my feet wrapped. There their diagnosis was that an extreme anaemic and gastric deterioration was menacing my health. In the clinic, the visible traces of torture were treated. The reason for the appearance of gastritis and anaemia was the torture. I was still not able to stand up on my feet when the military prosecutor came to the hospital to interrogate me. So one of the non-commissioned army officers and one policeman carried me in front of the prosecutor. There were many points in my deposition that I wanted to reject. But I was so exhausted by my illness that I was not able to make the effort.

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

"People who were present when I was being tortured:

"1. During the electric torture: Ilgiz Aykurtlu (Istanbul Security Police's Chief), police superintendant Fahrettin (from Group K of the Security Police), an army officer on duty from the Martial Law Headquarters. (I could not recognize the others, because I was blindfolded.)

"2. During the falanga operation: Police Chief Zekeriya Aydın who was beating my soles himself police superintendant Nuri Korkut from Security Police (political section of police headquarters), a woman superintendant of police whose name I was not able to learn, a police superintendant from the criminal section, Cafer (I could not learn his surname) and some others whose names I could not learn.

"Witnesses, who saw me after being tortured: Omer Erin Süerkan and Jülide Zaim, who were also tortured at the same time; Tülay Tad and Rüçhan Manas; Ilkay Demir and her parents; Yücel Gürsel, Levin Özgen and Bursin Tümay, students from the Fine Arts Academy; Mustafa Karşilayan, student of Chemistry Faculty; Esin, Isil Gürsoy, Afitap Purut and Hafize Ipekten from the Telephone Exchange Station; Safa Tarhan, student of Capa Teachers' School, my sister Mualla Özen and my nephew Dinçer Tüzün.

"Policemen who saw me after being tortured: Chief superintendants of police: Ismail Tasbilek and Fahrettin; police superintendants, Cevdet Demirel, Faruk Çirçi, Lerzan Yıldız (female) police agents, Mustafa Kalaycı, Adnan Güneysu, Baki Güler, Saban Cebeci, Aktan Tufan, Hüsnü Erdöl and Rana Aral.

"Witnesses at Harbiye Caserne: Trained nurse Güler from Gümüşsuyu Military Hospital, non-commissioned army officer Macit Aybar, Political Section's

Chief of Military Police Headquarters, General Sahap Yardimoglu, the Commander of Harbiye Caserne, some high ranking army officers whose names could not be learnt, three guards, Selami, Ali and Hakki.

"At Haydarpasa Military Hospital: All medical experts and doctors including the chief of the doctors, Dr. Ismail, specialist of internal illnesses who also treated us, trained nurses, Nedret Aktok, Sevim Ugurlu and Selma, assistant trained nurse Ahmet, non-commissioned officer Aydin."

RUCHAN MANAS: Born in 1945. 6th semester student at Ankara Social Services Academy. She was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC, and condemned to death on December 27, 1971. But later her sentence was commuted into life term. The following statement was made by her at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters and recorded in the minutes of the court (p.54)

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

JULIDE ZAIM: Born in 1950. 8th semester student at Istanbul Literature Faculty's Psychology Section. She was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC, but acquitted. Later, on June 13, 1972, the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and imposed a new trial. The following affidavit was read by her at the court and recorded in the minutes (p.56)

"I was taken by a policeman from the hospital where I went for medical treatment on May 22, 1971 and brought to Istanbul Police Headquarters' Political Section. There I was beaten by Ilgiz Aykutlu and many other policemen with slaps and cuffs and they started to give me a third degree, kicking and hitting wherever they found a spot which had not been hit before. Then I was brought to the criminal section where Zekeriya Aydin subjected me to falanga personally. They applied to me several kinds of tortures. And they stated that they could probably kill me and throw out of the window and declare to the public that I committed suicide. They also said that I could be raped by them. A major on duty from the MLH named Necati talked to me approving of torture. Later, Ilgiz Aykutlu stated that they could sacrifice one million of us for the remaining 36 million people.

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

"When I was sent to Military Police Headquarters, I met there Necmi Demir, Kadriye Deniz Özen and Irfan Uçar. They were still carrying the visible traces of severe tortures. We were told that we would be interrogated by a

military court. I and Irfan Uçar were not able to walk because of the 'falanga' torture. They took us out of our cells and made us sit down on chairs. I met this present judicial assembly for the first time there. They were not wearing their uniforms. The judicial assembly stated that we were arrested on the charge of 'trying to change the constitution by force.' When I complained about the tortures, I was told I could repeat the same complaint at the trial.

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

NECATI SAGIR: Born in 1947. 4th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC and condemned to 15 years imprisonment. The following affidavit was read by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the minutes (p.59).

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

*The following affidavit was also handed to the court by Necati Sagir and put in the case's file of the same court on September 3, 1971.*

"I was caught on May 27, 1971 together with Necmi Demir, Ilkay Demir and Irfan Uçar and brought into Istanbul Police Headquarters. I was first brought in front of Muzaffer Caglar, Istanbul Police Chief. There were present some high ranking army officers. Caglar started his speech by saying: 'To hell with the lot of you, sons of bitches!' Then they brought me into Ilgiz Aykutlu's room where I was interrogated by army officers of Istanbul MLH. As I could learn of the marks on their collars, some of them were military prosecutors and the others were military judges. They heard the question of Security Police Chief Ilgiz Aykutlu's, when he asked his men whether the 'operation room' was ready? Thereupon some of them turned their faces to me and warned: 'You see, if you are not going to talk you will get an operation!'

"In spite of the military prosecutors' (Naci Gür and Ülgen Sözer, the prosecutors of the 3rd Military Court of Istanbul MLH) denials the fact is that the tortures have been made upon their own instigation. We can prove it by witnesses when it is necessary.

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

"However, I said I was not among them. Then I realized soon, the impossibility of insisting under such circumstances. Finally I broke down and enumerated many names of people who were not involved in any way. They suc-

ceeded to obtain such untrue 'confessions' from me in the same way. When they were not content with my answers, I was being subjected to falanga. They were beating over and over, opening blisters which appeared on the soles of my feet with pins and then they forced me to walk. From time to time they were putting the stick into my anus with which they were beating my soles. This operation continued until morning uninterruptedly. For three days I was almost speechless. Even in this state, policemen came to my cell many times and trampled on me for 15 or 20 minutes each time. When I needed to urinate or to defecate I had to ask the help of two persons. For 15 days I could not stand on my feet. A trained nurse who came to the Police Headquarters and saw the state we were in, tried to treat my soles medically. Before we were sent to Harbiye Caserne, General Faik Türün visited the police headquarters and witnessed how badly tortured we were. Also the martial law prosecutors interrogated us in the presence of poli and were informed of the tortures. And also these present prosecutors of this case were personally the witnesses of our tortures.

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

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

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

AYŞE EMEL MESÇİ: *Born in 1950. Actress at the Municipal Theatre of Istanbul. She was accused of "hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to 5 years imprisonment. The following affidavit was handed to the same court and put in the case's file.*

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

"I answered them that I had never committed a crime, but if I were

supposed to be a criminal and I were really guilty, I would prefer to be punished. Thereupon they brought me into the Police Headquarters where I was interrogated for two nights uninterruptedly. Police authorities tried to persuade me to accept a deposition prepared by them. They were saying that many of my friends had 'confessed' during the 'operation'. Each day Ilgiz Aykutlu repeated that they were going to torture me with falanga which they call 'Operation K2'. During one of those conversations he asked: 'Will you talk or do you want me to call the operators?' I replied that I had nothing to tell. Thereupon he rang the bell and called a policeman and ordered him to prepare the falanga. There was also a doctor in his room. The doctor asked me if I had certain illness before. I replied I had had a nervous breakdown two years ago and had a doctor's report. So, the doctor and Aykutlu whispered something and decided upon not applying falanga to me. But both of them told me: 'You have a doctor's report that you had a nervous breakdown two years. We shall probably throw you out of the window and declare that you went off your head and committed suicide.'

"At each inquisition they were showing me other tortured ones such as Cihan Alptekin and Rasim Ozkan. At last nine of us were confronted in a room. They menaced Rasim Ozkan to apply the falanga again when he refused to sign the deposition and holding his hand they obtained his signature by force. I also had to sign my deposition in the same way.

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

IRFAN UÇAR: Born in 1947. 10th semester student at the Machinery Faculty of Middle East Technical University. He was tried at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLII on the charge of "not informing the authorities about the activities of the organization in spite of his knowledge in this matter," and condemned to five years imprisonment on December 27, 1971. But on June 13, 1972, the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase punishment. He was tried also at the military courts of Ankara. He stated the tortures applied to him during the trials both in Ankara and Istanbul. The following statement was made by him in Istanbul on September 3, 1971 and recorded in the court's minutes, pp. 70-71.

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

"...When I was brought into the police station, I was tortured permanently by Istanbul Police Chief Muzaffer Caglar, by Security Police Chief Ilgiz Aykutlu and by other policemen under their order. The chief military prosecutor of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was also present.

"Necmi Demir, Ilkay Demir and Necati Sagir were also tortured. They particularly forced me to say: 'Yes, I am the one who killed the Consul!' The more I refused their requests, the more they beat me. At a severe moment of torture Necmi Demir had 'confessed' that he had shot the Consul. Thereupon I also was forced to prove that he was the killer, but they were not able to obtain such an untrue 'confession' from me, even though they bastinadoed me severely. I also witnessed the tortures applied to Hasan Cetin, Ahmet Coker and Sarp Kuray at the Police Headquarters. The falanga was being applied particularly by Zekeriya Aydin who was being called 'Zekeriya the Bald' among his friends. Not being able to obtain the 'desired confession' from me, angered the policemen.

"...After we were tortured at the Police Headquarters, we were brought into Harbiye Caserne where we were treated better. After a while I was carried to the Military Hospital with Necmi Demir, Jülide Zaim and Kadriye Deniz Ozen.

"We have been arrested by this present military judicial assembly at Harbiye Caserne. When I asked who you were, you replied that you were members of Martial Law's Military Court and were present there so as to terminate the necessary official formalities about my arrestation. When I appealed to you for an investigation about tortures and asked to be sent to legal medicine, you answered that I was allowed to give an official application to the military prosecutor and also allowed to hire a lawyer and to see my family. But still I was not examined by a medical expertise. Since 80 days I am not allowed to see my family nor get in touch with my lawyer." (Minutes pp. 71-70)

*His following affidavit was also put into the official file of the case after it was read at the trial.*

"I was taken into custody on the evening of May 27, 1971 in Istanbul. I was tortured at the both in the political and criminal sections of Istanbul Police Headquarters until sunrise. At 08.00 a.m., they carried me into another room: The office of the criminal section's chief. They bound my hands on my back with a handcuff and tied my feet with ropes to a thick cane. They threw me down and started to beat the soles of my feet with sticks and truncheons. They drubbed me from 08.00 a.m., till 5.30 p.m., in order to 'persuade' me to 'confess' that I had taken part in those actions mentioned in the formal charge of the military prosecutor. They were beating my soles for 10 minutes and after each ten minutes were forcing me to walk in the salty water poured on to the floor.

"While three of them were beating my soles in turns, two others were trampling on my arms. Another was putting his foot on my mouth, and the fourth one who put his truncheon into my anus, was trying to keep me motionless by forcing my anus with his truncheon. This operation continued until noon without any pause and my feet became swollen.

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

"About 5.30 p.m., my soles had been ripped open and the bones of them started to appear. Thereupon, they ceased the beating, because at each blow my blood was splashing on their clothes. They wrapped my feet with a piece of rag and locked me in a half - unconscious state in a small solitary confine-

ment cell. For three days I was left in this isolation cell lying down on the cement ground without any medical treatment. I was deprived of food for those three days. I had to rely on buttermilk and water. On the fourth day, my friend Ilkay Demir, student at the Medicine Faculty, was permitted to enter my cell and treat my soles. They were obliged to call a doctor when they realized that my feet were going to become gangrenous. Dr. Garabet Arman from Capa Hospital could not provide a remedy for my feet saying he was not trained for this. He only gave me some medicines to prevent the hypotension caused by bleeding, and some other to ease the pain on several parts of my body, especially my anus.

"As long as the doctor could not do anything for my feet, one of the policemen on duty pierced the suppurating parts of my feet with scissors. From that day on I was treated by my friend Ilkay Demir.

"Until the 13th of June I was kept in a solitary confinement cell at the Police Headquarters. There was no bed and I was obliged to sleep on the cement ground with only my thin dress separating my body from the floor as sick as I was. During this period I was not able to move, so I was using little boxes for urinating, and for defecating I was being carried to the latrine in the arms of my friends once every four days.

"On June 13, I was carried to the Harbiye Caserne. I was locked there again in an isolation cell, a cell which at least had a bed to sleep on. Here they also gave me food, three times a day. Medical treatment by a doctor was also provided. My whole body was aching. And the running sores on my feet were not getting better. Therefore, they were finally obliged to carry me into Haydarpasa Military Hospital. I was treated there starting on July 1st. I was discharged from the hospital after the running sores got better. And I was sent to the Prison of Ankara, on August 12, 1971."

OMER ERIM SÜERKAN: Born in 1946. 4th semester student at the Istanbul Faculty of Law. He was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC and condemned to 15 years imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLR on September 3, 1971 and recorded in the minutes of court (pp.74-76)

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

*The declaration of the defendant which had been obtained by the police on May 20, 1971 was read in the trial. Süerkan stated that he had given that deposition under torture. Therefore it had no legal value. The other deposition of the defendant which had been obtained by the military prosecutor on June 29, 1971 was read. The defendant said:*

<sup>o</sup> Although Süerkan had been caught in the night of May 18, 1971, the Istanbul MLR declared in its official communique that he was caught during the general raid on May 23, 1971.



"While I was interrogated, the military prosecutor threatened me by saying, 'it seems as if you were not tortured sufficiently at the police.' The deposition was obtained under this psychological pressure. I was not in a normal condition." (Minutes of the Court, P. 76)

ABDULLAH CECELOGLU: Born in 1942. He was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC and condemned to 10 months imprisonment. But on June 13, 1972; the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase punishment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Minutes of the Court.

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

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

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

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

"There is too much talk about kemalism and nationalism! In that case, what is to be done other than the armed struggle?" (Minutes of the Court, p.34)

*At the session dated 6.9.1971, the lawyer of Ceceloglu presented the following affidavit about the tortures applied to him and the affidavit was put into the file of the case after being read. (Minutes of the Court, p.82)*

"I was caught on June 18, 1971 in Ankara. I was kept there in Yildirim Military Prison for 12 days. On the 13th day, I was brought to Istanbul

and was put into custody at Selimiye Caserne. During the night I stayed there and in the morning, I was interrogated by a naval officer at the Legal Advisory Bureau. Much as I told the truth, he was not satisfied and said: 'We know what the truth is. We would rather send you to the Police Headquarters in order to obtain the truth.' I was quite healthy when I was put into the hands of the police.

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

"The names of the police chiefs, who have beaten me with sticks and cables, were Zekeriya Aydin, Dursun Karaduman, Cemal (I am not able to learn his surname) and another police chief all grizzled and goggle-eyed.

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

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

"The eyewitnesses of the tortures applied to me were Osman Arolat, Cihan Alptekin, Tayfur Cinemre, Masis Kürkcügil, Rasim Ozkan, Safak Morgül, Ali Aydin Çig, Rifat Güney, Osman Bahadır and others who were in custody at the same time.

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

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

"...My three toes, their nails pulled off, my waist with a sharp pain and my written deposition in your hands are the visible traces of severe tortures. And according to such a deposition, obtained under these conditions, I am being tried for my life."

TULAY TAD: Born in 1941. She was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC and condemned to 10 months imprisonment. But on June 13, 1972, the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by her at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"No torture or pressure was applied to me by the police. But after being caught, when I was brought to the Martial Law Headquarters, a naval colonel charged into the Juridical Bureau asked me to say where Bingöl Erdumlu (her former husband who was also one of the suspects) was and added they would set me free if I would tell them his place of hiding. When I said that I knew nothing he sent me to the next room. There Kenan Koç, the Deputy Chief of Police, asked me the same thing, calling me names and threatening me. But he could not obtain anything. Thereupon I was sent to the Police Headquarters. There they forced me to reveal Erdumlu's hiding place." (Minutes p.84)

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

"During interrogation, the military prosecutor also threatened me by saying that he would arrest my father and sister. Thereupon I accepted the story as it is written in the deposition." (Minutes of the Court, p.85)

OMER GOVEN: Born in 1948. 6th semester student at the Faculty of Medicine. He was tried under the accusation of "not informing the authorities of the activities of the organization in spite of his knowledge on this matter," and condemned to 10 years imprisonment. But the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Minutes of the Court.

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

"...At Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was subjected to several tor-

tures. Later I was deported to Harbiye Caserne. I was interrogated there by the military prosecutor who sent me to the police again when he was not content with my statement. I was again tortured there. (...)" (Minutes,p.114)

MUSTAFA COSKUN: Born in 1947. Employee at the Municipal Theatre of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization and to carry arms without a licence" and condemned to one year. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

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

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

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

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

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

OGUZ ÜDER: Born in 1945. Last semester student of Sisli Economics and Commerce Academy. He was tried according to Article 146 of the TPC and condemned to 10 years imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Minutes of Court.

"I was brought to Selimiye Caserne on July 17, 1971. The military prosecutor Major Naci Gür interrogated me. After a few sentences, he interrupted the interrogation and started to threaten me saying he would send me to the police if I did not give a statement in the way he directed. A policeman named Kenan Koç also threatened me in the same way and reminded me to take the bad condition of my tortured friends into consideration. The prosecutor took me out of his room and sat on a desk in the corridor where Cihan Alptekin and his friends were also sitting on desks. There Kenan Koç, the policeman, drew near to me and showing those tortured ones to me he said if I did not sign a deposition as they wanted, I would be tortured in the same way. I was not brought into the Police Headquarters, but my interrogation was made under those conditions by the military prosecutor." (p.92)

AVNI YALÇIN: Born in 1947. Actor at the Municipal Theater of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to one year imprisonment. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

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

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

ISMAIL YUKSEL ERDOĞAN: Born in 1943. 8th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization" but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

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

RASİM ÖZKAN: Born in 1950. 4th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization", but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement made by him and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

"After being caught I have been tortured at the Police Headquarters for six hours. My soles were torn. The plainclothesmen, with machine guns in their hands, brought me in front of an open window and threatened me: 'What do you prefer? Shall we shoot to death with machine guns or shall we throw you out of the window?' I was kept in custody for 37 days and was tortured. I deny all those statements which were obtained either by the police or by the prosecutor. All of them were obtained while I was subjected to physical and moral torture. At the Police Headquarters, I was able to bear up against all of the tortures. When we were brought to Selimiye Caserne (Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters where also the trials of the defendants are

held), the military prosecutor said: 'Don't try to deny your deposition arranged at the police. Otherwise, I shall send you there again. I can also apply a special operation to you.' Later I was interrogated by the military prosecutor Naci Gür. When I said that I had no connection with that ammunition affair, the military prosecutor looked at my feet. They were in bandages. He said: 'I see that you were not beaten enough.' And went on: 'Tell me do you accept the accusations against you? If not, do you want to be sent to the room for special operations at the basement?'

"After the tortures at the Police Headquarters lasting for 37 days I had no strenght left. Therefore I had to sign whatever he dictated." (pp.106-7)

ABDURRAHMAN TURE: Born in 1950. 4th semester student at Besiktas Engineering and Architecture College. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization", but acquitted. Later, the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH and recorded in the Court's Minutes.

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

"...The following day he interrogated me and re-arranged my old deposition into a new one. Therefore I reject this deposition arranged by the prosecutor. (Minutes of the Court, P. 108)

MUHARREM YANAR: Born in 1950. 8th semester student at the Faculty of Law. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization and to carry arms and ammunition without licence", but acquitted. Later, the military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement was made by him during the trials and recorded in the minutes.

"I had no connection with these events included in the prosecutor's formal charge. (...) When I stated this fact at the Police Headquarters, all of them attacked me by kicking and by slapping. When I insisted that I did not know anything, they threatened me by showing me the tortured friend Rasim Ozkan, in his bad situation and by telling me that they were also going to arrest my parents. (...) When I was being interrogated at the Police Headquarters, the police officers from Group K told me that if I would deny my deposition which was dictated by them, in front of the military prosecutor or in the trial, I could be brought again into the Police Headquarters, even from the military prison. For this reason, I did not reject that deposition neither at the prosecution office nor in the first trial." (pp.110-111)

MUSTAFA AYNUR: Born in 1944. Last semester student of Besiktas Engineering and Architecture College. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization" and condemned to 5 years. The following statement was made by him and recorded in the minutes.

"After being caught I was brought to the Group K at the Police Headquarters. Five or six policemen attacked me by kicking and by hitting me with the fists. They were asking about some matters that I did not know. (...) My deposition was obtained as a result of these tortures applied to me during 5-6 days. (...) They said that if we were going to change those statements in front of the military prosecutor we would be brought to the Police Headquarters again.

"Major Naci Gür, the military prosecutor, also threatened us many times. He summoned me four times into his room and said: 'If you change your statement dictated at the police, we will apply the special operation to you.' Under such conditions I was interrogated. I did not accept these depositions." (Minutes of the Court, p. 113)

ERDOGAN KAMISOGLU: Born in 1946. 3th semester student at the Fine Arts Academy of Istanbul. He was tried under the accusation of "hiding arms for the organization", but acquitted. Later, the military Court of Cassation cancelled the acquittal and sent the case's file back to the court for a new trial. The following statement of him was read and recorded during his trials.

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

- II -

TORTURES APPLIED TO THE  
DEFENDANTS OF OTHER CASES

OMER AYNA: Born at a small district of Diyarbakir. He was a promising 23 years old student at the Galatasaray Engineering Faculty of Istanbul. He had been arrested on May 3, 1971 as a member of the People's Liberation Army of Turkey and tried under the demand of death sentence according to Article 146 of the TPC at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH. He had succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971 with his other friends. He was killed by the bombs of the armed forces at Kizildere on March 30, 1972. His following affidavit was handed to Mr. Thomas Hammarberg, the President of Swedish Amnesty on October 6, 1971.

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

"I was strictly forbidden of any communication. I remained unshaved. I was held in solitary confinement cell even after being sentenced to life term. As a result of these treatments, I am now suffering of rheumatism."

Yakalandığımız dakikadan itibaren gerek bizi  
yakalayanlar gerekse emniyet müdürlüğündeki  
polis, jandarma, asker, jandarma ve subaylar,  
tarafından insanlık dışı işkenceler yapıldı  
ve küfürler edildi. Yakalandığımız Tekirdağ'in  
dahi askeri birliğinin generalinin ve Tekirdağ  
linin emniyet müdürlüğüle Cumhuriyet savcısının  
adını bilmeden...



...dan lina derecesi  
...  
... İstanbul emniyet  
... işkenceye tabi  
... imzalatıldı.  
... bir istemeye hem  
... emniyetinde tam  
... ve insanlık dışı  
... ve 1971 Türkiye  
... Tugay Cinemare

*(Handwritten signature)*





CIHAN ALPTEKIN: Born in a village of Rize. He was a 24 years old student at Istanbul University. He was caught on May 31, 1971 as the Istanbul representative of People's Liberation Army of Turkey and tried under the demand of death sentence according to Article 146 of the TPC at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. He had succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971 with his other four friends. He was killed by the bombs of the armed forces at Kizildere on March 30, 1972. The following is his affidavit which was handed to Mr. Thomas Hammarberg, the President of Swedish Amnesty, on October 6, 1971.

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

TAYFUR CINEMRE: He is a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin case. His affidavit which was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971 reads as follows:

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

OSMAN BAHADIR: He is a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin case. He is sentenced to life term on April 22, 1972 at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH. His affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.

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

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

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

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

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

ZERRUK VAKIFAHMETOGLU: *He is a university student and defendant of Alptekin Case. This affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.*

"While I was in custody at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, I was subjected to all kinds of physical and mental tortures. Even, when I was handed over to the military prison authorities, evidence of the tortures was still visible on certain parts of my body."

ALI AYDIN GIG: *He is a university student and defendant of Cihan Alptekin Case. He lost his virility because of electroshock applied to his genital organs. This affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.*

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

RIFAT GÜNEY: *He is a chemist and defendant of Alptekin Case. The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.*

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

CEMİL TATLILAL: *He is defendant of Alptekin Case. The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.*

"Immediately following my seizure, I was brought into Küçükçekmece Police Station and subjected to falanga. For more than 12 hours they have tortured and insulted me and cursed at me. They then transferred me to Istanbul Police Headquarters, where I was kept for 25 days and beaten by a team of torturers, with intervals. I was forced to make 'confessions' by being deprived of food.

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

"My name is Tayfun Demir. From the very first day of my seizure (June 1, 1971) until I was deported to Selimiye Martial Law Headquarters, I was beaten permanently, was deprived of food. On June 1, 1971 they have taken me into custody at Küçükçekmece Military Police Station. There I was subjected to severe tortures for more than two hours. Then I was deported to Istanbul Police Headquarters where I was subjected permanently to falanga for 26 days.

I was obliged to sign the so-called 'deposition' under the threat of more torture and being deprived of food. Later they have sent me to the Selimiye Caserne where I was arrested without being interrogated by any prosecutor. The court warrant has been based on the 'deposition' imposed by police.

YAVUZ YILDIRIMTÜRK: *He is a university student and defendant of Alptekin case. The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on 6.X.971.*

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

ATTILA KESKIN: *He is a university student and member of People's Liberation Army of Turkey. He is one of the 18 students who were condemned to death with Deniz Gezmiş. His sentence was commuted to life imprisonment later by the Military Court of Cassation. He revealed about the tortures applied to him, at the session of First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters, on June 16, 1971.*

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

SARP KURAY: *He was a progressive naval Lieutenant of the Turkish army. He was expelled from the navy in late 1969 because of his progressive activities. Later he has taken part in the activities of the Dev-Genç. After the March 12 coup d'etat, he was taken into custody with the other 83 naval officers and cadets, and tried according to Article 146 of the TPC. Though the military prosecutor demanded death sentence for him, he was condemned to 30 years. During his trial at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH, on August 12, 1971, he stated that he was subjected to the most inhuman tortures during his interrogation, that caused him to urinate with blood for a long time and he said: "With the tortures that they have subjected to us at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, they even could have made us 'confess' in 20 minutes that we had burnt the city of Paris. If I were not a revolutionary, I would commit suicide. Because my psychological situation was such that death seemed a salvation. Yet, I did not commit the suicide, for the reason that I was thirsting for revenge." The following protocol is prepared by 17 prisoners who were also jailed at Kartal-Maltepe Garrison.*

"We, the undersigned, saw Sarp Kuray after he was tortured. On May 31, 1971 they brought him to Kartal-Maltepe Military Prison as worn out from the tortures. He told us about the tortures applied to him. He took his shoes and stockings off with difficulty and showed us his feet. His ankles were covered with running sores and there were visible blue rings around them. His ankles and feet were swollen and his soles were torn. His feet were entirely

deformed. His body was covered with bruises. One of his front teeth was broken and his lips were burst.

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

"Signatures: Emin Babakus (lieutenant), Erdöl Boratap (redacteur of TRT), Dr. Nihat Sargin (former Secretary-General of TIP), Sadi Alkiliç (writer) Siar Yalçin (former public prosecutor), Cetin Altan (columnist), Ilhan Selçuk (columnist), Sabri Eryılmaz (lawyer), Cetin Özek (assistant professor), Cumali Ülgen, Ahmet Dinler, Okan Esmen, Sinasi Maktav, Akin Altug, Mehmet Akman, Kubilay Kutlu, Abdullah Gelgeç."

MASIS KURKÇUGİL: *He is a publisher and one of the defendants of TKP Case which is on trial at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH. The following statement was made by him and recorded in the Court's Minutes.*

"I have been kept 35 days at the Security Police and tortured continuously. At the operation room of this section, my left eye has lost its function for one week, due to a truncheon's blow on my head. There was some electrodes in a bag in this room. They have applied those electrodes to a person, called Mustafa Köse, who had been taken into custody as a suspected spy for Bulgaria. But then, they understood he was innocent and had to release him. Among the tortures applied to me, there was also the solitary confinement cell, which they call 'tabutluk (the coffin-yard)'. I was kept in the 'tabutluk', an isolation cell 1.40 meters high and 70 cms wide, for one week although my height is 1.80 meters."

- III -

PROTOCOLS AND WITNESSES  
ON TORTURES AND ILL-TREATMENTS

TURHAN SELÇUK: *He is world famous Turkish caricaturist. He was taken into custody together with many other famous Turkish writers, artists and editors during the general search in Istanbul on 22-23 May 1971. All the tortures applied to him was described in details in accordance with his own testimony on daily newspaper Akşam dated June 6, 1971. The followings are the excerpts from the subject article.*

"Turhan Selçuk was taken to Besiktas Distric Military Police Station together with his 76 books by a search team on May 23, 1971. After he was transferred to the headquarters of the riot-police at Balmumcu. While he was being interrogated by the authorities, one of the police chiefs shouted at him as: 'Here, I am the law. I will crush your head, if you show any resistance to the authorities here. I have orders for this.' Selçuk replied: 'We know the laws and we respect them.' The police chief was angry on such reply and he shouted back: 'You bloody guy! Are you going to teach me the laws! Take him away!'

"On the order of police chief, the policemen in the room attacked Selçuk, they started to harass him by kicking and hitting on his head with their truncheons and they threw him on the floor. While he was lying on the floor, at least 15 policemen attacked him and they started to kick his head, his shoulders and his abdomen. Since Turhan Selçuk had a medical treatment

for a certain illness in his lungs about 1,5 years ago, this beatings created a terrible pain and swellings on his lungs. After the harassment, Selçuk was confined in a room which was used as classroom for riot police. He demanded from the police to call a physician to examine his lungs and he also added that he would not bring any official complaint against them. However, the policemen did not bring any physician to examine him and also did not give him even an aspirine to reduce his pains.

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

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

"Selçuk also witnessed this kind of ill-treatments, tortures applied to other 108 detained persons who were mainly intellectuals, artists, writers, editors, doctors, sportsmen etc. Finally, on the third day of his internment he was released as no legal reason established to hold him under custody."

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

Republic of Turkey  
Ministry of Justice  
Legal Medicine Department  
Istanbul  
No: 9284

Date: 8.VI.1971

To the Office of the District Attorney,

In the medical report issued for Mr. Turhan Selçuk by the hospital of Social Security Organization of Istanbul on June 8, 1971, it is indicated .. that the following diagnosis were made when he was examined in the policlinics on May 28, 1971:

A small coin size hematoma is found on his left cheekbone area with yellowish ecchymosis around it. Also, three yellowish ecchymosis are found on his left shoulder and one ecchymosis on his right shoulder. The 9th and the 10th ribs area is swollen and painful. On the right shin, there is a skinned part of the size of a small coin. His scalp is painful. On the right hip joint, a partly yellowish ecchymosis is found. On both ileus area, there are yellowish ecchymosis. No fracture is indicated on the body through x-ray.

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

Med. Dr. Lütfi Tunca  
Legal Diagnostician  
(Signature and stamp)

KADRI ÇAGLI: *The following affidavit was handed to Mr. Hammarberg on October 6, 1971.*

"I was beaten by army officers, when I was caught by policemen at Florya. One of the army officers' kicked me with his heavy army shoes while he was tearing out the hair from my head and insulting me with the most disgusting words. After I was deported to Istanbul Police Headquarters. There, I was subjected to the most inhuman tortures and insults. I was deprived of food for many days. I was finally interrogated by the authorities 20 days after my detention."

AZIZ ERKMEK: *He is a worker and member of the Turkish Labour Party.*

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

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

"While these swears and beats continued, a fat military sergeant who was present, was looking at me with a pleased expression on his face. (...) After the beating while they were taking me downstairs, he put his fingers into my eyes and said: *'If they'd give you to me at the Police Headquarters, I shall stab out your eyes. I'll hang you! I'll fuck your mother and wife!'* Then I was put into a cell where five others were put also into. Sometime later, the door was opened, a plainclothes night guard policeman, named Halit, said, he wanted the man who came last, and took me out to the corridor. He started to beat me with his truncheon and said: *'I heard that you were go-*

ing to complain of me! Now come on, I'll teach you how to complain!" I told him that it might be a mistake. Because I have no reason to complain of him since I have seen him right at that moment for the first time in my life. But he said: *'Do you mean that a superintendent with three stars is telling lies? I shall fuck your mother and wife and all the rest of your family!'* Then he forced me to put my hands on each other and began to beat his truncheon on my hands with all his strength. My hands have swollen like a balloon. Then, when I was unable to stretch my arms any longer he pressed my neck and forced me to bend down and started to punch me on my kidneys. He forced me to put my hands into a tin, half full of water and rub them a little, then he started to beat them again. Then he asked me how many children I had. When I replied four, he said, he had four children too, and he ordered: *'Make him rub his hands in water for half an hour, then put him in,'* to the other policemen and left.

"One of my cell-mates was Ceylan Tan, a member of TIP, two others were representatives of Union of Rubber Industry Workers, and the other two were students, one of them named Orhan, whose eye was swollen and closed.

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

"On Tuesday, May 25th, when I went to election committee at Eyüp district, judge Selim Yamaner who is the chairman of the election committee, saw my split lip and the horrible state of my hands. On 26th of May, in Osman Ozer's Coffee-House, Hakki Cubuklu, who is also a member of the City Council from Republican People's Party, saw my hands. And on Friday, May 28th, lawyer Lütfi Onur, vice-president of the City Council saw my right arm which was all blue up to my elbow from the blows of the truncheon.

"On Friday, May 28th, I hardly escaped from a new plot, planned against me. When I went to Eyüp Court House, to get the fees from Eyüp Election Committee, Süleyman, the policeman who beat me, was also there to receive the witness fee from the authorities. He got the money and went away. The same evening at 10 p.m., when I got out off Osman Ozer's Coffee-House to go home, I saw three plainclothes policemen standing in front of Sahap's Coffee-House. When I was passing by them, Halis, the policeman who also beat me, came out of the coffee-house and said to those three policemen: *'We take him now!'* I immediately thought that they were talking about me and I glanced to the street which leads towards my house. There was nobody in the street and naturally I was afraid to walk into that street because it would make easier for them to attack me. Therefore instead of going my usual way home, I changed my direction and walked into another street which was crowded and full of shops. Three of them passed by me and blocked my way. When I saw this, I decided to enter a coffee house which was very close where I was. The three also enter the same coffee-house and set at a table close to me. I could not even watch their faces carefully. I was afraid that this would provoke them. But later I learnt that one of them was a policeman and his



name was Selahattin. Later on, I sent a message to my home and some friends of mine from the coffee-house. Little later they arrived and accompanied me at home. I was anxious that, on the way home, they would stop and search me with the pretext of finding something illegal on me which would give them an opportunity to take me away. If I had entered the street all by myself, I was sure that they would have done this.

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

Adress: Islambey, Akincilar Sokak No.5  
Eyüp-Istanbul

May 31, 1971

NURTEN TUĞ: *Mechanical engineer and manager of "Dostlar" Theater in Istanbul.*

"At 9 a.m., on May 23rd, a search team combined with police and military came to my house. They confiscated 326 various books, my private letters and my periodicals. Then they carried me to Besiktas Police Station. There I saw a youngman, named Suphi Nuri Ileri, whose hands were swollen from beating. They had beaten him in order to learn an adress.

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

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

MURAT ATES: *He is a worker at Galatasary High School and member of Turkish Labour Party. He was taken into custody during the general search on May 23, 1971.*

"Because of a denunciation of a police informer, soldiers and policemen came to my working place on May 23, 1971 at 1 p.m. They took me to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters and closed me in "müteferrika" (an extremely dirty and humid cell with wet floor where they usually lock in lots of people together). I spent the whole night there, with many others. The next day, they took us to a police chief's office. There were two policemen there. They asked why I was brought there. I told them that I was a member of the TIP. One of them replied me: 'You, son of a bitch, what do you have to do in the party, why do you get involved with them?' They slapped me and insulted me saying: 'You, hungry dog, get your stomach filled first, then try in party business!'

"Then they took the other detainee, Mr. Hasan Özgür away. We could hear his screams and when he was brought back, he was in a miserable condition. There was also a girl, who was unable to walk, they carried her away."

HASAN OZGUR: He is a retired army officer whose eldest son, Taylan, a university student, was shot death at the university by police in September 1969. The murderers were identified as two plainclothes policemen. But no legal action was taken against them. And in 1970, his youngest son Tarhan, a highschool student, was shot and badly wounded when he was sitting in a park outside of Technical University of Istanbul. The bullets were fired from a passing Mercedes. Hasan Ozgur, himself, was also an active honorary member of Dev-Genç organization. The following affidavit was written on June 2, 1971 by him and sent to the concerned authorities.

"Three plainclothes policemen took me by force on May 24, 1971, without giving me any reason or showing me their identity cards and without any court warrant. They put me then in a police car. Beating me on the way, they brought me into Ortaköy Police Station. In the presence of the police chief, they beat, kicked and hit me. (...) Afterwards they took me to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters. In the superintendent's office I was insulted again and beaten. Later they put me in a cell which is known as 'tabutluk (coffin yard)', (a small detention cell by 2 mts long x 1.20 mts wide x 2 mts high, without any window). All night they forced me to stand up on the cement floor. In the same solitary confinement cell Turan Zeren, a worker who is also member of the TIP, was lying on the floor unconscious. He was also beaten very severely by the police.

"Next day, I was taken to another room, where six plainclothes policemen subjected my feet to falanga with the order of Ilgiz Aykutlu, the Security Police Chief. They broke two sticks on the soles of my feet. While they were beating me they asked the hiding places of my wife, of my son Tarhan and of my son-in-law Mustafa Lütfü Kiyici. The falanga operation continued for eight days. (...)

"Every citizen whoever brought to the Security Police, guilty or not, is beaten very severely which I believe is against the constitutional rights of the Turkish citizens. 22 persons who were in the confinement cells of the Security Police have wounds and bruises all over their bodies. I even saw one of them, whose name is Necmi Demir. He was being carried out of his cell, I was unable to decide either he was dead or unconscious. His body was in blood and his feet were torn. Ilkay Demir, his wife, who was also in custody tried to scratch policemen's faces because they insulted and molested her with their hands. I also heard her saying: '*Running dogs! Fascists! Cowards!*'

"As a citizen, I have notified the public prosecutor of the province of Istanbul about the conditions of these 22 citizens who are now being tortured in the solitary confinement cells. And demanded a medical examination for them. My application on this matter is now in the files of the preliminary investigation under the number 71/170025. I shall also reveal these same facts to the martial law headquarters, to the prime minister and to the Turkish Parliament."

NUSRET GULAL: He is the Uskudar district secretary of Turkish Labour Party. He was taken into custody during the general search on May 23, 1971.

"A search team combined with military and police came to my apartment around 2.30 a.m., on May 23, 1971. They searched my apartment and took several of my books with them. They also took me to Uskudar Police Station. At the police station they prepared a statement and a list of my books. Al-

though I explained to the police station's chief that there was not any prohibition for keeping books at my home and no such prohibition was declared by the martial law authorities, they insisted to send me to the Security Police. I explained to them the same thing at the Security Police. It was 9 a.m., when I was deported there. After my explanation, the policemen who were on duty, told me that it was a mistake and they should not send me there from the police station. They also added that I would be set free in the morning. Then they let me to spend the night in the corridor. At 9 a.m., in the morning, a superintendant on duty took me into another department along fifteen or twenty other people who were also brought there for the same purpose. However, he was ordered by his superiors to keep us in custody. While I was in custody at the Security Police, I saw two students whose feet were torn because of falanga. One of them was Ömer Erim Süerkan, but I could not recognize the other one. While I was spending the night in the corridor I saw a blond girl whose feet were wrapped in cotton. She could hardly walk and was leaning on a policeman. Also in another corner the police officers were harassing two persons who looked like hippies. On the second day, late in the evening they locked an old man in a solitary confinement cell by beating him, later on I found out that his name was Hasan Özgür. They threatened him with several things and forced him to stand up on his feet all the time. He was not allowed to sit.

"On May 25, 1971, around 2 p.m., they took me to the interrogation room of the Criminal Police and took my fingerprints and photographs. Afterwards they let me free by telling that there was not any prohibited books found in my house."

Adress: Dogancilar, Sümbülzade Sok. No.21 A/9  
Usküdar-Istanbul

MEHMET ADNAN CELAYIR: *He is member of Turkish Labour Party.*

"I was taken into custody on May 20, 1971, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon and immediately handed over to Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters. The reason given for keeping me into custody was that they have found the following objects when they searched my briefcase: Three receipts from TIP, two of them were for donations (10 and 25 LT) and the other one was a receipt of my membership fee (10 LT); a press bulletin from the chairman of the party dated May 5, 1971 (one copy only); a declaration of the executive committee of the party regarding the changes to be made in the constitution, dated May 11, 1971 (one copy only); and a newspaper, Kurtulus Yolu, dated April 20, 1971.

"First day I was kept in a cell together with some other people who were also brought there for other reasons. The police officers who were on duty, opened the doors of solitary confinement cells, and enter whenever they wanted. When they came in they harassed and cursed at anyone in a barbaric way whomever they chose. Besides such ordinary beatings, Ömer Erim Süerkan, Taner Kutlay, Ataman Tangör, a university assistant, Dinçer (whose surname I was unable to learn), a riot police officer and me were taken into the torture room for falanga treatment. Second day, while I was still in custody, I heard the policemen beating the workers from Grundig Factory who were also brought there by yelling: 'Why do you strike! Why are you acting against your benefactors, your bosses! Who came, visited and talked to you while you were on strike?' Later on they took us down to müteferrika. I met

the following people there: Adem Yılmaz, a member of Turkish Labour Party's Besiktas District Committee; Hasan Küçük, also a TIP member. They had been beaten very severely together with other labourers before I met them. Next day they took us from strict isolation cells, back to ordinary cells. The same day, I found out that the representatives of the striking workers at Pertrix and the union representatives of Türk Demir Döküm Factory were also brought there. They were staying in a cell which was opposite to mine. Therefore, I heard them being beaten by the police for the same reasons. Same day, Saban Erik and Sait Ciltas, the general secretaries of the TIP, Muzaffer Erdost, editor and owner of Sol Yayinlari and Canan Biçakçi were also brought to the Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters and were locked into cells. I also heard them being beaten and insulted there. That night they took us down to strict isolation block again. Over there, I saw some people with deep open wounds on their feet who were unable to stand up. There were also some people whom police found innocent but obliged to keep them under custody due to the wounds on their feet, because they were unable to walk. I found out that Hasan Izzettin Dinamo, a famous novelist and historian, was also brought in, on May 23th. He was insulted and beaten by police. He had deep open wounds on his hands. I saw two persons being beaten in a barbaric fashion. They were brought in on May 24th. One of them was a former lieutenant in the Turkish Navy. One had deep open wounds on his feet and was unable to stand up. Later on, Beklen Algan, a famous stage director and actor, was brought in and he was kept in solitary confinement cells of the Security Police for four days. I found out from him that he was beaten and insulted. Affan Balaban, a university teacher, who was also witness to some of the horrible incidents I described about and he was furious. I consider this as a duty to notify the judicial authority about the sceneries I witnessed."

Adress: Medidiyeköy, Güvenevler  
Mehtap Apt. D.13 -Istanbul

May 26, 1971

TURKIZ TURKMEN: *She testified at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on August 18, 1971.*

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

SULEYMAN ALPTEKIN: *He testified at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on September 22, 1971.*

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

MAHMURE INCE: *She testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on September 22, 1971.*

"At the Police Headquarters, when the police showed Hasan Çetin to me, he was wearing white sneakers and the spots of blood could be seen on it coming from his feet."

OSMAN İMRE: *He testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on September 22, 1971.*

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

HASAN ÇAM: *He testified at the First Military Court of Istanbul on Martial Law Headquarters on September 20, 1971.*

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

- IV -

CONDITIONS OF SOLITARY CONFINEMENT CELLS

MAHIR ÇAYAN: *He was born in 1946, in Istanbul and 8th semester student of Ankara Political Sciences Faculty when he was arrested. Before the March 12th coup, he wrote many theoretical articles for socialist reviews and meanwhile took part in several activities of Dev-Genç. After March 12th coup, he took part among the founders of the People's Liberation Party and the Front of Turkey. On June 1, 1971 he was trapped and wounded badly by bullets at Maltepe -Istanbul, and put in chains while he was treated at the military hospital when he was in coma. Later on he was locked in a solitary confinement cell at Selimiye Martial Law Headquarters. He was kept in chains in the same cell during whole process. His trial started on August 16, 1971 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH, according to Article 146 of the TFC, under the demand of death sentence. He was deported to Maltepe Military Prison, when the trial arrived to the period of defence, in order to prepare his defence. He has succeeded to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971 with his four other friends. He was killed by the bombs of the armed forces at Kizildere on March 30, 1971. During his trial he applied many times to the Court in order to be released from the chains and to be transferred into an ordinary military prison from his "strict isolation" solitary confinement cell. He also stated during his trial on August 12, 1971 that he was subjected to torture by police when his medical treatment was over and said: "I was half dead when the torture was over. I was being carried with difficulty into prison by five policemen. There, in my cell I have been put in chains. In the Selimiye Caserne in my isolation cell I am still kept in chains. If there is a court decision to put me in chains, I am appealing for the cancelation of this order."*

*Mr. Faik Muzaffer Amaç, Çayan's lawyer, appealed the mentioned court on August 16, 1971, in order to obtain a decision from the court for freeing Çayan from the chains and handed the following application to the court.*

To the Presidency of the Third  
Military Court of Istanbul  
Martial Law,

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

According to the 3th and 4th paragraphs of the 76th article of the Law No. 353, in some cases arrested persons can be put in chains only by a decision of a court. But these paragraphs have lost their legality entirely after a verdict of the Constitutional Court. Because the Constitutional Court has annuled these paragraphs by its verdict dated June 15, 1967, and numbered 966/34, 967/18. (....)

For this reason, I claim that:

1. If there is any decision of your court for putting Çayan, my client, in chains, that decision must be abrogated immediately.
2. If there is no such a decision, an end must be put to this torture.

*In the same sitting of the court dated 16.8.1971, Çayan declared that he was under the menace of being killed. His lawyer also stated that the mother and the uncle of Mahir Çayan have been taken into custody at the same day and this was moral pressure on him. The judge asked the lawyer to give an official requisition and the lawyer handed his request to the court at the following session dated August 23, 1971. The request is as follows:*

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

On Friday, August 20, 1971, at 9 a.m., I went to Selimiye Caserne where my client was under arrest. I told the army officers at the gate that I wanted to see my client. An army captain brought me into the office of the military legal advisor. The military legal advisor threatened me and called me names at first, and then told me that he would not let me meet with my client. Then he ordered his men to take me away to the Third Military Court's judge. A captain led me to the judge and told him that I wanted to talk with him, whereas I had requested to meet and converse with my client, not with the military judge. When I stated my request to the military judge, he sent me to the military legal advisor back. He repeated his swears and curses at me and declared that it was necessary to get a permission from the Chief of Staff in order to meet with my client and I had to wait for a while.

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

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

The law numbered 353 orders that the defendant can request the consultation of his lawyer at every stage of the investigation. But Mahir Çayan is now deprived of his lawyer's consultation. I request the possibility of the consultation according to the law No. 353.

*The following petition was submitted to the President of the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters by defendant Mahir Çayan on November 1, 1971, in order to clarify his internment conditions at the solitary confinement cell.*

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

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

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

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

"During the recent days blood flows through my mouth.

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

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

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

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

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

"Now, I am in hunger-strike in order to protest this special ill-treatment which is applied only to me in Turkey. Today is the eighth day of my hunger-strike. Either you recognize my lawful rights or you will find my dead body in my cell."

IRFAN UÇAR: *The following petition was submitted to his lawyer by defendant İrfan Uçar on 12.1.1972, during his trial at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.*

"Mr. Necdet Sagir  
Attorney at Law,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"9. The floor level of the cells is 1.5 meters or 2 meters lower than ground level. Therefore, the cells were wet. Even in the summer months, it was necessary to have heavy clothing on or to be wrapped in blankets.

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

- v -

REVELATIONS OF A POLICE CHIEF  
AND THE COURT DECISION ON TORTURE

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

This fact was registered not only by these documents, but also by the following revelations of a police chief and by the court decision.



MUZAFFER YILMAZ: *He is a police chief who served at the plainclothes department of Istanbul Police Headquarters' Political Section for 20 years. After March 12th coup, he was arrested and included in the trial case of young naval officers and condemned to 15 years in prison. He revealed the following facts at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on August 17, 1971.*

"The tortures, being practiced at the Istanbul Police Headquarters are even worse than the Spanish Inquisition's. There is a trained team of policemen, who can obtain any desired 'confession' from a suspect by tortures. The 'torture team' just mentioned is guided by Zekeriya Aydin, a high ranking police superintendent. They can have suspects to 'confess' anything they desire."

The Verdict of Istanbul Third Military Court of Martial Law:

*During the trials of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the defendants and their lawyers disclosed the tortures applied to the political detainees at the Police Headquarters and appealed to the court for obtaining a decision in order to nominate a medical expert for ascertaining the physical damages that the tortured ones were submitted. Yet, the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters rejected all demands on this subject and settled on the following decision on August 16, 1971.*

"The defendants and their lawyers claim that the defendants were tortured. The truth of these claims cannot be confirmed by the documents in the files of the present case. But, it is necessary to mention so much the sooner that the military court give their verdicts according to their conscientious opinions. And therefore, there are no direct connections between the claims of the defendants and the subject of the case. The defendants are free to make their claims to the authorities concerned. Even if the military court accepts to investigate the claims about the tortures, and if it would be proved that the claims are true, the court believes the impossibility of finding out whether the defendants have been tortured for obtaining the 'truth' or for forcing them to accept the crimes that they have never committed. Therefore, the court does not believe that it is necessary to verify the claims and decides unanimously to reject the objections." (Minutes of the Session dated 16.8.1971, p.7)

*At the session dated August 23, 1971, İrfan Uçar, the defendant, stated that he had been tortured at the Police Headquarters and the members of the court are informed about this fact, and claimed that the judicial assembly must abstain from the case. The members of the court considered the claim and decided:*

"Also at the previous session the defendants and their lawyers claimed that they had been tortured at the Police Headquarters and demanded to be sent to the Legal Medicine. As it has been mentioned in the relevant decision, in such a case there are the authorities whose interests are to verify the claims. Everyone, who wishes, can appeal to these authorities. The claim about the pressures or compulsions on the defendants is not connected with the present case, because the courts give their verdicts according to their conscientious opinions and appraise the evidence freely. As it has been mentioned at the decision of the previous session, it is impossible for the Legal Medicine to find out whether the defendants have been tortured for

obtaining the 'truth' or were forced to accept the crimes that they had not committed. Therefore, the court does not believe that it is necessary to verify the claims.

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

*At the session dated August 25, 1971, the claim about the tortures was rejected by the same judicial assembly with the same justification:*

"The claims about the tortures and requisitions for controlling these claims by the Legal Medicine have been put forward by the defendants at the previous sessions. It was mentioned at the previous decisions that the case about the defendants contains only the facts which are declared in the formal charge of the military prosecutor. The claim about the tortures has no connection with the main subject of the case. Furthermore, as it was mentioned at our previous decisions, it is impossible to find out whether the beating was applied to them in order to obtain some false evidences or not." (Minutes of the Session dated 25.8.1971, pp. 34-35)

- VI -

#### AFFIDAVITS ON TORTURES APPLIED IN 1972

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

"I was caught at 5.30 a.m., on .....1972. I was kept in a solitary confinement cell at the Harbiye Military Police Headquarters from ..... to ....., without any interrogation. During these 25 days, I was kept in strict isolation. On ....., I was handed over to a military police center at Kadiköy from where I was delivered blindfolded to another place which they call the 'Counter-Guerilla Base' of the General Staff Headquarters. There, they took all my personal belongings, my clothes, my money, my watch and my wedding ring. They gave me a pair of bloody and torn pyjama trousers and sandals to wear. Then my feet and hands were chained. On April ....., I was threatened and forced to ve a deposition. On April ....., (the following day), I was subjected to bastinado (the falanga torture) because I refused to write a 'confession'. When I came around, the interrogation started. I resisted and again refused to give a deposition and the falanga operation accompanied by collective thrashing began once more. They then applied the electro-shock to me because it is more effective. When my pulse speeded, they switched off the current. The following night, interrogation and torture continued.

"They were pushing my head into a bucket, full of dirty cold water, until I was almost drowning, then letting me breath for a moment and then repeating the same treatment. The interrogation and torture continued the following day in the same manner. They decided to apply electro-shock again. But when my pulse speeded abnormally, they had to switch off the current. Then they cursed and swore at me for a while. When they were convinced that I was relaxed enough, this time jammed a truncheon into my vagina. On ....., they finished the interrogation. I was forced to read my deposition to a tape recorder. On ..... 1972, I was brought into Selimiye Caserne early in the morning and handed over to Sagnalcilar Prison on .....

"During first days in Sagnalcilar, I was suffering from several illnesses caused by torture. I had a temperature of 39.5, my blood pressure was 7-8, my pulse was 150. I had severe pains in my uterus and waist. My health is still very bad. I am exhausted and my blood pressure is quite low. I was deprived of food from ..... to ..... (three days). When I was moved from one place to another, my hands were always cuffed."

Mrs.....

"I was taken from ..... on .....1972. Insulting me on the way they drove me to Uskudar district. Then I was blindfolded and brought into a building. There, they tied my feet and hands to long sticks and took off my skirt and stockings. There were 7-8 men in the room. I remained in front of them only with my briefs on. They started by beating my soles, then they tied electric cables both to my right hand's little finger and to my left foot's little toe, and switched on the electric current. At the same time they continued the falanga operation. This operation continued for two hours. After an interval of one hour, the operation started again. This time they stripped my briefs, my blouse and my bra. I was completely naked. They jammed a wooden truncheon into my vagina. Meanwhile they beat me on the soles, on the arms, in fact on every part of my body at random.

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

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

Miss .....



LALE ARIKDAL

In spite of all official denials, torturing of the political prisoners is still carried on directly by army officers at secret torture centres. Here, some of the political prisoners tortured in April 1972. As a result of inhuman torture, Kadriye Ezel Incili went out of her mind and Mrs. Dicleli miscarried her baby.



MEHMET INCILU



KADRIYE EZEL INCILI



AYŞE BİLGE DİCLELİ

da Selimiye'ye 25 Nisan'da sağ malolar Cozayine nakledildi. Ancak yapılan manevi işkence ve kendisine verilen sınırsız bazu ilaçlar sinirlerini iyice yıpratmış ve şu anda şizofreni başlangıcı içinde. Gelen doktorlar kendisini hastahaneye sevketti. Ancak sevk edildiği Haydar Paşa As. Hastahanesinde üstün körü bir muayeneye müteakip «sağlam» rapor verildi ve «Derdini mahkemeye anlat!» diye geri gönderildi. Şu anda hastalığı ilerletmektedir. Mahkemeye tedavisi için verilen dilekçeye hiç bir cevap gelmemiştir.

Kadriye Ezel Incili  
Seramikçi  
Tıbbi Gözetim Servisi  
Merkez



Y. SALİH VEYİSOĞLU



More than ten thousand people have been taken into custody or arrested by the military authorities and put in military jails. Many of them have been deprived of food, drink, and sleep, locked in filthy, verminous, solitary confinement cells.

"My name is ..... I am 19 years old. I am a student at .....Faculty. On the night of ....., 1972, my house was raided. I was alone in the house with my mother and with my 10 years old nephew. They could not find anything in the house which could be considered as evidence of any crime. However, I was beaten severely -especially by the high ranking army officers who led the raid. They forced me to 'confess' any crime they wanted. Later they took me into another room of my house and gave me falanga. All of this took place in front of my mother.

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

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

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

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

Miss.....

"My house was raided on .....1972, about 7 -7.30 a.m., by 30 armed men. During the search of my house I was beaten continuously. Then I was blindfolded and covered with an overcoat and brought to the '*Counter-Guerilla Base*' of the General Staff Headquarters (the MIT). There they made me sit on a chair, still blindfolded, in a cellar-like place until they had prepared my cell. I was harassed all the time while I was waiting. My hair was pulled, my feet and legs were kicked, my breasts were pulled and pressed. Then I was taken to another room downstairs, where they forced me to put on a pyjamas and tied me to falanga sticks. The pyjamas was torn precisely at the knees. They put out cigarettes on my knee. I was subjected to falanga for a long time. During the torture these men called each other '*my colonel*', '*my lieutenant colonel*' and insulted me in the most disgusting way, especially about my femininity. My torturer told me that he was in love with his wife, however, to taste me would not spoil this love and insult-

ed me in a terrible manner. At last they left the room saying that I could urinate and defecate in that tin they had placed over there.

"When the morning came I was again subjected to falanga. The falanga was over after a while and the collective beating torment started. 4-5 men struck me murderously all over my body. They grabbed me by the hair and pushed my head against the wall several times. I was forced to listen to the screams of the others in the next room while I was not undergoing the torture. Entering my room at irregular intervals they threatened me by saying: *'Listen, do you hear the cries? You will cry in the same way again within a short time.'* They gave me food, but only enough to remain alive. In fact, because of the unbearable smell from the tin and because of feeling sick, I was not able to eat anything. Apart from this, my feet were in chains so that I could not urinate or defecate when I needed. I was deprived of cigarettes, matches, newspapers, radio, medicines. Later they started to give me one cigarette daily. Five days later a soldier took away the tin full of my used menstruation cottons. The instruments of torture remained all the time in my room. (A special cane, electrodes, buckets full of water for thrusting my head into, etc.) They did not let me sleep during night. They entered the room with machine guns and tried to extract a 'confession' from me about the hiding place of Mahir Çayan and to force me to 'confess' that I am a member of the People's Liberation Front of Turkey. After this, they started to beat me again so as to learn where my husband was. They blindfolded me and put me on a chair. I could from their voices that, they were 6-7 persons who pulled my hair and my breasts continuously. Their slaps on my face which caused an excruciating pain were followed by efforts to grip me by the throat. At the same time they insulted me in a terrible way. It would be shameful to repeat their insults here. They threatened me to leave such marks on my body that I would be ashamed of my femininity for ever; to bring my child there and torture him in front of me. And after all that they said they would rape me since this would not cost them anything: *'We do not have to pay ejaculate.'* They also told me that if I should die of torture, they could easily explain it by saying *'she was shot to death while she made an attempt to escape.'* Besides, they were not supposed to be obliged to give an explanation to anyone. Finally I was told that the soldier had orders to shoot me if I moved and they left me alone.

"During the 26 days I stayed there, my feet were kept in chains permanently. When I was led either to interrogation or to lavatory, I was blindfolded. During the interrogation, I was obliged to admit many things which I do not know and have never said. I was forced to read a testimony, of which many parts do not belong to me, to the tape recorder and to sign it."

Mrs.....

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

"When we arrived to MIT, I was put in a room downstairs which had its windows covered by newspapers and curtains. There I was subjected to falanga and electro-shock for two days. While I was subjected to falanga, two soldiers were holding the cane tied to my feet, another was putting his feet on

my shoulders and the fourth was beating my naked soles. I was told regularly that they were authorized to destroy my female functions or to kill me. They repeated that they had decided to annihilate all of us since nobody would require them to give account of their actions.

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

"From then on my feet were always kept in chains. Sun glasses, covered with cotton, were put before my eyes when they led me interrogation or to the lavatory. When I was not undergoing torture myself, I was forced to listen to the others being tortured. Our friends were subjected to several kinds of torture until they fainted. When they fainted, the torturers poured water on them to make them come to their senses and torture was then continued. One of the tortured men begged his torturers: *'Please, don't brother!'* But this phrase infuriated the torturers: *'We are not your brother! You certainly deserve to receive 50 more blows because of this word!'* And they kept on beating him. I was obliged to listen to all of this.

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

"During the nights, I was visited at irregular intervals and threatened. They were trying to break me psychologically. They said that they would kill my husband. They showed the photos of our friends' corpses published in newspapers and stated we would all be killed in the same way.

"I was told that I might also be killed while being brought to MIT in Istanbul. They might make me sleep out of the car and shoot me. They could explain without having to produce that I had been shot to death while trying to escape.

"I was kept in MIT for 25 days. They brought a doctor after the fallanga. I would be beaten again when I got better after the medical treatment.

"After this treatment I was taken away from there blindfolded and handed over to Istanbul Police Headquarters. They took me into a solitary confinement section where I was insulted terribly by policemen for a week. They came to my cell regularly in order to curse and swear at me and insult me in a terrible way.

"Finally I was arrested and handed over to Sagsalcilar Prison. (...)"

Mrs.....

"My house in ..... was raided by security forces combined with security police, riot police, MIT agents and military forces, on .... 1972. I was dragged along the ground until we arrived to Istanbul Police Headquarters. On the way I was kicked in my stomach and other parts of my body. They hit me with their fists and palms. I was beaten hard on the head with thompsons and I bled from my head. Meanwhile they let forth the most loathsome and terrible insults to me.

"I was kept 28 days in the political section of Istanbul Police Head-



quarters. During this period I was led several times into the office of Mr. Mahmut Dikler, Istanbul Security Police Chief. In his office I was beaten severely by him and his assistants. As a result, my face got swollen and bruised, my lips were split, the gristle of my nose was broken, and all my body became bruised. Drastic torture threats, loathsome curses and insults were used as the ordinary way of addressing and talking to me.

"On ..... my deposition was recorded. I was arrested on .... by the ..... Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, and handed over to Sagmalcilar Prison.

"I was starting to think that finally all tortures were over. But on ..... (two days later) two plainclothes security policemen took me away from the Sagmalcilar Prison and brought me to Kadiköy. There were four plainclothes army officers from MIT, waiting for me in another car. I was handed over to them. They blindfolded me and drove me towards an unknown destination. We arrived at a building where an army general told me that the place was the Intelligence Agency of the General Staff. They took away all my clothes and personal belongings. A pair of bloody pyjama trousers were put on me. They chained my hands and feet and ordered me to lie down without moving. They left the room and locked the door. I was being watched through the observation hole. In the evening they took me downstairs, blindfolded and chained. I was subjected to falanga there after being cuffed, and severely harassed by an army major from MIT who beat me with his fists. (They addressed each other with their ranks instead of their names.) Previously I had informed them that I suffered from a heart illness. I was told that 'they do not care a damn if I die.' They could easily get over of it with simple formalities. They could say that I was shot to death when I tried to escape.

"After being subjected to falanga for a while, I had severe heart attack. So, they were obliged to give up the falanga.

"The following day I was again blindfolded and examined by a doctor. The doctor informed my torturers of my intestinal inflammation. From then on I was not subjected to physical torture because of my delicate health. Yet, non-physical torture was applied for 15 days.

"Within these 15 days I had a completely inhuman life. I did not have enough food, the food they gave me was only enough to keep me alive. The law did not exist there any more. I listened to the unbearable screams of other tortured friends.

"As my deposition had been recorded previously, the reason for bringing me here was quite clear: To take revenge and to torture. Actually my written deposition was never required at the '*Counter-Guerilla Base*' as they called it. Using the most disgusting loathsome words and insulting me they claimed that I had sexual relations with Mahmut Dikler, the Security Police Chief, which they knew themselves was not true. They brought slanders against ..... my previous home mate Miss ..... in order to oppress me.

(.....)

"Not taking my written deposition proves their own words that I was brought there only to be tortured. As a result of my resistance they finally decided to send me back. I was reminded that I could be brought there again any time they desired, also during the trials. After all, they might even kill us all together in the prison.

"Finally they blindfolded me and drove me again to Kadiköy, under the

observation of soldiers whose Thompsons were aimed at me and who were ordered to shoot me if I moved. At Kadiköy, I was handed over to the security police. I was led again to Istanbul Police Headquarters where I was kept in solitary confinement block for one day. I was delivered again to Sagsmalcilar Prison on the following day.

"I was weak, exhausted and sick. When I was at MIT, listening to the screams of the others, being insulted, listening to the disgusting words used for my other friends and the provocations was worse than undergoing torture. My stay at that 'Counter-Guerilla Base' caused me serious illnesses. This Counter-Guerilla Base was the main reason for the disappearance of the prisoners from Sagsmalcilar Prison.

"When I was kept there, my family wanted to see me in the Sagsmalcilar Prison. They applied there several times, however, the authorities of the prison could not find me although I was booked there.

"We are not safe neither now nor later."

Miss .....

"(.....)taking me out of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters, few MIT agents put me into a car. They blindfolded me, then drove in a direction which I do not know. I was beaten drastically on the way by my guards whose names I do not know. They uncovered my eyes when we arrived in a room. Under a rain of the rudest cursings I was informed that I would be interrogated next morning, and since nobody knew where I was, I would be tortured to death if I do not tell the 'truth'. Then they left me alone after handcuffing my hands and chaining my legs. Until the sun rose I listened to the screams of the others, tortured in the next room. The private on guard was repeating that the same thing would be applied to me the following day. This way he was aiming at frightening and torturing me psychologically.

"At 9 a.m., an army major led me into another room which is used for interrogation and torture. After a few questions, they called two soldiers and ordered them to throw me down. The soldiers threw me down, beating me with truncheons, and tied my feet to a falanga cane. An army major brought a cable and tied it both to my right hand's little finger and to the little toe of my foot. He poured water on the cable and began to beat me with a truncheon which he got from one of the soldiers holding the falanga cane. My soles, my hips and my legs were given terrible blows. Meanwhile they were sending electric current through the cables at intervals.

"The operation continued until noon. Then they poured water on the floor and untied me. The army major mounted my back and ordered me to run and jump on the wet floor, carrying him on my back. But since I was suffering from indescribable excruciating pains, I was unable to carry out his order. Thereupon the major started to beat me at random with a stick and again ordered me to run, if not, I would be subjected to falanga again. So he made me run and jump for about two hours. Then he examined my feet and saying that they were not too swollen, he subjected me again to falanga and applied the electrodes. I was almost unconscious when they finally gave up the torture in the evening. They carried me into the next room. The major ordered me to undress, saying that he was going to have intercourse with me. If I insisted on not obeying him, he would have the soldiers do it. But since I started to weep, he left the room.

"At 1 a.m., after midnight, they brought me into the torture room again. Four officers beat me, all at the same time.

"The next day, others who had been tortured and who were in an exhausted state, were brought in and shown to me.

"Until the evening they kept on subjecting me to falanga, electrodes and non-physical torture without any interval. During the falanga operation my soles were split open and blood splashed on the major's clothes. This cost me a very strong dose of current and to be beaten until I was close to fainting.

"Three days and three nights I was subjected to falanga and electroshock with short intervals. After all I was unable to stand on my feet and lost my faculty of speech.

"At the end of the third day they brought in two rubber hoses. One of them, which looks like an anaesthetics apparatus, was placed over my mouth. Since I was not able to defend myself, they stripped me from the waist downwards and thrust the other hose into my rectum. They started to pump air through the hoses. I felt as if I was bursting and fainted. When I was coming to senses, they applied electroshock. Then I was subjected again to falanga, accompanied by electroshock, which again was followed by pumping of air. This torture was repeated four times until the night came. The fourth time, they were obliged to bring a doctor since I did not come to. The doctor told them that my lungs were extremely swollen, and that I might die if I received even a slight blow with a truncheon. From then on, they beat only my hands.

"On the fourth day, they forced me and a few other tortured people to wash and clean the torture room, claiming that the MIT got dirty because of us.

"During the 11 days that I was kept in MIT, I listened to the screams of others. Then I was handed over to security police. They threatened to bring me there and torture me more brutally if I should speak about the tortures applied to me there. I was kept in Security Police Section of Istanbul Police Headquarters for one day and handed over to ..... (.....)"

Miss .....

"She was taken into custody on March 25, 1972 at 5.30 p.m. She was kept in the solitary confinement cells of Harbiye Military Police Headquarters until April 18, 1972, deprived of any consultation and communication. She was not even interrogated within these 25 days. On April 18, she was handed over to a military police center at Kadiköy from where she was delivered to the 'Counter-Guerilla Base' of the General Staff Headquarters, her eyes blindfolded. The very first day interrogation started. The interrogation went on while she was subjected to falanga. She was not interrogated on 19-20-21 April. But during this period her nervous system was destroyed by using certain medicines, injections and by making her listen to tape records. She was made to listen to the recorded drastic screams of people undergoing torture and threats. While this was going on, she had continuous nervous break downs.

"When they noticed that the methods and the medicines applied to destroy her nerves were really successful, they interrogated her again on April 22-23. In order to destroy her nerves completely, and to frighten

her, they spoke to her in Russian and forced her to read some papers.

"She was driven to Selimiye Caserne on April 24. From there she was handed over to Sagmaalcilar Prison on April 25.

"As a result of the moral tortures, her nerves were completely destroyed. She is now suffering from the symptoms of schizophrenia. The doctors, who examined her in prison, reported that she must be sent to a hospital. She was sent finally to Haydarpasa Military Hospital and examined there. But the authorities who examined her only superficially, reported that she was all right and advised her: 'Go to court and make a complaint!' She was sent back to prison. Her mental health is deteriorating now. Her application to the military court in order to be treated at the hospital has still not been answered."

Prison mates of  
Kadriye Ezel Incili  
(She is unable to write)

"The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters wanted me and my sister as 'suspects' on the state-radio on March 24, 1972. We surrendered on April 28, 1972. We were sent to the Police Headquarters by the military prosecutor and kept at the Security Police Section for 17 days until May 15, 1972. Here are the facts which I witnessed:

" -There were six solitary confinement cells. One of them was so narrow that one could only stand stiff and immobile, it was called 'tabutluk (coffinyard)'. A young person, whose name I learned later as Hüseyin Karanlık, had been kept in a cell. He was not able to walk because of having been bastinadoed and his feet were bandaged. I was told that he had been subjected to electroshock also.

" -In our room, there was a young man named Seyit. He had graduated from the Economics Faculty of Istanbul. One day the torturers beat him in the next room and gave him blackeye. We heard his screams. Later they took him to be cured. But the bruise around the eyes did not disappear.

" -A worker named Kemal Aküzün, who was also kept in our room, was first beaten by the policemen and later they applied electroshock to him through his fingers and waist. His screams were heard in our room and it was more than flesh and blood can stand. Then, they gagged his mouth in order to prevent him from crying out.

" -There was also a female lawyer, Miss Ayten Bulut, in our room. The policemen were forcing her not to accept defending the revolutionaries. She told me that she had been kept chained in the torture place of the MIT. They had dropped water on her feet periodically and forced her to listen the screams of others being tortured. Also in the Police Headquarters, the torturers subjected her to electroshock and plucked a piece of flesh from her arm. When she came to the Sagmaalcilar Prison, the wound had not dissappeared.

" -There were some others who had been brought because they had been singing marches. Even those who had been brought by mistake were also beaten, but they were not important with regard to the tortures applied systematically.

" -When I was being brought to the military prosecutor of Selimiye Caserne, I saw Mehmet Incili. His health was bad and he was exhausted. I was told that his heart had stopped twice, because of electroshock.

" -Miss Nergis Savran, an industrial engineer, was also being brought to the Selimiye Caserne together with us. She told us all the tortures applied to her. She had been taken to the MIT as being blindfolded. In the torture place which the torturers called '*Counter-Guerilla Base*', they had undressed her and raped her with truncheons. Later they had subjected her to falanga (bastinado) and electroshock. While they had been torturing, some of them had been sitting on her arms in order to prevent her reflex actions. They had also cursed and sworn at her and threatened her. (The agents of MIT who were of course army officers, had told all their victims that they were their own masters, the law was not valid there, they could do what they wanted and they would never be responsible for the tortures, moreover they were able to kill anyone brought there. It was possible of course. Because nobody knew where who had disappeared was brought and also who was moved into the Counter Guerilla Base. All the friends who had once been brought there, told the same thing in the same manner.)

" -Everyone knows the tortures. The soldiers told us that the finger nails of the detained army officers were pulled out and even one of them could go to the lavatory only by dragging himself. The detained officers were tortured more than anyone else.

" -In the Selimiye Caserne (where also the military courts try the political prisoners) the confinement cells are in a very poor condition. After having stayed there for five days Mr. Muzaffer, a teacher, was sick when he was brought back to Istanbul Police Headquarters. All the cells are without windows. They were lit up day and night. They were damp and moreover they were pouring water on the floor everyday in order to increase the dampness.

" -In the Sagsalcilar Prison, 35 female friends were being kept in a special ward. Most of those friends said that they had been tortured.

" -Ayşe Bilge Dicleli said that she had been taken into the Harbiye Caserne where she had a miscarriage because of the tortures applied to her. Yet, in spite of this murder, they had continued to torture her and had raped her with truncheons. Later she had been bastinadoed. One day, before we were brought to the Sagsalcilar Prison, she had been carried to the MIT center and tortured again. She was sick. She was bleeding and suffering from wounds.

" -Just as Bilge Dicleli, Lale Arikdal had also been taken to the MIT center from the Sagsalcilar Prison and tortured there. She had a gastric illness and bleeding wounds. She was in a very bad state.

" -Nazife Kaya told me that she had been kept for ten days in Ankara Section of MIT. They put a hose into her mouth and into her rectum and pumped air into her body. (All these tortures are applied under the medical observation of a physician, in order to prevent any unexpected death. Because corpses are not able to 'confess'. But if the victim dies, they throw him out of a window and conceal the murder by claiming that the detainee committed suicide.) During the torture, the physician had said that her lungs might burst and thereupon the torturers had stopped to pump air. Later they had applied falanga to her and kept her head under water until she was choking. She was not able to sleep at night and could not breath properly.

" -Another female friend named Ülker, who was a student at the Faculty of Political Sciences, told me that she had also been tortured and raped with truncheons in Ankara Section of MIT.

" -Other friends, Mr. MUzaffer, Miss Füsün, Mrs. Selma Veyisoglu, Miss Turkan, Miss Ferdane Yurtsever told me that many tortures were applied to them.

" -In the Sagmahcilar Prison, another female friend, Kadriye Ezel Incili, was delirious because of the psychological tortures applied to her. As other victims, she had been also forced to listen to the screams of the tortured ones. She was unconscious and often tried to commit suicide. It was absolutely necessary to give her medical treatment. But the military hospital of Haydarpasa made a medical report stating that she was healthy. Other friends took care of her by turns at nights in order to prevent any drama. At last, as a result of our insistence and also because of taking the coming trials into consideration, they put her in a hospital. Because it would make a negative impression to bring Ezel in front of the military court as a delirious defendant. The real reason of keeping Ezel as a delirious person in the prison for a long while was to torture the other victims psychologically. Because of the sorrow -it was more than flesh and blood can stand- and permanent tension -every moment any drama might occur- everybody became tense.

*P.S: A lieutenant colonel from the MIT had told a friend that they were fascists and the fascism was sovereign in the country. In the MIT all interrogations are carried out by the army officers and the policemen are used as the servants.*

Miss .....

"On April 20, 1972, ten persons who claimed themselves as the 'honorable officers of the Turkish Armed Forces' came to my working place and searched it. After having taken some written materials which seemed suspicious to them, they took me to my home. They made another search there and took some written material.

"Later they transferred me to Usküdar by car. They blindfolded me with a black piece of cloth. (When they were searching my home, they did not allow me to drink water and cried: 'You are under arrest. You cannot drink!') They took me to a place which I do not remember where. At the very moment we entered there, they forced me to sit down, one of them saying 'let's look at her face,' raised my head. Another one was cracking a stick in his hands. One person was praising him: 'You beat very well. Also your stick is excellent.' The man with the stick answered: 'Yes, I beat very well. That is why my wife is frightened of me!'

"The one whom they adressed as 'colonel' enumerated the names of the persons whom I do not know and shouted: 'Talk, where are they?' I said: 'I do not know them.' He shouted again: 'You are lying. Where are they?' He began to slap my face and to pull my hair. 'Talk, otherwise we can do things you cannot imagine!' Even if you do not talk for one months, we can release you at the end of the months and detain you again. So, we can keep and torture you for three months. We do not accept that you do not speak. Sooner or later you will be obliged to talk.' Another one added: 'After seeing the treatment applied to you here, you may name us as fascists. You are right. It is true. If you do not want this kind of treatment, you must talk.' I answered: 'I know everything what you do here. Do you believe that you will remain unpunished? All you have done is very well known out-

side. I do not know the persons you have asked me about. As I have understood, you want to accuse me of a political crime. If I committed such a crime, I did it consciously. It is not a swindling or a theft. I can say my activities openly, I do not hide it.'

"They took me to the upper flat blindfolded and put me in a cell. The piece of cloth over my eyes was untied. There were an armchair and a water-closet. Between them there was an iron pillar. They tied my feet to this pillar with chains, and put handcuffs on my hands. Even while I was eating or urinating, they did not untie my feet and my hands. They dropped water periodically on my feet until morning. I heard the screams of some men and women.

"In the evening of the next day, they said: 'We understood your innocence and did not apply any torture to you.' They blindfolded me again and took to the ground-floor, later drove me to another place. When my eyes were uncovered in the car, I saw that there were also a girl and a young man besides me.

"The girl was exhausted, she was not even able to move. The man's face was swollen and bruised. (The girl's name was Nergis Savran, the man's was Ferit Ilsever.) All of us were brought to the Police Headquarters. Nergis was unable to mount the stairs. While we were helping her, I asked her whispering what they had done to her. Showing the furrows between her thumb and index finger and on her temple, she said: 'They applied electroshock through these places.' By rolling up her sleeves she showed the bruises on her arms and added: 'They beat me with a metal rod.' She was not able to stand on her soles. They had bastinadoed her. I asked: 'Why cannot you move your hips?' She answered: 'They inserted truncheon.... through front!'

"They left her alone in a room. We learnt that 120 persons were detained in the Police Headquarters. The majority of the detainees were engineers, architects, lawyers, teachers, students and had been brought with their families. We heard screams until morning. When we asked about the screams, the policemen said: 'No, we do not use torture here. These screams come from the street. We have been here for many years and never seen any electrode!' In the room where we were put, a policeman kept us under surveillance and interfered in our conversations when we spoke by whispering and ordered us to speak loudly. Each time a scream was heard, the married or engaged persons in the room were shocked thinking of their husbands or their fiancés.

"They did not allow us to read any newspaper or book. We had been kept for 30 days in a ward. They told me: 'We know that you are innocent. We shall release you. But you must talk about your revolutionary friends, and whom you have seen in their homes.' I answered: 'I do not know any-one. I recognise none.' They threatened: 'We grant a delay for two hours. If you insist on not talking, we know how we can force you.' I did not talk, they made me sit on a chair and tied my feet and arms. Later they applied electroshock. The torturers did not address each other with their real names and said only: 'my commander', 'my colonel!'

"32 days after my detention, they sent me to the military court. I was arrested according to some articles of the Turkish Penal Code, which had nothing to do with my situation. When I objected, the military judge said: 'Yes, I know. But you have to wait for a while until the situation becomes clear. Be patient!' They sent us to prison by a military vehicle then.

"There were 30 girls brought previously. I was told that all of

these girls had been taken to an unknown place. A female engineer named Ayşe Bilge Dicleli had been raped with a truncheon and treated by a gynaecologist. A 23 years old girl named Türkan had miscarried her baby as a result of the tortures applied at the Police Headquarters of Ankara. A female painter, Kadriye Ezel Incili, was taken to the hospital, because of being delirious. That girl was attacking her friends, gripping them by their throats and shouting: *'You will kill me!'*

"There was also a girl named Lale (Arikdal). Because of her heart disease, they could not apply electroshock. Also her intestines were inflamed. Therefore, they had not dared to insert truncheons into her female organ. But they had bastinadoed and beaten her. They had tied her hands and feet with chains, they had cursed and sworn at her. Also they had applied psychological torture for fifteen days. She had also been beaten for thirty days in the Police Headquarters. These girls are still in the Sigmalcilar Prison.

"I also learnt that a lawyer named Yalçın Öztürk had been tortured for 20 days in the place where he had been taken blindfolded.

"Assistant Murat Belge from Istanbul University had also been tortured in the same place. They had tortured also a 18 years old girl, named Ferdane (Yurtsever) and threatened her by saying: *'We hope that you will not forget this treatment!'*"

.....

"A young man, named Vedat Gevrek committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window of Ankara Police Headquarters (Emniyet Sarayı), yesterday at 12 p.m. Police stated that he had been summoned there for an investigation." (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 29, 1972)

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"Police gave an additional information on the suicide of Vedat Gevrek. According to the official communique, he was a member of Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. During the interrogation, Vedat Gevrek demanded to go to the lavatory, and the police let him go by interrupting the interrogation. Although he was handcuffed, on the way back, he had thrown himself down, out of a window of the Police Headquarters' sixth flat and died immediately." (Daily Cumhuriyet, June 31, 1972)

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From the affidavit of Ayşe Emel Mesçi:

"İlgiz Aykutlu (Istanbul Security Police Chief) told me: *'We shall probably throw you out of the window and declare that you went off your head and committed suicide!'*" (Minutes of the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH, pp. 67-68)

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Hiz. adı: Besimde Mr.  
en. bir teklifler  
büyü kadını kuvvet-  
ken gürültü. 1AA7

IT IS A PRIME  
MINISTER SPEAKING:

"HAD THE COMMUNISTS  
BEEN VICTORIOUS  
BEFORE MARCH 12,  
ALL TURKS  
WOULD HAVE TO FACE  
EXILE IN SIBERIA"

(Milliyet, July 17, 1972)

**EN:**  
**zetler**  
**IAVACAĞ.**

**MELEN :**  
**"12 MARTTAN**  
**ÖNCE**  
**KOMUNİSTLER**  
**BAŞARI**  
**KAZANSAYDI,**  
**TÜRKLERİ**  
**SİBİRYA'YA**  
**SÜRECEKTİ;"**  
**DEDİ**

Prime Minister Nihat Erim said: "We never tolerate anybody torturing prisoners. Perhaps there are some individual cases. When we hear about it, we are taking necessary measures to stop it and to punish the guilty." (Akşam November 9, 1971)

Interior Minister Hamdi Omeroglu said: "Some of the charges of tortures against the police are true. As far as we learn it, the guilties are being punished." (Akşam, November 13, 1971)

Interior Minister Hamdi Omeroglu denied his previous speech dated November 13, 1971 and said: "All of the charges of tortures against the police are totally untrue." (Milliyet, November 14, 1971)

General Faik Türlün, the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, said: "I made an investigation on these charges and saw that they are not more than few blows on the soles and a few slaps." (Milliyet, May 29, 1972)

Prime Minister Ferit Melen said: "All the charges of that martial law authorities are torturing political prisoners are completely untrue. These charges are fabricated by the well-known circles." (Cumhuriyet, July 20, 1972)

Turhan Feyzioglu, the Chairman of the National Security Party (NGP) and the Turkish Representative in the Council of Europe, said that all charges of torture were lies and at the Council of Europe he himself had refuted these charges. (Cumhuriyet, July 20, 1972)

## THE ILLEGAL TRIALS BEFORE THE MILITARY COURTS

Since the beginning of the martial law, eleven extraordinary military courts -three in Istanbul, three in Ankara, one in Adana, one in Eskisehir, one in Izmir and two in Diyarbakir- have tried thousands of people and condemned 21 young persons to death and hundreds of them to imprisonment.

In accordance with Article 32 of the 1961 Constitution, it was clearly stated that no person could be sent for trial to an extraordinary or special tribunal other than by his presiding judge. In spite of this provision, the military compelled parliament to enact a special law to authorize the martial law commanders to constitute extraordinary military courts. According to the new Act of Martial Law passed by parliament on May 15, 1971, not only the "crimes" committed in the period of martial law, but also the old cases of writers, editors, workers, peasants and student leaders were also brought before the military courts of martial law.

In addition, the martial law commanders have not limited themselves to the eleven provinces but have put anyone and everyone in the military jails of the six martial law headquarters; and the military courts of martial law have tried and condemned them for "political crimes".

These military courts of martial law are counter to the basic principles of law and human rights, because:

- All the members of these courts are military judges under the command of the military junta. Even the presidents of the military courts are not military judges, but simply army officers. The prejudices of the military junta against the victims were declared at the beginning of the martial law. Moreover, it is very well known that the military junta appointed army officers known for their fascist convictions, as the judicial advisors, prosecutors and judges of these extraordinary military courts.

- The trials are held under the shadow of arms. The courts and defendants are surrounded by guards on duty with bayonets and machine-guns.

- All objections of the defence against putting this juridical procedure into practice are being systematically rejected by the military tribunals and if the defence insists on the objections, armed officers and guards can forcefully remove him from the courtroom. In addition to this, many lawyers have been arrested by the military courts during the trials.

- In such important cases, the military prosecutors can bring only the police and the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MİT) agents and militants of fascist organizations as main witnesses. By cooperating with them the military prosecutors have prepared their formal charges -whose falsity can be recognized at first sight- and hundreds and hundreds are being condemned to death or imprisonment on such false evidence.

- The military prosecutors also use "confessions" of the defendants

as evidence. These "confessions" have been obtained by means of medieval-like tortures. The victims and their lawyers have revealed these tortures during the trials and at great personal sacrifice had the courage to present written and signed documents. Yet the extraordinary military courts have refused to investigate the claims about the tortures, saying "...the court believes it impossible to find out whether the defendants have been tortured for obtaining the 'truth' or forcing them to acknowledge crimes that they have never committed." This verdict shows that the extraordinary military courts appreciate such tortures which were applied to the victims in order to obtain the "truth".

- The decisions of the military courts contradict each other. While the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was refusing to apply Article 146 of Turkish Penal Code to the defendants of the Naval Officers' Case, on the other hand, three young men condemned to death under the same article by the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters were executed. Neither the Military Court of Cassation nor parliament did not take into consideration this contradiction.

- Moreover, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters was immediately dissolved because of not applying the subject article.

#### THE PRINCIPAL CASES AT THE MILITARY COURTS

The following list of the cases divulges certain facts about the illegal trials:

##### 1. The Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO):

The trials of 23 members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey began at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on July 16, 1971. They were accused of "trying to change the Constitution (of 1961) by force," under Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC). The evidences that the military prosecutor used against them were some bank robberies and the kidnapping of four US soldiers. In fact they did not kill them, but released immediately. In their defence, the defendants insisted that they had fought against the corrupt Demirel Government which had avoided putting the 1961 Constitution into practice, and that they had fought against US hegemony over Turkey. The 1961 Constitution was changed not by these defendants, but by the military junta on September 22, 1971.

In spite of this contradiction, the military court condemned 18 young students to death on October 9, 1971.

Deniz Gezmiş (25), Yusuf Aslan (25), Hüseyin Inan (23), Attila Keskin (27), Metin Yildirimtürk (28), Ahmet Erdogan (25), Mehmet Nakiboglu (25), Recep Sakin (24), Ercan Öztürk (24), Osman Arkiş (21), Hacı Tonak (21), Semih Orcan (21), Mustafa Yalçiner (22), Cengiz Baltacı (25), Metin Güngörmüş (21), Mete Ertekin (25), Mustafa Çubuk (23) and Mehmet Asal (21).

Kor Koçalak, İrfan Uçar were sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. Sevin Onursal, the only female defendant of the case, was also sentenced to imprisonment for 5 years. Three defendants, Hüseyin Özdoğan, İbrahim Seven and Necmettin Baca were acquitted.



TRIALS UNDER THE SHADOWS OF MACHINE GUNS: Mahir Cayan and his friends, Jülide Zaim, Rüçhan Manas, Tulay Tad, and Kadriye Deniz Özen at the military court of martial law.



TRIALS UNDER THE SHADOWS OF BAYONETS: Cihan Alptekin and his friends (above) and Mahir Çayan and his friends (below).



The lawyers of the defendants appealed to the Military Court of Cassation for the following reasons:

- a) The formation of the military courts is against the Constitution.
- b) The defendants did not commit the crimes mentioned in Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. They fought for the independence of their country.
- c) Some evidence in the files of the case was not read in court by the military prosecutor.
- d) The necessary observations were not made on the spot.
- e) The witnesses were not sufficiently heard by the court.
- f) The court did not take into consideration the claims about torture.
- g) The defendants were not allowed to make any statement when the verdict was handed down.
- h) The court did not investigate the situation of the US bases whose status violates Turkey's sovereignty.
- i) Serious mistakes were made in linking the different cases together.

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentences of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan and canceled other 15 death sentences on January 10, 1972.

While many countries have long ago abolished capital punishment for political offences, these three young men -in spite of their by now unanimously recognized humanitarian attitude towards those they had to kidnap- were nevertheless sentenced to death. The military court's death warrant aroused immense protests in the country as well as abroad. Tens of thousands of signatures were gathered in Turkey; abroad, hundreds of thousands people, hundreds of organizations and even governments addressed messages to the president of the Republic to prevent the executions.

Yet, the Turkish military rule gave no consideration to these reactions and the death sentences were voted in parliament under army threat. As the verdict on the capital punishment was at first found to be legally defective, the Constitutional Court cancelled it. But the military junta had the law hurriedly voted by parliament once again on May 2, 1971, this time with "correct legal procedure".

At the last moment the lawyers of three defendants appealed to the Military Court of Cassation to review the decision for the following reasons:

- a) *While three defendants were being sent to the scaffold, other 15 defendants' death sentences were commuted to imprisonment. In accordance with Article 228 of the Military Criminal Procedure Code, the military court were not able to discriminate between the defendants who were accused of committing same offence.*
- b) *Another military court, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters refused to apply Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code to other defendants who were also tried under same accusation.*
- c) *Other cases for hundreds of defendants who are also accused of committing same offence have not come to an end yet.*

The Military Court of Cassation did not take into consideration these rightful reasons and rejected to review the sentences.

On May 6th, 1972, the president of the Republic signed the death

sentences and three freedom fighters were hanged by the military rule's executers.

After these executions, on July 3, 1972, the First Military Court of Ankara MHR adopted the final decision of the Military Court of Cassation and commuted death sentences of other 15 defendants to imprisonment as follows: Mustafa Yalçiner (life term), Ahmet Erdogan (life term), Metin Güngörmüş (life term), Hacı Tonak (life term), Recep Sakin (15 years), Mehmet Nakiboglu (15 years), Metin Yıldırım Türk (15 years), Attila Keskin (15 years), Erhan Öztürk (15 years), Semih Orcan (15 years), Osman Arkiş (15 years), Mehmet Asal (15 years), Cengiz Baltacı (15 years), Mete Ertekin (10 years), Mustafa Çubuk (15 years). The period of imprisonment for Sevin Onursal was decreased to 2.5 years and for Kor Koçalak to 3 years and 4 months.

## 2. The Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC):

The trials of 26 members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey began at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on August 16, 1971. They were also accused of "trying to change the Constitution by force" according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. The evidences that the military prosecutor used against them were some bank robberies and the kidnapping of the Consul General of Israel. In their defence the defendants admitted the appropriations and the kidnapping and claimed that they had done them with the aim of organizing the liberation front against the United States and the military rule and saving their friends from the military jails. But they persistently refused the accusation of murdering the Consul General. According to their statements, the Consul General had been shot by an army officer in spite of the decision of the central committee of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. After having shot the hostage, this army officer, Captain Ilyas Aydin, had escaped and the military authorities could not catch him. Unless Captain Aydin is caught, this point would remain obscure.

The defendants of this case also insisted that the 1961 Constitution was changed not by themselves, but by the military junta.

Many of the defendants had been tortured before the trials and put in cells during the trials. Their right of defence was restricted during the whole process of the case.

Under these conditions three of the defendants, Mahir Çayan (26), Ulaş Bardakçı (25), and Ziya Yılmaz (34), for whom the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences, were obliged to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971.

Five of other defendants, Necmi Demir (27), Kamil Dede (22), Ilkay Demir (26), Kadriye Deniz Özen (24) and Rüçhan Manas (27) were condemned to death on December 27, 1971. The death sentences of three female defendants, Ilkay Demir, Kadriye Deniz Özen and Rüçhan Manas were commuted to life term.

After their escape, Ulaş Bardakçı was shot to death by police and military forces and Ziya Yılmaz was wounded on February 19, 1972. Ziya Yılmaz was tried again and sentenced to death on March 15, 1972. Mahir Çayan was also murdered in the bomb explosion carried out by the government forces in Kizildere on March 30, 1972.

On the appeal of the lawyers, the Fourth Section of the Military Court of Cassation canceled three death sentences and ordered a new trial. Thereupon, the chief military prosecutor appealed to the General Assembly of the

Military Court of Cassation. The general assembly approved the annulment of Kamil Dede's and Necmi Demir's death sentences, but decided that the death sentence of Ziya Yilmaz must be executed.

In accordance with the criminal procedure, the death sentence of Ziya Yilmaz will be discussed in parliament.

### 3. Young Naval Officers:

The trial of 84 defendants began at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters on August 11, 1971. The majority of the victims were young naval officers and cadets. They also were accused of "trying to change the Constitution by force" according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code. At the first session the military prosecutor had demanded death sentences for 41 defendants. But the only evidences of this case were only the statements of the police agents and the fascist militants.

On May 3, 1972, the First Military Court refused to apply Article 146 to the defendants and condemned only 14 defendants in accordance with other articles pertaining to their offences as follows:

Lieutenant Ahmet Coker (36 years), Naval Cadet Hasan Cetin (36 years), Lieutenant Selim Yalçiner (30 years), Lieutenant Sarp Kuray (30 years), Police Chief Muzaffer Yilmaz (18 years), Lieutenant Saim Kiroglu (10 years), Lieutenant Erkan Dirik (10 years), Lieutenant Ergin Türüsel (6 years), Student Namik Kemal Boya (1 year and 8 months), Tailor Bayram Akgün (1 year and 8 months), Lieutenant Ibrahim Akim Altug (6 months).

The following 70 defendants were acquitted:

Irfan Solmaz (member of the former National Unity Committee which overthrew the power of the Democratic Party on May 27, 1960), Ruhi Koç (the former secretary general of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), Sinasi Maktav (naval cadet), Rafet Kaplangi (police chief), Coskun Erkan (lieutenant), Bülent Dinçer (lieutenant), Vahidittin ERgin (lieutenant), Ayhan Kandas (lieutenant), Kadir Birdal (naval cadet), Taner Onder (naval cadet), Metin Şerefoglu (student), Attila Sarp (the former president of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), Sahin Aldogan (lieutenant), Hüseyin Atalay (lieutenant), Ismail Cankardes (lieutenant), Ali Kirca (lieutenant), Zaffer ERgün (naval cadet), Nejat Çetinkaya (lieutenant), Cengiz Kilic (cadet), Abdullah Gelgeç (cadet), Mehmet Akmaner (lieutenant), Maksut Çatak (cadet), Mahmut Ozen (TRT employee), Yücel Ersoy (lieutenant), Mehmet Sagcan (lieutenant), Samil Altan (cadet), Ihsan Yanar (lieutenant), Celal Sayarar (cadet), Erol Kizilelma (lieutenant), Lütfi Yilmaz (lieutenant), Ercüment Toker (lieutenant), Ali Ercan (lieutenant), Mehmet Şengör (lieutenant), Ahmet Ergüden (lieutenant), Ziya Büyükkayalar (lieutenant), Ruhi Demirören (lieutenant), Izzet Demirhan (lieutenant), Ulusal BERRak (lieutenant), Mustafa Faruk Türün (teacher), Volkan Risvanoglu (lieutenant), Erol Kartal (lieutenant), Orhan Altan (lieutenant), Emin Babakuş (lieutenant), Bahadır Ergül (lieutenant), Erhan Ünal (lieutenant), Sakir Ündeyici (lieutenant), Hasan Koca (lieutenant), Hasan Koca (lieutenant), Mehmet Aktüre (lieutenant), Cumali Ülgün (student), Remzi Arasan (cadet), Kemal Köksal (cadet), Okan Esmen (lieutenant), Yakup Hindistan (lieutenant), Kubilay Kutlu (cadet), Mehmet ARabaci (cadet), Muhsin Gül (student), Saffan Özdemir (unemployed), Fahrettin Karayel (lieutenant), Dogan Seğer (cadet), Nihat Deger (air forces colonel), Mukbil Özyörük (assistant professor), Çetin Algon (lieutenant), Mehmet Tuncay (lieutenant), Cahit Uzunhasan (lieutenant), Mustafa Süzer (lieutenant), Fahri Kivanç (lieutenant),



Şeref TAŞ (lieutenant), Özmetin Azman (lieutenant), Ahmet Akküçük (cadet), Mülayim Tuncelli (cadet), Faik Bakkalcı (cadet).

The First Military Court also decided to start legal proceedings against 11 persons, Nurşin Inal, Kaya Inal, Özel Onar, Sevket Özgül, Müjgan Kiziltas, Tamer Unsal, Kubilay Kiliç, Serhat Unaldi, Dogan Yildirim, Nejat Köseoglu, and Omer Gökbayrak, who were brought as witnesses before the military court by the military prosecutor and they have given false testimony.

On this decision, the military prosecutor immediately appealed to the Military Court of Cassation by insisting on demanding death sentences for İrfan Solmaz, Sarp Kuray, Erkan Dirik, İbrahim Akim Altug, Ruhi Koç, Şinasi Maktav, Hasan Çetin, Ahmet Çokcr and Selim Yalçiner on May 10, 1972.

And on May 17, 1972, the Ministry of National Defence dissolved the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters which had refused the demands of the military prosecutor and the judges of this court, Colonel Remzi Şirin, Major Refik Kara, Major Saydam Erdek were transferred to the military units in Anatolia.

#### 4. Istanbul Section of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey:

19 members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey were tried by the same court, the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. The trials began on October 6, 1971. They also were accused of *"trying to change the Constitution by force"*, according to Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code and the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for 8 of the defendants.

Many of the defendants had been tortured before the trials and kept in cells even during the trials. Under these conditions, two of the defendants, Cihan Alptekin (24) and Omer Ayna (23) were obliged to escape from the military jail on November 30, 1971 together with the three members of the PLFT. But both of them were later murdered in the bomb explosion carried out by the government forces in Kizildere on March 30, 1972.

At the end of the trials, the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH decided that Article 146 could not be applied in this case, because the deed of the accused had particular aims that could not be considered as offences under that article of the TPC. And as a result of this interpretation, the court rejected the military prosecutor's demands for death sentences and condemned only two defendants, Nahit Töre and Osman Bahadır, to life term. Oktay Kaynak, Yavuz Yıldırımürk, Ali Aydın Çig, Zerruk Vakıfahmedoglu, Tayfur Cinemre, Elif Gönül Tolon, Rifat Güney, Dursun Çagli, Alparslan Ertug and Faruk Kurtulus were sentenced to imprisonments up to 36 years, on April 22, 1972.

#### 5. Turkish Labour Party:

The trial of 20 leaders of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP), which had been banned by the Constitutional Court, began on August 19, 1971 at the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. They were accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over other classes and to follow a separatist policy"*, under Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The military prosecutor brought the programme of the party which had been in force for nine years and the resolution on the democratic rights of the Kurdish people adopted by the party convention in 1970 as the main evidences.

The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for Mrs. Behice Boran (the chairman of TIP and assistant professor), Şaban Erik (the secretary general of TIP and trade union leader), Sait Çiltaş (the secretary general of TIP), Saduk Aren (university professor), Osman Sakalsiz (trade union leader), Adil Özkol (assistant professor), Yalçın Cerit (worker), Nejat Oktem (trade union leader), Turgut Kazan (lawyer), Hüseyin Ergün (editor), Hüseyin Korkmaz (trade union leader), Adnan Keserbiçer, Erdal Orhan (journalist), Nurettin Pirim (editor), Ejder Imer (worker), Kemal Burkay (lawyer), Mehmet Tuncel, Oral Çalısar (student), Nejat Yazıcıoğlu (physician) and Savas Al (worker).

All of the defendants were released on October 6, 1971, but arrested again on June 24, 1972. The case is still on trial.

#### 6. Turkish Communist Party (TKP):

The trial of 33 defendants began on October 27, 1971 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. They are accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes"* and *"to be affiliated to the clandestine Turkish Communist Party abroad"*.

According to Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code, the military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Şadi Alkiliç (retired state employee and writer), Çetin Özek (assistant professor), Dogen Özgüden (writer and editor - the military authorities have not been able to seize him yet), Harun Karadeniz (engineer), Nihat Sarğın (physician), Osman Saffet Arolat (editor), Regip Zarakolu (writer), Sabahattin Eyüboğlu (writer and university professor), Vedat Günyol (publisher and translator), Azra Erhad (writer), Şiar Yalçın (public prosecutor), Matilda Gökçeli (translator), Süleyman Balkan (engineer), Masis Kürkçügil (publisher), Hülya Kinalioğlu (student), İştihan Gündüz (student), Necmi Demir (student - he was sentenced to death in another case), İlkay Demir (student - she was sentenced to life term in another case), Vahit Tulus (worker), Cihan Şenoguz (student), Hayri Eroğlu (engineer), Magdalena Rufer (pianist), Erdöl Boratap (speaker at TRT), Seçkin Çagan (translator), Tanju Cilizoglu (journalist), Aydın Engin (actor and playwright), Taner Kutlay (student), Zeynep Sagnak (student), Dinçer Yücesan (student), Faruk Pekin (engineer and writer), Nurseli Varlı (student), Gülay Varlı (student), İrvem Keskinoglu (student).

After the trials began all the defendants of this case were released, but on June 29, 1972 many of them were arrested again.

#### 7. Teachers' Union of Turkey (TÖS):

The trial of 143 defendants began on October 26, 1971 at the Second Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. The majority of the defendants are teachers and members of the Teachers' Union of Turkey (TÖS). They also were accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes"* under Article 141. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Fakir Baykurt (the president of TÖS and a well-known novelist), Dursun Akçam (the vice-president of TÖS and a famous novelist), Osman K. Akol (the secretary general of TÖS), Veli Kasimoğlu, Abdullah Özcan, Hülya Zağya-

pan, Celal Yıldız, Ahmet Gültekin, Muharrem Tekin, Nezihe Orcan, Fikret Soy-sal, Gün Zileli, Ahmet Say, Hasan Zorlu, Yılmaz Demir, İbrahim Bayar, Basri Özdoğan, Kaya Odabasi, Recep Cüre, Mümin Dogru, Babür Ergüney and Ömer Yigit.

The military prosecutor demanded various imprisonments for the following defendants:

Ayla Aftur, Abdullah Akin, Mustafa Akman, Ahmet Albayrak, Kasim Altin, Selahattin Altinok, Niyazi Arslan, Ferhat Arslantas, Latifi Atay, Fikri Aytekin, Nuri Ayvali, Gülsen Baskan, Latif Baskan, İbrahim Bayar, Muammer Bektaş, Rusen Berber, İsmet Birkan, Hayrettin Bozal, Cahit Bozalp, Halil Erdem, Hilmi Erdem, Hüseyin Erdural, Süleyman Ersan, Cemalettin Etli, Mehmet Gökçe, Kemal Bulut, Ömer Celp, Necati Cinar, Cumali Çiçek, Yılmaz Demir, Emine Dinç, Ahmet Gültekin, Kamil Günay, Yahya Gündüz, Kerim Yasar İcad, İhsan Ilkyaz, Saadetttin Kaygi, Gönül Kayir, Aslan Keçeci, Mehmet Kir, Seyhan Kolday, Mahmut Kolukisa, İsmail Kömürcü, Saim Mermer, Kerim Metli, Zeki Oguz, Harunresit Özçiçek, Ali Rıza Özdemir, Dursun Özden, Attila Özova, Hilmi Peksirin, Ayhan Sağlam, Oya Sencer, Veli Sevinçhan, Mahmut Adem Solak, Ayşe Soysal, Sultan Sönmez, Yakup Simsek, Niyazi Tan, Ekrem Tigli, Halil Tokat, Fuat Turgut, Kadir Ulusoy, Aygün Unal, Sedat Vural, Salih Yakin, İdris Yalçın, Nazmi Yalçın, Kudret Yaman, Osman Yaman, Fikri Yavuz, İbrahim Seven, Gürol İlban, Akin Oktay, Güner Kelek, Orhan Çipli, Aziz Aydın, Yüksel Erbaytar, Hasan Yalçın, Ahmet Yanar, Meral Kayir, Mevlut Güvercin, Güler Koç.

#### 8. Teachers' Union of Turkey (Adana Section):

The trial of 17 defendants, the majority of whom are also members of TOS, are held at the military Court of Adana Martial Law Headquarters. They were likewise accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes,"* under the Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The military court condemned eight of the defendants to imprisonment for eight years: Emin Tunçbilek, Yaşar Gökoglu, Sevim Demirpençe, Mehmet Özel, Mahir Cemiloglu, Zihni Ayhan, Tahir Pekmezci and Mehmet Hasan Özel.

The other defendants -Necati Deniz, Ramazan Adigüzel, Mehmet Tahran-gil, Hüseyin Gürkan, Sefik Aydın, Kazim Aydoğan, Ali Seydi Simsek, Ender Yigitor, Arif Akça and Dogan Tekbas- were acquitted on February 22, 1972.

#### 9. Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç):

236 members of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey are being tried at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters since February 21, 1972. They were likewise accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes"*, under articles 146 and 141 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The military prosecutor has demanded death sentences for thirteen of the defendants: Attila Sarp, İrfan Uçar, Ahmet Bozkurt, Ruhi Koç, Tuncay Çelen, Gün Zileli, Oral Çalışlar, Saban İba, Hüseyin Yavuz, Cemal Salman Pakoglu, Levent Eren, Aktan Ince and Adnan Altıparmak.

There are also non-student defendants among them, like Muammer Aksoy (law professor of the Ankara University), Sedat Üzkol (President of the Engineers' Chamber) and Suat Sükrü Kundakçı (President of the Building Workers' Union).

#### 10. Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Turkey (DDKO):

The leaders of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Turkey (DDKO) are being tried at the First Military Court of Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters since December 12, 1971. They are accused of *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes and to follow a separatist policy on behalf of Kurdish people"*, under Article 141 of the TPC.

The military prosecutor demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the following defendants:

Tarik Ziya Ekinci (physician and the former secretary general of the TIP and a former deputy), Canip Yildirim (lawyer), Musa Anter (writer), Mehmet Emin Bozarslan (writer), Niyazi Sönmez, Ihsan Aksoy, Yümmü Budak, Ibrahim Güçlü, Sabri Cevik, Zeki Kaya, Ihsan Yavuztürk, Nurettin Kiliçarslan, Nezir Semikanlı, Fikret Sahin, Faruk Ares, Ali Beyköylü, Mehmet Demir, Isa Geçit, Ferit Uzun and Hasan Acar.

According to the official communique of the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters, 5 teachers, 4 state-employees, 33 students, 21 professionals, 1 physician, 1 religious leader and 1 foreigner are also being tried at the First Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH since June 23, 1971. But their names were not disclosed.

#### 11. Izmir Section of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey:

10 defendants are accused of *"trying to change the constitution by force"* and *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes"* under articles 146 and 141. Their trial began on November 3, 1971 at the Military Court of Izmir Martial Law Headquarters.

The military prosecutor charged the defendants with preparing plans in order to save the members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey from prison by kidnapping some important persons, but could not bring any evidence to prove his charge.

Defendants who are under the threat of various imprisonments:

Engineer Bingöl Erdumlu (32 years), Semra Cafer and Tugrul Pasaoglu (9 years), Oguz Elçi, Yasar Göre, Fevzi Peker, Haluk Monemencioglu, Muzaffer Yaskurt (5 years), Mehmet Ali Tazedal and Isa Aykanat (1 year).

#### 12. Students of Hacettepe University:

The trial of 65 students began on August 17 1971 at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. Military prosecutor accused them of *"attacking the police forces"* prior to the martial law.

The military court sentenced the following defendants to imprisonment for 4 years and 2 months:

Mehmet Pektaş, Semir Bulut, Ihsan Gülersoylular, Fahrettin Şener, Necat Kenan Özgüler, Leyla Dikeç, Sidika Ülker, Hilal Aybars, Faris Çolak, İsmail Şeker, Mehmet Metin, Ali Ihsan Yamener, İsmet Aydemir, Umit Mehmet Okkes, Mehmet Umar Usman, Mehmet Nohutçu, Namik Güler, Servet Özgül, Volkan Koçer, Kamil Pınarcı, Mehmet Salih Özgökçe, Egemen Akyalçın, Perihan Resat, Dürdane Görevin, Sükrü Dursun, Mehmet Özhan, Mehmet Gultekin Pamir, Ali Rıza Cigerci, Safiye Suapaydin, Nihat Dehni, Hasan Hüseyin Turan, Ramis Dogan,

Dicle Çiftci, Sadullah Cosar, Necati Dokuzoguz, Abdullah Enver Ozeren, Ahmet Murat Çakil, Halim Tekin, Ramazan Gök, Cevdet Elmen, Dürümlülçen, Eyüp Çiçek, Mustafa Haluk Aydın, Muammer Gönen, Fikret Kargi, Mehmet Balkanay, Seyhan Ekbas, Kutlu Anil, Binnur Aktürk, Nilgün Basaran, Ali Rıza Demirtas, Mehmet Yesilova, Hacı Ahmet Şahinöz.

Onur Uran was sentenced to 2 years 9 months and 10 days term.

Five defendants, Süleyman Yardimcier, Okkas Necip Kepkep, Cevdet Arslan, Ihsan Tamer and Ihsan Kurus, were acquitted.

### 13. Students of Political Sciences Faculty:

Their trial began on November 2, 1971 at the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters. The military prosecutor accused them of "attacking the police forces" prior to the martial law, and demanded 2 - 11 years imprisonment for the following students:

Dilaver Sümbüller, Sabri Günenç, Timur Kiliçaslan, Rakim Pekin, Ahmet Kinacilar, Fatih Yavas, Skandal S. Shamsi, Refik Ali, Attila Özbek, Durmus Zoybek, Mahmut Zerey, Ramiz Madikandika, Ismail Kersu, Ibrahim Altug, Timur Cem Obuz, Dogan Özkan, Yilmaz Elis, Nüvit Ilkay Batum, Sinan Kazim Özüdogru, Özer Şemi, Celal Polat, Kamil Gürbüz, Ahmet Şensila, Murat Atag, Nazan Isik, Kadri Öztürk, Yusuf Alatas, Yavuz Çiçek, Vedat Akarsu, Sabahattin Karatas, Saban Iba, Abdurrahman Demirci, Ali Dibekoglu, Ahmet Akgün, Bülent Servili, Tanju Ömer Öner, Nadir Bingöl, Nihat Karadag, Aktan Ince, Nurettin Çekici, Turgut Akdemir, Ismail Keçeli, Ali Ihsan Saner, Baha Ilkay Bayram, Oral Dünyaogullari, Ahmet Kir, Attila Süngü, Tugrul Agcatas.

### 14. Leaders of the Progressive Trade Unions' Confederation (DISK):

29 trade union leaders are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since December 6, 1971. They are accused of "inciting the people to rise against the government" during the workers movement of June 1970.

According to the Law numbered 171, the military prosecutor demanded various imprisonments for the following trade union leaders:

Kemal Türkler (President of DISK), Kemal Sülker (Secretary General of DISK), Sinasi Kaya (Vice President of Metal Workers' Union), Hilmi Güner (Vice President of Metal Workers' Union), Cavit Şarman (Vice President of Metal Workers' Union), Yasar Onsel (Vice President of Rubber Workers' Union), Orhan Müstecapli, Kadir Karatay, Saffet Kayalar, Neset Demircan, Ugur Ozdogan, Celal Yalçinkaya, Cemal Dogan, Rafet Yildirim, Burhan Şahin, Ömer Geçer, Ismet Demir, Semsettin Akbas, Fehmi Nesuhoglu, Recep Akgül, Turgut Alaçag, Hakkı Öztürk, Remzi Arslan, Orhan Adem Sevinç and Hüsnü Özdemir.

### 15. 85 Workers of Otosan Automotive Factory:

They are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since December 8, 1971. The workers are accused of holding an illegal demonstration during the workers movement of June 1970.

### 16. Lawyers of THKO Defendants:

After Deniz Gezmiş and his friends were sentenced to death, the mili-

tary prosecutor initiated legal proceedings against their eleven lawyers. They are accused of *"insulting the armed forces and the government"* while they were defending their clients. The trial began on February 23, 1972 at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH and eleven lawyers, Niyazi Agirnasli, Halit Çelenk, Zeki Oruç Erel, Mükerrer Erdogan, Kemal Yücel, Sadık Akincilar, Ozden Timurkaynak, Refik Ergün, Kamil Savas, Ersen Şansal and Orhan İzzet Kök, were condemned to three months imprisonment under Article 266/3 of the TPC on June 30, 1972.

#### 17. Lawyers of THKO (Istanbul Section) Defendants:

The trial of five lawyers of the THKO Istanbul Section began on December 7, 1971 at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. They were accused of *"insulting the military judges and military prosecutors"* while they were defending their clients in court. Under articles 266 and 268 of the TPC, three lawyers, Demir Özlü, Necati Sağır and Yalçın Öztürk, and one of the THKO defendants, Elif Gönül Tolon, were condemned to six months imprisonment. Two lawyers, Orhan Arsal and Nebil Varuy, were acquitted on June 19, 1972.

#### 18. Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Istanbul Section):

154 members of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç) and other progressive student associations are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters since July 31, 1972. They were likewise accused of *"trying to change the constitution by force"* and *"trying to establish the domination of one class over the other classes"*, under articles 146 and 141 of the Turkish Penal Code (TPC).

The defendants of this case:

Omer Güven, Selahattin Uzunismail, Demir Küçükaydın, Nesat Eyüp Yıldırım, Hasmet Atahan, Selahattin Okur, Yüksel Gürsel, Erkan Şimşek, Tarık Almaç, Abdülğani Yagci, Bülent Arman, Yalçın Yalçın, Mustafa Karsilayan, Hüseyin Karanlık, Aydoğan Şahin, Turan Gürcan, Neil Satlıgan, Ezel İnanc, Sürmani Can, Fahri Aral, Mustafa Zülkadiroğlu, Mustafa Lütfi Kiyici, Yavuz Hak-yemoz, Namik Kemal Boya, Gökalp Eren, Omer Erim Süerkan, Rafael Avidor, Tümer Önder, Mehmet ERkan Mete, Tamer Kutlay, Isitan Gündüz, Tuncay Altug, Cavit İyigün, İbrahim Özdemir, Salman Kaya, Necati Sağır, Hüsnü Akkaya, Zeki Tekes, Adem Ercan, Esat Korkmaz, Avni Deniz, Mehmet Ümit Devrim, Arif Uzer, İbrahim Şara, Savas Tuncaboşlu, Hilmi Bastopcu, Mustafa Aynur, Selim Ergü-nalp, Melih Uzel, Baris Trak, Zulfikar Dicleli, Bunyamin Güler, Mehmet Öztürk, Hüseyin Üstün, Hamza Özkan, Kürsad İstanbullu, Münir Danisman, Kayhan Edip Sakarya, Veysi Sarisözen, Bekir Sitki Coskun, Güray Tekinöz, Savaskan Oral, Ahmet Ayhan, Metin Esrefoglu, Nihat Fındıklı, Masis Kürkçügil, Tamer Mersin, Ertugrul Tıgılay, Nabi Yagci, Hasan Yalçın, Mehmet Altun, Rahmi Aydın, Ahmet Mete Sönmez, Mustafa İlker Gürkan, Celal Doğan, Mehmed Mehdi Bospınar, İbrahim Yusuf Baha Gürcan, Coşuk Okay, Cemal Sariyer, Mustafa Buzkiran, Metin Karavelioğlu, Rasim Özkan, Harun Karadeniz, Cetin Uygur, Süleyman Balkan, Mehmet Ulusoy, Mehmet Bekar, Ali Uzun, Ali Kırmızıçiçek, Beysafa Tarhan, Münip Coskun, Ural Yıldırımoglu, Halit Feridun Sakar, Yusuf Kayabasi, Necmettin Büyükkaya, Omer Özskmenler, Bora Berzenç, Ersin Kaya, Kazim Kolcuoglu, Targan Ulboyli, Mehmet Cavit Kavak, Mehmet Sürücü, Necla Özgür, Yücel Gürsel, İsmet Oran, Yücel Özbek, Mehmet Güneş Şahiner, Sükrü Muslu, Kasif Ongunyurt, İhsan Cerehan, Cihat Sar, Safak Morgül, Kemal Bingöllü, Osman Saffet Arolat, Attila Özdemiroğlu, Serdar Yıldırım, Yüksel Bastürk, Hakkı Karadeniz, Kenan

Rifki Ertugrul, Salih Alever, Akin Çitakoglu, Erkut Selçuk, Süleyman Arslan, Bahadır Arzyüksel, Cahit Tan, Tahir Kaymak, Ali Rıza Görener, Hasan Yalçın, Fatma Ganç, Zeki Bastürk, İlker Hekimoglu, İbrahim Cihan Senoguz, Ahmet Ozdemir, Ali Osman Altın, Ayhan Özer, Yahsi Karamollaoglu, Zeki Erçinbay, Süleyman Asaf Taneri, Garbis Altinoglu, Yasar Yılmaz, Sagkal Özbek, Ahmet Turan Celayir, Faruk Kurtoglu, Nihat Behramoglu.

The military prosecutor demanded various imprisonments up to 36 years for the defendants of this case. 75 of the defendants are under arrest and 29 have not been caught by the military authorities yet.

#### 19. Democratic Party of Kurdistan:

The military prosecutor brought a case against 36 persons at the Second Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH on May 22, 1972. They were accused of *"being affiliated to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan with the aim of following a separatist policy on behalf of Kurdish people"*, under article 141 of the TPC.

The defendants of this case:

Abdulkadir Oktem, Sebap Bilgeç, Agit Tanrikulu, Arif Zeyrek, Hursit Onuk, Mehmet Tayfan, Tahir Ökten, Hasan Ökten, Mehmet Gunduz, Ramazan Kasimoglu, Yusuf Ugurlu, Abdullah Kayaalp, Hasan Tatar, Abdulcelil Erkan, Sabri Vesek, Serafettin Elçi, Nurettin Sik, Halil Ciftci, Nadir Ciftci, Ahmet Kayar, Yusuf Bilek, Abdi Oner, Selahattin Teymurtas, Tahir Gorentas, Fahrettin Yavuz, Süleyman Fakhan, Kasim Bağdur, Edip Karahan, Musa Anter, Zulfah Sahin, Ali Kaplan, Sait Kirmizitoprak, Nazmi Balkas, Dr. Faik Sevas, Hikmet Buluttekin and Hasan Yikilmis.

#### 20. Kizildere Defendants:

The military prosecutor brought a case against 34 persons who are accused of *"helping the members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) and the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC) to kidnap three foreign technicians and to kill them at Kizildere on March 30, 1972"*.

According to the official communique dated April 28, 1972, the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for the following 23 defendants:

Şener Şadi (lawyer), Ali Kaynar (lawyer), Ferhat Şeker (teacher), Dursum Külünk (goldsmith), Avni Kayacı (tailor), Rıza Akpolat (peasant), Saadetin Gümüç (teacher), Mustafa Şengül (teacher), Yusuf Atasoy (student), Hasan Pekbüyük (driver), Kemal Yurtsever (driver), Fikri Sönmez (tailor), Mehmet Atasoy (peasant), Resul Güneytepe (teacher), Murat Atasoy (peasant), Harun Saruhan (student), Mehmet Bayrak (driver), İsmail Yeşilyurt (peasant), Hüseyin Gümüç (teacher), Hasan Yılmaz (trader), İsmet Öztürk (owner of coffee-house), Hasan Aslan and Emrullah Aslan (village head man).

The defendants will be tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

#### 21. Military Personnel of Maltepe Prison:

They were accused of helping the members of the THKO and the THKC to escape from the Military Prison of Maltepe on November 30, 1971. The trial of 19 defendants began on July 17, 1972 at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

The military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 6 years for Lieutenant Mehmet Berker under articles 240, 302, 40, and 71 of the TPC and Article 32 of the Military Penal Code; and 3 years for Colonel Rusen Beyazit, Lieutenant Colonel Irfan Cimentepe, Captain Ali Yücel, Captain Rafet Güney, Captain Cumhuri Tanrisever, Lieutenant Ali Haydar Yedek, Lieutenant Ayhan Arat, Sergeant Ali Sinsek, Sergeant Cemal Özgül, Sergeant Fikri Turan, Sergeant M. Ali Kaya, Private Fahrettin Keser, Private Zülküf Özek, Private Halil Baracan, Corporal Emin Şimşek under articles 303, 40 of the Turkish Penal Code and Article 34/1 of Military Penal Code.

22. Members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (Ankara Section):

34 defendants are accused of being members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey and were brought before the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on July 24, 1972. The military prosecutor demanded death sentences for the following defendants under Article 146 of the TPC:

Fevzi Bal (student), Gülay Cazkir (bank employee), Halis Öztürk (student), Türkan Sabuncu (unemployed), Huriye Üstün (employee), Gülay Özdeş (student), Seyfi Alkan (student).

The following defendants also are tried under Article 146 and the military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for them:

Olca Altınay, Ahmet Tuncer Sümer, Osman Bilemon, Hüseyin Şimşek, Adem Topal, Sadik Soysetenci, Mustafa Demir, Besir Akgün, Cevdet Taspınar, Cemil Tatlıbal, Mete Gönültaş, Selin Gültekin, Hüseyin Ceran, Muhammed Zeki Gümüşel, Fehmi Erbas, Mustafa Kiral, Ahmet Fazıl Boyacı, Selahattin Yıldırım, Fatih Uludero, Nilgün Karagözoglu, Montes Eroglu, Canan Yücel.

The following defendants are accused of hiding the suspects and the military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 5 years for each of them:

Hüseyin Sayilir, Halil Yagbasan, Mehmet Yaskesen and Mazhar Zümrüt.

#### OTHER CASES AT THE MILITARY COURTS

23. Members of the Kocaeli Workers-Peasants Association are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH since September 9, 1971. The military prosecutor has demanded imprisonments up to 15 years for the defendants -the majority of whom are teachers and workers- under Article 141 of the TPC. The most important of the 24 defendants in this case are Basri Dede, Bilal Yesilyurt, Halil Barut, Osman Dönmez, Ömer Yüce, Turhan Görgülü, Ahmet Mukadder Gönül, Hüseyin Özyamanoglu, Mehmet Kurt, Nurettin Dogan, Necati Çığsar, Mutlu Öztürk and Reha Yılmaz.

24. The defendants who are accused of "robbing Ziraat Bankasi (a state owned bank)" are being tried at the Military Court of Izmir MLH since December 22, 1971. The military prosecutor demanded 20-36 years imprisonment for Aktan Ince, Kadir Kaymaz (bank employee), Ertan Gürçine and Hikmet Çiçek; 2 - 12 years for Fatih Oktümüs, Erol Gültekin, Erhan Erel, Yasar Kayasli, Gülferi Yoldascan (physician), Selahattin Bora, Altan Imer, Osman Yoldascan, Mete Yoldascan (state employee), Fehmi Erbas, Deger Dilek (TRT employee), Erkin Eren, Muzaffer Doyum, Bekir Taskin, Hale Gülpinar, Mehmet Çe-



liktas, Ilknur Alpay, Ozden Demirhan, Fevzi Büyükvural, Isik Alamur, Hüseyin Yavuz, Tugrul Tunçlar and Ali Çimen.

25. Two members of TRT Board (Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation), Adnan Oztrak (former director general) and Prof. Mümtaz Soy-sal together with five program producers of TRT were tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on July 5, 1971. The military prosecutor accused them of "*inciting the people to rise against the government*" by radio broadcast, under articles 155 and 311 of the TPC. The court declared itself incompetent to try the defendants and transferred the case to the civil courts. But the military prosecutor held a new prosecution against them and the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH began to try the members of the TRT Board anew on February 11, 1972. The Former Director of TV, Mr. Mahmut Tali Ongören, is also included the same case and was arrested in default.

26. Sixteen defendants who were accused of hiding Nahit Töre and other members of the THKO tried at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH. The trials began on January 20, 1972 and the military court condemned the defendants under Article 169 of the TPC on April 24, 1972 as follows:

2 years and 11 months term for Halis Findik, Güher Karaçavuş and Yusuf Karaçavuş; 1 year, 11 months and 10 days term for Saniye İnci Ataberk, Yasar Uçar (editor), and Tahsin Ozeressiz; 1 year, 3 months and 16 days term for Veli Yilmaz; 1 year, 5 months and 15 days term for Murat Yesilyurt; 11 months and 20 days term for Hüseyin İnik; 5 months and 25 days term for Hüseyin Tasdemir; 4 months and 5 days term for Abdullah Özkan and Semra Sürendalli. Five defendants, Sevgi Özkan, Güven Korusan, Hüseyin Hulki Testel, Fikret Ataman, Mehmet Atabek were acquitted.

27. Six peasants from Adiyaman, who were accused of "*hiding the members of the THKO*", were tried under article 163 of the TPC and sentenced to imprisonment for three years each at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on November 11, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the decision and ordered a new trial on March 1, 1972. Suha Ömurhan, Mustafa Serap, İbrahim Akpınar, Ömer Kiral, Hüseyin Altın, Kamber Erdoğan and Mustafa Göçmen were tried again by the same military court and were condemned to imprisonment of two years each on June 6, 1972.

28. İlhan Selçuk (columnist) and Oktay Kurtböke (responsible editor of Cumhuriyet) were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH. They were accused of "*insulting the government and the army*" by an article published just one day before the proclamation of martial law, and were sentenced to one year imprisonment each under Article 159 of the TPC on July 5, 1971. But on August 21, 1971, the Military Court of Cassation declared that the military court was unauthorized to try the defendants and the case was then transferred to a civil court. The First Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul acquitted them on April 10, 1972.

29. Ömer Ayna, member of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey, was tried by the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH under the accusation of "robbing a bank" and was condemned to 36 years imprisonment on May 20, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and imposed a new trial with the demand of death sentence in accord with Article 146. Thereupon this case was made part of the case "The Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (Istanbul Section)".

30. Sertaç Çelik (student) was sentenced to 30 days imprisonment by the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH on May 25, 1971. He was accused of *"writing some anti-regime slogans on the walls of the Istanbul University"*.

31. Six trade union leaders and workers are being tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH since May 25, 1971. Yusuf Bayir, Niyazi Cetin, Durmus Öztürk, Mehmet Ali Kaya, Cemil Dogan and Mehmet Turan were accused of *"breaking martial law regulations"*.

32. Two students, Nihat Hakeren and Hasan Iskit, were sentenced to imprisonment for two years by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on May 28, 1971. They were accused of *"being involved in terrorist activities"*;

33. Bozkurt Nuhoglu, the president of the Turkish National Youth Organization, was sentenced to one year imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on August 6, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled the sentence, and he was then acquitted by the same court on 3.XI.1971.

34. Çetin Altan (columnist) was tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH under the accusation of *"insulting the government and the army"*, because of an article published in the daily Aksam prior to the imposing of martial law. The military court declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the case to civil court on June 10, 1971.

35. Remzi Serbest, the headman of Kavakeli Village at Gördes was accused of *"making propaganda for communism"* under Article 142, and the Military Court of Izmir MLH sentenced him to 8 years and two months imprisonment on July 27, 1971. The verdict was approved by the Military Court of Cassation.

36. Abdurrahman Ergun was sentenced to imprisonment for 10 months by the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH on June 10, 1971. He was accused of *"insulting the government and the army"* under Article 159 of the TPC.

37. Sarp Kuray (lieutenant) and Ruhi Koç (former secretary general of Dev-Genç) were accused of *"being involved in terrorist activities"* by the military prosecutor and the Military Court of Ankara MLH sentenced Kuray to 8 years term and Koç to 15 years on June 30, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation found the penalty inadequate and sent the case's file back to the court in order to increase the punishments, in accordance with Article 146. Thereupon this case was made part of the case of *"Young Naval Officers"*.

38. Yakup Hindistan (lieutenant) was sentenced to 10 months term on June 16, 1971 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH. He was accused of *"carrying arms without licence"*.

39. Salman Kaya (student) and Hasan Yalçın (student) were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on June 18, 1971. The military prosecutor accused them of *"robbing a bank"*. But they were found innocent and acquitted. Then the military prosecutor accused Salman Kaya of *"insulting the police forces"* and brought a new suit at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH, against him. Now, Salman Kaya is being tried again since February 23, 1972 under Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code.

40. Three students were accused of *"robbing a bank"* and the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH sentenced Yücel Kut to 28 years term, Osman Süleyman Agaoglu for 61 years and Ibrahim Basak for 6 years on July 29, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation cancelled these sentences and imposed a new trial under Article 146. This time the same court's sentence was life term for Süleyman Agaoglu, 15 years for Yücel Kut and 10 years for Ibrahim Basak on February 18, 1972.

41. Cumhur Aydinoglu, lawyer, was accused of *"hiding his brother who was being wanted by the military authorities"* and sentenced to one month imprisonment at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on June 26, 1971.

42. Mehmet Erdogan was accused of *"hiding ammunition"* and was sentenced to imprisonment for two years at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on July 5, 1971.

43. Ozel Becer was accused of *"breaking martial law regulations"* and was sentenced to one month imprisonment at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on July 7, 1971.

44. Seyit Ahmet Kaplan, Mayor of Elmadag Town, and Hasan Küçükceylan, employee of the municipality, were accused of *"hiding dynamite"*, and the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH sentenced them on July 30, 1971, to six months imprisonment for Kaplan and 7 days for Küçükceylan.

45. Ismet Yalçinkaya, Niyazi Türk, Tevfik Aldemir and Süleyman Ersan, the teachers of Isikveren Secondary School of Zonguldak, were accused of *"making propaganda for communism"* and are tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul since July 19, 1971, under Article 142.

46. Sadik Karamustafa and his wife Gülsüm Karamustafa, speaker of TRT, were accused of *"hiding some wanted students"*, and the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH sentenced them on July 27, 1971 to two years imprisonment for Mr. Karamustafa and six months for his wife.

47. Three students, Cihan Alptekin, Osman Bahadir and Yavuz Yildirimtürk, were accused of *"robbing a bank"* and tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on July 26, 1971. But later this case's file was also made part of the case of *"the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (Istanbul Section)"*.

48. Zeki Öztürk (bookseller) was accused of selling some *"forbidden books"* and the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned him to five months term on July 29, 1971.

49. Two students, Dilber Agca and Serpil Çalislar, were accused of *"distributing anti-regime pamphlets"*, and Military Court of Ankara MLH sentenced them to two months term for each on July 30, 1971.

50. Four employees of the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Fevzi Turgut, Ercan Targay, Mehmet Kusçu and Kazim Dagdeviren, are being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH since August 3, 1971 on the charge of *"making propaganda for communism"* under article 142.

51. Serdar Yildirim, Naci Islimyeli and Vefaettin Şenarar were accused of *"hiding some wanted persons"* and their case has been on trial at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH since August 9, 1971.

52. Burhan Gültekin, who is accused of *"insulting the government"*, was sentenced to ten months imprisonment at the Military Court of Izmir MLH on August 10, 1971 under article 159 of the TPC.

53. Sinan Şahinkaya (lieutenant), who is accused of *"making propaganda for communism"*, is tried by the Military Court of Izmir MLH since August 10, 1971, under Article 142 of the TPC.

54. Hursit Kanap, who is accused of *"praising an activity which is classified as a crime by law"* under Article 312 of the TPC, was tried at the Military Court of Izmir MLH on August 10, 1971. But the military court

declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the case to the civil court.

55. Naim Sevik, Erdogan Dogan, Ahmet Çakirgöz, Zülfikar Tezol, Ekrem Karakurt and Suat Yarali were accused by the military prosecutor of breaking Articles 311 and 159 of the TPC and their case has been on trial at the Military Court of Izmir MLH since August 13, 1971.

56. Muzaffer Satir, Necati Mert, Mükrimin Tekin, Burhan Bursa (teacher), Ahmet Sahin (worker), Ahmet Erdinç Balaban (student) were accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142. The Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH tried them on August 16, 1971 and declared itself incompetent to try the defendants and transferred the case to the civil court.

57. Ayten Okan (tailor) and Vefik Okan (businessman) are accused of "making propaganda for communism" and are being tried at the Military Court of Izmir MLH since August 19, 1971 under Article 142 of the TPC.

58. Sevgi Sabuncu Soysal (program producer of TRT and writer), Ela Güntekin (program producer of TRT) and Mehmet Keskinoglu (actor) were accused of "breaking martial law orders". They were tried at the Military Court of Ankara MLH. Güntekin and Keskinoglu were sentenced to one month imprisonment each, Soysal was acquitted on August 31, 1971.

59. Çetin Altan (columnist) and Irfan Derman (editor of the daily Aksam) were accused of "insulting the government" because of an article published prior to the martial law. The Military Court of Istanbul MLH tried them on August 25, 1971 and sent the case's file to the civil courts, declaring itself incompetent. But the Military Court of Cassation ordered to try them at the military court. Thereupon, their trial began anew on April 24, 1972 at Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH.

60. Uluç Gürkan, editor of the weekly Devrim, was tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. First the military court declared itself incompetent to try him and transferred the case to the civil courts on August 28, 1971. But in another case, he was sentenced to six months imprisonment.

61. Muharrem Bengi, the tailor from Ödemiş, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and sentenced to 11 years imprisonment by the Military Court of Izmir MLH on September 2, 1971 under Article 142. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict on December 17, 1971 and ordered a new trial.

62. Abdullah Nefes, the translator of Mao Tse-Tung's Quotations, whose case was being tried at the Military Court of Ankara MLH since September 7, 1971 was sentenced to 7.5 years imprisonment on December 31, 1971 under Article 142. He was accused of "making propaganda for communism" by translating the mentioned book.

63. Two students, Nuran Agirnasli and Ayten Canatan, are being tried at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH since September 18, 1971. They are accused of "praising Sinan Cemgil" who had been shot to death by the military.

64. Erdal Öz, writer and bookseller, was tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. The military prosecutor accused him of "making propaganda for communism" by wrapping books with printed papers. After having been held under arrest for six months, he was acquitted on December 1, 1971.

65. Erol Tasdemir was accused of "being involved in terrorist activi-

ties" and sentenced to three days imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on September 25, 1971.

66. Mümtaz Soysal, professor of constitutional law, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and the military prosecutor produced his books, including some references to socialist thinkers, as evidence for "offence". The trial began on September 30, 1971 and the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH sentenced him to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment under Article 142 on December 3, 1971. But the Military Court of Cassation was obliged to cancel the verdict on March 9, 1972 and to release the professor after having held him under arrest for ten months, thanks to external pressure exerted on the military regime. But the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH insisted on the condemnation on April 26, 1972. Thereupon, the General Assembly of the Military Court of Cassation canceled again the verdict on July 14, 1972.

67. Two students, Kayhan Edip Sakarya and Muazzez Akçam were accused of "breaking martial law orders". The Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH acquitted them on October 8, 1971.

68. Sacit Gökçaya, state employee, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH under Article 142. The court released him on October 8, 1971.

69. Nazim Ata, lieutenant, and Nezir Taner, non-commissioned officer, were accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142. They were tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH and were acquitted on October 20, 1971.

70. Five students, Yusuf Aslan, Kamil Dede, Mustafa Kaçaroglu, İlhami Aras and İrfan Uçar, were accused of "being involved in terrorist activities". Their trials began at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on November 5, 1971 and all of them were acquitted. But İlhami Aras, Mustafa Kaçaroglu and Mahir Sayin were sentenced to 11 years imprisonment each by the same court on December 22, 1971. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial under Article 146 later on.

71. Veli Sevinçhan, teacher, is being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH since November 23, 1971. He is accused of "praising Deniz Gezmiş, one of the young men condemned to death and hanged". The military prosecutor demanded five years imprisonment for him.

72. Emil Galip Sandalci, member of TRF Board and former chief editor of foreign news desk, was accused of "making propaganda for communism" under Article 142. His trial began on November 24, 1971 and the First Military Court of Ankara MLH acquitted him on January 5, 1972.

73. Turan Külahoglu, student, is being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara since November 23, 1971. He is accused of "insulting the government" under Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code.

74. Behri Savci, professor at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University, was accused of "inciting the people against the laws". His trial began on November 24, 1971 and the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH acquitted him on May 9, 1972.

75. 27 defendants, who are under arrest at the military jail of Marmak, are being tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH since February 2, 1972. The military prosecutor has accused them of "rising against the authorities of the prison" and demanded 1-4.5 years imprisonment.

76. Three students, Hamdi Güvenç, Mehmet Şinasi Ipek and Mustafa Çalik, were accused of *"trying to prevent the examinations at the Political Sciences Faculty"* and were sentenced to one month imprisonment each by the Military Court of Ankara MLH on June 18, 1971.

77. Ramazan Duman was accused of *"insulting the army"* and sentenced to ten months imprisonment by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH on June 18, 1971.

78. Three students of the Law Faculty of Ankara University, Raif Çakin, Mahmut Güler and Necdet Nakiboglu, were accused of *"distributing pamphlets against the military regime"* and are being tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH since December 2, 1971. During the trials, another student, Mustafa Güngör, was also accused of *"giving false testimony"* and arrested on December 22, 1971.

79. Two teachers, Nurton Gezer and Bahattin Durak, were accused of *"being members of a clandestine organization"* and are tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH since December 18, 1971 under Article 141.

80. Yüksel Birdal, engineer, was accused of *"making propaganda for communism"* and sentenced to 16 months imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH on February 22, 1972 under Article 142. During the trial he was also accused of *"insulting the military prosecutor"* and sentenced to 6 months imprisonment on February 23, 1972 by the same military court.

81. Mukaddes Doyum, student, was accused of *"tearing down the posters about the wanted persons"* and sentenced to one month imprisonment by the Military Court of Izmir MLH on December 8, 1971.

82. Three students, Onder Unlü, Yavuz Olagan and Edip Kale, were accused of *"distributing some forbidden pamphlets"* and sentenced to six months imprisonment each by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on December 9, 1971. In the same case, three other defendants, Feyyaz Kalafat, Ertugrul Esatoglu and Kutsi Alyamaç were acquitted.

83. Gökdere Candemir was accused of *"hiding suspected persons"* and is being tried at the Military Court of Izmir MLH since December 17, 1971.

84. Mustafa Kiliç, Alparslan Berk, Ahmet Nedim Aytaç are accused of *"making propaganda for communism"* under Article 142 and are being tried by the Military Court of Izmir MLH since December 17, 1971.

85. Güney Dinç, lawyer, was accused of *"being involved in activities of Dev-Genç"* and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on December 28, 1971. But the court declared itself incompetent to try the defendant and transferred the file of the case to the Military Court of Izmir MLH.

86. Sefer Sadikoglu, ship-owner, and his 19 friends were accused of *"smuggling arms and ammunition"* and are being tried by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH since January 10, 1972. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for Sefer Sadikoglu, Davut Gökdeniz, Refik Ak-yüz, Ali Lermioglu, Mehmet Beyhan and imprisonment up to 4 years for other 14 defendants.

87. Ertan Aceroglu, vice director of the Middle East Technical University, was accused of *"hiding suspected persons and helping them to escape"* and tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH. The court acquitted him on January 17, 1972.

88. Isik Alamur, Ilhami Akman, Nazmi Tavgaç, Selami Vural and Sina

Çiladir were accused of "*making propaganda for communism*" and are being tried by the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH since January 18, 1972 under Article 142.

89. The military prosecutor brought a new suit against Attila Sarp, who is one of the main defendants of Dev-Genç and Naval Officers cases, by accusing him of "*insulting the prosecutor*". The trial of this case began on January 18, 1972 and the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned him to 4 months and 15 days imprisonment on May 24, 1972.

90. Four high school students, Bülent Egel, Erdal Ataç, Gökhan Saka and Seyfettin Uluçam were accused of "*making propaganda for communism*" under Article 142 of the TPC. They are being tried by the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH since February 17, 1972.

91. Ugur Semerci, lieutenant, was accused of "*making propaganda for communism*" and sentenced to 17 months and 15 days imprisonment by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on February 19, 1972 under Article 142.

92. The leaders of the Turkish Labour Party Zonguldak Section, Ahmet Hamdi Dinler, Sabri Yılmaz (lawyer), Yildirim Eryılmaz, Oner Güven, Nurden Orpen, Arif Yörük and Oktay Zor, were accused of "*trying to annihilate national feelings*" and are being tried at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH since July 16, 1971.

93. Four teachers from Orhaneli Town, Ramazan Köksal, Sabri Biber, Turan Yılmaz and Yasar Ince, were accused of "*forming a clandestine organization*" and are being tried by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH.

94. The members of Kadirli Cultural Club were accused of "*making propaganda for communism*" and tried at the Military Court of Adana MLH under Article 142. The court condemned Erdogan Demirci, Halil Altinkizil, Hazim Özdemir and Ali Durmus to 8 years imprisonment each. Tülay Özdemir (student) was also tried for having said "*revolution is much more important than love*" under Article 142. The court condemned her to 5 years and 4 months imprisonment. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdicts on March 25, 1972 and demanded that the defendants be tried again.

95. The Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned Ahmet Hamdi Dinler, member of TIF, to 8 years and 6 months imprisonment under Article 142 on March 30, 1972.

96. The Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned Mustafa Lütüfi Kiyici (student) to 7 years and 6 months imprisonment under Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code.

97. The Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned Metin Tas to 10 months imprisonment on March 30, 1972. He was accused of "*carrying arms*".

98. Twenty students are being tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters since April 5, 1972. The military prosecutor accused them of "*publishing and distributing a clandestine newspaper*" and demanded punishment under Article 142.

99. Sevgi Sabuncu Soysal, who had been tried and acquitted previously (see: No. 58), was arrested again just after her husband, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, was released (see: No. 66). She was accused of "*insulting the armed forces*" and tried at the Military Court of Ankara MLH. The court condemned her to one year imprisonment on April 26, 1972. But the Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial on July 13, 1972.

100. Ismail Besikçi, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara, is being tried at the Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH since July 22, 1971. The military prosecutor accused him of *"making propaganda for communism and separatism"* in his scientific researches and books. His book entitled *"The Social Order of Eastern Anatolia"*, which is known as the most reliable source on this subject, was also shown as evidence of his "offence" under Article 142.

101. Şeref Gürle was accused of *"inciting the prisoners to break the prison regulations"* is being tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH since April 25, 1972.

102. Niyazi Agirnasli, lawyer, was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH. He was accused of *"insulting the government"* under Article 159 of the TPC.

103. Niyazi Agirnasli, lawyer, and two trade union leaders, Ismet Demir Uluç and Ismail Basbug, were condemned to six months imprisonment each on June 28, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH. They were accused of *"inciting the people to break the laws"* by issuing a pamphlet against the visit of US Sixth Fleet.

104. Ten students of the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara, Ahmet Bahadır Boso, Ramazan Özcan, Metin Yalçın, Mustafa Sanlioglu, Abdullah Öcalan, Faruk Gildü, Yümnü Ağahan, Doğan Firtina, Mehmet Filiz and Haluk Altay are being tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH under Article 142 of the TPC since July 31, 1972. They were accused of *"making propaganda for communism and inciting their friends to break the laws"* while they were protesting the Kizildere Massacre, on March 31, 1972. The military prosecutor brought another case against 16 students of the same faculty besides this case, on July 31, 1972 under article 142.

105. Mehmet Emin Zorkun (teacher) and Adem Muhan (student) were tried at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. The military prosecutor accused them of *"inciting one class against other classes"* under Article 312 of the TPC. The court acquitted them on July 31, 1972.

106. Adnan Sahin and Hüseyin Naneci were condemned to three months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH. They were accused of *"praising Deniz Gezmiş"*.

107. Emine Dinç, Yusuf Savas Emek, Gökdere Candemir, Sumru Zarifoglu, Mehmet Ali Zarifoglu were accused of *"being affiliated to a clandestine organization and making propaganda for communism"* under Article 141 and 142 of the TPC. The Military Court of Izmir MLH condemned Mehmet Zarifoglu and Sumru Zarifoglu to 8 years and 8 months imprisonment each under Article 142, Yusuf Savas Emek to 6 months imprisonment under Article 351 and Gökdere Candemir to 7 months imprisonment under Article 269, on June 21, 1972.

108. Osman Saffet Arolat, editor, was condemned to two years imprisonment by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on June 22, 1972. He was accused of *"insulting the security forces"*.

109. Ruhi Koç (former secretary general of Dev-Genç) and his friends were accused of *"distributing pamphlets against the regime"* under Article 311 of the TPC. Their trials began on June 26, 1972 at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH.

110. Hülya Zagyapan, the defendant of the TOS Case, was also tried by



the First Military Court of Ankara MLH because of "*insulting the military judges*" during the trials and condemned to 6 months imprisonment on June 26, 1972.

111. 19 persons were condemned to one month imprisonment each on May 13, 1972 by the Military Court of Ankara MLH. Mehmet Durmus, Cahit Kabadayi, Mehmet Feridun, Fikret Ozer, Hasan Kökten, Ramazan Tanyeri, Süreyya Sensoy, Mehmet Kirebali, Ismail Sahin, Ismail Sedat Kensak, İlhami Öztürk, Ömer Arslan, Tunday Güven, Remzi Basarir, Selahattin Özdoğan, Niyazi Boran, Hüseyin Davutoğlu, Osman Aydoğan and Mehmet Basarir were accused of "*breaking the martial law regulations*".

112. Mehmet Arkis, retired army colonel, was condemned to 1 year and 4 months imprisonment on May 16, 1972 by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH. He was accused of "*insulting the armed forces*" while he was consoling his son who had been condemned to death by the military court.

113. Meliha Kalayci, state employee, was condemned to 10 months imprisonment on July 17, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH. She was accused of "*insulting the armed forces*" in her letter which she had written to her fiance who was under arrest.

114. Ismail Aydın, student of the Law Faculty, was condemned to 6 months imprisonment on May 31, 1972 by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH under Article 142. He was accused of "*distributing a pamphlet against the military regime*".

115. Three female defendants were tried by the Military Court of Ankara MLH on a charge of "*hiding suspected persons*". On March 8, 1972, the military court condemned Tülin Bingöl to 2.5 years imprisonment, Nihan Şerifoglu to 20 months and Sibel Şerifoglu to 2.5 years. The Military Court of Cassation canceled the verdict and ordered a new trial. But the military court insisted on its decision on June 3, 1972.

116. Professor Ugur Alacakaptan, Dean of the Ankara Law Faculty, Mukbil Özyörük, assistant professor, Ugur Mumcu, assistant, Adil Özkol, assistant, Mehmet Ali Kislali, journalist, Mehmet Güler, İmdat Balkoca, İsmet Turfan Yazıcı, students, are being tried by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH under articles 146 and 142. The military prosecutor demanded imprisonment up to 15 years for the defendants on June 7, 1972.

117. Jülide Zaim, the defendant of the THKC Case, is being also tried because of "*hiding her fiance, who is wanted by the martial law*". Her trial began on July 19, 1972 at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH.

118. Cemil Akgül, Mayor of Kurtalan Town, Ceto Akgül and Mehmet Ali Taner were condemned to one year imprisonment each on July 28, 1972 by the Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH. They were accused of "*making propaganda for separatism*" under Article 142. Three other defendants were acquitted.

119. Six persons were tried by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH because of hiding Hasan Ataoğlu, who is wanted by the martial law under the accusation of "*attempting to assassinate the Commander of Gendarmerie*". On July 29, 1972, the military court condemned Hasan Fehmi Nemli, Cemal Özsoy and Ayten Canatan to 4 years and two months imprisonment each under Article 296, Mehmet Turan and Erdan Turan to two years and six months imprisonment and Durmus Bozkir to 5 months.

120. The military prosecutor brought a law-suit against Faik Muzaffer Anaç, the lawyer of the THKC Case's defendants under articles 266 and 268 of

the TPC. He was accused of "insulting the military judges and prosecutors" by publishing a book entitled "The Case at the Military Court of Cassation". Although the book includes solely the text of the lawyer's appeal to the Military Court of Cassation, the Military Court of Istanbul MLH arrested the lawyer on July 29, 1972. His another book which includes the court minutes about the tortures had been confiscated by the military authorities previously. (See Page 17).

#### CHRONOLOGICAL NOTES ON THE TRIALS

21 July, 1971: At the trial of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends, defendant Hüseyin İnan stated: "At this moment we, the 20 young men, are being accused of high treason in the presence of this court. You are trying to hold us responsible for the last 50 years. Now we realize that you are trying to make the crime fit the punishment, instead of making the punishment fit the crime." He also rejected the accusation of "trying to change the constitution", saying: "My last words will be: Long live the democratic Constitution of 1961!"

3 August, 1971: The Military Court of Cassation nullified the May 20th, 1971 decision of the Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters condemning Ömer Ayna to 36 years imprisonment because of a bank robbery. The reasons for the annulment of the decision are as follows:

*"There is no doubt that the accused is a marxist and a revolutionist and that the offences committed have an ideological aim: As he himself admitted in his defence, his crime cannot be considered as ordinary for the reason that the ideology and the methods that he applied are not allowed by the Constitution of the Turkish Republic and have characteristics of an offence the aim of which is the destruction of the Constitution. Because destroying the constitution was a necessary step for the delinquent to achieve his goal. It would have been impossible for the accused to commit this crime (that one can almost qualify as a destruction of the constitution and which fulfills all the conditions of Article 146 of the Penal Code), alone and by the means he employed. The accused committed this crime as a member of an illegal organization, and since he was encouraged, together with three companions belonging to the same communist cell, by this organization, the complicity must be investigated while taking into consideration the relationship between the leader and the members of this group and we must act accordingly."*

Considering the terms of the Military Court of Cassation's pronouncement there can be no doubt that the death sentences will be confirmed. With these decisions the Military Court of Cassation, composed of members of the armed forces itself, wanted to provide a justification for the military courts of martial law. It is no longer a question of jurisdiction; it is a matter of destroying the opposition physically and psychologically.

9 August, 1971: During the trial of Deniz Gezmiş and his friends, defendant İrfan Uçar disclosed the tortures he underwent at the Police Headquarters. He is the most deadly injured on by tortures. Although the trial of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey began on July 17, 1971, he could not be brought to trials until today, not being able to stand on his feet because of tortures. (See: Page 11)

11 August, 1971: The First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters started to try 84 defendants under Article 146 of the TPC. During this first session, the defendants were manhandled by soldiers, Hasan Çotin and Vahidittin Ergin, two defendant officers, were beaten on the head with truncheons.

12 August, 1971: At the trial of the 84 defendants, Naval Lieutenant Sarp Kuray stated: *"As a matter of fact, the leaders of the Justice Party are the ones who tried to change the present Constitution by force. If the military prosecutor has the courage, he must bring them before the military court instead of us."* He also disclosed that torture was used against him at the Police Headquarters and said: *"When I was taken into custody, I was interrogated under great torture. If I were not a revolutionist, I would have committed suicide."*

-The parliament started to debate the modification of the 1961 Constitution under the pressure of the military junta. Deniz Gezmiş and his friends started a hunger-strike for four days in order to protest the amending of the Constitution.

13 August, 1971: 84 defendants at the First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters declared that they also started a hunger-strike for 48 hours in order to protest the amending of the 1961 Constitution.

16 August, 1971: The trials of Mahir Çayan and his 26 friends started at the Third Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters. During this first session, the defendants and their lawyers disclosed the tortures applied at the Police Headquarters.

23 August, 1971: Mahir Çayan divulged that he was still being kept in chains in a cell isolated from his friends and stated: *"Our aim is to struggle for protecting the 1961 Constitution, which is ignored by the ruling classes. The Justice Party Government could not amend the Constitution by legislative ways because it was not strong enough to do this, but they ignored it by not putting its orders into practice. We were obliged to start the illegal struggle when the government organized some outlaw establishments in order to support murderers."* At the same session, lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç informed the court of not being allowed to consult with his client, Mahir Çayan, by the military authorities. (See: Page 49)

25 August, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the judge dictated the rejection of the claim about the tortures as follows: *"It is impossible to find out whether the defendants were tortured for obtaining the truth or whether they were forced to accept crimes that they have never committed."* Thereupon, all of the defendants sat on their chairs in order to protest the decision. Ensuring the discipline of the trial is the duty of the court president according to the Military Criminal Procedure Code. But while Colonel Vecdi Müftüoğlu, the president of the court, was not interfering, Lieut.Colonel Akdemir Akmut, the judge, ordered the officers and the soldiers to force the defendants to stand up by twisting their arms or by strangling them.

27 August, 1971: The defendants of Mahir Çayan Case complained to the Ministry of National Defence of the military court because, in spite of their insistent claims, the court did not inform the responsible authorities of the tortures. The lawyers of the defendants informed the court of the complaint and requested them to abstain from the trial. But the military court rejected to abstain. Thereupon, the defendants and their lawyers rejected these judges and demanded for other judges by giving a formal requisition to the



The 1st Military Court of Ankara sentenced 18 PLAT members to death. Hearing the decision the defendants shouted: "*Long live independent Turkey!*" But by order of the military judge, military guards carried them out of the court, holding their mouths closed to prevent them from shouting (above). After their decision, the military judges are breaking their pencils as a matter of tradition (left).





**ADANA'DA DA  
"ÖNCE DEVRİM  
SONRA AŞK,, DİYEN  
KIZ YARGILANDI**

**A**DANA. (Özel) - Adana Sıkıyönetim Mahkemesinde bulunan iki kız öğrenciden Kadırlı Lisesindeki Tülay Özdemir, T.C. 141 - 142 maddelerince cezalandırılması istenmiştir. Tülay Özdemir ilk duruşmasında müdafasının şöyle ihbar edilerek buraya gelmeme sebep, aynı sınıfta okuduğum erkek arkadaşımı, aşk hayatı yaşamak için yaptığı teklife "Önce devrim sonra aşk" demem sebep olmuştur. Hiç bir zaman inkâr etmiyorum. Evimde ve çantamda (Devrimin Sa. 7. ss. 7 de)



**KADIRLI Lisesi son sınıf öğrencisi Tülay Özdemir... (Foto: H.)**

After Mahir Çayan and his four friends had successfully escaped from a military jail, other defendants congratulated each other in the court room (above). A young high-school student, Tülay Özdemir, was brought to trial before the military court of Adana MLH because she had said "Revolution is more important than love" to one of her admirers (left).

Court. A new judicial assembly was formed by the other military judges, but they also rejected the requests of the defendants.

2 September, 1971: Deniz Gezmiş stated during his trial that they never killed anybody, and treated the four kidnapped US soldiers kindly. And he appealed to the court to listen to the four US soldiers whom they kidnapped lately as witnesses. His application was rejected. The application of the lawyers demanding the Court to inquire whether the US bases limit the independence of Turkey was also rejected.

5 September, 1971: The 1961 Constitution was changed through the pressure of the military junta at the National Assembly, with 357 votes for and only two against.

9 September, 1971: At the First Military Court of Ankara MLH, the military prosecutor demanded death sentences for Deniz Gezmiş and his 17 friends accused of *"trying to change the Constitution by force"*.

20 September, 1971: The alteration of the 1961 Constitution was passed by the Senato with 134 votes for, 12 against and one abstention under pressure of the military junta.

- At the trial of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the lawyers wanted the army officers to be removed from the court room, saying: *"Take these officers away! You are trying to oppress us by keeping them beside us."* Their demands were rejected.

23 September, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the lawyer Nebil Varay stated that they were still prevented from consulting with their clients. Thereupon the court decided to eject two lawyers from the court room, accusing them of violating the court's decision. When the judge declared that he would complain about this lawyer to the Bar, Mahir Çayan shouted at him and the others: *"You are not an objective judicial assembly! We are tried here not by you, but by the US imperialism!"*

6 October, 1971: First Military Court of Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters started to try Cihan Alptekin and his friends under Article 146 of the TPC. During this first session, the defendants disclosed the tortures applied to them at the police headquarters.

8 October, 1971: At the trial of Cihan Alptekin and his friends, the defendant Osman Bahadır stated: *"Why did I take up arms and organize in the mountains in my last semester as a 22 years old student at the Technical University? We revolted in the mountains, blowing up US bases springing up like mushroom everywhere in Turkey. At the beginning of the student movement we had no arms in our hands. Our legal rights were violated. Students who took part in legal demonstrations were beaten with police truncheons. They prevented and suppressed our attempts to legally spread our socialist thought. We soon realized that we could do nothing except to take up arms, and we did."*

9 October, 1971: Deniz Gezmiş and his 17 friends were sentenced to death. Before the trial started, the court room was surrounded by hundreds of military guards and by plainclothes police agents. Nobody except three journalists, the correspondants of new agencies, lawyers of defendants and parents of certain defendants were, were allowed into the court room. At 9:05 a.m., Deniz Gezmiş and Yusuf Aslan were brought into the court room. When they learnt that they had been sentenced to death, they started to shout, *"Long live independent Turkey!"* But the military guards carried them out of the court room holding their mouths shut to prevent them from shouting. Hüseyin

Yin Inan and other defendants were also brought into the court room two or three at a time, and each pair tried to shout "*long live independent Turkey,*" but the military guards also held their mouths shut and did not allow them to shout.

13 October, 1971: At the trial of Cihan Alptekin and his friends, defendant Oktay Kaynak spoke as follows: "*We do not speak to you here in order to affect the result. We already know your decision against us. Us imperialism and its local collaborators forced us to take up arms. You can try us for fighting against them, but you cannot try us for violating the constitution.*"

At the same session, the judge decided to have Cihan Alptekin taken out from the court room, whereupon the lawyer Demir Özlü withdrew from the session taking off his academic robe and throwing it in front of the court yard. The other lawyers followed Özlü out the hall.

14 October, 1971: The military prosecutor initiated legal proceedings against five lawyers who boycotted the session at Cihan Alptekin and his friends' trial. Orhan Arsal, one of these lawyers, was taken into custody. Five other lawyers again left the court room for protest.

15 October, 1971: The military prosecutor in Ankara began legal proceedings against the eleven lawyers who defended Deniz Gezmiş and his friends. They were accused of insulting the army and the government in their defences.

16 October, 1971: Nebil Varuy, the lawyer of Cihan Alptekin and his friends, was taken into custody. He is accused of insulting the military judges and the military prosecutor during the trials.

18 October, 1971: The lawyers, Demir Özlü, Necdet Sagir and Yalçın Öztürk, were also taken into custody. During the trial of 84 defendants, the lawyers Ziya Nur Erün and Özer Kirca, left the court room in order to protest the legal proceedings taking place against the lawyers of the earlier cases.

19 October, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç demanded a recess due to the fact that the other lawyers in the case were taken into custody. When his demand was rejected, the lawyer Amaç demanded other judges, but this was also rejected.

25 October, 1971: During his trial at the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH, Mahir Çayan stated to the court that he was still being kept in an isolation cell and prevented from consulting with his lawyers. The other defendants of the case also claimed that they lost their right to defend themselves due to the fact that their lawyers were taken into custody.

1 November, 1971: Mahir Çayan stated that he was still being kept in an isolation cell, that he was prevented from consulting with his lawyers, and for this reason he started a hunger strike eight days ago. (See: page 50)

16 November, 1971: At the trial of Cihan Alptekin and his friends, the defendant Ali Aydın Çig stated: "*My confession was obtained at the Police Headquarters by applying 60 volts of electric current on my sexual organs. I lost my virility because of this torture. But now I am manlier than those who caused me to lose my virility.*"

17 November, 1971: Mahir Çayan and his friends started to read their 220 pages defence. In the joint defence of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey, it is stated: "*We, who are charged here of trying to change the Constitution by force, are the ones who have defended the 1961 Constitution against*

those who have not put it into practice since 1965. The 1961 Constitution was violated by the ruling classes, who prevented it from being put into practice, and classified it as a 'luxury for Turkey'. This is a historical paradox. The death sentences against us were already decided quite a long time ago. These trials are held in order to deceive world opinion."

25 November, 1971: During the trial, Mahir Çayan accused the military prosecutor, saying: "The military prosecutor is the puppet, the representative of a gang of plotters. He is the traitor," after the military prosecutor accused them of being thieves.

26 November, 1971: At the trial of Mahir Çayan and his friends, the defendants divulged that the judge Akdemir Akmut was reading novels behind the bench when they were reading their defence. Çayan also classified judge Akdemir Akmut as a provocateur and stated: "Akdemir Akmut is the most reactionary and the most fascist of the martial law judges!"

29 November, 1971: All prisoners, including the ones sentenced to death, began passive resistance in order to protest ill-treatment in the military prison of Ankara. The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara officially announced that the prisoners had armed themselves by breaking and filling the iron legs of the tables and heaping up the bedsteads behind the doors in order to prevent the guards from entering the cells. They boycotted the meals. Some of the attempted to pierce the ceiling of the prison.

30 November, 1971: In Istanbul, Mahir Çayan, Ulaş Bardakçı, Ziya Yılmaz, defendants of the THKC Case, and Cihan Alptekin and Ömer Ayna, defendants of the THKO (Istanbul Section) Case, escaped from the military prison by digging a tunnel 15 meters long. The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul tried to conceal the fact of the escape from the public, because this would seriously weaken the prestige of the military rule. But in spite of all attempts at concealment, Çayan's friends revealed the fact at the military court during their trial.

2 December 1971: After the escape, four of the other defendants in the Mahir Çayan case -Necmi Demir, Kamil Dede, Yüksel Erdogan and Osman Bahadır- put in isolation cells at Harbiye Caserne (Military Police Headquarters). At the trial Kamil Dede said: "They did not even allow us to get our personal belongings. We have been kept under inhuman conditions, and have been brought here exhausted. We have no strength to read our defences. The last 18 pages of our written defence have been lost." Ilkay Demir declared that all the defendants began the "death fast" in order to protest the putting of their friends into isolation cells, and said: "Even the possibility of death would be too high, we prefer to fall in struggle instead of waiting in jail like caged animals for our executions. Our five friends also foresaw this. They escaped because they wanted to fight for the independence of our country. As for those of us who have remained under arrest, the military authorities have selected our four friends and began to inflict ill-treatment on them. Why were they taken to Harbiye Caserne? Is there any court decision about this punishment? All of us began to resist, one by one, on tuesday morning. We shall continue to fast until our friends are taken out of those isolation cells. Otherwise, they would put all of us into cells." Mrs. Demir also added: "They sentenced 18 patriots to death and are also trying to sentence another 60 to death. If 80 patriots were sentenced to death, it would be impossible to execute all of them in today's Turkey. Thus the trick is all too clear: To sentence to death as many patriots as possible, and then to save their lives by granting amnesty, so as on the one hand to



appear benovolent to the world, and on the other hand to effect the execution of the particular patriots originally marked out. None of us are in need of their forgiveness. If necessary, we know how to die for the liberation struggle of our people. If we cannot die by fighting, it is glorious for us to be executed by being hung with the rope of oligarchy!"

3 December, 1971: At the trial of Gayan's friends, the illegal behaviour of the military judge provoked new disturbances. The defendants, who had been locked in isolation cells, could not complete their defence owing to the fact that the last pages of their joint written defence had been lost. In spite of this, the judge accepted their defence as completed and ordered them to say their last words. The defendants objected and said that as long as the defence was not completed, it was illegitimate to ask for the last words. But the judge reiterated his order. Thereupon, Ilkay Demir said: "Not only is he biased, but this judge is also deliberately trying to infuriate us. We have been on a hunger strike for four days, and cannot waste time on the personal caprices of Judge Akdemir Akmut." Since the dispute between the judge and the defendants became severe, the court's president called on the officers and soldiers on guard to attack the defendants. Kamil Dede, Necmi Demir and Ilkay Demir were kicked out of the court room.

6 December, 1971: During their trial, Ilkay Demir informed the court of the continuation of the defendant's death fast and said that the military authorities had began severe ill-treatment against the prisoners, in addition to taking away their beds and blankets and letting them sleep on the cement floor without any protection. Kamil Dede, one of the defendants being kept in isolation cell, revealed that their healths were getting worse in cells day by day and that the authorities would not give them any paper and pencil to write their defence. Defendant Necati Sagir said: "We are not afraid of death! We spit in the forehead of death! Nobody can hang the label of high treason around our necks. Now, gentlemen! Condemn us! In the future, the people of Turkey will carry on the struggle against imperialism."

27 December, 1971: The Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH condemned Necmi Demir, Kamil Dede, Ilkay Demir, Kadriye Deniz Özen and Rüçhan Manas to death, under Article 146. The death sentences of three female defendants were commuted to life term.

22 April, 1972: While the death sentences of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan were being approved at the parliament, the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH contradicted these death sentences by rejecting to apply Article 146 of the TPC to the Istanbul Section of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey.

3 May, 1972: On the day the President of Republic signed the death sentences of the three young men, the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH contradicted these death sentences again by rejecting to apply Article 146 to the defendants of the Young Naval Officers' Case.

6 May, 1972: In spite of the contradiction in the verdicts of the military courts on Article 146 of the TPC, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan were executed in Ankara.

16 June, 1972: The general assembly of the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentence on Ziya Yılmaz.



At the military courts, all defence objections that the legal procedure has been operated incorrectly have been rejected by the military judges and if the defence insisted on the objections, armed officers and guards have forcibly removed the lawyers and the defendants from the court room (above). In addition to this, many lawyers have been arrested by the military courts and sentenced to imprisonment on the charge of having insulted the military judges and the military prosecutors (right).



İSTANBUL 1. NUMARALI SIKİYÖNETİM MAHKEMESİ HÂKİMLERİNDEN ALBAY REMZİ ŞİRİN (ÜSTTE), İLE AYNI MAHKEMENİN SAVCISI YARBAĞ DOĞAN DÜLGERGİL (ALTTA), DÜN 2. NUMARALI SIKİYÖNETİM MAHKEMESİNDE HAKARET SUÇUNDAN YARGILANAN BEŞ AVUKATIN "URUŞMASINDA SAHİTLİK YAPTILAR."

(Şevket UYGUN)



**SIKI YÖNETİM  
MAHKEMESİ  
SAVCI VE  
HAKİMLERİ  
ŞAHİTLİK YAPTI**



The Military Court which sentenced three other defendants to death.



Fascist-minded Military Judge Akdemir Akmut breaking his pencil



The young defendants sentenced to death: Ziya Yilmaz (above), Necmi Demir and Kamil Dede (right).



## OBJECTIONS RAISED TO THE DEATH SENTENCES

After the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters condemned Deniz Gezmiş Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan and their 15 friends to death, the defendants' lawyers, Halit Çelenk, Niyazi Ağırnaslı, Kamil Savaş, Orhan İzzet Kök, Zeki Oruç Erel, Özden Timurkaynak, Mükerrrem Erdoğan, Refik Ergün, Sadik Akıncılar, Ersen Şansal and Kemal Yücel, appealed to the Military Court of Cassation (Section 2, file No. 2, 1971-457) to set aside the verdict dated October 10, 1971 (No. 1971/13 and 23).

The following is a short summary of the 275 page text presented to the Military Court of Cassation by the 10 defence attorneys:

"In this historic trial, the Military Court of Martial Law paid no attention to the defence's plea. Our case was submitted in 300 page long statement prepared by us and our clients in which we analyzed the prevailing socio-economic conditions which gave meaning to the deeds committed by our clients. We then sought to ascertain whether these deeds could in fact be considered 'crimes' under Article 146/1 of the Penal Code. We requested that the Constitutional Court rule on the constitutionality of the martial law itself and the extraordinary courts it instituted, but the court refused to go into this question. Nor would it give any weight to our arguments based on the country's socio-economic conditions. The court took no account of our rightful requests.

The Unconstitutionality of the Proceedings:

"Law No. 357, authorizing the designation of military judges and military prosecutors, unconstitutional by virtue of articles 16 and 40 contained therein. Indeed, in direct contradiction to articles 7, 132 and 138 of the Constitution which stipulate that courts and judges must be independent and sovereign, these articles provide that the military judges and military prosecutors shall be designated by the Ministry of National Defence, that is, by the Government itself. Yet jurisprudence as well as previous decisions of the Constitutional Court require, as does the constitution, that the courts remain free from any and all interference on the part of the executive power. In accordance with the historic decision of the Constitutional Court in 1968 (JO, 18.4.963, 12878), even public prosecutors, are no longer designated by the Ministry of Justice. Numerous precedents thus prove that the Constitutional Court would hold the designation of military judges by the army chiefs of staff and by the Ministry of National Defence to be unconstitutional.

"It is a mockery of the very principle of the 'rightful judge (normal presiding judge)' and the 'independence of the courts'. Under these circumstances, several serious irregularities are evident which jeopardize the independence of the courts. Furthermore, as these nominations are unconstitutional, none of the usual legal guarantees can be invoked.

"The creation of the First Military Court of Ankara Martial Law Headquarters runs counter to the principle of the 'rightful judge', as defined in Article 132 of the Constitution. For here we are clearly faced with a 'post delictum' case. Rightful proceedings are distinguished from exceptional proceedings by the criterion of whether or not the nature of the court and the competent judge were legally defined before the offence committed. Now, the actions charged against our clients were committed long before the courts

that are trying them were created. Martial law was proclaimed on April 26, 1971 and the judges were named on April 30, 1971. But our clients committed their 'crimes' prior to martial law. Their rightful judges therefore cannot be the military courts of martial law, for otherwise articles 16 and 40 of Law 357 would directly conflict with articles 7, 8, 32, 132 and 138 of the Constitution.

"But the court took no heed of this argument. We insist that this law presents a serious question of unconstitutionality, and it is primarily on this point that we base our request to annul the verdict and order a re-trial.

"The military prosecutor maintains that the constitution itself legitimizes resort to military tribunals. But such courts must conform to the principle of the 'rightful judge' and the 'independence of the courts', and there must be guarantees concerning the judges.

#### Article 146/1 of the Penal Code and the Actions of the Accused:

"It is fundamental to the modern view of criminology that offences and penalties must be clearly defined by law. In this way arbitrariness can be guarded against and complete justice assured. This, by the way, has become a basic principle underlying all constitutions.

"Offences must be defined by law together with their component parts. If such part is missing, the court must take this into consideration. In the case of these defendants, this has not been done. In articles 61-62 of our Penal Code provision is made for '*attempts*'. Attempts and unsuccessful attempts. To which the court added the author's '*attitude to the punished act*'. It is not in conformity with the principles of our penal code to assign Article 146/1 a separate status for being concerned with crimes against the '*established order*'. Actions preceding the offence are not to be included as component parts of the offence defined in Article 146/1. For those other actions are dealt with in articles 168-172 of the same penal code. Italian authors agree with us here. '*Action committed with special objectives in mind*' is not enough to warrant talking of '*attempts*'. Action in preparation of the offence are punished only in accordance with articles 169-172 of the TPC.

#### Attempts and Their Component Parts:

"Article 146 speaks of premeditated action, but it is *violence* which is the determining characteristic.

"In order to qualify as an offence, an action must clearly be defined by law. That is the tangible element of the offence. Article 146, however, does not clearly state what this action consists of, and hence even attempts can be considered as tangible elements of the offence. These actions must be appropriate to achieve results considered to be offences and punishable as such. For the actions which are punishable under Article 146 are acts actually carried out. If the action is not suitable and does not achieve the intended results, then the offence has not taken place, even if the action itself is extremely dangerous. There must be causal link between the act committed and the intended result. The best criterion in this matter is whether or not a *suitable means has been employed*. This implies that actions incapable of achieving the intended results cannot be considered as the carrying out of those results.

"Now, Article 146 speaks of intended results: *'To completely or partially alter the Constitution, to abolish it; to prevent parliament from discharging its functions'*. It is not enough to have engaged in acts with these objectives in mind; the means employed must also have been appropriate to their realization.

#### The Components of an Attempt:

"The Turkish Penal Code lists four requirements that have to be fulfilled before an action can be considered an attempt:

- "1) Actual premeditation (*kasit*)
- "2) The use of a suitable means
- "3) Execution of the attempt actually begun.
- "4) If the objective was not achieved, this was due to factors independent of the will of the author.

"Let us discuss our clients' case in the light of these requirements.

"The court said: *'We have considered all the actions committed as parts of a whole and have thus defined the moral aspect of the offence. If those actions were considered separately, one would be dealing with ordinary crimes. But that would imply ignoring the ideological objective which is the basis for all these acts. And it is precisely this action in common which is the ultimate objective of the authors.'*

"Here we find expressed the nature of the offence: A political offence. However, our penal code deals with this political offence in a number of places. Hence other criteria have to be used, such as *'suitable means'* and *'execution actually begun'*.

"Was there premeditation behind these actions? And what the accused's objectives? According to the Court, their goal was to violate and abolish the Constitution.

"The court gave the trial an ideological coloring. But the articles it referred to were not even written by the accused. Some of the articles which were used as proof against them were written long after January 15, 1971, the date when the actions were carried out. Besides, their actions had nothing to do with marxism-leninism. Here is what they themselves say:

*"We worked for an independent and democratic Turkey, but we were brutally beaten... We wanted the Constitution put fully into practice, but we were murdered... We were arrested, incarcerated, tortured... We were attacked by the armed bands of those in power, so we had to arm ourselves in self defence. Our purpose is not to violate the Constitution; on the contrary, we want the Constitution truly respected... Our aim is to carry out the reforms provided for in this Constitution, above all the land reforms. Our aim is to restore our country's independence..."*

"Why then does the military prosecutor speak of marxist-leninist ideology? Nothing the defendants sought was unconstitutional. Besides, the court ascribes to the defendants ideas they do not acknowledge as their own: *'They want to abolish private property, the capitalist class, the right to strike, individual freedom and the parliamentary system.'* No proof is offered to show that this is what they actually wanted. But analogy is not considered a valid argument under penal law. Article 1 of the Penal Code clearly states that no one can be punished except for a specified offence clearly committed.

On the other hand, the accused have always defended the constitution against those in power. The last thing they would want is to abolish the basic principles of the constitution which they defend. During the trial, many defendants have shouted 'long live the constitution!' Listen to Deniz Gezmiş: 'It is said that we tried to abolish the constitution... On the contrary, we are the ones who have been its best defenders from the very beginning. Those who have violated it are on the other side. We are the ones who want it put fully into practice. And they are asking for our lives. They are used to letting the weight of 36 million of people be borne by 20 young men. As for us, we have desired only Turkey's independence and we are ready to lay down our lives for it. We are consecrated to Turkey's people... If the memorandum of March 12th had not been successful, those responsible for it would now be in the dock instead of us. For the memorandum of March 12th openly accuses parliament of not having put the constitution into practice.'

"Indeed, as stated in the memorandum of March 12th, the constitution has constantly been violated by those in power, both by parliament and by the government.

"The defendants have actively supported land reform. Land reform implies distributing land to the peasants, land which will be their private property. How can they be accused of wanting to abolish private property? Man is responsible for his actions. The accused, also, are responsible for theirs. Their actions are well known... An objective is not the same thing as premeditation. But the court asserts, in support of its sentence, that the accused wanted to institute a socialist order. And even if that were true, is that a reason for sentencing them? Is it in accordance with law to condemn a man for his long-term goals? Can a man be tried for his beliefs concerning a far-off future?

"Let us look at this aspect of the case compared to the Council of Europe's 'Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms', signed at Rome in 1950 and adopted as a law by Turkey on March 19, 1954:

"Article 2: Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law.

"Article 9: Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.

"Article 14: The enjoyment of the rights and freedoms set forth in this Convention shall be secured without discrimination on any ground such as sex, race, colour, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, association with a national minority, property, birth or other status.

"According to the Court, in order to prove the 'premediated' component of these offences one has only to study the theory concerning national democratic revolutions to see that the accused are indeed marxist-leninists. 'Our court', says the text, 'has examined the actions as a whole and has therein discovered the moral aspect of the offence. If we had examined the actions one by one, we would have lost the thread of the ideological objective which ties all these actions together. Their political opinions prove their guilt.' This is contrary to the provisions of our Constitution and to the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. The court has acted contrary to law. We demand that the verdict be annulled.

### "Appropriate Means"

"A real attempt that action was undertaken by appropriate means. Only on that condition can one talk of incipient execution. According to the court, this incipient execution took place on December 29, 1970 when Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan and Sinan Cemgil fired at a police station in front of US Embassy at Ankara. Four revolvers were used in this action, and it is inconceivable that the ascribed offence should begin by these means, which are incapable of bringing about the intended results of that action. The court alludes to the armed superiority of the accused even when compared to the army! But in reality they were found to have only 9 revolvers, 5 stens, 4 Thomsons, 10 guns, 11 jumelles, 4 grenades and certain amount of dynamite and capsules. With these arms it is not possible to abolish the Turkish Republic's Constitution nor to keep its rightful institutions from functioning!

"In order to judge whether a means is appropriate you have to bear in mind the intended goal and the means employed to attain it. In the given case, it is impossible to believe that with only 4 revolvers the State could be destroyed. For a hold up, or for killing someone, there we would agree that these arms could serve their purpose, but not for overthrowing the government! Under such circumstances the offence defined in by Article 146 *could not possibly have been committed!* And these defendants must not be punished for an action they could not have committed, for no one may be punished for an unrealizable act.

### Execution of the Offence Must Have Begun:

"To shoot at a police station is not necessarily the first step in the execution of the offence of overthrowing the government or abolishing the constitution. Besides, even if it were so, it would hold only for three of the defendants, since they are the only ones who did the shooting! All those actions which, when carried out, constitute offences, are considered to be '*acts of execution*'. All others are held to be preparatory and many not be punished; even when they have been accomplished the offence of overthrowing the government and abolishing the constitution will not have been committed. Moreover, it is necessary to clearly prove premeditation on the part of each of the defendants, and the actions of each of the defendants must be placed in the framework of the execution of a coherent action intended to reach the goal pursued by the author. The defendant must be so close to the goal that he is at a point of no return. Our clients, however, were far removed from such a point. The intent to commit this crime can be attributed to them by *analogy* only, a method excluded under penal law. Our clients should normally be judged according to articles 168-172 of the penal code and not article 146.

"Articles 168-172 punish actions taken in preparation of a crime, such as the formation of a guerilla army, incitation to crime, etc. Actions of that kind are the component parts of a unique plan having a specific objective which is considered a punishable crime. Whatever the stage in their development, these actions are punished. The law punishes *unlawful* desires, but not desires in and of themselves. This desire must have been tangibly expressed in the formation of a guerilla army in order to be punishable.

"On the other hand, there must also be present many authors of the actions having a common purpose (how many, the kind of arms, a common goal... p. 225). The guerilla is the work of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey



and thus only members of that organization, and no others, are punishable under Article 168. According to the court, the incipient execution of the offence took place at the time when the defendants shot at the police station. For the reasons we have already indicated, the *material components of the offence which would warrant the defendants being punished are not present:*

- "a) The execution of the offence was not begun.
- "b) Even according to Article 146, each defendant has the right to know when and where the execution of the offence began.
- "c) Appropriate means were not used for committing the stated offence."

#### ARTICLES ORIGINATING IN THE FASCIST PENAL CODE OF MUSSOLINI

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved the death sentence for three defendants, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan, who were executed on May 6, 1972. To date, 21 defendants have been condemned to death under Article 146 of the TPC, and the military prosecutors are now demanding the same penalty for hundreds of other defendants.

The military prosecutors and judges have also used articles 141 and 142 of the TPC as well as Article 146.

These articles, directly inspired by the fascist Penal Code of Mussolini of thirty years ago, have always been used against socialist intellectuals, workers leaders, even liberals.

The following extracts are a clear indication of the extent to which articles 141 and 142 of the Turkish Penal Code and articles 270 and 272 of Mussolini's Penal Code are similar:

#### Article 270 of Mussolini's Penal Code:

*"In a state territory, whoever attempts to create associations, establish them, organize them or direct them with the aim of imposing by force the dictatorship of one social class over others or of abolishing a class is liable to a penalty of 5 to 12 years imprisonment."*

#### Article 272 of Mussolini's P.C.:

*"In state territory, whoever propagandizes with the aim of introducing by force the dictatorship of one social class over another is liable to a penalty of 1 to 5 years imprisonment."*

#### Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code:

*"All those who create, direct or inspire associations whatever their qualification, aimed at ensuring the domination of a particular social class, or overthrowing any fundamental institution, economic or social, existing in the country, are liable to 8 to 15 years imprisonment. Those at the head of any or all such associations are liable to the death penalty."*

#### Article 142 of the Turkish P.C.:

*"All those who, whatever the form may be, propagandize in order to ensure the domination of one social class over another or to eliminate a social class or who aim at overthrowing one or more fundamental economic or social institutions existing in the country, or at destroy-*

*ing the political and legal order of the State, are liable to 5 to 15 years imprisonment."*

In addition to stiffening the penalties incurred, the Turkish Penal Code has also eliminated the clause "*by force*" present in the Italian articles so as to be able to apply the fascist articles to peaceful class struggle as well.

As can be clearly seen in the trials held in the military courts, these fascist articles can be applied to anyone who writes a personal letter to his fiancee or who says "*revolution is much more important than love*" or who translates a book on socialism or publishes socio-economic research works. Under these articles, the award for undertaking scientific research on the socio-economic structure of Turkey or for translating marxist classics into Turkish is fifteen years imprisonment.

In addition to these articles, hundreds of people have been brought before the military courts on the basis of three other articles of the TPC.

Under Article 159, all those who insult the moral personality of the government, the armed forces or the security forces, are liable to up to 6 years imprisonment.

Under Article 158, all those who insult the president of the Republic are liable to up to 5 years imprisonment.

Under Article 312, all those incite one class against other classes are liable to 2 years imprisonment.

#### COLLABORATION BETWEEN THE MILITARY PROSECUTORS AND SMUGGLERS

The military prosecutors, who make ample use of such fascist slogans as "*superiority of the Turkish race*", "*refuting the existence of different classes and the class struggle*", "*refuting the existence of different ethnic groups in Turkey*", not only bring fascist militants in as their main witnesses at the military courts, but also smugglers.

For example, during the trial of young naval officers held at the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH, the military prosecutor Lt. Colonel Selahattin Fırat produced a well-known smuggler, Osman Nuri Çelenk, as a witness to support the charges brought against these young officers and cadets. The witness claimed, before the Court, that he had been robbed by some of the defendants. This slanderous attack was refuted by the defendants, and the contradictions in Çelenk's statements and his false testimony were proved. As a result, the smuggler was forced to flee Turkey. Since their plot turned into a fiasco, the military prosecutors and police chiefs, in a state of panic, assisted his escape.

The most significant document on collaboration between the military prosecutors and smugglers was handed over to the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul by the wife of a smuggler on February 1, 1972. This document is on file at the Judicial Advisory Office of the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul under the code number 972/620.

DOCUMENT

Judicial Advisory:  
No. 972/620  
2.1.1972

"To the Judicial Advisory Office  
Martial Law Headquarters  
Selimiye-ISTANBUL

"The case involving the robbery of Osman Nuri Çelenk, car salesman in Taksim, is being tried in one of your courts.

"Osman Nuri Çelenk is my husband; it is therefore only natural that I am legally in contact with him.

"He told me that he would go abroad. In the meantime, police officer Ahmet Karagöz informed me that my husband was accused of smuggling and was therefore not authorized to leave Turkey.

"In September 1971, I officially informed the Istanbul Police Headquarters and the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters of his plan to flee from Turkey, this in order to protect my own legal rights and to aid in carrying out justice.

"He had sold some of his real estate for cash which he transferred abroad. It can be seen from the attached photocopies of certain letters that he travels abroad very often.

"He told me that the following persons are supposed to be his men and that he could overcome any difficulties existing in the world with their help. I believed what he said since he often travels abroad quite easily. Like his other two Iranian smuggler friends, he also carries three different passports: Turkish, Iranian and Afghan.

"He also told me that:

"Customs officers Ali Karata and Hürşit Cilvegöz, provided him and his gang with facilities at the border regularly.

"Mr. Kaya and Mr. Nedin are his smuggling accomplices. They would distribute the contraband inside the country in Mr. Tunç's car: Licence plate number 34 FL 403.

"Police chiefs, Ismail Demirbağ and Talip Albayrak of the Istanbul Police Headquarters, are also his collaborators. Military Prosecutor Lt.Colonel Selahattin First and Colonel Bedri (whose nickname is Bedo) are his protectors.

"Additional detailed information can be obtained from Ahmet Karagöz, the police officer charge of the Financial Affairs Department at the Istanbul Police Headquarters, who is handing the investigation.

"Mustafa Kiyici, who has taken over control of his business, is my husband's nephew and assistant. He is also preparing to flee abroad. Sufficient information can be obtained from him.

"His collaborators threaten me anonymously by telephone and letter. The attached letters are proof of the threats. Therefore, I request that my life be protected, and that a court decision prevent the sale of the remaining real estate."

Signed: Nurseza Çelenk

P.S: Mr. Sadullah, the Public Prosecutor of Bakirköy, and Mr. Saim, the Chief of the Financial Affairs Department of the Istanbul Police Headquar-

ters are also supposed to be his collaborators. I am informing you about the abovementioned persons, just as he explained all this to me earlier.

Address: Nurseza Çelenk  
Levent, Nispetiye Caddesi  
Durak Apt. No. 16/1, D.10 -Istanbul

The presumed present addresses of O.Nuri Çelenk: 1) Hossein, Hadjarnia,  
Theran-Iran  
2) Export-Import  
8 München 15  
15 Schillerstr-Germany  
Tel: München 593758

### COMPLAINTS AGAINST THE MILITARY JUDGES

The military judges, in trying cases coming before the military courts of martial law, do not take into account the requirements of the Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Law number 353 stipulates that a defendant may request consultation with his lawyer at every stage of the investigation. However, the defendants tried at the military courts have been consistantly deprived of this right.

Mahir Çayan's lawyer, Faik Muzaffer Amaç, requested a consultation with his client on the basis of Law No.353 at the August 23, 1971 session of the Third Military Court of the Istanbul MLH (see page 49). The judicial assembly stated, however, that the court had no authority with respect to administrative and executive matters of those arrested as concerns their detention, personal problems and consultations, etc.

The defendants then filed a complaint with the Ministry of National Defence stating that the military court, despite their insistent demands, had not informed the responsible authorities of the use of torture and solitary confinement.

The members of the court against whom the formal complaint was lodged are: Infantry Colonel Vecdi Müftüoglu, the president of the court; Lt. Colonel Akdemir Akmut, judge; Major Coskun DüNDAR, judge; Major Naci Gür and Captain Ulgen Sözer, the military prosecutors.

The lawyers also informed the court of the complaint and requested that the latter desist. The judicial assembly, however, rejected their request on the following basis:

*"A judge cannot accept to desist because of abstract claims presented by the defendants. In so doing, a precedent would be created for all defendants and lawyers who want to change the court officials when it could be unpleasant for them."*

The defendants and their lawyers then rejected the judges and demanded other judges in a formal request presented to the Court. In his reply to this request, Captain Ulgen Sözer, the military prosecutor, claimed that Faik Muzaffer Amaç, Mahir Çayan's lawyer was in contempt of court and he should therefore be subjected to disciplinary action.

The Court decided to forward the defendants' claim to another judicial assembly. The new judicial assembly was formed by Artillery Colonel Turgut

Bozkurt, presiding magistrate; Major Ferruh Şenerdem, judge; Major Muzaffer Bostanci, judge.

At the August 27, 1971 session, the defendants and their lawyers made the following statement to back up their request:

"1. They (the rejected judicial assembly) were uninterested in question of torture:

"They reaffirmed their decision concerning torture: 'It is impossible to discern whether the defendants were tortured in order to obtain the truth or whether they were forced to accept crimes that they never committed.' This means that torture, if used in order to obtain the truth, is lawful!

"The former assembly committed a violation of the law in rejecting the request to inform the concerned authorities of the use of torture. Furthermore, that assembly was aware of the torture, because the members had personally seen in what condition İrfan Uçar, Jülide Zaim were as a result of torture. The defendants were totally immobilized and were unable to go to court as a result of the torture inflicted. The military judges were therefore obliged to go to their cell to take them under arrest.

"2. There are serious complaints about the judicial assembly:

"The defendants have complained to the Ministry of National Defence concerning the military judges. The assembly, however, objected to this complaint and stated: 'If it is accepted, a precedent will be created for all defendants who want to change the court officials in order to delay a trial.' What is the use of delaying a trial in a military court? It might come to mind that if a trial is delayed, it would then be possible to transfer the case to a civil court at the end of the period of martial law. However, according to the new law, even after the cessation of martial law, these defendants will be tried by the military courts. In that case, what is the use of delaying a trial? Perhaps the assembly has prejudged the case and are certain that these defendants will be sentenced to death. A defendant under arrest might wish to delay a trial so as to postpone the execution. Therefore, if a judge accuses a defendant of trying to delay a trial, this means that he has prejudged the case.

"3. The minutes of the trials are inexact:

"The judge has prevented the dictation of certain statements made by the defendants and of events which have occurred in the court room. Mahir Çayan was therefore obliged to present his statement to the court in writing and to force the judge to include it in his file on the case.

"4. The event which occurred at the August 25, 1971 session:

"At the August 25, 1971 session, as the judge dictated the rejection of the claim concerning torture, the defendants sat on the chairs in sign of protest. To ensure discipline during a trial is the duty of the presiding magistrate. Since, however, Colonel Vecdi Müftüoğlu did not intervene, Lt. Col. Akdemir Akmut, the judge, ordered the officers in charge to force the defendants to stand up, thereby surpassing the limits of his authority.

"5. Putting Çayan in chains:

"The judicial assembly to which objection is taken has given no consideration to protests made when Mahir Çayan was chained and has rejected demands to stop the use of torture."

After reading out the official statement, the military prosecutor

stated that since the beginning of the trials the defendants and their lawyers have tried to delay the judgment and to raise suspicions as to the court so as to conceal their crimes.

The provisional judicial assembly rejected unanimously all of the demands and fined the defendants LT 250 each for allegedly attempting to delay the judgement and raising suspicions concerning the court by demanding other judges.

After the rejection of these demands, the judicial assembly, Colonel Miiftüoglu, Lt.Col. Akmut and Major Coskun DüNDAR, were at their posts again at the August 27, 1971 session.

At the same session, the judicial assembly made the following decision:

*"Lawyers Faik Muzaffer Amaç, Necdet Sagir, Yalçin Oztürk and Aykut Ergil have consistantly attempted to obstruct the trials, to deviate the court from its legal procedure. It has, therefore, been decided to lodge a complaint with respect to these lawyers at the Istanbul Bar, the Barristers Union of Turkey and to the Ministry of Justice so that legal action can be brought against them."* (Court Minutes, p. 41)

#### AN ANXIOUS JUDGE

The same judicial assembly condemned two defendants, Necmi Demir and Kamil Dede, to death on December 27, 1971 and another defendant, Ziya Yilmaz, on March 15, 1972.

Faik Muzaffer Amaç, the lawyer of the condemned men, introduced an appeal at the Military Court of Cassation on May 15, 1972 and demanded the annulment of the verdict for the following reasons:

1. The title given to the court is unconstitutional and illegal. The law courts can only exercise *"their rights to judge defendants"* in the name of the Turkish Nation and not on behalf of a headquarters. In naming the court the Third Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters (Istanbul Sikiyönetim Komutanligi Üç numarali Sikiyönetim Mahkemesi) proof is given that this court comes under the jurisdiction of the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul. This title of the court is also a violation of Article 11 of Law No. 1402.
2. The designation of military judges and military prosecutors is unconstitutional. In accordance with Article 138 of the Constitution, the courts and judges are independent and sovereign. The judges and prosecutors of the Third Military Court of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters were, however, designated by the Ministry of National Defence.
3. Trials are not held in open court. Only those who were able obtain special permission from the headquarters could attend the trials. In addition, the press was not authorized to publish all details of the trials.
4. The minutes of the trials do not present the full record. The judge prevented the dictation of certain statements made by the defendants and of events which occurred in the court room.
5. The court did not examine the cases of torture and consistantly rejected requests to inform the authorities concerned of torture being practised.

6. The court restricted the defendants' right to defend themselves by not permitting them to put questions to witnesses, by banishing their lawyers from the court room and in not providing access to their dossiers.

7. The judges displayed their hostility towards the defendants and their lawyers throughout the entire trial period.

One of the most important reasons, however, for the request to annul the verdict concerned the mental health of Akdemir Akmut, the judge who handled the trials.

According to two documents presented to the Military Court of Cassation by lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç, Judge Lt. Col. Akdemir Akmut is subject to extreme anxiety.

In 1948, when a student at Diyarbakir High School, he first displayed his reaction to progressive opinions in denouncing his teacher because the latter had spoken in class on moral courage and advanced democracy.

After having condemned three young people to death, he began to have illusions that anybody seeing a rope will automatically be kidnapped. He even went so far as to commit his 17 year old son to psychiatric hospital because he had drawn a picture of a rope. His son was committed at the Çapa Psychiatric Clinic of Istanbul University, on March 13, 1972 as case number 972/148.

In the questionnaire concerning his son's "illness" Lt.Colonel Akmut stated the following:

*" - Has he attempted to harm anyone? How?*

*" - I saw that he had prepared a piece of rope and some bread in order to tie up or kidnap someone and that he had drawn a meaningless plan on a piece of paper."*

#### ABOLISHING OF THE RIGHT OF DEFENCE

In spite of these objections, the Military Court of Cassation approved, on the one hand, one of the death sentences on June 16, 1972, and , on the other hand the same judges, including Lt.Col.Akdemir Akmut,were entrusted, on July 31, 1972, with the task of trying another group, the defendants in the Dev-Genç (Istanbul Section) Case, Under Article 141.

In addition to the arbitrary attitudes of these military judges, from that time on, trials have been held in accordance with the amended Military Code of Criminal Procedure.

In line with the amended Constitution, the Military Code of Criminal Procedure was also modified by parliament, new law coming into force on June 26, 1972.

The amendments of 23 articles of the code have completely suppressed the right of defence at the military court of martial law, as follows:

*a) The military prosecutors and military judges now come under the authority of the local military commanders. These military commanders are authorized to intervene in the investigation at any time.*

*b) The defendants, even if civilians, are considered military personnel by the military court of martial law and will be tried under the Military Code of Criminal Procedure.*

c) Defendants are deprived of the right to reject a military judge and to demand other judges, even if the military judge displays partiality.

d) It is no longer possible to inform public opinion of the partiality of a military judge, since the latter is authorized to impose censorship on any news of the trials.

e) If a defendant or his lawyer insists on an objection, the military court can remove either or both from the court room and even put them under arrest. In this event, the trial can be held without the presence of the defendant and/or his lawyer, and judgement can be made by default.

f) If there is only one witness in any given case, the military court is not obliged to hear him in the court room. The military judges are authorized to accept written statements of "witnesses", obtained and put on file, during the preliminary investigation. That is to say, the military judges can take a decision on the basis of a false statement. The defendants do not have the right to verify the authenticity of the statement or even if the witness actually exists. According to this amendment, the military prosecutors and military judges can send someone to prison without concrete evidence.

g) The military courts are authorized to restrict the time allotted to the defence as they wish.

Under these conditions, a lawyer has no real function to perform in a military court.

Taking these amendments into consideration, Lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç wrote to clients being tried in the military court of martial law on July 24, 1972, explaining the amendments and their unavoidable consequences. In conclusion, Mr. Amaç stated:

*"As so far as it has become impossible to defend someone in a military court of martial law, I am obliged to inform you, with regret that I can no longer attend the trial. I therefore, suggest that you appeal to the Bar for the appointment of another counsel."*

Five days after this letter was written, on July 29, 1972, the Military Court of the Istanbul MLH arrested Faik Muzaffer Amaç. The military prosecutor accused him of "insulting the military judges and prosecutors" by publishing a book entitled "The Case before the Military Court of Cassation" and indicted him under articles 266-268 of the TPC. The book contains nothing other than Mr. Amaç's appeal to the Military Court of Cassation.

#### FIGURES ON TRIALS

The cases mentioned in this chapter are those which have been disclosed by the military authorities or appeared in the daily newspapers. However, other than for the mass trials, the military authorities do not provide any information on the cases of individuals. Since the beginning of 1972, the press has been forbidden from publishing any details even on the mass trials. The cases being tried by the military courts of Diyarbakir, Adana, Izmir, Eskisehir martial law headquarters have been completely silenced.

On March 20, 1972, the Press Administration issued statistics on the trials at the military courts of martial law. According to these statistics, the military courts have condemned 382 defendants in Ankara, 73 in Istanbul, 41 in Izmir, 51 in Eskisehir, 56 in Adana and 82 in Diyarbakir. At the time,





**MAN-HUNT**

**ELBISTAN MASSACRE:** Young members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey were raided by the gendarmerie while they were fishing in a lake on Nurhak Mountains. Although they had surrendered, the commander of the gendarmerie suddenly volleyed at them and murdered three defenseless young persons, Sinan Cemgil (left), Alparslan Özdoğan (right) and Kadir Manga.



## MAN HUNTS AND MASS ARRESTS

Since the inception of martial law, thousands of intellectuals, university professors, teachers, workers, peasants and student leaders from all corners of Turkey have been taken into custody and detained in military camps in the provinces of Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, Eskisehir, Adana Kocaeli, Hatay, Zonguldak, Sakarya, Diyarbakir and Siirt.

A network of informers has been created by the military rulers who promise a 6,000 dollar award for each "suspect". All the news media, the state owned radios, even the loudspeakers of the mosques are used by the military authorities to invite citizens to denounce "suspects". The martial law headquarters even force the parents of "suspects" to give them their addresses and to cooperate with police authorities. Many aged mothers and fathers have also been taken into custody because of their objections to such immoral pressure. Doorkeepers, drivers and shopkeepers are forced to become informers and police agents.

In the course of this brutal man hunt, the military authorities have used barbarous methods and provoked many "suspects" into clashes with well-trained firing squads. As a result of this type of plot, more than thirty persons have been murdered by "security" forces and rightist bands or forced to commit suicide.

It is a known fact, however, that the man hunt did not begin with the 1971 regime, but rather in 1965, the year the Justice Party came to power. As was mentioned previously, during the time of its reign, the Justice Party cracked down on the democratic movements, changed the constitution and abolished all fundamental rights and freedoms. The more the AP ignored constitutional rights, the more the resistance of the masses was strengthened. Unable to suppress the resistance movements defending their constitutional rights, the AP began organizing police forces and military commando groups, and tolerated the formation of rightist gangs for the purpose of wiping out the resistance. Prime Minister Demirel went so far as to announce in his official speeches that he would arm 200,000 Justice Party militants.

In time, the high-ranking commanders also made clear their intention to crack down on the leftist forces and supported the man hunt projects of the Demirel governments. In fact, the first victims of the man hunts carried out under the Justice Party's regime were two workers, Mehmet Cavdar and Saitilmis Tepe, who were shot to death in 1965 by military troops who assaulted striking coal miners in Zonguldak. Meanwhile, AP militants started raiding the meetings of the Turkish Labour Party and other left-wing organizations; they even attempted to murder TIP leaders in Akhisar and Bursa prior to the general elections of 1965.

In 1966, General Cemal Tural, Chief of General Staff, began issuing orders to military units to undergo anti-communist indoctrination and even published a book entitled *"Handbook for Anti-Communist Action"* which accused all leftist organizations and publications of being "enemies of the State." General Tural was so adamant that his men kidnapped a journalist, Ilhami Soy-sal, because he had criticized his anti-left attitude, and beat him badly.

As soon as it was clear that constitutional guarantees would not be respected by the AP, the police also began using their traditional, primitive

.....VICTIMS OF MAN HUNT UNTIL THE MARTIAL LAW.....

MEHMET CAVDAR (Worker) - March 1965, Zonguldak  
 SATILMIŞ TEPE (Worker) - March 1965, Zonguldak  
 MEHMET ALI ERMIŞ (Editor) - April 1968, İstanbul  
 VEDAT DEMIRCIÖGLU (Student) - July 27, 1968, İstanbul  
 ATALAY SAVAŞ (Student) - July 28, 1968, Ankara  
 ALI TURGUT AYTAÇ (Professional) - February 16, 1969, İstanbul  
 DURAN ERDOĞAN (Worker) - February 16, 1969, İstanbul  
 RAHMI GÖNULTAŞ (Public prosecutor) - April 1969, Şereflikoçhisar  
 MEHMET DOĞAN KILAN (Peasant) - August 1969, Tunceli  
 MEHMET CANTEKİN (Student) - September 19, 1969, İstanbul  
 MUSTAFA TAYLAN ÖZGÜR (Student) - September 23, 1969, İstanbul  
 MEHMET BÜYÜKSEVİNÇ (Student) - December 10, 1969, İstanbul  
 BATTAL MEHEDOĞLU (Student) - December 14, 1969, İstanbul  
 ŞERİF AYGUN (Worker) - December 30, 1969, İstanbul  
 HÜSEYİN ŞAHİN (Peasant) - December 1969, Elbistan  
 NECDET GÜÇLÜ (Reserve Officer - Physician) - April 12, 1970, Ankara  
 DURSUN YANARDAG (Kurdish peasant) - April 1970, Diyarbakir-Diğel  
 MAHMUT ÖZTAŞ (Kurdish peasant) - April 1970, Mardin-Kauser  
 YALÇIN ERGÖNÜL (Worker) - June 1970, Hatay  
 MEHMET GİDİK (Worker) - June 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 YASAR YILDIRIM (Worker) - June 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 ABDURRAHMAN BOZKURT (Worker) - June 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 MUSTAFA BAYLAN (Artisan) - June 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 ŞAHİN ÇAVUŞ (Peasant) - July 1970, Ordu  
 NECMETTİN GİRİTLİÖĞLU (Trade Union Leader) - September 9, 1970, İsmir  
 HÜSEYİN ÇAPKAN (Worker) - October 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 HASAN KIRIK (Worker) - October 16, 1970, İstanbul  
 HÜSEYİN ARSLANTAŞ (Student) - December 12, 1970, İstanbul  
 İLKER MANSUROĞLU (Student) - December 27, 1970, Ankara  
 NAIL KARAÇAM (Student) - December 25, 1970, Ankara  
 FIRUZ MAMEDİ (Iranian Student) - December 20, 1970, Ankara  
 ŞERAFETTİN ATALAY (Section Leader of TIP) - January 29, 1971, Amasya  
 ŞERAFETTİN ERSOY (Student) - January 1971, Polatlı  
 ALİ RIZA KESKİN (Peasant) - January 1971, Siverek  
 UMIT CAVDAR (Student) - January 1971, Trabzon  
 HİDİR ALTINAY (Trade Union Leader) - March 3, 1971, Ankara  
 ERDAL ŞENER (Student) - March 5, 1971, Ankara  
 ALİ HAN ULUG (Section Leader of TIP) - February 1971, Yıldızeli  
 GASİP İNAL (TIP member) - February 1971, Kirikkhan  
 MEHMET SUSUZ (Peasant) - February 1971, Kirikkhan  
 MEHMET ÇELİK (Teacher) - March 1971, Nusaybin  
 NİYAZI TEKİN (Student) - April 5, 1971, İstanbul

methods, invented and applied from the beginning of the Republic until May 27, 1960.

In the first year of the AP's power, the police forces:

- a) arrested a group of young people for "propagandizing for communism" by playing their guitars under a red lamp, in Ankara;
- b) arrested a group of jazz musicians for "propagandizing for communism" by wearing red jackets during performances in Ankara.

- c) arrested well-known writers such as Yaşar Kemal, Can Yücel and folk singer Aşık İhsani for "propagandizing for communism" in speeches given at the Şah Hatay Day;
- d) arrested the famous novelist Orhan Kemal and his friends for "propagandizing for communism" while chatting in a restaurant;
- e) arrested a secondary-school student for "propagandizing for communism" by comparing Lenin and Atatürk in his homework.

During the next five years of the AP regime, the police, the military forces and the rightist aggressors greatly increased their attacks on the left and murdered more than forty persons one after another.

As will be seen in the following list, the man hunts were carried out by the military, the police and rightist forces under different guises: "communist hunt", "student hunt", "guerilla hunt", etc.

The main targets of these hunts have always been:

- a) TIP (Turkish Labour Party) members,
- b) Progressive trade union leaders and workers, (repression among trade unionists is not dealt with in this chapter, will be explained in a later chapter)
- c) Leaders of poor peasants,
- d) Progressive teachers and TÖS (Teachers' Union of Turkey) members, (repression among teachers is not dealt with in this chapter, but will be explained in a later chapter)
- e) Progressive and socialist writers, journalists and editors, artists, folk singers, (will be explained in a later chapter)
- f) Student leaders, (From the very beginnings of AP power, the latter attempted to defend constitutional rights and freedoms and the independence of Turkey. For example, three young men who were executed, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin İnan, and others who were murdered, such as Sinan Cemgil, Cihan Alptekin, Alparslan Özdoğan, İbrahim Öztaş, first used democratic means, but as a result of increasing repression and the man hunts, they were finally forced to take up arms in 1971.)
- g) Kurdish people, (will be explained in a later chapter).

In order to understand the gravity of the man hunt carried out during the period of AP was in power, the following chronological list can be helped:

#### March 1967:

- General Cemal Tural, Chief of the General Staff, issued an order of the day to all military units and ordered that anyone propagandizing for communism be denounced.

- The Ministry of Justice prepared a bill aimed at abolishing all fundamental rights and freedoms.

- The Federation of Landowners issued a pamphlet for the purpose of inciting army officers to move against socialists.

#### April 1967:

- General Cemal Tural began sending his congratulations to the "associations to combat communism" formed by extreme rightist circles.

-Rightist groups raided the TIP's meeting in Adapazari.

-Rightist groups raided a conference in Izmir attended by two socialist writers, Çetin Altan and Refik Erduran.

June 1967:

- The Cultural Club of the Economics Department of Atatürk University in Erzurum was raided and closed by the police.

July 1967:

-The police forces raided both the Socialist Cultural Club of the Middle East Technical University (METU) and the houses of the club's members, confiscating the books and documents found there.

- In Trabzon, students distributing mimeographed press releases protesting against the pressures put on the TIP were attacked both by the police and AP militants. Engineer Mahmut Yüksel was wounded in the head during the attack.

August 1967:

- Yalkın Özerden, a driver who had placed a sticker with the word "*proletarian*" on his minibus, was attacked by militants of the "*Association to Combat Communism*". He was then indicted for "*propagandizing for communism*" on the basis of the abovementioned sticker.

October 1967:

- Students, who placed a black wreath at Izmir Port in protest of the visit of the US Sixth Fleet, were beaten by police with truncheons.

November 1967:

- Aşık İhsani, folk singer, Deniz Gezmiş and Uğur Büke, students, were arrested for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet.

December 1967:

- Rightist commandos raided the Economics Department of Istanbul University and wounded Şuayip Dilmen, the president of the Students Association.

- In Osmaniye County of Adana Province, rightist commandos raided and destroyed the TIP center.

January 1968:

- "*The Folk Singers' Festival*", organized by the Students Association of the Istanbul Economics Department, was attacked by rightist commandos; bombs were placed in the festival hall.

February 1968:

- The President of the AP's Youth Section stated that a nationwide communist hunt would soon be launched.

- A photographic exhibition in the Site Student Dormitory, organized by the students was raided and torn down by rightist commandos in Istanbul.

- In Ordu Province, a lieutenant-colonel stated, at a meeting of the Association to Combat Communism, "*don't be afraid. The army is with you. One Moslem is capable of killing ten communists*".

- In parliament, Faruk Sükan, Minister of the Interior, personally instigated representatives of the AP to attack the TIP deputies. Çetin Altan and Yunus Koçak, two TIP members of parliament were badly beaten.

- Eleven student associations organized a meeting to protest against the attack of the TIP members of parliament. Rightist commandos raided the meeting, wounding 50 persons.

March 1968:

- The first dress rehearsal of the communist man hunt, instigated by

the Chief of the General Staff and AP leaders took place in Istanbul. Known as the "*Meeting to rise up*", the crowd took an oath to repeat the Indonesian massacres in Turkey.

- The General Seemly of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry decided to fight communism in a more efficient manner.

- The Convention of the TIP's Yenimahalle Section was raided by rightist groups in Ankara. They attacked party members with stones, knives and pistols.

-- The second dress rehearsal of the communist man hunt took place in Ankara. Groups of fanatics from all over Turkey met in the capital.

- Deniz Gezmiş and seven others were arrested by the police while protesting against the speech of a State Minister at a meeting of the AISEC.

#### April 1968:

- In Istanbul, the Cultural Club of Anadoluhisari was raided by rightist groups. The Secretary of the Club was badly beaten.

#### May 1968:

- All the students associations organized a campaign called "*No to NATO*". The police arrested 106 students.

- Folk singer Aşık Fermani was attacked by rightist groups in Adana and wounded.

- Six students were condemned to six months in prison in Istanbul for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet.

- Deniz Gezmiş and two other, who were arrested for the first time in November 1967 for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet, were acquitted by the court.

- 73 peasants were arrested by the gendarmerie in Elmali (Antalya), for protesting against landowners who had occupied the community land. In addition, forty students who attempted to back of the peasants were forbidden to enter to Elmali.

#### June 1968:

- A fisherman, Sami Gezer, was taken into custody for writing "*No to NATO*" on his fishing boat in Istanbul.

#### July 1968:

- Folk singer Aşık İhsani's bookshop on Cagaloglu Square in Istanbul was raided by rightist groups and turned into a shamble.

- The Istanbul Section of the Cultural Clubs Federation was raided by the police in the dead of night.

- On the day the US Sixth Fleet arrived in Istanbul harbour, the police forces raided the student dormitory of the Istanbul Technical University in the middle of the night and beat up the sleeping students. One of the students, Vedat Demircioglu, was murdered as the police threw him out of a window on third floor of the building. 32 students, in bloodstained pyjamas and underclothes were arrested for "*attacking the police*". Later, 49 students were arrested for protesting against the murder of their comrade. In addition, the police raided the Balıkesir Students Dormitory and beat up the students with truncheons. In Ankara 16 students were arrested for protesting against the murder of the student. During their trial, a student, Atalay Sarvas died in a car accident while trying to flee from a police attack.

- Following mass student demonstrations aimed at protesting against the corrupt education system in Turkey, the public prosecutor of Istanbul ordered the police to arrest all student leaders and launched a student man-hunt.

- Deniz Gezmiş was taken into custody, kidnapped by the police during examinations at the Law Faculty of Istanbul University. This for instigating students to protest against the corrupt educational system.

#### August 1968:

- The leaders of the National Students Federation of Turkey (TMF) who contacted people living in the slums of Izmir were attacked by rightist groups on the instigation of the mayor.

- Alparslan Türkeş, the National Action Party leader, stated that more than one thousand young men were being trained as *milcahid* (fighters) to challenge the left.

- On August 30, national liberation day, students protested against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet at Izmir harbour. Rightist commandos attacked them wounding 14 students with knives, stones and sticks.

- In Sinop, two students were taken into custody for protesting against US hegemony and were beaten at police headquarters. In addition, Hayrullah Göze, chief sanitation inspector of Sinop, was beaten up by the US soldiers, he tried to prevent from insulting Turkish women.

#### September 1968:

- Following a meeting of the *Association to Combat Communism*, rightist groups raided Aşık İhsani's bookshop in Cagaloglu Square and destroyed it again.

#### October 1968:

- Harun Karadeniz, President of the Student Association of Istanbul Technical University, was taken into custody for *instigating students against the police*.

- 24 workers and students organized a march from Samsun to Ankara to protest against US hegemony over Turkey and were arrested on the very first day of the march.

#### November 1968:

- Three folk singers, Aşık Nesimi, Aşık Fermani and Aşık Çirakman, were attacked by rightist groups while singing at a meeting organized by the May 19th Cultural Club of Samsun.

- Osman Saffet Arolat, the chief editor of the weekly *Ant*, was kidnapped by police agents. A law suit was later brought against him for *"insulting the police"*.

- The police detained Hamit Yakup, the leader of Persian students in Turkey, for protesting against the death sentences inflicted upon eight Persian students by a Persian court.

- Rightist groups raided the Küçük Opera in Istanbul during a performance of the play entitled *"The Reign of Süleyman"*, presented by the Halk Oyunculari group. The aggressors wounded actors and spectators alike with metal rods and explosives.

#### December 1968:

-Robert Komer, a well-known CIA agent, arrived in Turkey as American Ambassador. Deniz Gezmiş and other comrades were arrested for protesting against Komer's arrival.

- It was officially stated that the public prosecutor of Istanbul had started legal proceedings against 462 students since June 1968, when the student man hunt began.



January 1969:

- Deniz Gezmiş was again arrested for "*instigating students to occupy university buildings*".
- The MHP commandos raided the Convention of the Higher Training School Students Association in Istanbul, the Science Faculty and Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara University.
- The public prosecutor indicted 175 students for resisting against the corrupt educational system.
- Yusuf Aslan and 23 others were arrested in Ankara for protesting against Robert Komer's arrival in the capital.
- 13 students were arrested in Ankara for protesting against Robert Komer's arrival in Izmir.
- MHP commandos set fire to the Küçük Opera in Istanbul where the play entitled *The Reign of Süleyman* has been shown.

February 1969:

- A demonstration of tobacco producers in Akhisar was attacked by rightist groups; two persons were wounded.
- 68 students were taken into custody by the police for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet in Istanbul harbour. Five were indicted.
- The police raided the headquarters of the TIP's Eskisehir Section detaining seven party members for distributing pamphlets attacking the visit of the Sixth Fleet.
- The Youth Section of the AP published a "*Black List*" including the names of Deniz Gezmiş and other student leaders and instigating rightist groups to move against them.
- Extreme rightist newspapers, such as *Bugün* and *Babialide Sabah*, incited rightist groups to move against progressive organizations and individuals, stating: "*...The Indonesian massacres must be repeated in Turkey.*"
- Progressive workers and student organizations organized a rally against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet in Istanbul. On the day the rally was to be held, rightist groups met in the mosques inciting people to attack the demonstrators. As the groups of workers and students crossed Taksim Square, rightist groups and MHP commandos, armed with pistols, rods, knives and stones opened fire on them. In collaboration with the police forces, the aggressors killed two people, Ali Turgut Aytaç and Duran Erdogan, and wounded hundreds of workers and students. Although the photographs of the murderers were published in the daily newspapers, the police and the public prosecutors took no legal action against them. On the contrary, 19 of those attacked and wounded were put on trial for "*attacking the police*".
- In Konya Ereğlisi, the people reacted sharply, demonstrating against police terror and torture. The police shot into the crowd, murdering two people.

March 1969:

- MHP commandos raided Istanbul University and clashed with progressive students. The police did nothing to prevent the commando assault, on the contrary they detained Deniz Gezmiş and his comrades for defending the university.

April 1969:

- MHP commandos raided the Law Faculty of Ankara University.
- The gendarmerie raided the Middle East TEchnical University during the night and arrested 109 students.

- The public prosecutor of Şereflikoçhisar, Rahmi Gönültaş, was murdered by three policemen in the center of the town for the previous arrest of a policeman who was charged and sentenced.

- 33 progressive students of the Higher Training School were brought into court; three of them were sentenced. In addition, the school administration banned 250 progressive students from entering the school building.

- Rightist groups raided the Başkent Theater in Ankara where the play entitled "*Prime Minister and His Servant*" was being shown. Several actors were wounded.

- Lawyer Kemal Burkay, member of the TIP's Executive Committee, was attacked by rightist groups in Erzincan where he was setting up a local section of the party.

- A poetry reading organized by the Cultural Club of Erzurum University was raided by rightist groups.

- The exhibition of painter Balaban was raided by MHP commandos in Adana and his paintings cut into shreds.

#### May 1969:

- In Istanbul, the Kadıköy II Theater was raided by MHP commandos during a performance of Aziz Nesin's play *Karagöz - Hairdresser Nonog*. Several spectators were wounded.

- The Istanbul Section of the Cultural Clubs Federation was raided by MHP commandos during the night.

- Driver Yalkın Özerden, who placed the "Proletarian" sticker on his minibus was attacked by rightist groups.

- The "*Meeting for the Defence of the Constitution*" was attacked by police forces; four students were wounded and 28 others arrested.

- Actors at the Markopaşa Cabaret Theater were attacked by rightist groups in Antalya.

- In Trabzon, the folklore festival organized by the students of Karadeniz Technical University was attacked by rightist groups; a huge number of spectators were wounded. The aggressors even attacked the ambulances transporting the wounded to the hospital.

#### June 1969:

- The Anadoluhisari Cultural Club was raided by the MHP commandos during the night in Istanbul.

- The police forces intensified the student man hunt arresting more than 100 students. Three students, Celal Doğan, Mehdi Beşpınar and Sitki Coşkun were badly beaten at Riot Police Headquarters in Istanbul.

- In Kastamonu, the local TIP center was raided by rightist groups.

- In Izmir, MHP commandos raided the Higher Technical Training School, wounding 20 students.

- The National Action Party (MHP) stated that it would set up training camps for commandos in 34 provinces.

#### July 1969:

- Celal Kargılı and 14 other students were condemned to 6 to 9 months in prison in Ankara for protesting against the visits of the US Sixth Fleet.

- The Şarkışla Section of the TIP was raided by rightist groups during the night; party documents were torn into shreds.

- In Kayseri, rightist groups, on the instigation of AP members of parliament, raided the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) Headquarters, the Teachers' Union of Turkey (TOS) Convention and various bookshops. Attempts were made to lynch anyone known to have socialist or progressive leanings.

- The police forces detained TIP members distributing newspapers and pamphlets to workers and peasants. Two members, Haluk Sarikaya and Abdullah Mutlu, were badly beaten at police headquarters.

- Ergin Kolbek, a mime, was forced to leave Bilecik when the authorities banned his performances. Back in Istanbul, he committed suicide by throwing himself from the top floor of the Fine Arts Academy.

- In Bogazlayan, the Ankara Bulvar Theater was raided by rightist groups during a performance of *The King's Clown*. The attackers wounded a number of spectators and actors and later raided the homes of progressive intellectuals and teachers.

#### August 1969:

- Members of the Antalya Cultural Clubs were attacked by rightist groups while setting a wreath on Atatürk's Monument for Vedat Demircioğlu, a student murdered by police.

- The police forces raided a meeting organized to protest against government policy with respect to democratic forces.

- Three organizers of the TIP, Attila Aşut, Nurettin Yılmaz and Mürsel Onsal, were attacked by rightist groups.

- In Gaziantep, MHP commandos attacked local leaders of the TIP, wounding three of them. The police detained the TIP members but not the attackers.

- In Ceyhan, MHP commandos raided the Association of Socialists and beat up the members.

- In Elazığ, spectators at the play *Pir Sultan Abdal* presented by the Halk Oyuncuları (People's Players) were attacked by rightist groups with stones and sticks.

- In Tunceli, the showing of the same play was banned by the governor. The people protested against the decision and held a demonstration. The police fired into the crowd and the Police Chief personally killed a peasant, Mehmet Dogan Kilan. The police later arrested 80 persons, including the actors and actresses and brutally beat them.

- Deniz Gezmiş was expelled from Istanbul University for speaking out against US hegemony on national liberation day.

#### September 1969:

- Mehmet Cantekin, student in the Forestry Department of Istanbul University, was shot to death by MHP commandos in Istanbul.

- Mustafa Taylan Özgür, student at the METU, was shot to death by police officers in Istanbul.

- Deniz Gezmiş was arrested at Istanbul University while discussing the decision to expel him from the university with the rector.

- Turhan Kaya, a TIP candidate, and Celal Bahtiyar, a TIP member, were attacked by MHP commandos while campaigning for the party.

#### October 1969:

- In Tarsus, the Halkevi (a cultural center) was raided by the police and the center's documents were seized.

- A meeting of the TIP was raided by AP militants in Tosya. The police detained the TIP members but not the AP members.

- Yusuf Aslan and seven of his comrades were expelled from the METU for "inciting students".

- Sinan Cemgil was arrested in Aydın for protesting against Robert Komer, the US Ambassador.

- In Çarşamba, the TIP headquarters was blown up by rightist groups.

November 1969:

- While Deniz Gezmiş was on trial, MHP commandos and AP militants raided the Justice Palace in Istanbul. Later, they raided the Istanbul Section of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç).

- The police arrested two Dev-Genç leaders, Cihan Alptekin in Istanbul and Yusuf Küpeli in Ankara.

- Deniz Gezmiş was released by the court and was then immediately arrested again on the pretext of that he was avoiding military service.

December 1969:

- Mehmet Büyüksevinç, student at the State Engineering and Architecture Academy of Istanbul, was murdered by rightist commandos. During their raid, the attackers also wounded two students.

- The police forces raided the Dev-Genç Center in Ankara and arrested its general secretary Ruhi Koç.

- Battal Mehmedoğlu, student at the State Engineering and Architecture Academy of Istanbul, was murdered by rightist commandos.

- In Izmir, 400 students were taken into custody by the police for protesting against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet to Turkish ports.

- Deniz Gezmiş was released from prison but quickly arrested again, together with Cihan Alptekin, charged with carrying arms.

- Şerif Aygün, a worker at the Camak Factory, was shot to death by the police. Many workers were also wounded by the police when they protested against the firing of their comrades.

January 1970:

- Mustafa Karşilayan, student of the Chemistry Faculty of Istanbul University is expelled from the university under the pretext of inciting the students.

- Five naval lieutenants, Sarp Kuray, Ahmet Çoker, Dogan Ünsalan, Okan Esmen and Emin Babakuş are dismissed the Navy because of protesting the murdering progressive youth leaders. Later seven naval cadets also are dismissed.

- In Zonguldak the members of TIP are attacked by the rightist groups while they are distributing newspapers and pamphlets to workers. Instead of the aggressors, Mehmet Bilici and Adnan Celayir are arrested by the police and badly beaten.

- 70 students are dismissed from the Çapa Higher Training School in Istanbul, because of being affiliated to the Dev-Genç.

- 50 students are taken into custody because of protesting against the repressive measures.

February 1970:

- A group of university students was attacked by rightist commandos while distributing pamphlets denouncing US hegemony in Sivas.

- Yusuf Aslan, Hüseyin Inan, Alparslan Özdoğan, Kadir Manga, Attila Keskin, Teoman Ermete, Ercan Enç, Mifit Özdeş, Tuncer Sümer, Hamit Yakup, Ali Tenk and Bahtiyar Emanet were arrested in Diyarbakir for having gone to Palestine for training in Al Fatah Camps.

March 1970:

- 34 students were expelled from the Higher Training Institute of Bursa for boycotting classes as a protest against repressive measures.

- 7 members of Dev-Genç were arrested on the Black Sea coast while distributing pamphlets on the democratic rights of peasants.

- Trade union leader Necmettin Giritlioglu and six students were ar-

rested and badly beaten in Zonguldak for protesting against an exhibition in favor of the Thieu regime of South Vietnam.

- Nine students were taken into custody for putting up anti-american posters on the walls of the USIS.

- Four members of the Workers Union of Istanbul District (IBIB) were arrested for putting up posters in memory of two workers, Mehmet Çavdar and Satilmiş Tepe, who were murdered by the military forces in 1965.

- More than 500 rightist commandos raided the Ankara Higher Training School wounding two students.

- Rightist commandos raided the Çapa Higher Training School and attempted to rape female students in the dormitory.

- The riot police raided the dormitory of the Istanbul Technical University and detained 36 students, including Ibrahim Öztaş.

- Attila Sarp, the President of Dev-Genç, was arrested by the peace court of Ankara for "inciting the army to rise up against the government".

- In Erzurum, a rally organized by university students for the purpose of protesting against US hegemony over Turkey was attacked by rightist commandos. Six students were wounded. Rightist commandos later raided trade union centers and student dormitories. The police took not the aggressors into custody but twelve wounded students.

- Kemal Bisalman, a columnist for the daily newspaper *Milliyet*, was beaten up by rightist commandos.

- Rightist commandos raided an exhibition organized by students at the Balıkesir Necati Training Institute.

April 1970:

- 23 members of the TIP were arrested for distributing leaflets to coal-miners in Zonguldak.

- In Bozkir (Konya province), Mehmet Yilanci, a peasant, and two students were beaten up by rightist groups while distributing leaflets for a meeting against hunger and unemployment.

- Ayhan Soysal, president of the TIP Kars Section, was taken into custody by police in Iğdir while organizing the local convention of the party and tortured all night long.

- Rightist commandos raided Istanbul University and destroyed the office of the rector. They also wounded four students. The police did not take the attackers into custody, but but 41 students who tried to prevent the raid.

- In Ankara, 39 organizations issued a joint communique for the purpose of protesting against repression. The public prosecutor then introduced legal action against these organization to have them banned.

Prime Minister Nihat Erim states that the number of students who had died during the clashes before March 12th is 22. (*Cumhuriyet*, December 22, 1971)

The Ministry of Interior informs the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters, that the number of students who had died during the clashes before March 12th is 27. (*Cumhuriyet*, March 3, 1972)

The Minister of Interior Ferit Kubat states at parliament that the number of students who had died during the clashes before March 12th is 23. (*Cumhuriyet*, April 10, 1972)

- In collaboration with the Demirel Government, the leadership of the Turkish Community in Cyprus began taking repressive measures against Cypriots in Turkey. Scholarships of progressive students were withdrawn. Later, 8 Cypriots were taken into custody and Fuat Fegan was expelled from Turkey for protesting against this decision.

- Rightist commandos stopped the performance of the Ulvi Uraz Theater in Elazığ.

- The military authorities launched a terror campaign against the Kurdish people in the south eastern part of Turkey. Troops raided the villages inhabited by Kurds, arrested thousands of people and tortured them.

- Dr. Necdet Güçlü, a reserve officer, was shot to death by MHP commandos at Hacettepe University in Ankara. During the raid, some students were also wounded.

#### May 1970:

- In Kadirli (Adana province), a young person who refused to give a bribe to the police, was detained and murdered during torture. The people rallied to protest against this torture and murder. A colonel, commander of the gendarmerie, fired into the crowd and murdered another young person.

- In Ilgın (Konya Province), a peasant was shot to death by the gendarmerie during a peasant protest demonstration against landowners who had occupied the community lands.

- Police bribery has reached an all-time high. The people of Söke (Aydın Province) held a rally to protest against the system of bribery and even attempted to lynch the corrupt policemen.

- The Military Court of the Land Forces Headquarters decided that civilians can also be arrested on warrant from the military courts. More than 1500 policemen and gendarmes then raided the dormitory of the Political Science Department of Ankara during the night and arrested 86 students.

- Rightist commandos raided the Agriculture Department of Ankara University, wounding a student with gunshot and holding two students captive. These students were then tortured by the commandos for days on end.

- Rightist commandos also raided the Faculty of Letters, the Science Faculty and the Law Faculty of Ankara University wounding one student and a gate keeper with gunshot.

- Rightist commandos also raided the Black Sea Technical University in Trabzon and Atatürk University in Erzurum.

#### June 1970:

- Rightist commandos raided the headquarters of the TIP and the Turkish Teachers' Union in Yozgat and wounded several of their members.

- Yalçın Ergönül, member of the TIP, was murdered by rightist groups in Hatay. They raided his home and put him to death by hanging. They left a letter saying that all socialists will be punished in the same way.

- Following the change in the Trade Unions Act, more than one hundred thousand workers rallied to protest against the new amendments. The government sent in the troops to attack the workers. Four workers, Abdurrahman Bozkurt, Yaşar Yıldırım, Mehmet Gidik, Mustafa Baylan, were shot to death by the military forces. Martial law was then proclaimed and hundreds of trade union leaders and workers were arrested and tortured at the military and police headquarters.

#### July 1970:

- The Headquarters of the Progressive Trade Unions Federation (DISK) was raided and four lawyers who were preparing the defence of the arrested workers were taken into custody by the military.

- Akin Erdemgür, a bookseller, and two of his friends were taken into custody for having placed Lenin's photograph in the shop-window. They were brutally beaten at the police.

- Rightist commandos raided the Ankara Section of the DISK and the vacation camp of the progressive Metal Workers Union (Maden-İş) in Gönen.

- In Ordu province, a peasant rally, organized to support the democratic rights of nut producers, was attacked by police forces and the gendarmerie. Şahin Çavuş, an 80 year old peasant, was shot to death by a factory owner. The police detained 106 peasants and brutally beaten them at police headquarters.

#### August 1970:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul has also extended its repressive measures to students. The student associations of the Istanbul Technical University and the State Engineering and Architecture Faculty were raided and 40 students were taken into custody. Later, the State Engineering and Architecture Faculty was handed over to the rightist commandos and turned into the headquarters of the fascist forces.

- The local sections of the TÖS were bombed by rightist commandos. The Eyüp Section of TIP was raided by the same groups.

- Erdoğan Kiliç, President of the Kadirli Cultural Club, was beaten up by MHP commandos. In Burdur, bookseller Süleyman Özdemir was threatened by them for selling leftist publications.

- MHP commandos raided the Faculty of Letters and the Law Faculty of Ankara University.

- The Council of Ministers took the decision to expell all Persian and Palestinian students from Turkey. Although the Council of State canceled the decision, Kurban Şirmohammedi, a Persian student was handed over to the Sarvak (Persian Intelligence Agency).

#### September 1970:

- After five months, martial law was terminated. 203 defendants whose trials had not been wound up in the military courts of martial law, were transferred to the civil courts.

- In order to continue repressive measures in Istanbul following the end of martial law, a military commando unit was dispatched to Istanbul and the riot police was reinforced.

- Metin Bilgen, president of the TIP Istanbul Section, and five of his comrades were taken into custody on charges of "*inciting the people to rise up against the government*" while distributing leaflets.

- Gökalp Eren, President of the Istanbul Technical University Students Association, and seven others were taken into custody by 30 policemen.

- Adem Ercan, a student in the Economics Department of Istanbul University, revealed that he had been tortured at MIT headquarters for four days running.

- In Gülşehir (Nevşehir province) seven students who had come to attend the raisin producers' rally were attacked by rightist commandos. The aggressors also raided the hospital in which the wounded students were being treated and the home of the public prosecutor who ordered that the students be saved.

- The workers at the Aliaga Refinery organized a rally to protest against the fact that the contractor had not given them their pay. The military commando troops were sent in to fire on the workers. Necmettin Giritlioglu, the president of the Construction Workers Union, was shot to death by a henchman of the contractor.

- On a decision of the Council of Ministers, five other Persian students were handed to the Savak.

- Deniz Gezmiş and Cihan Alptekin were released from prison on a decision of the judge who was convinced of their innocence. But as soon as they were released, the police arrested Deniz Gezmiş again for avoiding military service.

#### October 1970:

- The workers of Gislaved occupied their factory when the employer refused to accept collective bargaining with their trade union. Military commando troops and the police forces attacked the workers killing Hüseyin Çapkan and Hasan Kirik.

- Dr. Tarik Ziya Ekinçi, the former secretary-general of the TIP, Canip Yıldırım, a member of the TIP Executive Committee, writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, writer Musa Anter and the leaders of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO) were arrested on charges of *separatist activities*.

#### November 1970:

- The police forces raided the headquarters of the Progressive Workers Union of Istanbul and took 30 workers and students into custody. They were all tortured in the security police offices.

- The Liberal Arts Faculty of Istanbul University was raided by MHP commandos and the police forces. Two students were wounded, several progressive students taken into custody and tortured in the security police offices.

- The police forces raided the Forestry Department of Istanbul University and took seven students into custody. The students were brutally beaten in the local police station.

- In Balıkesir, the police forces raided the headquarters of Dev-Genç, TOS and the Necati Higher Training Institute; hundreds of books were confiscated.

- The police raided the houses of Cypriot students and beaten them at police headquarters.

- Twenty students who are putting up posters of a weekly socialist newspaper were arrested and brutally beaten at police headquarters.

- Another Persian student, Mahmut Iskenderi, was handed over to the Savak.

- Some warships of the US Sixth Fleet visited Izmir Port again. They did not, however, dare to come to Istanbul Port because of the strong reaction of workers and students. The US State Department has stated that the Sixth Fleet will, however, visit Istanbul again.

#### December 1970:

- MHP commandos raided the Çapa Higher Training School and shot Hüseyin Arslantaş, a student, to death. When his body being transported to his place of birth, Sivas, the police stopped the car and beat up the driver. In Ankara, students rallied in order to protest against the murder. The police forces attacked them, detaining 55 persons.

- Rightist commandos raided several faculties of Ankara University wounding three students. They also held three students captive and tortured them by breaking their fingers and slashing at them with razor blades.

- Four police agents opened fire on students at Hacettepe University in Ankara who identified them. Two students and one employee were wounded by the bullets of the police agents.



- The police forces raided the Edirnekapi Student Dormitory, Bitlis Student Dormitory and the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia in Istanbul, the Vakıflar Student Dormitory in Siirt and the Halkevi in Burdur. They confiscated all documents and books.

- Given the fact that every student is tortured at police headquarters, Çagatay Mutlu, an agent of the Criminal Police, resigned stating: "*Without exception, every suspect is subjected to falanga and beaten until his soles are blistered.*"

- Firuz Mamadi, a Persian student of Agriculture at Ankara University was shot to death by Savak agents in Ankara.

- On a decision of the Council of Ministers, the leaders of the Cypriot students, Taner Galip, Fadil Hasan, Kuydul Turan, Harper Vehbi, Dr. Saydam Ahmet and Dr. Turhan Korun were expelled from Turkey.

#### January 1971:

- In Polatli (Ankara Province), Şerafettin Ersoy, student who appealed to the Council of State and obtained a decision to compel the big landowners to give expropriated lands back to poor peasants, was shot to death by the henchmen of the big landowners.

- Şerafettin Atalay, President of TIP Amasya Section, was kidnapped by rightist commandos, taken from his house and shot to death.

- In Siverek (Diyarbakir province), Ali Riza Keskin, a peasant who defended the rights of poor peasants, was shot to death by a henchmen of the big landowners.

- Rightist commandos raided the Science Faculty of Ankara University and shot and killed two students, Ilker Mansuroglu and Nail Karaçam.

- Rightist commandos raided the Literal Arts Faculty, the Tokat Student Dormitory, and Edirnekapi Student Dormitory in Istanbul, set off bombs and tortured the progressive students taken captive.

- Rightist commandos attacked students in Trabzon and Elazig. They also shot and killed a secondary school student, Umit Çavdar, in Trabzon.

- The police forces detained 11 students in Adana, 7 high school students in Artvin and wounded three students in Ankara. They also detained Ertugrul Kürkçü, President of the Dev-Genç.

#### February 1971:

- More than 3,000 policemen raided the dormitory of the Political Science Faculty of Ankara University. In collaboration with MHP commandos, the police attacked the students and attempt to rape the young women. 220 students were taken into custody and tortured while being driven in police cars and at police headquarters.

- Rightist commandos raided the TIP Turhal Section and badly beat up President Yusuf Güler and his brother. The police detained not the aggressors, but those attacked.

- Considering the repression, murders, attacks and violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan, Sinan Cemgil, Hüseyin Inan, Alparslan Özdoğan, Kadir Manga and other comrades formed the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey and kidnapped an American soldier as a warning to the ruling circles of the country. They quickly released him without causing him any harm.

- On the pretext of protecting US subjects, a huge number of CIA and FBI agents have been sent to Turkey. In addition, General Nassiri, head of Savak has come to Turkey to negotiate on joint security problems with General Fuat Dogu, the head of the Turkish National Intelligence Agency (MIT).

- General Memduh Tagmaç, Chief of the General Staff, stated that the

armed forces are growing impatient because of "the assaults of traitors". In addition, the Enlarged Command Council held a meeting at which the high-ranking commanders demanded that extraordinary measures be taken against the Left. Not a word about attacks by the Right.

- The security forces launched a nationwide man hunt for Deniz Gezmiş. They detained seven persons in different provinces for one month in place of Deniz Gezmiş. Even a police chief was unable to bear this type of brutal man hunt and resigned in protest in Samsun.

- The police forces detained 22 students in Samsun, five students in Bursa, four students in Çorum, 65 students in Artvin, and raided the Science Faculty, the Technical University Student Association, the Tokat Student Dormitory, the Bitlis Student Dormitory in Istanbul.

- Four high-school students were taken into custody by the police in Yozgat for "propagandizing for communism" and were exposed in the streets of the city.

- The Istanbul Police Headquarters stated that special man hunt teams had been formed and had seized 242 students.

- Kayhan Edip Sakarya, a student leader, went on trial for carrying a weapon. His lawyer stated that he was forced to carry it in order to protect his life and demanded the release of his client. The judge rejected the plea stating that: "Prison is the safest place for a person if his life is in danger."

- In Izmir, students protested against the visit of the US Sixth Fleet. The police detained 45.

#### March 1971:

- Since the authorities paid no attention to their first warning and insisted on not putting the constitution into practice, the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) kidnapped four American soldiers and issued a call to the people of Turkey to resist repression, corruption, exploitation and US hegemony. Once the attention of the people was drawn to this appeal, the THKO released its hostages causing them no harm.

- Using as a pretext the need to know the hiding places of THKO members, thousands of troops raided the METU in Ankara. Student Erdal Şener was shot to death by the troops and hundreds of students were wounded. At the end of the operation, 1,900 university students were taken into custody. 14 public prosecutors opened legal proceedings against them and 86 students were sentenced by the court.

- On March 12, 1971, four high-ranking commanders, military members of the National Security Council, issued a harsh ultimatum to the President of Republic, forced the government to resign and the parliament to form a new cabinet willing to apply extraordinary repressive measures.

- Hidir Altınay, trade union leader, was taken into custody by the police in Ankara and tortured for hours, after which he was thrown from the upper storey of Police Headquarters by police officers and died.

- Ali Eran Ulug, President of the TIP Yıldızeli Section, was shot to death by rightist commandos. Also in Amasya, the same groups attacked six members of the Dev-Genç and beat them up.

- In Kirikhan (Hatay Province), rightist groups spread rumours that the leftists had placed a bomb in a mosque and incited the crowds to raid TIP and TOS headquarters and the homes of Kurds and Shiites as well as the daily *Dağyeli* building. Gasip Inal, member of the TIP, and Mehmet Susuz, a peasant, were murdered by the attackers.

- In Inegöl (Bursa Province), rightist groups incited the religious crowds on the same pretext. The TIP and TOS headquarters, bookshops and the homes of progressive citizens were raided.



\*\*\*\*\*VICTIMS OF THE SLEDGE HAMMER OPERATION\*\*\*\*\*

- ADIL KARTAL (teacher) - May 4, 1971 - Bursa
- IBRAHIM ÜZTAŞ (student) - May 22, 1971 - Izmir
- SINAN CEHGİL (student) - May 31, 1971 - Elbistan
- ALPARSLAN ÜZDOĞAN (student) - May 31, 1971 - Elbistan
- KADIR MANGA (student) - May 31, 1971 - Elbistan
- HÜSEYİN CEVAHİR (student) - June 1, 1971 - Istanbul
- DERYA MAVİLİ (unemployed) - June 3, 1971 - Istanbul
- MAİMUT AYDEMİR (unemployed) - August 7, 1971 - Adana
- HİKMET KIVILCIMLI (physician and socialist writer) - October 16, 1971  
Belgrad
  
- IBRAHİM BAĞIŞ (state employee) - October 18, 1971 - Urfa
- ALİ AKHAN (peasant) - October 30, 1971 - Mardin
- AHMET AVŞAR (peasant) - October 30, 1971 - Mardin
- KADIR PEKER (worker) - December 11, 1971 - Istanbul
- ULAŞ BARDAKÇI (student) - February 19, 1972 - Istanbul
- KORAY DOĞAN (student) - March 9, 1972 - Ankara
- MAHİR ÇAYAN (student) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- CIHAN ALPTEKİN (student) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- HÜDAİ ARIKAN (student) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- SINAN KAZIM ÖZÜDOĞRU (student) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- AHMET ATASOY - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- SAFFET ALP (Air Force Lieutenant) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- ERTAN SARUHAN - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- SELAHATTİN KUNT - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- NIHAT YILMAZ - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- ÖMER AYNA (student) - March 30, 1972 - Kizildere
- AHMET NİYAZI YILDIZHAN - May 4, 1972 - Ankara
- DENİZ GEZMİŞ (student) - May 6, 1972 - Ankara
- YUSUF ASLAN (student) - May 6, 1972 - Ankara
- HÜSEYİN İNAN (student) - May 6, 1972 - Ankara
- VEDAT GEVREK (student) - June 28, 1972 - Ankara

A few days later the Sledge-Hammer Operation or Man Hunt was launched and the Prime Minister of the military regime informed foreign journalists on May 1, 1971, that *"the number of persons creating anarchy is not more than two hundred. So as to put them under control, martial law has been proclaimed."*

Confirmation was thus given of the official communique issued by the Istanbul Police Headquarters stating that special man hunt squads had been formed for a list of 242 suspects.

Nevertheless, an examination of the eleven districts affected by martial law reveals also the following facts:

- a) Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adapazari, Zonguldak, Eskisehir, Izmir and Adana are the most industrialized regions of Turkey and form the Progressive Trade Union Confederation's (DISK) strongest bases.
- b) As for the districts of Hatay, Diyarbakir and Siirt, they represent the largest concentration of Kurds.

These facts were proof that the *Sledge-Hammer Operation* would go well beyond the tracking down of 200 or 242 "suspects". In fact, anew Act of

# İbrahim Öztaş İzmir'de baskın sonunda öldürüldü

Ziraat Bankası Unkapanı şubesini soymaktan şüphelenen İbrahim Öztaş, İzmir'de saklandığı eve polislerin yaptığı baskın sırasında kendisini silahla korumaya kalkmış, kaskatlarından ve bağından yedği kurşunlarla ölmüştür. Cesedini ilk görenler kendisini ağabeyi Nedim Öztaş'a benzetmişlerse de durum ertelenmemiş, 22 Mayıs günü İzmir'de Asansör Semtinde bir evde İbrahim'in üzerine sıkıştırılan İbrahim Öztaş'ın üzerinde öldürülükten sonra beş adet otopatik tabanca bulunmuştu.



İbrahim Öztaş'ın arandığı fotoğrafı



MAN HUNT: The police is authorized to shoot at every suspect. On May 23, 1971, İzmir Martial Law Headquarters announced that a police squad had raided Nedim Öztaş' house and shot him to death at a clash. But two days later, when Nedim Öztaş (below) surrendered, it was revealed that his brother İbrahim Öztaş had been shot instead of him, by mistake. The clipping at the top explains the mistake, carrying a photograph of İbrahim Öztaş.

**MAN HUNT:** The most spectacular man hunt was organized in Istanbul under the name of "Sibel Operation". All military and police forces were mobilized under the pretext of saving the life of a girl who had been taken hostage by two members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey. Although they had promised to release the girl if the authorities let them leave the country, the military regime refused to negotiate and after public opinion had been manipulated against the two PLFT members, Hüseyin Cevahir was murdered and Mahir Çayan was wounded by snipers on June 1, 1971. Here are the photographs of Hüseyin Cevahir, before and after the murder. In the background General Faik Türün directing the "Sibel Operation".



Martial Law was enacted on May 15, 1971, authorizing the Martial Law commanders:

1. To detain any individual for 30 days without a court warrant, whereas the 1961 Constitution limited the period of detention to 24 hours,
2. To bring not only "crimes" committed after the proclamation of martial law, but also the "crimes" committed three or four years earlier, before the military courts of martial law,
3. To apprehend and transfer to a martial law district, any "suspect" whatever the place his "political crime" was supposedly committed,
4. To use not only military forces, but also police forces and the gendarmerie in the man hunt.

This extraordinary law was enacted on May 15, 1971; however, from the very time martial law was instituted, the martial law commanders began using these prerogatives to the maximum.

On the first day the martial law was proclaimed, the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters arrested two well-known columnists, Çetin Altan and İlhan Selçuk, to get the man hunt under way, and the same day the six martial law commanders held a secret meeting with the heads of the security forces to formulate their plans for the "Sledge-Hammer Operation" or man hunt.

On the following day, the state radio stations began broadcasting the list of "suspects" wanted by the martial law headquarters. It was nonetheless clear that the number of people being hunted was much higher the figure mentioned by the Prime Minister.

On May 3, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul stated that the security forces had been ordered to shoot on sight "suspects" who did not surrender to the authorities.

In the very first week ending on May 5, 1971, the martial law headquarters had already gone far beyond the target mentioned by the Prime Minister arresting more than 500 "suspects". And on May 5th, Prime Minister Nihat Erim stated that the government had established a fund at the Central Bank (Merkez Bankası) called "The Fund to Fight the Anarchists", thereby encouraging informers. In addition, the martial law headquarters even forced the parents of "suspects" to reveal their addresses and to cooperate with the police authorities. Doormen were also made responsible for providing information on every resident in their buildings to the authorities.

During the following two days, the martial law headquarters arrested more than 359 socialists and liberals. And while the state radio stations were announcing the names of other leftists or liberals who were wanted, the National Action Party (MHP) was holding its annual convention in the capital and the same state radio stations were broadcasting the speech of Alparslan Türkeş, the party's *başbuğ* (führer) attacking the left and instigating the citizens against the democratic forces.

The following chronological list reveals the progress of the man hunt during the 15 month period of the martial law:

May 10, 1971:

- In addition to 859 "suspects" taken into custody in 14 days, the martial law authorities detained 27 "suspects" and announced the names of 10 persons, including Dr. Hikmet Kivilcimli, an old socialist leader and chief editor of the weekly magazine *Sosyalist* (socialist), as wanted.

May 11, 1971:

- The military authorities detained 29 suspects.

May 12, 1971:

- The military authorities detained 312 "suspects" and broadcast the names of 21 persons, including assistant professor Çetin Özek, writer Şadi Alkiliç, writer-editor Dogan Özgüden, public prosecutor Şiar Yalçın, former secretary-general of the TIP Nihat Sargin and secretary-general of the clandestine Turkish Communist Party, Zeki Baştınar, as wanted.

May 13, 1971:

- 17 "suspects" including folk singer Aşık Fermani (in Balıkesir), university assistant Gülseren Akdören (in Istanbul) and lawyer Mehmet Can (Diyarbakir-Lice) were detained.

May 15, 1971:

- The military authorities announced the detention of four people in Adana, 13 in Istanbul and 6 in Sakarya.

May 18, 1971:

- When the number of detainees had passed the thousand mark, the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey (THKC) kidnapped the General Consul of Israel with a view to saving the lives of the victims of the military regime. But the military-backed government, instead of seeking a reasonable solution, refused to negotiate with the THKC fighters and even Deputy Premier Sadi Koças, ignoring the most basic principles of law, threatened the kidnappers, with the enactment of the retrospective law, with execution whether the hostage was killed or not.

May 19, 1971:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul published a wanted list 67 names of well-known personalities including the TIP leaders Sait Çıltas, Şaban Erik, Naci Kutlay and Kemal Burkey; writers Mihri Belli, Muzaffer Erdost, Dogu Perinçek, Dogan Avcioğlu, Yaşar Kemal, Semim Kocagöz and İlhami Soysal; university professors Muammer Aksoy, Bahri Savcı, Tarik Zafer Tunaya, İsmet Sungurbey and Mümtaz Soysal; trade union leaders Kemal Türkler, Kemal Sülker and Şinasi Kaya. On the same day, the man hunt spread throughout Turkey and 509 persons including journalists, lawyers, teachers, were detained as *suspects*.

May 20, 1971:

- 438 persons, including Prof. Cahit Talas, were taken into custody by the military authorities.

May 21, 1971:

- Throughout the country, 568 persons including university professors Uğur Alacakaptan, Bülent Nuri Esen, Rauf Nasuhoglu, Burhan Cahit Unal, Nihat Şişli and Oguz Aksu; and lawyers Niyazi Ağırnaslı and Halit Çelenk, were taken into custody.

May 22, 1971:

- 34 "suspects" were taken into custody in several provinces.

- The police forces raided the home of student Nedim Öztaş, wanted by the Istanbul MLH in Izmir. They shot and killed a young man asleep in his bed: But the MLH of Izmir was to state that Nedim Öztaş was killed in a clash with the police.



May 23, 1971:

- Nedim Öztaş surrendered to the gendarmerie in Izmir and it is understood that the police shot and killed his brother, Ibrahim Öztaş, on the previous day. This was the first murder committed by the security forces following the proclamation of martial law.

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul imposed a curfew in Istanbul district from 3 a.m., to 6 p.m. 30,000 army officers, troops and policemen raided homes, offices, and places of work. Leftists and liberals -people who were simply in possession of leftist publications- were apprehended. Hundreds of "suspects", including world famous Turkish caricaturist, Turhan Selçuk, and the well-known movie star Yılmaz Güney were detained at police and military headquarters. Many of these people were beaten or brutally tortured. However, at the end of the man hunt operation, the Martial Law Headquarters announced that only eleven persons had been detained. During the raids, the security forces also found the body of the General Consul.

May 25, 1971:

- 27 "suspects", including two police chiefs, Muzaffer Yılmaz and Ra-fet Kaplangı, were detained.

- In spite of these arrests of thousands of "suspects", Parliament extended martial law for two months.

May 26, 1971:

- The military authorities posted the photographs of the "suspects" in the streets and had their photographs projected on the screens of the movie houses.

- Four people, including the world famous Turkish poet Fazıl Hüsni Dıglarca were detained.

May 27, 1971:

- 56 "suspects", including Behice Boran, the President of the Turkish Labour Party, and other TIP leaders were detained in several provinces.

May 28, 1971:

- 110 "suspects" were taken into custody in several provinces.

- The martial law authorities ordered the state radio stations to refer to the informers as "*the honorable informer citizens...*" Thereby encouraging the creation of a network. The Fund to Fight Anarchists began distributing awards to informers and police agents.

May 29, 1971:

- The Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry contributed 100,000 Lİ to the Fund to Fight Anarchists.

May 30, 1971:

- 21 persons were detained in several provinces.

- Mahir Çayan and Hüseyin Cevahir, two members of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey, were surrounded in the Maltepe quarter of Istanbul. Taking a young woman as a hostage, they stated that they would free her on the conditions that safe passage out of the country be guaranteed for them. The Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, however, mobilized military and police forces surrounding the house and including public opinion against the two men by declaring that they had premeditated to kill the girl.

May 31, 1971:

- The military forces murdered three members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey (THKO) in Elbistan. Since the man hunt had spread throughout Turkey, members of the THKO had to withdraw to the Nurhak Mountains. Five young men, fishing in a lake near Inekli Köy, were denounced and surrounded by the military forces. Although they were defenceless and gave themselves up, the commander of the military unit opened fire on them with a machine-gun and murdered Sinan Cemgil, Kadir Manga and Alparslan Özdoğan. Mustafa Yalçınar, wounded, was apprehended.

- Two other members of the THKO, Cihan Alptekin and Tayfun Cinemre were apprehended in Tekirdağ. On orders, a general, police agents and officers beat them up badly and incited rightist groups to lynch them.

- Seven persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

June 1, 1971:

- At the end of the Maltepe Operation, army officers and policemen raided the home of and murdered Hüseyin Cevahir, and wounded Mahir Çayan.

- 36 persons, including the well-known film director Metin Erksan and Prof. Mustafa Kapancıoğlu, were detained.

June 3, 1971:

- Derya Mavili, unemployed, was shot to death by the police in Istanbul because he was not able to identify himself.

June 8, 1971:

- During a seven-day period, 316 persons were taken into custody in several provinces. Deputy Premier Sadı Koçuş stated: *"Up to this day, no one has been detained because of his opinions."*

June 14, 1971:

- During this six-day period, 85 persons, including assistant professor Mehmet Selik and editor Masis Kürkçügil, were detained.

June 21, 1971:

- During this seven-day period, 32 persons, including İrfan Solmaz, member of the National Unity Committee of the May 27th Movement, and assistant professor Üzer Ozankaya, were detained.

June 30, 1971:

- During this ten-day period, 166 persons including journalists Altan Öymen, Ali Sirmen, Tanju Cilizoglu; publisher Süleyman Ege; editor Osman Safet Arolat; university lecturers Mete Tuncay and İsmail Beşikçi were detained or arrested.

July 2, 1971:

- Mr. Helms, Chief of the CIA, visited Turkey and held briefings with Turkish secret security services.

July 31, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 138 persons, including Prof. İdris Küçükömer, novelist Dursun Akçam, lecturer Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, pianist Magdi Rufer, translator Matilda Gökçeli, writer Tahsin Saraç, Prof. Muammer Aksoy, were detained. On July 23, martial law was extended on the pretext that *"200 guerillas are being trained at Palestine for the purpose of starting a civil war in Turkey."*

August 15, 1971:

- Following the crackdown on the forces of the left for the first time since February 1969, the warships of the US Sixth Fleet visited Istanbul harbour.

August 20, 1971:

- While thousands of people were being arrested for supporting the armed guerillas, the daily *Hürriyet* published a photograph of armed rightist groups pursuing leftists as an encouragement to the trackers.

August 31, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 216 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

- At the trial of the Young Naval Officers it was revealed that a MIT agent, Mahir Kaynak, had infiltrated Istanbul University posing as an assistant and had, over a four-year period, worked among students and intellectuals as a provocateur.

September 23, 1971:

- Martial law was extended for another two months by Parliament on the pretext that it was necessary to isolate another guerilla group called the *Black Tulip*. After having extended martial law, however, nothing was ever heard again of the existence of such a group.

September 30, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 70 persons, including Senator Cemal Madanoglu, were taken into custody or arrested.

October 3, 1971:

- 18 persons were apprehended for publishing a clandestine newspaper entitled *Şafak* which denounced the military regime in Ankara.

October 16, 1971:

- Dr. Hikmet Kivilcimli, the socialist leader wanted by the military authorities since the beginning of martial law, died of cancer in Belgrade. He was 70 years old at the time of his death and had spent seventeen years in jail under the CHP and AP regimes. Since he was wanted by the military regime and had a death sentence hanging over his head, was forced to flee the country in May 1971.

October 17, 1971:

- In Urfa, Ibrahim Bağış, a state employee, was badly beaten and murdered by the police at the police headquarters. The people rallied to protest against torture and murder, and raided the Government House. 13 people were taken into custody.

October 21, 1971:

- 15 persons, including Engineer Bingöl Erdumlu, were detained accused of "trying to kidnap some high-level authorities in order to secure the release of arrested members of the THKC."

October 30, 1971:

- Two peasants, Ali Akhan and Ahmet Avşar, were shot to death by agents of the landowners during a peasant demonstration for land in Mardin.

October 31, 1971:

-During this one-month period, 174 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

November 20, 1971:

- Prime Minister Erim stated: "Anarchist activities have come to an end. All necessary measures to prevent anarchy have been taken by the government."

November 25, 1971:

- Martial law was again extended for a two-month period supposedly because "anarchist activities had not entirely stopped!"

November 30, 1971:

- During this one-month period, 77 persons were taken into custody by the authorities in several provinces. In addition, three members of the THKC, Mahir Çayan, Ulaş Bardakçi, Ziya Yılmaz, and two members of the THKO, Cihan Alptekin and Ömer Ayna, succeeded in escaping from the military jail in Istanbul.

December 1, 1971:

- In Trabzon, 58 persons, including judge Ali Faik Cihan, assistant professor Edip Yazgan, assistant Kemal Erdoğan, 26 teachers, 1 engineer, 1 lawyer and 2 businessmen were taken into custody accused of forming a clandestine organization, and were brought to the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

December 3, 1971:

- A nationwide man hunt was organized for the purpose of apprehending Mahir Çayan and others. In several provinces five persons were apprehended simultaneously, all accused of being Mahir Çayan.

December 12, 1971:

- During a strike at the Faşbahçe Glass Factory (Istanbul), the employer's men murdered a worker, Kadir Peker.

December 14, 1971:

- 14 persons, including journalist Yaşar Uçar and assistant Güher Karaçavuş, were detained for allegedly hiding guerillas.

December 31, 1971:

- In one month, 229 persons were taken into custody in several provinces.

January 3, 1972:

- Süleyman Ejder, the president of the Road Workers Union, was apprehended and beaten badly at police headquarters.

January 8, 1972:

- Minister of National Defence Ferit Melen disclosed that 121 officers had been dismissed from the armed forces since March 12, 1971.

A woman teacher, Güler Meriçkan, was arrested by the First Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters because she allegedly propagandized for communism in letters written to her fiance. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 27, 1972)



**MAN HUNT:**  
The Martial Law Headquarters twice organized general searches in Istanbul. During the general search which was given the code name of "Tornado-I", on January 23, 1972, the whole city was searched house by house by 80,000 men, troops and policemen. Commando officers awakened innocent people by kicking at their doors early in the morning and questioned them under the threat of gun barrels (left). On February 19, 1972, security forces raided a house in Istanbul and shot Ulas Bardakçi, a member of the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey who had escaped from a military jail (above).



**MAN HUNT:** Though a net of informers and police dogs has been mobilized, the police forces still keep on shooting people by mistake. For example, a young student named Koray Dogan (right) was shot to death in Ankara on March 9, 1972, because of his resemblance to Ömer Ayna (left) who had escaped from jail. Dogan's father protested this murder and was thereupon arrested.

January 11, 1972:

- 17 peasants were detained in Mardin.

January 23, 1972:

- The biggest search in Istanbul started with a curfew at 3 a.m., under the code name "*Tornado I*". Until 6 p.m., during a period of 15 hours, the city was controlled house by house. Over 80,000 troops and police agents took part in the massive man-hunt and, according to an official communique, more than half a million houses, offices and workshops were searched. The raiding teams kicked in the doors of houses during the early hours of the morning, checking every inch of people's homes, entering their bedrooms, brutally awakening even the children and the aged as they slept. In many houses, they tore the beds into pieces, quilts into shreds and destroyed personal belongings. In some homes, the raiding squads went so far as to confiscate personal belongings, photographs, letters and books. Some were more violent, tearing books into shreds with their bayonets and taking their owners into custody. There exists not one concrete reason to justify such a search. The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters stated that the purpose of the search and curfew was to take in some "*suspects*" who might be hiding in the city. In actual fact, what could be the real intent of such a city-wide search of the state forces were only looking for a few "*suspects*". The real aim of the search was rather to terrorize the population with a show of the army's strength.

January 24, 1972:

- Martial law was extended for another two months on the pretext that guerillas who have been trained in Palestine would return to Turkey at the beginning of 1972 and would launch a civil war.

February 3, 1972:

- Two actors, Hasan Kirkdeveli and Hüseyin Misirlioglu, were attacked by rightist groups and beaten during a show in which they criticized Demirel and İnönü, leaders of two main political parties in Samsun.

February 19, 1972:

- Ulaş Bardakçı, the member of the THKC who escaped from the military jail, was shot to death by police agents in Istanbul. A squad raided the house in which he was hiding and opened fire. The same day, Ziya Yilmaz, another member of the THKC, who had also escaped from the military jail, was wounded by police agents during a raid in another part of Istanbul. Following the murder, the police began detaining large numbers of people; the neighbours of the raided appartments were even apprehended and tortured.

- 17 persons were taken into custody in Diyarbakir allegedly because they had connections with the clandestine newspaper *Şafak*.

February 26, 1972:

- 49 persons were taken into custody in Istanbul.

March 9, 1972:

- A young student, Koray Dogan, was shot in the back and killed by a police squad, although he was not on the wanted list. The police mistook him for Ömer Ayna, who had escaped from a military jail and was wanted by the military authorities.

March 11, 1972:

- It was officially stated that 57 army officers and 11 NCOs had been dismissed from the armed forces for helping Mahir Çayan and his comrades to escape from the military jail.

March 12, 1972:

- On the first anniversary of the military coup d'etat, Prime Minister Erim stated: "Our country is face to face with a plot hatched directed from outside Turkey." A year earlier, he had promised to end the state of emergency after having apprehended 200 "anarchists". In one year, the military authorities had detained more than ten thousand persons.

March 24, 1972:

- 139 persons, including Dogan Özgüden, Vahap Erdogdu and Omer Özer-turgut, chief editors of three socialist newspapers, were placed on the want-ed list of the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

March 25 1972:

- Despite the fact that during his official visit to the United States, Prime Minister Erim had said that martial law will be ended in certain pro-vinces, the National Assembly extended martial law for another two months in eleven provinces.

March 26, 1972:

- For one purpose of preventing the execution of three death sentences approved by the President of the Republic, THKO and THKC members kidnaped three foreign technicians from the NATO Ünye Radar Base. They promised to release the three hostages if Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan were authorized to leave the country.

March 27, 1972:

- Yilmaz Güney, the most famous film star in Turkey, and 23 others were taken into custody allegedly for "aiding guerillas".

March 28, 1972:

- Interior Minister Ferit Kubat went to Ünye to lead personally the searches being organized in the Sinop-Trabzon area. The authorities offered 100,000 LT to any person providing information concerning the hostages location. Prime Minister Erim stated that he had no intention of bargaining with "bandits". Kubat stated that they would mobilize as many troops as necessary.

.....  
: Mehmet Arkis, a :  
: retired colonel, was :  
: arrested for insult- :  
: ing the Armed Forces :  
: while consoling his :  
: son who had been con- :  
: demned to death by a :  
: military court. He :  
: was sentenced to one :  
: year and four months :  
: imprisonment by the :  
: Third Military Court :  
: of The Ankara Marti- :  
: al Law Headquarters. :  
: (Cumhuriyet, 17.V.72) :  
: .....

-The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters launched a new "terrorist hunt" and warned citizens to be vigilant with respect to any at-temps at sabotage.

March 29, 1972:

- The Interior Ministry announced that the hostages were safe. This announcement made it clear that the authorities were at least in-directly in touch with the guerillas.





#### KIZILDERE MASSACRE

The militaries claimed that the young fighters of the THKO and the THKC died in a room-to-room shootout. The mutilated leg of a young victim is easily seen on the photograph. Can it be the result of bullets?

## KIZILDERE MASSACRE:

The corpses of Ömer Ayna and Nihat Yılmaz are being put on an ox-cart. Yılmaz' leg is mutilated. Even the daily newspaper Günaydin mentioned this fact in the caption of the photograph published in its issue dated April 1, 1972.



## Anarşistlerin cesetleri kağı ile şehre indirilirken

Fotoğraflar: Günaydin Gazetesi

si İngiltere'den, biri Kanada'dan Ünye'ye gelip görev yapan uç İngiliz'i öldürdükten sonra yaptıkları silahlı çatış-  
a sonucu güvenlik kuvvetleri tarafından vurulan anarşistlerin cesetleri dağ köyünden kağı arabaları ile indiril-  
Fotoğrafta Ömer Ayna (Üstte) ve Nihat Yılmaz'ın (Sağ ayağı kopuk) cesetleri kağı arabasına yüklenirken...

March 30, 1972:

- Ten members of the THKO and the THKC, Mahir Çayan, Cihan Alptekin, Omer Ayna, Hüdeî Arikan, Sinan Kazim Özüdoğru, Ahmet Atasoy, Saffet Alp, Er-tan Saruhan, Selahattin Kunt and Nihat Yılmaz, and three hostages were murdered by the "security" forces in a bomb explosion. In the morning, the authorities announced that the guerillas and their hostages were in Kizildere Village, 40 kilometers from Niksar. Security forces were mobilized to surround the home of the village head where the guerillas were hiding and held their hostages. In addition, a police squad armed with bullet-proof vests, was sent to Kizildere. Here is the account published by *Le Monde* on April 1, 1972:

"At 12:43 PM Interior Minister Kubat arrived at the village and re-fused once again the demands of the guerillas.

"At 4:06 PM the guerillas demanded that the Chief of the General Staff come personally for discussions with them. Police Chief Orhan Erbug stated, 'if they force us to, we can finish them off in five minutes time.'

"At 4:15 PM lawyer Şener Şadi, arrested two days previously for being involved in the kidnapping, was brought to the village in order to compel them to surrender.

"At 5:03 PM the Anatolian News Agency, semi-official news agency of the Turkish Government, published the following information: 'The surrounded terrorists, after having refused to surrender, blew up the house. Ten terrorists, the three hostages and mediator all died.'

"At 5:14 PM the officials on the scene stated that the 'terrorists' decided to blow up the house when the security forces began their decisive assault.

"At 6:22 PM the officials issued a corrected statement: 'At 2:10 PM local time, the police forces entered the house without firing a shot. The terrorists had killed the hostages before noon by shooting them in the head. In a 45 minute room-to-room shootout with the terrorists in another part of the two-story timber house, all the terrorists were killed.'"

The two different versions of the tragedy confused the foreign press. The French newspapers brought out the contradictions between the two official versions:

*-It is impossible to discover the truth. In any case, the event ended in tragedy. But whichever account is true, the second version suits the Turkish authorities best, for it prevents the rumor getting around that they did not do their best to save the hostages. (Le Figaro, March 31, 1972)*

*-How did the tragedy end? Obviously, we will never know the truth. (Combat, March 31, 1972)*

*-The Turkish authorities made two contradictory announcements within a short interval of time. Moreover, both announcements contradict the information given to journalists on the spot. According to the journalists present, the troops launched their assault after an explosion blew the roof off the house. (France Soir, April 1, 1972)*

Indeed, there are many contradictions in the official announcements. Here are a few others:

Earlier, officials said that lawyer Şener Şadi had also been killed.

But the later communique made no mention of whether he had been killed with the guerillas or not.

Ertugrul Kürkçü, president of Dev-Genç (Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey), was at first included among those dead, but later Interior Minister said that the police made a mistake and had assumed that one of the mutilated bodies was his. However, he is the only survivor of the tragedy. Earlier an Interior Ministry statement said that Kürkçü had insisted that the police was responsible for the death of the hostages as well. But later, the Interior Minister said that Kürkçü "confessed" that he took part in the kidnap-murder of the three foreign hostages. (As a matter of fact, Kürkçü has not been brought before any tribunal as yet, and his attitude as well as his fate, is still in the balance.) The contradictions between the official statements and testimony is proof that the Kizildere Massacre was committed by the "Security Forces":

a) It is impossible to consider that the guerillas shot the hostages at noon, that is to say five hours before the police assault, since these hostages were the only guarantee for the lives of their three friends sentenced to death, and of themselves.

b) It is impossible to consider that the ten guerillas, who were skillful in handling arms were not able to kill or wound a single policeman during the supposed 45-minute room-to-room shootout.

c) The photographs published in the press clearly demonstrate that the bodies of the hostages and the guerillas were completely dismembered. Even the officials were not able to identify them for some time. The photographs clearly show the legless bodies.

d) The house with its roof blown off and walls cracked can be clearly seen in the photographs.

e) At the end of the tragedy it was stated that not only the guerillas and hostages, but also the horses in the stable had been dead. One can hardly imagine that the horses also took part in the room-to-room shootout.

f) One of the daily newspapers, *Günaydin*, published a photograph and a sketch of how a commando officer infiltrated into the house and threw a bomb inside. The newspaper says that it was a tear gas-bomb, but how could a tear gas-bomb blow off the roof and crack the walls of the house and kill thirteen persons.

g) Another daily newspaper, *Milliyet*, in its first edition, mentioned the fact that the troops had used bazookas against the house; in its later edition, the newspaper omitted this sentence.

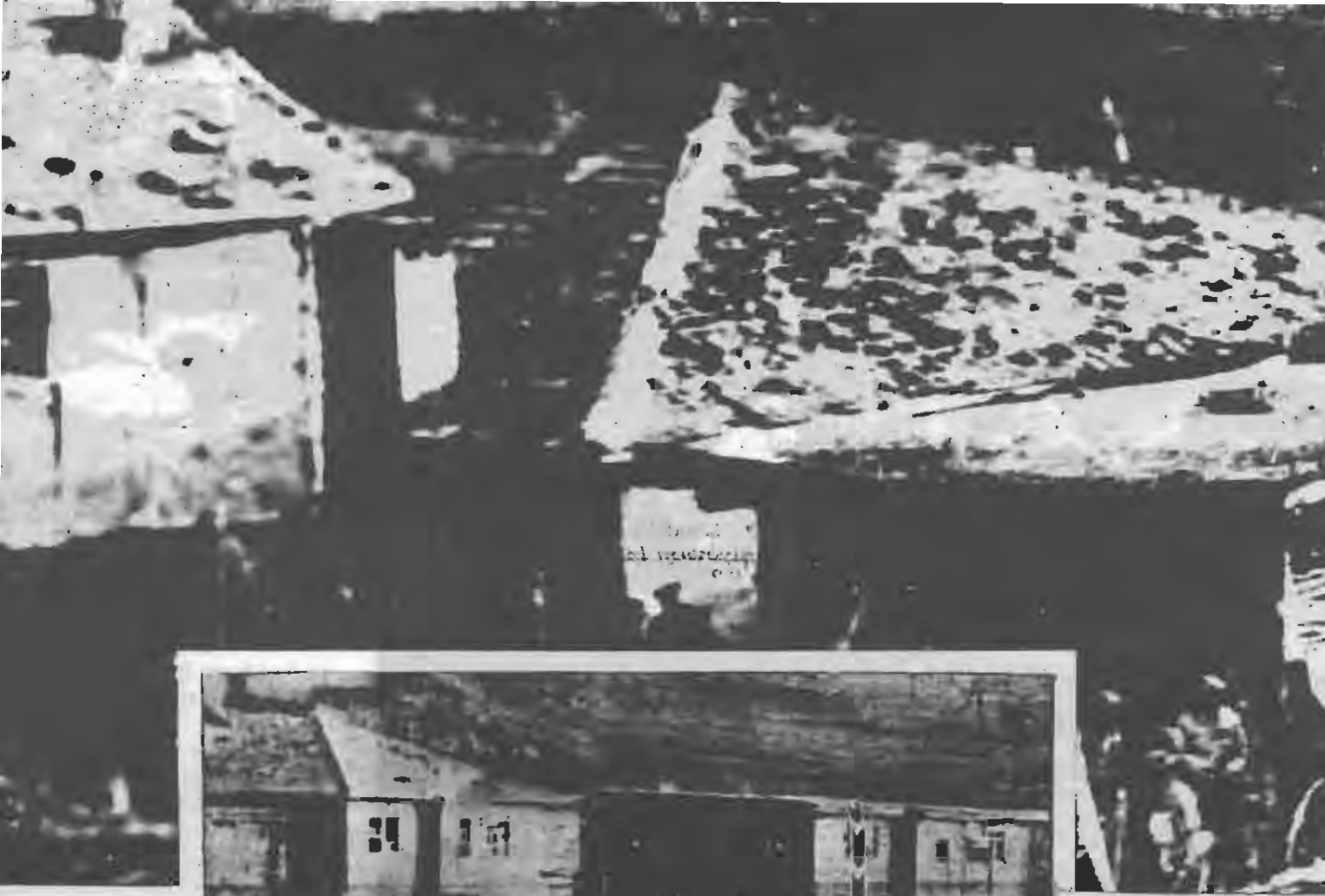
h) The followings are extracts of an article by a regime journalist, Ahmet Gürpınar's published in a local newspaper, *Havadis (Ordu)*:

*"Here are Cihan Alptekin, Ertan Saruhan and Ahmet Atasoy from Fatsa and here is Mahir Çayan... And other Reds, the dismembered legs and heads." (April 5, 1972, p. 1)*

*"The bullet-holes in the heads of the three foreign technicians. But they did not bleed." (April 5, 1972, p. 1)*

*"Inside the house, nothing remained standing. Everything had been broken to bits and was scattered about." (April 6, 1972, p. 1)*

i) The coroner's report prepared by the Ankara University Medicine Faculty, the Legal Medicine Department and the Social Medicine Department states that there were 12 bullet-holes in Gordon Banner's body, six bullet-holes in John Stuart Law's body and seven bullet-holes on Charles Lawrence Turner's body. (*Daily Milliyet*, April 22, 1972) The official communique



### **Komando teğmeni cambaz gibi atladı**

Anarşistlerin saklandığı evden uç el silâh sesi duyuldu. Bitişik evin damına çıkan bir komando teğmeni oradan aşağıya atlayıp yuvarlanarak diğer eve gitti ve elindeki gaz bombasını içeri fırlattı. Daha sonra da anarşistlerin mevzilendiği eve kendisi girdi.



### **KIZILDERE MASSACRE:**

Tiles were torn from the roof of the house as the bombs exploded (above). The arrows on the clipping show how a commando lieutenant infiltrated and threw a gas bomb into the house (left). Below, the four victims.



**KIZILDERE  
MASSACRE:**

How can it be imagined that the deaths of Cihan Alptekin (left) and the three hostages (above) were the result of shooting! The dust and dirt made by bombs is clearly visible on both photos. The three hostages were also murdered as the house was bombed. But later, the police shot at the heads of the corpses to claim that the hostages had been killed previously by the young patriots.

issued just after the massacre, however, make no mention of any shooting prior to the massacre. The only claim made was that the troops stormed the house after hearing only three shots fired. Even if this claim is considered as a fact, 25 shootings have never been mentioned in any newspaper. Moreover, this news contradicts the official statement which stated that the hostages had been shot to death at least one and one-half hours before the death of the guerillas. It is obvious that after having murdered them by bomb, the police then shot into the bodies of the three hostages so as to create the impression that they had been shot by the guerillas. As stated in the daily *Havadis* of April 5, 1971, there was no blood around the bullet-holes in the heads of three hostages.

(The Kizildere Tragedy did not end with the death of the thirteen men. The authorities refused to give the Mahir Çayan's body to his family for burial. The burial could only take place at night in Ankara with two people in attendance. The two people who carried the coffins to the cemetery were hosewiped by General Tevfik Türün, the Military Police Chief of Ankara and the brother of the Martial Law Commander of Istanbul. The general was drunk and even ordered that a steamroller pass over the place of burial so as to demolish the memorial to the young independence fighter.)

-39 persons from Unye and Kizildere were taken into custody accused of "helping the guerillas". 26 students of the Political Science Faculty of Ankara were taken into custody for "protesting against the Kizildere Massacre".

-During a one-month period 150 persons in Ankara, 44 persons in Istanbul, 27 persons in Siverek, 7 persons in Bartın were taken into custody.

#### April 1, 1972:

- Professor Uğur Alacakaptan was detained by the military authorities during a luncheon with the Minister of Tourism Erol Akçal. Assistant Prof. Mukbil Özyörük and two assistants, Adil Özkol and Uğur Mumcu, were also detained.

#### April 9, 1972:

- The Police Chief of Istanbul stated that the police forces would be reinforced with planes and armoured vehicles.

#### April 30, 1972:

-- 88 persons were taken into custody in Ankara during the month.

#### May 3, 1972:

-Four members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey hijacked a Turkish Airlines plane to Sofia Airport and stated that if their six comrades condemned to death were not released, they would blow up the plane with the passengers.

#### May 4, 1972:

- The four guerillas abandoned the project to blow up the plane and took asylum in Bulgaria.

- Four other members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey attempted to kidnap General Kemalettin Eken, Commander of the Gendarmerie, so as to save three of their comrades condemned to death. The commander's guards opened fire on them. One of the guerillas, Ahmet Niyazi Yıldızhan, were shot to death. Another guerilla and the commander were wounded. The military authorities once again attempted to deceive public opinion by claiming that the guerillas had attempted to assassinate the commander.

May 6, 1972:

- Three members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey, Deniz Gezmis, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin Inan, were executed by hanging.

May 9, 1972:

- 13 persons were detained in Ankara.

May 16, 1972:

- 29 persons, including lawyer Aytan Bulut and Engineer Aydoğan Büyüközden, detained for "*distributing the clandestine newspaper Şafak*" in Istanbul.

May 24, 1972:

- Martial law was extended for another two months by Parliament on the pretext that the extreme left had instigated workers and peasants to rise up against the regime.

May 25, 1972:

- A new bill was passed by Parliament. The security forces are now authorized to shoot on sight "suspects" and convicts at large who do not surrender to the authorities. The names of "suspects" and convicts at large will be published in the press and if they do not surrender within 30 days, the security forces are authorized to shoot them on sight.

May 26, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara announced the detention of 100 persons, including journalists Emil Galip Sandalci, Altan Öymen and Özer Esmer, writer Erdal Öz, university assistants Dogu Perinçek, Halil Berktaş, Nuri Çolakoglu and Ömer Madra. They are accused of "*forming a new clandestine organization called the Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey*" and "*assisting in the hijacking and the attempted kidnapping of the Commander of the Gendarmerie*".

May 31, 1972:

- During one month, 19 persons including editor Vahap Erdoğan were detained in several provinces.

June 1, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Izmir stated that 14 members of the clandestine Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Party of Turkey had been apprehended in Söke.

.....  
: Recep Tonak :  
: was arrested by :  
: the Ankara Mart- :  
: ial Law Headquar- :  
: ters because he :  
: praised his brot- :  
: her, Hacı Tonak, :  
: who had been con- :  
: demned to death. :  
: (Cumhuriyet, Feb- :  
: ruary 25, 1972) :  
: .....

June 2, 1972:

- Interior Minister Ferit Kubat revealed that the police forces will be strengthened by the recruiting of 2,500 more men.

June 13, 1972:

- Abdülkadir Yaşargün and 13 others were apprehended by the Adana Martial Law Headquarters for trying to launch an armed resistance movement in Samandag.

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara issued list of 37 persons wanted, including Mihri Belli.





**KIZILDERE MASSACRE:** The mutilated bodies of the fighters of the Popular Liberation Army and the Popular Liberation Front of Turkey being checked by police and military men (left). The faces of the victims were so destroyed that the police was not able to identify them for a long time. It was in fact believed that Ertugrul Kürkçü was among the dead, until he was found the next day, the only survivor of the massacre. The mutilated corpse of Ömer Ayna lying in the house, where cracked walls and heavy disorder bear evidence of the bombing, above.



Mahir ÇAYAN :



C. ALPTEKIN :



Saffet ALP :

#### KIZILDERE MASSACRE:

Three of the young victims of the Kizildere Massacre. After having bombed the house and killed everybody, including the three hostages, the military forces shot at the corpses to make it look as if they had been killed during the shootout.

June 25, 1972:

- The Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters published a list of 26 persons wanted, including former president of the TIP Mehmet Ali Aslan, editor Dogan Özgüden and writer Sait Kirmizitoprak.

June 28, 1972:

- A young man by the name of Vedat Gevrek was tortured and murdered by the police in Ankara. A short news item appeared in the papers stating that he had died from falling from the top storey of the Ankara Police Headquarters.

June 31, 1972:

- The Ankara Police Headquarters announced that Vedat Gevrek was one of the "suspects" wanted by the military authorities and that while being interrogated at the police headquarters, he went into the lavatory hand-cuffed and committed suicide by throwing himself from the window!

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Izmir detained 34 persons and list four others as wanted.

- 11 persons were detained in several provinces, including Jülide Zaim who had been acquitted previously in the THKC case. She is accused of "hiding her fiance, Fahri Aral, wanted by the military authorities".

July 1, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Izmir issued a new official communique to the "*honorable informer citizens*" and called upon them to inform on "suspects" disguised as peasants when they spend their vacations at the seashore in the summertime.

July 15, 1972:

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara announced that 32 persons, including editor Bora Gözen and three writers, Ahmet Aras, Ersan Olgaç and Atil Ant, were wanted.

July 20, 1972:

- In Ermenek, police agents detained a taxi-driver, Hasan Önel, and beat him up badly in police headquarters. The people rallied to protest against police terror and raided the police headquarters.

July 31, 1972:

- In Avanos (Nevşehir province), 13 persons including secondary school students were taken into custody for attempting to organize a demonstration in favor of setting up a secondary school and a library in Sarılar.

- Süleyman Aslan, student, was shot by the police while he was visiting his friend in Beşiktaş, Istanbul.

#### Mass Arrests Throughout Turkey

As can be seen from this chronological listing, the man hunts and mass arrests are still being continued by the military and civil authorities at the same rate. On the basis of the new prerogatives accorded to the military and police forces to raid anywhere, to search anyone and shoot any "suspect" without a court decision, the man hunts will obviously become more severe. The military authorities pay no attention whatsoever to the stipulations of the constitution and the basic principles of the law. They keep those detained for

weeks and months in torture centers and cells and torture them despite the fact that the constitution clearly opposes the use of torture and extended detention.

The military authorities violate daily the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Article 2 of the European Convention stipulates that: *"Everyone's right to life shall be protected by law. No one shall be deprived of his life intentionally save in the execution of a sentence of a court following his conviction of a crime for which this penalty is provided by law."* The military authorities of Turkey have deprived more than thirty persons of their lives without court sentences.

In addition to this report, the Democratic Resistance of Turkey has prepared a supplementary report including the names of those wanted or detained or arrested since the beginning of the period of Martial Law, April 26, 1971. The names, places and dates in that list have been taken from the newspapers which have published information on the subject within the limits of the official communiques or the news provided by the military authorities.

Furthermore, the martial law authorities have never given out the names of those released after their innocence has been proved. Only the number of those detained has been disclosed at times by the authorities, but their names are not published.

According to the supplementary report prepared by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, the number of detainees whose names have been disclosed is 3,082; the total of detainees whose names have not been disclosed is 3,661; the total number of detainees taken in between April 26, 1971 and July 1972 is 6,913.

It can easily be seen that the number of victims detained or arrested throughout Turkey is actually much higher than this figure. Otherwise why would the martial law authorities not have disclosed the names and the number of detainees. According to the official communiques, the military and police forces had, by August 1972, brought 5117 cases before the military prosecutors in Ankara; 3,099 in Istanbul as of May 28, 1972; and more than 5,000 in Diyarbakir as of April 27, 1972. The martial law headquarters of Adana, Izmir and Eskişehir have never disclosed the figures concerning legal cases. While many of these cases have been submitted to the public prosecutors, others have never been subjected to legal action; detainees have nevertheless, in both cases, been held in police or military headquarters for days and weeks on end. Moreover, the majority of the detainees brought before the public prosecutors are released but are placed under arrest by the civil courts.

With regard to the abovementioned figures and facts, it is not an exaggeration to say that approximately ten thousand intellectuals, university professors, teachers, writers, workers, peasant and student leaders from all corners of Turkey have been victims of the man hunts and mass arrests.

There exists deep concern as to the lives and liberties of many people who are wanted by the authorities, who up till now have not been caught and who have never surrendered to the fascist rulers of Turkey.

### EXECUTION OF DEATH SENTENCES

On May 6th, 1972 three young patriots --Deniz Gezmiş, 25 years old, Yusuf Aslan, 25, and Hüseyin İnan, 23-- died a martyr's death as they were hanged by the fascist regime's executioners.

These three young men, just as their many brothers fallen over the past year in the man hunts staged by the fascists, will live forever in the hearts and minds of all freedom and independence fighters. They are the very symbol of the people of Turkey's historic struggle against imperialism, fascism and exploitation.

The execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan is the latest and most shameful link in the whole chain of base plots planned and carried out by the army, by corrupt politicians.

As explained in the chapters on Illegal Trials and the Man Hunts, the bloodthirsty military rulers resorted to every means available to send the three young men to the gallows, for strangling by the most primitive of methods.

While many countries long ago abolished capital punishment for political offences, these three young patriots --in spite of their by now unanimously recognized humanitarian attitude towards those they were forced to kidnap-- were nevertheless sentenced to death. The military court's death warrant gave rise to tremendous protests in the country as well as abroad. Tens of thousands of signatures were amassed in Turkey; abroad, hundreds of thousands of people, hundreds of organizations and even governments addressed messages to the President of the Republic to stop the executions.

The fascist Turkish regime, however, paid no attention to these protests and the death sentences were voted by parliament. The verdict in favour of capital punishment was at first found legally unsound, and the Constitutional Court cancelled it. The military junta then had the law hurriedly voted by parliament once again, this time following the "proper legal procedure".

Long before the death sentences were voted in parliament, the fascist executioners had arranged another of their well-known crafty traps: three young men were to be freed from punishment by death if they "confessed" their "errors" and agreed to denounce their comrades.

The three revolutionaries, however, reacted as one by reaffirming the pride and honour they felt concerning their legitimate fight for the liberation of the people of Turkey and refusing categorically any underhanded deal. Gezmiş, Aslan and İnan were then refused all contact with the outside world, awaiting only the executioners who could knock on their doors at any time.

As there seemed to be no other legal way to save the three young patriots' lives, their comrades undertook actions to reciprocate and neutralize the fascists' decision. But their ultimate attempts were to be inconclusive and the President of the Republic signed the death warrants on May 5, 1972.

Their two lawyers, Mükerrrem Erdoğan and Ersan Şansal, went to the An-

kara Central Prison at 2 P.M. and demanded a final consultation with their clients. The prison administration rejected their demands.

On May 2, 1972 and May 4, 1972 the lawyers appealed to the Military Court of Cassation to review the decision on legal grounds (see p.69). However, the executioners were so impatient that they began executing of death sentences without waiting for the decision on the appeal.

On May 6, 1972, Halit Çelenk and Mükerrer Erdogan, two other lawyers of Gezmiş and his comrades, were brought to the Central Prison at 1 a.m. The prison was illuminated both inside and out and all roads leading to the building were closed to traffic. The city was surrounded by military troops and the prison was kept under strict military control. On entering the prison, the lawyers were searched down to their socks. Once inside, the executive prosecutor Sami Uğur informed the lawyers that their latest appeal had been rejected by the Military Court of Cassation but they were shown no written document.

The lawyers first saw Deniz Gezmiş. Handcuffed and in chains, he sat in the chief warden's office. He welcomed the lawyers with a smile and said: *"I want you see how we are going to our deaths so that future generations will know it. Embrace all the revolutionaries in jail for me. Bury me beside Mustafa Taylan Oğür"*. Then one of the executive prosecutors asked: *"How do you feel?"* He replied: *"Too happy, too peaceful."*

The lawyers were then shown into the room where Yusuf Aslan was standing, showing no signs of weakness. He asked whether his father knew about the execution. The lawyers said that he knew. Aslan asked about his father's reaction and they replied: *"Your father is very calm and firm."* He thanked the lawyers for taking an interest in his brother's health and added: *"We believe that the revolutionary struggle will not end with our deaths."* He then asked to meet his comrades, Deniz Gezmiş and Hüseyin İnan. The executive prosecutor immediately rejected this request. The lawyers stated that the prosecutor had no right to turn down this modest demand when he was going to his death. They then met in handcuffs and embraced each other.

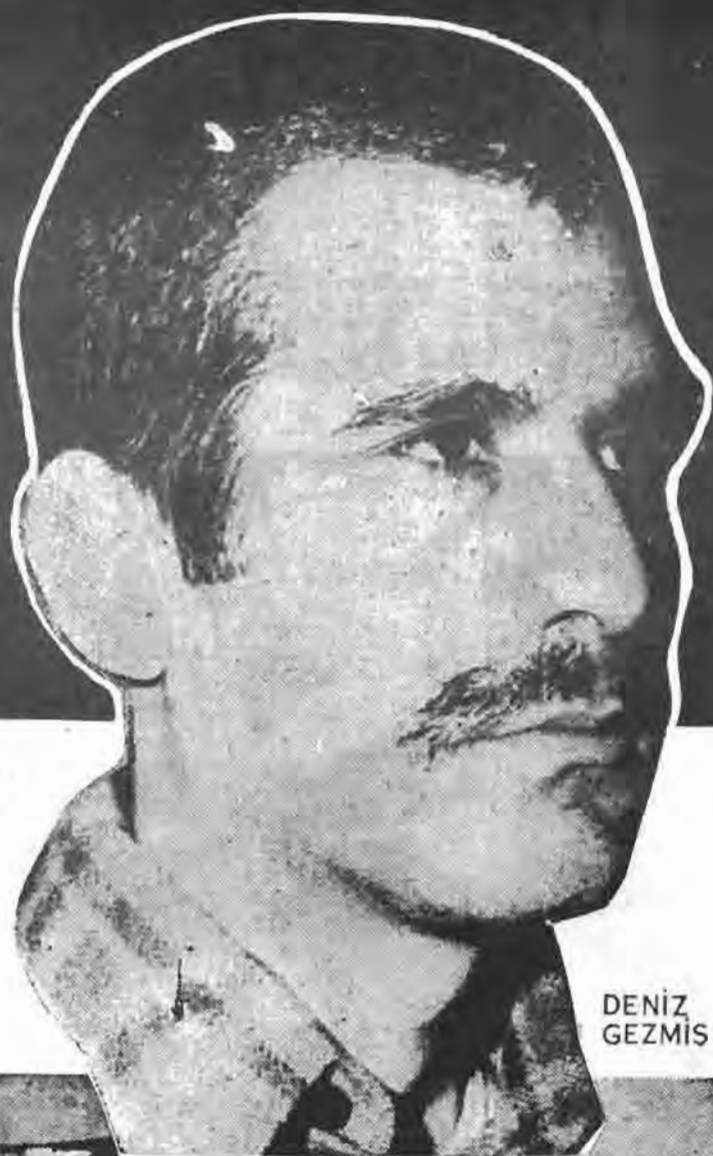
Lastly, the lawyers went into the room where Hüseyin İnan was being held. He asked whether his father was in Ankara. The answer was affirmative and he asked: *"How is he?"* The lawyers said that father Hidir İnan was proud of his son. He said that he had written a letter for his father asking him to bring up his brother as a revolutionary like himself.

The lawyers went back to Gezmiş's room. He was dictating a letter to his father. While the letter was being written, the executive prosecutors, Fazıl Alp and Sami Uğur, Military Police Chief General Tüfrik Türün, and General Ali Elverdi, who had condemned them to death, were getting ready in another room.

They tried to remove the chains for fifteen minutes but were unsuccessful. One of the executors then suggested that they give up, expressing his fear by saying, *"we must be careful until they take him away to the gallows."* The executive prosecutor finally ordered that the chains be taken off, after which they put a white execution-robe on him. Deniz Gezmiş remarked: *"When they took us from the prison, they did not allow us to tie our shoe-laces. Tie them, otherwise my shoes may fall after I am hanged."* They tied the shoe-laces.

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<sup>o</sup> He was shot to death by the police on September 23, 1969.



DENİZ  
GEZMİS

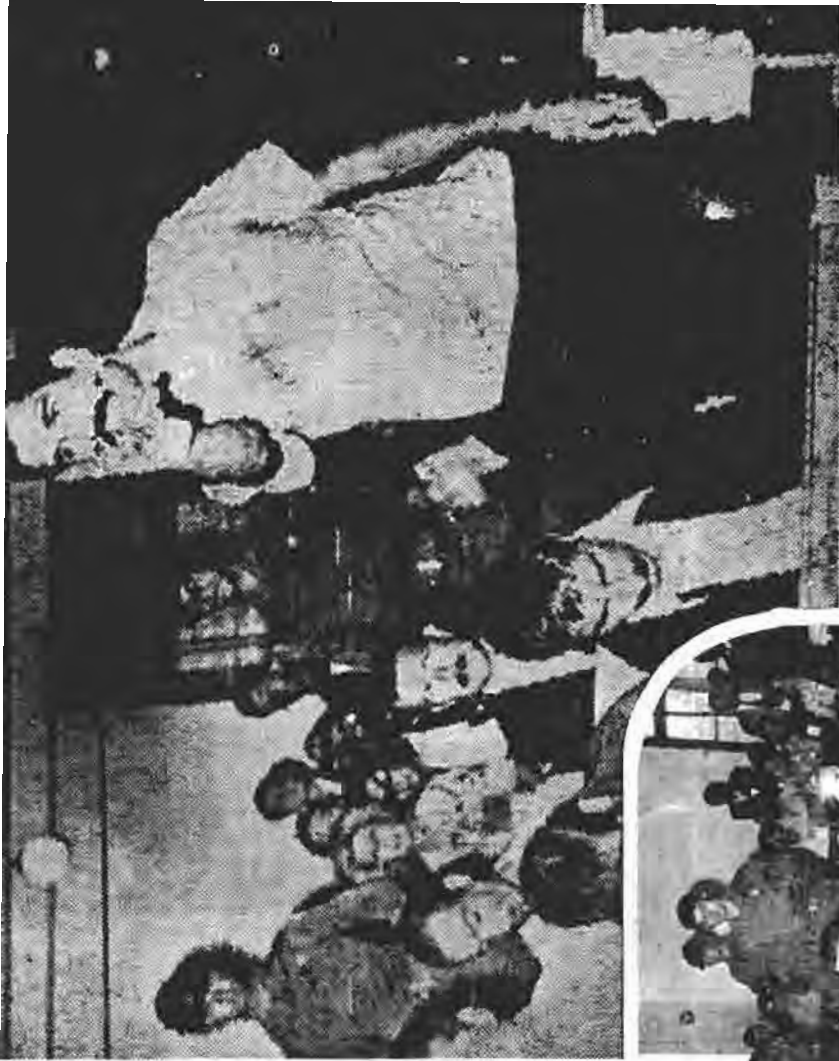


YUSUF ARSLAN



HUSEYİN İNAN





The young defenders of independence and democracy clearly proved that the 1961 Constitution was not changed by them, on the contrary by the military junta. Though three of them, Yusuf Aslan (above left), Deniz Gezmiş (above right), and Hüseyin Inan were hanged by the same power, history shall absolve them.



He then looked at the executors around him with a smile on his lips. His eyes were filled with pity for them. He walked towards the gallows with a firm step. He climbed onto the footstool with the help of the wardens since he was still handcuffed and the long execution-robe prevented him from moving freely. Once on the footstool, he put his head in the noose by himself, and shouted:

*"Long live the struggle of the people of Turkey for independence!..  
Long live marxism-leninism!.. Long live the revolutionary struggle  
of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples!.. Down with imperialism!..  
Down with fascism!.."*

In a state of panic on hearing his words, the executive prosecutor shouted to the executioner: *"Kick the footstool!"* The footstool was kicked out from under him. Given his height, however, Deniz Gezmiş's feet still rested on the table. This time, the executioners also pulled the table out from under him. Deniz Gezmiş's body shook and turned, the rope twisted and stopped... It was 1:25 a.m. After the execution, the wardens and other civilian personnel showed their respect for the victim. General Elverdi, taking sadistic pleasure in the whole scene, stood with his hands on his hips, smoking. The executive prosecutor tried to make a joke about the execution and laughed to himself. Deniz Gezmiş's corpse was taken from the gallows at 2:15 a.m.

Yusuf Aslan was then brought into the chief warden's room. He said: *"I heard Deniz's voice"*. The executive prosecutor read the death sentence. Aslan asked the prosecutor: *"Will you mail my letters for me?"* The prosecutor replied: *"Surely... Don't you have confidence in us?"* Yusuf said: *"Is there any reason to have confidence to you?"* (As a matter of fact, the prosecutor did not send one of the letters addressed to Aslan's village). Yusuf Aslan asked: *"Couldn't you hang me without putting the execution-robe on?"* The prosecutor replied: *"It is a matter of procedure."* Yusuf Aslan turned to a fat man called the "director" and asked: *"Do you still use torture?"* The fat man objected: *"No, we never use torture."* Yusuf Aslan asked again: *"What about the electric shock treatment?"* The fat man again denied it, but he was blushing with shame! Yusuf Aslan added: *"Do you have children?"* He said that he had a little daughter. The dialogue was over. The lawyers offered him a cigarette. While he was smoking, the gallows were prepared for the execution.

Yusuf Aslan bid farewell to his lawyers and walked to the gallows with firm a step. He climbed onto the footstool, put his head in the noose, and shouted:

*"I am dying an honourable death, one death, for the sake of independence and the prosperity of my people. (Pointing to the sixty colonels around the gallows) You, the ones who are hanging us, will die each day for your dishonesty. We are in the service of our people, but you are the servants of the United States. Long live revolutionaries!.. Down with fascism!.."*

Before he could finish, the footstool was hurriedly kicked out from under him by the executioners. His body turned and turned on the rope. It was 2:25 a.m. They cut the rope at 2:50 a.m., and took his body away.

Hüseyin Inan also was then brought into the chief warden's room and the death sentence was read. The executive prosecutor asked him whether he had any objections. He looked at the prosecutor with a smile and then turn-

ed to his lawyers: "There are sneakers on my feet. When they were brought us here, they would not even allow us to wear our shoes. A give my shoes to the military prison."

They led Hüseyin to the gallows. As he passed in front of his lawyers, he bid farewell to them and said: "This struggle will not end with our executions."

He got up the table and shouted:

"I have fought for the independence and prosperity of my people with no consideration for my own interests. I have carried the banner honourably to this day. From now on, I hand it on to the people of Turkey. Long live the workers and peasants!.. Long live revolutionaries!.. Down with imperialism and fascism!.."

Hüseyin Inan then stepped onto the footstool and put his head in the noose. He kicked the footstool himself.

It was 3 a.m... They took away Hüseyin Inan at 3:25...

Three men, Hasan Şenel, Mehmet Cantosun and Şemsettin Başak, were arrested for carrying photographs of Deniz Gezmiş and Yusuf Aslan in Gaziantep. (Daily Tercüman, May 8, 1971)

Veli Sevinçhan, a teacher from Konya, was tried at the Military Court of the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters for praising Deniz Gezmiş. (Daily Cumhuriyet, November 3, 1971)

Three girls, Tebessüm Sarp, Şencan Akkoyunlu, Aygün Unal, were detained in Ankara by the military authorities on February 24, 1972 for trying to place a wreath on the grave of Ulaş Bardakçı who had been shot to death by police. (Daily Cumhuriyet, February 25, 1972)

A state employee, Abdurrahman Gülzelgin, was arrested in Ankara for laying three roses on the graves of the three executed revolutionaries, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin Inan. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 10, 1972)

Two Young men, Salih Toksöz and Recep Akdoğan, were arrested in Gaziantep for praising the four persons who had hijacked a Turkish plane to Sofia in order to save the lives of Deniz Gezmiş and his two comrades. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 10, 1972)

Two high school students, Hüseyin Naneci and Adnan Şahin, were arrested by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH for praising Deniz Gezmiş and his two comrades. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 10, 1972)

Two workers, İbrahim Uygun and Mehmet Ali Özkan, were arrested in Gaziantep for carrying Mahir Çayan's photographs. (Daily Cumhuriyet, May 22, 1971)

**THE OPPRESSION  
OF THE WORKING CLASS**



## THE OPPRESSION OF THE WORKING CLASS

The year 1971 marked the beginning of a new period of terror in the history of Turkey's working class. Carried out by the armed forces on behalf of finance-capital, this reign of terror represents the most recent link in the chain of longstanding manoeuvres aimed at assuring absolute hegemony of the finance-capital group.

As explained in the chapter on the background of the military rule, the Turkish bourgeoisie, dreaming of Westernization for the last two centuries, saw in it a means of capital accumulation at the expense of the toiling masses, of close cooperation with imperialism and of superficial reforms in favour of the ruling classes. On the other hand, the ruling classes of Turkey consciously and deliberately escaped the class struggles which had marked the Western world, as well as the existence of socialist political parties and progressive trade unions and the coming into power of socialist political parties in various countries, all characteristic of the West.

In this chapter emphasis is given to the economic, democratic and political struggles of Turkey's working class and to the repression exerted against it and the peasantry by the ruling classes since the end of the 19th century.

The period of 1870-1908 saw the beginning of the workers' movement in Turkey. The first worker's organization was established in 1871, under the name of *Ameleperver Cemiyeti* (Workers Association). Later, in 1894, the workers of the *Tophane* factories formed the *Osmanli Amele Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Workers Association), but this clandestine organization was banned by the authorities and all its leaders were arrested. It appeared again in 1901, but did not last long.

The 1908 "Bourgeois Democratic Movement" was an important turning point for the working class also. With the proclamation of the *Mesrutiyet* (constitutional government), numerous political organizations and associations could now be established. Besides, throughout the Empire the workers started spontaneous strikes under the banner of "freedom, justice and equality". In August and September of 1908 a wave of strikes spread all over the Ottoman Empire and the *Ittihad-Terakki* government ordered the military and police forces to crush the strikes of the transportation and tram workers in Istanbul; the tram, gas, tobacco, cigarette paper, leather, sugar, bakery and brick workers in Selanik; the tram workers in Izmir; the cotton workers in Adana; and the coal-miners in Zonguldak. Under the pressure of the foreign companies, the *Ittihad-Terakki* power enacted law on October 15, 1908, forbidding every kind of strike and outlawing the trade unions. Nevertheless, in spite of this repressive act, the working class did not surrender, and various trade unions and associations were formed, especially in Rumeli (Thrace and the Balkans). In 1910 the workers of Istanbul established several clandestine organizations, named *Gizli Osmanli Amele Cemiyeti* (Clandestine Ottoman Workers' Association), *Osmanli Terakki Sanayi Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Industrial Progress Association), and *Osmanli Sanatkarlar Cemiyeti* (Ottoman Artisans Association). Besides, Labour Day (May 1) began to be celebrated in 1909 (Rumeli) and 1912 (Istanbul). In 1910 the workers went on a series of strikes in Istanbul, Di-

lecik, Bursa and Zonguldak. In the same year, the first socialist party was founded under the name of *Osmanli Sosyalist Firkasi* (Ottoman Socialist Party). In 1911 the strikes of tobacco workers were crushed by the security forces in Istanbul and Izmir. Prior to the First World War, the *Ittihad-Terakki* rule adopted a repressive policy and banned the Ottoman Socialist Party and all trade unions.

During the war period it was impossible to establish any workers' organization. At the end of the war, the workers' movement started to gain strength again, and in 1919 two socialist parties were established: the *Türkiye Sosyalist Firkasi* (Socialist Party of Turkey) and the *Türkiye İşçi ve Çiftçi Sosyalist Firkasi* (Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey). On the other hand, the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) was founded in 1920, by Turkish socialists abroad. In 1919 the workers of Istanbul went out on 30 strikes, demanding an eight-hour work day, social security, free education, and protection of working women and children. During the period of the Allied occupation, all labor-based organizations took part in the national liberation war. While the Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey was organizing the smuggling of arms and ammunition from Istanbul to Anatolia, the Turkish Communist Party abroad, on the other hand, was providing financial and material support to the Ankara Government and dispatching well-trained guerilla groups to Anatolia. With the mass participation of workers and peasants, the guerilla fights soon turned into an unprecedented popular struggle. But with approaching victory, the representatives of the newly developing bourgeoisie and landowners used the Ottoman *pashas* -who also had been dreaming of creating a "national" bourgeoisie ever since Ottoman times- to eliminate the guerilla leaders and destroy the socialist organizations. Mustafa Suphi, leader of the Turkish Communist Party, and his fourteen comrades were assassinated in the Black Sea.

#### Repression by the CHP and DF Powers

No sooner was the armed struggle over than an Economic Congress met at Izmir in 1923. In accordance with the resolutions of this congress, the rulers of the newly established Republic adopted a capitalist line of development. Although with the establishment of the Republic a more active interest in labor legislation began to emerge, the rulers took no heed of the fundamental democratic rights of workers and peasants. Indeed, at a time when the armed struggle had not yet ended, the National Assembly had already voted new tax levies on the poor peasantry. At the end of the struggle, not only were the promised land reforms shunted aside, but the commanding officers appropriated to themselves -with the political backing of the National Assembly- thousands of hectares of land, thus becoming large-scale landowners at the poor peasants' expense.

Nevertheless, during the first year of the republic -in 1923- 32,000 workers went out on strike. The most important strike was that of the coal-miners in Zonguldak.

In 1924 the constitution was modified to increase guarantees of private property. At that time there were 164,000 workers in the industrial sector and 300,000 in the agricultural sector. Meanwhile, the *Amele Teali Cemiyeti* (Association for Workers' Advancement) was founded, and the workers of the eastern railways and Istanbul textile factories went on strike.

In 1925, a law providing for exceptional powers (*Takriri Sükun Kanunu*) was enacted and the Socialist Labour and Peasant Party of Turkey was outlaw-

ed; Şefik Hüsnü and other leaders of the party were condemned to imprisonment.

Despite the severe repression, during the following years the workers continued to carry on strikes, but the government crushed all resistance movements by force, and shot 15 dockers to death at Istanbul in 1927.

In 1932, Turkey joined the League of Nations, but in spite of the obligatory provisions on labour, the rulers avoided legislating a labour code until 1936. At that time the number of workers had reached 646,451, and the working class increased its pressure on the government in order to obtain social security. But again the workers were shot or jailed by the authorities.

Finally, in 1936, the Basic Labour Code was passed. As originally enacted, it applied only to manual workers in enterprises with 10 or more employees, engaged in certain sectors. The Kemalist leadership did not, moreover, consider it necessary to incorporate into the Basic Labour Code provisions for the formation of independent unions. The code forbade strikes and established machinery for settling labor disputes either through conciliation by a government mediator, or if conciliation could not be accomplished, through arbitration by a board under the Department of Labour. A subsequent enactment, the Association Act of 1938, prohibited the establishment of labour-based organizations. Besides, certain articles of Mussolini's fascist penal code were made part and parcel of the Turkish Penal Code and used against socialist intellectuals and labour leaders.

In 1940 a new enactment, the National Defence Act, extended the working day to 12 hours and abolished the right to rest. Although Turkey itself was not an actor in the Second World War, nonetheless the employment of children increased 20 times in five years. During the war years, while the capitalists were gaining huge profits by the exploitation of workers and in the blackmarket, the workers and poor peasants on the other hand, became impoverished and the contradictions between the social classes deepened.

After the Second World War, with the adoption of the multi-party system, the impoverished masses, struggling for years against misery and police pressures, began in 1946 for the first time, to voice their opposition to the dictatorship. Trade unions were created in the industrial centers, and socialists previously forced into silence under threats of imprisonment were able to create the Turkish Socialist Workers' and Peasants' Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist Emekçi Köylü Partisi*), and the Turkish Socialist Workers Party (*Türkiye Sosyalist İşçi Partisi*). But shortly thereafter both the DP and the CHP agreed to crush these first attempts; the two socialist parties and the trade-unions were dissolved and the socialist intelligentsia once more imprisoned.

In 1947 the legislature passed a Trade Union Act which apparently allowed unions to be established without obtaining prior permission from the administrative authorities; but all the trade unions were placed under the strict control of police agents, and the right to strike was not recognized. Nevertheless, by 1950, the number of trade unions reached 88, with 78,000 affiliated workers.

In 1950, the Democratic Party, the representative of the bourgeoisie, came to power by obtaining the support of workers also with the promise to recognize the right to strike.

On the other hand, the oppression and exploitation of the poor pea-

santry continued after the Second World War. Although in 1945 the Assembly passed a bill entitled "A Law Making the Farmer a Landowner" very little actual assistance was given to those who might have benefited from the law, and after a short while all were obliged to sell their land grants to the big landowners, again owing to their pressure. The general condition of landless farm labourers, sharecroppers and tenants did not change. But once in power, the Democratic Party ignored its former promise and maintained the prohibition of strikes. During the period of the DP rule, as a result of rapid capitalization, millions of poor peasants left their villages and migrated industrial centers and shanty towns began to surround the outskirts of such big cities as Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara and Adana. Faced with an increasingly numerous working class, the United States and its local collaborators felt the need to bring this class completely under their control and hence, through the ICFTU, created the Confederation of Turkish Workers' Unions (*Türk-İş Konfederasyonu*). Subsidized by considerable sums of American dollars, the *Türk-İş* under cover of a policy "above and beyond political parties", promised to keep working class action within the framework set for it by the bourgeois parties.

Nevertheless, in spite of the prohibition of strikes and strict control of the yellow unions, the working class undertook a series of strikes in Istanbul, Izmir, Ankara, Mersin and Iskenderun, demanding their democratic rights. Meanwhile, the DP power arrested many workers, trade union leaders and socialist intellectuals, and banned many trade unions.

#### 1961 Constitution, TIP and DISK

But as a result of the Democratic Party's inflationist policy, dissatisfaction mounted within the working class, among the poor peasants and the petit-bourgeois layers of the population. And as popular unrest spread, the DP government was overthrown on May 27, 1960.

After the coup d'etat, the banned trade unions were once again permitted to function, and under the pressure of the rank and file, the November 1960 Convention of the *Türk-İş* Confederation adopted many democratic demands. The first large-scale workers' demonstration to take place in that period was a meeting held in Istanbul in December 1961, which attracted 100 thousand people. Moreover, in the climate of relative liberty created and protected by the 1961 Constitution, socialist intellectuals found the possibility of publishing leftist books and news media, and workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands.

As a result of this progress, on February 13, 1961, twelve trade union leaders who were opposed to the prevailing American type of unionism founded the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) in order to give the working class an independent political structure to represent its interests. Especially after the socialist intellectuals joined, the Turkish Labour Party started to represent the democratic and political demands of the people of Turkey which had been mentioned in the 1961 Constitution. In this way the anti-imperialist and democratic movements of the toiling masses gained impetus.

In accordance with the 1961 Constitution, the working class used its right to strike without any restriction until 1963. The construction workers of the US Morrison Company in Karadeniz Ereğlisi, the metal workers of the Rami Motor Factory and Kavel Factory, the glass workers of the Paşabahçe Factory in Istanbul, and the rubber workers of the Good Year Factory in Kocaeli went

on strike. In time these strikes took on an anti-imperialist character, and the workers at the NATO and US bases and installations at Istanbul, Izmir, Trabzon, Ordu, Samsun and Sinop clashed with US soldiers. In Ankara, the construction workers held a bare-foot rally in front of the National Assembly in order to protest unemployment; 300 workers were arrested.

In 1963, the Collective Bargaining, Strike and Lockout Act brought many restrictions to the right to strike. This act was directly inspired by the Taft-Hartley Act and authorized the government to postpone any strike for months. But the collaborationist Türk-İş applauded this law and adopted July 24, the day the act came into force, as Labour Day.

Thereupon four of the bigger unions, in reaction to the Türk-İş leadership, formed a "Solidarity Front" in 1964 in order to follow an independent policy.

So, the struggle became more conscious; in the course of the struggle of the Zonguldak miners in 1965, the government called in troops, besmirching the era of the new constitution with the blood of two workers, Mehmet Çavdar and Satılmış Tepe.

As the strength of the workers' movement increased, police terrorism was reinforced, and following the 1965 victory of the Justice Party, racist or quasi-fascist religious groups were set in motion. A number of meetings and conferences of the Turkish Labour Party were broken up by these reactionary forces and by the police.

A significant step forward was taken by the working class on February 13, 1967 when four big unions, the Metal Workers Union of Turkey (*Maden-İş*), the Rubber Workers Union of Turkey (*Lastik-İş*), the Nutrition Workers Union (*Gıda-İş*) and the Printers Union of Turkey (*Basın-İş*), split off from the Türk-İş and formed the Turkish Confederation of Progressive Workers' Unions (DISK). Shortly after its foundation, there were over 100,000 workers affiliated to DISK, whose stated objective was to "wage workers' struggle for power by means of their own political organization".

It was after the formation of DISK that important quantitative and qualitative developments took place in the struggle of the working class of Turkey. In the turmoil of their struggles, the industrial workers of the Singer, Good Year, Magirus, Chrysler, Hoechst, IBM and Pertrix factories allied themselves with the progressive youth movement which had been fighting imperialism in its own way at the expense of several of its members. The occupation of the university quarters under the slogan "democratize education" and the occupation of factories were part of a common front forged in 1968 against the brutality unleashed by that other common front of the employers and the police. The occupation of the Derby factory in July 1968 was the first manifestation of this joint action. When both government and employers were maneuvering to negotiate union contracts with the yellow unions, the workers affiliated to progressive unions initiated the occupation of factories, to which the progressive youth movement gave wide support.

It was the union of workers' forces and progressive youth which chased away the Sixth Fleet from Turkish territorial waters on February 16, 1969. On that day progressive trade unionists and the progressive youth movement had jointly organized a demonstration against the Sixth Fleet. Well aware of the significance of this common-front demonstration, imperialism's local collaborators mobilized the entire police force as well as the militants of the farious reactionary groups and dispatched them to Taksim Square, where the



rendez-vous was to take place, to use their revolvers, daggers, bombs, stones and sledge-hammers against the workers and the youth. Ali Turgut Aytaç and Duran Erdogan lost their lives in this attack. In the history of the working class of Turkey, February 16, 1969 is known as "Bloody Sunday".

August 1969 saw the most significant workers' occupation movement. In answer to the refusal of the metallurgical factory *Türk Demir Döküm* (owned by Vehbi Koç, the biggest Turkish capitalist) to negotiate with the representatives of the progressive trade union *Maden-İş*, 2,200 workers decided to occupy the factory. Their action was supported by the participation of other workers of that highly industrialized section of the city, *Haliç*, and of the families living in the bordering shantytowns, who forced back the troops sent in to crush them.

Another step forward in the progressive struggle of the working class was taken in November 1969 with the initiation of ties to the poor peasantry, its objective ally. In spite of the certain provision of the Constitution, the ruling circles did not bring a Land Reform Bill and the oppression of the poor peasantry was still continuing. This time when poor peasants all over Turkey were beginning to squat down on the lands which the big landowners had appropriated by force and form a mass movement engaged in an economic struggle to obtain higher prices for their products. It started at *Silivri*, where the impoverished peasants, who had occupied 5,000 acres of land, received the moral aid and support of the workers of the *Ege Sanayii* Factory in Istanbul. This lay behind DISK's decision to form a trade union associations for proletarianized and poor peasants, parallel to its organization of the industrial workers of Anatolia into unions.

Shortly after the forging of a common front of struggle which included the working class, the poor peasantry and the progressive youth movement, the lower and under-privileged layers of the bureaucracy joined these ranks. Even non-commissioned officers and members of the police force soon began to formulate their own demands. The most exemplary struggle was that of the primary and highschool teachers organized in the *TÖS*. Even while waging their own struggle in the framework of their union organization, the teachers did not hesitate to give effective support to the struggles of the working class, the peasantry and the progressive youth movement.

In the spring of 1970, the working class raised its slogan, "*Turkey without Bosses*". Scared to death, the collaborating bourgeoisie began maneuvering with the government to destroy the progressive unions, leaving only *Türk-İş* to represent the working class.

At its May 1970 convention, the *Türk-İş* (which received AID subsidies amounting to 3,546,698 LT, as revealed in its annual report) attacked DISK openly, calling for changes in the legislation on unions, strikes and lock-outs and demanding that DISK be dissolved. A first step towards the settling of accounts with DISK was taken in June 1970 when the National Assembly passed the Government's proposed amendments to the legislation on unions. But the bourgeoisie had not foreseen the militant reaction of the working class. Hundreds of thousands of industrial workers thronged Istanbul's three main thoroughfares in defence of their progressive unions. Once again soldiers were brought in to crush the workers' demonstration, and in the course of the fighting *Abdurrahman Bozkurt*, *Yasar Yildirim*, *Mehmet Gidik* and *Mustafa Baylan* perished. Martial law was thereupon proclaimed in the districts of Istanbul and *Kocaeli*; the leaders of progressive unions were arrested, and hundreds of workers, rounded up at police and army headquarters, were atrociously tortured.

Benefiting from the state of siege, the employers hurried to expel from their factories the representatives of the progressive unions. And, as was to be expected, strikes were declared illegal in the sectors covered by martial law.

Throughout the four months that martial law reigned, the trade unionists and workers who had been brought before military courts defended themselves valiantly and courageously unmasked the manoeuvres of finance-capital.

This is what the DISK leader Ismail Cura, has to say about the tortures he witnessed:

*"At six o'clock in the evening of June 19, 1970 a non-commissioned officer of the troops, together with five policemen in plain clothes, came to arrest me at Merter Sitesi, where the headquarters of the Lastik-İş union is located. They took me off in the direction of the criminal section of the police. As I stepped down from the jeep, I was kicked and thrown into a dark cell full of water. A little later policemen came in, showering me with insults and calling me 'communist', and proceeded with the 'falanga'. Despite the fact that I told them my feet were maimed as a result of an automobile accident, they continued the falanga. When they stopped now and then, it was only to ply me with questions and extinguish their cigarettes on my hands. And then they forced me to walk on the floor all covered with water. During the 25 hours that I underwent this torture they took away the 185 LT I was carrying on me, my cigarettes, cigarette lighter, fountain pen and my address books. These were never returned to me."*

This is how Ertugrul Altay of the Kimya-İş union describes the police tortures:

*"I was picked up in front of the Puro-Fay factory by a policeman in plain clothes on June 19 and taken to the police headquarters of Mecidiyeköy. Then I was transferred to the security police. There I saw Mustafa Gözlükü, a Puro-Fay factory worker. His face was all beaten up and swollen. His head had been injured and blood was flowing down onto his shirt. He was incapable of moving. The next day I was transferred to the army barracks at Selimiye. There I saw my fellow workers being beaten by policemen and troopers in Room No. 3 in an atrocious manner. They were no longer able to move."*

Yusuf Hocaoglu tells of the tortures he witnessed at the security police:

*"They were flogging the workers, shouting, 'you, stupid donkeys, why do you revolt against the employers who give you your daily bread?' In another corner, two workers with bloody eyes told how they had been beaten at the police headquarters of Kartal by the troopers and members of the military police." (Monthly Review Ant, August 1970, p.4)*

And when the state of siege was lifted, it was evident that it had been impossible to purely and simply eliminate progressive unions; moreover, throughout the country thousands of workers were joining DISK, a proof that DISK was the main true representative of the working class. In the region of Çukurova alone, 10,000 workers in the textile industry adhered to progressive unions, defying the pressures, the violence and the cruelty which the police, the armed forces and the rest of the State machinery held in store for them. Such determination on the part of the working class rendered unenforceable the amendment to union legislation, and progressive unions continued to represent the workers in fact. In December of 1970, at the Eregli steelworks, the most important center of heavy industry in Turkey, 3,000 workers in a body went over to DISK.

During the ten months between June 1970 and March 12, 1971, the struggle of the working class took on such proportions that the corrupt order felt threatened. The people of Turkey, its poor peasantry, the underprivileged members of its bureaucracy and its progressive youth made significant headway in the fight for democracy and against imperialism.

In the course of those ten months the working class went on strike and organized occupations in the following factories: Sungurlar, ECA, Jawa, Güntherm, Kristal Cam, Devlet Su Isleri, Aliaga Rafineri, Banknot Matbaasi, General Electric, Nükleer Arastirma Merkezi, Adapazari Seker Fabrikasi, General Motors, Pilma Tudor, Samsun Azot Sanayii, Ipras Petrokimya Tesisleri, BMC Montaj Fabrikasi, Goodyear, Migros, Gislaved, Bossa, Ytong, Berec, Mobil, Shell, Boraks Asitborik, Amerikan Tumpene Sirketi, AEG, Fiat, TPAO, BP, Grundig, Pertrix, Uniroyal, Profilo, and in hundreds of others.

For the most part these were bloody struggles, under attack by the forces of law and order and by the army.

As mentioned in the chapter on the Man Hunt, in these struggles as well as in other combats, the working class lost Şerif Aygün, Necmettin Giritlioglu, Hüseyin Çapkan, Hasan Kirik and Hidir Altinay.

#### March 12 or War Against Working Class

And thus the democratic and anti-imperialist movement's need to arm itself in self defense and oppose violence with violence in this criminal, terrorist atmosphere that prevailed in Turkey was labelled "anarchy" by the Turkish ruling circles who used this pretext to unleash their "sledge-hammer operation" on March 12, 1971 against the left and the country's democratic forces.

Immediately after the March 12 coup, the DISK issued a call for a mass "union of forces", asking all the mass organizations to exercise pressure on the military authorities, to pose their demands clearly and threaten to continue their struggle as long as these demands remained unsatisfied. The Turkish Teachers' Union (TÖS), the Union of State Employees, the professionals chambers and the various trade unions which participated in these "united forces" meetings decided to transmit a memorandum to the Government demanding:

- a) Measures to put an end rapidly to the economic, political, ideological and military domination of the United States.*
- b) An immediate end to the fascist methods employed against democratic and progressive forces.*
- c) Speedy implementation of social and economic reforms in the interests of the impoverished masses.*

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

The Erim Government, however, true to its class structure, did not take any of these demands into consideration when presenting its program to Parliament. On the contrary, every single point in its program favored the interests of the United States and its local collaborators. It was a program after the heart of a Vehbi Koç, hence of a fascist character.

The first concrete application of this program was the initiation of a "Sledge-Hammer Operation" against the entire left on April 26, 1971 with the proclamation, at the Ministerial Council, of martial law for 11 provinces.

Eight of these provinces, Istanbul, Kocaeli, Ankara, Adapazari, Izmir, Zonguldak, Eskisehir and Adana are the most industrialized districts of Turkey and form strongest bases of the progressive unions.

The martial law regime's first cudgel blow fell on the socialist movement. All the socialist organizations and publications were dissolved and banned. And then began a large-scale, nation-wide program of arrests. From the very start of the martial law regime, strikes were forbidden and union leaders and workers were arrested. Armed troops were sent in wherever groups of workers were fighting for their rights. And the knell of the workers' movement and of socialism was to be consecrated in the constitution and in new legislation by the passage of amendments voted while cannons stood menacingly by.

In this struggle to destroy the workers' movement, the fascist government found a great ally in the Türk-İş leaders who, in order to completely wipe out progressive trade unionism in Turkey, were engaging in a policy of concessions. Thus, strikes were postponed, salary increases limited, unionists arrested.

The list below presents a chronological picture of the terrorist movement unleashed against the working class and progressive trade-unions following the proclamation of martial law:

28.4.71- All union activity is forbidden in the districts under martial law.

30.4.71- The striking workers at the Pertrix, Pirelli, I.E.Ulagay and Emboy factories decide to continue their strike despite the ban. The militia is sent in and breaks up the strike.

4.5.71- The Ministerial Council decides to postpone the national railway strike for 29 days.

7.5.71- A trade unionist, Ahmet Eren, is arrested at Batman.

8.5.71- Labour leaders Durmuş Öztürk and Cemal Dogan, together with the workers Mehmet Toroman, Yusuf Bayir, Mehmet Ali Kaya and Niyazi Çetin are placed under arrest.

15.5.71- A worker at Sakarya is placed under arrest. His name is not made known.

18.5.71- The Martial Law authorities have taken into custody Kemal Türkler, General President of DISK, and Kemal Sülker, its General Secretary, and among other progressive leaders, Kemal Nebioğlu, Şinasi Kaya, Hilmi Güner, Suat Şükrü Kundakçı and the worker Osman Sercan.

- The following workers are placed under arrest at Kayseri: Erhan Gürler, Ramazan Yılmaz, Kadir Nalbant, Zihni Menekşe, Mustafa İyigün, Faik Arslan, Kemal Erden, Ahmet Kinacılar, Şafak Kan, Deyzi Türbeci, Ercan Kaner and Yaşar Arıkan.

19.5.71- Trade unionist Recep Vatensever is placed under arrest at Kayseri.

- The strike of the Chemical and Machine Industries (MKE) is postponed by decision of the Ministerial Council.

21.5.71- Trade union leaders Ismail Yeşilyurt and Orhan Kirbağ are placed under arrest at Samsun, and trade union leader Aydın Turhaneri at Adana.

24.5.71- Trade union leader Özkan Gür is detained at Adana.

27.5.71- Trade union leaders Osman Sakalsiz, Dinçer Dogu and Yakup Erdem are placed under arrest at Ankara.

- Sami Yazici, a worker, is placed under arrest at Artvin.

- Trade union leader Nuri Onal is arrested at Artvin together with the following workers: Nuri Gül, Mustafa Kadioglu, Bayram Dicle and Kayhan Güvercin.

2.6.71- Ramazan Varol, a worker, is placed under arrest at Manavgat.

3.6.71- Trade union leader Bekir Yenigün is placed under arrest at Ankara.

4.6.71- The national railway strike is postponed for two more months by decision of the Ministerial Council.

*(Between May 18 and June 7, 1971 mass arrests took place in which a total of 2,138 persons were arrested, according to newspaper accounts. However, it is impossible to identify the trade union leaders and workers among them since the names and occupations of these prisoners were never published.)*

5.6.71 - The martial law authorities state that Şaban Erik, Sirri Öztürk and Şevki Erencan have been placed under arrest.

12.6.71- The Court of Cassation decides that government employees do not have the right to strike.

20.6.71- It is announced that the Government will ask for restrictive amendments to the legislation on union contracts, strikes and lock-outs.

21.6.71- Two workers, Ibrahim Uygun and Mehmet Ali Özkan, are detained in Gaziantep. Trade union leader Saffet Melek is arrested in Samsun.

- Halil Tunç, General Secretary of the Türk-İş, admits that more than 2,200 workers have been fired at Istanbul since the beginning of the martial law regime. He also reveals that a number of employers refuse to pay their workers.

27.6.71- Labour Minister Attila Sav states that 43,000 persons are joining the ranks of the unemployed each year in Turkey.

- A communiqué states that Turkish workers employed in Germany have a very high accident rate and that 285 out of every 1,000 workers have experienced accidents at work.

3.7.71- The following workers have been placed under arrest at Izmir: Mehmet Tuncel, Bayram Dogruter, Fahrettin Çoban. And in Ankara, Isa Metli, a worker is detained.

6.7.71- The martial law authorities postpone the strike of 2,372 workers on Istanbul's suburban trains.

oooTURKISH WORKERS ABROADoooo

Germany.....	500,000
Australia.....	3,142
Austria.....	22,904
Belgium.....	14,931
France.....	17,212
Great Britain.....	1,864
Holland.....	20,601
Switzerland.....	3,939
Other countries...	6,264

ooo Total ..... 590,877 ooo

16.7.71- The Ministerial Council decides to ban strikes in the districts of Denizli, Burdur, Afyon, Kütahya, Bingöl, Elazig, Maraş, Van and Gaziantep.

20.7.71- Under pressure of the martial law authorities, the Constitutional Court dissolves the Turkish Labour Party (TİP), the only formation of the working class represented in Parliament.

22.7.71- Hasan Türkay, of the Justice Party, takes the floor in the National Assembly to

state that the Government is limiting the applicability of union contracts, endangering union rights and liberties, and has become a strike breaker. He also says that employers are expelling trade unionists in those districts where strikes have been banned.

26.7.71- 158 workers are out on strike in the customs warehouse of the national railways in Istanbul.

- The Erim Government, which has appointed numerous military officials to civilian functions, designates General Fethi Ertem as employer representative to the Supreme Arbitration Commission.

27.7.71- The Ankara Chamber of Commerce states that employment has fallen 9.7% in the course of the first five months of 1971 as compared to the same period in 1970.

1.8.71- The Association of Turkish Employers and Industrialists, created in order to better control the Government, declares through its president Vehbi Koç: "Now that we are about to enter the Common Market, our two forces must work together in order to increase our exports and the productivity of our industry. Competition within the Common Market will also pose the problem of workers' wages. The industrial worker's wage must not endanger Turkish industry by making it less competitive."

2.8.71- 36,000 railway workers at Eskisehir announce that they are going out on strike immediately. The martial law authorities at Eskisehir are obliged to reverse the prohibition of strikes in that city.

17.8.71- The Ankara MLH announces the dissolution of the National Union of Construction Workers for an indefinite period.

21.8.71- Meeting with the Prime Minister and other government ministers, the capitalists request that "wages be blocked for the period of one year".

22.8.71- At discussions between the Government and the unions, only Türk-İş is represented. DISK leaders were not invited.

23.10.71-The Ministerial Council decides to postpone the strike of the maritime transport workers for a month.

25.10.71- General Faik Türün, Istanbul Martial Law Commander, asks to meet with workers and employers of the SEKA paper factory at Kocaeli, the workers having gone out on strike because of differences with the employer. The workers were informed that the forces of law and order would put an immediate end to the strike if the workers did not accept the wage increase proposed by the employer. The union leaders having declared these terms unacceptable, the strike was broken by martial law forces.

15.11.71- The Administrative Committee of Türk-İş turns down a report presented by twelve of its unions who oppose the "no-politics" policy of Türk-İş and propose the adoption of a social-democratic policy, the creation of a Social-Democratic Party or, if necessary, support for the creation of a Social-Democratic Party.

oooooooooooooooooooo  
o Unemployment in-  
o creases rapidly.  
o Mahmut Aydemir, a  
o worker from tthe  
o sub-district of  
o Palu, who came  
o to Adana seeking  
o work, hangs him-  
o self in despera-  
o tion. (Cumhuri-  
o yet, August 8, 71)  
o  
oooooooooooooooooooo

16.11.71- Workers' representation at the Labour Courts is discontinued. For the last 15 years workers had been able to take part in these tribunals.

- The Ministerial Council postpones the strike announced by the Maritime Bank employes.

17.11.71- Following the refusal of their proposal for a social-democratic policy, the 12 Türk-İş unions state that "the real effect of the 'no-politics' policy of Türk-İş is to divide the Turkish workers' movement into supporters of this or that policy of existing political parties".

24.11.71- At a time when the Government and the martial law authorities are holding wages down, the Economics Department of the Ministry of Industry and Commerce officially announces that prices have increased by 50%. According to current price indices of the Ministry of Commerce, the index of 145.7 for the year 1970 had risen to 170.9 by July 1971.

- At the 5th Labour Assembly, Minister of Labour Attila Sav announces that the number of unemployed has increased to 2 million. According to the Deputy Prime Minister Attila Karaosmanoglu, *"withing the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens. 400,000 persons enter the labour market each year, of whom 250,000 are able to find work in the agricultural sector, but the remaining 150,000 are unemployed."*

25.11.71- The strike at the Industrial Chrome, Magnesite and Tile establishment at Konya is postponed for 30 days by decision of the Ministerial Council. The union president accused the government of playing the role of strike breaker.

26.11.71- The demand for Turkish workers decreases in those foreign countries which were offering a solution, or a stop-gap, to the unemployment crisis in Turkey. Nearly 500,000 Turkish workers are employed in foreign countries, it is officially stated. But this figure comes close to 800,000 if it includes workers without official work or contracts and those who leave the country clandestinely. The savings of Turkish workers amount to 3.5 billion German marks, a sum most useful to the German economy. And thanks to the 1.5 billion German marks which these same workers have sent back to Turkey, they have enabled the country to restore its balance of payments. But now, with the increasing number of dismissals among these foreign workers and growing unemployment within Turkey itself, this source of foreign currency is drying up and Turkey is faced with inextricable difficulties. It is known through official sources that whereas Turkey receives 120 million dollars from foreign trade, 500 million dollars enter the country from money sent back home by Turkish workers in foreign countries. The foreign currency which tourism brings in serves only to line the pockets of the privileged classes.

-According to Mr. Celio, Swiss Minister of Finances and Customs, 200,000 foreign worker are unemployed in Switzerland. All the political parties include in their electoral platform and demand that these unemployed workers be forbidden to remain in Switzerland.

- Australia also, where there are thousands of Turkish workers, is going through a period of economic stagnation. The number of unemployed in Australia will reach 100,000 by the end of the year. This economic stagnation will undoubtedly be intensified by Great Britain's entry into the Common Market.

- Mr. Missoten, Director General of the Belgian Labour Ministry, states that the Belgian recession is beginning to affect the foreign workers. Only 12 out of the 24 mines where Turkish workers are employed are actually functioning at present. Soon there will be only 9 mines, which will make the situation of the foreign workers even more precarious.

- Unemployment in Canada, which has risen to 7.1% of the population, has also affected the Turkish emigration.

5.12.71- At Adana the following workers have been brought to trial on charges of "having held secret meetings": Ramazan Beyaz, Mehmet Soysal, Fevzi Yilmaz and Bekir Sitki Oztekin.

6.12.71- Shortly after having been freed, a number of DISK leaders are once again brought to trial, this time on account of the mass workers' movement of June 1970. Following the huge demonstrations held on June 15 and 16, 1970, twenty-seven labour leaders had been placed under arrest and brought before the military courts. They had been freed at the end of this first martial law period and their case transferred to the 4th District Court of Istanbul. Now, a year later, these trade union leaders are brought back before the military court on the very same charges. The names of these DISK officers and union leaders affiliated to DISK are: Kemal Türkler, General President of DISK; Kemal Sülker, General Secretary of DISK; Şinasi Kaya and Hilmi Güner, Vice-Presidents of Maden-İş; and the following union leaders affiliated to DISK: Hakki Öztürk, Murathan Bedel, İsmet Demir, Ugur Özdoğan, Recep Akgül, Celal Yalçinkaya, Orhan Adem Sevinç, Neşet Demircan, Saffet Kayalar, Remzi Yıldırım, Hasan Altıntaş, İlhami Akdeniz, Remzi Ersoylu, Arif Çekiç, Cemil Kartal, Eşref Güçkan, Ali Şükrü Angin.

8.12.71- 85 workers of the Otosan Automotive Factory are brought to trial at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH. They are accused of organizing an illegal demonstration during the general boycott of industrial workers held on June 15-16, 1970.

- The bakery workers have gone out on strike in the district of Manisa, not covered by martial law. An injunction is issued against the workers who held a silent demonstration throughout the city in connection with their strike. The president of the MUFİŞ union, Osman Niyazi, and four other union members are detained.

- The DISK representative for the Ankara region, Ugur Cankoçak, is sentenced to one and a half years of prison for having "cast a slur on national sentiments" in an article published in the official organ of DISK.

9.12.71- In answer to the Türk-İş position on a social-democratic policy, twelve unions create a *Council of Social Democratic Unions*. They are denounced by Seyfi Demirsoy, General President of Türk-İş: *"They want to initiate ideological discussions and conflicts. The Turkish workers' movement has no need for foreign models of this kind. Turkish unionism had adopted Kemalist methods... The Council of Social Democratic Unions may become a political force and create the political party they advocate... Thus we shall end up in the unfortunate situation of French and Italian unionism."*

11.12.71- A truck sent in by the employer to force its way into a glass factory at Paşabahçe where the workers were on strike for the last 48 days ran over and killed a worker, Kadir Peker, father of six children. The president of Petrol-İş, İsmail Topkar, says that it was a *premeditated act on the part of the employers*.

17.12.71- According to a statement issued by the Nurnberg Labour Office, the need of German companies for foreign labour has fallen by 60%. The German Association of Employers announces that it will be able to give work to only 52,000 workers in 1972 and that almost 400,000 workers may have to be put on a temporary basis.

27.12.71- The Ministerial Council

Edip Somunoglu, senator, disclosed that the price of tezek rose to 5 Lİ. (Milliyet, 21.1.1972)

In Eastern Anatolia, the price of a cart-load of tezek rose to 200 Turkish Pounds. (Cumhuriyet, January 27, 1972)

TEZEK: Dried dung used as fuel by peasants in Eastern Anatolia.

200 TURKISH POUNDS: Half of the per capita annual income of Eastern Anatolian peasantry.



has once again postponed for 60 days the strikes of the Maritime Bank employees and the workers of the Chrome, Magnesite and Tile enterprise of Konya.

1.1.72- In his New Year message, Halil Kaya, President of the Turkish employers Association, calls for changes in the present liberal legislation on union contracts and strikes.

2.1.72- The Government announces that a Supreme Advisory Boards will be formed in the near future whose task will be forestall wage differentials in various branches of industry due to different union contracts and to prevent wage increases.

3.1.72- The President of the Yol-Is union, Süleyman Ejder, is tortured at the Kayseri police headquarters. The unionist was made to walk barefoot on gravel with a policeman mounted on his back.

9.1.72- Minister of Labour Uzuner states that only 72 strikes occurred in 1971 and 8,456 workers were engaged in them whereas, before the military rule, on an average there were 600 strikes every year. According to Uzuner's statement, the number of unemployed reached 2,000,000.

21.1.72- Komal Türkler, President of the DISK, states that *"most strikes carried out during the period martial law were deprived of certain conditions and cannot be considered as real strikes"*.

- During the official visit of Prime Minister Erim to France, a mutual social security agreement was signed and France undertook to employ more Turkish workers.

11.2.72- 200 workers of the newly established Etibank Aluminium Factory went on a stay-in strike.

17.2.72- Mahmut Gündüzbey, President of the Agricultural Workers Union, demands a 48 hour work week, payment in cash instead of in kind and collective bargaining for one million agricultural workers.

24.2.72- The workers of Aydin Textile Factory went on strike.

26.2.72- The workers of Sümerbank Hereke Textile Factory boycotted mess in order to protest the cut in their premiums.

3.3.72- The Constitutional Court cancelled the amendments on eleven articles of the Trade Unions Act enacted in June 1970 which had caused the militant reaction of the working class. One of the cancelled amendments authorized a trade union or federation only if it represented one-third of all workers on an industry-wide basis. This article aimed to dissolve the DISK.

10.3.72- Firuzan Ören and Rezzan Degerli, two cabaret employees, were arrested on the charge of propagandizing for communism.

- The Izmir Martial Law Headquarters detained worker Recep Umutlu on the pretext of instigating others against the authorities.

11.3.72- According to the daily *Hürriyet*, unemployment in Turkey has reached a record level among the European countries. Turkey: 18%, Italy 5%, England 4.3%, etc.

30.3.72- 3,000 workers of the Ceylanpinar State Farm went on strike. The authorities brought militia to crush the strike and in the clashes many workers are wounded.

20.5.72- The workers' strike at Aydin Textile Factory ended after 86 days.

27.5.72- In a construction enterprise at Fikirtepe-Istanbul an employer shot one of the workers, Çetin Altug, who had demanded wages not paid for months.

10.6.72- The Metal Workers Union of Turkey decided to go on strike at Kocaeli Foundry.

- The Türk-İş Confederation transmitted a memorandum to the Prime Minister and demanded an end to the ban on strikes instituted in eleven provinces under the pretext of earthquake disasters. According to the memorandum, the employers are exploiting the workers to the utmost.

29.6.72- Two trade union leaders, İsmet Demir Uluç and İsmail Bağbug, are condemned to six months imprisonment each for protesting the US Sixth Fleet's visit to Turkish ports.

11.7.72- The Social Security Administration disclosed a new project to restrict the social rights of the working class. According to this new project, the minimum limit to receive old-age pensions will be raised from 55 to 60 for men and from 50 to 55 for women.

-In Istanbul, 600 telecommunication workers went on strike and 200 workers on a stay-in strike.

AVERAGE LENGTH OF LIFE		
	Men	Women
Turkey	52.5 yrs	56.3 yrs
Austria	66.7 "	73.5 "
U.S.A.	67.- "	74.2 "
Gt. Britain	68.7 "	74.9 "
Bulgaria	68.8 "	71.9 "
Sweden	71.9 "	76.5 "

18.7.72-750 workers of the Mehmet Üretmen Nail Factory went on strike.

20.7.72- The Federation of Road Construction Workers Unions decided to go on strike on behalf of 50,000 workers.

- 500 thousandth worker, Necati Güven, went to Germany. There are still 1,051,138 workers awaiting admission.

25.7.72- In Balıkesir, 500 municipal services workers went on strike.

- Dursun Ali Cömert, leader of the nail workers' strike, has vanished.

27.7.72- The trade unions of Izmir stated that in the martial law districts the employers exploit to the utmost the workers, deprived of the right to strike.

29.7.72- In Kayseri, during the strike of the municipal services workers, rightist groups attack the strikers. The Governor made a request to the Government to stop the strike.

30.7.72- The workers of Antalya Harbour Construction decided to go on strike.

1.8.72- Halil Tunç, Secretary-General of Türk-İş Confederation, stated that the government granted many privileges and facilities to the private sector while the living conditions of the workers are worsening day by day. He criticized the attempts to create a stock market and to restrict the social and economic rights of the workers.

2.8.72- Ertuğrul Soysal, President of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry, accused the Secretary-General of Türk-İş of being an enemy of the private sector and defended the restriction on strikes.

The Objective: To Crush the Workers' Movement

It can easily be seen from this brief historical account and its concrete portrayal of events that the objective of the fascist leaders in Turkey is to crush the socialist movement and the working class on behalf of the big bourgeoisie.

1. All mass organizations as well as the socialist organizations have been dissolved. And as a result of a Constitutional amendment, it is now no longer possible to form a new political party having a social class as its base, as required by scientific socialism.

2. In this climate of terror, progressive unionism has been cut off from all possible forms of action. DISK continues in name only. The progressive worker leaders are being tried before military courts and can no longer carry on the fight. And in order to eliminate progressive unions completely from the social scene, the fascist regime is preparing to alter existing labour legislation on unions, strikes and lock-outs.

3. The leaders of the Türk-İş Confederation have supported the fascist rule until the last days. Proof of this collaboration and compromise is the fact that 12 unions affiliated to Türk-İş took a stand in opposition to this.

4. In order to keep Turkish industry at a level competitive with that of the Common Market countries, the capitalists are calling for a ceiling to workers' wages and intend to make strike and union contract legislation inoperative. Strikes being virtually forbidden, the fascist government has shown by its actions in the course of the last year that it is without the shadow of a doubt in the service of these capitalists.

5. The fascist administration, with its concessions to the capitalists, is incapable of finding a solution to the unemployment crisis threatening the labouring masses. It is admitted by the fascist regime's own ministers that there are two million unemployed in Turkey. The situation of Turkish workers in Europe, Canada and Australia, where Turkish labour has been employed, is becoming more and more precarious because of the present recession in those countries. The forces of law and order, greatly reinforced in the course of the last year, will also try to crush the spontaneous uprisings of the jobless subsisting on a near-famine level.

But, in spite of increasing repressive measures, the big bourgeoisie and the fascist rulers cannot defeat the working class of Turkey. Because, the working force is estimated to be 15 million in 1970; 38% of the total population and 70% of the population ages 15 and over. 13% of the working force, approximately 2 million, is engaged in manufacturing and 1,404,816 workers are registered by the Social Security Foundation. The number of unemployed is 2 million, and 400,000 persons enter the labour market each year, of whom 150,000 are not able to find work. Within the next twenty years employment must be found for 12 million citizens.

Besides its quantitative force, the working class has been organized in trade unions and labour party and gained the capability of fighting against the exploitation. Furthermore, more than a half a million workers are now in the developed countries; they can see the huge gap between these countries and their own, they can learn how to live as a human-being and to fight for their rights.

Even whether its political organizations were banned and its progressive unions are under the threat of being eliminated, the working class can organize again in various forms and can defend its economical and democratic rights.

## THE OPPRESSION OF THE KURDISH PEOPLE

It can be stated without any hesitation that the terror and horrors of martial law in Turkey have been also felt by the Kurdish People who live mainly in the eastern part of Turkey.

Since the beginning of the Republic, the military and civilian authorities forced the Kurds to accept assimilation. They have been denied the right to be Kurds. Their language, Kurdish, is banned.

The national liberation movement of Turkey achieved victory through the combined efforts of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples. Even in the First Grand National Assembly, it was publicly stated: *"Here, at the throne of the nation, only Turks and Kurds have the right to speak."* At the Lausanne Conference, Ismet İnönü, the Chief Delegate of Turkey, stated: *"For centuries the Turks and the Kurds have been parts of a united whole. In the world war as well as in the liberation war, the Kurds fought to their utmost."*

But after the victory, the Kemalist regime applied a chauvinistic and assimilationist policy with respect to the Kurdish People and as a result of this repression they revolted against the Ankara Government several times: 1924 *Hasturi*, 1925 *Raman* and *Rackoyan*, 1925 *Sheikh Sait*, 1926 *Koçuşagi*, 1927 *Bicar*, 1930 *Zilan*, 1928, 1927, 1930-32 *Agri*, 1937-38 *Dersim* revolts.

After the Second World War, in the framework of the "multi-party system", the political parties were forced to recognize a certain measure of freedom for the Kurdish people in order to attract their votes. However, in the period from 1946 to 1960 an agreement was made between Kurdish landowners, the sheikhs, tribal chiefs and bourgeois power structure, all of whom jointly exploited the Kurdish people.

After the May 12th, 1960 Movement, however, the military rulers began to apply repressive measures on the Kurdish people, they even banished 55 Kurdish landowners, not because of their economic power, but for their ethnic stand. The same military power structure changed the names of the Kurdish villages and introduced an assimilationist policy once again.

Even after the 1961 Constitution was put into force, the repressive measures were continued by the ruling circles. During the period of martial law in 1963-64, many Kurdish leaders were arrested and tried in the military courts.

The Political Parties Act passed in 1964 deprived political parties of the right to mention the existence of different ethnical groups or languages in Turkey.

However, in the relatively liberal atmosphere of 1961-1965, Kurdish intellectuals were able to fight for the fundamental rights and freedoms of the Kurdish people.

Following the 1965 elections, however, the AP reintroduced repressive policies against the Kurdish people and Kurdish intellectuals.

- In January 1967, 16 Kurdish intellectuals, including two parliamentarians, Ali Karahan (Hakkari) and Ziya Şerefhanoglu (Bitlis) were given prison sentences several times by the Military Court of the General Staff Headquarters.

- In August 1967, the Kurdish people demonstrated in several provinces in order to protest against the underdevelopment of eastern Anatolia and fascist repression. In Diyarbakir, the organizers of these rallies, journalist Edip Karahan, lawyer Cahit Ülgen, Hasan Akkuzu, Bahri Koçkaya and Sait Elçi were arrested.

- In April 1968, the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against Karahan, Ülgen, Akkuzu, Koçkaya, Elçi, Adil Dosyele, Necip Başak, Hüseyin Kiraz, Idris Arıkan, Tahir Öktem, Yahya Bozkurt and Nevzat Naz for allegedly "carrying out separatist activities" during the meetings in the eastern provinces and demanded up to 15 years for each.

- In May 1968, the Military Court of the General Staff Headquarters condemned Naci Kutlay, Mehmet Ali Dinler, Yusuf Kaçar, Haydar Aksu, Ziya Acar, Halil Demirel, Necati Siyahkan, Fevzi Avşar, Nazmi Balkaş, Hüseyin Oguz Uçok, Nazim Çigdem, Fevzi Kartal, Mehmet Aydemir, Muhsin Şavata, Fethullah Kakioglu, Mehmet Bilgin, Esat Demiroglu, Mustafa Nuri Direkçigil, Emin Kotan, Koço Elbistan, Turgut Akin, Cezmi Balkaş Halil Yokuş, İsmet Balkaş and Sait Bingöl to 16 months imprisonment each for "separatism".

- In November 1968 a Kurdish legend, *Mem u Zin*, written three centuries ago by Ahmet Xani, was seized in a publishing house. The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, translator of the book.

- In the same months, two students, M. Emin Gözen and Ahmet Kotar, were arrested for reading the Kurdish alphabet.

- In July 1969, Demir Pekol, secretary of the Erzurum Cultural Club, was arrested for "separatism".

- Writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan was arrested for publishing the Kurdish alphabet and went on trial in August 1969 in Istanbul.

### The Commando Terrorization of the Kurdish People

In the early 1970's terrorism against the Kurdish people on the part of the authorities were severely intensified and reach a high point. The Kurdish villages were raided continuously by military commandos on the pretext of searching for arms. During these searches, inhuman torture was inflicted on the local people.

The Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO) prepared a full report concerning the terrorism and torture and presented it to the President of the Republic, Cevdet Sunay, in April 1970. In this report, the DDKO requested the President to take the necessary measures to stop this fascist type treatment of the Kurds. But this report was never taken into consideration by the authorities.

The following excerpts are taken from the report submitted to the President in April 1970:

"On April 8, 1970, the town of Silvan was surrounded by nearly 4,000 gendarmes and military commandos supported by six army helicopters, 200 military vehicles and some light artillery observation planes. From 4 a.m., until 7 p.m., all houses and shops were searched with utmost care by the troops. During the searches, the people of the town were gathered in three different areas outside the town and were brutally tortured by the troops. Abdülkadir Ceyhan from the town of Silvan gave the following statement regarding the incidents which occurred on that day:

"On April 8, 1970, the soldiers surrounded Silvan at 3 o'clock in the morning. They started beating people and forced them out of their houses without any explanation. Then, they took the people into three different areas which had been selected before the operations began. After three hours of severe tortures, they released the government employees and students. The rest of the people were kept under guard and the torture, by military troops, continued until 7 o'clock at night.

"In county of Bismil, in the village of Çekildiz, Şemuz Esen, his son, his uncle and his cousin were undressed by force and were shown to their wives and their daughters-in-law completely naked. Then their feet were beaten in front of their families and relatives. Esen's uncle, who was subjected to this torture and insults could not stand it any longer and attempted to commit suicide by trying a rope around his neck. However, his life was saved at the last minute by his relatives, when he was almost dead.

"Again, in the county of Bismil, in the village of Eski Göltepe, Abdülkerim Kaplan and his brother were tortured for three hours continuously. When the torture was over, they were in a state of coma.

"In the village of Kembelu, Ramadan Ramazan, Nevzat Kaya, Hacı Yusuf and some other citizens were subjected to 'falanga' by the military personnel. After the torturing, the soldiers forced these people to dance in front of everyone for their own amusement. In the same village, another citizen, called Ramazan, was forced to eat human faeces; but when he resisted, he was beaten by the soldiers until he was unconscious. This citizen remained in a coma for an entire week.

"In the village of Köpekli, citizen Yusuf, his two sons and the headman of the village were tortured in the same fashion as explained in the previous paragraph. Even the headman of the village was undressed completely and was then whipped by the soldiers.

"In the province of Diyarbakir, in the village of Düvel, Dursun Yanardag was forced by the soldiers to watch his son being tortured. When he could not stand this scene of savagery any longer, he threw himself on his son as he lay on the floor in order to protect him from any further beating. The gendarmes, furious at Yanardag for his act, then beat him heavily. They beat him on the head with the butts of their rifles and Yanardag had to be taken to the clinic at Medical School in Diyarbakir in a state of coma. Four days later, he died in hospital.

"In the province of Mardin, the soldiers entered into the village of Küfrak and raided the houses just as any occupation army. The soldiers forced the people of the village to make military drills as simple torture. They also insulted the male citizens of the village in front of their wives and daughters.

"Again, in the province of Mardin, in the village of Sedan, the military commanders shouted at the villagers after heavy torture: 'From now on your wives will belong to us, for one week, and we will use them for our own pleasure. They we will return your wives to you, for one week only, and you can use them too. And this will be continued in the same pattern.'

"In the same province, the village of Revşat was raided nine different times. Each time, the people of the village were forced to carry out military drills for hours on the command of the military personnel. The imam (moslem religious leader) of the village was undressed, left completely naked with his male organ tied to a heavy string. The other end of the string was given to his wife who was told to pull on it. They were then forced with

bayonets at their backs to run around the village with the people looking on. The commanders of the gendarmes also threatened the people of the village, stating: *'We know that you bastards are the servants of Barzani! We will oppress you until you leave this land. If you like, you can go and complain wherever you want! We don't give a damn! We have an order in our hands even to exterminate all of you. Nobody can stop us!'*

"Again in the same province, in the village of Arnas, Christians were harassed and thrown to the ground. The military personnel even forced them to be circumcised. Everyone in the village was completely undressed and the religious leaders of the Christians were insulted for their religious beliefs.

"Again in the same province, in the village of Barman, Mehmet Çelik, his wife and his daughter were totally undressed by force. They were then forced to walk naked in the streets of the village all day long.

"In Gindik, the people of the village were also forced to do military drills in the swamps for more than five hours.

"In the village of Tizyan, a pregnant woman had a miscarriage when tortured. In two days time she was dead.

"In the village of Kavsar, citizen Mehmet Öztaş was also killed by soldiers under brutal torture.

"In the village of Dara, a citizen died from a heart-attack when the military personnel tortured his son in front of his eyes.

"In the province of Siirt, in the village of Sive, a pregnant woman threw herself onto her brother in order to protect him from the torture of being beaten by soldiers in the main square of the village. When she did this, the torturers, angered, beat her severely. She had a miscarriage and a few minutes later, she died herself. Hundreds of families in this village, no longer able to stand the repression, fled from Turkey."

- In October 1970, Dr. Tarik Ziya Ekinçi, the former secretary-general of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP), Canip Yildirim, member of the TIP executive committee, writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, writer Musa Anter and the leaders of the DDKO were all arrested, accused of "separatism".

- The increasing repression of the Kurdish people provoked strong reaction among the democratic forces of the country and on October 31, 1970, the 4th Convention of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) passed a resolution in defence of the democratic rights and fundamental freedoms of the Kurdish people. It reads as follows:

=====
Burhan Tan of Siirt
was taken into custody
by the Diyarbakir
Martial Law Headquarters
for possession
of a Kurdish folk
song record. (Cumhuriyet, August 22, 1971)
.
Folk Singer Ramazan
Karagöz was taken into
custody by the Diyarbakir
M.L.H. for singing one
Kurdish folk song in a
casino in Diyarbakir.
(Cumhuriyet, August 29, 1971)
=====

*"The Kurdish people live in the eastern part of Turkey.*

*"The fascist governments of the ruling classes have applied a policy of repression, terror and assimilationism with respect to the Kurdish people and this policy has often been turned into savage cruelty.*

*"Our party supports the struggle of the Kurdish people who aspire to exercise their constitutional rights, as well as their other fundamental democratic demands and supports the Kurdish people's fight against the anti-democratic,*

*fascist, repressive, chauvinist-nationalist tendencies."*

- Following the publishing of this resolution, the ruling circles moved with their administrative and judicial apparatus against the TIP and the socialist press. The public prosecutor instigated legal action against TIP Leader Behice Boran and the executive committee members. The prosecutors also brought law-suits against the chief editors of various periodicals for publishing the above mentioned resolution.

In addition, the public prosecutors brought several law-suits against Dr. Ismail Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Science Department, who had written an article on the socio-economic structure of eastern Anatolia, and Dogan Ozgüden who had published the article in *Ant*.

- In December 1970, the DDKO Istanbul Section was raided by the police forces and its documents confiscated.

- In March 1971, in Kirikhan (Hatay Province), rightist groups spread rumours that the leftists had placed bomb in mosque and incited the crowds to raid the homes of Kurds as well as the headquarters of the progressive organizations, newspapers and homes of leftists.

#### The Oppression After the Martial Law

After imposing martial law, repressive action against the Kurdish people became open brutality. Although no urban guerilla activities existed in south-eastern Anatolia, the military-backed government proclaimed martial law in the Diyarbakir-Siirt area as well. The Diyarbakir-Siirt Martial Law Headquarters has not, however, limited itself to these two provinces, but applied repressive measures throughout eastern and southeastern Anatolia.

- On the first day of the exercise of martial law, April 27, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara banned the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia and, in quick succession, other martial law headquarters took similar measures, banning the local sections of the DDKO.

- On May 1, 1971, Prime Minister Nihat Erim stated: *"We accept no other nation as living in Turkey other than Turks. In accordance with our understanding, there is only one nation in Turkey: The Turkish nation. All citizens living in different parts of the country are content to be Turkish."*

- On May 18, 1971, the Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul published a list of names of eminent Kurdish intellectuals including the DDKO leaders.

- On June 23, 1971, the Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH began trying 5 teachers, 4 state employees, 33 students, 21 professionals, a physician, a religious leader and a foreigner for allegedly carrying out "separatist propaganda activities".

- On June 25, 1971, Dr. Ismail Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Science Department of Ankara University, was taken into custody for having undertaken socio-economic research work on Eastern Anatolia and the Kurdish People. He was tried by the First Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH and condemned to 13 years and 7 days imprisonment and 3 years exile.. The decision was held on August 14, 1972.

- On July 20, 1971, the Turkish Labour Party was closed by the Constitutional Court for adopting the resolution on the democratic rights of the Kurdish people. All party premises were seized by the authorities.



- Emin Ozmen, Mayor of Pervari, Bahattin Sevgili, Mayor of Yanarsu, Cemil Aktin, Mayor of Kurtalan and Mustafa Ramanli, Mayor of Batman, were arrested on August 15, 1971 by the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters for "separatism".

- On August 19, 1971, 20 leaders of the Turkish Labour Party, including President Behice Boran, were brought before the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH on charges of "following separatist policies".

- On December 10, 1971, the 26 leaders of the DDKO and the TIP were brought before the Military Court of Diyarbakir MLH on charges of "following separatist policies". In his formal indictment, the military prosecutor claimed that there was no such thing as a Kurdish people in Turkey and all those called Kurds are in fact the "Turkish mountain people".

- On March 3, 1972, the Chief Public Prosecutor opened new legal proceedings against the Union Party (BP) accused of "propagandizing for separatism".

- On May 22, 1972, the military prosecutor brought a new law-suit against 36 Kurdish intellectuals on charges of "affiliation to the Democratic Party of Kurdistan". They will be tried by the Second Military Court of the Diyarbakir MLH.

- On May 25, 1972, Yünnü Budak, former president of the DDKO, was condemned to one year in prison by the First Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara for "insulting the security forces".

According to an official communique issued by the Diyarbakir MLH, during the period of one year, the military and police forces have brought more than 5,000 cases before the military prosecutors in the Diyarbakir-Siirt area where the Kurdish people live. Moreover, the martial law authorities have never disclosed the real number and names of the detainees. The publication of information on the arrests and trials is forbidden by the authorities, so as not to reveal the gravity of the repression to which the Kurdish people are subjected.

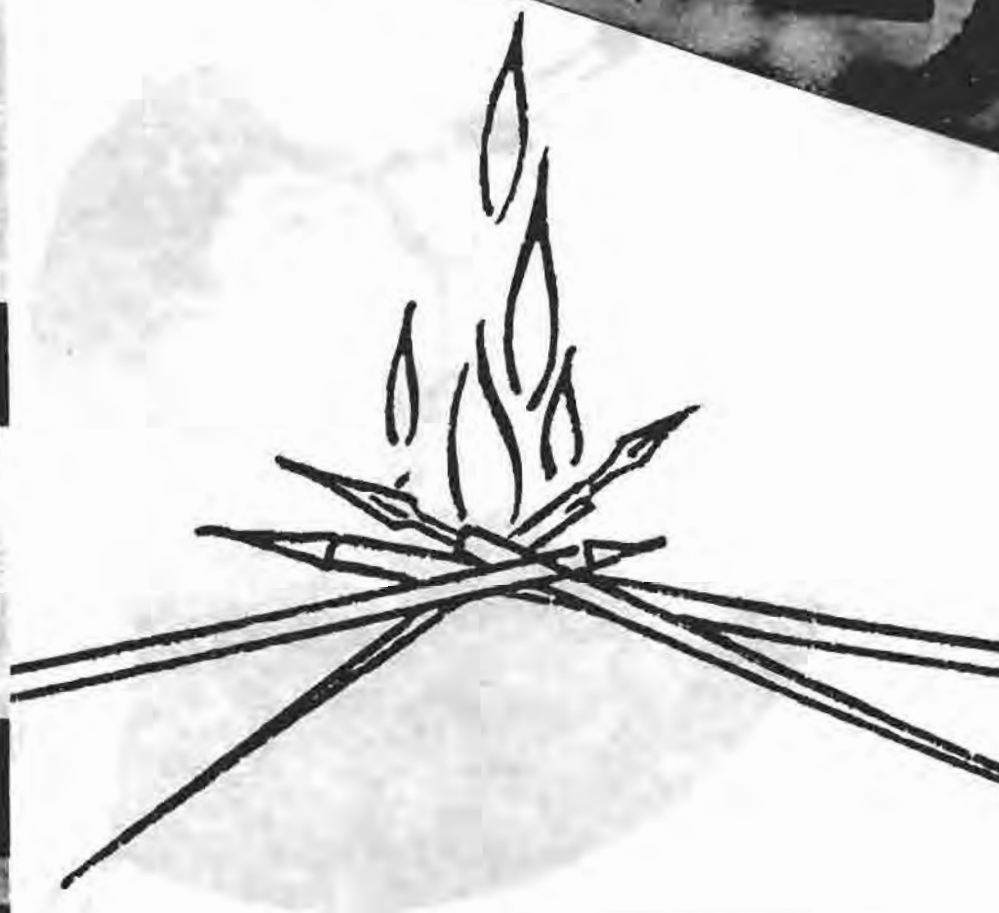
Not only hunger drives the Kurdish away. Hundreds of Kurdish families flee from Turkey because of the army's terrorism. The Kurds have been oppressed since the beginning of the Republic and officially they do not exist. Authorities call them as "Turkish Mountain People".

Also the Kurdish language does not exist officially. According to Prime Minister Erim, it is a "mixture of Persian, Turkish and Arabic, with only 3,000 complete Kurdish words".

Another well-known philologist, Justice Minister Ismail Arar, is more open-minded, he counted 8,000 Kurdish words.

However, we will never be able to learn the truth. Because, the publisher of a Kurdish - Turkish dictionary runs the danger to be granted for his scientific work with ten years imprisonment, and his book, dangerous for the country, is confiscated.

Weekly HUMO (Brussels), March 16, 1972



Hundreds of intellectuals have been arrested and brought to trial before military courts. Among them are Ilhan Selçuk, columnist of Cumhuriyet (above) and Yilmaz Güney, the most popular movie star.



The military regime has carried out a harsh commando operation in the south-eastern part of Anatolia where the Kurdish people live (above). Today, even mentioning the existence of the Kurdish people or defending their right to speak their own language is a crime in Turkey. The Turkish Labour Party (TIP) and the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO) were banned by the military regime because they were defending the democratic rights of Kurds. While progressive organizations are banned and thousands of intellectuals are detained, the militants of fascist organizations who had murdered more than forty persons one by one before March 12th, are still tolerated and even encouraged by the military regime. The photograph below shows a young girl who was attacked and wounded by rightist bands.



VIOLATION OF FREEDOM OF  
PRESS, OPINION AND THE ARTS

Under the military dictatorship, the life of the press, culture and the arts in Turkey has been turned into a desert. For the military rule is also guilty of violating those articles of the European Convention and the 1961 Constitution which concern freedom of press, opinion and the arts.

Article 10 of the European Convention states, *"Everyone has the right to freedom of expression. This right shall include freedom to hold opinions and to receive and impart information and ideas without interference by public authority and regardless of frontiers."*

Today, nobody in Turkey has the right to freedom of expression except a handful of high-ranking generals and big capitalists.

At the outset of martial law, all progressive or social periodicals were closed down, hundreds of thousands of books were confiscated, the daily newspapers were compelled to change their policy, the radio-television network was placed under the control of army generals, and theaters, movies and all cultural activities were subjected to censorship. Hundreds of writers, journalists, editors, actors, actresses, artists, novelists and poets were detained and even tortured. Tried before military courts established by the martial law headquarters, and threatened with long periods of imprisonment, many of them have already been condemned.

In fact, the freedoms of press, opinion and the arts had already been violated for the last six years under the Justice Party's rule, which had engaged in man hunts and various other forms of repression against the working class, the peasantry, the teachers and the youth. But the March 12, 1971 coup d'etat is a turning point in the extermination of free expression. Although all kinds of repressive measures against the press and the arts had been taken by the AP in power, courts of the independent judicial system had been able to act as a brake, preventing the execution of these measures maintaining the right to freedom of expression.

But with the imposition of martial law on April 26, 1971, all executive and judicial power was placed in the hands of the fascist-minded generals, and so this guarantee was lost. Furthermore, an amendment to the 1961 Constitution, enacted after the coup, considerably limits the legitimate authority of the courts of law.

An amendment to Article 22 actually enables the executive power to limit the freedom of the press and information gathering for the *protection of the territorial and national unity of the state, public order, and the protection of secrecy necessary for national security*. Thereby, administrative bodies are authorized to confiscate any publication or censor any correspondence at their discretion.

An amendment to Article 121 puts an end to the autonomy of the TRT (Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation) turning it into a governmental body. Actually the heaviest blow to the TRT's autonomy was the appointment of an army general as its director just prior to the rewriting of the Constitution.

In this chapter, violation of the freedom of press, opinion and the arts is considered not only after the March 12th coup, but since 1965, the year the Justice Party (AP) came to power. For, in order to deceive world opinion, the military rulers may organize phoney "election" (without a left alternative) and may even grant an amnesty for the political offences. But under the supervision of the fascist-minded generals, the Justice Party, authorized by the new amendments to the Constitution, will carry out much more repressive measures against the press, opinion and the arts than the ones taken for the last six years.

### Historical Background

In fact, the situation of the Turkish press reflects the main characteristics of an underdeveloped country. In a country like Turkey where the literacy rate is still 48%, the information function of the press cannot go beyond a certain limit. Moreover, printed matter cannot reach all corners of the country owing to the fact that 65% of the 37 million population still live in rural areas. Hence, oral communication such as radio and television, is still a vital means of public information, even in urban centers.

Although Turkey is fourth in the world with respect to the number of daily newspapers (USA:1752, USSR:616, India:456, Turkey:402), with the respect to the number of newspaper per thousand population, it is the 79th (45 per thousand). The main reason for this paradox is that most of the local daily newspapers are published only in order to gain money by printing official advertising and have no information function. Outside of the big cities, official advertising is distributed by the provincial governors; hence these single-sheet newspapers support the rulers.

Five daily Istanbul newspapers alone account for almost 80% of the total daily circulation of 1,879,228; and these newspapers are under the financial domination of big capital.

The Turkish press was actually established in the latter half of the 19th century, although a Turkish printing press had been introduced as early as 1727. The first newspaper in Turkish, *Takvimi Vekayi* (Calendar of Events), founded in 1831, was an official gazette. Consequently, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (Interpreter of Events), established in 1860, is considered to be the first Turkish newspaper, although an Englishman, William Churchill, published a paper *Caride-i Havadis* (News Gazette), beginning in 1843.

In the centralized, despotic structure of Ottoman society with its efficient, absolutist political regime, it was in fact impossible to create a Western-type opinion organ. The newspapers mentioned above were published in the framework of superficial reforms promised in order to guarantee the interests of Western countries.

Nevertheless, in time the Young Turks began to publish some clandestine newspapers for the purpose of spreading their ideas; they prepared the *Mesrutiyet* (constitutional government) movement.

Following the proclamation of *Mesrutiyet*, in 1908, during a brief period of liberal rule hundreds of newspapers appeared and nationalism became one of the main themes expressed by them. Meanwhile, the first socialist newspapers, *Göze* (1908-Izmir) and *Amele* (1909-Selanik) were published. But the dictatorship of Enver Pasha and his associates brought an end to this freedom.

This pattern of liberalization and repression has characterized the history of the press in Turkey. For example, a new period of freedom followed World War I, during the period of the national liberation war (1919-1922) when various newspapers were published in Anatolia for the purpose of supporting the liberation movement. It was even a socialist journalist, Hasan Tahsin, who fired the first shot at the enemy in Izmir prior to the national liberation war. Two socialist newspapers, *Yeni Dünya* and *Aydinlik*, were also published in this period. But with the approach of victory *Yeni Dünya* was forbidden, and following the victory *Aydinlik*, and all their writers and editors were arrested.

Until the end of World War II, the Kemalists in power maintained a rule of terror against liberal, democratic and socialist intellectuals, and censorship was established to clamp down on the press. Moreover, the fascist articles of Mussolini's Penal Code were adopted and every progressive thought was condemned under the pretext of "*propagandizing for the dictatorship of the working class*". That is how Nazim Hikmet, the world-renowned poet, came to spend thirteen years in jail.

Liberalization followed World War II, once more a development which paralleled the growth of legal political opposition. But after a short while the bourgeois politicians agreed to eliminate the left from the political arena and banned all socialist publications. Furthermore, the most effective daily newspaper of that period, *Tan*, was raided and destroyed by fascist bands at the instigation of the government. Hundreds of socialist or progressive writers, editors and artists were either arrested or compelled to flee Turkey. Meanwhile, *Sabahattin Ali*, world-renowned Turkish novelist, was murdered as a result of a plot prepared by the police.

In the 1946-1960 period, the influence of the United States over Turkey was decisively increased. Ideologically, anti-communism was adopted as a state policy; the Turkish press and the state-owned radio station provided most enthusiastic examples of McCarthyism. Until 1960, not only socialists, but also liberal-minded writers, thinkers and artists who dared to criticize the hegemony of the United States were exposed to police terror.

On the other hand, the big daily newspapers completely adopted this pro-American and pro-capitalist line and reaped the reward of this attitude. While the biggest circulation did not exceed 20-30,000 at the end of World War II, in the 1960's the circulation of one single newspaper alone, *Hürriyet*, reached 500,000. This was possible because all newspapers enjoyed huge financial support from the state banks and from the rising bourgeoisie, which put advertisement in these newspapers. In this way the big newspapers were able to import the latest technological innovations and to attract new readers by dealing largely in sensation.

Nevertheless, the Democratic Party in power could not bear this "*freedom of the press*" even without a left, and after early 1954 government control was strengthened by amending the press laws. The 1954 regulations imposed heavy fines on journalists convicted of writing articles which might harm "*the political and financial prestige of the state*". Journalists were jailed and publishers fined as the Democratic Party became increasingly sensitive to criticism of economic problems. These measures alienated many intellectuals and contributed to the May 27, 1960 coup.

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 A high school student, Mustafa Köylü, was arrested for allegedly "*propagandizing for communism*" by reciting poems in an Isparta village on June 2, 1972. (*Daily Cumhuriyet*, June 3, 1972)  
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### The Climate of Relative Liberty

Many measures of the 1950's that restricted the press were repealed after the coup. Article 22 of the 1961 Constitution safeguarded freedom of the press against the government. Under the protection of the 1961 Constitution, socialist newspapers and periodicals could be published for the first time. In this climate of relative liberty socialist intellectuals found the possibility of translating and publishing socialist classics. Indeed, until that time not only the works of Marx or Lenin but also the social democratic books of western socialists could not be published.

Now that workers and peasants were able to formulate their demands with large-scale workers' demonstrations following one on the other, with the founding of a labour party and huge masses demanding their constitutional rights and expressing anti-imperialist attitudes, some large-circulation newspapers opened up their columns to leftist writers in order to obtain new readers. But the publishing of anti-imperialist and socialist ideas aroused the anger of the big capitalists who provide the main income of the daily newspapers. Whereupon the publishers of these left-wing newspapers were forced to adopt a pro-capitalist, even a pro-American policy in their front pages, but at the same time, in order not to loose their left-wing readers, kept the left-wing columnists until the martial law of 1971.

In spite of this climate of relative liberty, the coup of May 27, 1960 and the coalition governments which followed continued to keep the fascist articles in the Penal Code, using them as a threat against the left-wing publications, thinkers and artists. For example, in 1963, an aged state employee, Şadi Alkiliç, was condemned to six years and two months imprisonment for sending an article entitled "The only road towards liberation: Socialism" to the daily *Cumhuriyet*. This was a real scandal, because the article had been sent to the newspaper in response to a competition it was sponsoring. The article had been selected from among hundreds by a jury, and published. But the court condemned not the responsible editor of the newspaper, but the irresponsible author of the competition article. Besides these fascist articles 141 and 142, the public prosecutors also used articles 158 and 159 concerning "defamation" of the President, the Prime Minister, the Government and the security forces.

Although a system of self-control was adopted by the press in 1960 and a code of ethics and a Court of Honour were established with the rulers' approval, the self-control system was flouted by the mass-circulation newspapers dealing largely in sensation.

Prosecutions for press offences were reviewed by a panel of three judges. But if the journalist was accused of violating articles 159 or 142, his case was brought to and tried before the aggravated felony court where he could be sentenced to imprisonment of up to 15 years.

Channels for government influence over the press were not limited to legislation. Turkey had a system of official advertising which subsidized the press. A further potential means of government control was the sale of newsprint. The press has been handicapped by the sale of this essential product at prices higher than the market price.

Although the working journalists had obtained some social guarantees such as minimum wage regulations, compensation for dismissal, social security, etc., the employers dismissed hundreds of journalists, above all the left-wing writers and editors, and freedom of the press was threatened by the danger of unemployment also.

Under these conditions, the daily circulation of major newspaper and their tendencies, prior to the March 12, 1971 coup d'etat, were as follows:

<i>Hürriyet</i> (center-right, sensational).....	438,899
<i>Günaydın</i> (center-right, sensational).....	326,938
<i>Tercüman</i> (right-wing, sensational).....	246,885
<i>Saklambağ</i> (non-political, sensational).....	216,233
<i>Milliyet</i> (center-right, opinion).....	195,598
<i>Cumhuriyet</i> (center-left, opinion).....	105,450
<i>Akşam</i> (center-left, opinion).....	39,541
<i>Son Havadis</i> (pro-A.P., right-wing).....	28,452
<i>Adalet</i> (extreme right).....	17,336
<i>Ulus</i> (pro-C.H.P.).....	16,017
<i>Dünya</i> (extreme right).....	13,061
<i>Düğün</i> (religious fanatical).....	12,007
<i>Bizim Anadolu</i> (religious fanatical).....	11,160
<i>Yeni Asya</i> (religious fanatical).....	10,350
<i>Yeni Gazete</i> (center-right, opinion).....	8,771
<i>Babıalide Sabah</i> (religious fanatical).....	7,479

Three of the highest circulation papers, *Hürriyet*, *Günaydın* and *Saklambağ*, belong to the same press group, to *Simavi* Family. On the other hand, all of these newspapers were dependant on finance-capital because they could obtain a large part of their income from the advertisements of the big capitalists. In 1969, finance-capital made the following payments to daily newspapers for advertisements: *Hürriyet*, 65 million LT; *Milliyet*, 23 million LT; *Tercüman*, 14 million LT; etc. These figures represent 50% of their total income.

As opposed to this huge circulation in favor of big capital, the socialist movement could raise its voice by means of periodicals. The first left-wing periodical, *Yön*, had appeared in 1962 and was able to carry on publication until 1967. At the beginning of 1967, socialist weekly *Ant* published and it continued publication until the March 12 coup d'etat. Besides, during the ten year period of relative freedom of press, *Sosyal Adalet*, *Eylem*, *Türk Solu*, *Sosyalist*, *Emek*, *Kurtuluş*, *Türkiye Solu*, *Aydınlık Sosyalist Dergi* and *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlık* were also published.

On the other hand, in addition to the commercial publishers, many publishing firms were established during this period of ten years, for the purpose of publishing socialist literature. These publishing firms --*Atağ*, *Sosyal Yayınlar*, *Sol Yayınlar*, *Gerçek Yayınevi*, *Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayınları*, *Habora Yayınevi*, *Ant Yayınları*, *Öncü Yayınevi*, *Payel Yayınevi*, *Ser Yayınları*, *Toplum Yayınevi*, *Gün Yayınları*; etc.-- succeeded in publishing various socialist classics and scientific research on the socio-economic structure of Turkey. But the government exerted heavy pressure on these publishing firms as well as on socialist periodicals, and brought hundreds of lawsuits against their publishers, writers and translators, even arresting some of them.

In addition, the distribution of these periodicals and books was systematically obstructed by the government and rightist organizations, many books being confiscated as soon as published and financial pressures applied.

#### Pressures Carried Out by the Justice Party

In order to fully apprehend the gravity of these pressures on the press, on thought and the arts, it is necessary to glance at the following



chronological table showing the repression which took place during the period when the Justice Party was in power.

In the first year of the Justice Party government, the police and the public prosecutors began using repressive measures against left and liberal-minded persons and publications. They arrested jazz musicians for "propagandizing for communism" by playing their guitars under a red lamp or by wearing red jackets during performances in Ankara; they arrested well-known writers such as Yaşar Kemal, Can Yücel, Orhan Kemal and the folk singer Aşık İhsani.

January 1967 - Politzer's "Basic Principles of Socialist Philosophy" was confiscated.

- Amnesty International nominated Şadi Alkiliç, who was still in prison, as "the prisoner of the month".

February 1967 - Five different charges were brought against Çetin Altan, the columnist of the daily *Akşam* also deputy of the Turkish Labour Party (TİP). The public prosecutor demanded that his legislative immunity be annulled.

- Muzaffer Erdost, publisher of *Sol Yayınları*, was arrested for publishing Mao Tse-Tung's "Theory and Practice".

- Poet Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil was arrested for his poem, *Kizilirmak*, and charged with "propagandizing for communism".

- The Ministry of National Education forbade the publication of the novels of Tolstol and Dostoievsky in the series of *Translations from World Classics*. They had been previously published by the ministry itself and sold out.

- Memet Fuat, publisher of *De Yayınları*, was tried on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Nazim Hikmet's poems written in jail.

- Ali Ulvi, the caricaturist of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, was tried for a caricature mocking the CIA.

- A charge was brought against Dogan Özgüden, editor of the weekly review *Ant*, for publishing the campaign of Amnesty International in behalf of Alkiliç.

March 1967 - Writer Naci Sadullah and Kaya Çelikkanat, responsible editor of the weekly *Kirpi*, were condemned to one and a half years imprisonment each on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published memoirs about Nazim Hikmet.

- A technician, Necip Büyükkul, was condemned to three and a half years imprisonment for "propagandizing for communism" in Istanbul.

- The translation of John Steinbeck's *Everlasting Struggle* was confiscated and Süzay Özay, Ferit Öngören and Vedat Üretürk, the translators, were charged with "propagandizing for communism".

- The performance of the play *Yobaz* (fanatic) at Bakirköy Halkevi Theater was prevented by rightist bands.

- Süleyman Ege was condemned to 9 months imprisonment on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a translated book about Hungarian peasants.

- Mahmut Makal, the famous novelist, was detained by police on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" while he was interviewing teachers in Keçiborlu.

April 1967 - Lenin's *On Marxism* was confiscated and the prosecutor brought a charge against Mehmet Ali Ermiş, publisher of *Gün Yayınları*, for propagandizing for communism.

- Essayist Demir Özlü and teacher Necmettin Yazici were arrested while under their military service and deported to the "regiment of exile" in eastern Anatolia, on a charge of "being leftist".

May 1967 - Judge Ali Faik Cihan was tried and acquitted on a charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having written a book entitled *Socialist Turkey*.

- On an appeal by Amnesty International, the Fourth Criminal Section of the Court of Cassation canceled the verdict concerning Şadi Alkiliç and released him.

- Dogan Özgüden, editor of *Ant*, was tried at the Military Court of the First Turkish Army, on a charge of "inciting the armed forces and the people to rise against the authorities".

- The Governor of Trabzon banned the performance of Nazim Hikmet's play *Yolcu* (traveller), staged by Gen-Ar Theater.

- The performance of the film *Bitmeyen Yol* (Everlasting Road) was banned by the Censorship Administration.

- In his message on the occasion of the anniversary of 27th May, President Cevdet Sunay stated that "socialism is contrary to the Constitution".

June 1967 - Three workers, Sami Oner, Ismail Tuna, Ismail Kirgiz and a student, Hüseyin Akelli, were sentenced to three years imprisonment each on charges of "propagandizing for communism" in Eskisehir.

- Writer Yaşar Kemal and editor Dogan Özgüden of the weekly *Ant* were brought before the court on a charge of "instigation to rebellion" in an article *High Treason is Multiplied*.

- Aziz Nesin, a world-famous Turkish writer, was detained for 48 hours immediately after his return from a trip to the USSR on a charge of "bringing in Nazim Hikmet's written will".

- Yaşar Kemal and editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant* were brought before the court on a charge of "instigating different classes against each other" in an article *The Ungrateful Ones*.

- Barbro Karabuda and Güneş Karabuda, the free-lance reporters of Swedish press and television, were detained for 29 hours during their visit on the charge of "making destructive propaganda against Turkey" in their book *Eastern Part of the Euphrates*, published in Sweden in 1960.

- The National Assembly cancelled the parliamentary immunity of Çetin Altan and allowed the public prosecutor to bring law-suits against him on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in his various articles. But this decision was immediately cancelled by the Constitutional Court.

- Despite the President of the Republic's opinion to the contrary, the Constitutional Court decided that socialism is constitutional.

August 1967 - Necati Yazar, President of the TIP Silifke Section, Yetil Pancaroglu and Nazim Yazar were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having distributed the written text of Çetin Altan's parliamentary speech.

- Kemalettin Vural, editor of daily *Emek* (Bandirma), was arrested for "insulting the government" by criticizing the cancellation of Altan's parliamentary immunity in his article and condemned to one year imprisonment.

- Tahsin Avci, President of the TIP Muş Section, and Salahattin Uyar, President of the TIP Adana Section, were arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Writer Can Yücel and editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant*

were brought before the court for "criticizing the cancellation of Altan's legislative immunity".

- Şerif Hulusi Kurbanoglu was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Lenin's works on the peasant problem.

September 1967 - Folk singer Aşık İhsani was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" by reciting his poems in Ergani.

- Aziz Nesin was brought before the court on the charge of "discrediting the Turkish State" by his address given at the Congress of Afro-Asian Authors' Union in Baku.

- The military prosecutor started legal proceedings against writer Mehmed Kemal because of his article published in Şölen Review in Adana.

October 1967 - İrfan Nilhan, editor of the periodical *Tan*, was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government" through his publication.

- The translation of Mao Tse-tung's works was confiscated and Mehmet Ali Ermiş, publisher of *Gün Yayınları*, brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

November 1967 - Yaşar Uçar, editor of the weekly *Ant*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism", for publishing Çetin Altan's parliamentary speech.

- Can Yücel was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Che Guevara and Mao Tse-tung's works on guerilla warfare.

- The administrator of the TRT Izmir Broadcasting Service was brought before the court on the charge of "instigating to rebellion" because of broadcasting a program entitled *The Folk-Singers*.

December 1967 - The public prosecutors brought six law-suits against the writers and editors of the weekly *Ant*, two for Dogan Özgüden, two for Yaşar Kemal and two for Yaşar Uçar on the charges of "insulting the morality of the government", "instigating different classes against each other" and "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic" in different articles.

- While answering an interpellation, the Minister of Interior Affairs announced in Parliament that the importation or publication of 1,540 different books had been prohibited during the period of October 29, 1933-May 1, 1966.

- A book entitled *Fidel Castro Speaks* which contained an interview with Castro previously published by Playboy Magazine, was confiscated and Bülent Habora, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Three writers of the daily *Uyanış* (Ordu), Ertugrul Günay, Kemal Aksoy and Ahmet Akin were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

January 1968 - Necdet Onur, correspondent of the daily *Yeni Tanın*, was brought before the court, handcuffed, on the charge of "insulting a minister".

- The public prosecutor brought seven law-suits against the writers and editors of the weekly *Ant* --Fethi Naci, Dogan Özgüden, Yaşar Uçar and Hüseyin Baş-- on the charges of "propagandizing for communism", "insulting the morality of government" and "criticizing a court decision".

- Marcel Villard's book on the famous political prisoners'

defences was confiscated and Mehmet Ali Ermiş, publisher of *Gün Yayınları*, was brought before the court for "propagandizing for communism".

- Columnist İlhan Selçuk was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic". During the trial Prime Minister Demirel's lawyer claimed that the columnist had designated not the President, but the Prime Minister and the charge was turned into "insulting the morality of the Prime Minister".

- The translation of Mao Tse-tung's works on the liberation war was confiscated and Bülent Habora, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

February 1968 - Uluç Gürkan, president of the Political Sciences Faculty Student Association, and Turgut Balta, editor of the student review *Mülkiye*, were arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published an article on the revolutionary movements in Latin America.

- Records of Mozart's and Beethoven's music made in the USSR were prohibited in Turkey on the possibility of "including propaganda for communism".

- The translation of Che Guevara's book on *Socialism and Man in Cuba* was confiscated and Can Yücel, the translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The translation of A. Verbine's book on *Trade Unions of the USSR* was confiscated.

- Vahap Erdogdu was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Stalin's book on *Dialectic and Historical Materialism*.

- Muzaffer Erdost, director of *Sol Yayınları*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Stalin's works on *Problems of the Socialist Economy and Marxism and the National Question*.

- Two writers, İlhan Selçuk and Mihri Belli, brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having spoken at a forum on revolutionary strategy; editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant* and editor Vahap Erdogdu of the weekly *Türk Solu* were also accused on the same charge for having published the speeches.

- Necip Akan, editor of the periodical *Proleter*, was arrested in Adana on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published an article on production relations.

- İzzet Ararat, president of the Cultural Clubs Federation (FKF), and 11 others were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having distributed the text of Çetin Altan's parliamentary speech.

- Poet Metin Demirtaş, poet Arif Damar and Vahap Erdogdu, editor of the weekly *Türk Solu*, were arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published two poems.

March 1968 - Nazim Hikmet's book entitled *Romantics* was confiscated and Mehmet Ali Ermiş, publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Kazancakis' book entitled *Toda Raba* was confiscated and Ahmet Angin, translator of the book, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- İzzet Ararat, president of the FKF and editor of the periodical *Proleter*, was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Nazim Hikmet's poem *Kerem Gibi* (Like Kerem).

- Writer Mihri Belli was arrested on the charge of "making

propaganda for communism" for his speech given at the Political Sciences Department of Ankara University.

- The police prohibited the performance of the play *Reign of Süleyman*, staged by the *Halk Oyuncuları* which criticizes the AP regime, on the pretext of "insulting the authorities".

April 1968 - İzzet Ararat, editor of the periodical *Proleter*, was released, but immediately after was arrested again on the charge of "insulting the Minister of Interior".

- The translation of Mao Tse-tung's works on *New Democracy* was confiscated.

- Mehmet Ali Ermiş, Director of *Gün Yayınları*, died of a heart attack in the Justice Palace while he was waiting for an interrogation. He was facing a 90 years imprisonment in six different court for six books that he had published.

- *Sömürücüye Yumruk*, a periodical published in Zonguldak, was confiscated and its responsible editor was brought before the court.

- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against two deputies of the Turkish Labour Party on the charge of "discrediting the Turkish state" for having attended the Conference of Progressive Parties held in Italy.

- The governor of Antalya Province prohibited the Poetry Session where folk singer Aşık İhsani was also invited.

- It was disclosed that 29 books including Gladkov's *Cement*, Flekhanov's book on marxist thought, Kazancakis's *Captain Mihalis*, H. Lefebvre's book on socialist thought, Babeuf's works on revolution, besides the ones mentioned previously, were confiscated.

- Public prosecutor brought a law-suit against Remzi İnanç, director of *Toplum Yayınevi*, on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Régis Debray's *Revolution in Revolution?*

- A postcard was confiscated on the pretext of "propagandizing for communism" for bearing the picture of a white dove, symbol of peace.

- The records of Aram Hatchaturian produced by Columbia Records Co., was prohibited in Turkey on the pretext of "consisting of propaganda for communism".

- Painter Balaban was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for painting "some figures like a sickle - hammer" and the review *Gazi* was confiscated for having published the picture. On the other hand, another of Balaban's paintings had been seized on the same pretext because the public prosecutor had claimed that the figures of cow's horns on the painting resembled a sickle - hammer.

- *Hope*, the book by Andre Malraux, French Minister of Cultural Affairs, was confiscated on the pretext of "including propaganda for communism".

- Lenin's book on *The Infantile Disorders of Communism* was confiscated on the pretext of "including propaganda for communism".

- A book entitled *The Strategy of Anti-imperialist Struggle in Turkey* was confiscated on the pretext of "propagandizing for communism".

May 1968 - Public prosecutor Şiar Yalçın was placed at the Ministry's disposal for criticizing the legal proceedings and law-suits against socialist thought in his articles.

- Hamza Soydaş, editor of the monthly *İmece*, was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published an article criticizing the social order.

- Public Prosecutor Mehmet Feyyat was placed at the Ministry's

disposal for criticizing in his articles the arbitrary acts of the government.

- The performance of Orhan Kemal's play *72nd Ward* was prohibited by the police of Bodrum Town.

- Dogan Özgüden, editor of the weekly *Ant*, was brought before the court on the charge of "criticizing the arrest of political defendants".

- Nguyen Giap's book *The Popular War in Vietnam* was confiscated and Bülent Habera, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "praising communism".

- Jean Freville's book *Lenin on Art and Literature* was confiscated and Ahmet Öztürk, publisher of Payel Yayınevi, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The performances of four films, Stanley Kubrick's *Paths of Glory*, Anthony Mann's *El Cid*, Otto Preminger's *Advise and Consent* and Sidney Poitier's *Lilies of the Field* were prohibited by the Censor Administration.

- Çetin Altan, columnist of the daily *Akşam*, was condemned to one year and four months imprisonment.

- The book entitled *Socialism in Turkey, 1848-1925* was confiscated and its author, Kerim Sadı, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Mehmet Ali Yalçın, director of *May Yayınları*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Upton Sinclair's *Petroleum*.

- Muzaffer Erdost, director of *Sol Yayınlar*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Lin Piao's book on *Popular War in China*.

- The public prosecutor of Şebinkarahisar started legal proceedings against the public prosecutor of Koyulhisar, Şiar Yalçın, on the charge of "criticizing the legal proceedings against socialist thought".

June 1968- Gavit Savcı, president of the National Students Federation of Turkey (TMEF), was condemned to two and a half months imprisonment on the charge of "insulting the public prosecutor of Bernova".

- Necip Akan, editor of the periodical *Proleter*, was condemned to six months imprisonment for having published an article on production relations.

- Chief editor Dogan Özgüden and editor Alpay Katabacı of weekly *Ant* were brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the President of the Republic" in an article criticizing his speech against socialism.

- Folk singer Aşık Fermani was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism". The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against folk singer Aşık İhsani on the pretext of "insulting the Minister of Interior" on a poster hung in his bookshop.

- Bora Gözen, editor of the weekly *Türk Solu*, was arrested on the charge of "instigating students to rally".

July 1968- The International Peace Festival organized by the student organizations was prohibited by the government for having invited Miguel Angel Asturias, Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Konstantin Simonov, Yevgeni Yevtuschenko, Enver Abdelmalek and Pablo Neruda. A Nigerian folklore group which had come earlier for the festival was ousted by the police.

- The performance of folk singers organized in Konya Ereglisi was prohibited by the Minister of Interior.

- The government prohibited the importation of Güneş Karabuda's book *Turkiyet en Resahanbok* on the pretext of "propagandizing for communism", although the public prosecutor had started legal proceedings against the book a year before and it was decided that it was not propaganda for communism. In spite of this judicial decision, the government found the book dangerous. The Swedish press was indeed surprised that one could make propaganda for communism to Turkish people in the Swedish language.

- The government also prohibited the importation of the monthly *İgci Postasi* published in Cologne (Köln) by the Turkish workers and students.

- Writer Yaşar Kemal and editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant* were brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government" in an article on İnönü's contradictions.

- The police chief of Pinarbasi Town prohibited the performances of *Amatör Taş Theater*.

September 1968 - The public prosecutor brought eight law-suits against the editors of the weekly *Ant*, Dogan Özgüden and Alpay Kabacali, on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government and the security forces" in seven different articles criticizing the visits of the US Sixth Fleet and the student hunt.

- Hüseyin Korkmaz, member of TIP Ceyhan Section, was arrested for criticizing the unsuccessful cultivation of Sonora-64 wheat imposed by the United States.

- Writer Mihri Belli was condemned to 5 years imprisonment and three years exile by the First Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in his speech given at the Political Science Faculty.

- Five program producers of the TRT --Şahin Alpay, Ayfer Alpay, Türkkaya Ataöv, Adalet Agaoglu and Olcay Alper-- were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having broadcast a program on Sartre's impressions about Cuba.

- The translation of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Bolivia Diary* was confiscated and Hüseyin Güneş, translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The government prohibited the importation of a lot of books including Maurice Cornforth's *Dialectical Materialism*, John Gollan's *Democracy and Class Struggle* and *The Case for Socialism in the Sixteenths*, Hemreş Reşo's *Nordwind* and Rene Mauries' *Kurdistan ou la Mort*.

- Lawyer Turgut Kazan, president of the TIP Eakisehir Section, was brought before the court on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government and the security forces".

October 1968 - Writer Yaşar Kemal and editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant* were condemned to six months imprisonment each on the charge of "instigating the classes against each other" in an article. On the other hand, the public prosecutor brought a new law-suit against Yaşar Kemal and Alpay Kabacali, editor of same weekly, on the charge of "insulting the morality of security forces".

- İlhan Selçuk, columnist of daily *Cumhuriyet*, was condemned to three months imprisonment on the charge of "insulting the morality of the prime minister".

- Remzi İnanç, publisher of *Toplum Yayınevi*, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Ho Chi Minh's works on the *national liberation war*.

- Folk singer Aşık Fermani was brought before the court

on the charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having made a record entitled *Police*.

- Driver Yalkin Özerden was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having placed a sticker with the word "*Proletarian*" on his minibus. During his trial, the president of Kadıköy Aggravated Felony Court told him: "*Look, my son, the Russians deceive you by promising premiership, later they hang you. Be cautious!*"

- The General Assembly of the Court of Cassation cancelled the decision of the Fourth Criminal Section and approved the six years and two months imprisonment for Şadi Alkiliç.

- Driver Yalkin Özerden was arrested for having placed a sticker on his car with the slogan "*Dreyfus in France, Alkiliç in Turkey*".

- The translation of Stalin's works on Lenin was seized.

- The public prosecutors brought two law-suits against Aşık İhsani, folk singer, on the charge of "insulting the security forces" in Düzce and "propagandizing for communism" in Ankara-Altındag.

November 1968- İlhan Selçuk, columnist of the daily *Cumhuriyet*, was brought before the court for his two articles.

- Necdet Onur, correspondent of the daily *Yeni Tanin*, was condemned to nine months imprisonment for having written a news story concerning the Minister of Tourism.

- The public prosecutor brought four different law-suits against the writers and editors of the weekly *Ant*, Alpay Kabacalı, Dogan Özgüden and Yaşar Kemal, on the charges of "insulting the morality of the army, the president of the Republic, the government".

- During a performance in Beylerbeyi-Istanbul, four actors of Theatre *DIHT*, Ali Özgentürk, Dogan Soyumer, Hamdi Uluşan, Sadik Karamustafa, and two spectators, Orhan Akay and Haldun Karacabey, were detained by the police.

- Hamit Yakup, the president of the Iranian Students Association, was detained for having issued a leaflet protesting against the death sentences in Iran.

- By decision of the General Assembly of the Court of Cassation, Şadi Alkiliç was jailed again.

- A Kurdish legend, *Mem u Zin*, written three centuries ago by Ahmet Xani, was confiscated and Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, the translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "separatism".

- Poet Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil was condemned to three years imprisonment and two years banishment by the Third Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in his poem *Kizilirmak*.

December 1968 - A book of poetry by Nazim Hikmet was confiscated and Nezihe Meriç, director of *Dost Yayinlari*, was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Writer Fethi Naci and editor Yaşar Uçar of the weekly *Ant* were condemned to one and one-half years imprisonment each on the charge of "praising communism" for having published an article on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

- The translation of Emile Burns' book *Introduction to Marxism* was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against translator Yaşar Kemal on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Poet Ataul Behramoğlu was exiled to the "regiment of exile" in Malazgirt by the commander of the land forces, while he was doing his military service in Trabzon. This decision, given on the pretext of his



being a leftist, was voided by the Council of State, but in spite of this judicial decision the commander of the 3rd Turkish Army carried out the banishment.

- Nine air-force officers were banished to different units for having published a student almanac entitled *Göksenin*. In this almanac, the cadets of the air forces academy had published progressive articles and poems.

January 1969 - Vahap Erdoğan, editor of the monthly review *Aydinlik*, was arrested in Ankara on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

-Worker Şevki Erençan, member of the TIP executive committee, was arrested in Izmir on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" in a speech given at the TIP convention. Attila Özova, a local leader of TIP, was also arrested in Samsun on the same charge.

-During the budget debates in parliament, the minister of Interior stated that, in the last three and a half years, 408 persons were brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" and 14 of them were condemned.

-Maxim Gorki's book on *Popular Culture* was confiscated.

-A book entitled *Gürcistan* was confiscated on the charge of "discrediting the Turkish nation and Moslems".

-Technical designer Ali Kaya Gündüzer was arrested in Konya for having protested against an exhibition propagandizing for the Tieu regime in South Vietnam.

-Süleyman Ege, director of *Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayinlari*, was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having published the *Manifesto* of Marx and Engels. The book was also confiscated.

February 1969- The public prosecutors of Istanbul brought six different cases against the writers and editors of the weekly *Amt*, Yaşar Kemal, Can Yücel and Alpay Kabacali, on the charges of "propagandizing for communism", "insulting the morality of the government", "discrediting the Turkish nation" and "criticizing court decisions.

-Writer Ugur Kökden was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having written a review of Guevara's *Bolivian Diary*.

March 1969 - A book including the articles of world youth leaders, published by *Altın Kitaplar*, was confiscated on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Plekhanov's book on the class struggle was confiscated and Şerif Hulusi Kurbanoglu, the translator, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Lenin's *What is to be Done?*, was confiscated and Muzaffer Erdost, the publisher, was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Attila Tokatli, translator of Gladkov's *Cement*, was condemned to 15 months imprisonment and 3 months in banishment. The Court also decided to confiscate the book.

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Süleyman Ege, director of the "Bilim ve Sosyalizm" Publishing Firm, was condemned to 7 and one-half years imprisonment and three years banishment for allegedly "propagandizing for communism" by publishing *The History of the Communist Party of the USSR*. He had previously been sentenced to a total of twenty two and one-half years on similar charges for publishing three other books. Mr. Süleyman Ege will be in jail, therefore, for thirty years and in banishment for twelve years. (*Cumhuriyet*, May 5, 1972)  
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- The public prosecutor started five legal proceedings against the writers and editors of the weekly *Ant*, Dogan Özgüden, Yaşar Kemal, Alpay Kabacalı and Ülkü Tamer, on the charges of "propagandizing for communism" and "insulting the morality of the government."

- Henri Lefevbre's book on the life and works of Lenin was confiscated and translator Rasih Nuri İleri was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- The Anthology of Soviet Poets was confiscated and translator Attila Tokatlı was brought before the court on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

- Theater actor Ayberk Çölok was arrested on the charge of propagandizing for communism for having over-applauded the Albanian folklore group.

- Police raided the *Anadolu* Publishing firm in Ankara and seized its books worth 60,000 LT.

- Writer Mihri Belli was arrested on the charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having made a speech on counter-revolution at the Political Sciences Department of the University of Ankara.

April 1969 - Three records of folk-singer Aşık İhsani were confiscated on the charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

- Writer Yaşar Kemal and editors Dogan Özgüden and Alpay Kabacalı of the weekly *Ant* were brought before the court on charges of "instigating to rebellion" and "insulting the morality of security forces".

- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the play *Otlak* (pasture), staged by *Ankara Sanat* Theater since five months.

- The police forces raided the office of the monthly review *Aydınlık* in Ankara and confiscated all its documents, including the list of its subscribers.

- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the *Halk Oyuncuları* Theater on the charge of "propagandizing for communism and separatism" for having staged the play *Pir Sultan Abdal* in Gaziantep.

- İlhami Kızılay, president of Zonguldak Cultural Club, was brought before the court on the charge of propagandizing for communism for having written two articles in the periodical *Sarıcağ*.

- Stalin's book on right and left deviations was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against the publisher Muzaffer Erdost on the charge of "propagandizing for communism".

May 1969 - Arif Gelen was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Lenin's *Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky*.

- Osman Saffet Arolat, editor of the weekly *Ant*, was arrested on charges of "instigating workers to strike illegally".

- Murat Kovacıoğlu, president of the Political Science Department Students Association, was arrested for criticizing a speech by the METU Rector in which he labelled youth leaders as "red fanatics".

June 1969 - Remzi İnanç, director of *Toplum Yayınevi*, was condemned to 18 months in prison and six months banishment by the Third Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on charges of "praising communism" for having published Ho Chi Minh's works on the war of national liberation.

- Rosa Luxemburg's book on *Strikes, Trade Unions and Political Parties* was confiscated and translator Ahmet Angin was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The government withdrew the student scholarships of Hakkı

Keskin, President of the Federation of Turkish Students in Germany (ATÖF), Mustafa Demir, Ömer Tulgan, Güner Yüreklik and Ahmet Solma because of involvement in leftist activities.

-Dogan Özgüden, Chief Editor of the weekly *Ant*, was condemned to six months in prison, charged with "criticizing the sentencing of Şadi Alkiliç". Dogan Özgüden was also condemned to one year in prison and six months banishment for "insulting the morality of the security forces" in an article criticizing police raids.

- The translation of Trotsky's *October Lessons* was confiscated and Bekir Harputlu, director of *Ser Yayinlari*, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Nevzat Hatko was condemned to one year in prison on charges of "discrediting the Turkish nation" for having translated Kazancakis' book, *Captain Mihalis*.

July 1969- The translation of Lenin's works on socialism was confiscated.

- The translation of Lenin's *The State and Revolution* was confiscated and Süleyman Ege, director of *Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayinlari*, was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The Censorship Administration refused authorization for the filming of Yaşar Kemal's world-famous novel *Ince Memed* (Memed, My Hawk) in Turkey.

- The Government banned the periodical *Birlik*, published by Turkish students in Germany, from Turkey.

- Demir Pekol, Secretary of the Erzurum Cultural Club and member of TIP, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism and separatism".

- Aydin Volkan, a student, was arrested in Bursa on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The Governor of Adiyaman refused authorization for the holding of *Ehli Beyt Festival* organized by the Shiites.

- Kamil Erden, a student at Ankara University, was arrested in Eskişehir on charges "propagandizing for communism" for posting newspapers on walls.

- Assistant Professor Burhan Cahit Ünal, member of the TIP, was brought before the courts on charges of "acting contrary to the national interest" for having attended the Congress of the Italian Proletarian Socialist Party in Naples.

- Alpay Kabacali, editor of the weekly *Ant*, was condemned to one year in prison and four months banishment by the Second Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul on charges of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having criticized the fact that the police accepted food from the Sixth Fleet. The public prosecutor brought two law-suits against Dogan Özgüden, one against Alpay Kabacali and one against Osman Saffet Arolat for "inciting to rebellion".

August 1969 - Mehmet Özder, a teacher and TIP candidate for Parliament, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" during his election campaign.

- *Haşhaş*, a periodical founded by a group of peasants for the purpose of defending their rights, was closed down and its seven founders were arrested for protesting against the arrest of some youth leaders.

- Ahmet Kaya Turan, a teacher, was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a book entitled *Voice of the Peasant*.

- The Governor of Elazig banned a performance of the play *Pir Sultan Abdal* staged by the Halk Oyunculari.

- Writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for separatism" for having published the Kurdish Alphabet.

- Three naval cadets, Hasan Çetin, Cuma Ali and Mehmet Üzek, were condemned to three months in prison for having shouted "Independent Turkey" during an excursion to Sinop.

- The translation of a book consisting of Douglas Bravo's interviews was confiscated and translator Cemal Süreya was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The translation of Paul Louis' book on Friedrich Engels was confiscated on the charges "propagandizing for communism".

- The public prosecutor brought a new law-suit against Alpay Kabacali, editor of the weekly *Ant*, accusing him of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

September 1969 - The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Yusuf Ziya Bahadinli, TIP member of Parliament, for his article on teachers published by the monthly *Emek*.

- The fourth issue of the periodical *İşçi Birliği* was confiscated and editor Adnan Celayir was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Writer Ibrahim Osmanoglu and editor Alpay Kabacali of the weekly *Ant* were brought before the courts on charges of "inciting working class against others" for having published a report on a workers' strike.

- Hüseyin Ergün, editor of the monthly *Emek*, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published an article on the anniversary of the liberation of Izmir.

- The Court of Cassation overruled the sentences of poet Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil and writer Fethi Naci.

October 1969 - Murat Camuşçu, President of the TIP Kastamonu Section, was arrested on charges of "insulting the morality of the Prime Minister".

- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Kemal Türkler, President of the Progressive Trade Unions Confederation (DISK), and writer Attila Aşut on charges of "inciting social classes one against the other" during the TIP election campaign.

- Dogan Özgüden, chief editor of *Ant*, was condemned to one month in prison for criticizing the arrest of a number of writers.

- The 12th issue of the monthly *Aydinlık* was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against assistant Dogu Perinçek for his speech on the death of Ho Chi Minh published in the review.

- Aydin Volkan, a student, was condemned to five years in prison for "propagandizing for communism" in Bursa.

November 1969 - Dogan Özgüden and Alpay Kabacali, editors of the weekly *Ant*, were brought before the courts for "insulting the morality of the security forces" in criticizing the murders committed by the police.

- The National Intelligence Agency (MIT) prevented the showing on the state television of a film on Atatürk made by Soviet film makers in 1934.

- The translation of Dimitrov's works on fascism was confiscated and translator Ali Özer was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The government banned the periodical *Yeni İgci Postasi*, published by Turkish workers and students in Cologne.

December 1969 - The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Orhan Asena for his play *Sheikh Bedrettin of Simavna* (story of an old Ottoman utopic socialist) put on by the Ankara Sanat Theater.

- Writer Zakeriya Sertel who had lived in exile for 20 years arrived in Istanbul, but the authorities denied him entry to Turkey and sent him back to France.

- 69 naval officers issued a protest against the repression of youth. Lieutenant Sarp Kuray and two others were arrested.

January 1970 - Dogan Özgüden and Alpay Kabacali, editors of the weekly *Ant*, were condemned to one month in prison each for criticizing the arrests of writers.

- A TV program entitled *The Struggle of Youth* was banned on the pressure from the National Intelligence Agency (MIT).

February 1970 - The showing of James Baldwin's play, staged by the *En-gin Cezzar-Gülriş Sururi* Theater, was banned by the Governor of Istanbul.

- Poet Özkan Mert's book of poetry *We Will Reestablish Everything* was confiscated. In addition, the public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Osman Saffet Arolat, editor of the weekly *Ant*, for publishing an Özkan Mert poem.

March 1970 - Writer Ismail Gençtürk was brought before the courts on charges of "inciting one class against another" for an article published in the daily *Yenigün*.

- Şadi Alkiliç was temporarily released for reasons of health, his condition worsening from day to day.

- Mehmet Ulusoy and Savaşkan Oral were detained for putting up posters for the play *Turkey yes, US no!* put on by the Workers Theater.

- Seyhan Say, assistant at the METU, was condemned to 18 months in prison on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for distributing a pamphlet entitled *Warning* in 1968.

- A book consisting of official documents from Peking on the ideological conflict with the USSR was confiscated and Publisher Süleyman Ege was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Mustafa Öz, a teacher, was brought before the courts for publishing a book entitled *Spark* for children.

- Ahmet Kaya Turan, a teacher, was brought before the courts on charges of "insulting the morality of the government" for having published a book entitled *Independent Turkey*.

- Prof. Muammer Aksoy, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, Prof. Yildirim Üler, Assistant Ugur Mumcu, Lawyer Halit Çelenk, Lawyer Rauf Çapan and Lawyer Turan Tamar were brought before the courts on charges of "praising an offensive action" which consisted of issuing a tract supporting a teachers boycott.

April 1970 - Poet and publisher Şükran Kurdakal was taken to court for "inciting to rebellion" for having published a book entitled *Popular Armies*.

- The public prosecutor brought a law-suit against writer Hilmi Özgen and editor Osman Saffet Arolat of the weekly *Ant* charging them with "inciting to rebellion" for having published research work on common held lands.

- Assistant Dogu Perinçek was detained on charges of "having forbidden books" in his possession when travelling from Istanbul to Ankara.

May 1970 - The actors at the *Sahne Anadolu* Theater were brought to po-

lice headquarters after a performance in Kirsehir. Although they had put on the same play 152 time previously in different provinces, the public prosecutor started legal proceedings under Article 161/4 because they criticized the United States. It was later revealed that the article in question contained in the Turkish Penal Code had been abrogated eight years earlier so the actors were released after being detained for several hours.

- The public prosecutor brought three law-suits against Osman Saffet Arolat, editor of the weekly *Ant*, on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published the *International* and two other articles.

June 1970- The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul banned the publication of periodical *Maden-Is*, newspaper of the Metal Workers Union of Turkey.

July 1970- The monthly review *Ant* was confiscated and the public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Dogan Özgüden, chief editor of the review, on charges of "propagandizing for communism". In addition, the public prosecutors took legal action against the editors and writers of *Ant*, --Dogan Özgüden, Osman Saffet Arolat, Ragip Zarakolu, Faruk Pekin and Nuri Ayvali--for allegedly "propagandizing for communism", "inciting one class against another" and "insulting the morality of the army".

- Can Yücel, translator of Che Guevara's book on *Socialism in Cuba*, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison for "propagandizing for communism".

- Mayakovski's *Legend of Lenin* was confiscated and translator Güneş Bozkaya was brought before the courts charged with "propagandizing for communism".

- Poet Şükran Kurdakul was condemned to six months in prison for publishing a book of poetry entitled *The US Soldier in Ismir*.

-Translator Şerif Hulusi Kurbanoglu was condemned to one and one-half years in prison for translating Maxim Gorky's book on popular culture.

- Ahmet Hamdi Dinler, publisher of the periodical *Sömürücüye Yumruk*, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

August 1970 - Three issues of the periodical *İşçi-Köylü* were confiscated by the martial law authorities and seven persons were arrested in Ankara and Malatya for distributing these issues.

- The public prosecutor brought legal action against Inci Özgüden, editor of the monthly review *Ant*, on charges of "inciting soldiers to rise up against their superiors", and another legal action against Osman Saffet Arolat, another editor of the same review on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

September 1970 - The police forces raided the offices of the periodical *İşçi-Köylü* and detained 10 persons.

- Erdal Öz, essayist and book-seller, was brought before the courts on charge of "propagandizing for communism" for having used paper on which quotations of famous revolutionary leaders were printed to wrap books.

- Hakkı Keskin, President of the Federation of Turkish Students in Germany (ATOF), was divested of his citizenship by the Government.

- The public prosecutor brought a law-suit against Inci Özgüden, editor of the monthly *Ant*, on charges of "insulting the army" for having published an article criticizing collaboration between businessmen and army generals.

November 1970 - The translation of Carlos Marighella's *Minimanual of*

the *Urban Guerilla* published by the *Ant Yayinlari* was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought two law-suits against publisher Dogan Özgüden and cover designer Inci Özgüden for "propagandizing for communism".

December 1970 - Remzi Inanç, director of *Toplum Yayınevi*, was jailed on a one-year prison term.

- The Ministry of Interior Affairs confiscated four books published by *Sol Yayinlari* without obtaining a proper court decision.

- The public prosecutor brought a law-suit against Osman Saffet Arolat and designer Tan Oral on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a pamphlet entitled *We, the Workers, are Within Our Rights!*.

- The TRT administration refused authorization to producer Abdullah Yılmaz to broadcast because of his programs on "fishing" and "borax".

- Folk singer Aşık İhsani was sentenced to one and one-half year in prison and four months banishment for allegedly "insulting the security forces" in three of his records.

January 1971 - Despite the decision of the Court of Cassation, the Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul condemned Dogan Özgüden, editor of *Ant*, to one year in prison and four months banishment for "insulting the morality of the security forces".

February 1971 - Muzaffer Erdost, director of *Sol Yayinlar*, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Lenin's *What is to be Done?*.

-Writer Yaşar Kemal and editor Yaşar Uçar were sentenced six months prison terms for an article published in the weekly *Ant*.

March 1971- Journalist Sina Çiladir, İlhan Akman, Salih Vural and İşik Alanur were arrested in Karadeniz Ereğlisi on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Dogan Özgüden, editor of the monthly *Ant*, was brought before the courts on counts of "separatism" and "inciting one class against another" for having published the resolution on Kurdish Problem passed by the TIP Convention and news on peasant movements in Lebanon.

April 1971- The translation of Trotsky's book on the *Permanent Revolution* was confiscated.

- Ceyhan Can's book entitled *Revolutionary Struggle is Hope* was confiscated and the writer was brought before the courts on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The translation of Karl Marx' *The Civil War in France* was confiscated.

- The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against the *Habora* publishing house for publishing Nazim Hikmet's *Last Poems*.

- Assistant Professor Çetin Özek's book *Fascism and the Revolutionary Popular Front* was confiscated and the public prosecutor brought a law-suit against him accusing him of "propagandizing for communism".

- Süleyman Ege, director of *Bilim ve Sosyalizm Yayinlari*, was tried for having published Lenin's *State and Revolution* and was acquitted. The Court of Cassation overthrew this decision, however, and ordered a new trial.

- Ahmet Tımel and Oya Savaşçı, two program directors at the TRT, were brought before the courts for having broadcast a program entitled *Keloglan* (Bald Boy).

- The public prosecutor brought eight law-suits against the editors and writers of the monthly *Ant*. Dogan Özgüden, editor of the review, was charged with "propagandizing for communism and separatism" for having written an article on *Propaganda and Agitation* and having published an article on "Eastern Anatolia". Assistant Ismail Beşikçi was charged with "separatism" for having written an article on "Eastern Anatolia". Writer Ihsan Aksoy and editor İnci Özgüden were charged with "separatism", writer Faruk Pekin and editor İnci Özgüden were charged with "propagandizing for communism".

### Repression During the Period of the Martial Law

As can be seen in these chronological notes, up until April 1971, repression of the press, thought and arts reaches an all-time high. While independent judges acquitted most of the writers, editors and translators, some of them, for example Şadi Alkiliç, Remzi İnanç, Süleyman Ege, Muzaffer Erdost, Hasan Hüseyin Korkmazgil, Mihri Belli, Vahap Erdoğan, Hüseyin Ergün were actually jailed from time to time. Furthermore, hundreds of new legal actions and law-suits were to become a source of permanent threat to writers, editors and translators. For example, for the writers and editors of *Ant* alone, the public prosecutors demanded more than 800 years imprisonment and for chief editor Dogan Özgüden over 200 years in all. Three other editors of the same review, Osman Saffet Arolat, Alpaz Kabacalı and İnci Özgüden were also threatened with over 100 years imprisonment. Most of the repressive measures undertaken by the executive power could be obstructed by judicial organs such as the Council of State, the Constitutional Court, the Court of Cassation.

With the proclamation of martial law on April 26, 1971, all executive and judicial powers were handed over to six martial law commanders coming directly under the military junta. One of the first acts of these generals was to close down all socialist and liberal periodicals and newspapers, to arrest leftists and liberal intellectuals, writers, artists and journalists. Immediately thereafter, the martial law commanders created eleven military courts in six martial law districts. Not only the "offences" committed during the period of martial law, but also the "offences" committed three or four years earlier were brought before these military courts. Hundreds of writers, journalists, translators, editors and artists were tried in the military courts of martial law on the basis of publications edited by them prior to the time that martial law was instituted. Moreover, many political cases in the civil courts were transferred to the military courts of martial law.

The following chronological notes are an indication the repression practised against the press, thought and arts during the period of the martial law in Turkey:

April 27, 1971 - The Martial Law Headquarters of Istanbul prohibited every type of publication, film or theater performance "discrediting the government or aiming at the overthrow of basic institution or inciting to rebellion".

- The Martial Law Headquarters of Ankara closed the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç), the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DDKO) and the Federation of Social Democracy Associations (SDDF).



April 28, 1971 - The two oldest daily newspapers of Turkey, *Cumhuriyet* and *Akşam*, were closed down by the Istanbul MLH. Their columnists, Çetin Altan and İlhan Selçuk, and editors, Oktay Kurtböke and Erol Türegün, were detained.

- The Istanbul MLH announced that any person selling a forbidden book would be detained. Thereupon, the security forces began confiscating every type of book, forbidden or not. The book-sellers, in fear of being detained, began sending back all leftist books to the publishing houses.

- The martial law headquarters banned three associations in Istanbul, three in Eskisehir and seven in Adana.

April, 29, 1971 - The Ankara MLH closed down five periodicals, *İşçi-Köylü*, *Devrim*, *Proleter Devrimci Aydınlik*, *Türkiye Solu* and *Aydinlik Sosyalist Dergi*.

- The Adana Martial Law Headquarters closed down the daily *Dagayeli* in Kirikhan.

- The Diyarbakir MLH banned seven associations.

April 30, 1971 - The Istanbul MLH closed down the monthly review *Ant* and announced that legal action would be taken against its officials on the basis of articles 142, 158, 159 and 312 of the Turkish Penal Code. The military forces raided the offices of the review.

- Two dailies, *Bugün* and *Babialide Sabah* were closed by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

May 1, 1971 - The Ankara Martial Law Headquarters banned 22 associations.

May 2, 1971 - The Istanbul MLH ordered the *Dostlar* Theater to stop showing Hans Magnus Enzensberger's *Havana Trial*.

- Four book-sellers, Arslan Turgut Kaynarca, Burhanettin İrer, Mehmet Hanifi Ermiş and Ramazan Yaşar, were detained on charges of "having sold forbidden books".

May 5, 1971 - The Ankara MLH closed the monthly review *Emek*.

- General Faik Türün, Martial Law Commander of Istanbul, stated: "It has never occurred to us to violate the freedom of the press".

May 6, 1971 - It was disclosed that all cases of journalists, writers, editors and translators were being transferred from the civil courts to the military courts of martial law.

May 7, 1971 - Gafsan Seyfettinoglu and Süleyman Galioglu, editors of the daily *Antakya*, Mustafa Barut and Tufan Pehlivan, booksellers, were detained by the Adana Martial Law Headquarters.

- Bülent Balakoglu, actor at the *Defile* Theater, was detained in Bursa on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

May 9, 1971 - The famous Turkish novelist Fakir Baykurt was detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

May 12, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters detained writer Şadi Alkiliç, Assistant Professor Çetin Özek, Public Prosecutor Şiar Yalçın, TRT Speaker Erdöl Boratap, and announced that publisher and writer Dogan Özgüden, publisher Masis Kürkçügil were on the wanted list.

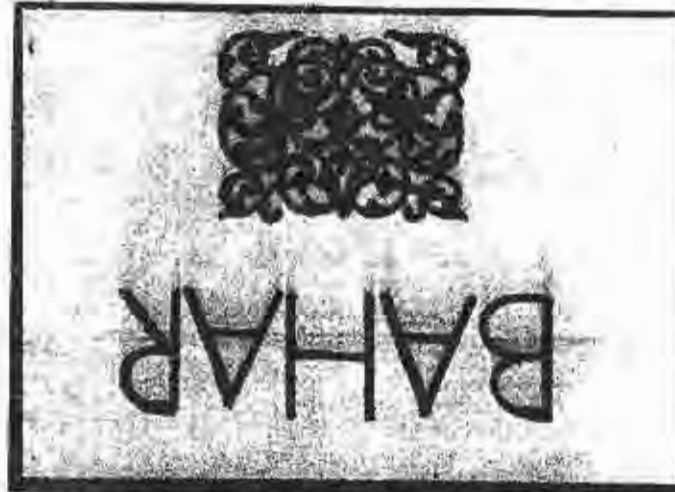
- Folk singer Aşık Fermani was detained in Bursa on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

May 13, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published a list of 77 "forbidden" books. The publishers of 16 of these books had been tried

**"BAHAR" CIGARETTES  
CONFISCATED BECAUSE  
THEIR TRADE MARK  
RESEMBLES MAO'S PHOTOS**

*The administration of the State Tobacco Monopoly has confiscated Bahar (spring) cigarettes because, when the package is turned upside down the trade mark resembles a portrait of Mao. According to official statements, legal proceedings have been opened on this case. The trade mark will be changed and Bahar cigarettes will be put on sale within twenty days with a new packing.*

(Tercüman, July 26, 1971)



BAHAR SİGARASI PAKETLERİ TERS CEVRİLİNCE ÜZERİNDEKİ AMBLEM MAO'NUN RESMİNİ HATIRLATTIĞI İÇİN, PIYASADAKİ BAHAR SİGARALARI TEKEL TARAFINDAN TOPLATTIRILMIŞTIR. İLGİLİLERİN VERDİĞİ BİLGİYE GÖRE, BU KONUDA AYRICA TAHKİKATA DA GİRİLMİŞ OLUP, BU AMBLEMİN KALDIRILACAĞI, YENİ BAHAR PAKETLERİ İLE BAHAR SİGARASININ 20 GÜNE KADAR PIYASAYA ÇIKARILACAĞI ÖĞRENİLMİŞTİR. (ANKARA)

by the civil courts previously and acquitted.

May 15, 1971 - The Eskişehir Martial Law Headquarters detained a journalist but did not disclose his name.

May 19, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published a wanted list including writers Mihri Belli, Muzaffer Erdost, Dogu Perinçek, Dogan Avcioglu, Yaşar Kemal, Samim Kocagöz, İlhami Soysal; university professors Muammer Aksoy, Bahri Savcı, Tarik Zafer Tunaya, İsmet Sungurbey and Mümtaz Soysal.

May 21, 1971 - University professors Uğur Alacakaptan, Bülent Nuri Esen, Rauf Nasuhoglu, Burhan Cahit Ünal, Nihat Şişli, Oğuz Aksu, and lawyers Niyazi Ağırnaslı and Halit Çelenk were detained by the Ankara MLH.

May 24, 1971 - During general search in Istanbul, every known leftist intellectual, including the famous movie star Yılmaz Güney and caricaturist Turhan Selçuk, were detained by the Istanbul MLH.

May 26, 1971 - Poet Fazıl Hüsni Dağlarca was detained.

May 27, 1971 - Assistant Professor Behice Boran, leader of the TIP, Prof. Sadun Aren and other party leaders were detained by the Ankara MLH.

- The Adana MLH closed two Adana daily newspapers, Vatandaş and Çukurova, for twenty days.

May 28, 1971 - University assistants Oya Köymen and Orhan Yılmaz Siller were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

May 31, 1971 - University assistant Oya Sencer and lawyer Nevzat Helvacı were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 1, 1971 - Film Director Metin Erksan and university assistant Oruç Bilgiç were detained by the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters.

June 2, 1971 - Adnan Öztrak, General Director of the TRT, was compelled to resign from his post.

June 3, 1971 - Editor Nurettin Prim of the monthly *Emek* was detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 4, 1971 - Deputy Premier Sadi Koçuş said that no one had been detained for his ideas!

June 5, 1971 - The Lawyers' Organization of Turkey was banned by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 6, 1971 - Bookseller Erdogan Adanir was detained in Giresun - Turhan Selçuk, caricaturist of the daily *Akşam*, revealed that he had been tortured while under custody in a police station. (see pp. 40-41)

June 8, 1971 - The daily *İttihad* was closed down by the Istanbul MLH.

June 9, 1971 - The convention of the International Press Institute (IPI) requested information press repression in Turkey. Prime Minister Erim assured IPI that the state of emergency would terminate as quickly as possible.

- Cengiz Çandar, editor of the monthly review *Aydinlik*, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison and two and one-half years of banishment by the First Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Vahap Erdoğan, editor of the monthly review *Aydinlik*, was condemned to one and one-half years imprisonment and six months banishment by the Second Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on charges of "praising communism".

June 14, 1972 - Two assistant professors, Bülent Tanör and Yücel Sayman, were dismissed from Istanbul University for allegedly "distributing forbidden publications".

- Masis Kürkçügil, director of *KÖS* Publishing House, and assistant professor Mehmet Selik of Ankara University, were detained by the martial law headquarters.

June 15, 1971 - Mahmut Talat Öngören, director of the State Television, was removed from his post for six months.

- It was disclosed that, since 1965, the public prosecutors had brought law-suits against the publishers, writers and translators of 145 books. 41 of these books were formally forbidden and confiscated, 18 books were on the acquitted list and trials concerning 86 others were still in process.

June 16, 1971 - The Senate of Istanbul University dismissed Assistant Professor Çetin Özek from the Law Faculty.

June 21, 1971 - Essayist and bookseller Erdal Öz was arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of propagandizing for communism for having used paper on which quotations of famous revolutionary leaders were printed as wrapping paper. He had also been tried on the same charge in September 1970.

- Sevgi Sabuncu's novel, *Walking*, was confiscated by the military authorities for being obscene and a law-suit was filed against the author. This novel had won first prize in a TRT contest.

- Özer Ozankaya, assistant professor at Ankara University, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated a book on

Marx's Conception of Society. The book was confiscated.

June 22, 1971 - Three journalists, Ali Sirmen, Tanju Cilizoglu and Altan Öymen, were detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 23, 1971 - Musammer Sun, member of the TRT Board, Süleyman Ege, Director of Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, Seçkin Çagan, translator, Osman Saffet Arolat editor of the weekly *Ortam*, Zeki Öztürk, director of *Oncü* Publishing House, Sezi Çolakoglu, program producer of the TRT, were detained by the martial law headquarters of Ankara and Istanbul.

-Mate Tuncay, assistant professor at Ankara University, was detained on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having written the preface to Ozankaya's translation.

June 25, 1971 - Assistant Professor Dr. Ismail Beşikçi was arrested by the Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters on the charges of "propagandizing for separatism" for having written a scientific research work on the socio-economic structure of Eastern Anatolia.

-Army Captain Ayhan Sağlam and Ahmet Yaşar, a teacher, were arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Assistant Dogu Perinçek was dismissed from Ankara University and Assistant Musammer Soysal was dismissed from the METU for allegedly being involved in leftist activities.

June 26, 1971 - Lütfi Karadağ, president of the Electrical Engineers Guild, and Özden Özbilim, president of the Sanitation Workers Trade-Union were arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

June 30, 1971 - The military prosecutor opened legal proceedings against Adnan Öztrak, former Director General of the TRT, Semih Tugrul, the Vice-Director of the TRT, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, member of the TRT Board, Ayhan Karapars, Kenan Deger, Ülker Köksal, program producers in the TRT, and Mahmut Tali Öngören, the Director of State Television on charges of "propagandizing for communism" on the state radio and television.

July 1, 1971 - The public prosecutor brought a law-suit against the well-known movie star Yilmaz Güney for entering his film, *Hope*, at the Cannes Film Festival. The very same film had won first prize at the Adana Film Festival and the special jury award at Cannes.

July 3, 1971 - Professor Idris Küçükkömer of the Istanbul University Economics Department, was detained by the Istanbul MLH.

- Veterinary Dogan Öztürk was detained in Gaziantep for having Lenin's picture in his wall.

July 5, 1971 - Dursun Akçam, novelist and Vice-President of the TOS, and university assistant Aydın Karagözoglu were detained by the Ankara MLH.

- Columnist İlhan Selçuk and editor Oktay Kurtböke of the daily *Cumhuriyet* were condemned to one year prison terms by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH for an article published prior to the introduction of martial law.

- The Journalists Union of Turkey stated that the draft amendments to the Constitution were in violation of the freedom of press.

July 6, 1971 - Professors and assistants at Ankara University attempted to organize a protest rally following the detention of their colleagues, but the Ankara MLH prevented its being held.

July 7, 1971 - The government announced that a central council would be constituted, called the "*Atatürk Academy*". This academy would defend the

principles of "kemalism" and later all educational curriculum, from primary school through the university. The members of the Atatürk Academy would be nominated by the generals of the National Security Council.

July 8, 1971 - Columnist Çetin Altan was sentenced to one year in prison on charges of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic" in a speech delivered four years ago at a TIP Meeting.

- Abdullah Nefes was arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated Mao Tse-tung's thoughts.

- Yaşar Kemal was sentenced to one and one-half years in prison and four months banishment by the Sixth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul on charges of "praising communism" for having translated Emile Burns' *Introduction to Marxism*.

- The Istanbul MLH closed three daily newspapers, *Dünya*, *Yeni Asya* and *Bizim Anadolu*, for seven days each.

July 11, 1971 - Writer Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, publisher Vedat Günyol, translator Matilda Gökçeli, writer Azra Erhad and pianist Magdalena Rufer were arrested by the Istanbul Military Court of MLH.

July 13, 1971 - The weekly *Yankı* disclosed that General Memduh Tagmaç, Chief of the General Staff, wanted to abolish the TRT and university autonomy.

- Actress Ayşe Emel Mesçi, actress Zeynep Sagnak, actor Mustafa Coşkun and actor Avni Yalçın were arrested by the Istanbul MLH on charges of "helping urban guerillas".

July 16, 1971 - Writer Tahsin Savaş was arrested by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters on a similar charge.

July 20, 1971 - The Turkish Labour Party (TIP) was closed down by the Constitutional Court for "following a separatist policy" in having supported the democratic demands of the Kurdish people.

July 23, 1971 - Columnist Çetin Altan and editor İrfan Derman of the daily *Akşam* were tried at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH for an article published prior to the institution of martial law.

- On the 63rd anniversary of the abolishing of official censorship on the Turkish press, the Journalists Union of Turkey (TGS) announced that it would not celebrate Press Day as a sign of protest against the new Constitutional changes.

- Yılmaz Güney's film *Hope* won another award at the Grenoble Film Festival. Güney was still being tried for having smuggled his film out of the country.

July 25, 1971 - Army General Musa Oğün was appointed Director General of the Turkish Radio-Television Broadcasting Corporation (TRT).

July 26, 1971 - Prof. Muammer Aksoy was detained at Denizkent.

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On April 24, 1972, the
military administration
of the TRT banned 30
folk songs from the air
because they extolled
the problems of working
people. (Tercüman, Ap-
ril 25, 1972)
=====

July 29, 1971 - Zeki Öztürk, director of *Onca* publishing house, was sentenced to a five-month prison term by the Second Military Court of the Istanbul MLH for having forbidden books in stock.

July 30, 1971 - Five members of the Construction Engineers Guild Board, Uğur Kökdën, İlkay İzer, Semay Tanyer, Güney Özcebe and Erman Tamer, were arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Three assistants at the Diyarbakir Medical School, Ferhan Paydak, Muzaffer Sipahioğlu and Çağlar Kirçak, were detained by the Diyarbakir MLH.

July 31, 1971 - The daily *Yeni Gazete* stopped publication and in a week's time, more than fifty journalists were without jobs.

August 1, 1971 - Columnist Çetin Altan and editor Dogan Kologlu were sentenced to one and one-half years in prison and four months banishment by the Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul for "praising communism" in publishing an article on the 50th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

August 5, 1971 - Writer Sevgi Sabuncu Soysal, actor Mehmet Keskinoglu and TRT producer Ela Güntekin were arrested on charges of "breaking martial law regulations".

- Uluç Gürkan, editor of the weekly *Devrim*, was sentenced to six months in prison for "possessing a dagger".

August 10, 1971 - Burhan Güntekin was condemned to 10 months in prison by the Military Court of the Izmir MLH, accused of "insulting the morality of the government."

- The Adana Martial Law Headquarters closed down four newspapers.

- Lawyer Aslan Keçeli was arrested by the Second Military Court of the Istanbul MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

August 12, 1971 - Emil Galip Sandalci, member of the TRT Board, Esin Talu Çelikkan, Şahabettin Kalgay and Semih Şermet, program producers at the TRT, were detained by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism" on the state radio.

- Seven members of the Electrical Engineers Guild Board, Metin Oruçbeştepe, Akat Çukurova, Özdoğan Gündüz, Nazif Tepedelenlioglu, Lütfi Akkan, Yilmaz Dagdeviren and Cevdet Aydemir, were arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Vasif Öngören, director of the Ankara Birlik Theater, was detained by the Ankara MLH and his home was searched.

August 16, 1971 - Dr. Aysel Ögüt, assistant at the Ege University, was detained by the Izmir MLH on charges of "helping guerillas".

August 19, 1971 - Two members of the TIP, Ayten Okan and Vefik Okan, were arrested by the Izmir MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

August 30, 1971 - The Board of the semi-official news agency Anatolia (AA) revealed that the government had pressured the agency.

September 2, 1971 - General Musa Ögün, the new Director General of the TRT stated that the TRT had been used in such a way as to favor a certain ideology and would therefore be reorganized in the context of Atatürk principles.

- The military prosecutor filed a suit against Emil Galip Sandalci, member of the TRT Board, accusing him of "propagandizing for communism".

September 6, 1971 - The public prosecutor regarded the statement of the TRT Director General as denunciation and started legal proceedings against the former administration of the TRT.

September 13, 1971 - The monthly literary review *Halkın Dostları* was closed down by the Istanbul MLH and editor Nihat Behram was detained.

September 14, 1971 - Süleyman Ege, Director of Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison and two and one-half years banishment by the Second Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara

on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

September 17, 1971 - The Ankara Martial Law Headquarters closed two newspapers, *Hürriyet* and *Adalet*.

- The Adana MLH closed the daily *Vatan* for one week.

September 26, 1971 - Movie actor Yilmaz Güney's other film, *Lament* won first prize at the Third Adana Film Festival.

September 30, 1971 - The trial of Prof. Mümtaz Soysal opened at the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH. He was charged with "propagandizing for communism" and "being under the orders of the world Communist Party".

October 3, 1971 - Eighteen persons were arrested for publishing a clandestine newspaper, *Şafak*, which attacked the military regime.

- Mahmut Tali Öngören, Director of State Television, was permanently dismissed from his post.

October 8, 1971 - The weekly *Ortam* was closed down by the Istanbul MLH.

-First Lieutenant Ugur Semerci, Lieutenant Nazim Ata and Sergeant Nezir Taner were arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

October 12, 1971 - Two dailies, *Ege Ekspres* and *Günaydın*, were closed by the Izmir MLH for seven days.

October 20, 1971 - Süleyman Ege, director of Bilim ve Sosyalizm Publishing House, was condemned to 7 and one-half years imprisonment and two and one-half years banishment for "propagandizing for communism" in having published Marx and Engels *Manifesto*.

October 22, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published the names of 42 forbidden books. The Military Court of Cassation also approved this decision.

-The Public Prosecutor of Ankara informed the Ankara MLH that 28 books had been forbidden prior to the introduction of martial law.

October 24, 1971 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters closed the daily *Bizim Anadolu* for ten days.

- The Journalists Union of Turkey (TGS) announced that in amending the constitution, freedom of press had been restricted.

October 25, 1971 - The trial of Fakir Baykurt, novelist and president of the TOS, and 142 members of the TOS began at the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. They were indicted for "forming a clandestine communist organization".

October 27, 1971 - The trial of writer Şadi Alkılıç, assistant professor Çetin Özek, writer-editor Doğan Özgüden, publisher Vedat Günyol, publisher Masis Kürkçügil, editor Osman Saffet Arolat, translator Matilda Gökçeli, pianist Magdalena Rufer, editor and actor Aydın Engin, translator Seçkin Çagan, TRT announcer Erdül Boratav, journalist Tanju Cilizoglu, public prosecutor Şiar Yalçın, Dr. Nihat Sargın, engineer Harun Karadeniz and engineer Süleyman Balkan began at the Third Military Court of the Istanbul MLH. The defendants were accused of "membership in the clandestine Turkish Communist Party abroad".

November 8, 1971 - The weekly magazine *Yankı* was closed by the Ankara MLH for one month.

- On the request of the Third Military Court of the Ankara Martial

Law Headquarters, the Public Prosecutor of Istanbul disclosed the titles of 55 books previously forbidden.

November 23, 1971 - Teacher Mehmet Turgut and editor Ahmet Tünel were sentenced to 13 years in prison for allegedly "propagandizing for communism" in publishing an article criticizing the pressures on teachers.

- The daily *Demokrat İzmir* was closed down for one week by the İzmir Martial Law Headquarters.

November 26, 1971 - Two retired colonels were appointed, one as assistant director general and the other as director of State television.

November 28, 1971 - After the closing of the weekly *Ortam* by MLH, the publisher began a new weekly entitled *Yeni Ortam*. The Istanbul MLH stopped the printer from putting out the magazine, whereupon the publisher was forced to cease publication.

December 1, 1971 - Edip Yazgan and Erdem Aksoy, assistant professors at the Black Sea Technical University, Kemal Erdoğan, assistant at the same university, Judge Ali Faik Cihan, 26 teachers, one engineer and one lawyer were detained by the Ankara MLH. They were accused of "forming a clandestine organization".

- Erdal Öz was acquitted by the Military Court of the Ankara MLH.

December 3, 1971 - Prof. Mümtaz Soysal was sentenced to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH for "propagandizing for communism". The military court also decided to confiscate Prof. Soysal's book, *Introduction to the Constitution*.

December 5, 1971 - A DP representative introduced a motion for a press amnesty. The motion, however, excluded those offences qualified as "propagandizing for communism".

December 8, 1971 - Two teachers, Kadir Okçu and Galip Demirbaş, were detained for possessing leftist publications.

-Ugur Cankocak was condemned to one and one-half years in prison on charges of "weakening the national feeling" for having published an article in the periodical *DISK* on November 13, 1970.

December 9, 1971 - İlhan Kalaylıoğlu, publisher of *Kurtuluş Yayınları*, arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having published a book entitled *Uninterrupted Revolution*.

- Vahap Erdoğan, editor of *Türk Solu*, was condemned to 7 and one-half years in prison and 3 years banishment on charges of "propagandizing for communism" by the Third Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara.

December 10, 1971 - Composer Muanmer Sun, member of the TRT Board, was detained by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

December 14, 1971 - Journalist Yaşar Uçar was arrested on charges of "hiding urban guerillas".

- Writer Mehmet Emin Bozarslan, writer Musa Anter, former secretary-general of the TIP Tarık Ziya Ekinci, were brought before the Military Court of the Diyarbakir MLH for "propagandizing for separatism".

December 24, 1971 - A new law-suit was brought against public prosecutor Şiar Yalçın for his article entitled *A Warning to Torturers* published in *İleri*.

December 28, 1971 - Haydar Demirer, the doorman at an insurance company, was arrested by the Istanbul MLH and charged with "propagandizing for communism".



- Three journalists, Dogan Avcioğlu, İlhan Selçuk and İlhami Soysal, were released after six months in prison.

December 31, 1971 - Dogan Özgüden and Alpay Kabacalı, editors of the weekly *Ant*, were sentenced to ten months in prison on charges of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic".

- Abdullah Nefes, translator of Mao Tse-tung's thoughts was sentenced to seven and one-half years of prison by the Military Court of the Ankara MLH.

- Osman Saffet Arolat, editor of the monthly review *Ant*, received a seven and one-half year prison term for "propagandizing for communism" in having published the text of the *International*.

- Folk singer Aşık Fermani was condemned to one and a half years by the 4th Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul charged with "insulting the morality of the security forces".

January 7, 1972 - Emil Galip Sandalci, member of the TRF Board, was acquitted by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. In spite of his acquittal, he was dismissed from the TRF.

January 12, 1972 - The book entitled *Turkey With Documents* was confiscated by the Ankara MLH and its author, Asim Aslan, was detained on charges of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic, the Prime Minister and Parliament".

January 14, 1972 - The showing of the Turkish film, *Dirty Hands*, was forbidden by the Censorship Administration.

- The military prosecutor started legal proceedings against members of the TRF Board for distributing TRF awards on the basis of ideological propaganda. Two members of the board, Emil Galip Sandalci and Sunuhi Cav, were first interrogated.

January 18, 1972 - Journalist Sina Gıladı, İşık Alamur, İlhami Akman and Nazmi Tavgaç were brought before the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism". They had been under arrest for eight months.

January 19, 1972 - The Court of Cassation overruled the decision for acquittal of Columnist Çetin Altan and ordered a new trial on his article, *Listen, Public Prosecutor of Bornova!* Four years earlier, the Public Prosecutor of Bornova had started legal proceedings against youth leaders who had recited Atatürk's Bursa Speech on the charge that they were "propagandizing for communism"; he claimed that the speech in question was not Atatürk's, but Stalin's. Çetin Altan had then written this article as a criticism of him. This time, the public prosecutor of Istanbul started legal proceedings against Çetin Altan accusing him of "propagandizing for communism" and requested the National Assembly to deprive him of his congressional immunity. During the debates on this subject, Çetin Altan read his article to parliament and stated that a deputy could not be made accountable before the law for speeches made in Parliament. The Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul sustained his objection and acquitted him. The Court of Cassation, however, ordered Çetin Altan to be condemned.

January 24, 1972 - Four high school students were detained by the Istanbul MLH and charged with "propagandizing for communism" while on their way to the theater.

January 25, 1972 - Muzaffer Erdost, director of *Sol Yayınları*, was condemned to seven and a half years in prison for "propagandizing for communism".

February 11, 1972 - Writer Mihri Belli was given a 6 year and 8 months prison sentence for "propagandizing for communism" in his speech on "revolutionary strategy". The Fifth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul also sentenced Vahap Erdogdu, editor of *Türk Solu*, and Yaşar Uçar, editor of *Ant*, to 6 years and 3 months in prison for publishing that speech.

- Mahmut Tali Ongören, former director of the State television, was arrested by default by the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH.

February 17, 1972 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters closed the daily *Akşam* for an indefinite period. This newspaper had launched a campaign to abolish capital punishment.

February 19, 1972 - First Lieutenant Ugur Semerci was sentenced to 17 months and 15 days in prison by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH for "praising communism".

- 17 persons were detained by the Diyarbakir MLH for maintaining relations with the clandestine newspaper *Şafak*.

February 22, 1972 - Engineer Yüksel Birdal was given a one-year, four-month prison sentence by the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH for "propagandizing for communism" when explaining the Constitution to peasants.

- Emin Tunçbilek, president of the TOS Adana Section, and seven other teachers, Yaşar Gökoglu, Sevim Demirpençe, Mehmet Özel, Mahir Cemiloglu, Zihni Ayhan, Tahir Pekmezci and Hasan Mehmet Özel were sentenced to 8 years in prison and 8 years banishment by the Military Court of the Adana MLH for allegedly "forming a clandestine organization".

- The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters allowed the daily *Akşam* to resume publication. The publishers of the newspaper pledged to dismissed all left-wing elements and to fight communism.

March 1, 1972 - Ayhan Karapars, program producer at the TRT, was arrested by the Second Military Court of the Ankara MLH.

March 6, 1972 - During the military regime's first year of rule, 94 newspapers and periodicals were closed down by the authorities or forced to stop publication.

March 13, 1972 - The daily newspaper *Bariş* was closed down by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

March 16, 1972 - The daily newspaper *Günaydın* was closed down by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

March 20, 1972 - The Government prohibited importing certain books, including *Class Struggle in Africa*, *Neo-Colonialism*, *Amilcar Cabral*, *Fidel Castro Speaks* and *Guevara in Bolivia*.

March 24, 1972 - The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters published the names of those on the wanted list which included Dogan Ozgüden, editor of *Ant*, Vahap Erdogdu, editor of *Aydinlik*, and Omer Özergurgut, editor of *Iğci-Köylü*.

March 27, 1972 - Famous movie star Yılmaz Güney was arrested by the Istanbul MLH on charges of helping urban guerillas.

March 29, 1972 - Bora Gözen, editor of *Türk Solu*, was stated as wanted by the Ankara Martial Law Headquarters.

March 30, 1972 - Ahmet Hamdi Dinler, editor of the periodical *Sömürücüye Yumruk* (Zonguldak), was condemned to 8 and one-half years in prison by the

Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- Mustafa Litfi Kiyici, a student, was sentenced to 7 and one-half years in prison by the Third Military Court of Istanbul MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

April 1, 1972 - Prof. Ugur Alacakaptan, Asistant Prof. Mukbil Özyörük, Assistants Adil Özkol and Ugur Mumcu were detained by the Ankara MLH.

April 5, 1972 - Writer Sevgi Soysal was arrested again by the Ankara MLH on charges of "insulting the morality of the armed forces" just after her husband, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, was released.

April 10, 1972 - Retired Lieutenant Colonel Alaattin Göktug was appointed Director of Isaanbul Radio.

-The Public Prosecutor of Aksaray started legal proceedings against Mevlut Ocakoglu, member of Parliament from the CHP, on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

April 18, 1972 - General Musa Oğün, General Director of the TRT, went to London on a invitation from the BBC!

April 28, 1972 - Writer Sevgi Soysal was condemned to one year in prison by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH.

- Translator Tektaş Agaoglu was condemned to one year in prison by the Fourth Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul on charges of "propagandizing for communism" for having translated a book entitled *Politics and Philosophy*.

May 1, 1972 - Three students, Nizamettin Dokumaci, Zeki Ermutlu and Aşkin Ermutlu, were arrested in Artvin on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

May 2, 1972 - The Martial Law Headquarters of Eskisehir banned the distribution of the daily newspaper *Son Havadis* in the province of Eskisehir for ten days.

May 3, 1972 - Vahap Erdogdu, editor of *Aydinlik* and *Türk Solu*, was apprehended in Akçakaya (Urfa province). He had been sentenced in absentia.

May 16, 1972 - Mete Dural, editor of the periodical *Öncü İşçi* was sentenced to seven and one-half years imprisonment by the Second Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

May 20, 1972 - Abdullah Denge, a teacher, was arrested in Göksun-Maraş on charges of "propagandizing for communism" and "possessing forbidden leftist publications".

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+  
+ "...Even Mr. İsmail Arar, the  
+ State Minister Responsible for  
+ Anti-Communist Activities, may  
+ be branded as a communist soon-  
+ er or later. If such a minist-  
+ ry is constituted in a country,  
+ this can be its inevitable re-  
+ sult." (Milliyet, May 28, 1972)  
+  
+

+  
+ The above is an extract from  
+ an article by Metin Toker, İsmet  
+ İnönü's son-in-law. He is well-  
+ known Turkish anti-communist.  
+  
+  
+\*\*\*\*\*

- The Orhan Kemal Award was given to Yilmaz Güney's novel, *Oppressed*. He was still under arrest.

May 22, 1972 - Actor Erkan Yücel, actor Ömer Parlar, actress Ayşe Semra Erdogmus and Penina Bencoya were arrested by the Ankara MLH for distributing the clandestine newspaper *Şafak*.

May 25, 1972 - Three journalists, Emil Galip Sandalci, Altan Öymen and Özer Esmer, editor İlhan Kalaylıoğlu,

writer Erdal Öz, university assistants Dogu Perinçek, Halil Berktaş, Nuri Çolakoglu, Eyüp Cüneyt Akalin and Ömer Madra, were detained by the Ankara MLH accused of being involved in the resistance movement.

- Yünnü Budak, former president of the Progressive Cultural Organization of Eastern Anatolia (DEKO), was sentenced to one year in prison and 4 months banishment by the First Aggravated Felony Court on charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces" for having issued a tract on police terrorism.

May 31, 1972 - Ismail Aydınli, a student at the Ankara Law Faculty, received a 6 year and three month prison sentence for distributing the clandestine newspaper *Şafak*.

June 7, 1972 - The daily newspaper *Yeni Gün* was closed down by the Ankara MLH for an indefinite period.

June 13, 1972 - Semi-official news agency AA accused Radio Cologne of "propagandizing for communism" in its Turkish broadcasts aimed at Turkish workers in Germany.

June 16, 1972 - Columnist İlhami Soysal and editor Erol Türegün were sentenced to one year prison terms and 4 months banishment by the First Aggravated Felony Court of Istanbul on charges of "insulting the morality of the government" for having published criticism in the newspaper *Akşam*.

- Hakki Keskin, a Turkish student at the Free University of Berlin, was divested of his citizenship by the government. He had been deprived of his citizenship two years previously, but the Council of State had voided the decision.

June 19, 1972 - Fatma Ipek Erkeller, correspondent of the TRP, assistant Ahmet Gürcan Kumrulu and two other persons were arrested by the Ankara MLH on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

June 22, 1972 - Editor Osman Saffet Arolat was sentenced to two and one-half years of prison by the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH on charge of "insulting the morality of the security forces".

June 25, 1972 - The Court of Cassation approved the one-year prison term of columnist Çetin Altan. He had been indicted for "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic" in a speech to a party meeting.

July 6, 1972 - The public prosecutor started legal proceedings against Bülent Ecevit, president of the CHP, and Süleyman Genç, former president of the CHP Youth Section, for speeches made at the Youth Section Convention.

- The Journalists Union of Turkey (TGS) demanded a press amnesty.

July 9, 1972 - Some members of Parliament announced in Parliament that certain affiliated unions had decided not to organize the Congress of the International Journalists Federation in Turkey in order to protest against the pressures on the Turkish press.

July 14, 1972 - Cahit Alican, secretary of the School of Journalism of Ankara University, was arrested on charges of "propagandizing for communism".

- The Military Court of Cassation overruled the decision to imprison writer Sevgi Soysal.

July 15, 1972 - The journalists union of Germany and Holland stated that they would not attend the International Journalist Congress in Turkey in sign of protest against the pressures exercised on the Turkish press.

«Ekim Dersleri, Faşizme Karşı Birleşik Cephe, Gençlik Üzerine, Kültür İçinde Parti Çalışması, Kültür ve İhtilâl Üzerine, Vietnam Sosyalist Devrimi, Ekonomik Politika, Yabancılaşma ve İhtilalizm, Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler, Seçme Eserler, Köylü Meseleleri ve Sosyalizm, Marksizmin Kaynağı, Biz Hangi Fikir Mirasını İnkâr Ediyoruz, Rusya'da Kapitalizminin Gelişmesi, İşçi ve Köylü İhtilali, Kapitalist Marksist Değer Teorisi, El Yazmaları, Ekonomik Politika Eleştirilmesine Katkı, Marksizmin Antisyonu, Aydınlık Dergisi, Marksizmin Temel Kitabı, Memleketinden İnsan Manzuraları, Anti-Sosyalist Teori, Anarşizm, Halk Savaşının Planları, İktel Sosyalizmden Kapitalizme, Sosyalizm ve Sosyal Mücadeleler Tarihi, Sosyalist Devrim, Arkadaşım, Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler, Sovyetler Birliği Komünist Partisi Tarihi, İki Taktik, Bir Adım Heri, Bir Adım Geri, Proletarya İhtilali ve Önek Kautsky, Siyah İktidar, Lenin ve Hayat Mücadelesi, Sosyalizm mi, Emperyalizm mi? Devlet ve İhtilal, Lenin'in İlkeleri, Kültür ve Kültür İhtilali Üzerine, Marksizmin Kaynağı, Devrim Stratejisi, Bilimsel Sosyalizmin Doğuşu, Fidel Kaşın Komşusu, Sınır Mücadelesi, Sosyalizm ve Sınır Mücadele, Halk Savaşı, Halk Ordu, Manifesto, Ücret-Flat ve Kâr, Marksizm ve Dil, Marksizm ve Millî Mesele, Sosyalist Ekonomik Meseleleri, Başkan Mao Che Tung'un Sözleri, Bir Devrim: Çin'in Otobiyografisi, Havana Duruşması, Maonun Kültür İhtilali, Arkadaşım Che Guevara, Halk Savaşının Planları, Asya'da Marksizm ve Milliyetçilik, Almanya'da Köylü Savaşı, Marksist Değer Teorisi, Ücret - Emek ve Sermaye, Kapital, Feisfehinin Sefaleti, Sosyalist

Küba, Sosyalizmin Alfabesi, Dört Hapishanedeki, Nâzım Hikmet ve Başkaları, Emperyalist Amerika ve Türkiye, Lenin, Sömürücüye Yumruk, Vietnam'da Savaş, Zulüm, Komünist Dünya Planı, Marks'ın Sosyolojisi, Sosyalist Türkiye, Türk Toplumunda Sosyal Sınıflar, Din ve İdeoloji, Gerilla Savaşı ve Marksizm, Liberalizm, Sosyal Demokratların Çıkması, Ekim Dersleri, Filistin'de Halk Savaşı ve Ortadoğu, Anarşizm, Devrim İçin Savaşmaya Komünist Denmez, Vietnam Savaşımız, Gerilla Nedir, Ekonomik Politika'nın Eleştirilmesine Katkı, Sovyet Rusya, Azerbaycan, Özbekistan, Sağ ve Sol Sapmalar Üzerine, Troçki Stalin'i anlatıyor, Kapitalist Toplumda İşçi Sınıfı, Küba Naal Komünist Öldü, Bitmemiş Devrim, İşçi Sınıfı Tarihi, Komünizm, Kızıl Dünya, Şehir Gerillası, Az Gelişmiş Ülkelerde Sosyalizm ve Köylüler, İhtilali Meksika, Yabancı Halk Savaşının Zateni, Fransa'da İç Savaş, Alman İdeolojisi, Din Köylüydük Bugün Halkın Sosyal Mücadeleler Tarihi, Harp Okulu Olayı ve Nâzım Hikmet, 835 Sayfa, Sesini Kaybeden Şehir, Memleketimden İnsan Manzuraları, Sağ ve Sol Sapma, Halk Savaşında Temel Taktikler, Gençlik Üzerine, Savaş Konuştu Söz Sanatım, Yan Ana, Kızıl Kitap, Görünmeyen Hükümet CIA, Uyararak İçin Uyanmalı, Sosyalist Savun-

ma'da Millî Kurtuluş, Marks ve Engels'in Hayatları, Sosyalist Parti, Demokratik Halk Devrimi, Sosyalist Fikir Klübü, Standart Adam, Yabancı Sermaye Yatırımları, Stalin Meselesi Üzerine, Yeni Çağ, Emek, Partiyet Teorisi, Parti Çalışmaları, Korkusu, Sosyalist Küba, İzzat Korkusu, Sosyalist Küba, İzzat Korkusu, Sosyalist Parti Çalışmaları, Gracchus, Jasette Lapuc, Mao Anıca, Başkan Mao Che Tung'un Sözleri, SBKP Yönetimi ile Aramızda Ayrıntılar, Lenin Mücadelesi, 1848 İhtilali, Marx'ın Tarihi Anlayışı, İki Taktik, Uyanık Kaderleri, Toprak Meseleleri, Marksizm ve Dil, Diyalektik Tarihi, Kaderleri, Toprak Meseleleri, Teori ve Pratik, Askerî Yazılar, Fransa'da Sınıf Mücadelesi, Marks, Mao, Bir Devrimci, Yasasız Halk Savaşı, Hikmet Kuvvencisi 27 Mayıs Eleştirisi, Lenin, Stalin ve Kadın, Dinle Yanık Birader, Dün Böyle İddik, CIA, İşçi Hareketi, Roman Gibi, Mihri Belli: Kazılar, Nâzım Hikmet: Memleket ve İnsan, Kürt Tarihi, Şerefhan Osmanlı - İran Tarihi, Georgi Dimitroff, Yeni Sömürgecilik, Montaj Sanayii ve Ortak Pazar, Yabancı Sermaye, Sabah Uyanmak, Hedef, Marksist Felsefe Dersleri, Mektuplar, Nâzım Hikmet'in İt Üçür Kervan Yürür, Yunanistan Buhranı, Che Guevara'nın Günlüğü, Devrimci Eğitim Sürüsü, Devrimci Öğretmenlerin Savaşı, Halk Demokratizleri, Fransa'da Mayıs Patlaması, Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni, Sosyal, Ekonomik ve Etnik Düzen, Gençlik İçin Strateji ve Taktik, Türkiye Köy Sorunu, Troçki İstanbul'da, İleri, Kemalist İhtilal ve Bulgaristan, E-fendilik Savaşı, Doştan Doşt Drisler, Devlet Ana, Yorgun Savaşçı, Gözli Bosya, Uyanık»

The Third Military Court of the Ankara M.H decided to confiscate 138 books on the following pretext: "In each search made at the hiding places of 'anarchists', three kinds of material have been found: 1) arms, 2) ammunition, 3) leftist publications. These books contain propoganda for communism and have played a most important role in leading the country towards anarchy." According to the Turkish Press Code now in force, a book cannot be confiscated six months after the publication date. The military rulers ignored the law and confiscated not only socialist literature, but even a history book on the Ottomans, the Kurds and the Persians, *Şerefname*, written 350 years ago by Şeref Han, the ruler of Bitlis, a province of the Ottoman Empire, as well as books entitled the *Invisible Government* about the CIA, published prior to the introduction of martial law. Above is the news about this book-hunt with the titles, clipped out of the daily *Özdeş* riyet, July 2, 1972.

July 18, 1972 - Columnist Çetin Altan was incarcerated at Sıgırcılar Prison of Istanbul for one year.

July 23, 1972 - Folk singer Aşık Mahzuni Şerif was arrested in Gaziantep on a warrant issued by the Istanbul MLH.

- Prime Minister Ferit Melen stated: "In regard to the doctrine of Turkish law, practically no journalist has been judged for a press offence. Under the circumstances, a press amnesty cannot be taken into consideration".

July 24, 1972 - On International Press Day, the Journalists Union of Turkey (TGS) repeated its demand for a press amnesty and restated its objections to the changes in the constitution introduced by the government and the political parties.

July 26, 1972 - Justice Minister Fehmi Alparslan stated: "In Turkey no member of the press has been jailed for his opinions".

July 28, 1972 - Between 5 and 6 p.m., some 3,000 policemen headed by civil authorities empowered by a decision of the Istanbul MLH raided 30 publishing houses in Istanbul. They confiscated from 250,000 to 500,000 books (650 titles including Agatha Christie's books) and detained over 50 publishers, distributors and booksellers including Kemal Karatekin (*Karatekin Yayınevi*), Necdet Saner (*Saner Yayınevi*), Çigdem Özgüden (*Ant and Yöntem Yayınevi*), Bülent Habora (*Habora Yayınevi*), Ramazan Yaşar (*Ararat Yayınevi*)....

July 29, 1972 - Dogan Kologlu, editor of the newspaper *Yeni İstanbul*, was incarcerated at Sıgırcılar Prison. He had been judged and sentenced for an article published in the daily *Akşam* when he had been its editor.

July 30, 1972 - Lawyer Faik Muzaffer Amaç's book entitled *The Case at the Military Court of Cassation* was accused of "insulting the morality of the military prosecutors and the judges", and its author arrested by the Istanbul MLH. Although the book included only the official appeal to the Military Court of Cassation on death sentences, the lawyer was arrested. Lawyer Amaç's other book entitled *The Çayan's Case* had been confiscated previously, although it only contained the affidavits on tortures inflicted on political prisoners.

July 31, 1972 - Alpay Kabacalı, editor of the weekly *Ant*, was incarcerated at Sıgırcılar Prison for ten months. He was accused of "insulting the morality of the President of the Republic," similar accusations were brought against chief editor Dogan Özgüden whom the authorities were not able to apprehend.

August 14, 1972 - Dr. İsmail Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Science Department of the Ankara University, was condemned to 13 years and 7 days imprisonment by the First Military Court of the Diyarbakir MLH. He was arrested just after the proclamation of martial law and has been tried for months. The military court condemned him 8 years and 4 months in prison and three years banishment on the charges of "propagandizing for communism" for his speeches at the Atatürk University of Erzurum and 4 years, 8 months and 7 days prison term on the charges of "propagandizing for separatism" for his article on the socio-economic structure of Eastern Anatolia published in the monthly review *Ant*.

Obviously, the facts mentioned in this chronological survey do not include all the pressure to which the press has been subjected by the military authorities. Especially in the recent months, the military authorities have applied strict censorship to the press. For example, newspapers

have been compelled to use the word "bandits" in describing urban guerillas. It has been forbidden to supply any information on the mass arrests or trials outside that contained in official communiques; Hundreds of people have been arrested for the ideas expressed in their writings or orally. The military authorities have not, however, disclosed their names.

On the other hand, the military rulers of Turkey have not been satisfied with simply modifying the Constitution and providing the martial law commanders with arbitrary powers; they have ordered the Government and Parliament to change all laws and regulations concerning the press, thought and the arts. (see: The Violation of the Constitution)

According to the amendment to the Code of Criminal Procedure, "offences against the State" need to be subjected to a preliminary investigation in order to decide whether they can be prosecuted or to determine the identity of the "offender". In accordance with the amendment of the Military Criminal Code, if any journalist criticizes military expenditures, he can be tried in the military courts. The same amendment strictly forbids military personnel from reading political books or from recommending them to other persons in the military. Punishment for such crimes is five years imprisonment.

The military-backed government brought the bill amending the Film Control Act before parliament on June 13, 1972. In accordance with this draft bill, the administrative bodies will be authorized to outlaw the making of any film or to ban performing any film.

With the amendment of the Duties and Authorities of Police Act, the police forces are empowered to close down any theater or cinema, to raid the offices of newspapers and publishing houses without obtaining a court warrant, and the administrative authorities can confiscate any publication or censor any correspondence.

The military junta is not, however, satisfied with all these amendments and on July 7, 1972, impressed upon the political parties the necessity of new changes in the Constitution aimed at giving more authority to the executive power. If the Parliament accepts these new amendments, the authorities will be able to brand all thinking citizens "enemies of the state" and to try them in the extraordinary security courts which will be constituted under these new provisions.

Meanwhile, some circles are advocating "press amnesty in line with democratic ideals". These demands include only the "press offences" mentioned in the Turkish Press Code and in certain articles of the Turkish Penal Code. The political offences mentioned in the fascist article 142 of the TPC (see page 100) are not included in the press amnesty. On the other hand, as has been seen in the chronological survey, hundreds of intellectuals, journalists and artists have been charged with "propagandizing for communism" under this article and to prison sentences of 7 and one-half years for single article or a single translation or poem or speech. While communist parties are legal and can openly propagate their opinions in the other member countries of the Council of Europe, how can one condone the fact that publishing a book of Marx or criticizing the social order or singing a song reflecting the problems of the people is subject to 7 and one-half years of prison on the pretext that this constitutes "communist propaganda".

This is the question: Is Turkey a member of the Council of Europe?

If so, in accordance with the European Convention of Human Rights:

*"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought."* (Article 9)

How can the members of the Council of Europe justify the military regime's practises on the basis of the European Convention of Human Rights?

This is a matter of freedom of thought, not a question of amnesty!

## THE OPPRESSION OF THE TEACHERS

The teaching profession has been one of the main targets of the military rule in power in Turkey since the general's memorandum of March 12th. Following the Prime Minister Erim's declaration concerning the "Sledge-Hammer Operation", followed by the proclamation of the martial law in 11 regions, hundreds of teachers and university professors have been arrested. Their progressive organizations have been banned and their members have been tried under the threat of long term imprisonments.

But a veiled fascism was in force in Turkey even before the military coup d'etat, and the rank and file teachers were also one of the social groups most affected. For this reason it seems necessary to examine what has happened since 1967, when the violent repression of teachers started, and to divide the chapter into two parts:

- The period preceding the martial law (1971)
- The period following the martial law.

### Up to the Martial Law of 1971:

Teachers have always been in the front ranks of movements for modernization in Turkey, notably during the years of the War of National Liberation (1919-1923). Thousands of teachers played a leading role, taking executive positions or joining the armed struggle.

But for the great mass of teachers, conscious of the need to ally themselves with the underprivileged masses and achieve infrastructural as well as superstructural changes in the national interest, the period of "Village Institutes (Köy Enstitüleri)" was a turning point. In 1930's, the population's productive level was very low. The single party (CHP), in an attempt to enlarge the participation of the masses in agricultural and manufacturing production and to overcome the serious shortage of teachers, founded the system of *"teaching in practice" - "educating peasant children to become teachers in their own villages"*.

This system for the first time in Turkey's history gave the children of the poor peasant population the chance to learn, to participate in their country's destiny, to educate their own masses (1941).

17,000 teachers and 4,000 doctors qualified during the short period which the institutes lasted. The success demonstrated that the creative force of the people can reverse an unjust order, achieve a revolutionary thrust into the future and educate creative, exemplary figures. But it is obvious that a reactionary political structure dominated by the economic interests of a privileged minority, will not uphold a progressive institution of this kind. This explains why the first attack on the Village Institutes, in 1947, came from the People's Republican Party which founded them. The administrators and teachers belonging to the institutes were dispersed and



accused of "being communist"; they were exiled or imprisoned. The Democratic Party, in 1950, finally liquidated the institutes completely.

Given a political and economic structure of this type, the institutes -which no doubt had their weaknesses- could not be allowed to succeed. It was naturally necessary to change the system and the power structure first. But nevertheless, during their seven years of existence these institutes, founded by the party in power for reasons of their own, produced thousands of schoolteachers scattered throughout the country, and well-known writers like Fakir Baykurt, Mahmut Makal and Talip Apaydin from among the peasant population.

It was they who, from 1950 to 1960, under the dictatorship of the Democratic Party, valiantly withstood the repression in its multiple forms and after a new, relatively democratic constitution of 1961 (the result of the 1960 coup d'etat) began to organize again. Those who for a long period worked under the name of the "National Federation of Turkish Teachers" took advantage of a new act and founded the "Teachers' Union of Turkey" (TOS) in 1965, thus assembling thousands of primary, secondary and university teachers. Nevertheless, the right to strike has always been denied to teachers and all state personnel and is still not recognized.

With the founding of the TOS the ruling circles returned to their methods of terror and repression in their dealings with teachers. Fakir Baykurt, known internationally for his novels and President of the TOS, five years ago explained the forms and causes of the repression as follows:

*"When the TOS was first founded we talked most about inadequate salaries: My colleagues earned on average 500 Lf (34 dollars) a month.*

*"...There is another problem - that of security. You cannot imagine an employer more hostile to his employees. The ministry of Education, with local politicians, reactionary administrators and foreign specialist advisors, is forever on the warpath.*

*"The Supreme Disciplinary Court, the Directors' Commission, the Inspectors, all devour the teachers greedily. Regardless of their circumstances they are dispersed; relieved of their functions and placed at the Ministry's disposal.*

*"Their 'great crime' - to have refused foreign influence in education and formed solid defenders of national independence, of our natural resources, to have warned the people about these problems...*

*"...The TOS, nearly 1.5 years of age now, today placed a formal protest about 200 cases of teachers brought before the Council of State or local magistrates courts." (Ant Review, January 3, 1967)*

Five years ago the attacks against teachers in general intensified and the repression has since followed the following course:

#### January 1967

- Mahmut Makal, teacher and well-known novelist (author of *An Anatolian Village*) and İlhan Alkan, teacher, placed at the Ministry's disposal.

-Fakir Baykurt, President of the TOS, relieved of his post as Inspector of Primary Education at Ankara.

- At Anamur six teachers -Fahrettin Deniz, Abdülkadir Bulut, Sabri Toklu, Mehmet Yigit, Ali Uysal and Metin Hamarat- placed at the Ministry's disposal.

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February 1967

- Councillor of the Ministry of Education: *"Let 300 teachers be placed at the Ministry's disposal, there is nothing to fear..."*

- A letter sent to a friend by Şerif Tekben, who is dismissed from his post of Inspector of Primary Education at Istanbul and exiled at Elazığ, opened and published in a right-wing daily paper.

April 1967

- Mahmut Makal, selected as *model personality* by the U.N. magazine *Santé du Monde*, arrested during a discussion with friends at the village of Keçiborlu, Isparta.

July 1967

-Primary School Inspector Behzat Ay, of Siirt, exiled to Erzincan because of his writings and speeches.

-İlhan Alkan, placed at the Ministry's disposal and accused of communist propaganda, acquitted by the Court at Isparta.

August 1967

-The promotions to professorships of Sencer Divitçioğlu and İdris Küçükömer, lecturers at Istanbul University Economics Faculty, are denied confirmation by the University Senate. Reason: *Left-wing affiliations*.

September 1967

-A branch of the TOS is brought to trial for having placed a wreath carrying an anti-imperialist quotation from Atatürk on his monument.

-The Minister of Education İlhami Ertem accused the TOS of political activities; former president of the TOS Feyzullah Ertugrul is condemned for political activities and sentenced to three months in prison.

October 1967

-Eight teachers -Nuri Macit, Rahmi Vural, Adnan Kadioglu, Ahmet Güneş, Tevfik Şahin, Saffet Çalişir, Baki Unal, Ömer Serin- are dismissed from their posts at, respectively, Çayiralan, Erzincan, Van, Kars, Mardin, Siirt, Agri, Kars.

-At Enez, decision to expel Ahmet Kaya Turan, teacher, from the town.

-An inquiry opens into the case of Kamil Karadeniz, Primary School Inspector at Çorum. Accusation: *Left-wing affiliation*.

-2,000 teachers meet at Antalya and resolve to resist *"the repression directed at teachers"*.

November 1967

-The administrative headquarter of the TOS and of the TÖDMF (National Federation of Turkish Teachers' Associations) together resolve to resist the repression.

-The TOS declares that it will support strikes by school caretakers and will if necessary declare a boycott in protest against *"the repression directed at teachers"*.

-Ahmet Aksakal, teacher, expelled from the profession for political activities.

- Acquitted by the court, İhan Alkan (of Keçiborlu, Isparta) is displaced to Manisa.

- Süleyman Ustün, teacher and former president of the Istanbul branch of the TOS, brought to trial for having "*incited the people to revolt*". He had spoken in favor of the re-opening of the Village Institutes during a poetry reading.

#### December 1967

- Fakir Baykurt, President of TOS, placed at the Ministry's disposal on the charge of "*agitating in favor of anarchy*".

- A fresh inquiry begins into the case of Mahmut Makal, appointed to a post at the Deaf and Dumb School at Istanbul. He is charged with recommending Atatürk's speech at Bursa as reading for his pupils. The inquiry is followed by six others.

- The youth organizations of Istanbul declare 23rd - 30th December a "*Week of Protest Against the Repression Directed at Teachers*".

- Arif Payasoglu, Dean of the School of Administrative Science at the Middle East Technical University, is suspended and the students protest at the decision.

#### January 1968

- On instruction from the Ministry of Justice a court inquiry concerning the TOS and 13 other progressive organization is held and their dissolution is called for. Accusation: *Political activities*.

- 30 progressive organization, in a pamphlet published for the "*Week of Protest at the Repression of Teachers*", indicate that:

1. Turkey has 13,625,000 illiterate citizens
2. Turkey has 31,887 schools. 13,000 villages have no school.
3. Crude death rate 12 per 1,000; infant mortality rate 165 per 1,000 live births.
4. 27% of primary age students have no schools to attend.
5. These circumstances do not prevent the Minister of Education continuing his campaign of repression affecting 90% of teachers.

- Nearly 1,000 teachers responsible for branches of the TOS meet at Ankara and declare their resistance in the face of the repression.

- The president of the TOS Eskişehir branch is attacked by gangs armed by the Justice Party (AP).

#### March 1968

- Secondary teachers are removed from their posts at Tokat, Bedri Çankaya, Hayrettin Kiliçlıoğlu, Lemencev Sükan.

- A new inquiry is held accusing Mahmut Makal. This time the charge is "*socialist propaganda directed at deaf pupils*".

- The decision of the University Senate at Istanbul which prevented Divitçioğlu obtaining a professorship is overruled by the Council of State.

#### April 1968

- The decision of the University Senate which prevented Küçükömer obtaining a professorship is also overruled.

- Sadik Göksu, teacher of philosophy, is withdrawn from his post by the Ministry.

- The TOS and the TODMF presidents are charged with calling teachers into action to resist the repression.

- Two teachers at the Girls' Handicraft Institute, Murat Gökmen and Ali Ceyhan attacked by an armed gang. Both were members of the TOS.

#### June 1968

- Two teachers expelled by the Teacher's Training Institute at Amasya, Talip Apaydin and Ahmet Kaya Turan are vindicated after an appeal to the Council of State.

- The President of the Republic replies to the TODMF, with reference to his contingent in the Senate: "*I choose for my parliamentary contingent people who carry some weight. I do not choose primary and secondary school-teachers.*"

- Nine teachers lose their posts at Gaziantep for having talked to pupils of the real facts of Turkey.

#### August 1968

- E. Sarihan, a village schoolteacher at Irmaksirti (Çarşamba), loses his post accused of "communist propaganda". Two trials are held.

- In spite of the Council of State's decision, the University Senate persists in its refusal to grant Küçükömer a professorship.

- At Konya the rightist groups incited by right-wing organizations break into the headquarters of the local teachers association and destroy all records. They also attack the teachers' living quarters.

- Despite the Council of State's decision, the University Senate also persists in its refusal to grant Divitçioğlu a professorship.

- The Director of Primary Education of the town of Ulus, Zonguldak, Nidai Kuru, is removed from his post for encouraging the peasant foresters to group together in cooperatives.

- The teacher at the Theological College of Düzce, Hasan Dalgiç, loses his post for having organized an exhibition devoted to Atatürk.

- Yusuf Öztürk, head of the village school at Kircali, Sinop, is brought to court for "leftist propaganda".

#### September 1968

- Metin Biçakçı, Primary School Inspector at Ulus in Zonguldak province, is exiled to Nevşehir.

- In Van, a round table organized by a branch of TOS to discuss educational matters attacked by right-wing aggressors.

- The Ministry of Education had postponed a promised "*Educational Council*" for several years and opposed any tentatives to organize it. The TOS decides to hold a "*Progressive Educational Council*" from 4th-8th September. When proceedings ended it was agreed between the representatives of the TOS and the progressive youth organizations that all further action be based on the principle "*Education for the Revolution*".

- At a meeting in Denizli, the Minister of Education accuses the teachers of "insanity". TOS reacts strongly at the insult.

### October 1968

- The President of the Kars Teachers' Association is beaten up by police.

- Tevfik Müldür and İsmet Yalçınkaya are removed from their posts at the Primary Schoolteachers Training College, Kastamonu, because of their TÖS membership.

- Fakir Baykurt, President of the TÖS, is attacked by right-wing militants during a speech at Birecik.

- The intellectuals, artists and teachers participating at a meeting in Düzce, are attacked by right-wing extremists and only just escape assassination.

### November 1968

- Village schoolteacher and the TÖS member Yılmaz Elmas, of Çirakman in Samsun Province, is attacked by the militants of the Justice Party during a discussion with local tobacco farmers.

- Hounded by a succession of court inquiries and persecutions, Mahmut Makal is forced to leave the teaching profession.

- Erdoğan Yılmaz, President of the Kütahya branch of the TÖS, is placed at the Ministry's disposal for having written an article criticizing the persecution of teachers.

- Osman Nuri Koçtürk, honorary member of the TÖS and Turkey's only nutrition specialist, is refused a professorship after seven years as assistant professor of the School of Medicine at Ankara. The TÖS protests to the Council of State.

### December 1968

- A Ph.D on Marxist lines presented by Oya Sencer, assistant lecturer in Sociology at Istanbul, is rejected. Oya Sencer resigns and appeals to the Council of State.

- The public prosecutor brings new charges against TÖS, which is accused of "*political propaganda*" following the Progressive Educational Council.

### January 1969

- In protest against the repression the Istanbul branch of the TÖS organizes a demonstration in which thousands of young people take part.

- Five TÖS delegates at Ulus, Ankara, are the object of an inquiry by Ministry inspectors on account of their trade union activities.

- New complaints and accusations concerning Yılmaz Elmas, already charged and exiled to Vezirköprü.

- Village schoolteacher Basri Aydın is placed at the Ministry's disposal.

- Sinop branch president Avni Bayrak loses his post for having protested at the Ministry's refusal to pay teacher benefits.

- In Bünyan, Kayseri, five teachers are arrested by the public prosecutor in order to ensure the annulment of a disciplinary punishment brought against the son of an important local politician.

- University lecturers at Istanbul and Ankara unanimously decide to boycott on account of a non-respect of their rights. They are supported by the Professors' Councils.

### February 1969

- Demonstration called by the TOS to protest at the persecution of teachers and also at the pro-American educational system. Thousands of teachers from all over Turkey attend.

- Two teachers at the Educational Institute Gazi, Doğan Ergün and Muzaffer Gürses are withdrawn. No reason given.

- The TOS Istanbul protests at the visits to Turkish ports by the Sixth Fleet and at the massacre which results, "*Bloody Sunday*".

### March 1969

- The public prosecutor's office charges the TOS and the TÖDMF representatives with the organizing of the Ankara demonstration and demands their dissolution. The Ministry of Education has also organized its own inquiry concerning the teachers who took part in the demonstration.

- A teacher at Kayseri is withdrawn for having read "*Memed, My Hawk*" by Yaşar Kemal.

### April 1969

- The commandos of the fascist National Action Party (MHP) attack the Kozan branch and destroy all it find, also beat up those present.

- Koyulhisar Secondary School Director İhsan Odyakmaz is withdrawn from his post. No reason given. His pupils decide to boycott.

- Following the Ministry's decision to exile branch president (Malatya) Nedim Şahhüseynioğlu, nearly 100 village mayors publish a tract protesting.

- To put a stop to his presidential activities Fakir Baykurt, President of the TOS and the TÖDMF is exiled to İslahiye.

### May 1969

- The University Senate which prevented İdris Küçükömer taking up a professorship is forced to pay a LT 50,000 fine by the State Council.

- A plan for university reforms is submitted to parliament. One rector, 11 deans and 2 professors resign in protest.

### June 1969

- Deputy Director of the High School at Muş, Cemal Saygılı, and teacher Ali Özcan are removed from their posts and paid only a quarter of their salaries because of reading of progressive texts.

### July 1969

- A public prosecution against the TOS once again pleads for its dissolution.

- Consequence of a plot by the AP, an attack by the fanatic groups on the TOS Congress, which they are misled into considering responsible for "*the indifference of the descendants of Sultan Fatih to the execution of communists in Indonesia*". The right wing extremists attack and pilfer progressive headquarters and bookshops and try to lynch teachers, several of whom are badly hurt.

- A complaint is brought against Assistant Professor Burhan Cahit Ünal, member of the Executive Committee of the Turkish Labour Party (TİP). He had taken part in a Proletarian Socialist Congress in Italy as representative

of his party. Accused of having acted "*not in the national interest*". (The 1961 Constitution grants professors and assistants the right to be a member and to take part in the leadership of the political party of their choice.)

- The Ankara Boulevard Theatre is invited to Bogazlayan by the local TOS. During the performance 300 right-wing extremists attack the spectators with metal rods and destroy the homes of three teachers.

- The Ministry of Education in a new publication declares that "*any teacher having an activity that threatens the established order will be exiled to the poorest regions*".

- At a TOS meeting at Adana, teachers call for the right to strike to be accorded to state employees and teachers' unions.

- The result of a large-scale repression at Malatya: 27 teachers exiled and prosecuted by the courts.

- Court inquiries at Erzinçan directed at the teachers Behzat Ay, Murat Gökten, Adil Gülvahap, Rifat Yavuz and Ali Tanoglu.

#### August 1969

-Village schoolteachers at Sugörcü in the town of Hopa, Ali Kadem and Hüsnü Bağdatlı expelled from the teaching profession because of their TOS membership.

-The public prosecutor starts a legal proceeding against the local TOS representative of Thrace, Ahmet Kaya Turan, for having published a book entitled "*The Peasant Voice*". Charge: *Propaganda for communism*.

#### October 1969

- A group of armed rightists, organized and excited by the AP break into the TOS Headquarters at Bolvadin and injure teachers present.

#### November 1969

- A right-wing group who block the path of the TOS Elazığ branch president, Erdal Altan, and beat him badly.

#### December 1969

- 120,000 teachers take part in a national boycott organized by the TOS and the İlk-Sen (union representing part of the primary school teaching corps) directed at low living standards, pro-American education and the persecuting of teachers. The result is 200 teachers discharged, accused of having played leading roles in the boycott, and inquiries opened into the cases of 2,000 others, accused of having encouraged it.

- A prominent local landowner at Akçıl, village near Elbistan, has teacher Hüseyin Şahin assassinated for having kept his son in after school.

- Gunmen spray with bullets at home of Professor Vakur Versan (Ankara, Law Faculty) and the office of Cahit Talas (Professor at the Political Sciences Faculty).

-The public prosecutor's office again brings a court action for the dissolution of TOS and of İlk-Sen, accused of organizing the boycott.

#### January 1970

- The council of State decides to void the dismissal of İlk-Sen's president and 52 other teachers.



- TOS representatives at Boyabat attacked by the Nurcu group, religious sect which demands the establishment of an Islamic state.

- TOS President Fakir Baykurt, exiled at Islahiye, is this time "placed at the Minister's disposal".

- While speaking at Çorum, Fakir Baykurt is attacked by AP members and pupils of Imam Hatip (religious teaching establishment at secondary level which form numerous right-wing extremists).

#### February 1970

- 54 more teachers find themselves at the "Ministry's disposal" following the boycott.

- For the same reason three teachers at Aybasti, Ahmet Öztürk, Rafet Ocal and Bülent Ersen, are arrested.

#### March 1970

- A TOS declaration estimates the boycott's consequences as follows: 20,000 teachers have payed fines amounting two million pounds, 300 teachers have been transferred.

- An Assistant Lecturer at the Middle East Technical University (Ankara), Seyhan Say, is sentenced to 18 months in prison and 6 months in exile for having published a pamphlet.

- The Şebinkarahisar branch of TOS is the object of a bomb attack and three teachers are wounded.

- In court, the TOS and İlk-Sen representatives charged with organizing the boycott make a declaration: As a result of the repression more than two thousand teachers to take jobs as unskilled workers in foreign countries.

- Five teachers at Hopa are expelled from the province.

#### June 1970

- Armed right wing groups pillage TOS Headquarters at Yozgat and wound teachers.

#### August 1970

- Under the protection of the police "spectators" right-wing aggressors attack TOS premises at Elbistan. Two teachers are hurt.

- TOS premises at Istanbul and those of İlk Sen are the object of bomb attack.

#### September 1970

- At the meeting for "*the fight to overcome communism*" organized by reactionary groups in Adiyaman, the president of the TOS section Bekir Önder and the teacher Hasan Kavuklu are beaten badly.

- The vice president of the TOS, Dursun Akçam, and his friends are attacked in the Yozgat mountains and kept for 7 hours.

- Two teachers, Ahmet Ali Cengiz and Mustafa Karacaoglu are attacked by armed reactionary groups in Bucak near Burdur.

-The car of the teacher Hüseyin Özyaydin is cut off by reactionaries in Tuzluca near Kars.

- The teachers of the Gaziosmanpaşa High School in Tokat, Dogan Oguzzer, Ismail Hakki, Yusuf Cibara, Bedri Çankaya and Metin Turhan, are attacked with sticks by rightist groups in front of the TOS premise.

- In Gölşehir, town of Nevşehir, after the grape producers' meeting, the TOS Section is attacked by armed right-wing groups and the premise burned.

#### November 1970

- The police search the center of the TOS, the Necati High Training Institute, as well as the house of the teachers and confiscate the books.

#### December 1970

- The Adana TOS section is attacked by fascist commandos. The teachers are beaten and everything around is destructed.

#### February 1971

- The Director of the Kula (Manisa) Primary School, Hüseyin Ergün, is attacked by reactionaries, for being affiliated to the TOS.

- The Kayseri TOS section is attacked by the police under the pretext of search of arms. Five teachers are detained.

- The Dinar TOS Section is blown up and two teachers, M. Ali Akpınar, Hüseyin Bayer are seriously wounded.

- The TOS premise in Aybastı town of Malatya is blown up with explosive.

- In the Alaca town of the Çorum, the TOS section is attacked by armed reactionary groups, two teachers, Süleyman Bora and Naki Yılmaz, are badly beaten.

- The meeting organized by the Adapazari TOS section "to protest against the attacks done to the teachers" is attacked by bands of reactionaries. Four teachers are wounded.

- The Tavşanlı TOS Section is destroyed by the reactionaries.

- The Teachers' Association in Batman is attacked and destroyed by the armed reactionaries.

- The TOS, because of the intensified attacks, is obliged to postpone the 2nd Progressive Educational Council which had to take place between 9th and 11th of February 1971.

- The International Federation of Teachers' Unions (FISE) manifests the solidarity of teachers of all countries against the attacks mentioned.

- The Advisory Council of the TOS assembled with the participation of all the presidents of the sections insists on "the gravity of the situation".

#### March 1971

- In the towns of Kirikhan and Inegöl in Hatay and Bursa, reactionary militants provoke the population by installing bombs in mosques. The TOS premises and other progressive organizations are attacked, the teachers wounded by the fanatic groups.

- In Maraş, the TOS premise and some libraries are attacked.

- In the Şefahtlı town of Yozgat, reactionary militants try to lynch a primary school teacher who is blackening a poster representing the US and Turkish collaboration.

- In the Aksaray town of Niğde, the high school teacher and administrator of the TOS Sefa Turan, is wounded with a dagger by the rightist commandos.

- The house of Aydemir Kumrulu, teacher of the Develi High School in Kayseri, is blown up with explosive and his motorcycle is destroyed.

- The Antalya TOS section is blown up with explosive.

- In Tarsus, Mehmet Gemici, the teacher of the Devrim Primary School, is beaten deadly while he is teaching.

- The reactionary militants try to lynch the teacher of the Gerenkova village in Incirliova town of Aydin.

- In Sivas, Zeki Özeron, the teacher and the President of the Cultural Association of the September 4th, and other 8 persons are arrested under the pretext of having tried to abolish the established order.

- In Izmit Nurettin Dogan, the teacher of Merkez High School, is arrested for having in his house forbidden books.

- Kemal Oral, the primary school teacher, who is travelling from Ordu to Samsun, is apprehended by the police in a car under the pretext of carrying arms.

- The President of TOS declares that the number of teachers who left Turkey because of the mounting pression and went as workers abroad is around seven thousand.

- An investigation is done about the Afyon High school teacher Ali Dayanik pretending that he is making left propoganda.

- Tahsin Saraç, teacher at Gazi Training Institute and a writer, is exiled to Balikesir.

- It is under these conditions that the teachers and the responsables of the TOS accept hopefully the generals' ultimatum aiming *"the installation of the order and law in Turkey and the application of the reformes imposed by the constitution"*. They even declare that they will support a *"neutral"* government founded with this aim. But Erim's government far from taking into consideration the TOS's points of view and other progressive organizations', and hiding behind the pretext of *"the realisation of the reforms and the law and order"* prepares a program defending entirely the interests of the ruling circles. After March the 12th terror and repression are applied more brutally than before to the teachers as well as to all the progressive groups.

#### April 1971

- In Nusaybin Mehmet Çelik, teacher of the Gerencik village, is shot to death while he is going to the town on a tractor.

- Osman İçten (in Istanbul), Kadir Erbil (in Lüleburgaz), Kemal Dinçer, Kemal Karataş and Salih Yüksel (in Turgutlu/Manisa) are beaten by reactionary militants.

-The house of the Vezirköprü High School's Director in Samsun is volleyed.

- Melih Sevinçhan, teacher of the Barbaros Primary School in Konya, is dismissed for having praised Deniz Gezmiş .

- Hammet Hotlar, teacher of the Cibili village in Orhaneli is arrested for carrying anti-regime pamphlets.

- A report is sent to all provinces for the application of the punishment of the 3,111 teachers who had participated to the massive boycott organized by the TOS and the İlk-Sen.

After the Martial Law of 1971:

*The Prime Minister Nihat Erim, in spite of this continuing repression and without taking into consideration the mounting terror installed by the fascist groups encouraged by the ruling circles, declares the "Sledge-Hammer Operation" against the progressive forces.*

*Just after this declaration, on April 26, 1971, the martial law is proclaimed in 11 provinces of the country. In fact the martial law is not limited to these 11 provinces and a man-hunt is started throughout Turkey.*

*The following chronology shows the repression applied to the teachers and the TOS since the beginning of the martial law.*

- 27.4.71: The martial law authorities search the TOS Center in Siirt.
- 28.4.71: After search, the Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters bans the TOS.
- 29.4.71: The Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters bans the TOS.
- 4.5.71: The Eskisehir Martial Law Headquarters bans the TOS for an indefinite period.
- 5.5.71: The Association of University Assistants in Ankara is banned by the Martial Law.
- 6.5.71: A legal proceeding is brought against professor Bahri Savci who contributed to a seminary on "the problems of the workers".
- 7.5.71: In the Osmaniye town of Adana, two teachers, Mehmet Sar and Tufan Pehlivan are detained.
- 9.5.71: The President of TOS, Fakir Baykurt, is detained in Ankara.
- 10.5.71: Baykurt is released.  
-After a search TOS Section in Samsun is closed.
- 11.5.71: Emin Tunçbilek (teacher) is detained in Adana.
- 12.5.71: Çetin Özek, assistant professor at Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, is detained for "being affiliated to an organisation aiming at the domination of a class over other classes".  
-In Balıkesir, three teacher, Halil Oncül, Nasuh Ayyören and Tevfik Kizman, are detained.
- 13.5.71: Gülseren Akder, assistant at the Istanbul Technical University, is banished out of the martial law frontiers.  
-Necati Deniz, president of the Adana TOS Section, is detained.  
-Two teachers, Meral Göktur and Sabri Göktur, are detained in Batman.
- 15.5.71: In Sakarya, 3 teachers are detained by the MLH.  
-Mustafa Terzi, teacher, is detained in Develi.  
-Gülşen Başkan, teacher, is detained in Karaman/Bucakkişla.
- 18.5.71: The Istanbul Martial Law Headquarters announced the list of wanted university lecturers and the teachers. The wanted persons are as

follows: Şevki Akşit (teacher), Vahap Erdoğan (teacher), Doğu Perinçek (assistant at Law Faculty-Ankara), Şahin Alpay (Assistant), Mümtaz Soysal (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), İsmet Sungurbey (professor at Law Faculty-Istanbul), Uğur Mumcu (assistant), Muammer Aksoy (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), Bahri Savcı (professor at Political Sciences Faculty-Ankara), Tarık Zafer Tunaya (professor at Law Faculty-Istanbul), Bülent Tanör (assistant).

- In the Adana-Hatay departments all TOS sections are banned by MLH.
- Teachers detained in Kayseri: Erol Yalçın, Mustafa Alıncı, Neşet Mülayım, Hakkı Yalçın, Mehmet İskitler, İsmail Demirci, Mehmet Karateke, Hasan Canpolat, Galip Kekeç, Ergin Önen, Nurten Mülayım, Nuri Soysal, Aydemir Kumru, Mustafa Zileli, Naci Albal, Mehmet Günay, Şemsettin Çoker, Ali Vural, Erdal An, Kazım Özgen, Zafer Develi, Hasan Sal, Veysel Aykaç, Attila Asla, Aysel Sarıgil, Latif Başkan, Hayrettin Sönmez.
- Teachers detained in Konya: Veli Sevinçhan, İsa Özcan, Sedat Tolgay.
- Teachers detained in Gaziantep: Hüseyin Alpay, Cemal Cengiz, Faruk Yüce, Sadık Güller, Hüdaverdi Gadiröglü, Hasan Urer, Celil Orhan, Süleyman Kiliç, Mustafa Beyazıt, Ural Aykut, Yaşar Aziz, Selahattin Altınok, Ali Çevik, Doğan Günebakan, Necati Eroğlu, Hayri Gül, Ömer Kalyoncu, Reha Koyuncu.
- In Hatay, 17 teachers are detained. They are the members of TOS.
- In Urfa, 25 teachers are detained.

19.5.71: Prof. Muammer Aksoy, Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, Prof. Bahri Savcı, Prof. Tarık Zafer Tunaya, Assistant Bülent Tanör, Assistant Uğur Mumcu are detained.

- Teachers detained in Nevşehir: Kamil Karadeniz, Behiye Morgül, Kudusi Tekeli, Ferit Karacadağ, İlksen Tuncay, Galip Akin, Ridvan Sertlek, Rüstü Erdem and Muammer Geçit.
- Teachers detained in Sinop: Ersin Gürel, Selahattin Gezin, Mustafa Dönsez, Mustafa Türkel.
- Teacher detained in Edirne: Birol Demir.
- In Erzincan: Komal Abbas, Altınbaş, Ali Karadağ, Kemal Kabaklı, Selami Yavuz, Lütfullah Türküli, Bektaş Hayırlı, Salim Gölpınar.
- In Niğde: Hayri Coşkun, the president of TOS Section, and 9 others.
- In Hatay (İskenderun): 76 teachers.

20.5.71: In Ankara, Prof. Cahit Talas and Assistant Ergin Günçe are detained.  
 -In Elazığ, 13 teachers are detained.  
 -In Bursa a teacher is detained.

21.5.71: Professors, Uğur Alacakaptan, Bülent Nuri Esen, Rauf Nasuhoglu, Bahri Savcı, Nihat Şişli; assistant professors, Burhan Cahit Ünal, Ahmet Abdik, Maide Oruç, Ethem Tokmakçioğlu, Mukbil Özyörük; assistants, Attila Elmaslı, Naif Türkten, Adil Özkol; teachers, Veli Karasimoglu, Cengiz Ballıkaya are detained in Ankara.

- Prof. Oğuz Aksu and Assistant Prof. Oğuz Çataloglu are detained in İzmir.
- Five teachers, Halil Çetin, Sami Ender, Asim Yanık, Ahmet Şenel and İbrahim Topal are detained in Niğde.

22.5.71: In Istanbul Demirel Toprak (teacher), in Alayşehir Kamil Karagöz (teacher), in Giresun teachers Aslan Yıldız, Namsal Uysal, Hasan Dönertaş and Mehmet Hidimoğlu are detained.

- 23.5.71: In Ankara, Professor Sadun Aren is detained.  
-In Manisa teachers, Hasan Saglam, Faruk Akca Mustafa Yüksel, Ülkü Baytan, Yücel Unal, Ali Rıza Başaran, Yusuf Lekeziz, Hayrettin Karadeniz are detained.
- 23.5.71: Yasar Gürbüz (professor), Adil Kahya (assistant), Muammer Soysal (assistant) are detained in Ankara.
- 27.5.71: Behzat Ay (teacher) is detained in Ankara.
- 28.5.71: Assistant Oya Köymen is detained in Ankara.
- 29.5.71: Fakir Baykurt, President of the TOS, is arrested in Ankara.
- 30.5.71: Ahmet Ali Aydoğan, teacher, is detained in Ankara.
- 31.5.71: Oya Sencer, assistant, is detained in Ankara. Nevzat Helvacı, Judicial Councillor of the TOS is also detained in Ankara.
- 1.6.71: In Gaziantep, the teachers Abdurrahman Sercan, Hasan Urol and Mustafa Çeliktan; in Istanbul, assistant Oruç Bilgiç; in Tarsus teacher Sefika Aliç are detained.
- 2.6.71: Tacim Gülpinar, teacher, is detained in Giresun. In Izmir, teacher Mehmet Karataş and in Ödemiş teacher Omer Duru are detained.
- 3.6.71: Fakir Baykurt, president of TOS, is dismissed from his post, Public Relation Director of the Middle East Technical University (METU).  
*(From May 18th 1971 to June 7th 1971 massive detentions and arrests take place. The number given by the newspapers of people apprehended during this period of time is 2138. But since names and professions are not declared, it is impossible for us to know which ones are teachers)*
- 11.6.71: In Adana 12 teachers are detained. The names are not declared.
- 12.6.71: Mehmet Selik (assistant professor at the Political Sciences Faculty) is detained in Ankara.
- 14.6.71: Prof. Mümtaz Soysal and Prof. Bahri Savcı are arrested and imprisoned in Ankara.  
-At the Law Faculty of Istanbul, two assistants, Bülent Tanör and Yücel Sayman are dismissed.
- 17.6.71: Çetin Özek, assistant professor of criminal law at the Istanbul University's Faculty of Law, is dismissed.
- 21.6.71: Özer Ozankaya (assistant professor at the Political Sciences Faculty) is imprisoned for having translated a book entitled "The Marx's Theory on Society".
- 22.6.71: In the Saruhanlı town of Manisa, three teachers, Süleyman Kapucu, İlhan Alkan and Adem Kapıcı are arrested.
- 23.6.71: Mete Tuncay, assistant professor at the Political Sciences faculty, is imprisoned for having written a preface to Özer Ozankaya's translation.  
-Erdogan Güçbilmez, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty, and Nuri Ayvalı, teacher, are arrested in Ankara.
- 24.6.71: Dogu Perinçek, assistant at the Law Faculty of Ankara, and Muammer Soysal, assistant at the Middle East Technical University of Ankara, are dismissed.

- 25.6.71: Ismail Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty, and Ahmet Yaşar, teacher, are detained.
- 30.6.71: Niyazi Aslan, teacher, is detained in Ankara.
- 1.7.71: Mustafa Köse, teacher, is detained in Istanbul.
- 3.7.71: Idris Küçükömer, professor at the Economics Faculty of the Istanbul University, is detained in Istanbul.
- 5.7.71: Dursun Akçam, Vice President of the TÖS, and Osman Akol, General Secretary of TÖS are detained in Ankara.
- Aydın Karagözoglu, assistant at the METU, and Saadet Kaçar, teacher in Antakya, are detained.
- 6.7.71: Veli Kasimoğlu, member of the TÖS Executive Committee, is arrested.
- General Semih Sancar, Ankara Martial Law Commander, declares that a number of professors wanted to manifest themselves in their academic gowns "to protest against the detention of the teachers" and that this attempt was prevented by "efficacious" interventions.
- 7.7.71: Cengiz Ballıkaya and Doğan Erdoğan, teachers and members of the TÖS administration, are imprisoned in Ankara.
- 11.7.71: Two writers and university lecturers, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu and Azra Erhat are detained in Istanbul.
- 16.7.71: Teachers at the Gazi High Training Institute, Naciye Üncül, Hilmi Akpınar, İsmet Birken, Hilmi Pekşirin, Mahmut Adem Solak and Tahsin Saraç, are detained in Ankara.
- 17.7.71: In Samsun, ten teachers, Abdullah Akin, Kadir Ulusoy, Recep Cüre, Kasım Altun, Niyazi Tan, İhsan İlkay, Ruşen Berber, Fikri AYTEKİN, Ahmet Albayrak, Attila Özova, are imprisoned.
- The trials of Necati Deniz, President of the Adana TÖS Section, and Emin Tunçbilek, the former president, begin at the Military Court of the Adana MLH.
- In Zonguldak, four teachers, İsmet Yalçınkaya, Niyazi Türk, Tevfik Aldemir and Süleyman Ersan are imprisoned.
- 19.7.71: Kaya Odabaşı, President of the Samsun TÖS Section, Mahmut Kolukisa, Mehmet Cökçe, Ekrem Kigli, members of the TÖS administration, are detained.
- 26.7.71: Professor Muammer Aksoy is arrested and imprisoned in Ankara.
- 30.7.71: Assistant Professor Burhan Cahit Ünal and Assistant Aydın Karagözoglu are arrested in Ankara.
- İsmail Beşikçi, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty of Ankara is arrested and his trial is started at the Military Court of Diyarbakir Martial Law Headquarters. İsmail Beşikçi is accused of *pro-kurd* propaganda.
- Muammer Bektaş, teacher, is imprisoned in Ankara.
- Three assistants, Ferhan Paydak, Muzaffer Sipahioglu and Çağlar Kırçak are detained in Diyarbakir.
- 5.8.71: The trial of Prof. Ertan Acaroğlu, vice-rector of the METU is started in the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH.
- General Şefik Erensü, new Rector of the Middle East Technical University (METU) dismisses five lecturers, Aysel Usluata, İnci Giritlioglu, Lale Sezer, Oya Alev, Hitay Yüksek and Leon Mafyan, from

the university because of their objection against the appointment of the peace corps.

-The director of the Gazi Teacher's School Naciye Öncül and the first vice-director Hilmi Akpınar were arrested for "propagandizing for communism".

- 10.8.71: Ferhat Aslantaş, teacher, is arrested in Istanbul.
- 11.8.71: Assistant Professor Mukbil Özyörük and teacher Mustafa Faruk Türün are brought before the First Military Court of Istanbul MLH together with the defendants of *Young Naval Officers' Case*.
- 13.8.71: Omer Hasbora, teacher at the *Adana Institute*, is arrested by the Military Court of Ankara MLH.
- 16.8.71: Four teachers, Muzaffer Şatir, Necati Mert, Mükrimin Tekin and Burhan Bursa, are released from the military jail.  
-Assistant Dr. Aysel Ögüt is detained in Izmir.
- 4.9.71: General İrfan Üzaydınli, the Eskişehir Martial Law Commander, states: "I have banned the TOS and the İlk-Sen because they were extreme-left organizations."
- 10.9.71: The Ankara Martial Law Commander bans the Ulubey Progressive Teachers' Association.
- 12.9.71: With the amendments to the constitution, teachers' right to establish trade unions is restricted. Therefore, the Progressive Teachers Association of Turkey (TDOB) is founded instead of the İlk-Sen. This unions does not have a trade union function.
- 22.9.71: The TOS also loses its trade union functions and turns into *Teachers' Association of Turkey (TOB)*.
- 26.9.71: Ferhat Arslantaş, teacher, is transferred to Ankara Military Jail.
- 28.9.71: Şinasi Örel, Minister of the National Education, declares that, only for secondary schools, the need for teachers is 17,000.
- 30.9.71: In Kocaeli, 17 persons are brought on trial, having founded an illegal organisation and "propagandizing for communism. Most of the accused are teachers.
- 1.10.71: Assistant Prof. Metin Yeldan and the assistants, Selami Sözer, Mustafa Arlı, Abdurrahman Korukçu, of the Agriculture Department of Ankara University are detained in Ankara.
- 20.10.71: Mehmet Emin Zorkun, teacher, is arrested in Ankara.
- 26.10.71: The trial of Fakir Baykurt, the President of TOS, and the 142 others begins in the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH. The teachers object the *contradictory character in the foundation of the military tribunal* and pretend that this tribunal cannot judge them. After the objection refused, Baki Tug, the military prosecutor, reads his charge. In this 98 pages of accusation, the President of TOS Fakir Baykurt, the vice-president Dursun Akçam, the secretary-general Osman Akol and the administrators, Veli Kasimoğlu, Abdullah Özcan, Hülya Zagyapan, Celal Yıldız, Ahmet Gültekin, Muharrem Tekin, Nezihe Orcan, Fikret Soysal, Gün Zileli, Ahmet Say, Hasan Zorlu, Yılmaz Demir, İbrahim Bayar, Basri Özdoğan, Kaya Odabaşı, Recep Cüre, Mümin Dođru, Babür Ergüney, Omer Yigit are accused under article 141/1 of the TPC of being organized with the aim to establish the domination of one class



over the others. The military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 15 years for each.

-Attila Sav, Minister of Labour, declares that 10,000 teachers are working in foreign countries as workers. In this way, it is officially admitted that the teachers have been oppressed since years.

27.10.71: Prof. Bahri Savci is judged for "propagandizing for communism" before the First Military Court of Ankara M.H. The military prosecutor demands 5 years imprisonment because of his early writings. His lawyer Prof. Ugur Alacakaptan objected on the fact that the foundation and the procedure of the military tribunals are in contradiction with the constitution and consequently Savci could not be judged. He demanded also to prohibit publication of the formal charge which contains parts that are serious offences against the law. All objections are refused.

1.11.71: In Ankara, during the process of the TOS Case, the lawyers, Halit Çelenk, Nevzat Helvacı, Cemal Başbay, Sadık Akıncılar, Turgut Akin, Refik Ergün and Mükerrer Erdogan, leave the court room stating that the rights of defence are violated.

2.11.71: During the trial of the TOS Case, Fakir Baykurt, president of the TOS, refuses the prosecutor's accusation and states: "If I had founded a clandestine organization, it would have not only six sections but at least 60. The TOS is not a secret organization; on the contrary it is just a legal one."

3.11.71: Veli Sevinçhan, teacher at the Konya Primary School who was imprisoned for having praised Deniz Gezmiş, is released after two months of his detention.

-Among the teachers who were detained for the TOS Case, Niyazi Tan, Cemalettin Etli, Zeki Oguz, Nazmi Yalçın, Dursun Özden, Niyazi Aslan, Fikri Yavuz, Mehmet Kir, Mustafa Akman, İhsan Ilkyaz, Kasım Altın, Kadir Ulusoy, Ruşen Berber, Abdullah Akin, Mehmet Albayrak, Mahmut Kolukisa, Mehmet Gökçe, Ekrem Tıgılı, Yahya Gündüz, Fikri Aytekin, Murammer Bektaş, are released after several months of detention.

.....  
"A young teacher, Adil Kartal, committed suicide by burning himself in front of the Atatürk Monument in Bursa. First leaving a sign and a note at the base of the monument, he then poured gas all over him and set fire to himself. In five minutes his body was reduced to ashes."  
(Tercüman, May 5, 1971)  
  
In the note and on the sign left on the monument Adil Kartal protested against the military regime and sacrificed his life in order to attract the attention of world opinion to what is happening in Turkey. The newspapers, however, were not authorized to give the reasons for his suicide.  
.....

16.11.71: Assistant Oya Sencer, teachers, Hayrettin Boza, Ibrahim Seven, Feyhan Kolday, Cemal Çiçek, Saim Mermer, Hüseyin Topal, Ali Rıza Özdemir, Öztürk Adıgüzel, Fuat Turgut who are detainees of the TOS Case, are released.

-Güher Karaçavuş, assistant at the Istanbul Technical University, is detained.

- 17.11.71: Among the prisoners accused at the TOS Process Cahit Bozalp, Salih Yakin, Kerim Metli, Necati Çinar, Kemal Soysal, Osman Yaman, Ahmet Gültekin, Hilmi Erdem, Haluk Tokat, Muharrem Tekin, Gülşen Başkan, Kudret Yaman are released.
- 18.11.71: Dr. Tufan Alyörük (assistant lecturer) is detained in Izmir.
- 19.11.71: Among the prisoners accused at the TOS Process, Hüseyin Erdural, Gönül Kayir, Harun Resit Özçiçek, Halil Erdem, Latife Atay, Kemal Bulut, Sedat Vural and Ismail Kömürcü are released.
- 23.11.71: Mehmet Turgut, teacher, is sentenced to 13 months and 10 days imprisonment for his his article entitled "A Teacher in the Space" which was published in a newspaper.  
- Veli Sevinçhan, accused for having praised Deniz Gezmiş, is condemned to 5 years term by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH.
- 1.12.71: Assistant professors, Edip Yazgan, Erdem Aksoy; assistant Kemal Erdoğdu; teachers, Gültekin Gazioglu, Hüseyin Örengazioglu, Orhan Yavuz, Orhan Küçükoglu, Ömer Celp, Özçelik Karahasanoglu, Ali Mert, Sefik Arslan, Cebbar Yavuz, Numan Yavuz, Ismet Eyüboğlu, Kadir Çoban, Mehmet Ezber, Ziya Akgün, Münir Olcayto, Yılmaz Topaloglu, Mustafa Maşat, Hüseyin Kizal, Mustafa Karadeniz, Kemalettin Dilaver, Abdülkadir Yılmaz, Osman Sungur, Zeki Karahasanoglu, Kazim Karadeniz, Tuncer Gazioglu and Arif Şapli are detained in Trabzon.
- 3.12.71: Hasan Iltter, teacher, is detained in Tunceli.  
-Prof. Mümtaz Soysal, Dean of the Ankara Political Sciences Faculty, is condemned to six years and eight months imprisonment and two years exile by the Third Military Court of Ankara MLH. His right of teaching is cancelled.
- 5.12.71: Students of the Political Sciences Faculty protest against Prof. Soysal's condemnation by boycotting the classes for one day.
- 8.12.71: In Erzurum two teachers, Kadir Okçu and Galip Demirbas, are detained for owning in their houses left publications.  
-The military prosecutor of the Second Military Court of Ankara MLH demands two years imprisonment for two teachers, Nurettin Gezer and Bahattin Durak, under the pretext of being affiliated to an illegal organization.
- 9.12.71: A new process is declared for the 24 accused concerned by the TOS process. 15 of them are teachers. Among them are Gürol İlban, Mehmet Günsay, Emine Dinç and Mahiye Morgün.
- 16.12.71: Eyüp Cüneyt Akalin, assistant at the Political Sciences Faculty, and Hasan Ertin, teacher, are detained in Ceylanpinar.
- 19.12.71: Four teachers, Mehmet Kiliç, Mehmet Emin Çete, Mehmet Bozdoğan and Bekir Alan, are detained in Ceylanpinar, related to Akalin and Ertin.
- 30.12.71: The Military Court of Ankara MLH releases Fakir Baykurt, the president of the TOS, but Baykurt is arrested immediately again and in-jailed for three months because of an old decision of a civil court of Ankara.
- 14.1.72: Fakir Baykurt is tried at the First Aggravated Felony Court of Ankara under Article 159 of the TPC, on the charge of "insulting the morality of the government".
- 17.1.72: Ertan Acaroglu, the vice-director of the METU, is tried at the

Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH under the accusation of "*hiding suspects and helping them to escape*", but he is acquitted.

- 18.1.72: The trial of Bahri Savci, professor at the Political Sciences Faculty, starts at the Third Military Court of the Ankara MLH. The military prosecutor accuses him of "*inciting the people against the laws*".
- 21.2.72: The trials of the Progressive Youth Federation of Turkey (Dev-Genç) Case begin at the First Military Court of Ankara MLH. Among the defendants there are also two professors; Muammer Aksoy of the Political Sciences Faculty and Sedat Özkol of the METU. Military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 15 years for each, because of "*trying to establish the domination of one class over the others.*"
- 22.2.72: The 17 defendants of the TOS Adana Section Case are tried at the Military Court of Adana MLH. The military prosecutor accuses them of trying to establish the domination of one class over the others, under Article 141 of the TFC. The military Court condemns eight of the defendants, Emin Funçbilek, Yasar Gökoglu, Sevin Demirpençe, Mehmet Özel, Mahir Cemiloglu, Zihni Ayhan, Tahir Pekmezci and Mehmet Hasan Özel to eight years imprisonment for each. The other defendants, Necati Deniz, Ramazan Adigüzel, Mehmet Tarhangil, Hüseyin Gürkan, Şefik Aydın, Kazim Aydoğan, Ali Seydi Şimşek, Ender Yigiter, Arif Akça and Dogan Tekebaş are acquitted.
- 25.2.72: The General President of the TOS Fakir Baykurt is released from the Ankara Prison.
- 28.2.72: Three teachers, Hasan Ilter, Kenan Katar and Ziya Kiliç, are arrested in Mazgirt for posting anti-regime placards on the walls.
- 1.3.72: The trial of four teachers from Orhanlı, Ramezan Köksal, Sabri Biber, Turan Yılmaz and Yaşar Ince, begins at the Second Military Court of Istanbul MLH. The military prosecutor accuses them of "*forming a clandestine organization*".
- 2.3.72: After Celal Yıldız, teacher, is released, the number of the arrested defendants of the TOS Case in Ankara decreased to 15.
- 8.3.72: The Military Court of Cassation cancels the imprisonment of Prof. Mümtaz Soysal and orders a new trial.
- 26.4.72: The Third Military Court of Ankara MLH rejects to adopt the annulment of the Court of Cassation and insists on condemning Prof. Soysal to 6 years and 8 months imprisonment.
- 28.4.72: The military prosecutor brought a law suit against 34 persons under the accusation of "*helping the guerillas*" and demands death sentences for 24 of them. Among the defendants there are five teachers, Ferhat Şeker, Saadettin Gümüş, Mustafa Şengül, Hüseyin Gümüş and Resul Güneytepe. They will be tried at the Third Military Court of Ankara.
- 9.5.72: The Third Military Court of Ankara MLH acquits Prof. Bahri Savci.
- 14.5.72: The house of three teachers, Süleyman Şahiner, Hacı Bekir Karaca and Saffet Arkas was blown up by rightist groups with dynamite in Maraş.
- 20.5.72: Abdullah Denge, teacher of Dereboyu Village in Göksun town, is arrested for "*propagandizing for communism and hiding some forbidden publication.*"
- 22.5.72: Two teachers of Yozgat High-School are arrested and the public pro-

secutor starts a legal proceeding against them for "propagandizing for communism". Their names are not disclosed.

25.5.72: In Kagizman, five teachers and two students are arrested.

31.5.72: Şerafettin Gökçe, teacher of Turhal-Dogaçalı village school, Veyis Yılmaz and Sabahattin Yazıcı, teachers of Yeniceleser village school, are detained for having left publications.

2.6.72: İzzet Uludağ, teacher of Yozgat Merkez Secondary School, and Aytekin Genç, director of Kulu High School, are beaten up by rightist groups.

20.6.72: The rightist groups attack one four teachers, Kemal Önder, Tevfik Tortanış, Ali Rıza Başarın and Ahmet Çöpçü, and cut their hair by force in Demirci town.

26.6.72: Teacher Hülya Zagyapan, the defendant of the TOS Case, is also tried by the First Military Court of the Ankara MLH for "insulting the military judges of the Second Military Court". She is condemned to six months imprisonment.

7.7.72: Prof. Uğur Alacakaptan, Dean of the Ankara Law Faculty, Mukbil Özyörük, assistant professor, Uğur Mumcu and Adil Özkol, assistants, are tried by the First Military Court of Ankara MLH. The military prosecutor demands imprisonment up to 15 years for each for "their anti-regime activities."

9.7.72: The Diyarbakir MLH declares that in the south-eastern Anatolia 317 teachers have been exiled to other provinces; the military prosecutors have started legal proceedings against 85 teachers and 30 teachers were taken in for "their dangerous activities".

#### Conclusion:

As this report clearly demonstrates, since 1965, the beginning of the Justice Party's regime in Turkey, when teachers started organizing trade-unions, they have been subjected to all sorts of repression.

Repressive measures were intensified following the proclamation of martial law on April 26, 1971. Teachers have been detained in large groups, hundreds have been kept in military prisons and in police dungeons for months at a time. Moreover, deprived of their freedom, they have not been able to continue their profession and even after being released many of them have lost their jobs.

In addition to the repressive measures imposed by military rule, the most important step towards the abolition of the fundamental rights and freedoms of teachers was the amending of the constitution.

According to the amendments to Article 46 of the 1961 Constitution, all state employees, including teachers, are now deprived of the right to establish trade unions. Whereas, in accordance with Article 119 of the Constitution, state employees and teachers can establish associations with an aim "to protect and improve their interests with respect to their professions", these associations do not have the right to collective bargaining or to strike, which are necessary means to protect and improve their economic and social status.

Moreover, according to the amendment introduced in Article 29, the

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

Through the amendment of the Associations Act, passed by the National Assembly on July 15, 1972, governors and police chiefs are authorized to permanently control or ban any association without a court order. Associations must obtain the approval of the public prosecutor in order to issue an announcement or communiqué. The radio-television and press cannot bring to the public's attention any announcement without prior approval of the public prosecutor.

Associations are forbidden from having international relations or affiliation to an international organization.

Associations are deprived of the right to declare their views on political matters on the basis of this provision, any association can be banned on the pretext that it is carrying out political activities.

Although, in accordance with the constitutional amendments, two teachers trade unions, the TOS and the İlk-Sen, have been turned into associations, they are constantly under the threat of being closed down at a moment's notice.

Another blow to members of the educational profession is the abrogation of the university autonomy.

According to the amendment to Article 120 of the Constitution:

- *Police forces are authorized to enter the university buildings or annexes for the purpose of pursuing a criminal, without obtaining authorization from the university administration.*
- *All administrative organs of the universities are placed under the strict control of the executive power.*
- *The Council of Ministers can take over the administration of the universities and the faculties, institutes and foundations connected with the universities if freedom of education is endangered or if the administrative bodies of the universities are unable to meet this danger.*
- *University professors and assistant professors are deprived of the right of affiliation to a political party.*

Since they have no longer enjoyed any political, social or economic freedoms or guarantees, teachers started immigrating to Europe as workers. According to official statistics, there are more than ten thousand Turkish teachers in Europe. At a time when the school-age children of half a million Turkish workers in Europe have no possibility of being trained in their mother tongue, the Turkish Government takes no account of the existence of these Turkish teachers in Europe. On the one hand, therefore, these children are deprived of an education and, on the other hand, the teachers are exploited by foreign employers.

When the people of Turkey are in dire need tens of thousand teachers in order to educate their children, when 13,000 villages are still deprived of primary schools and half the population is still illiterate, this can only be qualified as a shameful display on the part of the rulers of Turkey.

A P P E A L

The Democratic Resistance of Turkey, considering the facts and the documentary evidence put forth in this volume states the following:

1. It has been established beyond doubt that torture or ill-treatment, in direct violation of Article 3 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, has been inflicted in numerous cases. Given the repetition of these acts and the official tolerance of these acts, the practice of torture constitutes an administrative practice.

2. There was not on March 12, 1971 and on April 26, 1972 a conspiracy to overthrow a constitutional government nor was there a breakdown in public order which could constitute a "public emergency threatening the life of the nation".

3. The people of Turkey are prevented from choosing a legislature under conditions which will ensure free expression in accordance with Article 3 of the First Protocol to the Convention.

4. The Turkish regime has violated all the fundamental freedoms and rights guaranteed under the European Convention of Human Rights pertaining to:

- a) right to life (Article 2),
- b) right to liberty and security (Article 5),
- c) freedom of fair trial (Article 6, 7),
- d) right to respect for private and family life, home and correspondence (Article 8),
- e) freedom of thought, conscience and belief (Article 9),
- f) freedom of expression (Article 10),
- g) freedom of association and trade-union (Article 11),
- h) freedom of effective remedy (Article 13)

And the Democratic Resistance of Turkey calls on the High Contracting Parties of the Council of Europe to examine the facts, the documentary evidence and the claims laid forth in this volume and to secure to the people of Turkey within their jurisdiction the rights and freedoms defined in the European Convention of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.

# TURKIET

# TURKIELAND?

15. 8. Oktober  
 Die neue Krise in der Türkei  
 Erim setzt auf  
 Mit Rückendeckung durch die Generalführer

Die Türkei steht, ein halbes Jahr nach dem  
 Ministerpräsident Nihat Erim mit der Dro-  
 hung eines parlamentarischen Staatsstreichs im  
 Rücken die parlamentarische Regierung durch  
 die rechtliche Partei ablöste, erzwang die  
 Zwei Kabinettsmitglieder, K. Erim

de prisión  
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 la cátedra  
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 rado para  
 lito quis se  
 mayoría es  
 tes de dia  
 "Kliffach  
 Turq

LE MONDE — 25 mai 1971 — Page 3

## TURQUIE

es pour la dénonciation  
 des suspects  
 précisions sur la répression

gouvernement turc, M. Nihat  
 le mercredi 27 juil  
 an devant  
 les intellectuels et le  
 reprise en Turquie après  
 de siège, s'est écarté

### SEMAINES D'ÉTAT DE SIÈGE EN TURQUIE

## gouvernement renforce les mesures de maintien de l'ordre

de la loi martiale. Toutes ces personnalités, d'activités mettant en danger la sécurité compareront devant des tribunaux

loi sur l'état de siège, approuvée par le Parlement et ratifiée vendredi par le président Cavdet Sunay, renforce les mesures de répression placées à la suite de la loi martiale. C'est à la vue est porté de la compétence des tribunaux militaires pour les délits civils, la loi récente intervenue sous le gouvernement Hıkmət et le régime d'urgence



TURQUIA  
 La farsa de un complot  
 indiscriminadamente, las patrullas militares y militares batieron duramente a las ciudades más importantes de Turquía

## Turkish at

The Turkish commander-in-chief has been criticised for his intervention in the March 1971 crisis as the source of the military's power. The commander-in-chief is the only person who can order the army to intervene in domestic politics.



viktigt  
 vicecentral

## TURKISH MILITARY RULE AND THE FOREIGN PRESS

LE MONDE (France), May 20, 1971

A good number of leftist militants are being tracked down by the security forces and arrested. On the other hand, many personalities including journalists, editors, public prosecutors and writers are also being detained by the authorities. The new law passed by Parliament authorizes the martial law commanders to take extraordinary measures. The Ankara Government has also started a vast repressive campaign against the Kurdish people, on the pretext that there is a possibility of an uprising. But as has been seen in former attempts of this sort, such repression has no chance of success.

AFTONBLADET (Sweden), May 23, 1971

Forty-five of Sweden's most distinguished writers, scholars and artists have issued the following statement: "Since the end of April, freedom of speech and democratic opposition have been abolished in Turkey. Not only the left-wing politicians, but also journalists, writers and university professors have been subjected to repression. Waves of arrests have taken place all over Turkey. The situation of this NATO member is no different from that of Greece. Considering this situation, we call on everyone, all organizations and individuals, to defend the democratic rights of the people of Turkey."

AFTONBLADET (Sweden), May 26, 1971

The Turkish army is spread all over the country as the heavy boot is ready to fall at any moment. The army generals hold the strings of the newly-formed government. Democratic process is in danger. Today in Turkey, democracy means: (a) a government formed by the generals on the pretext that the former government was not able to maintain law and order; (b) and a parliament formed by eight bourgeois parties. A single word from General Tagmaç is enough to drive the country to a Greek-type dictatorship. (Lars Weiss)

AFTONBLADET, May 27, 1971

The Turkish Government controlled by the army generals has launched a massive man hunt against the leftist forces in the country. Most of the radical organizations have been banned, leftist sympathizers detained and the freedom of press which was already restricted, has been completely abolished. The prosecutors are demanding a total of 800 years imprisonment for the editors and writers of a radical review. This kind of "law and order" is no different from that of the Greek Colonels. Within NATO, another member country has embarked on the path of fascist dictatorship.



LE MONDE, June 2, 1971

The military authorities have prepared a list of five thousand names for arrest. The newspapers are forbidden from publishing any news without obtaining prior approval from the military headquarters. All anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and socialist publications have been prohibited. For the editors and writers of the political review *Ant* alone, the prosecutors are demanding a total of 800 years imprisonment. All trade-union activities have been prohibited and democratic organizations like Dev-Genç, TÖS, SDDF, DDKO banned.

(Concerning this article, the Director of the Press Administration of Turkey sent a denial to the editor of *Le Monde* and claimed that the information published by *Le Monde* was pure fabrication. *Le Monde*, however, insisted on the soundness of the information and stated: "The information was given by personalities who are reliable. But given the circumstances, we are obliged to withhold their names.")

AFTONBLADET, June 2, 1971

The military rule of Turkey is gaining strength from day to day, repression against the left has increased and thousands of intellectuals are being held in the jails. The man hunt against the guerillas has been intensified. The unrest of the masses of people has reached a high point and seems more serious than in Greece or Spain. If the deep contradictions of the country are not overcome, Turkey will be shaken not by an earthquake, but by a popular rebellion. (*Staffan Heimerson, Ariane Wahlgren*)

LE MONDE, June 4, 1971

The revolutionary hunt has become the dominant repressive action in Turkey. Everyone, including famous academicians and artists, is being arrested without consideration for whether they have relations with the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey or not. The security forces are attempting to put to use every type of repressive measure not applicable within the framework of the Constitution.

## les bases de la dictature militaire

● Turquie



Le 3 décembre,  
le Premier ministre turc,  
Nihat Erim,  
présentait la démission  
de son gouvernement.  
Huit jours plus tard,  
il formait un nouveau cabinet  
- sur une base parlementaire  
élargie -  
où les conservateurs,  
hostiles aux projets de réforme  
des « technocrates »,  
se taillent la meilleure part.  
Ce tour de passe-passe  
visé à renforcer le légalisme  
d'un régime militaire et policier  
qui accentue la répression,  
faute de trouver d'autres solutions  
à la crise qu'il connaît.

HALTE AUX  
CRIMES FASCISTES  
EN TURQUIE

AFRICASIA, June 21 - July 4, 1971

Almost 2,000 workers, peasants, intellectuals and students have been arrested during a three-month period. The military rule has launched a real man hunt against everyone struggling for democracy and against imperialism. That is the panorama of Turkey, member of NATO and the Council of Europe. Hundreds of people from the press, the arts and the universities are compelled to live clandestinely. Most of the militants face imprisonment for periods of a few generations. (In this issue, AfricAsia presents an interview with a Turkish revolutionary living in clandestinity.)

STERN (Germany), July 4, 1971

In Turkey, the Army is in power. The political destiny of the country is conducted by four generals under the chairmanship of General Memduh Tagmaç, Chief of the General Staff. These four generals are carrying out a well-planned scheme to maintain a veiled democracy in order not to provoke reactions from the members of NATO and the EEC. Turkey, however, is under martial law and the military authorities can jail all writers, journalists, trade union leaders, political party leaders and students. We visited a military jail near Istanbul. The situation in that jail reminded us of the Frankfurt Zoo. (Randolph Braumann)

EXPRESSEN (Sweden), July 28, 1971

Today in Turkey, the police forces are authorized to raid and search everywhere. During these searches police agents can seize any book which they consider dangerous material. Anyone can be detained for one month without a court warrant. Hundreds of intellectuals have been jailed. Turkey is a member of the Council of Europe, but what happens in Turkey today is in violation of the Convention of Human Rights. When will other member states understand this situation? Especially Sweden? (Margareta Ekström)

EXPRESSEN (Sweden), July 28, 1971

Why should the Turkish Case not be discussed in the Council of Europe in the same way as the repression in Greece was discussed some years ago? Turkey has also signed the European Convention of Human Rights and the military rulers do not respect its provisions. Another problem that the Council of Europe should look into is the situation of the Kurds who are now more oppressed than ever. (Thomas Hammarberg)

PURO CHILE (Chile), October 3, 1971

In comparison to the Turkish gorillas, the Greek generals seem more liberal and open-minded, because Turkey is actually governed by a military dictatorship under the cloak of a so-called civilian government. The country has been turned into a large concentration camp. There is a tremendous hunt on, aimed at men, ideas and books.

RAMONA (Chile), October 5, 1971

There are thousands of students, workers, trade-union leaders, peasants and intellectuals in prisons waiting their turn to be tried by the military courts. This parody of justice was created by the military dictatorship of Turkey. The sinister machinery of the fascist dictator-

ship -which makes the Greek generals look like tin soldiers- is carried out with a blood bath. Police terrorism has reached its climax. Ten military courts, ten assassination machines have condemned young men to death. The youth of all countries must protest against these condemnations.

SUDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG (Germany),  
October 8, 1971

The first step of military-backed Prime Minister Erim was to proclaim martial law in eleven provinces, for the purpose of cracking down on "extremists". Since that time, all left-wing political organizations have been banned as well as marxist student organizations. Even the Turkish Labour Party, in fact not a communist organization, was also banned. Besides, a great number of intellectuals, writers, journalists and professors have been brought before the military courts. But despite these extraordinary measures, inflation rises at great speed and will lead the country to new unrest sooner or later. So, law and order will never be established. (*Rudolph Chimelli*)

THE GUARDIAN (Gt. Britain), October 23, 1971

But the most serious victim of the anti-communist backlash is freedom of speech. Under the penal code anyone who seeks to "disrupt the basic economic and social order" by making "propaganda in anyway whatever for establishing the domination of one social class over another" can get up to 10 years in prison. For years this has hung like a sword of Democles over the heads of left-wing writers -and now, for some of them, in the harsh political climate of today, the sword has fallen.

PURO CHILE, October 28, 1971

Tomorrow, Friday, is the national day of Turkey. Obviously, the Turkish ambassador will talk on the Chilean National Television. For me it is a shame. This ambassador whom I have nothing against personally is the representative of a bloody dictatorship which has abolished all constitutional freedoms, which has applied torture as a matter of policy and entertains a parody of justice which has condemned 18 young men to death. (*Fernando Rivas*)

AFTONBLADET, October 29, 1971

The resemblance between today's Turkey and Greece is shocking. The democratic façade of the Erim Government is starting to crumble and one can see that the military generals are those who rule the country. Turkey has all the marks of the classical dictatorship: trials, arrests and censorship. (*Ulla Lundström*)

Måndagen den 6 december 1971 ★ EXPRESSE

STOPPA DÖDSDOMARNA



TIP — det turkiska arbetarpartiet — förbjöds den 20 juni i år. Det beslöts av den s.k. förtätningsdomstolen på uppdrag från högre ort. Skälet var partiets krav att kurderna i Turkiet skall accepteras som en nationell sol-

noritet, med samma rättigheter som alla andra.

Sedan TIP förbjöds arresterades 20 av dess ledande medlemmar, inklusive ordföranden Behce Boran. Efter kritik från utlandet släpptes de men processer mot dem fortsätter och stränga domar väntas. Arbetarpartiet i under alla omständigheter försvet.

En bit av verkligheten i dagens Turkiet. Man kan läsa mycket mer om den i en liten skrift som "Arbetsgruppen för Turkiets folk" gett ut. Nakna fakta om förtrycket, rättsövergreppen, massarresteringarna, tortyrer, militärrättegångarna, dödsdomarna — samt NATO:s roll i bakgrunden.

"Fremkällipp och fakta om Turkiet" kan beställas från "Arbetsgruppen för Turkiets folk", Fax: 100 27 Stockholm 48. Solidaritetspris 4 kr.

— Thomas Hammarberg

TRICONTINENTAL (Cuba), November 1971

On March 12, 1971, the army again took power in Turkey, deposing the government of Demirel and replacing it with Nihat Erim... Since that time, Turkey has lived under permanent martial law. Professors, students, intellectuals, journalists and even house-wives have been arrested. Thousands have been transferred to military prisons and the leftist organizations temporarily reduced to silence. Their leaders are in jail, in the underground or in exile. We interviewed one of them who, for obvious reasons, wishes to remain anonymous at this time.

THE GUARDIAN, December 4, 1971

Left-wing intellectuals have been arrested, often on the most tenuous basis, investigated and put under pressure in a wide-scale sieving-through of anyone suspected of connections with the urban guerillas or revolutionary groups. Even the right wing concedes that these measures were over-reactions... All left-wing magazines have been closed, in the universities, many professors on the left have been dismissed, arrested, replaced, or have not had their contracts renewed.

LE NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR, January 17-23, 1972

Nihat Erim stated in 1948 that he had been able to veil freedom. As a matter of fact, as soon as he took power, his first act was to try to change the Constitution. He qualified the Constitution a "luxury for Turkey". Through the amendment of the Constitution, executive powers were strengthened. The military was authorized to intervene any time using the pretext of national security. During the last ten months, the left-wing has been reduced to silence, on the other hand the right-wing has been strengthened. Yes, Turkey is calm again and attractive for foreign capital. (*Kenise Mourad*)

VRIJ NEDERLAND, January 22, 1972

One might say that the Turkish Parliament is still in session and in force. But what is the value of a parliament when all socialist movements and parties, unions and cultural organizations are banned? When most of the leaders have been replaced by laymen of the right. When parliamentarians see their wages doubled as a reward for their sheepish following of orders... There should be an international non-biased investigation on torture that has been and is still going on against political prisoners. The aggressive actions of the military rulers against the Kurdish people in eastern Turkey must be halted. There should be freedom of press, freedom for trade unions, freedom of party organizations and freedom of the universities... If anybody wants to learn the facts about Turkey, he can go and see. The problem is the following: Are you concerned or not? (*Van Den Berg*)

SEMANA (Caracas-Venezuela), January 20-26, 1972

The police patrols and military troops searched all houses and offices in Istanbul, the most important city of Turkey. A short official communique stated that this was done in order to prevent a plot fomented by a foreign power. This was supposed to be a communist plot against the security of the state and the Turkish nation. One of the plotters was Mümtaz Soysal, a professor of constitutional law. The evidence



used to prove his "offence" was really incredible: His book, *Introduction to the Constitution*.

PURO CHILE, January 26, 1972

Turkey today is a living hell. Turkish prisons are filled with revolutionary militants who have been savagely tortured. The tragic destiny of Turkey oppressed under a military fascist dictatorship is a call of alert for every Chilean. The situation in Turkey is a true reflexion of what happens in any country where fascism and CIA dominate.

DER TAGESSPIEGEL (Germany), February 8, 1972

In the NATO-land of Turkey, since proclaiming martial law, intellectuals, writers, students, journalists and artists have been subjected to mass-trials. A sword of Democles hangs over the heads of left-wing intellectuals. In addition, the authorities inflict brutal torture on political prisoners. The 1961 Constitution has been entirely changed by the military rulers.

HUMO (Belgium), March 9-16, 1972

Since March 12, 1971, the brown pest has reached --after Portugal, Spain and Greece-- Turkey as well. Repression of the left had started a long time before Consul Elrom was kidnapped. In the beginning of May 1971,

it was well known that the military rulers would curtail the fundamental freedoms laid down in the Constitution... After the proclamation of martial law, repression became more barbarous. It is not a surprise that Deniz Gezmiş, a student who kidnapped four US soldiers, is considered a Robin Hood, especially in eastern Turkey. The truth is that the battle continues not only against "isolated anarchists", but also against the masses of people who are well aware of the real reasons of their steadily declining living conditions. (*Guido Van Meir*)

LE MONDE, March 17, 1972

Since the military coup d'etat, unprecedented repression has been carried out. Not only the leftists and advocates of violence, but also the moderate left, the liberals -- in short anyone who is not conformist has been the victim of the same repression. According to a statement from the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, more than ten thousand people have been jailed and many of them have been subjected to torture or bad-treatment. But the reaction to this repression demonstrates that the execution of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan will bring no solution, on the contrary it will give rise to new disturbances. (*Eric Rouleau*)

SUNDAY TIMES, March 19, 1972

Relative calm has been restored but there are still 1,800 people awaiting trial on charges connected with Communist activities. Last week Deniz Gezmiş, one of the founders of the "Turkish People's Liberation Army", and two others had their death sentences confirmed by a parliamentary commission. But a petition has been circulated to abolish the death penalty for political offences. It was immediately signed by 1,764 politicians, judges, writers, engineers, architects and workers and the former Air Force Commander. Erim originally intended martial law to last only one month. It was extended after three months, then six and is still in force after a year. (*Eric Marden*)

AFRICASIA, March 20 - April 16, 1972

It is an undeniable fact that one year after than the March 12th ultimatum, Turkey is a large concentration camp. All democratic organizations have been banned, all socialist and progressive publications closed down, tens of thousands of books have been confiscated, more than ten thousand people imprisoned, hundreds of them tortured, 21 patriots have been condemned to death. In addition, 17 young men were murdered during the savage man hunt. According to the generals and the corrupt politicians, their offence was "to try to change the Constitution by force". In fact, the 1961 Constitution was changed by force not by these young men, but by the generals and their puppet parliament. The freedom fighters fought against the United States and for their constitutional rights.

THE GUARDIAN, April 1, 1972

Turkey can gain political benefit both within the country and internationally by avoiding the sort of action which, taken with the extensive arrests of leftwingers in past months, would be associated more with revenge than justice... The effect of executions on public opinion has to be taken seriously... There are numerous others facing death

sentences. This problem is thus not one which can be disposed of now once and for all. There is all the more reason for Turkey to give thought to commuting the execution sentences.

L'HUMANITE, April 1, 1972

Since the military coup d'etat, more than ten thousand people have been arrested for their opposition to the regime. Almost 5,000 persons are awaiting trial in the military prisons. In addition to the increasing unemployment and rising prices, the restrictions on fundamental rights and freedoms has generated a popular reaction against the military generals.

LE MONDE, April 1, 1972

The martial law authorities often clamp down on defendants without verifying the charges. These pressures increase the tendency for guerilla warfare. How can the rulers expect that these young people who have nothing to loose will be tempered while the gallows or long prison terms are all that is waiting for them. The Turkish Government was able to eliminate a few of its adversaries, but it was at the same time defeated in showing its incapacity to save the hostages whose lives it had to guarantee.

FRANCE SOIR, April 1, 1972

The Kizildere Massacre has proved it again: the advocates of violence and repression in the Turkish Government got the better of the champions of a moderate policy. So, the tendency towards violence has been strengthened. On the other hand, none of the radical reforms which was supposed to be the main reason for bringing Erim to power by the military were put into practice. The social contradictions have been deepened. (F. Petteyn)

EINDHOVENS DAGBLAD (Holland), April 1, 1972

"The ten extremists were killed in a fight with the military troops after they had shot the British hostages." This is the picture which the Turkish Government has given to the outside world. Who were these "extremists"? They were accused of "trying to change the constitution by force". But the truth is that they wanted to put the 1961 constitution into practice. Those who changed the constitution by force are the military rulers themselves who got their hands on Turkey on March 12, 1971. According to information provided by the Democratic Resistance of Turkey, the house was blown up by the military troops. Since the death sentences of Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan evoked wide reaction throughout the world, the military rulers have not hesitated in eliminating others among the masses.

FRANCE NOUVELLE, April 4 - 10, 1972

The repression begun on March 12, 1971 by the army has reached a climax. During this period of one year, more than ten thousand people have been arrested. Three young men are under the threat of execution. It is a fact that the governments of Turkey and Argentina are using every kind of repressive tactic in order to overcome the increasing problems and difficulties.

THE OBSERVER, April 9, 1972

Since Martial Law in Turkey was declared, more than 10,000 people have been detained. The death penalty may be prescribed for those deemed to have undertaken "any actions aimed at changing the Constitution". Furthermore the WAY claims to have received well-documented eye-witness accounts of torture used by the police and Army against detainees. In such a situation, people will continue to resort to violence. (Michael M. Attwell)

DAGENS NYHETER (Sweden), May 8, 1972

Three young students were hung. They, as many of their compatriots, only wanted to develop their country. For this reason, thousands of people have been arrested, hundreds have been tortured, not only "extremists", but also moderate members of the opposition have been subjected to repression. This is a real man hunt. Turkey is a country where violence contests violence. The execution of three young members of the Popular Liberation Army of Turkey is proof of how deep the moral depression within the military has become. (Harald Hamrin)

L'HUMANITE, May 8, 1972

On Saturday, before dawn, three Turkish patriots were executed in the Central Prison of Ankara. The executions stirred world opinion to show its reaction. The French Communist Party sent a message to the President of the Republic on Friday. The military rulers are premeditating new crimes. Another six young men are also under the threat of execution. The hands of the executioners must be stayed.

LE MONDE, May 7-8, 1972

These are the first executions since the government under the control of the Army was constituted. The tragic fate of three guerillas will obviously affect their young compatriots. They had not even reached their 25th birthdays. In the execution-cell they awaited their tragic fate for 198 days. Until the last moment, they defended their beliefs. Many European governments reacted against the death sentences. Just two hours before the execution, Bruno Kreisky, the Prime Minister of Austria, conveyed a final appeal to President Sunay. But despotism got the better of intercession.

AFRICASIA, May 8, 1972

It is a rule that the clumsy servant must be dismissed. That was the reason for dismissing Demirel and his party on March 12, 1971. With the ultimatum of the Generals, the people were also to get into line. Meanwhile the Constitution was altered. By destroying the spirit of the constitution, executive power was bolstered, the autonomy of the Radio-Television and universities was abolished and the period of detention was extended. The right to strike was made dependent on the will of the martial law commanders. In Turkey a new order has been established; with a more convenient term, fascism! (Anouar Khaled)

AFTONBLADET, May 8, 1972

A kind of dramatic portrait of how it feels to be in Turkey when mass arrests are being carried out: "Some are inside the walls, other are



outside. It does not matter in Turkey now. As a matter of fact, everybody is in jail." (*Ulla Lundström*)

*HELSINGIN SANOMAT (Finland), May 23, 1972*

Formally Turkey has a multi-party system, but the social-democratic party is outlawed, not to speak of the communist party. A major part of the country is under martial law. During this time thousands of people have been put in prison. Prisoners are tortured in order to get unfounded confessions. Just having liberal views you can get a sentence of several years and even capital punishment is easy to obtain. In Turkey there is also a Kurdish minority population. Several millions of them, but their existence is contested by the government.

*INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, May 31, 1972*

Bonn, May 30 (UPI)- Amnesty International today appealed to the 15 foreign ministers attending the NATO Council meeting this week for the immediate release of all political prisoners being held in NATO countries. In a petition mailed today to the ministers, the organization said the governments of Portugal, Greece and Turkey were the most guilty of "destroying freedom".

*LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, June 1972*

...The Demirel Government was not able to carry out the measures which the industrial bourgeoisie had imposed. The industrial bourgeoisie wanted a new powerful government which would be able both to maintain order and to attenuate the reaction of the masses of people who are demanding greater share of the national income. It was made uneasy because of the trade-unions and the socialist left. Another important factor was the USA's anxiety. The latter was displeased with the anti-American tendency and the left movement which had attained wide proportions. They were forced to abandon Demirel. Now, the industrial bour-



»Okey Johnny, banorna är klara, vi landar.»

säger den amerikanske piloten när han närmar sig en något »stilskradd» karta av Turkiet. Teckningen fanns publicerad i tidningen Ant 1969. Ant är en av de 15 tidningar som nu förbjuds i Turkiet. Tidningens redaktion har sammanlagt dömts till 800 års fängelse. För chefredaktören har den militäre åklagaren krävt 200 års fängelse.

Folket i Bild, June 15, 1972

# Därför kvävdes friheten i Turkiet



geoisie is obviously content with the charge in the Constitution and the repression of the left and the trade unions... March 12, 1971 marks the end of the myth of a "progressive army". (*Herve Boiron*)

JOURNALISTEN, June, 1972

The International Journalists Federation (FIJ) is going to hold its world congress this year in Istanbul, Turkey, where freedom of the press is precisely restricted, where many journalists have been jailed and brought before the military courts, and where many newspapers and magazines have been closed. At this moment it is impossible to talk about freedom of the press in Turkey. All daily newspapers have been turned into personal diaries of the military. (*Ulla Lundström*)

FOLKET I BILD, June 15, 1972

The situation in Turkey in 1970 was one of great tension. People protested against the existing order under the hegemony of the US, land-owners, yellow trade unions. In April 1972 there are no more slogans on the walls. Strikes, mass-meetings and demonstrations are forbidden. Power is in the hands of the military. It is a land of police raids and military courts where armed soldiers guarantee "law and order". The Kizildere Massacre and the hanging of the three students are the worst examples of this tremendous wave of terror.

LE FIGARO, June 27, 1972

Film star and director Yilmaz Güney has been in prison for four months. Güney faces a plot fomented against talent. Why, in some third world countries, is talent considered subversive. It must be hoped that the Ankara Government will take a lesson from history. History has always condemned those political regimes which prepare to use weapons on hearing the word "culture" and condemn the artists.

LETTRES FRANÇAISES, June 28 - July 4, 1972

Turkish politicians have a strange tendency. They jail their best artists. They now want to find a new victim for this traditional repression. How can a film like *Umut* which has nothing extreme about it cause such anger on the part of the Film Censorship Administration and the Turkish authorities? It is really mysterious.

VI (Sweden), July 15, 1972

Welcome to Turkey, the fantastic country...where terror shuts the mouth of all opposition (Headline)... Although labour unions and political activities are forbidden, the Turkish people maintain their resistance. In January, 2,000 persons -intellectuals, lawyers, technical engineers, members of Parliament- signed a petition against the death penalty. The students in Ankara assembled in protest meetings after the massacre of 10 guerilla leaders. All over the country one hears of land being occupied. The Government has, however, not hesitated to allow the army shoot at the peasants who do the occupying.

EXPRESSEN, July 31, 1972

Turkey: Terror - Silence... From the outside, Turkey resembles a democracy. But behind this wall, savage terror hides... Guerillas are killed like hunting wild animals. There are no other regimes like Turkey which talks so much about "terrorists", and itself uses terror too much. (*Thomas Hammarberg*)

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