

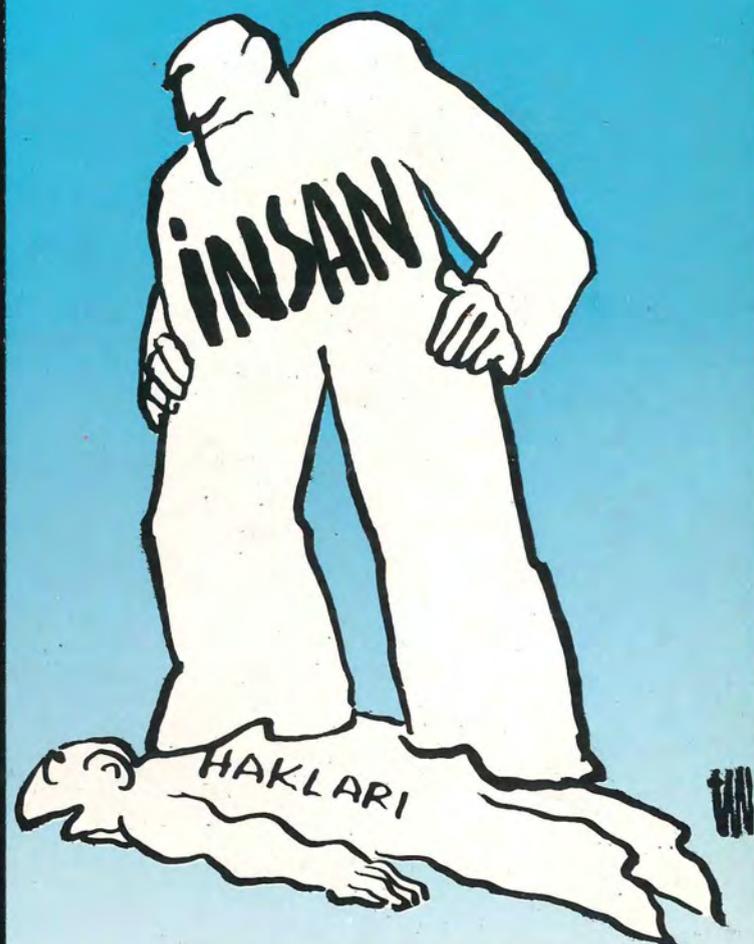
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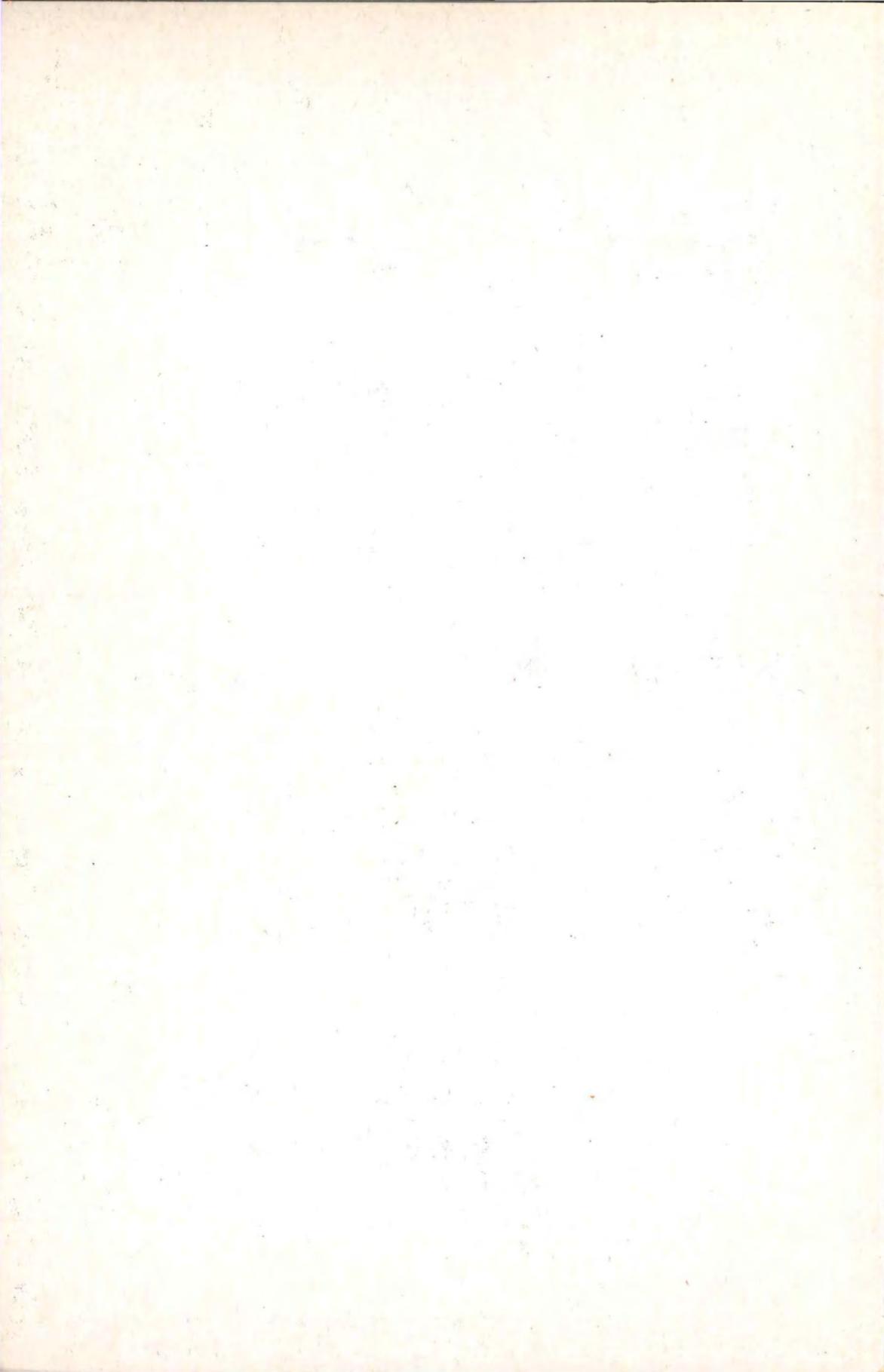
TURKEY

HUMAN

RIGHTS

REPORT





Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
HRFT

Turkey
Human Rights Report
1992

Human Rights Foundation of Turkey Publications (2)

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The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT)
was founded under the Turkish Law
It is a non-governmental and independent foundation.
Its statute entered into force by publication in
the Official Gazette No. 20741 on 30 December 1990



**The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey
HRFT**

**TURKEY
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**Ankara
January-1993**

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	7
General Evaluation of Human Rights Abuses.....	9
Right to Life.....	15
a)-Newroz events.....	20
b)-Şırnak and similar events.....	27
c)-Fire on demonstrating groups.....	37
d)-Killings during house raids.....	40
e)-Killings in street executions.....	47
f)- Mine explosions.....	62
g)-Murders by unidentified persons.....	63
h)-Attacks on civilians.....	73
i)-Assasinations-clashes.....	78
The Kurdish Problem-The State of Emergency.....	85
Torture.....	97
a)-Amended CMUK.....	102
b)-Deaths in detention.....	107
c)-Disappearances.....	113
d)-Established torture cases.....	115
e)-Prisons.....	137
Freedom of Press and Thought.....	143
a)-Killed journalists.....	143
b)-Physical attacks on press.....	150
c)-Pressures on thought and press.....	157
d)-Kurdish language.....	170
e)-Freedom of religion and conscience.....	173
Freedom of Organization.....	177
a)-Pressures on İHD.....	178
b)-Pressures on mass organizations.....	181
c)-Pressures on political parties.....	189
Labour Life	201
a)-Worker's right and trade unions.....	201
b)-Civil servants trade unions.....	207
Other Subjects.....	211
a)-Death penalties.....	211
b)-YÖK and universities.....	214
c)-Detentions.....	218
Conclusion.....	223
Appendices.....	231

INTRODUCTION

This report (*) dealing with the human rights violations observed in 1992, was prepared by the Documentation Center of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (HRFT). For this report newspapers, numbers of weeklies and monthlies and HRFT's daily bulletins were reviewed. In addition, information and documents from branches of the Human Rights Association (İHD), human rights activists and other sources were assessed. While preparing the report, we were extremely careful about the correctness of information and the trustworthiness of the sources, and we tried to present the events objectively. Many news, which were obtained from only one source, but could not be confirmed or were not reliable, are not included in the report.

With the aim of informing the public and government authorities about human rights abuses, and enabling them to reach their own conclusion, we produced this report.

The abuses originated from the structure of the regime, caused by anti-democratic provisions of the Constitution and laws or committed by the political power or public officers, are given priority, since we are an independent organization defending human rights.

The report prepared by the efforts of Fevzi Argun, Havva Cankat and Banu Karbuz, studies human rights violations under 7 titles, namely "Right to Life", "The Kurdish Problem and the Emergency State Region", "Torture", "Freedom of Press and Thought", "Freedom of Organization", "Labour Life" and "Other Subjects". These subjects are divided into subtitles, and many sample cases are given under each title. However, the examples reflect only a small portion of human rights violations. Therefore, one should take into account that there were many more human rights violations in 1992 than the figures and examples show.

Attitude of the Foundation towards certain important cases both in Turkey and in the world, and a summary of the work carried out by our foundation are given in the article entitled "General Evaluation of Human Rights Abuses" which was written by HRFT General President Yavuz Önen.

We could not include certain important human rights abuses such as woman rights, rights of children and environmental problems. Because our means are restricted, we could not research and make the necessary evaluation. We did not have enough information and documents on these issues. We are aware of our deficiencies on these matters and hope to conduct studies in the forthcoming days to fill this gap.

The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey will continue to prepare such reports in the future. In order that such reports become more comprehensive, we ask interested individuals and institutions to forward their information and documents to us.

Results of the studies conducted in connection with treatment and rehabilitation of individuals suffering from torture or prison conditions, which is one of the main aims of HRFT, will be gathered in a separate report to be prepared both in English and Turkish. This report will be made public at home and abroad in a short time. Therefore, we did not touch this subject.

We are commemorating journalist Uğur Mumcu who was assassinated by darkforces while our report was going to be printed. It was a great sorrow for all of us, that Uğur Mumcu who always supported human rights activists with his valuable criticisms, was killed.

We wish that 1993 will be a milestone for a peaceful future during which concrete steps will be taken on human rights and freedoms. We hope that all rights, first of all, the right to life, will be respected, and that nobody will get killed. We believe that this report will help and give a guidance to people who are aiming at providing a peaceful future.

We thank all of our friends who supported us and forwarded information and documents. We want to thank all human rights advocates with whom we have been struggling together. A special thanks goes to Helmut Oberdiek who reviewed the English version of the report and to DEĞİŞİM Agency, Baran Ali Yıldız, Ahmet Yıldız and Ali K. Karadeniz who undertook great efforts in printing this report.

31 January 1993/Ankara

* "Turkey Human Rights Report-1992" is available for US \$ 10 or its equivalent from "TIHV Menekşe 2 Sok. No:16/6 Kızılay-Ankara (06440)".

GENERAL EVALUATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

1992 was a restless year all over the world. It was also a year during which the idea that European Unity was a main power to ensure peace, security and welfare on the world was constantly discussed. Certain cases observed during year caused a change of this image. A war which began in the middle of Europe and is widening day by day-events in Yugoslavia-reached a dimension which made it the focus of a world-wide interest. War dominated Europe which is claimed to be the most reliable castle of peace. Peace which is the fundamental condition for benefiting from human rights and maintaining them, went under a serious threat. Attacks of Serbia against Bosnia-Herzegovina intensified gradually. More than 20.000 people died. Serbian soldiers used the rape of moslem women as a weapon of war. Concentration camps were established again. Ten thousands of families in Bosnia-Herzegovina left their homes and took refuge in other European countries. Families were divided. Thousands of children remained parentless. Serbians continued their ethnic cleansing operation for months in front of all the world.

Ten thousands of people died, thousands of Iraqi soldiers were buried alive during the military intervention in Iraq which was conducted with the aim of executing the UN resolutions passed in order to keep the rights of sovereignty for Kuwait. We hardly understood why the conditions presented as the justification for this kind of crimes against humanity, did not count for Bosnia-Herzegovina.

European countries and the United Nations which claim themselves to be vanguard for improving, spreading and maintaining human rights, did not intervene when Serbians prevented human aid from being distributed, and disregarded UN decisions. Thus "civilized" countries of the West held oil profits higher than human values, and applied a double-standard.

The HRFT sent a cable to the United Nations Secretary General Boutros Ghali urging that "Serbian attacks should be stopped and necessary measures should be taken to put an end to human rights violations". We sent one copy of the text to international human rights organizations for information and proposed that they should take a similar approach.

Another event which caused world-wide attention, took place in Germany. Racist policies adopted by Neo-Nazis against foreigners and especially against Turkish citizens in Germany, turned into attacks. The sabotage against a house which resulted in the deaths of 3 Turkish persons, showed us the grave dimension of the problem. Furthermore, there are signs that racist reactions might appear in other countries of Europe. We also observed that developed countries have started to revise the status of refugees as a measure for an emigration wave coming from southern countries, Eastern Europe and the Balkans. There is a move towards an era during which the borders between the rich and poor will be drawn definitely and rich countries will construct a "Chinese Wall" around themselves.

After the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collapsed, wars started in various places of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The clashes began between Azerians and Armenians, and Georgians and Abkhazians. Internal wars in Tajikistan and Afghanistan are lasting. There is a continuous war situation in Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and South Africa.

Our world is observing wars in 4 continents during a period which was declared that the countries would be approaching the peace. Wars affect us more directly than peace process. Therefore, we find it necessary to pay attention to the human rights abuses abroad in guidance of the founding principles of our foundation. In 1993, we shall conduct activities proper to these aims.

Claims that officials and government authorities had not taken protective measures after the breakdown at Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant in the former Soviet Union, particularly in Black Sea and Thrace regions, but generally all regions affected from radiation, and that the danger had been disguised from the public, caused hard reactions among our people. HRFT joined the "Group of Social Sensitivity for Chernobyl" which was formed by 28 organizations and whose leadership was with the Turkish Medical Association. The group tried to inform the public by certain activities and made a significant impression on people and press through activities such as lodging official complaints against the responsible, holding press conferences and visiting headquarters of political parties.

The coalition government, which took office at the end of 1991, made many promises concerning peace, democracy and human rights. However, neither the laws of "12 September Regime" nor its institutions were dealt with. Human rights abuses and torturers were not investigated. Human rights abuses, particularly torture cases, continued in the same manner as in the periods under previous governments, but on an increased level. The right to life remained under threat of extra-legal executions or disappearances. Compared to the last

year, the number of people killed during house raids increased from 22 to 63, during fire opened on demonstrators or Newroz events from 32 to 118, as a result of fire opened for not obeying stop warnings, for looking suspicious or similar cases from 44 to 103 and the number of the persons who disappeared after detention by increasing 2 folds reached 8. Only the number of deaths as a result of torture decreased to 17 from 23, but remained an important topic. According to findings of HRFT, the number of the tortured persons was 594 (it was 552 last year).

The policy of assimilation and discrimination against Kurdish people in the name of fighting terrorism, continued. The government's program promising peace, democracy and human rights into force, was replaced by a program of war termed "fight against terrorism". Our 1992 report covers details of this picture which I am trying to present briefly and in general. In addition, I want to highlight certain developments from the point of view of human rights activists:

Funeral ceremonies of security forces and marches organized with the support of ministers and governors, turned into police demonstrations against human rights. An attempt to influence the public was expressed in slogans such as "Human Rights Enemy of Turks", "Human Rights Against Police".

On the other hand, funeral ceremonies arranged for the soldiers who died in clashes with the PKK, became demonstrations during which Turkish nationality was provoked and Kurdish-Turkish discrimination was spread. Following such demonstrations, provoked groups attacked Kurdish people and their shops in certain settlements. Extra-legal executions were also used to affect public opinion. In certain operations which were conducted in the presence of cabinet members and resulted in the killing of "terrorists", spectators were shown as an applauding crowd. Thus, the government tried to give the message that the people supported this kind of violence and the killings.

Human rights abuses in the Emergency State Region reached its highest level so far. People of the region were forced to immigrate. Forests and villages were burnt. During the searches made by security officers, houses, properties and supply of the people were made unusable. The events during Newroz, in Şırnak, Kulp and Lice caused Kurdish people to suffer dreadful moments.

In this context, it is necessary to underline certain developments which we observed as targeting human rights struggle and organizations directly. I mentioned above that our criticisms of killing of members of illegal organizations during operations termed extra-judicial executions, caused reactions by the police against human rights organizations. However, the reactions against us were not limited with the police. The Prime Minister also made criticizing statements broadcast on TV. Certain columnists accused us of being indifferent to "casualties of security forces during clashes with militants of certain illegal organizations in the cities or with the PKK". Whereas, we had made many statements that we are opposed to violence and armed clashes but those statements were ignored. The roots of such criticism are based in the misinterpretation of our unconditional struggle against human rights violations.

In 1992, the issue debated at length by the government, in National Assembly, National Security Council and public, was Code of Criminal Procedures which was presented as a judicial reform. This code shortly called CMUK, was presented as a means to prevent torture and allow the implementation of certain internationally accepted rules. However, with the changes made by the Turkish Grand National Assembly following the draft had been rejected by the President, it was decided that most provisions of this amendment should not be applied for crimes under the jurisdiction of State Security Courts. That is to say, torture inflicted on political defendants was justified.

Our report exposes details of the human rights picture under a government that established a Ministry of State responsible for human rights and delivered positive messages to both Turkish and Kurdish people by saying 'We, as a government, accept the Kurdish reality'.

The treatment of torture victims, one of the main aims of the Foundation, continued. The number of people treated in 1992 at our Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir centers reached 400. Certainly, this number is very high compared to last year's figure which was 234. Naturally, this increase improved relations to physicians and raised our expenditures.

This year, the torture phenomenon was scientifically and universally scrutinized at a symposium held commonly by the International Rehabilitation Center for Torture Victims (IRCT), Turkish Medical Association (TTB) and our Foundation. Actually, documents prepared on this symposium which was organized and financed by IRCT, created a significant workload. Still, we find such kind of symposiums organized by various organizations very useful. (The final declaration of the symposium is at the end of this report)

International relations of our Foundation showed great progress in 1992. We continued our contacts with the United Nations, Amnesty International, the European Council and the European Community. For 1993, we are targeting to work more intensely and continuously with civilian organizations which supported us during the founding stages of the Foundation. Civilian initiatives in Germany encouraged us with their sympathy for human rights. For example, we experienced direct solidarity of German people by means of Demokratisches Turkei Forum based in Cologne. This solidarity encouraged us. We developed similar contacts in Sweden and Switzerland. Thus, an atmosphere of international cooperation was created on the subject of human rights in Turkey. Such kind of solidarity and communication are as important as relations to official international organizations.

In 1992, the documentation center of the Foundation prepared special reports along with its annual report. These reports allowed a closer look at the first 100 days and 6 months of the coalition government. We will continue to prepare such reports in 1993.

We attended certain panels held by the Human Rights Association on the 44th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted on 10 December 1948. Besides, activities were organized by our representatives in İzmir and İstanbul throughout human rights week.

I think, I should mention a topic that we neglected in 1992. Our relations with the Turkish Medical Association which supported us particularly during our treatment and rehabilitation program, were not as strong as they should have been. We are convinced that more activities commonly conducted with TTB in the forthcoming days, will breed more fruitful and permanent results.

Another significant work is carried out together with the Human Rights Association. Obviously, we can improve certain areas of it.

This year, the Foundation wants to take a step in order to change its status. In December 1992 the foundation completed its 2nd year of being officially registered and thus got the right to claim the status of working for the "benefit of the public". We shall apply for this status after completing the necessary procedure in a short time. To this effect we shall hold negotiations with the Board of Ministers to get a positive reply.

Last year long-term and comprehensive projects were developed for the first time. The project for a Human Rights Center Building to function as a cultural, administrative and treatment center, including the Treatment project, Documentation project, Training project was planned in detail. Negotiations in Sweden enabled us to start certain projects under the support of the Red Cross. The success of these projects may create various income sources.

Another important success of last year, was the 1991 Human Rights Reward granted by France Government for activities of our Foundation. The reward was presented in a ceremony held in February 1992. French Prime Minister Mme Cresson participated in the reception organized after the ceremony. Administrators and staff of our Foundation were moved deeply in getting such a reward for our work. The material contribution given in addition to the reward helped to improve our work.

Another important part of our work are requests from various sources. Embassies of certain foreign countries, representatives of the international press, radio and TV reporters, parliamentarians, jurists, leaders of the international human rights organizations, civil organizations and their leaders, the United Nations, representatives of the Human Rights Commission of European Council, and of the European Community were the organizations or individuals that contacted us during the year. These contacts made our Foundation known to a broader public. A continuous string of communication made the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey known in many countries of the world. We became a prime place of reference.

Among important contacts and hour-long fruitful discussions we held last year were talks with the German and Dutch Ministers for Foreign Affairs on their request. We had an opportunity to talk to Portuguese President Mario Suarez who officially visited Turkey, as part of his program. Certainly, such contacts point to positive impressions that our Foundation has created in the international arena.

As we present a new document to the public opinion in Turkey and abroad, I would like briefly to summarize present conditions. Turkey con-

tinues to be a place of human rights to violations. Despite statements by Prime Minister Demirel defending democracy and human rights, abuses are continuing in and outside the country and the 12 September laws and the 1982 Constitution are still being applied. Messages given in Turkey for human rights, democracy and internal peace turned into a violent war as the same with the peace messages of the dominant powers of the world. The Foundation which is a human rights advocate and struggling for lifting of torture seems to face with graver conditions in the coming years. In 1993, we have to strengthen human rights solidarity both in and outside the country. I am concluding my words hoping that wars, deaths, torture and emigrations will not be observed in the world and Turkey in 1993.

Yavuz Önen
President of HRFT

THE RIGHT TO LIFE

Attacks on the most natural right of mankind, the right to life, increased in 1992 compared to last year's. Within the year, many practices by the security forces resulted in death and were considered as extra-judicial executions. Murders by "unknown assailants" continued on a large scale. As a result of bomb and armed attacks carried out by illegal organizations such as the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), which stages a guerilla war, Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) and TIKKO (Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Army), lots of people died. A number of attacks on civilians, some of them carried out by illegal organizations while others were merely attributed to them and which resulted in death, took place during the year. As a rule, media and security officers held the PKK responsible for such attacks in the Emergency State Region and accused the "Devrimci Sol" organization if such attacks happened in İstanbul. While the PKK carried out some of the attacks attributed to the organization, others loaded on the PKK were established to have been carried out by village guards or "dark forces", also termed as "contr-guerilla". Almost all agents of bomb attacks and attack attempts in İstanbul, remained unidentified.

In 1992, 17 detainees died under suspicious circumstances (detailed information is available in the section entitled "Torture"). 8 people who according to witnesses or similar strong evidence had been detained, disappeared. A total of 192 persons were killed, of whom 26 were killed in fire opened on demonstrators, 63 were killed during house raids, 103 were killed as a result of fire opened at random or for disobeying orders to stop, or in street executions. The bloody sheet of the Newroz events counted 92 deaths and at least 341 wounded people (Bişeng Anık who died in detention, and Nihat Celasun, killed as he did not obey an order to stop, are not included in this number). Furthermore, 41 persons died and about 100 were wounded during the violence which started with the bloody events in Şırnak and then was experienced in Çukurca, Musabey, Kulp, Varto and Cizre in the second half of the year. The number of persons who died in the explosions of mines randomly planted or by picking up unclaimed hand grenades, was 38.

A total of 380 persons died because of excessive force of the security forces, by torture, through mine explosions, in extra-judicial executions and similar killings. If we add to the previous number, the victims of unidentified murders (360); civilians, members of the security forces (747) and militants (972) who died during clashes; public officers, policemen, soldiers and village guards who were killed as a result of armed attacks, assassinations; other persons who were killed for being "traitors", "denouncers", "state supporters" (285), and the ones who died during the attacks on civilians (189), the bloody scene becomes even more frightening. In 1992, a total of 2933 persons died because of the existing atmosphere of violence. (All killings will be looked at in detail in the following chapters).

Before we take a look at the attacks on the right to life and on human life one by one, it might be useful to make a short comparison between 1991 and 1992. (Figures relating to 1991 were obtained from "Turkey Human Rights Report-1991" prepared by the HRFT).

	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
Suspicious deaths in detention and prisons	23	17
Disappearances.....	4	8
Those killed during house raids	22	63
Those killed in gun fire opened on demonstrators and during Newroz events	32	118
Those killed for disobeying stop warnings, in randomly opened fire or after being apprehended	44	103
Murders by unidentified persons	31	360
Deaths as a result of explosion of mines or unclaimed bombs	26	38
Those killed in attacks and assassinations by illegal organizations against security officers or as traitor	165	285

A comparison between 1991 and 1992 reveals that concerning the right to life Turkey entered a stage worse than the period under military rule in the early 1980s (called the 12 September period).

The United Nations published in 1991 a manual entitled "Manual on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions" (Sales No:E.91.IV.1;ISBN 91-1-130142-4). This Manual aimed to complete the decision of "Principles on the Effective Prevention and Investigation of Extra-Legal, Arbitrary and Summary Executions" which was accepted by the Economic and Social Council on 24 May 1989. According to the UN, extra-legal executions are listed as follows:

- a)- political assassinations
- b)- deaths in prisons or detention places due to torture or ill treatment
- c)- disappearances
- d)- deaths due to excessive violence inflicted by law enforces
- e)- extra-judicial executions
- f)- attempted massacres

The manual attaches special importance to investigations of such deaths and presents detailed autopsy report examples. Important criteria for any investigation to be carried out are as follows:

- a)- it should be carried out immediately
- b)- it should be carried out impartially
- c)- relatives of the victim should be protected and should participate in the investigation as a party
- d)- the results of the investigation should be made public
- e)- the investigation should be carried out by an independent body

As might be seen in the following samples, the deaths caused by the security forces are "extra-judicial executions" as defined in the document of the United Nations. Within 1992, almost none of the "necessary criteria" defined by the U.N. with regard to extra-judicial executions was taken into consideration. Most of the death events which took place, were not thoroughly investigated. Instead of investigating, practices and statements were observed which were bound to encourage the security forces. Thus encouraged, security forces used extra-judicial executions to threaten defendants under interrogation. In İstanbul, a woman named Arzu Şahin who was kept in detention for 8 days in July, said the following in a press meeting she arranged in the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch on 31 July: "When I said to the police officers that I was opposed to extra-judicial executions, they replied, 'Those executions were not extra-judicial, we carried them out with the permission of the prosecution office'. Now, the police say first whom they will kill, and later they actually do it."

In a statement made at the end of December, Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin claimed that there is no extra-judicial execution and that the operations were carried out in the presence and with the knowledge of public prosecutors. İsmet Sezgin stated that death events occurred when the security forces shot back at militants, and said: "Our security officers carry out their duties on a legal basis and in accordance with the authority given to them by the laws." Similar statements were frequently made by many officials, first by the Minister of Interior, during the year.

The Ministry of the Interior awarded TL 2,5 million (appr. \$ 310) to each of the police officers who participated in two separate house raids carried out in Maltepe and Küçüksesat quarters of Ankara on 13 August 1992. A higher security officer who approved the event, claimed that money awards encourage the police officers who participate in operations, and said: "These kinds of practices remove the hesitation of police officers during operations. Therefore, police officers who take part in operations are aware that their duty will be awarded." The Human Rights Association General President Alın Birdal, reacting against rewards to the police officers, stated that such a practice would incite police of-

ficers and increase the number of extra-judicial executions. During the house raids on 13 August 1992 which resulted in the participating police officers' rewards, 5 members of the "Devrimci Sol" organization were killed.

In the meantime, security officers who were rarely brought to justice, were either found "innocent" or sentenced to very insignificant imprisonment terms. In addition, these imprisonment sentences were converted into fines and put on probation. The examples given below regarding results of investigations and trials launched in connection with certain extra-judicial executions which took place in 1991 and 1992, show a lack of seriousness in dealing with such killings.

Commissioner İlyas Kaya who killed Ali Haydar Alpdoğan and Kemal Karatay on 3 July 1991 as "they were singing Kurdish songs" in a restaurant in Avcılar quarter of İstanbul, was sentenced to 6 years 8 months' imprisonment. In the trial which concluded at Bakırköy Criminal Court No. 3 on 3 July, İlyas Kaya was first sentenced to 24 years' imprisonment. However, this sentence was reduced to 6 years 8 months' imprisonment by taking into account various extenuating circumstances.

The investigation initiated in connection with the events which arose in Yardere and Aytepe villages of Mardin on 14 February 1992 and resulted in the death of 6 persons, was concluded. As a result of the investigation, a decision of non-prosecution was given for Major Ramazan Çakmak, Captain Mehmet Göçmen and 23 gendarmerie soldiers who were accused of "opening fire on villagers". Lawyer Hüseyin Turhallı who reacted against this decision said: "The court did not find it necessary to try the murderers. This decision requires international legal intervention". On 14 February, fire had been opened on villagers who had tried to prevent the security forces from body-searching and detaining some women in Yardere and Aytepe villages of Mardin.

As a result of a fire opened by police officers on youths demonstrating on 4 March evening in Yenışehir quarter of İzmir, university student Eralp Yazar died. A trial was launched against the police officer who used the gun which caused the death of Eralp Yazar. The trial at İzmir Heavy Penal Court resulted in acquittal in October on grounds that the defendant acted within the frame of legal defence limits.

Night guard Mehmet Sevim who shot youth Tevfik Özüğurlu (22) in his back and killed him allegedly for "disobeying the order to stop" on 7 May 1992 in Altıparmak quarter of Bursa, was sentenced to one year and one month's imprisonment. In the trial which concluded on 25 November at Bursa Criminal Court No.2, the imprisonment sentence given for Mehmet Sevim was suspended. Mehmet Sevim who will not be put in prison because of suspension of his sentence, was being tried without arrest. Night guard Mehmet Sevim said the following in his defence: "On the day that the event occurred, a policeman had been killed in Bursa, so I was stressed. We wanted to take Tevfik Özüğurlu to the police station. But he escaped. He did not obey the warning to stop either. I did what my job required. I did not know that he was an ordinary offender. I thought that he was a terrorist".

University student Murteza Kaya was shot in his head and died in a fire opened by the police on a group of people distributing leaflets in the name of the Turkish Revolutionary Communist Party (TDKP) on 7 June 1991 in Küçükçekmece quarter of İstanbul. Upon the official complaint made by İHD member lawyers, a trial was launched in 1992 against two police officers named Hamit Şahin and Ömer Çakır who caused the death of Murteza Kaya. The trial at Bakırköy Heavy Penal Court No. 3 resulted in acquittal of the defendants on 16 December. The acquittal was announced without having investigated the scene of the offence.

Noncommissioned officer Erdal Polat who had shot and killed Nilgün Oda (16), detained by gendarmes while walking around with her boy friend in Gaziosmanpaşa quarter of İstanbul in the night of 1 June 1991, was sentenced to a fine of TL 6.075.000 (appr. \$ 720). In the trial which concluded on 25 December at Eyüp Penal Court No. 2, Erdal Polat was first sentenced to 4 years in prison for carelessly causing death. However this sentence was converted to a fine and the imprisonment term was suspended. Erdal Polat against whom a trial was launched just after the event for causing death was kept under arrest for 15 months and then released in the hearing held on 4 September. Erdal Polat was appointed to the State of Emergency Region after being released. He had defended himself saying: "I wanted only to frighten Nilgün Oda. Therefore I directed my gun towards her head. At that time my gun fired incidentally".

The trial launched against 12 police officers in connection with the house raid which was carried out on 19 May 1991 in Hasanpaşa quarter of İstanbul and which resulted in the deaths of Hatice Dilek Aslan and İsmail Oral, began on 18 February. During the trial at İstanbul Kadıköy Penal Court No. 1, journalists were not allowed to take photographs. The indictment read in the hearing claimed that "although there was no chance to escape, the defendants killed those persons on purpose by exceeding the limits of law". The indictment demanded sentences of between 4 to 8 years' imprisonment for each defendant under Articles 50, 448 and 463 of the Turkish Penal Code. The names of the tried police officers are "Şefik Kul, Hasan Erdoğan, Abdullah Dindar, Ayhan Özkan, Nizamettin Özoğul, Mustafa Altınok, Özer Şahman, Mehmet Düzgün, Vasfi Kara, Hikmet Taşdelen, Ruhi Fırat and Süleyman Polat". The defendants interrogated in the hearing pleaded not guilty and claimed that Hatice Dilek and İsmail Oral died in the clash. In the hearing held on 21 October, Özgür Cihan Aslan, 9-year old son of Hatice Dilek Aslan, was heard as a witness. Özgür Cihan Aslan, indicating that he had woken up upon the sounds of gunshots, said: "The police officers wanted me to put on my clothes. After I had put them on, they took me to the television room where my mother was. In the room, a police officer was stepping on my mother's head with one of his feet. Later they took me away by a car. Nobody opened fire while I was there. My mother was still alive".

An article entitled "Training for Executors in USA" published on 15 October 1992 in the newspaper "Özgür Gündem" gave interesting information about extra-judicial executions. The article written by Murat Çelikkan is as follows:

"Turkish police officers who participate in the house raids which have intensified during the last two years and turned into extra-judicial executions are

reportedly trained in the United States of America. Police officers from various countries are trained at the Anti-Terrorist Assistance Training Division-ATAD within the structure of US Foreign Affairs Secretariat. The training programs which have been continuing for 9 years and are varying from 3 to 12 months, comprise of various matters such as "anti-terrorist activity", "organization of anti-terror units", "wireless systems in metropolitans and its importance to fight terrorism", "training of police dogs" along with house raids. It is known that several hundreds Turkish police officers were trained at this division up to now.

According to the information given by the division's director David Epstein as to its activities; Anti-Terror Assistance Division was established in 1983. Its aim is to protect life and interests of Americans living in foreign countries. Especially for situations where local security forces remain insufficient against violent or hostage activities directed at Americans living in Latin American or Middle Eastern countries, the US Foreign Affairs Secretariat developed such a program.

Pointing out that house raids with or without hostages are a matter of expert knowledge, David Epstein stated that the aim of these kinds of raids is to catch terrorists alive. When he was reminded that such house raids turned into extra-judicial executions in Turkey and asked whether the killing was taught during training, he said "A dead terrorist is not able to give any information. We never give such a training. Killing should be the last way to be applied".

The states which participated in this program which started in 1983, are as follows: "Portugal, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Egypt, Jordan, some Latin American countries and partially Netherlands and Denmark". In addition, some Eastern European countries such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary began to take part in this program.

Reminded of the violence police uses in certain countries of the world and especially in Turkey, Epstein said: "To limit the police activities due to human rights abuses, resembles pouring dirty bath water with the baby". He claimed that suspects ran such kind of campaigns with the aim of restricting the police. Being told that executions appeared in the reports of international organizations and even in the Turkey part of the Human Rights Report prepared by the US Foreign Affairs Secretariat, Epstein stated that the USA did not assist countries which systematically abuse human rights, in accordance with a congress decision and laws. Epstein added that they had stopped their training in certain Latin American countries for this reason. Indicating that several hundreds of Turkish police officers had been trained, he said: "The most important problem faced by Turkish police officers, is language".

Attacks on the right to life during 1992 are studied under 9 different titles in the report.

a)- Newroz events

Turkey saw the bloodiest events on 21 March "Newroz" Feast (the Kurdish New Year) that it did not witness for years.

President Turgut Özal said on 31 January that a wide scale military operation would be started in the Emergency State Region. Turgut Özal, talking to

students from İdil and Dargeçit districts of Mardin, stated: "I frankly say that the Armed Forces with super power will go to the region next term. This will be an extra-ordinary power. These forces will not let the bandits live there. I warned them before and said 'give up this affair'. If they said that they would give up, then I would announce a general amnesty". The words of Turgut Özal increased the tension. On the other hand, in a speech delivered on 9 March, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel, pointed out that 21 March "Newroz" Feast would be celebrated by everyone who wanted to celebrate, adding that a wide-scale military operation in the Emergency State Region was not planned.

The Governorate of the Emergency State Region issued a series of bans prior to the Newroz celebrations and sent these in form of decrees to district governorates. In the decree, transportation between villages working in mountains or fields and grazing animals after 5pm, were banned. In case of illness or similar emergency situations, the people were required to obtain special permission from the gendarmerie and to give plate numbers of the vehicle and names of the people in the vehicle. In addition, posters and flags of PKK were not allowed to be carried. The decree was applied nearly 100 per cent during "Newroz".

Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel made a statement about the "Newroz" Feast and said: "Whoever wants to meet, whoever wants to arrange a festivity, may do so. However nothing should be damaged and nobody should be injured. I celebrate 'Newroz' with everyone who celebrates it. Every kind of facility will be offered. Please do not give an opportunity to people who want to use 'Newroz' as a means of provocation." However, the statement of Prime Minister Demirel was not put into practice. Fire was opened on demonstrators on the day of 'Newroz'. When in certain settlements PKK militants got involved, the events escalated. 94 people (3 of them security officers), including children and women, were shot to death. The events, which started when the security forces opened fire on demonstrators, later turned into clashes between the security forces and PKK militants and militia.

The authorities put all responsibility for the Newroz events on the PKK. According to the authorities PKK attacked, attempted an uprising and was beaten. Again according to them, most of the people killed were PKK militants. Nevertheless, the truth did not correspond with what they said. Almost all killed persons were civilians including children and women. The security forces lost 3 members during the events, and this number alone shows the invalidity of claims that "PKK attacked, destroyed and killed". It was never established that when and how 5-year old Hatice Katar, 9-year old Mehdi Güngen, 70-year old Ramazan Bayar and 65-year old Nebahat Kakuç became PKK militants,

First blood was shed in Gercüş district of Batman during Newroz events. As a result of fire opened by the security forces on a crowd of some 250 people who made a demonstration by setting a bonfire to celebrate Newroz on 20 March in Gercüş, Nuri Soyvural (20) and Davut Soyvural (16) died while 8 persons were wounded. Events in Gercüş were the messenger of bloody events to follow.

In Şırnak, bloody events occurred on 21 March when the security forces opened fire on thousands of people who wanted to celebrate Newroz. The events

started when fire was opened on people who protested male security officers trying to search female demonstrators on their way to Cumhuriyet Square. A curfew was announced in Şırnak when the events became fiercer. During the evening hours, the events turned into clashes between PKK militants and the security forces. Events in Şırnak continued on 22 and 23 March. The clashes spread when the attack of PKK militants on a military brigade and division and official buildings was responded to. In the clashes during which heavy arms were used, great damage was caused in the city. Security forces opened fire on many houses and shops on allegations that "there were PKK militants". The fire resulted in deaths and injuries among the civilian population. Explosions which occurred because war planes flying over the city exceeded the sonic wall, caused damage in many houses. A total of 38 persons, 16 of them during the events on 21 March, and 22 persons during the events on 22 and 23 March, died in Şırnak. In addition, about 120 people were injured during the events. The names of killed persons who could be identified are:

"Osman Çatana (police-lynched), Zeynep Uysal (45), Emin Acar (16), Halil Baysal (35), Şehmuz Kabul (33), Halil Değer (23), Nebahat Kakunç (17), Hediye Sağdıç (65), Ramazan Bayar (70), Nezir Sezek (24), Belkıs Yumak (18), Hasan Özden (40), Abdullah Sidar (35), Bülent Zeyrek (16), Birsan Özcan (20), Ömer Dayan (60), Fadıl Akın, Hacer San (19), Halil Baykan (35), Hasan Cavlak, Emin Tetik (15), Methi Güngen (9), Hatice Katar (5), Kadriye Kalkın (17), İbrahim Kundakçı (police officer), Erhan Tecimer (soldier), Yelda Yumak, Safiye Yılmaz, Latif Sidar, Nafiye İlmez, Hadi Bahadır (40), Nur Uysal (25), Bahri Akın, Bişeng Anık (17-died in detention)".

Fire was opened by the security forces on thousands of people, who on 21 March wanted to celebrate Newroz in Cizre. The events in Cizre started when some groups were prevented from visiting the graves of PKK militants who had died in clashes. A janissary band played in the tanks and armoured vehicles which opened fire. Tension increased when many people hit by bullets fell to the ground. Cizre saw clashes with heavy weapons which lasted the whole day. Akın Birdal, Secretary General of the Human Rights Association (İHD) heading an İHD delegation to observe the events on 21 March in Cizre said: "The security forces were responsible for the events. We are witnesses of it. The atmosphere was very tense". Following 21 March, clashes continuing for days between PKK militants and the security forces, occurred in Cizre. "Sabah" reporter İzzet Kezer who was observing the events was killed on 23 March by a shot in his head fired from a police tank although he was carrying a white flag.

In Cizre during the events between 21 and 25 March, 24 persons died and 60 persons were injured. The names of people killed whose identities were ascertained are "Lokman Erzen, Ali Bozkurt, Hüseyin Sönmez, Hüseyin Ertene (member of the Socialist Party), Yusuf Ergin, Hacı Erten, Ramazan Gozilkı, Nihat Celasun (14), İzzet Kezer (37-journalist)".

Intervention of the security forces in the demonstration in Van on 21 March, led to events. During the events, 28 people were injured, including the Human Rights Association's Van Branch President Yavuz Binbay. Two of the injured persons later died in hospital. It was reported that the name of one of the

persons victims, was Çetin Bayram. During the demonstrations official buildings and the provincial headquarters of the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) were damaged. As a result of the events, a curfew was announced. After the curfew was announced, the security forces terrorized the city. Some buildings and offices including İHD Van Branch and the provincial headquarters of the People's Labour Party (HEP) were raided and destroyed by the police. A great damage occurred in the shop of İHD Branch President Yavuz Binbay. Following the events, 56 persons were arrested including Yavuz Binbay and "Yeni Ülke" reporter Naif Yaşar.

On 21 March, demonstrations were held in Narlıca and Dağlıoğlu quarters of Adana in which thousands of people participated. The demonstrations passed without incidents apart from one or two minor clashes with sticks and stones. However, at night fire was opened on a group of people demonstrating in Eminağa Street. In the incident, a youth named Ramazan Kahraman (20) died, and 8 persons, including 1 child and 1 police officer, were wounded. On the other hand, as a consequence of fire opened by the police on people demonstrating in Barbaros quarter of Adana on 23 March, Necmettin Ekici (30) died and 6 persons were wounded.

On 21 March, Newroz was celebrated without incidents by many people in Nusaybin. Following the celebrations, Nusaybin fell into tranquility. Only in Kutlubey village of Nusaybin district, village guards opened fire on demonstrators, killing one person and injuring Hasan Sığınç and Şehmuz Ağırman. In the morning of 22 March, the tranquility in Nusaybin was broken. At 8am a crowd of some 8000 people gathered in Veysiki quarter and started to march towards the city centre. When the crowd reached Çağçağ Bridge, security forces opened fire on the demonstrators. During the events, 19 persons died and 52 persons were wounded. The names of the killed people are:

"Halil Babek (70), Ahmet Kaya (Ağitoğlu), Mahmut Çiftçi, Ahmet Kaya (Abdullahoğlu), Abdülbaki Gündüz (27), Şerif Akgüç (28), Hikmet Aslan, Osman Duman (52), Halil Bulut, Hüseyin Bilar, İbrahim Elgün, Abdullah Afşin, Aliye Er, Kadir Aytan, Abdullah Atasın, Fevzi Yürek, Abdurrahman Çiftçi, Kadir Birin and Ahmet Eroğlu".

On 21 March a crowd of some 300 people who on Newroz Day wanted to visit the graveyard in Yüksekova district, Hakkari, of PKK militants who had died in clashes, was dispersed under beatings of special team members. Following the beatings, a large crowd held a protest demonstration in the city centre. As a result of fire opened by the security on the crowd, a 14-year old child died and 6 persons were injured. Events in Yüksekova continued on 22 March. Security forces also opened fire on a crowd of some 3000 people who in the morning had gathered in front of the Governorate. During the events on 21 and 22 March in Yüksekova 5 persons died and 38 persons were wounded. It was established that the names of 2 of those 5 persons were Emin Korkmaz (32) and Fatma Kaçmaz (14).

In Kadifekale quarter of İzmir 18-year old Reşşan Demirel burned herself leaving a note saying that "I sacrifice myself for Newroz" in the night of 21 March. Her corpse was hidden for some time from the authorities. After the ce-

remony arranged on 23 March in Izmir, corpse of Reşşan Demirel was taken to Nusaybin, her birth place, and buried there.

When the security forces tried to prevent a group of people from demonstrating in Hakkari on 22 March, clashes broke out which resulted in injuries of 15 persons including 4 police officers. During the events 56 people were detained. In Doğubeyazıt, 2 persons were injured while the police were dispersing a crowd of 300 people demonstrating on 21 March, and 4 persons were injured in the ensuing panic when a group of people who had gathered in front of the HEP building in Esenler quarter of İstanbul on the same day, were prevented by the gendarmerie.

Newroz observations

In the meantime, before Newroz Feast, the Human Rights Association, Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, Turkish Medical Association, Medical Doctors' Association for Prevention of Nuclear Wars, Veterinarian Association, Ankara Pharmacists' Chamber, Public Cultural Houses (Halkevleri) and Turkish Agriculturists Association formed a "Democracy Platform". In accordance with the decision of the platform, a "Human Rights Delegation" was established. İHD İstanbul Branch President Ercan Kanar, İHD İzmir Branch President Senur Akkaya, İHD Ankara Branch President Ayşe Pekdemir, İHD Konya Branch President Orhan Özer, İHD Diyarbakır Branch President Fevzi Veznedaroğlu, İHD İstanbul Branch Administrative Board members Metin Kozan and Ayşe Zarakolu, Vice Secretary General of the Contemporary Journalists Association Timur Türkan, General Accountant of Public Cultural Houses (Halkevleri) Hamiyet Kızıl and musician Ferhat Tunç joined the delegation headed by İHD Secretary General Alın Birdal. The report prepared by the delegation that stayed in Cizre on 20, 21 and 22 March, is as follows:

Our delegation went from Cizre to Diyarbakır on 20 March. On the roadside we saw "Newroz" bonfires and festivals organized around them. Later we learned that the villagers who lit "Newroz" fires were detained starting from 11am. At the entrance to Cizre we realized that a huge fire was lit and that people were enjoying themselves around it. Then we witnessed how 21 March was welcome with gun shots and rockets.

In a press conference we held in the evening of our arrival in the hotel Kadioğlu in front of national and international journalists we called on the government and the PKK to lay down arms. We asked the people to stick to peaceful and democratic means and not to resort to other means, try to avoid provocations and act carefully.

In the morning of 21 March a crowd of about 1500-2000 people gathered in front of our hotel which is located in the city center. The crowd was neither carrying posters or flags, nor shouting slogans. The crowd reportedly wanted to march towards cemetery to organize a festival. At that time, security forces blocked the crowd with tanks. We met with Cizre police chief and expressed our fear for possible events. In reminding him of the statements by PM Süleyman Demirel and deputy Interior Minister Ayaz we asked the police not to intervene. The police chief told us that they would not intervene. We conveyed the words

of the police chief to the people who had been stopped 4-5 meters in front of the barricade and demanded them to be cool and to avoid excessive behaviour. They said that certainly they would be careful. Then, security forces made announcements through megaphone, asking the crowd to disperse. But when the crowd did not obey the order and kept sitting, police tanks were driven towards the crowd. At the same time, gunshots were heard from far away. Security forces opened fire in the air. The crowd began to draw back in panic and completely had withdrawn in half an hour. After a short while, intensive gun shots were heard. We heard over the telephone that there were lots of dead and wounded people. When the atmosphere calmed down, we talked to the security officers again and asked them why they opened fire although no poster or flag was carried and no slogan was shouted. A security officer said they were under orders. When we said that intervention contradicted the statements of the Prime Minister because the people did not carry any posters or shouted any slogans, he replied: "They did not, but they would do so".

Throughout the day, sounds of gunshots were heard. We learned at about 12am that the district governor had announced a curfew. When the situation had calmed down, we wanted to obtain information about the number of the wounded and the dead by going to hospital together with local and foreign journalists. In the hospital we were informed by Public Prosecutor Ahmet Gökçınar who was trying to prepare a report about the dead. Ahmet Gökçınar showed the necessary understanding and facility to both the press and us. Having left the hospital and walked about 15-20 meters, we came under intense gunshots. We took shelter in hospital. There was shooting around the hospital. We saw a nurse fainted. We remained cut off for an hour. At that time, many wounded civilians were being carried to hospital. Most of them could not be medically treated there and were sent to the hospitals in Mardin and Diyarbakır. Since newspapers had reported about possible events to arise in Cizre, before Newroz, we asked whether sufficient doctors and medical equipment were available. The prosecutor said that there were only two doctor ; one of them was a practitioner while the other was an ophthalmologist,. Then we asked why the necessary precautions were not taken. He replied that district governor had applied to the Ministry of Health for those precautions, but did not get a response.

We returned to the hotel with the help of the public prosecutor. When we arrived at the hotel, we saw that its surroundings had turned into a war arena because of reciprocal clashes and that vehicles in front of the hotel had been damaged because of fire. During the clashes the telephone switchboard of Kadioğlu Hotel had been hit and communications had been cut off. During the night, gunshots were continuously heard. The next morning we decided to leave the district. Since there was a curfew, we notified the security officers. They recorded the plate numbers of our cars and let us go.

When we left Cizre, the streets were empty. Half an hour later, we were confronted with a military barricade. Soldiers checked our luggage and then said that we might continue. At Nusaybin Junction we met 10 police officers with guns. When they learned who we were and where we were coming from, they cursed and swore at human rights. Then they directed their guns towards us and threatened to kill us. They kicked at some delegation members and local and

foreign journalists who had joined us. Later we went to İHD Diyarbakır Branch. We told the journalists about our observations and returned to Ankara on the same day.

To solve problems through arms delays the result. Everyone should give up arms. The problem should be solved by democratic and peaceful means. Behaviour and attitudes in contravention to the public wish for peace, will render the solution of the problem more difficult. Democracy should be applied throughout the country. It was understood that the information which reached the government was single-sided and did not reflect the truth. The government should show the same peaceful attitude shown towards the Karabakh problem. The Paris Charter should be implemented in practice and massacres should be stopped. We do not approve of any approach taking violence as the prime method." (24 March 1992).

Observations after Newroz

A second delegation was sent by the Human Rights Association to the region just after the Newroz Feast. The delegation headed by İHD Vice Secretary General Yusuf Alataş consisted of İHD Balıkesir Branch President Mehmet Eker, İHD İstanbul Branch Administrative Board member İzzet Eray, İHD Konya Branch Administrative Board members Kazım Bozdağ and Mehmet Yüksel, Contemporary Jurists Association (ÇHD) Ankara Branch Secretary Sait Kıran, ÇHD İstanbul Branch Administrative Board members Kamil Kirman and İbrahim İnce, İstanbul Kadıköy Public Cultural House leaders Nezir Yatkı and Serap Kaya, and Hüseyin Alataş from the journal Newroz. The delegation conducted researches in Diyarbakır, Nusaybin, Cizre, Şırnak and Van between 31 March and 4 April 1992. The conclusions of the report prepared as a result of the researches, are as follows:

- Hundreds of people wounded during Newroz event are still under treatment in hospitals of Diyarbakır, Siirt, Mardin and Van. Most of the wounded are children, women or the old.

- Many of the wounded are being treated under extremely unsanitary conditions in houses due to fear of the state. 8 persons treated in their own houses in Nusaybin were visited by the delegation and their situation was closely inspected. We reached the conclusion that the number of the dead and wounded is much higher than expected.

- The latest events lifted all trust of Kurdish people towards the state and destroyed all hopes set on the coalition government. People living in Nusaybin, Cizre and Şırnak believe that the state does not take them into account and persecutes them. Those people now have no expectations from the state.

- As a result of the observations in Nusaybin, Cizre and Şırnak, and negotiations with the local administrators and people it was decided that fire had been randomly opened at people without any discrimination and that people staging a sit-in were run over by police tanks.

In the meantime, the trial launched against 35 persons in connection with the events in Şırnak during Newroz Feast, started on 16 October at Diyarbakır State Security Court (SSC). In the indictment read in the hearing, the defendants

were alleged "to have worked to separate Turkey, provoked the people against the security forces, opened fire at buildings of the state and arranged an unauthorized demonstration". The death penalty was demanded for 16 of the defendants while imprisonment sentences varying from 5 to 15 years were sought for the remaining 19. The names of the 16 defendants against whom death penalty was demanded are as follows: "Şehbaz Sümbül, Leşker Acar, Lokman Külter, Bahattin Külter, Mehmet Hazar, Mehmet Yimez, Faysal Osal, İskan Osal, Zana Osal, Ali Sapmaz, Şemdin Ertaş, Emin Külter, Sait Uysal, Abdülmenaf Tekme, Halil Katar and Abdullah Yimez". Among the defendants demanded to be sentenced to between 5 to 15 years' imprisonment are the Human Rights Association's Şırnak Branch President Sekvan Aytu, Şırnak Mayor Ahmet Hamdi Yıldırım, Lawyer Mesut Uysal, the People's Labour Party Şırnak District President Feyzullah Demir and Siirt former deputy Kemal Birlik. After the indictment was read, the hearing was decided to be held behind closed doors as "there are some children younger than 18 among the defendants".

IHD Van Branch President Yavuz Binbay and Naif Yaşar, one of the reporters for the newspaper "Yeni Ülke" arrested after the Newroz events, were released in the hearing held on 6 July at Diyarbakır SSC. At the end of the hearing another 54 defendants tried under arrest were released. The trial of 56 defendants is continuing without arrest. In addition, a trial was launched against 44 persons, 12 of them arrested, in connection with the events in Yüksekova. In the hearing held on 22 July at Diyarbakır SSC, 8 of the 12 arrested defendants were released. Fesih Taşdemir, Hacı Erdemir, Nusret Demirton and Hasan Elmas who were arrested because of the events which arose in the HEP building in Esenyurt, İstanbul, during Newroz Feast were released after the hearing held at İstanbul SSC on 17 July.

The trial launched against 26 persons for participating in the demonstration held because of Newroz Feast in Antalya, ended at İzmir SSC on 15 December. In the trial, Sevim Pınar was sentenced to 1 year 8 months in prison and a fine of about TL 41.666.000 (Appr. \$ 5.200) on grounds that she shouted slogans in favour of the PKK during the demonstration. In the trial 23 defendants were acquitted. Defendants Sedat Demirtaş and Selçuk Katırcı will be tried at a civilian court.

b)- Şırnak and similar events

Events similar to the ones experienced during Newroz Feast were witnessed in certain settlements in the Emergency State Region during the second half of 1992 too. The first victim of the government's policy which may shortly be defined as "if someone hits you once, you will hit twice", was Şırnak and hundreds of people from Şırnak. Following a short disturbing fire opened by PKK militants on 18 August night in Şırnak, the security forces replied harshly. Şırnak was kept under fire for more than 48 hours. People died, Şırnak provincial town became a ruin.

Actually, the Şırnak events did not come unnotified. A small rehearsal of the events in Şırnak was made in Cizre district of Şırnak before the events. PKK opened fire with automatic guns and rocket launchers at state buildings in Cizre

on the night of 7 August. After the attack during which nobody died or was wounded, security officers opened fire at random. Şırnak Deputy Selim Sadak disclosed that as a result of the fire of the security officers, 2 persons were wounded while 2 shops and 3 houses were damaged.

The events similar to the ones in Şırnak later were witnessed also in Çukurca, Musabey, Kulp and Cizre respectively. The rhetoric used in the official statements regarding the events was the same. According to official statements "the PKK attacked, and the security forces defending themselves opened back fire". However, when the events were investigated, it was established that the official statements generally did not reflect the facts. During the events a total of 41 persons died, 26 of them died in Şırnak, 3 in Çukurca, 2 in Musabey, 1 in Kulp and 9 in Cizre, and approximately 100 persons were wounded.

Starting in the morning of 19 August, radio and TV stations, and on the next day newspapers, stated that 1000-1500 PKK militants attacked Şırnak and face to face clashes arose. With the beginning of the events, communication with Şırnak was cut off. Within the first 48 hours of the events, everyone believed in the light of unreal statements that there were severe clashes between the PKK and the security forces. Nevertheless, the following days exposed the facts in Şırnak, contrary to the statements.

In Şırnak, sound of gun shots were heard near state buildings and military defence units on the night of 18 August, first one by one and then intensely. Then, gun shots spread out all over Şırnak within a short time. At that time, phone connections and electricity went off. A curfew was announced in the city. Gun shots continued until the morning and during the days of 19 and 20 August. During the events, security forces exhausted hundreds thousands of bullets.

During the first three days of the events, nobody, including the journalists, was allowed to enter or exit Şırnak. Journalists were able to enter Şırnak on 21 August under the control of the security forces. However, the journalists who were let into the city only during the daytime, were not permitted to take photographs except from certain determined regions, or to talk to the people. Journalists who only wanted to meet Şırnak Mayor Ahmet Hamdi Yıldırım were prevented by the police from doing so during the first days. After the events, no house or shop remained undamaged. On the other hand, there was almost no harm on the buildings of the state allegedly attacked by PKK militants. During the events, 70 % of the houses and shops in Şırnak were laid in ruins, and vehicles were in pieces. Animals were killed and shops were damaged. Even the houses of Mayor Ahmet Yıldırım and of the True Path Party Provincial President Orhan Uysal were shot at with guns. Orhan Uysal was wounded while a worker in his house, named Süleyman, died.

A person from Şırnak whom officials of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey called during the night of 20 August, said the following: "We are very much afraid. Special team members opened fire at random on our houses. They are setting ablaze shops for pleasure. Our house is located in İsmetpaşa quarter. Two shops in our quarter were set ablaze by special team members. There are civilians who died and were wounded. The wounded are not taken to hospital. There is no security of life. Two children of our neighbour Sökmen family were

wounded. They try to treat their children at home. Electricity and water are cut off. We are not allowed to supply water from the fountain in the street. The thing they defined as a clash is nothing but wild shooting of the security forces". In a declaration of 23 August Şahin Kadirhan, member of DYP and the Provincial Council of Şırnak, said that tanks which lined up near the monument of Atatürk fired at the houses and that he had not seen any PKK militant in the town.

During the events, a total of 26 persons, including one police officer and three enlisted men, died, about 60 persons were wounded and more than 500 persons were detained. Among the detainees, Temel Uçar died while being interrogated. Some detained persons said the following about the event: "Temel Uçar did not accept the scenarios prepared by the military officers during his interrogation. Despite intense torture he resisted. Upon his attitude, his eyes were gouged out, his tongue was cut off and then he was killed. His corpse was delivered to his family after a false autopsy and was buried without being seen by anyone." The names of the dead are:

"Hezni Erkol, Zehra Koval, Halime Kurtel, Süleyman Kurtel, Abdülaziz Besin, Yusuf Basan, Yusuf Vatan, Kumru Güngen, Gülüm Güngen (6-year old), Medine Güngen (14-year old), Hacı Dumanlıdağ, Güler Sökmen (3-year old), Salih Özgürpınar, Nurettin Sökmen, Mehmet Akaman, Salih Balık, Veysi Sökmen (6-year old), Sema Sökmen (9-year old), Hacı Kılınc, Fakir Hakaydın (enlisted man), Murteza Erkoca (enlisted man), Ramazan Aydın (enlisted man) and Ali Duman (police officer)" and 3 more persons whose identities could not be revealed.

In a statement made on behalf of the PKK on 21 August, it was said: "No unit of our guerillas raided Şırnak. Although Şırnak was not raided by the PKK, the state and the Turkish press reported so. Following the news the town was surrounded and special team members shot with guns on the people in Şırnak. An official statement made by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region on the same day stated that during the events, 19 persons, 4 of them security officers, died.

Sounds of gunshots were heard again between 23 August at 11pm and 24 August morning. Besides, many explosions occurred. The Governorate of the Emergency State Region claimed that PKK militants carried out another attack on the city and that clashes which arose after this attack continued until the morning. The statement by the Governorate was contradicted by sources from the region. The sources in the region stated that there was no clash in Şırnak, but the events arose when the security forces started to open fire at random. After the sounds of gunshots and explosions stopped, thousands of people in Şırnak began to leave the city with their belongings as of 24 August. Thousands of people who did not return to the province for a long time, had to spend their days under poor living conditions.

While the events in the city center continued, security forces carried out operations in Yoğurtçular, Toktepe and Balveren villages of Şırnak on 23 and 24 August. In the operation during which heavy weapons were used, Ibrahim Artunç (7), Mehmet Artunç (40) and Remziye Artunç and a woman named Kumriye (30) whose surname could not be established, died while Vesile Artunç

(35), Gülay Artunç (2), Ayşe Artunç (8) and two persons called Mehdiye and İbrahim were wounded in Balveren village. The wounded persons were taken under treatment in hospitals in Şırnak and Diyarbakır. Most parts of Yoğurtçular village, one of the villages where operations were carried out, was burnt. Some photographs in connection with the fire in Yoğurtçular village were published in certain newspapers. Deputies and journalists were officially not allowed to go to those villages.

Later 44 of 500 people detained during the Şırnak events were arrested. The remaining hundreds of persons alleged to be members of PKK militants were secretly released. Those arrested made a statement in Diyarbakır E Type Prison where they were sent to. They said that they were tortured in detention and forced to sign false testimonies prepared by Şırnak Brigade Commander Mete Sayar. The statement claimed that a great massacre was experienced in Şırnak, and continued: "They continuously tortured us in order to make us accept that PKK had carried out a big attack on Şırnak. They forced us to accept that hundreds of PKK militants had raided Şırnak and that we had helped them with the raid. They said that unless we accepted everything, they would kill us. A villager named Temel Uçar died because of torture he was subjected to. We testified under pressure and our testimonies were recorded on video tape in the room of the Brigade Commander".

A trial was launched in connection with the Şırnak events against 23 persons, 22 of them under arrest, and the death penalty was sought for the defendants under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. Names of those defendants charged under threat of the death penalty are: "Salih Adıgüzel, Mehmet Salahi Sidar, Osman Kaya, Süleyman İrtegin, Mehmet Zeyrek, Mehmet Zeyrek, Hasan Bayık, Şükrü Belge, Salih Zeyrek, Reşit Zeyrek, Mahmut Zeyrek, Ahmet İbre, Ahmet İrtegin, Şükrü Deniz, Mirve Zeyrek, Ömer İrtegin, Şevket İrtegin, Şefik İrtegin, Esat Demir, Emin Demir and Kemal İrtegin". The trial started on 27 October at Diyarbakır State Security Court (SSC). The defendants interrogated in the hearing stated that they had testified under torture at the security headquarters and pleaded not guilty. At the end of the hearing, all the defendants for whom the death penalty was demanded, were released to be tried without arrest except for Şeref Zeyrek.

The events in Şırnak were scrutinized by local and foreign journalists, human rights delegations, political party representatives etc. who went to the province after the events calmed down. Many news, comments, articles were written and reports were prepared about the events. Journalist Koray Düzgören summed up his his observations in the 25 August 1992 dated issue of the daily Hürriyet:

"It is coming to light that the questions preoccupying the minds about Şırnak events are not pleasing. While everything is becoming clear in Şırnak which is under control of the security forces, certain serious claims and important findings are being mentioned. The common claim is: The PKK did not enter the city. On the first day, I mean on Tuesday, fire was opened with rocket launchers and mortars at certain state buildings such as Police Headquarters, Gendarmerie Command etc. from the hills surrounding Şırnak. Militants escaped towards the mountains after this intense fire. Then the security forces

opened fire with light or heavy weapons at the hills for hours. Many citizens in Şırnak say that the security forces using heavy weapons and tanks opened fire without any discrimination during daylight hours, particularly on the second day. Şırnak Governor Mustafa Malay approves this claim and says that the fire was opened blindly.

It is also said that there were some people who shot back. Perhaps they are the persons who were caught and announced as PKK militants. As Governor Malay said there is nothing distinct. It is not clear either whether the 139 persons announced as PKK militants are really PKK militants or whether the captured guns were the ones used in the attack. It is necessary to wait until the end of the interrogation first, and secondly to make a ballistic investigation. In the statement made about the event it is said that "those 139 persons might be involved in such an activity" but added that this is not certain.

Let us suppose that the claims are true and that after the attack by the PKK on the first day, the security forces opened fire at points from where possibly the fire was opened. Well, what was the purpose? Şırnak Deputy Orhan Doğan replies my question: "The state believes that the PKK finds a base among of the people by frightening them, thus the state tries to frighten them more than the PKK in order to attract the people. This attitude of the state lets the PKK grow and become stronger".

On the other hand, Şırnak Deputy Mahmut Alınak who was a member of the delegation of the People's Labour Party (HEP) that conducted researches in Şırnak, stated that the spectacle they saw was a disgrace for humanity. Alleging that false information was given concerning events in Şırnak Mahmut Alınak said: "The General Staff is annihilating Şırnak. We call all world to see a second Halepçe experienced in Şırnak. They decided to wipe out the city from the map. Thousands of people are immigrating from Şırnak. There are war conditions there". The report prepared on the investigations made by HEP deputies in Şırnak, was made public at the beginning of September. The report holding the coalition government responsible for the events, claimed: "The political power thinks that the PKK is supported by the people by means of spreading terror. Therefore it has adopted a principle that the people will support the state when it spreads more terror than the PKK. The political power which is decided to put this principle into practice, must prevent similar provocations likely to occur in other settlements".

Another delegation consisting of the presidents or leaders of the Human Rights Association Headquarters and its Ankara, Adana, İzmir, İstanbul, Diyarbakır, Mardin, Kars, Konya, Hatay, Elazığ, Mersin, Gaziantep branches, and directors of the Turkish Medical Association, Public Cultural Houses (Halkevleri) and the teachers' union Eğitim-Sen, went to Şırnak on 5 September. Its observations were gathered in a report and made public. The report in question was submitted to many relevant persons and organizations, first to the Turkey Representative of the United Nations and the Chairmanship of the National Assembly. The report covers the views summarized below:

"On 5 September we went from Cizre to Şırnak. On the Kasrik Pass we were stopped by security officers. They said that they would ask 'whether we wil

be able to pass'. We waited for half an hour. In the meantime, one of the superior officers who read about the appeal made by the İHD to the UN, asked 'when will the delegation come?' At the end, the necessary permission was given and we passed. We saw settlements of the people who had immigrated to Kumçatı region 15-20 kilometers from Şırnak.

10 kilometers before we entered Şırnak, we had to follow a military convoy. There were heavy-armed soldiers in 7 military vehicles before us. They were returning from operations carried out on Mount Cudi and the neighbouring villages. We were halted at the entrance of Şırnak. Two enlisted men who entered the bus walked angrily towards the back seats and tore films of İHD Kars Branch President who was taking photographs. Then a lieutenant came and asked us to wait for a while. He apologized upon reactions against the behaviour of the enlisted men, and said that they were in a bad psychological situation.

Civilian dressed security officers asked us whether we obtained any permission from the Regional Governorate to enter Şırnak. When we replied that we had no permission, they said that we would not be able to enter and to talk to anybody. Upon our insistence, we were permitted to enter Şırnak after one and half hour. While waiting, security officers complained about the 3-year compulsory service and of being separated from their families.

At last we entered Şırnak and started to drive around the city following the vehicle of the security officers. Şırnak resembled a post-war picture. All streets were full of bullet cartridges. One or two persons were seen on the streets. They were anxious and fearful. The city was burnt and razed to the ground. The buildings had big holes caused by cannons. Houses and shops were riddled by bullets. The members of the delegation gathered handfuls of bullets, though most of the bullets had already been gathered for money. Children brought us a big cartridge case thrown from an armoured vehicle, but one security officer came and took it back. This kind of cartridge cases had been obtained during investigation of the events in Cizre and Şırnak at Newroz and they had been reportedly used in German-made armoured vehicles.

The building of İHD Şırnak branch was a ruin. The True Path Party and the People's Labour Party buildings had been shot at with cannon balls and then burnt. A 4-storey hotel which was the most imposing building of Şırnak and about to be opened for service, was completely shot with guns. Some village guards had prevented their houses from being damaged by hoisting a Turkish flag. All shops and houses on both sides of the streets were shot with guns, bombarded and burnt. The Motherland Party (ANAP) member mayor Ahmet Hamdi Yıldırım whom we talked to in the ruins of his house, told us the following: 'I was not in the city on that day but as far as I learned, first of all the sound of 3-5 gunshots was heard at about 8.30pm. Then an intense cannon bombardment started. Whatever occurred, occurred at that time. Nobody could see what happened. Everyone hid in the cellars of their houses. All people were considered as terrorists. Fire was opened without making any discrimination and at random. After the curfew was lifted, the people left the city silently. We really need help. It will be almost impossible to reconstruct Şırnak. Therefore a

new settlement place should be shown or regular and necessary assistance should be provided.

Besides, all shops opposite the mayor's house, were completely damaged and burnt. On the road to Uludere we saw also three cars and a truck loaded with liquid gas tubes which had been burnt. While walking around in Şırnak we noticed several families who were loading their belongings on trailers behind tractors. They reportedly had immigrated from Şırnak and then had come back to take their belongings. A person who did not disclose his name, approached us and wanted us to see the inside of the houses and then said: 'I have been working as a civil servant for 18 years. I have 5 children. They razed my house to the ground. Now I have nothing. What will we eat and drink?'

We saw the building of brigade command and military lodgings. There was no noteworthy damage on the buildings belonging to the head of the financial department and dormitories for the Ministry of Health and Finance. There were ruins near the head of the financial department building. However, we could not find bullet marks or ruins on the buildings of the brigade command, recruiting office or police lodgings. There was a great damage on the Agricultural Directorate building. The roof of the gendarmerie station made of sheet iron, was partially torn. Bullet signs on the walls of the post office (PTT) looking out upon the street called attention. Nevertheless, Cizre reporter for a newspaper said that these happened during Newroz events and that s/he had some photos to prove this. Whatever we saw and listened to was in contradiction with official statements. There was no damage neither on the gendarmerie command building nor on the other buildings mentioned".

Explanations by İHD Şırnak Branch Administrative Board member Nihat Burşık occupied a prominent place in the report.

"I was in Cizre when the events arose. At night I contacted my relatives in Şırnak by telephone. The persons I talked to were panicked. Stating that fire was opened with heavy weapons at the city and that their house was hit, they wanted help. Since I was not able to do anything, I only tried to calm them down. Another person whom I talked to said: 'A cannon bullet hit the house of Yusuf Basan. Then Yusuf Basan who took a white cloth in his hands, went out of the house and asked soldiers for help. Fire was opened at him from a police tank which stood across the street at that time. He was shot. I saw the incident through the window'. I also talked to relatives of Alihan Tatar who is the head of the Tatar family (this family many of whose members serve as village guards is known to be close to the state). They informed me of a wireless conversation between chief village guard Süleyman Tatar (ST) and the Brigade Commander (TK). The details were as follows:

ST: My esteemed commander, you open fire at us.

TK: Who are you?

ST: I am chief village guard Süleyman Tatar.

TK: But there are some people who opened fire from there.

ST: We opened fire. Now, I am together with the police officer who is my neighbour.

TK: It does not make any difference. You are a Kurd, are you not? Do not call me again.

As far as we learned, in the event, Alihan Tatar's son Mesut Tatar and nephew were wounded.

All empty cartridge cases were MKE-sealed (MKE = the state-owned Industries of Machines and Chemicals). Although I looked carefully, I could not find any cartridge cases without a MKE-seal. To me, it means that there was no clash as claimed. If that had been the case, there would have been other types of cartridge cases, except the ones made by MKE. In short, we say that the PKK did not carry out an attack on Şırnak. Besides, it is not logical to say that PKK militants entered a clash in the city for days and could not be apprehended dead or alive at the end. During my talks with the people, I could not find anybody who saw a militant in the city.

In addition, it was said that the official buildings particularly the buildings of the Brigade Command and the Police Headquarters; were heavily damaged. This is a complete lie. The claim that 20 PKK militants were caught in a tunnel is not true either. The persons caught in the tunnel are persons from Şırnak and one of them is the lawyer Abdurrahim Demir. The place said to be a tunnel is only a cellar. If there was a PKK attack as claimed, why did the security forces open fire at civilians instead of chasing PKK militants?"

In conclusion of the report it is asked 'Are Şırnak and Cizre in Turkey?' and the following is said:

This report was prepared with the responsibility endowed by the CSCE Paris Charter on the function and importance of non-governmental organizations, and in accordance the aims that led to the foundation of İHD that as humanbeings, we are responsible to ascertain the truth. Deaths, tortures, demolition and immigrations in Şırnak took place under control of the state or by powers out of the control of the state. If the state is still denying that, it must find those who are responsible.

The effect that the extension of the State of Emergency and the denial of a nation's identity had on these events should not be ignored. The influence of the failure to take any positive steps inspite of programs and promises on democratization and human rights should not be neglected. Irresponsibility of the policies trying to convert the brotherhood between two nations living together for about a thousand years into an enmity should not be forgotten. To solve the problem by means of anger, hostility, tanks, and shedding tears and blood instead of respecting human rights and peaceful methods will deepen the problem.

In order to talk about the fact that a nation does not have any freedom and rights, and about pressure and torture inflicted on this nation, it is not necessary to belong to this nation, to understand its language, to accept its religion or politics. It is sufficient only to be in favor of humanity and human rights. It is not astonishing that people who until recently were complaining about torture, unemployment or poverty, now are becoming supporters of state policies. Those who kept silent when these people were forced to eat excrement, who were caught in fear and poverty when they were deprived of their homes, now try to hide behind some formal reasons when this nation expresses its demands for its own rights and freedoms.

The Human Rights Commission of the United Nations should send an urgent observation committee to the region. The National Assembly without discrimination of parties must cover the wounds in the region. The Turkish Bar Association should observe the unjust events on the scene, make international laws work in the area, find the responsible and make sure that they are punished. The Chambers of Architects and Engineers should start a reconstruction program in Şırnak, and secure assistance from international architect and engineer organizations. The Turkish Medical Association should undertake efficient initiatives to heal the wounds in region.

Unless these problems are solved, an atmosphere of peace and confidence expected in society cannot be secured. Let us cooperate to put the guns away. We call on everyone for a Turkey where - without any discrimination- everybody is able to benefit from all rights and freedoms."

Meanwhile 8 deputies from the Social Democratic Populist Party and the True Path Party sent a letter to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel in September, demanding that the National Assembly investigate the Şırnak events and an official inquiry be launched against the responsables. The letter arguing that the official statements did not reflect the facts, said: "According to the claims, villages and civilians were bombed by planes and tanks, numbers of innocent people were killed and the city was ruined. If that is the case, the events need a serious explanation. Therefore, a serious investigation must be launched".

Other Events

Events like the ones witnessed in Şırnak, were not limited to Şırnak. On the night of 25 August it was Çukurca's term. In Çukurca district of Hakkari fire was opened by PKK militants at the buildings of state and Gendarmerie Command. The response by the security forces was very harsh. Çukurca was shot at with guns for hours. During the events, one gendarmerie soldier and Nevzat Turan, 14-year old nephew of Çukurca Mayor Mustafa Turan and a worker named Saadetin Parlak (28) died. Many houses and shops were damaged. It was claimed that a bomb thrown by special team members caused the death of the soldier. After the events, houses in the district were searched one by one and 442 persons were detained. 401 of the detainees were released because they were found innocent. The remaining 41 were arrested. The officials held the PKK responsible for the events. Meanwhile, it was claimed that Saadetin Parlak who died during the events, died because of torture he was exposed to in the 118th Border Gendarmerie Battalion. A relative of Saadetin Parlak said: "Saadetin was detained together with Kadir Kaplan on 26 August. On 27 August they called us and said 'Come and take the corpse of Saadetin Parlak'. Nylon had been burnt on his body, his chin, face and throat had been wounded by a bayonette. They killed him under torture".

A clash broke out during the operation carried out on 9 September against PKK militants who were in Musabey village of Hamur district of Ağrı. During the clash which continued on 10 September, 5 security officers and 20 PKK militants died, and 8 security officers, including one major, were wounded. While the clash was continuing security forces opened fire at random. As a result of the events two children named Şefika Çetres (7) and Cumali Çetres (9) died

while children Yıldırım Çetres (2), Sabiha Çetres and Yeter Çetres were injured. During the events some of the houses in the village were completely damaged and fire started in the fields. The mother of the children who died or were injured, accused the security forces, and said: "Soldiers opened fire at our houses with heavy weapons. Then they threw hand grenades. We did not know what to do. The number of the dead might increase. All houses in the village were destroyed". Women and children living in the village were brought to Ağrı and settled in a high school. Journalists were not allowed to enter the village. In the meantime, the women brought to Ağrı said that special team members attempted to execute them, but Ağrı Governor İsmet Metin prevented the special team members from doing so.

Fire was opened by PKK militants at a military vehicle going to Kulp to buy provisions, near a bus station on 3 October morning. A noncommissioned officer and an enlisted man died and 8 enlisted men were wounded as a result of fire and during the clash which broke out after the fire. Following the clash, fire was opened at random from buildings of the security forces in the district center. Sounds of gunshots continued until night. Most of the houses, shops and vehicles were damaged in the fire opened. Besides, hotel owner Vahit Narin, whose daughter is a PKK militant, was killed, being burnt in his hotel. 10 persons were wounded. Upon the events, thousands of people living in Kulp started to immigrate and went to the neighbouring villages. In a statement made by the Human Rights Association's Diyarbakır Branch about the events, it was pointed out that the security forces terrorized Kulp: "We urgently invite all individuals and organizations sensitive for human rights to the region to stop this massacre".

In the meantime, Konya Deputy Mehmet Keçeciler and Van Deputy Şerif Bedirhan from the Motherland Party went to Kulp after the events and conducted some research. Mehmet Keçeciler explained the results of their research in the National Assembly on 13 October and stated that they had been confronted with a war picture in the district. Telling that they saw ruined houses and shops, burnt vehicles, and bullet signs on the walls of the houses, Mehmet Keçeciler said the following: "The situation was extremely terrible. Some people claimed that the owner of the Hotel Narin had firstly been shot with guns and then been burnt by the security forces. We are not able to make any declaration on this issue. Independent judicial organs must carry out an investigation into the issue. It is not possible to say that the administration in Kulp is based on love. They try to establish an authority based on fear, so this kind of authority is not expected to be long-lived. A religious officer to whom we talked said: 'The event was initiated by the PKK, but also the security forces were guilty. They burnt our houses although it was the PKK that opened fire at them'."

In Varto district of Muş, certain state buildings and the Gendarmerie Command were shot at with automatic guns by some armed persons who were said to be PKK militants on 10 October night. Upon the events, the security officers in the district started to shoot back at random. Two persons named Mehmet Kırmızıdağ and Güler Öztekin died and more than 10 persons were wounded in the volley which continued until morning. Furthermore, great damage occurred on houses, shops and vehicles in the district. The number of the per-

sons who were detained during the events could not be established. Eyewitnesses stated that events similar to the ones experienced in Şırnak, Çukurca and Kulp took place in Varto. Journalists who wanted to go to Varto because of the events were not allowed to do so.

A police tank patrolling in Cudi quarter of Cizre district of Şırnak was damaged by striking a mine laid on the road on 7 November evening. Following the explosion of the mine, PKK militants opened fire at the police officers in the tank. Later, the event spread all over Cizre. During the events which continued for about 4 hours many houses and shops were destroyed as a result of fire randomly opened by the security officers. Besides, 4 vehicles, including one truck, were completely burnt. In the event, 7 persons from the same family who were in a house hit by a cannon ball, died and 4 persons were wounded. The number of deaths reached 9 when 2 wounded persons died after the events. The names of the killed persons are as follows: "Hacı Çığırğa (65), İsmail Çığırğa (25), Leyla Çığırğa (60), Nadire Çığırğa (10), Sinem Çığırğa (13), Seyhmuz Çığırğa (70), Sivan Çığırğa (3), Fatma Çığırğa (9) and Bahar Çığırğa (7)". 7 of the deads were buried with a funeral ceremony on 8 November. Cizre Mayor Haşim Haşimi made a speech at the funeral and said: "Events similar to the ones that occurred in Şırnak in August, took place in Cizre. 7 innocent persons died. Who will give an account for the innocent persons who died? Security forces got used to attack civilian targets". During the events in Cizre at least 10 persons were wounded. On the other hand, in an official statement it was claimed that 7 persons died when a rocket launcher bullet fired by the PKK against the tanks, hit a house by ricocheting.

c)- Killings as a result of fire on demonstrating groups

01)- Hüseyin Tayşun

Security forces opened fire on people marching in order to hinder the operation which started on 23 January in Serebiye, 5 km from Silopi district of Şırnak. This led to several events. In the events which continued on 24 January, Hüseyin Tayşun, nephew of Silopi Mayor Levent Tayşun, was shot to death.

02)- Seyfettin Kapçak (18)

03)- Ali Ölmez (70)

04)- Abdülselam Özbay (15)

05)- Abdülhakim Özbek (20)

06)- Abdülsamet Acet (20)

07)- Bedriye Gümüş (50)

Fire was opened on peasants who tried to stop the security forces from searching and detaining some women in Aytepe, Yardere and Ahmetli villages of Mardin. During the events which occurred on 14 February, 6 persons called Seyfettin Kapçak, Ali Ölmez, Abdülselam Özbay, Abdülhakim Özbek, Abdülsamet Acet and Bedriye Gümüş died and 12 people, 5 of them seriously, were wounded. It was reported that Abdülsamet Acet and Abdülhakim Özbek died because of loss of blood since the ambulances were not allowed to enter the village. Major Ramazan Çakmak who ordered the soldiers to open fire was held responsible for the events. As a result of the investigation launched in connection with the event, a decision of non-prosecution was given for Major Ramazan Çakmak, Captain Mehmet Göçmen and 23 gendarmerie soldiers who were accused of "opening fire on villagers". Lawyer Hüseyin Turhallı who re-

acted against the decision of non-prosecution, said: "The court did not find it necessary to try the murderers. This decision requires international legal intervention".

08)- Servet Özer

09)- Nezh Çınar

In Payamlı village of Eruh, Siirt, two persons called Server Özkan and Nezh Çınar died as a result of fire opened by the security forces on people who arranged a commemoration meeting for PKK militants who died in a clash. In the incident which occurred on 16 February, 4 women called Kadriye Elçiçek, Emine Güçlü, Emine Aslan and Hediye Aydın were wounded.

10)- Mehmet Nuri Cebe (24)

24-year old Mehmet Nuri Cebe was killed as a result of fire opened by the security forces on a crowd of some 2000 people who made a demonstration in Midyat district of Mardin in protest of suspicious deaths increasing recently in the region. In the incident on 21 February, a total of 3 people, two females and a police officer, were injured. Mardin Deputy Muzaffer Arıkan who was in Midyat during the event said that in the Emergency State Region military authorities use the powers of civil authorities and that this caused tension in the region.

11)- Eralp Yazar (20)

University student Eralp Yazar was shot dead as a result of fire opened by the police on a group which made an unauthorized demonstration in Yenişehir quarter of İzmir. In the incident police officer İsmail Aydın was wounded as a result of fire opened by demonstrators. After the event, 14 people were detained as a result of searches made by the police. It was reported that the demonstration was arranged by the Turkish Revolutionary Communists Union (TIKB). Later, a trial was launched against the policeman who used the gun which caused the death of Eralp Yazar. The trial at İzmir Heavy Penal Court resulted in acquittal in October, on the grounds that "the defendant committed the act within a legal framework.

12)- Şefika Yiğittekin (50) 13)- Medeni Tunç (14)

14)- Medine Sevgi (18)

Fire was opened by the security forces on people demonstrating in Kayıklı village of Siirt in protest of the incidents after Newroz. In the events on 25 March evening, a woman named Şefika Yiğittekin was shot dead and 4 people were seriously wounded. Medine Sevgi and Medine Tunç who were among the wounded people taken to Batman State Hospital, died later. During the events, 5 gendarmerie soldiers were injured by stones and curbs.

15)- Mehmet Aslan (22)

About 3000 people living in İdil district of Şırnak left their homes and started to move to the mountains on 19 April. The crowd, indicating that the pressure in the district increased extremely, shouted at the security forces: "The district will be yours, we are going away". The march of the crowd was stopped by the security forces at noon. Upon the resistance of the people, the security forces opened fire on them. As a result Mehmet Aslan died, and Garip Sama and Abdullah İlçin were wounded.

16)- Abdurrahman Ural

Events arose when the security forces opened fire on a group dispersing after the funeral ceremony arranged on 5 June in Kızıltepe district of Mardin, for teacher Seydoş Aydoğan killed by unidentified persons. During the events, Abdurrahman Ural died as a result of fire opened and 3 persons were wounded. In addition, more than 20 people were detained. Later, 10 of the detainees were released.

17)- Ahmet Hakim Ravini

Kızıltepe Refugee Camp which is inhabited by Kurdish people, who escaped from North Iraq and came to Turkey in 1988, witnessed bloody events on 10 July. Because of a commercial disagreement, a fight arose between a group of Kurdish refugees inhabiting the camp and people whose houses are around the camp. During the fight, a person whose identity could not be established was stabbed to death by Kurdish refugees. In the meantime, the soldiers guarding the camp opened fire at fighters. In the fire, a Kurdish refugee named Reşit Temo was wounded. Upon the sounds of gun shots, the refugees started to walk towards the entrance of the camp. Then, the soldiers opened fire at the crowd walking towards the entrance. As a result of the fire, a Kurdish refugee called Ahmet Hakim Ravini was shot to death and the refugees İsmet Reşit Brifkani and Haşim Eredini were wounded. During the incidents, about 30 people were detained.

18)- Necat Türk**20)- Ömer Çakır****19)- Feda Yavuz****21)- Ekrem Savcı**

Fire was opened at a crowd of about 5000 people marching towards Derik district of Mardin from neighboring villages on 15 August because of the 8th anniversary of the attacks launched by PKK on 15 August 1984. As a result of the fire Necat Türk, Ömer Çakır, Feda Yavuz and Ekrem Savcı died while 12 persons, 3 of them severely, were wounded. The persons killed in the events were buried on 16 August in the villages they used to live in. The People's Labour Party President Ferudun Yazar stated that during the events in Derik 6 persons died.

22)- Zahit Erkan

Fire was opened by soldiers at a group of people demonstrating on 15 August in Tepecik village of Kocaköy district of Diyarbakır because of the 8th anniversary of the attacks launched by PKK on 15 August 1984. In the fire, Zahit Erkan (40) died and 11 persons, including one child, were wounded.

23)- Fatma Baştuğ

Events occurred when the security forces opened fire at people staging a demonstration in Hazro district of Diyarbakır because of the 8th anniversary of activities and attacks launched by PKK on 15 August 1984. During the events a woman named Fatma Baştuğ died and 4 persons were wounded.

24)- İhsan Eren (35)

During the demonstrations held on 16 August in Malazgirt district of Muş in connection with the 8th anniversary of activities and attacks launched by PKK on 15 August 1984, İhsan Eren (35) died as a result of fire opened by the security forces.

25)- Doğan Baygürler (25)

In consequence of a fire opened by the police at a group of people demonstrating because of the 8th anniversary of activities and attacks launched by PKK on 15 August 1984, 7 persons, 4 of whom with bullets, were wounded and 149 persons were detained. 48 of those detainees were arrested later. Doğan Baygürler who was wounded by a bullet, died on 17 August in the hospital where he was being treated.

26)- Mehmet Sıddık Çark

Events arose in Iğdır when the security forces attempted to prevent a crowd of about 2.000 people who made a demonstration in the morning of 2 November in protest of the military operation conducted by Turkey in North Iraq. When the demonstrators moved with stones and sticks against the security officers, special team members opened fire on the demonstrators. During the events Mehmet Sıddık Çark was shot to death while two police officers, and persons called Sıtkı Tilkaya, Reşat Peker (16), Hacı Öner (70), Yusuf Güneş (55), Dudu Filtay (38), Hıdır Dik (40), Tahir Çakmak (32) and Nedime Uçar (17) were injured. Mehmet Sıddık Çark was buried on 3 November in Yukarı Çamurlu village of Iğdır. 126 people were detained after the events during which some shops were damaged. 6 of the detainees were arrested.

d)- Killings during house raids**01)- İsmail Cengiz Göznek (21) 02)- Servet Sanin (19)****03)- Hüseyin Yaşar (20)**

On 27 January two people attempted to rob a jeweler's shop in Atatürk Street in Mahmutbey quarter of İstanbul. The armed people ran away when the shop owner resisted. Following the event, a house was raided by the police in the same quarter. During the raid, 21-year old İsmail Cengiz Göznek, 19-year old Servet Sanin and 20-year old Hüseyin Yaşar, who were in the house, were killed. Police authorities claimed that "these three killed persons were members of an illegal organization and participated in the robbery attempt". A person who witnessed the house raid stated: "The police surrounded the house and asked the people in there to surrender. There was no reply. Then the police fired volleys of shots at the flat for about 20 minutes". The relatives of Servet Sanin stated: "They shot at people who could have been seized alive without asking any questions. This was an execution". It was established that Servet Sanin was an athlete doing carate for which he represented Turkey three times. Seçgül Ateş, fiancée of İsmail Cengiz Göznek, said in a statement she made: "I had gone to the grocery to buy some food. If I had not gone, I would have been killed too". Hayrettin Sanin, father of Servet Sanin said in a statement he made on 30 January: "My son was killed in a flat where he had gone on a visit. I want those responsible to be punished". Hayrettin Sanin later made an official complaint to İstanbul Republic Prosecution Office. Ercan Kanar, President of the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch, stated in a press conference he arranged on 31 January, that they carried out some investigations at the place where the event occurred and said: "It was established that the flat was not used by an organization but was a home where 6 members of a family lived. Cengiz Göznek went to the balcony and shouted that they would surrender to the police, but the police forced him back in and killed him in spite of his statements. People living

nearby gave this information. Besides, the weapons were far from the corpses and to the left of them". Lawyer Eren Keskin who carried out the research at the place stated: "All bullets were shot towards the youths. They say that "a clash started but we could not find any signs of bullets in the opposite direction."

04)- Leyla Kuran

05)- Zinnet Karaaslan

06)-

The house of Halil Benek in Alipaşa quarter of Van was raided on 1 March by the security forces. During the raid three people, two of them women, were killed in the house. Police officials claimed that the 3 people killed were "militants of an illegal organization" and killed in a clash that arose during the house raid. The name of one of those killed was not identified. 8 people, 3 of them children, from Benek family living in the raided house, were detained. The detainees were released 2 days later.

07)- Muzaffer Sarıtemur

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10)-

As a result of fire opened on a police car patrolling in Su Meydanı quarter of Urfa on 27 March night, police officers Avni Şener and Seyfi Yolcu died. About 3 hours later, a house in Hızmalıköprü quarter was raided by the police. As a result of the house raid, 4 people, including a woman, who were in the house, were killed. The name of only one of those killed was established. Police authorities stated that the 4 people killed were the militants who carried out the armed attack on the police car. In the meantime, Urfa Governor Ziyaeddin Akbulut who delivered a speech at the funeral for the killed police officers said: "No country advanced through terrorism. Whoever applies this method will be unsuccessful. Our only consolation is punishment of the murderers after the killing of our colleagues".

11)- Sinan Kukul (36)

12)- Ayşe Nil Ergen (24)

13)- Arif Öngel (29)

14)- Şadan Öngel (26)

15)- Satı Taş (29)

16)- Ayşe Uzunhasanoğlu (28)

17)- Eda Yüksel (30)

18)- Taşkın Usta (30)

19)- Sabahat Karataş (39)

20)- Hüseyin Kılıç (31)

21)- Ahmet Fazıl Ercüment(38)

11 persons were killed during 4 separate home raids carried out on 16 April night by the political police and the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) on the Asian side of İstanbul. The lawyers who saw the corpses of the killed people made a statement and said: "The situation of the corpses and their wounds showed that this was an extra-judicial execution". Zerrin Sarı, the President of Özgür-Der, made a statement about the raids and said: "The operations were extrajudicial executions. The highest authorities of the state confirmed those extra-judicial executions. We demand the responsible to be punished, and protest the massacre". Meanwhile, it was reported that no guns and explosive was found in the house where Nil Ergen and Ayşe Uzunhasanoğlu were killed. In a statement by Ortaköy Public Theatre, it was indicated that Ayşe Uzunhasanoğlu was an actress and stated: "The incident was a conspiracy. Ayşe did not commit any crime except for being an actress. Nowadays everyone may be announced as guilty and killed". The Human Rights Association's İstanbul

Branch President Ercan Kanar, indicating that a state considering itself a "democratic state of law" can not function by means of revengeful methods, said: "11 persons who were killed during the operations in İstanbul might have been caught alive. However, the state believes that to kill people who are considered not to support the state is a success". The house where Ayşe Gülen Uzunhasanoğlu and Ayşe Nil Ergen were killed, was opened in front of a judge and investigated. As a result of the first investigation no clue was found to prove that a clash arose in the house. Lawyer Eren Keskin, a board member of the Human Rights Association's (İHD's) İstanbul Branch, who was present during the investigation said: "It is clear that no fire was opened from the house. Bullet signs can be seen everywhere in the house. It looks as if the police had entered the house, interrogated and opened fire. Goods were stolen. To understand what kinds of things were experienced during the raid, you do not need to be in the house at the time".

22)- Esmâ Polat (21)

23)- Sıddık Özçelik (22)

24)- Güven Keskin (19)

A house in Kurtuluş quarter of Adana was raided by teams of the political police at 4.30pm on 30 April. In the raid, 3 persons, including a woman, were killed. In a search made in the house a gun was found. Police authorities claimed that those who were killed people were members of "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left) organization and participated in certain armed actions in Adana. In the meantime, during a search made in the raided house one hour after the event, a bomb exploded. In the explosion 3 policemen were injured. İHD's Adana Branch President Cumali Tunç said in a press conference he arranged: "We witnessed an extra-judicial execution in Kurtuluş quarter of Adana on 30 April. Sıddık Özçelik, Güven Keskin and Esmâ Polat might have been caught alive. Public prosecutor also worked in union with the police in the incident". Yılmaz Kalkandelen, uncle of Güven Keskin, who spoke in the press meeting, accusing the police officers said: "They might have been caught alive. We do not know what happened. This might be a scenario".

25)- Songül Karabulut (27)

26)- Ali Yılmaz (21)

27)- Fikri Keleş (23)

28)- Halil Ates (32)

Two houses in Dikmen and Telsizler quarters of Ankara were raided on 4 May at midnight by the political police and MIT (National Intelligence Agency) members. A total of four persons, one of them female, were killed in the raids, and one person was detained wounded. Police authorities stated that "the killed persons were militants of the Dev Sol (Revolutionary Left) organization" and that "several explosives and weapons were seized in the raided houses". A short while after the event, a journalist who witnessed the house raid in Dikmen, made public his observations. The journalist living in the same street but whose name was not disclosed, told the weekly journal "Gerçek" (Fact) about the event which he observed from the beginning to the end. Following is what the journalist told: "The raided house was surrounded by about 150 policemen. After this preparation which continued for 20 minutes, 15-20 machine guns were fired suddenly. Dense fire continued for 10-15 minutes. When they stopped to fire, a cry of a woman was heard. Following the cry, machine guns were fired again. After a while they stopped. Then an explosion occurred and another cry, a bitter one, was heard. One more bomb was brought. After the explosion of the second

bomb, the police announced that the house was surrounded, and called for the people to surrender. Following this call, fire directed at the house started again. The number of guns was increased. After a while the sound of gun shots stopped. 4 civilian dressed people entered the house and the sound of two gun shots was heard. I do not know about the other house raids but this was a real execution. It was very interesting that neither an ambulance nor a health officer was brought for the operation".

29)- Nasır Zorlu

30)- Yadigar Doğan

31)- Emine Akkuzu

A house in İzzetpaşa quarter of Elazığ was raided by the police in the night of 4 June at about 2am. In the raid which lasted approximately 20 minutes, 3 persons, including 2 females, were killed and one person was detained seriously wounded. Police authorities claimed that "the raided houses were used as a base by PKK militants". Human Rights Association Elazığ Branch Secretary Serfettin Özcan who made a search in the raided house said: "There were a total of 7 bullet holes in the windows. However, I noticed more than 7 bullet holes on the body of one of the dead youths. Is it possible for people who are members of an illegal organization and go into a clash, to leave curtains open? The event is obviously an extra-judicial execution. We will make an official complaint to the authorities and do our best for the punishment of the people responsible". A woman who witnessed the event but did not want her name to be announced, claimed that those youths were executed by shooting them outside the house.

32)- Felemez Güneş (30)

33)- Vedat Aydın (37)

34)- Hadi Güneş (27)

35)- Nazmi Güneş (22)

A house in Mescit quarter of Silvan district of Diyarbakır was raided by the police on 19 June in the morning. In the raid, Felemez Güneş (one of the leaders of the People's Labour Party Silvan District Organization), Vedat Aydın, Hadi Güneş and Nazmi Güneş who were in the house were killed. Ali Kırtay, Menice Kırtay, Ahmet Kırtay and Fevziye Aydın who were in the raided house were detained. In a search made in the house 2 guns were found. In the clash which arose during the raid, 6 policemen were wounded. Security authorities claimed that "those killed were PKK militants and participated in many incidents". After her release, one of the detainees, Menice Kırtay, stating that she was tortured at Silvan Police Headquarters said: "When I was detained I was 3-month pregnant. In consequence of tortures I had a miscarriage". Menice Kırtay also said that the police officers who raided the house opened fire without any warning.

36)- Sabahattin Akın (21)

37)- Abdullah Aslan (20)

A house in Güneykent quarter of Mersin was raided by the police in the morning of 11 July. During the raid a youth named Sabahattin Akın died and Abdullah Aslan was wounded. Abdullah Aslan died in the hospital where he was taken to. Police authorities claimed that "the raided house was used by PKK militants" and that "the persons who died committed suicide in order not to be caught alive". Şemsettin Akın, father of Sabahattin Akın, said that there was no bullet sign on the body of his son, except the one in his head.

38)- İsmail Akarçeşme**39)- Nurten Demir**

A house in Yeni Çeşme Street in Kasımpaşa quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on 13 July evening. During the raid carried out at about 7.30pm., two youths named İsmail Akarçeşme and Nurten Demir were killed. During the same hours another house in Küçükköy quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on allegations that "armed activists lived there". During the house raid, landlord Sabri Özdeniz who did not want the policemen to enter the house was wounded, being shot in his shoulder and face. It was established that the said house was raided upon a baseless denunciation.

40)- Ramazan Ceviz (33)**41)- Nurgüzel Yaşar (25)****42)- Hasan Demir (22)****43)- Emre Bilgin (30)**

A house in Küçükyalı quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on the night of 19 July at 11.30pm. In consequence of the raid, Ramazan Ceviz, Nurgüzel Yaşar and Hasan Demir were killed. It was established that Ramazan Ceviz and Hasan Demir were killed on the roof while Nurgüzel Yaşar was killed in the lift hole. Police authorities stated that the raided house was used by the militants of Turkish Peasants' and Workers' Liberation Army (TİKKO). A fourth person managed to escape from the raided house in a car. This vehicle was stopped on 20 July morning by the police on Gülsuyu Bridge above Kartal Atatürk Street. The driver clashed with the police, got off the vehicle and entered a house in the vicinity. Gülbahar Yalçın and Hasan Değirmenci who were in the vehicle with the driver whose name was disclosed to be Emre Bilgin got off, and were detained wounded. The house where Emre Bilgin took shelter was raided by the police a short time later. As a result of the raid, Emre Bilgin, too, was killed. It was established that Gülbahar Yalçın and Hasan Değirmenci who were introduced to the public as "armed activists" were innocent. Hasan Değirmenci reportedly works in Kartal Municipality while Gülbahar Yalçın works as a prostitute. Hasan Değirmenci who made a statement after his release, said: "I have no links to the organization. On that day my girl friend and I were looking for a house. An armed person forcibly got in the car. After a while we met the police. The armed person started to fight with the police. During that time I was injured in my leg". Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association) President Zerrin Sarı said that the house raid was an "extra-judicial execution". On the other hand, in a statement by a group of lawyers it was stated that there was no legislation giving the state the authority to exterminate its opponents."

44)- Aslan Arı (29)**45)- Nurten Acar (27)****46)- Vehbi Melek (30)****47)- Eyüphan Polat (26)****48)- Nurhayat Beyhan (23)**

Two separate houses in Küçükesat and Maltepe quarters of Ankara were raided by the police in the morning of 13 August. During the raids 5 persons, 3 of them in the house in Küçükesat and 2 of them in the house in Maltepe, were killed. 2 of those killed were females. Police authorities claimed that the killed persons were "members of the Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) organization and carried out certain armed attacks". Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin and State Minister Mehmet Kahraman, in charge of human rights, watched the house raid in Küçükesat quarter. Lawyers from the Contemporary Jurists Association held

a press conference on the house raids and said the following: "Raids of separate houses of the same organization at the same hours mean that these raids were not carried out upon a denunciation. The development of the events shows that the persons to be killed and the houses were determined before the massacre. When the police determined the houses, why did they not detain these persons? Why did the police not wait until these persons came out of the houses, instead of raiding the houses or causing clashes? Why did they not prefer to catch them in the street?". On the other hand, in a joint statement by the leaders of the Human Rights Association (İHD) and the Contemporary Jurists Association (ÇHD) who conducted investigations in the raided houses, it was stated that the house raids were carried out in order to kill the persons in the houses, not to catch them alive. It was also said: "When we went to the places of the events we saw that both of the houses were ground flats whose windows are covered with iron fences. There was no chance to escape from these houses". The fact that Mehmet Kahraman, Minister of the State in charge of the human rights, watched the house raid in Küçüksesat caused reactions. The Human Rights Association's (İHD's) Secretary General Akın Birdal stated that necessary steps to end Mehmet Kahraman's membership to the İHD had been taken and said: "The presence of the human rights minister in a place where murders are carried out shows the dimension of the serious tragedy experienced on the human rights issue in our country". Mustafa Kul, Vice Secretary General and Muş Deputy of the Social Democratic Populist Party, making a statement at the beginning of September, argued that those 5 persons might have been caught alive. Mustafa Kul said: "A person called me by phone in the morning of 13 August when the house raids were carried out. He told me that their house had been surrounded by the police and that the police officers were opening fire. He also said that if the police wanted to catch them, they were ready to surrender. Upon this conversation I phoned Mehmet Kahraman, Minister of State responsible for the human rights, and wanted him to help". Mustafa Kul stated that he went to the raided house in Küçüksesat, but he was not allowed to enter the street and added: "I believe that it was possible to catch those persons alive, but the necessary attitude and sensitivity were lacking. If the police had waited for a while, they might have caught those killed persons alive. Relatives of those persons could have been brought to the place of the event or the police might have waited until their bullets ran out. Shortly, a solution might have been found". In the meantime, the Ministry of Interior awarded TL 2,5 million (appr. \$ 310) to each of the police officers who participated in the two separate house raids carried out on 13 August 1992. A higher security officer claimed that money awards encourage the police officers who participate in operations, and said: "These kinds of practices remove the hesitation of police officers during operations. Therefore, police officers who take part in such operations know that they are carrying out a duty for which they will be awarded". Reacting against rewards of police officers the Human Rights Association General President Akın Birdal stated that the practice would incite police officers and increase the number of extra-judicial executions.

49)- Kayhan Tazeoğlu (22) 50)- Fatma Süzen (20)

51)- Makbule Sürmeli (26)

3 persons, 2 of them women, were killed when the police raided two separate houses in İçerenköy and Beylerbeyi quarters of İstanbul on 28 Sep-

tember night and 29 September morning. During the house raid carried out in İçerenköy quarter, police officer Kadir Uçar was wounded in his arm. During the house raids and the operations carried out following the raids, Nursel Demirdövcü, Necati İzzet Demir, Suna Örkmen and Hacer Arıkan were apprehended alive. Kayhan Tazeoğlu, Fatma Süzen and Makbule Sürmeli who were killed in the operations were buried in İstanbul on 5 October.

52)- Sultan Cenik (23)

A house on Eminbey Street in Acıbadem quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on 10 October at about 8pm. During the raid a young girl called Sultan Cenik was killed. After identification, the corpse of Sultan Cenik was handed over to her father Hasan Cenik on 12 October. Police authorities alleged that the raided house was being used by "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left) militants as a base. On the other hand, in the statement made by Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association) the raid was said to be another extra-judicial execution.

53)- Mehmet Ali Işık (50)

54)- Devrim Eleftoz (1)

An automobile which was carrying 4 PKK militants was trapped by the security forces near Dutveren village of Silvan district of Diyarbakır on 1 November night. In the clash which broke out between the PKK militants who were in the trapped automobile and the security forces, the driver of the automobile, Cengiz Işık (25), died and one noncommissioned officer was wounded. After the clash which continued for about 2 hours, 3 of the PKK militants managed to escape while one PKK militant was apprehended wounded. While the clash was continuing, the house of Cengiz Işık which is in Dutveren village, was raided by security officers. In the raid, Cengiz Işık's 50-year old father Mehmet Ali Işık, and his one-year old nephew Devrim Eleftoz died. Silvan Public Prosecutor Mustafa Divrik who made a statement in connection with the event said that Mehmet Ali Işık died in a clash with the security forces. Mustafa Divrik argued that "one-year old Devrim Eleftoz had died because he had suffocated from the smoke during a fire which broke out in the house in the clash".

55)- Cuma Karaçalı

56)- Fidan Karaçalı

A house in Haliliye quarter of Siverek district of Urfa was raided by the security forces on 10 December noon. In the raid, 2 of 3 persons in the house were killed. The third person was apprehended alive and detained. Security officers stated that the raided house was used as a base by PKK militants and those killed were agents of certain armed attacks in Siverek. It was reported that Cuma Karaçalı killed in the raid had served ten years in prison as a defendant in one PKK trial.

57)- Mustafa Gezgör

59)- İbrahim Tekin

61)- Hikmet Hurma

63)- Sinan

58)- Emin Aslantekin

60)- Faysal Öcalan

62)- Leyla

A house in Suruç district of Urfa was raided by the security forces on 24 December. As a result of the raid, 7 persons including Emin Aslantekin, son of

the landlord, were killed. Police authorities claimed that 6 of the 7 persons, excluding Emin Aslantekin, were PKK militants preparing for an activity. Names of those 6 PKK militants were revealed to be "Mustafa Gezgör" and "İbrahim Tek". In addition one PKK militant was caught wounded. Mustafa Gezgör was reported to have served 11 years in prison in connection with a PKK trial.

e)- Killings in "street executions", in fire opened at random, in air bombardments and during the similar events

01)- İsmail Metin

İsmail Metin, who was fighting with friends in Kurtulus district, Ankara, was shot dead by Bahar Öztürk, the Director of the Protection Department in the Police Headquarters. Following the incident after midnight on 3 January Bahar Öztürk was arrested and put in prison. In his statement to the prosecutor Bahar Öztürk explained that after midnight on his way home, he saw a group of young people fighting and said "I wanted to separate them and left my car, but they attacked me. Thereupon I drew my gun and shot twice on the ground. A bullet killed İsmail Metin by accident". An eyewitness of the incident, Ünal Bilen, said "While we were fighting, a car with sirens on drove up to us. When we saw that police had arrived we started to run. The person who left the car shot at us shouting 'don't run away, police'". Bahar Öztürk was charged with "intentional killing". The trial of Bahar Öztürk started on 10 January at Ankara Penal Court No. 6. Bahar Öztürk testified in the hearing and said that after midnight on his way home he saw a group of youths fighting and he wanted to separate them, but while doing so his gun accidentally fired a shot. He said that he took the wounded İsmail Metin to hospital and helped him with his treatment. Naci Metin, brother of İsmail Metin, stated that Bahar Öztürk killed his brother on purpose and was drunk during the event. Bahar Öztürk was sentenced to 1 year 5 months 10 days' imprisonment in the trial concluded on 4 May at Ankara Penal Court No. 6. Bahar Öztürk was first sentenced to 10 years 8 months in prison, however considering some litigating factors later, this sentence was reduced to 1 year 5 months and 10 days. Bahar Öztürk who was being tried under arrest for four months was released after the verdict had been announced.

02)- Engin Egeli (23)

As a result of fire opened by the police on a group of people distributing leaflets on 16 January in Merter quarter of İstanbul in the name of the Revolutionary Communist Party of Turkey (TDKP) in protest of "price increases", 23-year old student Engin Egeli died. Police officials stated that the killed student was in the group that distributed leaflets. It was announced that the killed person studied at the Faculty of Law of İstanbul University. It was claimed that the killing of Engin Egeli was an "extrajudicial execution". In a statement based on testimonies of witnesses İstanbul Human Rights Association stated: "Engin Egeli began to run away when he saw the police car. He was fired at and fell to the ground. Later he was surrounded by policemen and other police cars came to the place. 3 to 4 minutes later, 4 or 5 gun shots were heard. Witnesses stated that Engin Egeli was not armed. The journalists who came to the place declared that they did not see any arms. The corpse which was shown to his family before the autopsy showed traces of force on legs, shoulders and head. In our opinion,

Engin Egel. was first wounded and then killed by renewed fire". In the autopsy report prepared on 17 January it was certified that "the death occurred as a result of internal bleeding caused by bullet wounds which damaged interior organs and an artery vessel. In the corpse no bullet cadre was found". Upon the official complaint by the lawyers, a trial was launched against the police officer who used the gun which caused the death of Engin Egeli. In the trial at Bakırköy Penal Court No. 3, a sentence of no less than 5 years in prison was demanded for the police officer for "causing death".

03)- Mahmut Polat

Mahmut Polat who worked as an automobile upholsterer in Bingöl Industrial Estate was shot dead by a police officer named "Muharrem". Mahmut Polat's request that the police officer Muharrem should pay for the car he repaired was the reason for this murder which occurred on 23 January. The police officer got angry at this request, drew his gun shouting "How do you ask for a fee from the state?" and opened fire. Mahmut Polat died on his way to hospital.

04)- Medeni Aydın (18)

On 24 March as a result of fire opened by automatic guns on a police car patrolling in Batman Airport Street, police officer Erol Kaplankıran died and 2 police officers were wounded. About an hour later, because of "disobeying the order to stop" fire was opened on a car with the plate number "27 HR 660" by police teams who searched the city center. In the event, 18-year old Medeni Aydın died and Mehmet Aydın, Ahmet Aydın and Mehmet Biçer were wounded.

05)- Nihat Celasun (14)

In Cizre, where a curfew had been announced, Nihat Celasun who left his home to buy bread died on 25 March as a result of fire opened by the security forces. The fire was reportedly opened because he did not obey the order to stop. In addition, in Cizre, children named Abdullah Ekinci and Asker Elçi on whom fire was opened from a military tank, were wounded. On the other hand, in Yüksekova district of Hakkari 16-year old Hüseyin Bayram who left his house to buy bread was seriously wounded in the fire opened by the police.

06)- Faik Kahraman

In Nusaybin district of Mardin, a person named Faik Kahraman who did not obey the order of security forces to stop, was killed at 8pm on 28 March. In the incident, two people accompanying Faik Kahraman were detained. It was reported that Faik Kahraman was a "Hizbullah" follower.

07)-

08)-

Two separate security teams who went to Karaalan village of Mazıdağ, Mardin for a raid, opened fire on each other mistakenly. As a result of fire, 2 villagers whose names were not identified died, 4 soldiers and a child were wounded. The event was confirmed also by Mardin Governor Yahya Gür.

09)- İlyas Boz (soldier)

Fire was opened by gendarmes on a group distributing leaflets in Ümraniye quarter of İstanbul on 29 March. As a result of fire, enlisted man İlyas

Boz was shot dead by a bullet of his friend. In the official statement made about the event, it was stated that Ilyas Boz was shot to death by a ricocheted bullet.

10)- Hikmet Menekşe

In Lice district of Diyarbakır, fire was opened by unidentified persons on the gendarmerie station and security headquarters in the night of 5 April. Upon the incident, soldiers and police officers fired back. As a result of the fire targeting houses and shops, Hikmet Menekşe died, and Şerif Korkutan and Süleyman Ergun were wounded. Lice Mayor Nazmi Balkaş demanded that the security forces, who caused the events, to be punished.

11)- Abuzer Biratlı (75)

12)- Abuzer Korkusuz (70)

Abuzer Biratlı and Abuzer Korkusuz who went to Tepehan town from Sinan village of Pötürge, Malatya, in order to perform ritual prayers, were shot dead as a result of fire opened by soldiers on 6 April. It was reported that fire was opened because Abuzer Biratlı and Abuzer Korkusuz did not obey the order to stop. An investigation was launched against soldiers Murat Demir and Mustafa Meral in connection with the event.

13)- Şükriye Kaçmaz (30)

In Ostım quarter of Ankara, police officers, guarding the printing office of the General Security Directorate, who thought an exhaust explosion they heard to be the "sound of gun shot", started to open fire at random. As a result of the fire, a woman named Şükriye Kaçmaz who was in a car passing-by was shot in her head and died. The event at 11.15pm on 7 April was concealed for a while, and a statement was made in the following manner "As a result of fire opened by terrorists, a woman passing-by died". In the event, nothing happened to the husband of Şükriye Kaçmaz and her 1,5-year old son who were in the car. Ankara Security Director Mehmet Cansever stated that an investigation was launched against the police officers guarding the printing office.

14)- Halil Ayrancı

Chief Inspector Mehmet Aydaş on duty in the Gündoğmuş township of Antalya province shot a restaurant owner named Halil Ayrancı after a quarrel in the evening of 13 April. It was reported that both the killer and the killed were drunk at the time. Mehmet Aydaş who was detained after the event was arrested by Gündoğmuş Criminal Court and put in Alanya Prison charged with assault. Mehmet Aydaş committed suicide in December in Alanya Semi-Open Prison where he was kept under arrest.

15)- Hacı Çelik (33)

Hacı Çelik who was going to his field with tree seedlings he loaded on his shoulders on 14 April died as a result of fire opened by the security forces near Bozçanak village of Palu district of Elazığ. It was reported that Hacı Çelik was shot as the tree seedlings he loaded on his shoulders were considered as a rocket launcher. It was established that in a clash which arose in the morning of the same day near Bozçanak one PKK militant died, and therefore there were numbers of security forces in the region. Hacı Çelik was introduced to the public as a "terrorist" along with the PKK militant who died in the clash.

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|-----------------------------|------------------------|
| 16)- Abdülkerim Kortak (50) | 17)- Cazım Kortak (17) |
| 18)- Rıza Akbaş | 19)- Edip Kılıç |
| 20)- Orhan Kılıç (23) | 21)- Mustafa Ok (18) |
| 22)- Kemal Ok | 23)- Eyüp İlhan (25) |
| 24)- Hıdır Demirtaş | |

During the operations in Yazır and Taşlık villages of Savur district of Mardin started by the security forces on 16 April and continued on 17 April, 33 people died. In a statement made by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region, it was stated that those 33 people were PKK militants and were killed in clashes which occurred during the operations which were started in order to find a noncommissioned officer and 4 village guards who had been kidnapped on 15 April. However, some sources in the region reported that in the operations some civilians from Yazır and Taşlık villages were killed and they were announced as "PKK militants". This claim was verified a while later and it was established that 9 of those killed during the operations were villagers who had no links to the PKK and died as a result of fire opened at random. A group of deputies applying on 26 April to the Chairmanship of the National Assembly demanded an investigation of the claims that "9 of 35 people killed during the events in Yazır and Taşlık villages of Savur district of Mardin were villagers who had no relations with PKK".

25)- Adem Karagöl (12)

Near Kayabaşı village of İstanbul Küçükçekmece, gendarmes guarding the water tanks in the region opened fire at 12-year old Adem Karagöl who escaped from his father because of fear. In the event on the night of 17 April, Adem Karagöl was shot at his chest, and he died in hospital. It was reported that the fire was opened because Adem Karagöl did not obey the order to stop.

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|---------------------|-----------------|
| 26)- Mehmet Acar | 37)- Hasan Akan |
| 28)- Süleyman Acar | 29)- Kadir Akan |
| 30)- Mehmet Ağırman | 31)- İsmet Acar |
| 32)- Sabri Acar | 33)- |

A minibus and a truck on its way from Çalpınar village to Midyat district of Mardin, were stopped and shot at by unidentified people in the morning of 20 April. In the incident, 8 people died and 9 people were wounded. Headman of Çalpınar village İbrahim Akan, one of the wounded people, stated that the attack was carried out by village guards of Kutlubey village because of a disagreement between two villages. İbrahim Akan said: "The villagers who came to the place, injured two of those village guards by curbs and stones. I recognized all of the guards. They were about 30 people. We gave their names to the security forces". On the other hand, the Governorate of the Emergency State Region argued that the attack was carried out by PKK militants. Later it was established that the massacre had been carried out by village guards. As a result of the investigation carried out by Mardin Public Prosecution Office, 10 village guards who are in charge of Kutlubey village and had participated in the massacre, were arrested. The names of the arrested village guards are as follows: "Tacetin Sakan, Neval Aydın, Halit Aktar, Rahmi Kaçmaz, Vecdi Özbay, Ethem Seyhan, Mehmet Seyhan, Tevfik Akbay, Şehmuz Şeyde and Abbas Taş". In addition, an arrest warrant was issued for village guards İsmail Taş and Cengiz Kaçmaz (chief village

guard). The ballistics examination established that the bullets which caused the death of 8 people belonged to the guns of the village guards.

34)- Hamza Bulut (Child) 35) Abdurrahman Yeşilmen (Child)
36)- Mehmet Candan 37) Hacı Bedür

In the evening of 20 April, a minibus on its way from Midyat to Tolgali village was shot at by guns. In the attack, children Abdurrahman Yeşilmen and Hamza Bulut and 2 people called Hacı Bedür and Mehmet Candan died and 8 people were wounded. Şehmuz Çağrı, the President of the People's Labour Party Mardin Provincial Center, in a statement he made in connection with the event, said: "According to the interviews with the wounded people, we determined that the attack was carried out by village guards from the same village. We think that the attack was carried out, for the villagers do not approve the guards and do not allow them to get on the minibus of the village".

38)- Osman Akbaş (15)

In Kozan district of Adana, fire was opened by policemen on patrol at children who for fear of the police escaped from them and did not obey the order to stop. In the incident on 20 April at night, 15-year old Osman Akbaş was shot in his neck and died. It was reported that Osman Akbaş was a high school student. Commissioner Zeki Akgümüş who caused the event, was arrested. Zeki Akgümüş said in his testimony in trial: "I ordered to stop, but they started to escape. I caught Osman Akbaş. He resisted and we grappled for a while. When he escaped again, I opened fire".

39)- Mehmet Ali Kardeş (23)

40)- Mehmet Aslan (43)

On 27 April as a result of fire opened by policeman Musa Ağyar who thought that water sellers distributing water in İstanbul Halkalı Police Lodgings were "armed activists", Mehmet Ali Kardeş died, and Şaban Gündoğdu and Mehmet Aslan were seriously wounded. Musa Ağyar who caused the event was detained later. Musa Ağyar said in his first testimony: "A bomb denunciation was made. After this denunciation, I thought that those water sellers were terrorists, and opened fire". One of the wounded water sellers, Mehmet Aslan, died in hospital where he was taken for treatment after the incident.

41)- Leyla Aslan (40) 42)- Mehmet Şakar (35)

43)- Naciye Sırık (23) 44)-

Idil district of Şırnak was raided by PKK militants on 28 April at night. During the raid, buildings of the district were destroyed. Besides, as a result of rocket fire opened at a police tank, two policemen were injured. The clashes, which arose between the security forces and PKK militants who raided the city, continued until the morning of the next day. During the clashes, the security forces randomly opened fire at houses and shops in the district. As a result of fire opened by the security forces, Leyla Aslan, Mehmet Şakar, Naciye Sırık and another person, who could not be identified, died and two people were wounded.

45)- Tevfik Özüğurlu (27)

During a search in Bursa on 4 May at night, Tevfik Uğurlu who was a worker in an automobile factory, was killed in a fire opened by the police on

grounds that he did not obey the stop warnings. An investigation was launched against night guard Mehmet Sevim who shot Özüğurlu. The trial against Mehmet Sevim started on 24 June at Bursa Criminal Court No. 2. Mehmet Özüğurlu, father of Tevfik Özüğurlu, took the floor in the hearing and said: "One day later they informed us that my son was killed. My son, after he was shot, went to hospital by his own means, but he died due to loss of blood. I demand that the murderer be punished". On the other hand, in his testimony defendant Mehmet Sevim who is being tried without arrest, said: "On the day the event occurred a policeman had been killed in Bursa, so I was stressed. We wanted to take Tevfik Özüğurlu to the police station. But he escaped. He did not obey the order to stop either. I did what my job required". At the trial which concluded on 25 November at Bursa Criminal Court No. 2, night guard Sevim was sentenced to 1 year 1 month's imprisonment. Nevertheless the imprisonment sentence given for Mehmet Sevim was suspended.

46)- Hanım Tunç (12)

By fire opened from a helicopter on children grazing animals near Hilal village of Uludere district of Şırnak on 4 May, Hanım Tunç was shot to death.

47)- Mustafa Gök (30)

Police teams, checking traffic on Samsun highway in Ankara in the night of 6 May opened fire on a car for not obeying their stop warnings. 30 year-old Mustafa Gök who was driving the car was shot to death. Adem Engin, Faruk Ceviz and Ömer Fişek who were also in the car escaped the shooting without being injured. They were detained later by the police. Police authorities claimed that they received warnings that "the persons riding the car in question were firing around at random".

48)- Ahmet Bayrak (65)

It was claimed that Ahmet Bayrak whose corpse was found on 8 May near Erken village of Pervari district in Siirt had been killed by soldiers in charge of Doğanca Gendarmerie Station. Fire was supposedly opened on Ahmet Bayrak since he did not obey orders to stop. In the official statement with regard to the death of Ahmet Bayrak, it was only said that "his corpse was found in a field".

49)- Bişar Bilen (20)

In the fire opened at villagers who went to Belat settlement of Hilal village of Uludere, Şırnak in order to graze their animals Bişar Bilen died, and Mahmut Bilen (45), Devlet Bilen (54), İsmail Bilen (7) and Dilber Bilen (9) were wounded. As a result of fire, about 100 sheep and goats were perished too. No official statement was made about the event.

50)- Gürsel Tuncer (25)

In Sultanbeyli region of Kartal, İstanbul a fight arose between minibus drivers on 19 May. Upon the complaint of one party, gendarmes came to the place. When gendarmes attempted to detain some people, the situation became more tense. Then fire was opened by gendarme Mustafa Korkmaz at a group of minibus drivers who tried to shelter the ones the gendarmes attempted to detain. As a result of fire, driver Gürsel Tuncer died and driver Ender Matara was wounded. An investigation was launched against Mustafa Korkmaz who was detained after the event.

51)- Serdar Tanış (17)

Fire was opened by the police at a car which struck accidentally a police car patrolling in Zeytinburnu quarter of İstanbul, and which was then driven away, since "the driver of the car did not obey the order to stop". In the incident which occurred on 22 May at 4am, Serdar Tanış who was driving the car, was shot in his head and killed in the opened fire. Youths Bahattin Bahadır and Coşkun Ergen who were in the car escaped without any wounds.

52)- Mahmut Akyıldız**53)- Manaz Uçaman**

Gendarmerie Squad Command in Lice district of Diyarbakır was attacked by PKK militants on 24 May at night. In the attack nobody died or was wounded. The soldiers guarding the command opened fire at random during the attack. As a result of fire opened by soldiers, two people called Mahmut Akyıldız and Manaz Uçaman died. In an official statement made after the event, it was claimed that Mahmut Akyıldız and Manaz Uçaman died in the crossfire. The shops in Lice were not opened on 22 May in protest of the killing of the two people.

54)- Salih Dolmuş

Security forces opened fire at a minibus, running between Şırnak and Cizre on 24 May near Kasrik Pass, on charges of "disobeying the order to stop". In the incident Salih Dolmuş, father of 8 children died, and Abdullah Baran was seriously wounded. Lezgin Dolmuş who was in the same minibus with his brother Salih Dolmuş, said: "My brother died as a result of fire opened from behind". Şırnak Governor Mustafa Malay who aided TL 200.000 (appr. \$30) for the family of Salih Dolmuş, stated that an investigation was launched into the event.

55)- Saim Çelik (28)**56)- Veysi Çağlayan (30)****57)- Cudi Türkdal (22)****58)-****59)-**

In a statement made by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region on 28 May, it was announced that "in a clash near Yazla village of Muş 5 PKK militants were killed". However, at the beginning of June it was understood that the statement did not reflect the truth. A person named Ebusait Çelik, who made a statement related to the event, indicating that his nephew was among those killed, said: "The event was not a clash but an execution. Two of the killed people had no links to the PKK". Ebusait Çelik made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office demanding a trial to be launched against the responsables, and said: "3 PKK militants who came to Yazla village on 27 May kidnapped both my nephew Saim Çelik who was earning his living by working as a driver, and his assistant Veysi Çağlayan, forcing them to get into their minibus. When the security forces were informed about this event, an operation was started. Before long, the minibus was found by the security forces. My nephew Saim and his assistant Veysi were detained along with 3 PKK militants. When we heard of their detentions we went to the police station. They said that their interrogation was still continuing and it would be better to come again the next morning. However, when we went to the station in the morning we were told that we should come at noon. At noon we heard that 5 people had been killed. After a short research we found the place of the event. We think that those 5 people were laid

down and killed because we saw bullet cores which sank into the ground. Also, there are witnesses who saw those 5 people being caught alive". Muş Public Prosecution Office launched an investigation into the event. 5 witnesses who saw that the 5 people had been caught alive testified in the framework of the investigation. The investigation concluded in a decision of non-prosecution at the beginning of December because the Ministry of Justice did not give the necessary permission. The lawyers appealed against the decision of non-prosecution.

60)- Musa Tantık

61)- Cemal Arslan

As a result of an explosion which occurred near Tepe village of İdil district of Şırnak when a tractor stroke against a mine planted under ground, 5 people died and 6 people were wounded. After the event, village guards of Tepe village, who barricaded the road between İdil and Midyat opened fire at a water sprinkle vehicle of the municipality which was carrying water to İdil. As a result of the fire, municipality officers Musa Tantık and Cemal Arslan died and Abdülcelil Kaya was wounded. İdil Mayor Abdurrahman Alay made a statement about the event and said: "The village guards stopped the vehicle and made the officers get off. Then they shot with guns saying 'You are from İdil and therefore PKK supporters'. We applied to the Public Prosecution Office and demanded the offenders to be punished". At the end of the investigation initiated into the event, 8 village guards were detained. The names of 6 of those guards were revealed to be "Yusuf Gök, Abdülhalim Aşkın, Abdurrahman Kartal, Selehattin Aşkın, Ramazan Bal and Nevaf Bozkurt". A trial was launched against the detained village guards on charges of "killing men".

62)- Helal Samur (20)

63)- Gülsüme Samur (7)

In consequence of explosion of a bomb which was thrown by a war plane on Ormancı settlement of Ortaklar village in Şemdinli district of Hakkari on 29 June Helal Samur and Gülsüme Samur died. In the incident, Mikail Çelik (4), Zekiye Çelik (35), Fatma Seçkin (15), Heybet Samur (50), Muzaffer Çelik (16), Zilan Samur (8), Hüzeyca İnci (24), Bülent Şengül, Zahide Samur (20) and Mihraç Çelik (26) were injured. Hakkari Governor Cemalettin Sevim who made a statement about the event, claimed that the bomb accidentally fell down from a plane taking part in the air operation which was continuing for a while. However, certain sources in the region stated that the settlement was purposely bombed.

64)- Gülistan Evin (6)

65)- Rehna Evin (8)

A war plane which participated in the air operation directed at PKK units in North Iraq, bombed Silo plateau near Koçyiğit village of Şemdinli, Hakkari. In the incident at noon on 11 July, children named Gülistan Evin (6) and Rehna Evin (8) died, 22 people, most of them children and elderly people, were injured. The injured people were taken under treatment at Hakkari State Hospital, but were not allowed to meet journalists. In a statement made by General Staff Directorate it was claimed that "the event occurred when a bomb fell down due to a technical breakdown". On the other hand, the villagers who witnessed the

event, pointing out that similar events arose before, said that two separate war planes blasted the plateau and that the bombing was carried out consciously.

66)- Naciye Özer

67)- Nurcan Özatak (2)

A truck on its way from Çaylıca village to Üzümlü village of Hakkari was stopped and shot with guns by 3 masked persons near Durankaya town on the morning of 28 July. In the incident, 8-month pregnant Naciye Özer and 2-year old Naciye Özatak died, and Sadi Özatak, Esmâ Özatak and Fatma Özatak were wounded. The incident was made public as an attack of PKK militants. In a short time, it was determined that the ones who carried out the attack were village guards. In consequence of the investigation made by Hakkari Public Prosecution Office, the names of 2 of those village guards were established to be "Devlet Özatak" and "Hakim Özatak". Decision of arrest in absentia was given for Devlet Özatak and Hakim Özatak who escaped after the event and could not be found up to now.

68)- Sait Akyol

69)- Kerim Akın

70)- Abdullah Acun

Fire was opened by gendarmes on villagers who attempted to smuggle coal from the coal mines near Şırnak. In the incident on 1 August night, three villagers named Sait Akyol, Kerim Akın and Abdullah Acun died, and İdris Üstün, Nesim Akın and Kasım Kaydı were injured. In a statement made by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region about the event, those 3 villagers were claimed to be PKK militants in preparation for a sabotage. This statement caused various reactions in the region.

71)- İbrahim Artunç (7)

72)- Mehmet Artunç (40)

73)- Remziye Artunç

74)- Kumriye (30)

The security forces who carried out an operation in Yoğurtçular, Toktepe and Balveren villages of Şırnak, opened fire at random and bombed houses. In the operation during which heavy weapons were used, İbrahim Artunç (7), Mehmet Artunç (40) and Remziye Artunç and a woman named Kumriye (30) whose surname was not established, died while Vesile Artunç (35), Gülay Artunç (2), Ayşe Artunç (8) and two persons called Mehdiye and İbrahim were wounded in Balveren village. The wounded persons were taken for treatment to hospitals in Şırnak and Diyarbakır. Most parts of Yoğurtçular village, which was among the villages where operations were carried out, was burnt. Some photographs in connection with the fire in Yoğurtçular village were placed in certain newspapers. Deputies and journalists were not officially allowed to go to those villages. Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin who spoke to daily Cumhuriyet on 2 September, claimed that the people living in Yoğurtçular, Balveren and Dağkonak villages of Şırnak which were bombed in August, were "PKK supporters". Arguing that certain persons living in the said villages had opened fire at the security forces, İsmet Sezgin affirmed in a covered manner that the villages were bombed. He also said: "There was some damage. The ones who enter a business must bear all its difficulties".

75)- Bendi Özdemir (45)

During military operations carried out directed at PKK units on Cudi Mountain, certain civil settlements were destroyed. Çağlayan and Hisar villages

at the foot of Cudi Mountain were bombed and burnt on 1 September by the security forces which participated in the operation. During the fire which started in consequence of the bombardment, a woman named Bendi Özdemir (45) died being suffocated by smoke, while Ahmet Garzan and Salime Özdemir (65) were injured. Bendi Özdemir was buried in Cizre on 3 September.

76)- İbrahim İlhan (14)

As a result of a fire opened by police officers who tried to catch a suspect for whom an arrest warrant had been issued, a 14-year old child called İbrahim İlhan was shot to death. In connection with the event on 2 September, an investigation was launched against commissioner Eren Kabal on charges of "causing death".

77)- Fikri Uzun (44)

A person named Fikri Uzun (44) was shot in his back and died as a result of a fire opened from a police car chasing a suspicious vehicle on 4 September at night in Mevlanakapı quarter of İstanbul. After the event, police officer Mustafa Sevim who used the pistol which caused the death of Fikri Uzun, was detained and an enquiry was initiated against him.

78)- Fuat Keskin (14)

Shepherd Fuat Keskin (14) who was grazing animals near Yağmurdüşen village of Doğubeyazıt district of Ağrı was shot to death in a fire opened by gendarmes patrolling in the region. In the event which occurred on 5 September morning, about 70 animals were perished. The event was made public as "a PKK militant was killed in a clash".

79)- Kemal San (30-police officer)

In a fire opened by one of the police officers who on 12 September evening surrounded a house where PKK militants supposedly lived, in Kapılar quarter of İzmir, police officer Kemal San who was in charge of the same team, was shot to death. The fire was supposedly opened at Kemal San who left the scene because of a private affair and returned back, as he did not obey the order to stop. İzmir Police Director Orhan Taşanlar said that the event was a sorrowful accident.

80)- Erol Poyraz (21)

81)- Ali Şahin (22)

Fire was opened by the police at youths who were distributing leaflets on behalf of the "TKP-ML Movement" in Kazım Başer quarter of Adana on 14 September night. During the event which started upon the fire of the police, two youths died. Adana Police Director Mete Altan claimed that the youths died in a clash with the police. On the other hand, a person who saw the killing of the youths named Erol Poyraz and Ali Şahin contradicted the claims of the police director and said: "That night when I heard sounds of gun shots I went out. There were policemen everywhere. They caught a person and brought him into the middle of the street. 4-5 policemen were hitting at his head. Later on they left him on the ground and went backwards and then executed him. It did not seem like a clash had broken out". Another eye witness said the following about what s/he had seen: "I heard sounds of gun shots at first. Later I saw two youths running. One of them went to the back side of an old tractor. The other fell down

after he passed 10-15 meters away from the tractor and was caught. I heard that this person was asked some questions. The youth did not answer and then the police executed him. They began to open fire at the other youth who was at the back side of the tractor. He held up his hands and shouted something like 'I am surrendering!'. Later they took him from the back side of the tractor. They hit at his head and they shot for a few times after he fell down. They shouted something like 'stand up!'. When the youth began to move, they went backwards and opened fire again. I saw it clearly that this youth did not have a gun".

82)- Recep Balta (19)

Police officers controlling the road on 24 September in Mersin opened fire at a car on grounds that it did not obey the order to stop. In the event a youth named Recep Balta was shot in his back and died. It was reported that Recep Balta was shot while he was trying to escape from the police officers because he was driving without a licence. İsmail Balta, father of Recep Balta, said in a statement he made: "64 empty cartridge cases were found in the place of the event. 10 of the bullets hit the car. The police shot in order to kill. There was no warning fire. Persons responsible for the event must be punished." On the other hand, the police authorities claimed that: "One of the bullets which was fired towards the wheels in order to stop the car, killed Recep Balta by ricocheting".

83)- Bülent Çakmak (24)

Police officer Mustafa Alpaslan who opened fire at random in Güngören quarter of Istanbul, shot and killed 24-year old Bülent Çakmak who went out on his balcony upon the sounds of gunshots. It was reported that "Mustafa Alpaslan was drunk during the event at 2.30am on 30 September and started to open fire getting angry as his car was tampered with by unknown persons". Mustafa Alpaslan was detained after the event. Mukadder Başeğmez, Istanbul Deputy from the Welfare Party, who was interested in the event claimed that the police officer who killed Bülent Çakmak, is presented as an innocent person. Mukadder Başeğmez pointed out that the event is shown as an accident, and said: "It is not possible to consider the killing of a person as an ordinary event. They want to create an atmosphere like "the police officer thought he was followed by someone and opened fire". This is not true. In the event he fired five times and three of the bullets hit the balcony where Bülent Çakmak died. Even though there was no purpose, there was a terrifying negligence. In the night of the event the prosecutor came very late to the place of event. The behavior of the prosecutor made the relatives of Bülent Çakmak believe that the event might be covered up".

84)- Hasan Kanat (70)

85)- Mustafa Taşan (48)

86)- Ahmet Taşan (48)

Kayadibi village of Hani district of Diyarbakır was raided by security officers. During the raid, three persons called Hasan Kanat, Mustafa Taşan and Ahmet Taşan were killed and most of the houses and stables in the village were destroyed. Two of those killed were announced as PKK militants who died in the clash. Sıddık Yanar, headman of Kayadibi village, said the following about the events which took place in the village: "In October PKK militants came to the village and wanted us to give them some bread. We gave what they wanted.

Three days after the event, on 16 October, the village was surrounded. Then the villagers left their houses and escaped because of fear. The next day, the village was bombed. Then soldiers and special team members entered the village. While the bombardment was continuing Mustafa Taşan and Hasan Kanat who could not manage to escape, had to leave their houses and then were executed outside the village. Mustafa Taşan's brother Ahmet Taşan who saw the incident, started to run towards the village. The soldiers caught him before he arrived in the village, and killed him."

87)- Mahmut Sunay (28)

88)- Ali Kaya

In a clash which arose near Sarıcan village of Karakoçan district of Elazığ on 22 October night, 4 PKK militants and two enlisted men named İbrahim Erdem and Sinan Özkan died while noncommissioned officer Serhat Coşan was wounded. During the clash, shepherds Ali Kaya and Mahmut Sunay (28) who were grazing animals in the vicinity were shot dead. Those shepherds were publicly announced as PKK militants by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region.

89)- Mustafa Ögüt

Night guard Mustafa Ögüt who was working at Şirinyer Tax Office which is 50 meters away from İzmir Buca Closed Prison, was shot to death by gendarmes who thought him to be a prison fugitive. In the event on 23 October evening, another night guard who was with Mustafa Ögüt, escaped from being shot by laying on the ground. In the autopsy, 8 bullets were taken out of Mustafa Ögüt's body. The event was reportedly caused by fire opened by the gendarmes who suspected a prison guardian to go out of the prison by jumping over the barbed wire in order to buy some alcoholic drinks. In the statement made by Tüm Maliye Sen (Trade Union for Workers of Finance) about the event, it was said: "The event on 23 October is another chain of state terror. Upon rumours like "Fugitives from Buca Prison take shelter in Şirinyer Tax Office", the office had been surrounded and then shot at by guns. In consequence of the fire opened without any warnings, our member Mustafa Ögüt died. Later, the event was presented as a clash".

90)- Birgül Eken (21)

As a result of a fire opened at a car near Hazro district of Diyarbakır in the night of 25 October, a woman called Birgül Eken died and the driver of the car, Hafız Selim Gülen was wounded. Birgül Eken's husband Hacı Eken who escaped without any wounds, said that "the village guards who had trapped our car opened fire".

91)- Müslüm Akyol (21)

93)- Erdoğan Tatar

95)- Erhan Uzunyayla (22)

92)- Hasan Çiçek (20)

94)- Saim Bozkurt (20)

96)- Mehmet Beşgen

Fire was opened by gendarmes at TKP-ML Movement (The Turkish Communist Party-Marxist Leninist Movement) militants who were trying to enter Turkey secretly from the frontier near Doğanbey village of Kilis district of Gaziantep on 27 October night. In consequence of the fire 6 youths, who were unarmed except for one, were killed. The event was made public as "a clash

between TKP-ML militants and the gendarmes". Relatives of the dead youths who held a press conference at the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch said: "There was no clash, but a massacre. Those 6 persons were killed by the fire of machine-guns opened from a short range. There were lots of bullets in the corpses. It means that either the youths were trapped or were executed by shooting after being apprehended alive".

97)- Birol Savaş (23)

Birol Savaş (23) a grocer and newspaper vendor in Bismil district of Diyarbakır, was killed by a noncommissioned officer named Hakan at Bismil Gendarmerie Battalion Command where he went in order to collect his money the soldiers owed him. The noncommissioned officer named Hakan (his surname could not be established) was detained just after the event on 31 October and arrested by the martial court he was brought before. İbrahim Savaş, father of Birol Savaş, said the following about the event: "I looked into the relations between my son and the noncommissioned officer. However, I could not find anything to cause this murder".

98)- Mehmet Akkan (70)

99)- Mehmet Akkum (30)

70-year old shepherd Mehmet Akkan who was detained by gendarmes while he was grazing animals near Altiyol village of Dargeçit district of Mardin on 10 November, was executed by shooting. The corpse of Mehmet Akkan which was riddled with bullets, was found on 13 November near the village. Mehmet Akkum who was with Mehmet Akkan on the day of the incident, disappeared. The corpse of Mehmet Akkum was found on 17 November in Elazığ City Cemetery. Hüseyin Akkan, younger brother of Mehmet Akkan, said that there were two small children who saw that Mehmet Akkan and Mehmet Akkum had been detained. On the other hand, Zülfü Akkum, father of Mehmet Akkum said: "Traces on the corpse of my son indicate that he was killed under torture".

100)- Sevcan Yavuz (7)

A police tank belonging to policemen who formed a temporary police station in the garden of Mehmet Şalgamcıoğlu Primary School in Küçükarmutlu Squatter's House Region in Sarıyer, İstanbul, ran over a 7-year old student named Sevcan Yavuz and killed her. After the event that occurred at 10am on 17 November, education in the primary school was paused for one day. Upon the event, students' parents gathered in the garden of the school and made a demonstration in protest of the school being used as a police station. Schools in Küçükarmutlu started to be used as police stations during the summer months in accordance with the directives of İstanbul Chief of Police, Necdet Menziri.

101)- Mehmet Aras (24)

A youth named Mehmet Aras (24) working as a peddler in Laleli quarter of İstanbul, was shot to death by policeman Recep Ural. It was reported that the policeman who killed Mehmet Aras, who had come to İstanbul from Konya one month ago, got off a van with the plate number "34 A 7566", belonging to Eminönü Security Directorate. An eye witness of the event which took place in the evening hours, said: "Police officers marched against the peddlers. They had guns and truncheons in their hands. One of them went near the tengerine seller

and distributed tengerines with his truncheon. The tengerine seller was frightened and started to escape. While escaping he fell down. Later I heard the sound of a gun shot. The police did not know whether the bullet hit the youth. Therefore he kicked him twice and shouted 'stand up'. At that time other police officers were beating other peddlers. Vice Director of İstanbul Police Vedat Cem, said that the event was an accident, and that both an administrative and judicial inquiry were launched against the defendant police officer. On the other hand, Ahmet Aras who is the elder brother of Mehmet Aras and who works as a police officer claimed that the event was presented as an accident and said: "Even though the event was an accident, it should not be left without any punishment. There was no clash. They wanted to oppress the miserable and get a bribe. My brother was killed because of TL 50.000- they asked as a bribe".

102)- Orhan Kaya

It was established that one of the four persons who were declared by the Emergency State Regional Governorate to have been killed in a clash in Eser-tepe village of Mardin on 2 December 1992, was a villager and had no links to the PKK. It was reported that the villager named Orhan Kaya was taken out of his house and executed in operations carried out after the clash between PKK militants and security forces. Yusuf Kaya a relative of Orhan Kaya told the reporters the following about the event: "Fire was opened at the security forces who surrounded the village on 2 December by PKK guerillas staying in a house where no one else lived. Three PKK militants, two by the names of Mehmet Şur and Aziz Galip, died in the clash which broke out and continued for three hours. As the clash continued fire was opened at houses in the village. After the clash, soldiers who raided the houses in the village executed Orhan Kaya by taking him out of his house. Later, he was announced as a PKK militant to the public. In addition my nephew named Zengin Kaya, who was taken out of his house and shot, was taken along with the soldiers. We got no information about what happened to him till today." Zekiye Kaya mother of Orhan Kaya said: "My son was massacred, although he had committed no crime. Not even his corpse was given to us."

103)- Abdülselem Tunç (23)

In the vicinity of Gülgöze village of Midyat district of Mardin the corpse of Abdülselem Tunç was found on 21 December. It was determined that Abdülselem Tunç who was firstly supposed to have been killed by unknown persons, was killed by village guards under torture. Sadık Demir, uncle of Abdülselem Tunç, said the following about the event: "Abdülselem Tunç, married with two children, was taken from Midyat by village guards on 19 December noon. We think that he was killed by the village guards in Altıntaş village. As a matter of fact village guard terror has been witnessed in Midyat for a long time. The district left control of the state, but went under control of the village guards. The corpse of my nephew was hardly identifiable. His ears were cut off, his eyes were gouged out and there were many blow traces on his body".

Persons who escaped death and were wounded

In 1992, many persons escaped death and were wounded because of excessive force or fire randomly opened by the security forces. Following are se-

veral interesting examples out of many similar events recorded by the HRFT within 1992.

As a result of a fire opened by the police on a crowd making an unauthorized demonstration, demanding that health services at hospitals should be free of charge as soon as possible, 31-year old İsmet Sinağ was shot in his leg. Subsequently İsmet Sinağ was detained wounded.

17-year old Ahmet Çınar who was walking around with his friends in Nenehatun quarter of Esenler, İstanbul, was shot allegedly because he did not obey an order to stop. It was reported that the youth who was wounded in the event on 8 January was deaf and therefore did not hear the order to stop. Friends of Ahmet Çınar told: "When Ahmet saw the police he was frightened and he started to escape. The police officers in the car came close to Ahmet. First they opened fire into the air. We shouted 'Do not open fire, he is deaf'. Nevertheless a night guard in the car ignored our warning, and opened fire from a short range and shot him".

Cizre district of Şırnak was raided by a group of PKK militants on 10 February. During the raid, some official buildings and police station were damaged. After the PKK militants left the district, security forces opened fire at random. 8 persons were wounded during the events which continued until 10.30pm.

17-year old Hakan Adıgüzel who was passing by in Moda quarter of İstanbul was shot in his back and severely wounded as a result of fire opened by police officers who wanted to separate three fighting youths. After the event which occurred on 22 February the fighting youths were detained.

In Yüksekova district of Hakkari where a curfew was declared following the Newroz events, Hüseyin Bayram (16) who went out in order to buy bread on 25 March was seriously wounded as a result of a fire opened by the security forces.

22-year old Güney Gökçeler who started to escape when he saw a police car patrolling in Karşıyaka quarter of İzmir, was shot in his leg. Güney Gökçeler, reported to be a deserter, was taken under treatment in Karşıyaka State Hospital. In the incident which occurred on 29 April night, an unidentified person who accompanied Güney Gökçeler escaped.

Fire was opened by the security forces on a crowd of people staging a demonstration after the funeral ceremony arranged in Silvan on 4 June for PKK militant "Mustafa Budak" who had died in a clash with village guards near Kulp district of Diyarbakır. In the incident, Emine Ülken (18), Mahmut Kulakman (36), Abdülrezzak Ülken (19) and persons whose surnames could not be identified, were wounded.

A woman named Mina Beyazıt (40), living in Çevrecik village of Arıcak district of Elazığ, was wounded by shots while she was returning from a funeral. It was reported that fire was opened by soldiers on Mina Beyazıt who was taken under treatment at Elazığ State Hospital after the event on 4 July, because she did not obey the order to stop. Mina Beyazıt said: "My mother had died and we buried her. We left at 11pm for home. Soldiers opened fire near our house. We

shouted: 'Do not open fire. We are peasants'. But they did not pay attention to our pleas. I was wounded at my waist and foot and I was taken to hospital by an ambulance 3 hours later. This happened although the headman of the village had talked to soldiers and said: 'We have a funeral. Peasants are used to coming for condolence visits. Please do not let unpleasant events occur'."

High school student Tolga Korkmaz was shot and wounded as a result of fire opened by police officers who were controlling the roads in Yenibosna quarter of İstanbul on the night of 7 September. The fire was reportedly opened on Tolga Korkmaz as "newspapers in his pocket looked like a pistol". Hüseyin Aygül, Administration Board Member of the Human Rights Association İstanbul Branch, made a statement about the event and said: "This event once more shows what kind of results the excessive authority endowed to the police brings. At that time, the hands of Tolga Korkmaz were in the air. Why did the police officers open fire on such a person? Furthermore, the police are forcing his family not to bring a complaint."

In Çimenli village of Hakkari, 3 villagers named İsmail Özer, Hamit Özer and Naci Taş who went to the gendarmerie station for a complaint, were wounded as a result of fire opened by soldiers. The three villagers who were wounded in the event on 7 September, were hospitalized. The wounded persons said that the fire was opened at them while they were going to the gendarmerie station to make a complaint against soldiers who ill-treated the villagers during a search in the village on 6 September. On the other hand, Hakkari Governor Cemalettin Sevim said in a statement he made: "Soldiers opened fire at the villagers accidentally. It was a mistake".

On 10 November fire opened by police officers chasing a person riding a horse cart against traffic rules in Adana, caused injuries of a passer-by named Süleyman Zihni Karam (60) who was shot at his neck.

In an event which arose in Örnektepe quarter of İstanbul on 18 November night, police officer Sadık Şiller shot a youth named Hakan Topal with his gun and wounded him. Hakan Topal who was wounded at his hip by one bullet, said that the police officer who shot him was drunk at the time. On the other hand, Sadık Şiller who caused the event said: "I asked Hakan and the persons with him to show their identity cards, as I was suspicious about them. However, they did not want to show their I.D.S and resisted. Therefore, I could not control myself".

In an event which arose on 9 December in Esenler quarter of İstanbul, a youth named Adem Som was shot in his foot by the police because he did not obey the order to stop.

f)- Deaths as a result of mines and unclaimed bombs

In the Emergency State Region a total of 38 persons who stepped on mines planted on roads or fields or who tampered with unclaimed bombs they found, died as a result of the explosions. (This number does not comprise soldiers, village guards or PKK militants who died in mine explosions). In addition more than 50 persons were wounded as a result of these kinds of explosions. Most of the wounded people became disabled because they lost organs such as

hands, arms or feet. Many of these incidents happened in regions close to the border or in the vicinity of gendarmerie stations. Following is the information gathered about the persons who died as a result of such explosions:

<u>Name & Surname</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Place of the Event</u>
01)- Bahri Çınar (12)	24 March 1992	Near Ömerli-Göllü vil.
02)- Yasin Çetin (16)	01 April 1992	Near Mevzitepe Gen. St.
03)- Hasan Ayar (11)	11 April 1992	Near Mevzitepe Gen. St.
04)- Sıraç Nergis (17)	09 May 1992	Near Nusaybin (Border)
05)- Selim Ata (17)	09 May 1992	Near Nusaybin (Border)
06)- Sait Sağlam (17)	09 May 1992	Near Nusaybin (Border)
07)- Mehmet Çelik	15 May 1992	Near Savur-Durusu vil.
08)- Ali Altındağ	15 May 1992	Near Savur-Durusu vil.
09)- Salih Öztekin	03 June 1992	Near Ceylanpınar-Yeşiltepe
10)- Cemal Aslan (36)	26 June 1992	Near İdil-Tepe vil.
11)- Hediye Baştuğu (36)	26 June 1992	Near İdil-Tepe vil.
12)- İbrahim Kartal (28)	26 June 1992	Near İdil-Tepe vil.
13)- Medine Kartal (18)	26 June 1992	Near İdil-Tepe vil.
14)- Abdülkerim Özer (34)	26 June 1992	Near İdil-Tepe vil.
15)- Yılmaz Tatar (12)	27 June 1992	Near Şırnak
16)- Ersin Özbek	03 July 1992	Near Patnos-Bedelli vil.
17)- Nizamettin Yılmaz	03 July 1992	Near Patnos-Bedelli vil.
18)- Kadir Balık (13)	25 July 1992	Near Döğür vil.-Dicle
19)- Selahattin Özdemir(25)	12 Sept. 1992	Near Erüh-Bozatlı vil.
20)- Ahmet Durmaz	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
21)- Cevat Karataş	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
22)- Süleyman Demir	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
23)- Emin Yurdakul	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
24)- Abdullah Yıldız	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
25)- Hasan Demir	15 Sept. 1992	Near Kozluk
26)- Ahmet Alan (10)	18 Sept. 1992	Near Solhan-Aksakal vil.
27)- Gayret Yaman	20 Sept. 1992	Near Nusaybin-Yumru vil.
28)- Nihat Yakut	20 Sept. 1992	Near Nusaybin-Yumru vil.
29)- Ömer Şirken (65)	13 Octo. 1992	Near Erüh-Dikboğaz vil.
30)- Siddık Bilen	21 Octo. 1992	Near Çukurca-Çınarlı vil.
31)- Abdullah Kılıç	05 Nove. 1992	Near Bingöl-Çiliş vil.
32)- Hacı Beştaş	14 Nove. 1992	Erüh-Dikboğaz vil.
33)- Şükrü Bilmez	21 Nove. 1992	Gercüş-Kozlu vil.
34)- Coşkun Benzer (12)	22 Nove. 1992	Near Kilis (Border)
35)- Süleyman Sayar (60)	28 Nove. 1992	Şırnak-Cevizdüzü vil.
36)- Hüseyin Ensari (16)	... ?	Kars-Kümbetli vil.
37)- Mehmet Yusufi (15)	... ?	Near Başkale (Border)
38)- Kasım Oval (14)	... ?	Yüksekova

g)- Killings by unknown assailants

Killings by unknown assailants which since 1991 were frequently observed in the Emergency Rule Region continued on a large scale in 1992. Killings sometimes occurred outside this region and were witnessed in certain settlements such as Adana and Antalya. The killings were differently interpreted by the press and various sources in the region. Some sources in the region att-

ributed these killings to an illegal organization called "Hizbullah" which aims at establishing a state based on religious principles. The weekly "2000'e Doğru" (Towards 2000) reported that the unclarified killings were carried out by members of "Hizbullah", an organization with close ties to the police apparatus. However, in the region these killings were generally interpreted as actions by "contr-guerilla forces". For those who pulled the trigger, the term "Hizb-i contra" was created.

At the same time, many people living in the region and known as "Hizbullah" followers were killed in armed attacks. Therefore, these events were presented in many press organs as "clashes between PKK and Hizbullah". As a result of attacks by unknown assailants resembling the death squads in Latin America, journalists, human rights activists (İHD members and leaders), Kurdish intellectuals and important persons of political parties lost their lives.

There was no serious effort by the security forces to clarify these killings and to find the assailants. Agents of only some of the attacks carried out during the last 2 years, were caught (most of them with the help of the public). Against these suspects, trials were launched at ordinary courts in accordance with Articles 448-450 which cover non-political killings in the Turkish Penal Code. Attempts of the authorities to deal with the attacks did not go much beyond speeches or statements about the presence of an illegal organization called "Hizbullah" in the region, and saying that this organization is fighting with the PKK for domination.

Diyarbakır Chief of Police, Ramazan Er, said at the end of February that there was an organization called "Hizbullah" and that activities were underway to bring this organization to the surface. Stating that they were trying to bring the assailants to justice, Ramazan Er said, "There could be another force apart from 'Hizbullah' committing these murders". Minister of Interior İsmet Sezgin made a statement as to the murders by unknown people on 13 March and said: "Hizbullah is neither contr-guerilla nor an organization working on behalf of the state but the southeastern arm of Humeyni. They are well-educated spies. Their intention is to destroy the state. Certain western countries withdrew their support from Hizbullah. Then Hizbullah fell into opposition with the PKK. Now they are killing each other. The journalists in Batman and Diyarbakır were killed by Hizbullah. PKK killed a Hizbullah Sheikh in Cizre. Two organizations are fighting each other".

Batman Police Director Azmi Derin made a statement to the newspaper Özgür Gündem (Free Agenda) in December and said the following regarding unclarified killings in Batman: "As you know the existence of an organization called 'Hizbullah' is accepted by everyone. Those events are clashes between the PKK and Hizbullah. We need eye witnesses in order to find the assailants. But people avoid testifying. In that case how could we find the assailants? During the last term we sent 14 Hizbullah followers involved in the killings, to Batman Public Prosecution Office, but these persons gave TL 15 million each for being released. Then all of them were released. Hizbullah is the second danger next to the PKK. Claims that the police apparatus help this organization, are utterly untrue. These are baseless claims put forward by persons who want to fray the state".

Emergency State Region Governor Ünal Erkan who held a press conference in December in order to evaluate the year 1992, disclosed that it had been established that 21 of the murders by unidentified persons were committed by Hizbullah followers. Ünal Erkan did not say anything about the remaining unclarified killings.

Meanwhile, in March it was established that Captain Bülent Eroğlu, the commander of Silvan Gendarmerie Squadron, gave 17-year old Rifat Akış a gun, bomb and money to kill Mehmet Mengi, member of Diyarbakır Provincial General Assembly. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel was informed about the event by a group of deputies. Rifat Akış who was later allowed to meet the Minister of Interior İsmet Sezgin, talked over the telephone to Captain Bülent Eroğlu. This conversation was recorded and it was established that the recorded conversation confirmed that Captain Bülent Eroğlu encouraged Rifat Akış for the murder. An investigation was launched against Captain Bülent Eroğlu in connection with the event. However, the event was covered up and only the captain was appointed to another post.

Villagers Emin Fidancı, Ahmet Fidancı and Mehmet Fidancı were executed by shooting by unidentified persons while working in the fields near Yolaç village of Silvan district of Diyarbakır on 24 August. In the event, Emin Fidancı's son Vedat Fidancı was kidnapped by the same persons. Vedat Fidancı was found dead on 6 September near Yeşilgül village of Silvan. As a result of the autopsy it was established that he had been killed under torture. Mevlüde Fidancı, mother of Vedat Fidancı, pointed out that inspite of complaints they made, the murderers were not caught, and said: "The murderers are the Hizbullah followers Ali Kantar, Abdülkadir Kantar, Mehmet Mehdi and Sait Fidancı from Yolaç village and a tradesman named Salih from Silvan district. We notified the gendarmes about the event, but they did not do anything".

In the 31st issue of the weekly "Gerçek" (Fact) released on 24 October, an interview with a "Hizbullah" follower, whose identity was kept secret, was published. In the interview, the place and date of which were not disclosed, this unidentified person alleged that Musa Anter, Turan Dursun and Bahriye Üçok had been killed by the organization. The person in question added that they had an armed struggle with the PKK although they did not want to, and that they were carrying out covered-up activities in city centers, and said: "We are a political movement. We fight against the ones who attack and mock our beliefs. We never let anyone mock our beliefs. That's why we killed Musa Anter, Turan Dursun and Bahriye Üçok. Some of our followers work for the state and police organizations". This interview published in the weekly "Gerçek" was not investigated. A short while after this interview, Namık Tarancı, Diyarbakır Representative of the journal, was killed in an armed attack.

According to the records of the HRFT, in attacks attributed to "Hizbullah" followers 267 persons became victims of unclarified murders in 1992. During the same period, an additional 93 persons known as "Hizbullah" followers were killed by unidentified persons. (A total of 360 people). A chronological breakdown of these murders by unknown persons is as follows:

Attacks reportedly carried out by Hizbullah followers

<u>Name & Surname</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
001)- Salih Tath	Urfa	08 Jan. 1992	Student-Uni
002)- Abdülsamet Çetin	Diyarbakur	12 Jan. 1992	Student-Uni
003)- Adil Bayık	Nusaybin	14 Jan. 1992	Civil Serv.
004)- Abdurrahman Söğüt	Nusaybin	18 Jan. 1992	HEP Leader
005)- Harbi Arman	Diyarbakur	20 Jan. 1992	Tradesman
006)- Nizamettin Kişin	Mazıdağ	23 Jan. 1992	
007)- Seyfettin Aktan	Nusaybin	25 Jan. 1992	Repairman
008)- Ahmet Bayram	Bingöl	25 Jan. 1992	
009)- Hüseyin Pamukçu	Batman	26 Jan. 1992	Vil. Head.
010)- Oktay Türkmən	Nusaybin	02 Febr. 1992	SHP Leader
011)- İdris Çelik (35)	Batman	02 Febr. 1992	Driver
012)- Arif Altun	Urfa	06 Febr. 1992	Civil Serv.
013)- (16)	Urfa	06 Febr. 1992	Student
014)- Metin Elikçi (32)	Batman	10 Febr. 1992	Grocer
015)- Ahmet Bayhan (26)	Diyarbakur	15 Febr. 1992	Student
016)- Halit Güngen	Diyarbakur	18 Febr. 1992	Journalist
017)- Sabri Kızılkın	Tatvan	19 Febr. 1992	Stationer
018)- Cengiz Altun (24)	Batman	24 Febr. 1992	Journalist
019)- Şehmuz Akıncı	Silvan	27 Febr. 1992	Health S.
020)- Mehmet Emin Narin	Nusaybin	27 Febr. 1992	HEP Member
021)- Hayrettin Suçıçeği	Batman	10 March 1992	
022)- Mehmet Evren (12)	Cizre	15 March 1992	Student-Pr.
023)- Şevki Demir	Düzmeşe	16 March 1992	Vil. Head
024)- Orhan Gök	Derik	18 March 1992	Teacher
025)- Hıdır Acet	Nusaybin	19 March 1992	Student-H.
026)- Zeyni (Edip) Demir	Midyat	19 March 1992	Civil Serv.
027)- Mehmet Garan (Gelen)	Diyarbakur	23 March 1992	Teacher
028)- Mehmet Güneş	Batman	24 March 1992	Rest. Owner
029)- Abdo Zeren	Gaziantep	24 March 1992	Truck Dr.
030)- Tahir Mat	Gaziantep	24 March 1992	Truck Dr.
031)- Hamdüsena İpekçi	Silvan	25 March 1992	Waiter
032)- Mehmet Taşkın (27)	Gaziantep	28 March 1992	Truck Dr.
033)- Abdülmenaf Şimşek	Silvan	02 April 1992	Tradesman
034)- Ramazan Yavuzkuluç	Silvan	02 April 1992	
035)- Ercan Karadağ	Silvan	03 April 1992	
036)- Bayram Güleç	Silvan	05 April 1992	
037)- Nihat Kadınan	Silvan	08 April 1992	Worker
038)- Ahmet Turan	Silvan	08 April 1992	Worker
039)- Mehmet Emin Saman	Nusaybin	11 April 1992	Worker
040)- Hanifi Kutlu	Silvan	14 April 1992	
041)- Abdülsamet Çiçek	Silvan	15 April 1992	Electr.
042)- Rıdvan Çelebi	Silvan	16 April 1992	Farmer
043)- Şehmuz Akkurt	Kızıltepe	24 April 1992	Tradesman
044)- Muti Kara	Nusaybin	28 April 1992	Mun. W.
045)- Bakı Sönmez	Muş-Kırıık	30 April 1992	Farmer
046)- İsmail İrmak	Nusaybin	02 May 1992	Tailor
047)- Seyit Tekkur	Diyarbakur	02 May 1992	Student

048)- Veysi Alıcı	Batman	03 May 1992	
049)- Ahmet Aydın (35)	Nusaybin	06 May 1992	
050)- Mehmet Sıraç Akbay	Kızıltepe	06 May 1992	
051)- Mehmet Dursun (53)	Kızıltepe	12 May 1992	Farmer
052)- Hüseyin Bakır (27)	Kızıltepe	12 May 1992	Farmer
053)- Edip İbrahimoğlu	Kızıltepe	17 May 1992	Farmer
054)- Nurettin (Nuri) Göçen	Kızıltepe	17 May 1992	Vil. Head.
055)- Ahmet Turgay	Kızıltepe	19 May 1992	Farmer
056)- Ramazan Ekinci	Eruh-Çözmeli	21 May 1992	Vil. Head.
057)- Mahmut Ertekin	Silvan	21 May 1992	Farmer
058)- Şehmuz Gündüz	Silvan	21 May 1992	Farmer
059)- İbrahim Demir (22)	Batman	25 May 1992	Student
060)- İsmail Sertkaya (36)	Kızıltepe	25 May 1992	Tradesman
061)- Orhan Kölge (31)	Batman	26 May 1992	
062)- Diyaeddin Kavak	Batman	27 May 1992	Worker
063)- Cemil Kavak	Kızıltepe	27 May 1992	
064)- Abdurrahman Ay	Silvan	30 May 1992	Vil. Head.
065)- Hüseyin Erdoğan	Batman	03 June 1992	Tradesman
066)- Seydoş (Seydi) Aydoğan	Kızıltepe	04 June 1992	Teacher
067)- Fevzi Anık	Dargeçit	05 June 1992	Farmer
068)- Ahmet Yeşilmen	Dargeçit	05 June 1992	
069)- Aziz Biber (19)	Bismil	07 June 1992	Student
070)- Hafız Akdemir (27)	Diyarbakır	08 June 1992	Journalist
071)- İsmail Demirhan	Batman	09 June 1992	
072)- Mehmet Emin Ayhan	Silvan	11 June 1992	Med. Doctor
073)- Şeyhmuz İbrahimoğlu	Kızıltepe	13 June 1992	Smith
074)- Hasan İbrahimoğlu	Kızıltepe	13 June 1992	Smith
075)- Emin Alptekin (39)	Midyat	16 June 1992	
076)- Sıddık Tan	Batman	20 June 1992	İHD Lead.
077)- İzzettin Direkçi	Batman	20 June 1992	Butcher
078)- Tekin Ala	Nusaybin	21 June 1992	Tradesman
079)- Abdullah Aksoy	Diyarbakır	27 June 1992	Student
080)- Abdullah Dal	Batman	27 June 1992	Worker
081)- Recep Alpaslan	Ağrı	28 June 1992	Civil Serv.
082)- Ramazan Yüce	Diyarbakır	29 June 1992	Helper
083)- Halim Yaşar (53)	Silvan	30 June 1992	
084)- Adil Yaşar (29)	Silvan	30 June 1992	
085)- Nazım Yaşar (40)	Silvan	30 June 1992	
086)- Mustafa Elinci	Diyarbakır	30 June 1992	Farmer
087)- Mehmet Buğdaycı	Silvan	01 July 1992	
088)- Ramazan Şat (38)	Urfa	02 July 1992	Helper
089)- Seyfettin Güleriyüz(56)	Silvan	04 July 1992	
090)- Mehmet Ergin (32)	Silvan	08 July 1992	Tradesman
091)- Faysal Kızılrnak (33)	Ceylanpınar	09 July 1992	Worker
092)- Mustafa Saltık (23)	Batman	18 July 1992	Peddler
093)- Mehmet Dağdelen (35)	Nusaybin	19 July 1992	Grocer
094)- Seyfettin Özdemir	Batman	23 July 1992	
095)- Şeyhmuz Güneylü	Diyarbakır	24 July 1992	
096)- Salih Güneylü (35)	Diyarbakır	25 July 1992	
097)- Yakup Yöndem (55)	Kızıltepe	25 July 1992	Dent. Tech.
098)- Mim Nesim Doğan (27)	Batman	26 July 1992	
099)- Mahsun Erol (27)	Batman	26 July 1992	

100)- Salih Yıldız (36)	Kızaltepe	29 July 1992	Tradesman
101)- Fevzi Akar	Midyat	29 July 1992	Farmer
102)- Eyüp Aktaş	Nusaybin	29 July 1992	Printer
103)- Bedirhan Güneş	Nusaybin	30 July 1992	Unemployed
104)- Çetin Abayay	Batman	30 July 1992	Journalist
105)- Cuma Kaya (47)	Nizip	30 July 1992	Farmer
106)- Yahya Orhan (30)	Gercüş	31 July 1992	Journalist
107)- Celal Pekgül (24)	Batman	31 July 1992	Carpenter
108)- Mehdi Kaydu (27)	Silvan	31 July 1992	Worker
109)- Zeki Korkmaz (70)	Nusaybin	02 August 1992	
110)- İbrahim Ergen (50)	Diyarbakır	05 August 1992	
111)- Hüseyin Bayılmaz (10)	Nusaybin	06 August 1992	Student-P.
112)- Halef Bıçak (35)	Mardin-Araşlı	06 August 1992	Vil. Head.
113)- Rıfat Çetiner (50)	Diyarbakır	07 August 1992	Farmer
114)- Hasan Kaya	Midyat	08 August 1992	
115)- Hüseyin Deniz (36)	Ceylanpınar	10 August 1992	Journalist
116)- Nezihi Erkan	Diyarbakır	10 August 1992	Worker
117)- Ayten Öztürk (32)	Mazgirt	10 August 1992	House Wife
118)- Nazım Demir	Midyat	15 August 1992	Tailor
119)- Zeliha Nasanlı (10)	Siverek	22 August 1992	Student-P.
120)- Murat Dağkeser (10)	Siverek	23 August 1992	Student-P.
121)- Orhan Dağkeser (4)	Siverek	23 August 1992	Child
122)- Emin Fidancı	Silvan	23 August 1992	Farmer
123)- Mehmet Fidancı	Silvan	23 August 1992	Farmer
124)- Ahmet Fidancı	Silvan	23 August 1992	Farmer
125)- Vaiz Tunç (30)	Savur	23 August 1992	Farmer
126)- Abdullah Tunç (25)	Savur	23 August 1992	Farmer
127)- Ekrem Göynü (23)	Batman	24 August 1992	Worker
128)- M. Sait Keskin (34)	Batman	25 August 1992	Farmer
129)- Seyithan Kardeş (20)	Nusaybin	19 August 1992	
130)- Şükrü Keskin (55)	Nusaybin	27 August 1992	Tradesman
131)- A. Sıddık Turhalı(44)	Diyarbakır	29 August 1992	İmam
132)- İbrahim Kardeş	Midyat	29 August 1992	İmam
133)- Zekeriya Uğur	Ağın-Elazığ	29 August 1992	Farmer
134)- Kürşat Kan	Ağın-Elazığ	29 August 1992	Farmer
135)- Ali Başak (32)	Batman	29 August 1992	Rest. O.
136)- Hacı Osman Sungur	Hekimhan	29 August 1992	
137)- Ömer Aslan	Batman	30 August 1992	Civil S.
138)- Sabri Keser	Kızaltepe	31 August 1992	Farmer
139)- Ali Dinler	Kızaltepe	31 August 1992	Farmer
140)- Musa Onay	Kızaltepe	31 August 1992	Farmer
141)- Hasan Alkan (23)	Yüksekova	02 Sept. 1992	
142)- Ahmet Koyun (30)	Nusaybin	03 Sept. 1992	Teacher
143)- Mesut Dündar (15)	Cizre	07 Sept. 1992	Disabled
144)- Reis Adıyaman (22)	Adıyaman-Ağrı	07 Sept. 1992	Farmer
145)- Vedat Fidancı	Silvan	07 Sept. 1992	Farmer
146)- Emin İnanç (27)	Silvan	10 Sept. 1992	Worker
147)- Şirin Gökdele	Silvan-Güçlü	14 Sept. 1992	Teacher
148)- Şeyhmuz Kaya	Çınar-Korgun	16 Sept. 1992	Farmer
149)- Ali Kaya	Çınar-Korgun	16 Sept. 1992	Farmer
150)- Şemsettin Aytimur (41)	Nusaybin	16 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
151)- Medeni Aslan (27)	Silvan	16 Sept. 1992	

152)- Ahmet Arıkan (47)	Kızıltepe	16 Sept. 1992	Bank O.
153)- Ercan Buhar (21)	Silvan	19 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
154)- Musa Anter (64)	Diyarbakır	20 Sept. 1992	Journalist
155)- Halil Gülerüzlü (35)	Batman	20 Sept. 1992	Worker
156)- Selahattin Kınış (45)	Batman	20 Sept. 1992	Worker
157)- Mehmet Can (59)	Nusaybin	21 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
158)- Dersim Tanış (19)	Silvan	21 Sept. 1992	Barber
159)- Mahmut Oğuz (36)	Batman	21 Sept. 1992	PKK Defen.
160)- Eyüp Ayas (27)	Viranşehir	22 Sept. 1992	
161)- Selahattin Kutlu	Batman	21 Sept. 1992	Grocer
162)- Edip Kılıç (32)	Batman	22 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
163)- Eşref Bebek (28)	Silvan	22 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
164)- Sami Işık (27)	Batman	22 Sept. 1992	Driver
165)- İbrahim Karaaslan (41)	Diyarbakır	23 Sept. 1992	
166)- İsmet Demirci (43)	Ergani	23 Sept. 1992	İmam
167)- Cengiz Demir (22)	Batman	24 Sept. 1992	Unemployed
168)- Raif Kırtay (33)	Silvan	24 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
169)- Halil Katıkçı	Ceylanpınar	24 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
170)- Fevzi Demir	Diyarbakır	26 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
171)- Şerif Kanat (35)	Çınar	25 Sept. 1992	Farmer
172)- Necdet Aslan (39)	Midyat	26 Sept. 1992	Rest. O.
173)- Fuat Değer	Kızıltepe	26 Sept. 1992	Farmer
174)- Medeni Bucak (22)	Silvan	01 Octo. 1992	Unemployed
175)- İhsan Bucak (20)	Silvan	01 Octo. 1992	Unemployed
176)- Davut Acar	Mazıdağı	02 Octo. 1992	Grocer
177)- Ferit Çakar (50)	Midyat	01 Octo. 1992	Farmer
178)- M. Sait İşçi (40)	Silvan	05 Octo. 1992	Worker
179)- Zülküf Sani (32)	Diyarbakır	09 Octo. 1992	Teacher
180)- Mehmet E. Başaran (27)	Batman	10 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
181)- Beşir Aslan	Batman	11 Octo. 1992	
182)- Bekir Cengiz	Kızıltepe	11 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
183)- Recep Hekimoğlu	Silvan	12 Octo. 1992	
184)- M. Siddık Öztekin (24)	Batman	12 Octo. 1992	
185)- İsmet Öztürk	Silvan	12 Octo. 1992	
186)- Abdülhakim Kaplan (19)	Batman	13 Octo. 1992	Unemployed
187)- Haşim Levent	Midyat	13 Octo. 1992	Teacher
188)- Mehmet Tangüneş (32)	Batman	13 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
189)- Mahmut Turan (19)	Nusaybin	15 Octo. 1992	Unemployed
190)- M. İhsan Yazaydık	Silvan	16 Octo. 1992	Unemployed
191)- Nuri Beskisiz	Silvan	16 Octo. 1992	Worker
192)- Kasım Efe	Siirt	16 Octo. 1992	Driver
193)- Cumhuri Göktürk (47)	Nusaybin	17 Octo. 1992	Driver
194)- Cemal Göktürk (27)	Nusaybin	17 Octo. 1992	
195)- İzzettin Akgül (37)	Kızıltepe	17 Octo. 1992	Driver
196)- Şerif Başçı (39)	Batman	17 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
197)- Metin Tan (22)	Batman	19 Octo. 1992	
198)- Abdülgafur Demirbağ	Nusaybin	19 Octo. 1992	Electr.
199)- Necmettin Keleş (20)	Batman	19 Octo. 1992	
200)- Sinan Demirtaş (18)	Nusaybin	20 Octo. 1992	Driver
201)- Mecit Pektaş (25)	Nusaybin	20 Octo. 1992	Barber
202)- Hasan Çetin	Nusaybin	22 Octo. 1992	Welder
203)- Zeyni Dağ (17)	Nusaybin	24 Octo. 1992	Student

204)- Mehmet Yiğit (67)	Midyat	24 Octo. 1992	Driver
205)- Zülküf Kaçmaz (38)	Hani	24 Octo. 1992	Farmer
206)- Mehmet Şirin Kaya (36)	Pirinçlik-Db.	24 Octo. 1992	Teacher
207)- Şeyhmuz Kurşun (32)	Batman	26 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
208)- Anter Yalçın (40)	Batman	26 Octo. 1992	Worker
209)- Hadi Baltacı (24)	Kızıltepe	27 Octo. 1992	Driver
210)- Zeki Aslançı (38)	Nusaybin	28 Octo. 1992	Peddler
211)- Hüsnü Özer (25)	Tatvan	28 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
212)- Şevki Kaya (43)	Diyarbakır	30 Octo. 1992	Contractor
213)- Ali Teymur (39)	Batman	31 Octo. 1992	Driver
214)- İmdat Koç (19)	Batman	01 Nove. 1992	Worker
215)- Tevfik Basutçu (35)	Batman	01 Nove. 1992	HEP Member
216)- Resul Sakar (45)	Cizre	01 Nove. 1992	SP Pr.
217)- Selman Kuray	Mazıdağı	01 Nove. 1992	Health S.
218)- Abdülsalem Saluk (48)	Gaziantep	03 Nove. 1992	HEP Pr.
219)- Sait Erten	Diyarbakır	03 Nove. 1992	HEP Member
220)- Sultan Erol (30)	Nusaybin	04 Nove. 1992	Worker
221)- Bülent Dağlar (25)	Nusaybin	04 Nove. 1992	Driver
222)- Rodi Demirkapı	Kovancılar	05 Nove. 1992	Dentist
223)- Şurzan Demirkapı	Kovancılar	05 Nove. 1992	
224)- Abdülbaki Kişin	Diyarbakır	06 Nove. 1992	Worker
225)- Sabri Coşkun (33)	Tatvan	09 Nove. 1992	
226)- Suphi Aslan (27)	Batman	15 Nove. 1992	Grocer
227)- Menaf Tohumeker	Diyarbakır	16 Nove. 1992	Driver
228)- Kamil Yalçınır (40)	Silvan	17 Nove. 1992	Farmer
229)- Şemdin Turan	Batman	17 Nove. 1992	Photogr.
230)- Hatip Kapçak	Mazıdağı	18 Nove. 1992	Journalist
231)- Rihan Aksay	Mazıdağı	18 Nove. 1992	Tradesman
232)- İsmet Aksay	Mazıdağı	18 Nove. 1992	Tradesman
233)- Namık Tarancı (37)	Diyarbakır	20 Nove. 1992	Journalist
234)- Nurettin Serhayat (32)	İğdır-Alican	20 Nove. 1992	Farmer
235)- Halil Adanır (32)	Batman	21 Nove. 1992	Newsp. D.
236)- Mehdi Sanlı (37)	Silvan	22 Nove. 1992	Teacher
237)- Fırat Geçmez (22)	Silvan	22 Nove. 1992	Photogr.
238)- M. Emin Gezer (45)	Batman	23 Nove. 1992	
239)- İdris Çelik (40)	Antalya	01 Decem. 1992	HEP Leader
240)- Raziye Bilici (35)	Hazro-Argit	02 Decem. 1992	House Wife
241)- Tacettin Yılmaz (31)	Diyarbakır	03 Decem. 1992	Guardian
242)- Mehmet İşler (18)	Midyat	03 Decem. 1992	
243)- Melek Bora	Dargeçit	03 Decem. 1992	Child
244)- Yusuf Solmaz	Antalya	04 Decem. 1992	HEP Leader
245)- M. Salih Kaplan (33)	Kızıltepe	05 Decem. 1992	Tr. Union.
246)- Nuri Aslan (38)	Batman	05 Decem. 1992	
247)- Nezir Aldar	Diyarbakır	09 Decem. 1992	
248)- Kemal Ekinci	Diyarbakır	15 Decem. 1992	Newsp. D.
249)- Mehmet Sait Yıldız(28)	Batman	15 Decem. 1992	Worker
250)- Bedrettin Kılıç (27)	Nusaybin	15 Decem. 1992	
251)- Ali Toğuş (27)	Nusaybin	15 Decem. 1992	
252)- Garibe Karasakal (18)	Nusaybin	16 Decem. 1992	Student
253)- Mustafa Uçakan (41)	Diyarbakır	16 Decem. 1992	Barber
254)- Ubeydullah Dalar (40)	Diyarbakır	21 Decem. 1992	İmam
255)- Mehmet Atlı	Çınar	21 Decem. 1992	Peddler
256)- Süleyman Atlı	Çınar	21 Decem. 1992	Peddler

257)- Hüseyin Eser	Midyat	22 Decem. 1992	Tradesman
258)- Seyfettin Kardeş	Midyat	22 Decem. 1992	Helper
259)- Faik Öztaş (28)	Batman	23 Decem. 1992	Rest. O.
260)- Nafi Kalemli (14)	Viranşehir	23 Decem. 1992	Student-S.
261)- Mehmet Şirin Özbek(34)	Batman	24 Decem. 1992	PKK Defen.
262)- Ali Aslan (40)	Nusaybin	24 Decem. 1992	Tradesman
263)- İhsan İçer	Bismil	24 Decem. 1992	
264)- Naif Keleş (45)	Batman	25 Decem. 1992	Vil. Head.
265)- Alptekin Sevim (24)	Batman	25 Decem. 1992	Grocer
266)- Abdülbaki Cesur (36)	Silvan	29 Decem. 1992	Hunter
267)- Lokman Gündüz (20)	Nusaybin	31 Decem. 1992	Newsp. D.

Attacks on Hizbullah followers

<u>Name & Surname</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Occupation</u>
001)- İbrahim Kızmaz (35)	Nusaybin	05 Jan. 1992	Teacher
002)- Emine Turan (8)	Nusaybin	05 Jan. 1992	Student-Pr.
003)- Mehmet Zeki Adak	Cizre	19 Febr. 1992	Tradesman
004)- Sait Türk	Cizre	19 Febr. 1992	
005)- Sait Bozkurt (18)	İdil	20 Febr. 1992	Student-H.
006)- Ahmet Islakçı	Batman	00 Febr. 1992	
007)- Salih Kavak	Nusaybin	00 Febr. 1992	
008)- Mehmet Nazım (18)	Nusaybin	01 March 1992	Student
009)- Halil Avcı (18)	Nusaybin	01 March 1992	Student
010)- Abdurrahman Tekman	Batman	01 March 1992	Tradesman
011)- Şefik Akman	İdil-Tepeköy	03 March 1992	Vil. Head
012)- Cemal Erkek	İdil-Tepeköy	03 March 1992	Farmer
013)- Şükrü Demir	Nusaybin	06 March 1992	
014)- Hacı Biçer	Silvan	30 March 1992	
015)- Şefik Türkmen	Nusaybin	02 April 1992	Tradesman
016)- Salih Fidancı	Silvan	03 April 1992	Tradesman
017)- İlyas Yavuz	Silvan	05 April 1992	Tradesman
018)- Suat Sütşurup	Silvan	08 April 1992	
019)- Ayşe Öz (55)	Nusaybin	08 April 1992	House Wife
020)- Fatma Öz (12)	Nusaybin	08 April 1992	Student-P.
021)- Cüneyt Yıldız	Kızıltepe	27 April 1992	Stationer
022)- Şevki Akgün	Kars-Araçık	29 April 1992	Teacher
023)- Ramazan Keser	Kızıltepe	05 May 1992	
024)- Mahsun Yıldırım	Kızıltepe	05 May 1992	
025)- Veysi Kalkan (17)	Batman	18 May 1992	Student-H.
026)- Orhan Korkmaz	Kulp	20 May 1992	Teacher
027)- Ahmet Eren (16)	Kızıltepe	25 May 1992	Peddler
028)- Mehmet Nuri Alptekin	Dargeçit	03 June 1992	Farmer
029)- Abdülselam Oktay	İdil	04 June 1992	
030)- Musa Önen (38)	Adana	08 June 1992	Worker
031)- Abdullah Gazari	Silvan	18 June 1992	
032)- Veysi Yenikapı	Silvan	18 June 1992	
033)- Sıddık Yılmaz	Batman	20 June 1992	Tradesman
034)- Abdülhaluk Oğuz	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	İmam
035)- Ahmet Kantar (50)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
036)- Ali Uslu (24)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer

037)- Medeni Fidancı (18)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
038)- Hüseyin Çetinkaya (20)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
039)- Adnan Kantar (19)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
040)- Zeki Fidancı (15)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
041)- Mehmet Sait Fidancı	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
042)- Emin Kantar (15)	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
043)- Mehmet Melki Fidancı	Silvan-Yolaç	25 June 1992	Farmer
044)- Hüseyin Yıldız	Derik-Ambarlı	26 June 1992	İmam
045)- Mehmet Taşkesen	Derik-Ambarlı	26 June 1992	İmam
046)- Hüseyin Uğuç (23)	Batman	04 July 1992	
047)- Mehmet Senemoğaç (27)	Viranşehir	07 July 1992	
048)- Mehmet Hidayet Özdemir	Silvan	12 July 1992	
049)- Musa Torun (48)	Nusaybin	14 July 1992	Worker
050)- Nihat Celasun (40)	Kızıltepe	15 July 1992	Butcher
051)- Abdurrahman Akbalık	Nusaybin	22 July 1992	Farmer
052)- Abdülmecit Ceylan (22)	Nusaybin	22 July 1992	Farmer
053)- Naif Şahin (30)	Nusaybin	24 July 1992	Farmer
054)- Cevdet Taşan (48)	Batman	26 July 1992	Grocer
055)- Nesim Ormancı	Batman	26 July 1992	
056)- Musa Köseadağ (31)	Adana	04 August 1992	Marketer
057)- Nurettin Gizli (38)	Diyarbakır	08 August 1992	Tradesman
058)- Muhittin Şenol (28)	Diyarbakır	08 August 1992	Tradesman
059)- Musa Yücedağ (19)	Adana	28 August 1992	Peddler
060)- Süleyman Güler (19)	Nusaybin	28 August 1992	Farmer
061)- Hasan Demir	Mardin-Oğuz	28 August 1992	Farmer
062)- Murat Başaran (19)	Kızıltepe	01 Sept. 1992	Farmer
063)- Murat Şengül	Savur-Soylu	10 Sept. 1992	İmam
064)- Ata Ketme (18)	Batman	16 Sept. 1992	Student
065)- Fuat Yaşasın (19)	Silvan	19 Sept. 1992	Student
066)- Hanifi Poyraz (19)	Silvan	19 Sept. 1992	Student
067)- Süleyman Can (56)	Nusaybin	21 Sept. 1992	Tradesman
068)- Halil Aslangiray (24)	Batman	21 Sept. 1992	Grocer
069)- Davut Ayrip	Silvan-Bağrıvar	24 Sept. 1992	Farmer
070)- Nizamettin Beyazyüz	Silvan-Bağrıvar	24 Sept. 1992	Farmer
071)- Hacı Toprak	Silvan-Bağrıvar	24 Sept. 1992	Farmer
072)- Cemil Biçer	Diyarbakır	00 Octo. 1992	Tradesman
073)- Nuri Korhan	Silvan	01 Octo. 1992	Farmer
074)- Ebedi Korhan (12)	Silvan	01 Octo. 1992	Student
075)- Şeyhmuz Aktaş	Kızıltepe	03 Octo. 1992	İmam
076)- Abdullah Yersiz	Mazıdağı	05 Octo. 1992	Teacher
077)- Fahrettin Çelik (32)	Batman	05 Octo. 1992	
078)- Hasan Şahin (34)	Antalya	06 Octo. 1992	Worker
079)- Fevzi Duruk (23)	Batman	11 Octo. 1992	
080)- Mehmet Haşım Müjdeci	Batman	12 Octo. 1992	
081)- Mehmet Başer (42)	Nusaybin	25 Octo. 1992	Teacher
082)- Adil Yeşilbadem	Silvan	06 Nove. 1992	
083)- Hasan Baran	Batman	10 Nove. 1992	
084)- Abdülhalim Yaz	Silvan	16 Nove. 1992	Farmer
085)- Cihan Alpaslan	Dicle	17 Nove. 1992	
086)- Mehmet Korkut	Dicle	17 Nove. 1992	
087)- Mutlu Kaya	Diyarbakır	04 Decem. 1992	Tradesman
088)- Mehmet Emin Orak	Batman	10 Decem. 1929	Driver
089)- Abdülgaffur Dil (32)	Nusaybin	13 Decem. 1992	

090)- Muhsin Miraloğlu	Çınar	15 Decem. 1992	Farmer
091)- Hamdullah Ardiç	Çınar	15 Decem. 1992	Farmer
092)- Mustafa Biçer	Antalya	17 Decem. 1992	Peddler
093)- Mehmet Salih Orak	Diyarbakır	28 Decem. 1992	

h)- Attacks on civilians

In 1992 a large number of armed and bomb attacks on civilians and defenseless people was carried out. In these attacks villages or settlements supporting either the state or the PKK, village protectors and their families, shopping centers and means of communal transportation were often chosen as targets. These attacks which caused an escalation of violence and gave fresh arguments for those circles who are in search for unlawful practices also caused reactions from the public. As a result of these attacks 189 people, 34 of them children, died and at least 144 people were injured.

In some cases (such as the attacks on the Closed Bazaar, the Officers Mess in Fenerbahçe, and on İstanbul Chamber of Commerce) it was never clarified with certainty who the assailants were and why these attacks were carried out. On 28 August night the ferry "Pendik" carrying passengers from Kadıköy to Karaköy in İstanbul burnt out completely. In the event nobody was killed or injured. In a statement by the police it was announced that "the ferry was set on fire by PKK militants". But the expert inspection revealed later that "the fire was most likely caused by a defect in the electrical system".

In a statement by İstanbul Police Headquarters two days after this event it was announced that during the night when the ferry "Pendik" burnt out there was an attempt to set one of the "sea-busses" running in İstanbul on fire, when it moved towards the port of Bakırköy. The same statement said that Burhan Göktaş, Sedat Sağlam, Cemil Karşlıoğlu and İrfan Balta had been caught in connection with this crime. On 10 November the trial against these 4 youths started at İstanbul SSC. In their testimonies at court, the defendants rejected the accusations and explained that they had been tortured during their time in detention and, therefore, had been forced to testify in the way the police wanted them to. Following the hearing İrfan Balta and Sedat Sağlam were released.

In some cases this type of attacks which presented a pretext to terrorize society and develop anti-democratic practices were disclosed to have been carried out by village protectors. Attacks and subsequent events caused by village protectors were presented to the public as "actions of the PKK". In addition, the damage caused by the security forces in civilian areas was extremely high. For many of the actions carried out in the Emergency Legislation Region PKK took responsibility. The number of attacks by the PKK against civilians and defenseless people showed a dramatic increase compared to the years 1990 and 1991. (Attacks determined to have been carried out by members of the security forces or village protectors were presented in earlier chapters and, therefore, have not been included here).

A time bomb went off on 25 January in İstanbul Closed Bazaar. As a result of the blast Şevket Yiğit was killed and 7 people were injured. At the same time, the explosion of a bomb planted in a shopping centre (Galleria) in Ataköy quarter, İstanbul, caused injuries to 5 people.

Eight people including two officers and two soldiers were injured as a result of a bomb that had been planted in the Officers Mess in Fenerbahçe quarter of İstanbul and went off at 6.30pm on 9 February. Hamit Güzel died as a result of a bomb explosion on 13 February in a bank branch in Urfa. During the incident Şaziye Can, Erol Sabır, Şeyhmus İlgin and Nuri Bakır were injured.

As a result of the explosion of a time-bomb planted in the building of İstanbul Chamber of Commerce, a woman called Nesrin Ortayakalı died on 20 February. During the incident 17 people were injured, 4 of them seriously.

In consequence of the explosion of a bomb placed in the building of Urfa Justice Office, İbrahim Halil Atahan died, and Ahmet Yıldız, Hüseyin Kaya (12-year old), Mehmet Akıllı and Hüseyin Telli were injured.

A minibus on its way from Tatvan district of Bitlis to Kokarsu village was stopped near Konukan settlement and shot with guns by 5 armed people in the evening of 10 June. In the incident 13 people, including one child, were killed. The names of those killed are as follows: "Mehmet Şişman (70), Ahmet Şişman (36), Adil Şişman (30), Mahmut Şişman (33), Mahmut Üzer (35), Hikmetullah Diksin (55), Abdullah Özbaş (35), Yaşar Alayurt (27), Mehmet Ali Şili (80), Kemal Şili (18), İbrahim Işık (32), Aziz Taşoğlu (45) and Mahmut Güreş (12)". Zeki Sönmez, the Welfare Party Tatvan District President, made a statement about the incident and said that he did not think that the attack was carried out by PKK militants. On the other hand, Hüsametdin Zenderlioğlu, the People's Labour Party Bitlis Provincial President said: "Those killed were patriotic people, and they were liked and respected by everyone. State radio and television announced that the massacre was done by PKK militants. The State gave wrong information to the public and showed that it was in cooperation with the people who did the massacre". In a report prepared by representatives of democratic mass organizations and certain parties in Bitlis, the event was said to be "a blood thirsty murder" and it was stressed that "village guards of Kırkbulak were suspected". In the report it was said: "According to investigations made at the place of the event, the people who were forced out of the minibus, had to walk for about 100 meters and then were shot with guns. The bodies of those killed were full of bullet holes. Approximately 500 empty cartridges were found in the place. All of the killed people were liked and respected by everyone. The minibus driver İbrahim Işık had been threatened and insulted before because he did not let village guards get on his minibus. Mehmet Şişman, Aziz Taşoğlu and Mahmut Güreş, who were among the killed people, had been detained 3 days before the event on allegations of 'sheltering PKK' militants, and they had been threatened. Nobody, except the Minister of Interior, the Governor of the Emergency State Region and Tatvan District Governor, believes that the massacre was done by PKK militants. The empty cartridges found around the place were made by Machinery and Chemical Industry (MKE)."

On 12 June fire was opened near Yörecik village of Muş at a train running between Tatvan and Ankara. As a result of the fire, 7-year old Iranian child Emir Eyvani died and 9 people were injured. In a statement by the PKK it was stated that the attack had not been carried out by them.

In an attack carried out on 22 June on houses of village guards Şehmuz Tunç and Ahmet Gök, living in Seki village of Gercüş district of Batman, 10 persons, 7 of them children, died. The names and ages of those killed in the attack are as follows: "Gülbahar Tunç (8), Behçet Tunç (17), Abdurrahman Gök (14), Latife Gök (70), Fahriye Gök (35), Şükrü Gök (10), Sultan Gök (12), Emrullah Gök (4), Haşim Gök (3) and a one-month old baby who had not been named yet.

PKK militants who stopped two minibuses near Yolbastı village of Hızır district of Bitlis, killed 10 persons, including 2 village guards. The names of the persons who were killed in the event on 29 June night are "Ahmet Demir, Mehmet Guri Çeçen (village guard), Abdülhamit Özcan (village guard), İbrahim Alice, Ahmet Tuncer, Ömer Kaya, Bahattin Çetin, Nurettin Erci, Siddık Tarhan (driver of the minibus) and Nezir Demirkıran".

A group of PKK militants who raided Yanıktaş village of Çaldıran district of Van on 2 July morning killed 12 persons, including 2 children, 2 women and 5 village guards. During the raid 8 persons were wounded. The names of the 12 killed persons are: "Ahmet Çelik (27-village guard), Ferzende Altun (35), Vahdettin Avcı (18), Rıza Altun (28), Ayşe Altun (29), Gülsüm Avcı (28), Ayten Avcı (3), Atilla Çiçek (5), Yusuf Avcı (45), Sulhettin Avcı (28), Bayram Çiçek (26) and Murat Çiçek (32)".

A house in Işıklı quarter of Midyat district of Mardin was attacked by PKK militants on the night of 16 July night. In the attack, the owner of the house Ramazan Gündüz (45) and his 7-year old son Metin Gündüz died while his wife Hasene Gündüz and his other son Hamdi Gündüz were wounded.

In consequence of an armed and bomb attack carried out by unidentified persons against an entertainment center near Seyhan Dam in Adana on 27 August night, a pregnant woman named Figen Türker died and 9 persons were injured. Police authorities claimed that the attack was carried out by PKK militants.

An oil research field near Sason district of Batman was attacked by PKK militants in the evening of 11 September. In the attack during which heavy weapons were used, 3 engineers named Mustafa Yelkenci, Hakan Bayram and Hakan Yılmaz were killed and 5 workers were wounded by the militants who stayed there for an hour.

PKK militants who raided Ulubahçe village of Pazarcık district of Maraş on 17 September night, killed 4 persons named Ahmet Yumdutaş, Mehmet Arık, Elif Arık and Cuma Savran. In the event 9 persons were wounded.

In a raid carried out by PKK militants on 28 September night against Suverdi village of Çatak district of Van, women named Şehnaz İşnaz (36) and Vasfiye İşnaz (18), children called Şehriban İşnaz (14), Cengiz İşnaz (11), Koçer İşnaz (12), Besra İşnaz (10), Musa Sancar (5) and a baby who had not been named yet, died. As a result of back fire opened by the village guards during the raid, 2 PKK militants were killed.

Cevizdalı village was raided by about 100 PKK militants on 1 October at about 5pm. A clash broke out when village guards opposed to PKK militants who

forced the villagers to gather in one place. Soldiers from Ormanbağ Gendarmarie Station near the village also participated in the clash. While the clash was going on, fire was opened by PKK militants with rocket launchers and automatic guns at the villagers who had gathered. In addition, houses of 9 village guards were burnt. Some persons in the burnt houses died. In the event which continued for about two hours, 37 persons, including women, children and 8 village guards were shot to death or died being burnt and 21 persons were wounded. The names of some of 37 persons who died in the attack are as follows: " Village guards Eyüp Kaptan, Yakup Kaptan Abdullah Kaptan, Yaşar Kaptan, Musa Kaptan, Felemez Kaptan, Maaşallah Akpolat and Abdülhamit Akpolat and villagers Erkan Akpolat, Hacı Salih Akpolat, Raife Akpolat, Cemile Kaptan, Bedriye Akpolat, Hasret Kaptan, Orhan Kaptan, Aysel Kaptan, Bedriye Kaptan, Meryem Kaptan, Raife Kaptan, Reyhan Kaptan, Firdevs Kaptan, Sitti Kaptan and Meryem Akpolat". Some sources close to the PKK alleged after the massacre that some of the villagers died in the fire opened from armoured vehicles of the security forces.

Harmancık village of Pazarcık district of Maraş was raided by a group of PKK militants on the night of 5 October. During the raid village headman Mehmet Hascan (45), and villagers Besey Cücük (60), Ülger Cücük (12), Abdullah Dağlı (35), Ömer Duruk (40) and İlebis Karık (60) were killed and 3 persons were wounded by the militants.

In consequence of fire opened with rocket-launchers by PKK militants who raided Belenoluk village of Pervari, Siirt on 10 October, the house of village guard Mehmet Başak was ruined. In the event, village guard Mehmet Başak and his wife Naciye Başak were seriously wounded while their 10-year old daughter Bişenk Başak died.

Uludere district of Şırnak was raided by a group of PKK militants on the night of 11 October. In the raid, 11 persons, 6 of them children, died as a result of fire opened by the PKK militants with rocket-launchers and howitzers against houses of the village guards. The names of those killed are as follows: "Ayşe Altürk (90), Vesile Altürk (23), Rabia Altürk (11), Necdet Altürk (10), Mustafa Altürk (6), Fatma Altürk (4), Berivan Altürk (2), Besime Altürk (6-month old), İsmail Yaman (58), İsmail Benek (52) and Meryem Yaman (12)". The Governorate of the Emergency State Region stated that 9 of the PKK militants who took part in the attack were killed.

A passenger bus on its way from Bingöl to Solhan was stopped near Hazarşah village and shot with guns by PKK militants on the evening of 20 October. In the event, 19 persons died while 6 persons were wounded and the bus was burnt. The villagers who were wounded in the event told the journalists that "the attack was carried out in order to take revenge for 24 PKK militants killed in a clash which had broken out near the village in last April". The names of those killed are as follows: "Hüseyin Alaca (70), Sait Alan (27), Keji Kaya (30), Ali Kaya (50), Hasan Işık (67), Mahmut Kaya (30), Ziya Özcan (22), Ramia Karabeyeser (40), Abdurrahman Gültekin (64), Mahmut Alp (35), Selim İlhan (57), Abdullah İlkyaz (32), Eşref İğde (57), Temur Öztaş (54), Mehmet Tuz (24), Ömer Ölmez (34), Ali Demir (34), Hamit Akar (33) and Cevdet Yılmaz (20)".

An armed group who raided Dedebağ village of Mazgirt district of Tunceli in the night of 22 October, killed 12 persons and wounded 4 others. No trustworthy information could be gathered as to "why and by whom the attack was carried out". The names of the killed persons are "Hıdır Gül, Zeynep Gül (3-year old), Gülhan Gül, Sıla Gül, Besi Gül, Nursel Gül, Keko Gül (headman of the village), Onur Gül, Ali Haydar İlhan, Gülten İlhan, Aynur İlhan and Kibar İlhan". In leaflets sent to newspapers on behalf of ERNK which is the front organization of the PKK, it was claimed that the raid had been carried out by the state. On the other hand, a report was published about the event in the 26 December 1992 dated issue of the weekly journal "Mücadele". The report stated: "PKK militants said that the attacks in certain settlements in Tunceli province had been carried out by themselves and that they would continue to carry out similar actions". The report also criticized the PKK as it did not make any attempts to clarify the event.

A group of PKK militants who raided Büyükçatı village of Palu district of Elazığ on 26 October night, opened fire at a house and killed two women named Kevser Yılmaz and Saliha Yılmaz.

PKK militants raided Hani district of Diyarbakır on 9 November night and opened fire with automatic guns and rocket launchers at the buildings and lodgings of the state and the security forces. During the raid, noncommissioned officer Kemal Ay and persons named Nesrin Ay, Mustafa Ay (6), Sabahat Macar (50), Fatma Dalgın (26), Sedef Dalgın (5), Sevda Dalgın (4), Hülya Aslan (18) and Mensure Aslan living in the lodgings of the Recruiting Office which was attacked by the militants died and 3 persons were wounded. In addition, Hani reporter for the newspaper Türkiye, Kemal Aktay, whose house was raided by the militants in the clash, was executed by shooting. During the raid, vehicles and buildings of the state were burnt and damaged.

On 11 November night, during two separate raids carried out by PKK militants, teachers Vural Akdeniz and Emin Aydın living in Aktepe village of Çınar district of Diyarbakır and in Bölümlü village of Bismil district of the same province respectively, were killed. In the raid of Bölümlü village, Emin Aydın's wife Zeynep Aydın was also murdered.

A coffee house in Orta Alican village of Karakoyunlu district of Iğdır was raided and shot at with guns by unidentified persons on the evening 15 November. In the event, 5 persons called Mecnun Kaya, Necef Kavruk, Nizamettin Karabacak, Muharrem Balu and Korkut Onuk died, and 14 persons were wounded.

Unidentified armed persons who raided Tuzluca settlement of Hakverdi village of Kızıltepe, Mardin on the night of 1 December, took 7 persons out of the settlement and killed them. The names of those killed are "Mehmet Ali Yiğit (26), İzzettin Yiğit (30), Nurettin Yiğit (22), Abdo Öztürk (30), Abdülbaki Yiğit (17), Abdülvahap Yiğit (30) and Tacettin Yiğit (19)". The Governorate of the Emergency State Region disclosed that the attack was carried out by PKK militants. On the other hand, villagers said that they did not think the attack was carried out by the PKK. A villager named Ali Yiğit said the following about the event: "The ones who came to the village were dressed up like militants. They asked us about Musa Yiğit who served for two years in prison because of a PKK

trial. When they saw that Musa Yiğit was not in the village, they executed his relatives by shooting". People living in the settlement told the People's Labour Party (HEP) deputies Selim Sadak, Mehmet Sincar and Ali Yiğit that the attack had been carried out by dark forces known as "contr-guerilla". Villagers pointed out that the settlement was under control of the security forces and said: "When those armed persons came to the settlement, 2 cars were near the settlement. After the gun shots were heard, the cars went towards Kızıltepe turning their headlights on". Celal Öztürk, an eye witness of the event, said: "All those killed were patriotic persons. Our only crime is to be members of HEP."

A van near Hazro district of Diyarbakır was shot at with guns by PKK militants on 17 December at noon. In the attack persons named Fikriye Ateş (33), Veysi Yaşar (8), Münevver İçözü (25), and a woman and a child who could not be identified, died. 11 persons were wounded.

The social facilities of the State Hydraulic Works which are located on the road between Silvan and Batman and near Malabadi Bridge, were attacked by PKK militants on 21 December night. As a result of the attack, two workers called Nizam Tekin and Ahmet Can died while 5 workers were wounded. In addition, material damage occurred in the facilities.

i)- Assassinations and clashes

Meanwhile attacks on public officers such as soldiers, police officers, mayors and prosecutors, on village guards and on some persons accused of working as "police agents" or of being "state supporters", continued intensively in 1992. As a result of these attacks and assassinations carried out by organizations such as PKK, Devrimci Sol, TIKKO and TIKB, a total of 285 persons listed below died.

Enlisted man	14
Noncommissioned officer	10
Retired General	1
Police officer (inc. the retired)	61 (one chief police)
Village guards	44
Night guard	2
Judge-prosecutor-civil servant	6
Mayor	2
MIT officer	4
Office driver	2
Village head	5
Confessor	4
Denouncer	45
State supporter	63
Teacher	2
Stray bullet, by fault	6
Other	14

Chronological breakdown of the killed as a result of attacks and assassinations is as follows:

<u>Name & Surname</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Justifi</u>	<u>Organization</u>
001)- Ahmet Işık Akça	Batman	06 Jan. 1992	Police	PKK
002)- Nasır Çu	Kulp	06 Jan. 1992	Denoun	PKK
003)- Yüksel Taşpınar	İstanbul	28 Jan. 1992	Police	TİKKO
004)- Atif Ödül	İstanbul	03 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
005)- Salih Sevgican	İstanbul	03 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
006)- Mürüvvet Akpınar	İstanbul	03 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
007)- Eşref Edip Salman	Adana	03 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
008)- Ahmet Kaya	İzmir	03 Febr. 1992	Ret. Pol	DS
009)- Yaşar Günaydın	İstanbul	06 Febr. 1992	DGM Pros.	DS
010)- Şaban Ceylan	İstanbul	06 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
011)- Halis Balta	İstanbul	06 Febr. 1992	Of. Driv	DS
012)- Mustafa Bahçe	Bursa	18 Febr. 1992	Of. Driv	DS
013)- Halil Sarı	Bursa	18 Febr. 1992	Police	DS
014)- Nuri Kurt (50)	Adana	28 Febr. 1992	Denoun	TİKB
015)- Ahmet Özer	Şirnak	05 March 1992	Police	PKK
016)- Kemal Kaplan	Malatya	01 March 1992	Denoun	DS
017)- Ali Gökçe	Cizre	19 March 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
018)- İsmet Ölmez	Cizre	19 March 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
019)- Şakir Özkan	İzmir	20 March 1992	Police	DS
020)- Süleyman Erçin	İzmir	20 March 1992	Police	DS
021)- Osman Acar	Cizre	20 March 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
022)- Yahya Avcı	Ergani	23 March 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
023)- Adnan Gürsürer	İstanbul	24 March 1992	MIT Of.	DS
024)- Mevlüt Yılmaz	İstanbul	24 March 1992	MIT Of.	DS
025)- Erol Kaplankran	Batman	24 March 1992	Police	PKK
026)- Erdoğan Çıtak	Adana	25 March 1992	Chief P.	DS
027)- Hayri Aydoğan	Adana	25 March 1992	Police	DS
028)- Yüksel Aslan	Ankara	25 March 1992	Police	DS
029)- Avni Şeneran	Urfa	27 March 1992	Police	PKK
030)- Seyfi Yolcu	Urfa	27 March 1992	Police	PKK
031)- Seyithan Özdemir	Solhan-Kale	28 March 1992	Vil. Head	PKK
032)- İbrahim Torun	İstanbul	30 March 1992	NCO	PKK
033)- Mehmet Özdemir	İstanbul	30 March 1992	Enli. Man	PKK
034)- İbrahim Coşkun	İstanbul	02 April 1992	Police	DS
035)- M. Sıddık Keskin	Mersin	04 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
036)- Kutbettin Ay (49)	Adana	05 April 1992	Denoun	PKK
037)- İzzet Şenocak	Ergani-Killer	05 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
038)- Volkan Türkoğlu	İzmir	09 April 1992	Police	DS
039)- Ramazan Ege	İzmir	09 April 1992	Teacher	DS
040)- İdris Kaya	Mersin	13 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
041)- Kadir Yavaşoğlu (20)	İstanbul	14 April 1992	Confessor	DS
042)- Muhyettin Şayhan	Nusaybin	14 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
043)- ....Voman (23)	Nusaybin	14 April 1992	Denoun	PKK
044)- Seyfettin Akçıl	Hazro	14 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
045)- Suat Akçıl	Hazro	14 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
046)- Ali Ören	Hazro	14 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
047)- Ahmet Selek	İstanbul	16 April 1992	.....	....
048)- Kazım Erdoğan	İstanbul	16 April 1992	Police	DS
049)- Şerif Kurt	İstanbul	16 April 1992	Police	DS
050)- Bülent Üstün	İstanbul	18 April 1992	Police	DS
051)- Mucahit Ünlü	İstanbul	18 April 1992	N. Guard	DS
052)- İlhan Hanlı	Doğubeyazıt	18 April 1992	NCO	PKK
053)- Mustafa Karaçimen	Doğubeyazıt	18 April 1992	NCO	PKK
054)- Erkan Iğdır	Doğubeyazıt	18 April 1992	NCO	PKK
055)- Naci Yıldırım	Doğubeyazıt	18 April 1992	NCO	PKK
056)- Mustafa Bulut	Antalya	19 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
057)- İsmail Selçuk	İstanbul	20 April 1992	Police	DS

058)- Yılmaz Başkaya	İstanbul	20 April 1992	Stray bullet	DS
059)- Selami Epik	İstanbul	21 April 1992	Police	DS
060)- Ahmet Yıldız	Batman	21 April 1992	Police	PKK
061)- Salih Saraç (47)	Adana	21 April 1992	Police	DS
062)- Ahmet Acar	İstanbul	23 April 1992	Police	DS
063)- Mehmet Sami Tarhan	İstanbul	30 April 1992	Confessor	DS
064)- Fazıl Ertaş (45)	Van	30 April 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
065)- Ergun Göktepe	İstanbul	02 May 1992	Police	DS
066)- Tevfik Çiğerci	İstanbul	02 May 1992	Police	DS
067)- Cevdet Yılmaz	İstanbul	02 May 1992	Police	DS
068)- Adem Başar	İstanbul	02 May 1992	Police	DS
069)- Ömer Akbulut	İstanbul	02 May 1992	Police	DS
070)- Yadiğar Akanlaç	İstanbul	04 May 1992	Police	DS
071)- Necdet Bay	Bursa	04 May 1992	Police	DS
072)- Alaattin Büyükdag	Malazgirt	04 May 1992	Denoun	PKK
073)- Mehmet Damar	İstanbul	04 May 1992	Police	DS
074)- Celal Sönmez	İstanbul	04 May 1992	Police	DS
075)- Alaattin Çaycı	İstanbul	05 May 1992	Police	DS
076)- Fevzi Oktay	İstanbul	05 May 1992	Stray bullet	DS
077)- Mehmet Gül (70)	Adana	09 May 1992	Denoun	TIKKO
078)- Kenan Karahan	İstanbul	13 May 1992	By Fault	DS
079)- Muhammet Gözükara	Maraş	14 May 1992	State Su.	PKK
080)- Mustafa Gözükara	Maraş	14 May 1992	State Su.	PKK
081)- Günay Öztürk	Adana	15 May 1992	MİT Of.	TIKKO
082)- Uğur Borazan	Adana	15 May 1992	MİT Of.	TIKKO
083)- Bekir Bayar	Cizre	18 May 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
084)- Ahmet Ayaz	Kurtalan	19 May 1992	SHP Cand	PKK
085)- Hüsnü İşlek	Solhan-Cemi	28 May 1992	State Su.	PKK
086)- Zübeyir Uçak	Solhan-Cemi	28 May 1992	State Su.	PKK
087)- Celal İyaya	Solhan-Cemi	28 May 1992	State Su.	PKK
088)- Mevlüt Kılıç	Selim-Gürbüz	28 May 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
089)- Hüseyin Aksoy	İdil	29 May 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
090)- Mecit Akgün	Nusaybin	30 May 1992	Journalist	PKK
091)- Mehmet Daşdelen	Digor-Başkale	02 June 1992	Denoun.	PKK
092)- Adnan Temiz	Adana Prison	10 June 1992	Denoun.	DS
093)- Erkan Arıkoğlu	Adana	13 June 1992	Farmer	TIKKO
094)- Ahmet Yıldırım	Selim-Damla	14 June 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
095)- Abdullah Tarak	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
096)- Mehmet Varan	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
097)- Cezayir Varan	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
098)- Rahim Tümen	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
099)- Baki Çetin	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
100)- Fuat Gölen	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
101)- Kazım Toprak	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
102)- Mehmet Peşme	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
103)- Ali Gören	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
104)- Mehmet Aran	Genç-Dereköy	16 June 1992	State Su.	PKK
105)- Hamit Üren (23)	Antalya	18 June 1992	N. Guard	PKK
106)- Gevher Özkan	İstanbul	18 June 1992	.....	...
107)- Halil Semen (55)	İzmir	20 June 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
108)- Faruk Yalçın	Kağızman	20 June 1992	Confessor	PKK
109)- Ali Türedi	İstanbul	23 June 1992	Ret. Pol	TIKKO
110)- İsmail Aksu	Aydın-Ortakda	02 July 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
111)- Ermin Şahin	Varto-Alangöz	03 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
112)- Ahmet Akgün	İzmir	03 July 1992	Denoun	PKK
113)- Kemal Yıldız	Ardahan-Dağcı	06 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
114)- Turan Yıldız	Ardahan-Dağcı	06 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
115)- Nuri Erge (41)	Adana	07 July 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
116)- Hüseyin Erge (21)	Adana	07 July 1992	State Su.	PKK

117)- Hüsnü Karsak	Adana	12 July 1992	Denoun.	TİKKO
118)-	Nusaybin	12 July 1992	Denoun	PKK
119)-	Nusaybin	12 July 1992	Denoun.	PKK
120)-	Nusaybin	12 July 1992	Denoun	PKK
121)- Ali Kurdođlu	Ankara	16 July 1992	Police	DS
122)- Kamil Koç	İstanbul	18 July 1992	Police	DS
123)- Yasin Üstündađ	Şenkaya-Elma	21 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
124)- Ekrem Üstündađ	Şenkaya-Elma	21 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
125)- Hamit Demir (46)	Bingöl-K.tepe	22 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
126)- Hüseyin Demir (42)	Bingöl-K.tepe	22 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
127)- Hasan Demir (38)	Bingöl-K.tepe	22 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
128)- Burhan Sayan	Adana	23 July 1992	Denoun	PKK
129)- Mecit Gürze	Çamurlu	24 July 1992	Denoun	PKK
130)- Kadir Koyu (55)	Mazıdađı	27 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
131)- Kemal Karacan (70)	İstanbul	29 July 1992	Ret. Gen.	DS
132)- Abdurrahman Süre	Tatvan-Dibekli	31 July 1992	İmam	PKK
133)- Birgül Süre (20)	Tatvan-Dibekli	31 July 1992	State Su.	PKK
134)- Alaattin Tezcan	Adana	03 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
135)- Medeni Subaşı	Muş-Üçevler	05 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
136)- Ahmet Altınsoy (48)	Bismil	12 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
137)- Bilal Şahin	Ankara	15 August 1992	Stray Bullet	DS
138)- Sait Bilgiç	Çınar-Özyar	15 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
139)- Şerif Demir	Çınar-Özyar	15 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
140)- Hüsamettin Ateş	Çınar-Özyar	15 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
141)- Yolaç Boz	Adana	16 August 1992	NCO	PKK
142)- Hüseyin Ulusoy	Adana	16 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
143)- Mehmet Ünver	Adana	16 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
144)- Halil Kuhn	Adana	16 August 1992	Stray bu.	PKK
145)- Mahmut İncekaya	Ađrı-Aş kale	17 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
146)- Resul Ceylan	Lice-Başköy	17 August 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
147)- Yaşar Karakaya (17)	Çermik-Yayık.	17 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
148)- M. Şükrü Öztürk (15)	Çermik-Yayık.	17 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
149)- Ali Dađ	Şavur-P.dere	24 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
150)- Memik Ayçiçek	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
151)- Resul Bozkurt	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
152)- Taner Baran	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
153)- Ekrem Ablaş	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
154)- Ali Biricik	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
155)- Mehmet Emin Çalır	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
156)- Mustafa Aktaş	Near Lice	24 August 1992	Enli.man	PKK
157)- Ebubekir Teyin	Near Bingöl	26 August 1992	Police	PKK
158)- Abdulkadir İldeniz	Bismil-Çöltep	28 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
159)- İhsan Köse	Bingöl-Genç	31 August 1992	State Su.	PKK
160)- Kamil Başeđmez (83)	İstanbul	31 August 1992	Stray Bu.	DS
161)- Ersin Yenel (20)	Karakoçan	02 Sept. 1992	Enli.man	PKK
162)- Celal Bayık (28)	İzmir	03 Sept. 1992	Denoun.	PKK
163)- Mahmut Parlak	Adana	04 Sept. 1992	....	....
164)- Vahdet Sarđn	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
165)- Masum Tokgöz	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
166)- Mustafa Aldal	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
167)- Ali Aldal	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
168)- Aydın Aldal	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
169)- Hüseyin Kavak	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
170)- Şükrü Alaba	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
171)- Mehmet Alancı	Near Genç	04 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
172)- Adem Uzun	Near Genç	07 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
173)- Filkri Kozan	Near Genç	07 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
174)- Abdurrahman Akkuş	İđdir-Yüzbaşı	09 Sept. 1992	Denoun.	PKK
175)- Musa Çalır	İđdir-K.kuyu	11 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK

176)- Mikail Çelik (35)	Göle-Günerata	13 Sept. 1992	Denoun.	PKK
177)- Lütfü Çelik (25)	Göle-Günerata	13 Sept. 1992	Denoun.	PKK
178)- Münif Şerafettinoğlu	Near Silvan	14 Sept. 1992	Mayor	PKK
179)- Adil Kaplan	Near Silvan	14 Sept. 1992	ANAP Mem	PKK
180)- Engin Eser (25)	Silvan-Gördük	15 Sept. 1992	Teacher	PKK
181)- Rıza Sezen	Yedisu-K.Çubu	16 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
182)- Hediye Demir	Yedisu-K.Çubu	16 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
183)- Ali Demir	Yedisu-K.Çubu	16 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
184)- Nizamettin Açıan	Near Savur	20 Sept. 1992	SHP Pre.	PKK
185)- Hüseyin Gündoğdu	Near Savur	20 Sept. 1992	SHP Mem.	PKK
186)- MahmutYüksel	Near Savur	20 Sept. 1992	State Su.	PKK
187)- Halil Yıldırım	İstanbul	21 Sept. 1992	Police	DS
188)- Yılmaz Acar	Kulp	21 Sept. 1992	Prosecu.	PKK
189)- Özkan Şahin	Kulp	21 Sept. 1992	Judge	PKK
190)- Galip Bilikçi	Diyarbakır	24 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
191)- Ağıt Yıldırım	Beytüşşebab	25 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
192)- Abbas Bayram	Beytüşşebab	25 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
193)- Hacı Buluk	Beytüşşebab	25 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
194)- Süleyman Yavuz	Pervari	25 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
195)- Bedrettin Yılmaz	Malazgirt	26 Sept. 1992	Denoun	PKK
196)- Kemal Sunar	Kızıltepe	26 Sept. 1992	Police	PKK
197)- Ali Can Korukuş	Lice-Bakurköy	29 Sept. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
198)- Abdulkadir Karataş	Siverek-Çavuş	03 Octo. 1992	Denoun	PKK
199)- Davut Acur	Near Midyat	04 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
200)- İsa Efe	Near Midyat	04 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
201)- Ali Görgel (35)	Maraş-Bıyıklı	05 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
202)- Veysel Görgel (25)	Maraş-Bıyıklı	05 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
203)- Ekrem Ergin (31)	Batman	06 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
204)- Songül Ergin (25)	Batman	06 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
205)- Nevzat Çiftçi (22)	Beşiri	07 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
206)- Ahmet Altınhan (22)	Beşiri	07 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
207)- Mehmet Sincar	Savur-P.dere	12 Octo 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
208)- Ümit Taşyıldız	Şenkaya	12 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
209)- Selim Aslan	Hasankeyf	14 Octo 1992	State Su.	PKK
210)- Kasım Mete	Near Erüh	14 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
211)- Ali Özdemir (55)	Near Kızıltepe	16 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
212)- Piro Aydemir (54)	Near Kızıltepe	16 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
213)- Eyüp Temel (25)	Viranşehir	18 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
214)- İbrahim Singer	Gercüş-Akyar	18 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
215)- Rasim Akgün	Hınıs	21 Octo 1992	....	....
216)- Hilmi Kavak	Savur-Durusu	23 Octo 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
217)- Şakir İpekçi (48)	Adana	24 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
218)- Abdullah Güzel (36)	Karakoçan	24 Octo 1992	Vil. Head	PKK
219)- Ali Zorlu	Karakoçan	24 Octo 1992	Vil. Head	PKK
220)- Şevket Ketenciler	Digor-Varlı	25 Octo 1992	Informier	PKK
221)- Murat Aydın (22)	Denizli	31 Octo 1992	Confessor	PKK
222)- Abdulselem Örnek	İdil-Düzova	01 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
223)- Kasım Örnek (28)	İdil-Düzova	01 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
224)- Alaattin Köseoğlu	Tunceli-Erdem	02 Nove. 1992	Enli. Man	PKK
225)- Doğan Altınçanak(32)	İstanbul	04 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
226)- Fazlı Kalender (31)	İstanbul	04 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
227)- Mehmet Karaaslan	Palu-Akbulut	05 Nove. 1992	Vil. Head	PKK
228)- Hasan Aydın	Mersin	06 Nove. 1992	Informier	PKK
229)- Ömer Aydın	Mersin	06 Nove. 1992	Informier	PKK
230)- Haydar Sezgin	Mazgirt	07 Nove. 1992	Informier	TİKKO
231)- Yaşar Aktay	Hani	10 Nove. 1992	Journalist	PKK
232)- Bahattin Şafak	Çınar-Kutluk	10 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
233)- Şerif Orak	Gercüş-Yaman	12 Nove. 1992	Police	PKK
234)- Orhan Karadağ	Diyarbakır	12 Nove. 1992	Police	PKK

235)- Munzur Salıkara	Pertek-Y.bası	12 Nove. 1992	Vil. G.	TIKKO
236)- Kutbetin Emen	Savur-Höyük	14 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
237)- Celal Bağdap	Savur-Höyük	14 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
238)- Hüseyin Bal (52)	Ağaçlı-Kulp	15 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
239)- Şemsettin Güner	Doğubeyazıt	15 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
240)- Menderes Bayram	Doğubeyazıt	15 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
241)- Bayram Açıklan	Mersin	16 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
242)- Yavuz Selim Şahin	İstanbul	17 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
243)- Cengiz Erkan (28)	İstanbul	17 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
244)- Bestami Şeker (29)	İstanbul	17 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
245)- Celal Kuyru (40)	İstanbul	17 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
246)- Şeref Seymen	Suruç	18 Nove. 1992	NCO	PKK
247)- İbrahim Tuncay	Suruç	18 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
248)- Süleyman Çetin	Kozluk	18 Nove. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
249)- Ahmet Bozok (21)	İstanbul	21 Nove. 1992	Police	DS
250)- İsmail Aslan	Midyat-Budak	21 Nove. 1992	State Su.	PKK
251)- Hamza Sola	İzmir	21 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
252)- Mülayim Çelik	Diyarbakır	26 Nove. 1992	NCO	PKK
253)- Murat Öztürk	Diyarbakır	26 Nove. 1992	NCO	PKK
254)- Nezahat Tunç	Kızıltepe	27 Nove. 1992	Informet	PKK
255)- Ömer Akpınar	Siverek	01 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
256)- Yaşar Aslan (50)	Near Sason	01 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
257)- Nesip Bayındır (30)	Near Sason	01 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
258)- Ferzende Akın (25)	Near Sason	01 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
259)- Şükrü Çekirge	Adana	02 Decem. 1992	....	PKK
260)- Kemal Turan Öncü	Savur-Y.han	02 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
261)- Mahmut Özer	Savur-Y.han	02 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
262)- Mehmet Emin Özden	Near Hazro	06 Decem. 1992	Pub. Off.	PKK
263)- Ahmet Koparan	Near Hazro	06 Decem. 1992	Pub. Off.	PKK
264)- Muammer Turgut	Antalya	07 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
265)- Hasan Öztürk	Antalya	07 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
266)- Sadık Cengiz	Antalya	07 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
267)- Kudbettin Akpolat	Near Lice	08 Decem. 1992	Mayor	PKK
268)- Halis Ballı	Near Lice	08 Decem. 1992	Pub. Off.	PKK
269)- Cem Bul (22)	Near Lice	08 Decem. 1992	NCO	PKK
270)- Hakan Altındağ	Near Lice	08 Decem. 1992	Enli. Man	PKK
271)-	Near Lic	08 Decem. 1992	....	PKK
272)- Medeni Erkek	Near Silvan	08 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
273)- Tefik Balırcı	Near Silvan	08 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
274)- Beşir Güven	Diyarbakır	12 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
275)- Zekai Acar	Diyarbakır	12 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
276)- Abdullah Şimşek	Suruç	12 Decem. 1992	Informet	PKK
277)- İhsan Topvar	Çınar-B.pınar	15 Decem. 1992	Informet	PKK
278)- Süleyman Keskin	Batman	17 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
279)- Kerem Yıldızlı (56)	Mersin	18 Decem. 1992	Informet	PKK
280)- Seyfettin Kardeş	Near İdil	12 Decem. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
281)- Süleyman Serindağ	Near Pazarcık	21 Decem. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
282)- Rıza Serindağ	Near Pazarcık	21 Decem. 1992	State Su.	PKK
283)- Erdoğan Telkin	Near Varto	22 Decem. 1992	Police	PKK
284)- Ahmet Arkal (30)	Adana-Seyhan	28 Decem. 1992	Vil. G.	PKK
285)- Ali Bakış	Diyarbakır	31 Decem. 1992	Enli. Man	PKK

PKK : Partije Karkeran Kürdistan
(Kürdistan Worker's Party)

DS : Revolutionary Left

TIKKO : Turkish Workers' and
Peasants' Liberation Army

TIKB : Turkish Revolutionary Communists
Union

Denoun. : Denouncer

N.Guard : Night guard

State Su. : State supporter

NCO : Noncommissioned officer

Pub. Off. : Public officer

Vil. G. : Village guard

Enli.Man : Enlisted man

Ret. Pol. : Retired police officer

Mit Of. : National Intelligence Agency

Clashes, bomb and armed attacks

Many clashes were experienced between the security forces and armed groups all over Turkey particularly in the Emergency State Region and İstanbul. During the clashes, including attacks and raids on military stations and units in the Emergency State Region, a total of 970 militants, 905 of whom were PKK, 12 Devrimci Sol, 24 TIKKO, 8 Hizbullah, 1 TIKB and 20 militants whose organizations were not identified, died. This number reached 972 with the death of a TKP (Turkish Communist Party-Sparkle) militant and of a right-wing (ülküçü) militant as a result of bombs exploding in their hands while preparing for an action. The breakdown of members of the security forces and other persons who died during the clashes are as follows:

Enlisted man.....	399
Noncommissioned officer	49
Military officer	23
Police officer	32
Village guard	173
Night guard	6
Civilians	62
Stray bullet	3
TOTAL.....	747*

* 285 security officers who died in armed attacks and assassinations for whom a chronological breakdown is given above, are not included in this total.

THE KURDISH PROBLEM and THE STATE OF EMERGENCY

The Kurdish problem, one of the most important problems of Turkey for years, became more complex in 1992. The political power preferred to apply military methods instead of a democratic and peaceful solution. On the other hand, the Workers' Party of Kurdistan, PKK, staging a guerrilla war, continued its attacks by increasing their dose. Promises like "the state of emergency provisions and the village guard system will be revised" were not kept and furthermore no concrete step was taken concerning this issue. In spite of different views among the coalition parties, the period for the state of emergency provisions was extended three times within the year. The Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel criticized persons who wanted the state of emergency to be lifted, and was content in saying "This system will continue until a solution is found". The village guard system was not even mentioned.

The dimension of violence in the Emergency State Region grew bigger day by day. Gendarmerie stations were subject to hours-long PKK attacks. Clashes which arose in the region, lasted for days. Settlements were turned into ruins. Each day corpses of young soldiers who died during clashes, raids or traps, were sent to cities in western parts of Turkey. Turkey conducted many air and ground operations directed at PKK camps and units within or outside its national borders. The quantity of bombs used during the air attacks against the PKK, was several times higher than the quantity used during the Cyprus operation in 1974.

Claims regarding inhuman treatment during the clashes and events following them were widely reported. Corpses of PKK militants who died in clashes and raids, were displayed. Corpses torn into pieces and women stripped naked after being killed, were shown on TV. It was frequently claimed that the

security forces killed militants after apprehending them alive. Another thing which caused great reactions was the sight of corpses of women and children actually or allegedly killed by PKK militants.

A series of photographs which was placed on the first page of the newspaper *Özgür Gündem* on 21 October 1992, made the dimension of violence visible. A decision for arrest in absentia was given for Ramazan İmrağ, Cizre correspondent of the daily "Sabah", with regard to these photographs he had taken of Mesut Dündar being dragged as tied behind an armoured vehicle. The photographs published under the title "Mankind Being Dragged" showed a person lying on the ground as tied behind an armoured vehicle and then being dragged. The event occurred on 6 September. The person being dragged was a mentally disabled youth named Mesut Dündar. According to the newspaper he was killed by dragging. On the other hand, the authorities claiming that Mesut Dündar was found dead explained that they took this measure as they thought that there might be a booby-trap under the corpse. They stated that they often used such kind of practices under fear of a booby-trap.

The incident in question was not clarified, but caused many reactions at home and abroad. The authorities remained indifferent to this event as they did before. Ramazan İmrağ is reportedly to be tried under the Article 159/1 of the Turkish Penal Code for "insulting the state and its security forces via distributing the photographs he took". On the other hand, Ramazan İmrağ pointing out that he had not taken the photographs which cause great reactions in and outside Turkey, stated: "They try to lay responsibility for the event on me". Meanwhile, Cizre Public Prosecutor Soner Hamza Çetin accused of having taken Ramazan İmrağ to the place where the event occurred, and his wife working as a judge in Cizre were appointed to Safranbolu district of Zonguldak.

A report prepared by the Human Rights Association (İHD) Kars Branch concerning events in Göle district of Ardahan at the beginning of September, brought forward another dimension of the existing atmosphere of violence. The report describes some inhuman events experienced after two different clashes which broke out between the PKK militants and the security forces on 2 and 5 September, and shortly gives the following information.

"4 PKK guerrillas who were caught alive near Göle district of Ardahan following a denunciation made on 2 September, were executed by shooting on orders of a colonel. The 4 guerrillas were tied behind a military vehicle and brought to the district town by being dragged. In town the corpses, torn into pieces, were displayed for the public in the garden of a police station. Later, the corpses were buried in a pit dug outside the cemetery.

21 PKK guerrillas who were surrounded near Tekirderesi region in the vicinity of Göle on 5 September were killed. 4 corpses over which armoured vehicles were driven, were left at the scene as they were completely torn into pieces. The other corpses tied behind trailers were taken to the district town. The corpses could hardly be recognized, but were shown stark naked in front of the police station. Later the corpses were buried in a big grave on the empty field belonging to the Agricultural Directorate. The corpses were covered with very thin soil.

This report was approved by villagers, district inhabitants who were eye witnesses of the event and by municipality workers who buried the guerrillas. All people in the city protested the display of the corpses in such a manner. District inhabitants with whom we talked, think that the killed persons, whoever they may be, did not deserve such a treatment and that they at least should have been buried according to traditions and with a religious ceremony. This picture of violence was condemned by the people."

After İHD Kars Branch made its report public, Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin confirmed that the 17 PKK militants who died in a clash near Göle district of Ardahan on 5 September, were stark naked and collectively buried in a grave. Answering the motion submitted by Diyarbakır Deputy Hatip Dicle as to the event, İsmet Sezgin said: "The ones who died in the clash were taken to Göle on 6 September evening and the autopsies were conducted on 7 September. The clothes of the corpses were taken off during the autopsy. The corpses were not shown on display but for identification. They were buried without any religious ceremony because 6 of them were not circumcised, nobody claimed the bodies and we could not find any imam (priest) to conduct a religious ceremony for them. They were not buried in private graves but in one big grave. Since there were so many corpses they were transported to the grave on a municipality truck".

Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel and Deputy Prime Minister Erdal İnönü had gone to the Emergency State Region for a visit in December 1991 and made statements such as "People in the region will be approached with affection" and "the Kurdish reality is being accepted". Unfortunately, these words were not put into practice but the contrary happened. Murders by unidentified persons increased after the visit. On the one hand, it was said that the Kurdish reality was accepted, on the other hand the intolerance against Kurdish people increased. Because of the increasing intolerance, events occurred which lead to massive clashes and created Kurdish-Turkish hostility. Attacks by the PKK had a negative influence on this subject. Besides, attacks directed at civilians either in the Emergency State Region or in metropolitans, intensified tension among the public. Funeral ceremonies of soldiers and security officers who died in the Emergency State Region, turned into anti-PKK and anti-Kurdish demonstrations in which thousands of people participated. TV, newspaper or similar communication means, preferred to follow a provocative publication policy which increased the tension instead of a policy to mollify the unrest in society and tension among Turkish and Kurdish people. The provocative attitude showed its effect in the second half of the year in counties of the western part of Turkey.

A quarrel arose among minibis drivers on 3 August in Urla district of İzmir. The quarrel which was caused by a simple commercial disagreement turned into a Turkish-Kurdish clash in a short time. During the events, 25 persons were detained. The detainees were released one day later. Following the events in Urla, some tradesmen in Ödemiş district of İzmir put up posters against Kurdish people in their shops and in the streets.

In Fethiye district of Muğla, a group of 200 people started attacks on Kurdish people under the pretext of an enlisted man born in Fethiye who died in clashes with PKK militants at the beginning of October. As a result of the attacks, three Kurds were beaten and injured and some vehicles and shops belonging to Kurdish people were damaged. In addition, identity cards of some Kurds whose ways were blockaded, were torn into pieces. Upon the events, HEP Fethiye District President was taken under protection of the police. A restaurant belonging to İsmail Derici, a Kurd born in Gaziantep, was attempted to be burnt on 4 October. 20 of the people who had gathered to burn the restaurant, were detained by the police. The detainees were released on the evening of 5 October. The names of those detained persons are "Sadullah Yıldırım (49), Mehmet İzci (21), Cemil Kurt (28), Feyzullah Alkaya (23), Veli Kartal (27), Sadettin Durukan (16), Abdullah Kolsuz (33), İlhami Akkaya (18), Osman Kuru (45), Necip Raca (28), Güven Kilimci (24), İbrahim Manazlı (24), Nuri Acar (35), Turgut Kurt (26), Mesut Çalhan (19), Birah Biran (22), Kadir Zeybekler (29), Ramazan Kortan (37), and Nazmi Gergin (34)". In the meantime, 10 Kurdish families living in Fethiye left the county and immigrated to Mersin upon the events.

During a funeral ceremony organized in Alanya district of Antalya on 29 October for enlisted man Ahmet Gündoğmuş who died in the clashes in North Iraq, 2 Kurdish persons who were passing near the mosque where the funeral was being held came close to be lynched. The two Kurdish persons who were injured because of beatings by the participants of the funeral, were taken under treatment in a hospital in Antalya. A short while after this event, about 10 shops belonging to Kurdish people were destroyed by those participants. Furthermore, in Bursa, Kuşadası and Erzurum, during the funeral ceremonies of security officers who died in clashes, crowds of people made demonstrations in opposition to Kurds.

The events in Alanya continued the next days. During the night of 31 October, Kurdish persons named Ali Nergiz and Ali Işık who were sitting in a coffee-shop, were beaten and injured when the coffee shop was raided by a crowd of people. In the same night, the house of another Kurd, Abdülhakim Ayhan, was shot at with guns, and a building belonging to İsmet Tümerdem was burnt. Nobody died or was wounded in these two events. The next day in Karakoca village near Alanya, explosives were thrown into the house of Abdullah Acat, born in Midyat. During the events in and around Alanya which lasted for a week, 12 shops and 10 houses of Kurdish people were attacked with guns and stones. Ahmet Erdemir and Mehmet Hakan Kurt, who were among the 10 persons detained in connection with the attacks carried out against shops and houses, were arrested and the remaining 8 were released. The People's Labour Party Alanya District President Güven Özata made a statement regarding the events and said: "The attacks are continuing because the security officers do not take the necessary measures. The Kurdish people living in Alanya cannot go out of their homes and are urged to leave the county".

A crowd of about 1.000 people gathered in Iğdır city center on 2 November morning and made a demonstration in protest of the military operation in North Iraq. When security forces intervened in the demonstration,

events occurred. Some special team members opened fire at the demonstrators who were attacking the police officers with stones and sticks. The events spread further when fire was opened and some of the demonstrators were shot. Some civilians from the Nationalist Labor Party (MÇP) also participated in the clashes along with the security forces. During the events, Mehmet Sadık Çark died while 13 persons including two police officers were injured. 124 people were detained in the events during which about 200 shops and vehicles were damaged. 6 of the detainees were arrested and 208 of them were released.

The events in Iğdır continued on 3 November. Due to the events, education at the primary and secondary schools in the city was paused. The attitude of Nationalist Labour Party (MÇP) members in favor of the security forces caused tension between Azerian and Kurdish people in the city. Occasional quarrels broke out between them. In the meantime, on 2 November night fire was opened by unidentified persons at the house of Azerian İshak Aksu living in Zülfikar village near Iğdır. In the incident, the İshak Aksu's 60-year old mother Hanım Aksu was severely wounded.

The authorities did not step up measures for prevention during repeated events which arose during funeral ceremonies. In November, Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin, while assessing events which arose during funerals of security officers who died during the clashes, said: "Effects cause reaction". İsmet Sezgin who gave an interview to the daily Cumhuriyet about events which sometimes turned into attacks against Kurdish people, said the following: "The national feelings of our people make them more sensitive. Of course, certain agent provocateurs turn up everywhere, as usual. However, I believe that the great common sense of our people will be sufficient for the protection of our national unity".

Meanwhile, during a meeting held on the night of 23 June, the Council of Ministers agreed to lift certain powers which enable the Governor of the Emergency State Region "to censor and to send people into exile". This decision was presented to the public as a great achievement. However, the lifted provisions had not been applied since the beginning of 1991, owing to intense reactions. In addition, because the meeting was held without the President a legal discussion about the "invalidity of the decision" broke out. According to the decision by the Council of Ministers, the powers lifted are as follows:

- To restrict, censor, or ban the publication and dissemination of books, newspapers and other periodicals; to hinder importing them into the region; and to confiscate them.

- To restrict, ban or control articles, cassettes, motion pictures and radio and television broadcasts.

- To expel persons whose activities are deemed harmful to general security and public order, from certain areas; to prohibit entrance of those persons to the region; or to ban them from traveling to certain places in the region.

During the year, many air and ground operations were carried out against PKK camps and units either at home or in Northern Iraq. The clashes between

the PKK and the security forces which have become the focus of the Kurdish problem, got another dimension when the peshmergas of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) participated in the clashes in the second half of the year. As a result of the elections held in Northern Iraq within the year, a Kurdish Parliament was formed and a government established. The first mission of the government was to assume an attitude against the PKK. The PKK was asked to leave the region, but this demand was not accepted. In the meantime, it was alleged that all this was done in order to mollify reactions of Turkey which was not pleased about a Kurdish government being established in Northern Iraq.

Peshmergas of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), initiated an operation on 4 October against the PKK camps and units in Northern Iraq. This operation was the start for severe clashes between PKK militants and peshmergas of the KDP. Militants of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jelial Talabani, participated in the clashes after 7 October. The clashes intensified in the Hakurk region and in the vicinity of Zaho. While the clashes were continuing, certain PKK units in Hakurk and Durji regions were bombed by Turkish war planes. In the meantime, in an article by Hasan Cemal on 7 October 1992 in the newspaper "Sabah", it was argued that "the plans for the operation against PKK militants was commonly prepared by Turkish generals and the KDP authorities".

Because of a lack of success of the peshmergas against the PKK, on 22 October morning Turkey launched a big air and ground operation against PKK camps and units in Northern Iraq. During the operation, first, the camps of the PKK in Hakurk and Haftanin were bombed by war planes. Following the bombardment, a military unit of some 5.000 soldiers and 400 village guards entered Iraqi territory over Dügün Mountains. The number of fronts opened by Turkish military forces against the PKK, later reached three. The operation lasted until mid-November. While the operation of Turkey was continuing, a cease-fire agreement was signed between PKK and PUK. In accordance with the agreement, most PKK militants evacuated their bases in Hakurk Valley and went to Zelvede region located in the south. Following the cease-fire agreement, many peshmergas supporting Barzani withdrew from the clashes. After the operation, PKK camps and units in the border region between Turkey and Iraq came under control of the Turkish military forces.

The statements of the parties about the operation in Northern Iraq and its results, contradicted each other. In a written statement by the General Staff Directorate in connection with the operation, it was claimed that a total of 4.500 losses, including 1.800 dead, were inflicted on the PKK. In the statement, losses of the Turkish Armed Forces were disclosed to be 23 dead, one of them a second lieutenant, 3 of them noncommissioned officers and 19 of them enlisted men, and 96 wounded, including 12 military officers, 15 noncommissioned officers and 69 enlisted men. In a second statement by the General Staff Directorate it was stated that 29 security officers died and 152 security officers were wounded during the operation. Forestry Minister Vefa Tanır said that the operation conducted in North Iraq brought a financial burden of more than TL 10 trillion.

Meanwhile, PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan made a statement and denied the news that "PKK suffered great casualties during the clashes in North Iraq". Abdullah Öcalan said: "Turkey is sinking into a bog. In the North, the situation became suitable for more comprehensive activities. The people are getting conscious at an incredible rate. Shortly, we may assess this one-month war like that. The forthcoming days will witness new developments. To have casualties is normal, but what we acquired is remarkable since we have been experiencing a meaningful war". On the other hand, the statement made by the Kurdistan People's Liberation Army (ARGK), which is the military branch of the PKK, concerning the military operation carried out by Turkey in North Iraq, alleged that the Turkish Army had suffered a defeat in the operation and the real winner of the war was the PKK. In the statement, it was also claimed that 87 PKK militants had died and 53 militants had been wounded and that the casualties of the Turkish Army had reached 500 while 5 war planes and 4 helicopters had been shot down.

Social life, educational activities, health services etc. almost came to a stand-still in the Emergency State Region in 1992. The population of many districts and towns decreased in an outstanding manner due to an enormous exodus. In recent years, about 400 villages and settlements were evacuated. The buildings in the evacuated places became unusable. In the region, a total of 622 primary and secondary schools were closed during the last 3 years because of life security, village evacuation, lack of students and difficulties in finding teachers. According to the data released by the Ministry of National Education, 35 schools were closed in Van, 59 in Şırnak, 12 in Diyarbakır, 188 in Mardin and 201 in Elazığ in three years. The number of the medical doctors and assistant health personnel in charge of hospitals and health institutions declined rapidly. Mass organizations, political parties and entertainment centers became places deserted by the people.

An article entitled "**Total Suicide**" by journalist Günay Aslan published on 16 December 1992 in the daily *Özgür Gündem*, described life conditions in the Emergency State Region in a striking way. Observations of Günay Aslan who spent the first days of 10-17 December, Human Rights Week, in the region, are as follows:

"Human Rights Week (10 to 17 December) passed "quiet" in the Kurdish geography where the human rights are most widely violated and the right to life is ignored. In this geography where every yesterday is better than today many Human Rights Associations (İHD) have been closed and other offices are opened by three people and closed by five. Local human rights activists say that the reason for this is the State regarding İHD as an "enemy". Like HEP the İHD is seen as a camouflage organization for the PKK and everybody working in this arena is treated as a "terrorist". Therefore, dealing with human rights abuses is as risky as being a PKK guerilla.

It is only natural that many people were not prepared to pay high price for working in an area under heavy oppression and threat of the State. Nevertheless, - even though small in number- there were some high-spirited people prepared to face all kind of risks. The only thing they currently can do is to prepare documents for history.

Another structure that is opened by three people and closed by five, is the People's Labour Party (HEP). HEP Provincial leaders summed up the reasons as follows: "The foundation of HEP was met with enthusiasm by the people. HEP was seen as the only political party to solve their problems politically. However, the intense interest of the people made the State move against HEP. Because the State was not interested in finding a political solution brutal violence was applied against HEP. They tried to silence our party. This led to disappointment of the people and instead of hopes for a political solution on a legal basis, step by step way was made for solutions based on violence. And the people, who do not want to lose their lives and possessions by fruitless efforts within HEP started to favour alternative outside HEP.

Nobody is optimistic about the future of HEP on trial at the Constitutional Court under the demand of closure. Almost everybody we talked to was sure that HEP will be closed. And speaking with one voice almost everybody argues that by closing HEP, all other parties in the region will "de facto" be closed. Not much will be different if the demand for closure is rejected or the case will last longer than expected. Today many provincial or district boards of HEP can only take a "vote by majority" in prison. In other words HEP is already closed "de facto". If the demand of closure is rejected, the high tension in the region may decline. This alone will be of vital importance for deep pain (and affect the question of life and death) we shall be faced with in the near future. However there is no such expectation... On the contrary, there are signs that the high tension will increase to hypertension.

Military, administrative, economic and judicial activities of the state in the region are intensifying towards a "total war". Almost all provincial and district towns particularly Dicle, Lice, Kulp, Cizre, Nusaybin, Kızıltepe, Idil and Uludere, are surrounded by heavy armourment. Widespread immigration is being observed as a result of operations carried out in settlements and among village population under blockade of tanks and armoured vehicles. Leading among provincial capitals where immigrants are taking refuge are Diyarbakır, Batman, Van and Urfa. In many houses of Diyarbakır, three of four families are living under one roof. And the Kurds are expressing events unbearable for a human heart with an internally ever growing anger. The Kurds are living through one of the darkest eras of their history.

In the words of Demirel the State "has mobilized all its forces for the southeast to suppress yet another uprising". As an official said quiet openly the situation has reached a point of "either us or they". As a result of the "either - or" psychology it has again become possible to regard the listening of a Kurdish cassette as a "crime of terrorism". Again Kurdish names for the children can be announced "forbidden". The impression is created that we might turn back to what the Constitutional Court declared as "there are no Kurds, only Turks".

Like every naked eye, I saw that as a result of policies enforced by the State, people from all parts of society are about to blow up internally like a volcano. As a reporter frequently visiting the region I never witnessed a tension that had increased that much. I was also faced with the fact that the PKK like the State intensified its strategy according to the period of explosion.

PKK sources describe their current activities as; a) "to settle behind the lines of enemy"; b) to improve military mechanisms to protect the masses" and c) "to complete the establishment of the national assembly". The State being aware of PKK's strategy to present itself as the alternative against present conditions and the system is moving with all its force against the masses which the PKK announced as their "supporters" and trying to stop the PKK through the import of killings by "unknown assailants" from the East to West. Announcing that the killings of HEP members in Adana and Antalya were carried out by the "contr-guerilla" the PKK points out that the attack on a police bus in Antalya was an action of revenge. It is also alleged that the State wants to implement the system of "village guards" in towns such as Adana, Antalya, Mersin, İzmir and Aydın.

PKK members reject the claim that "they accept violence not as a means but as the aim and that they are a violent organization". What they say in shot is: "Yes, violence put the question on the agenda. But politics will have to solve it. However, the State is not willing to move towards such a solution and is regarding everything as positive if it intensifies the war in our country. Against the ruthless attacks beyond all limits and judicial considerations we shall carry the war behind the front-lines. We cannot stand and wait until our people is massacred in masses. We have done everything to diminish the tension, to have a break in the war and to open the way for political solutions. The answer of the State has always been more violence. It is the State's responsibility if the arrow has left the bow.

According to the official statements, a total of 11,300 people were detained during 1992 for helping and harbouring PKK militants. Even if now, there is glut of intensive detentions in the region. The number of the deaths is more than total number of deaths during the last 8 years. Before the government completes its 500th day, number of unclarified murders is like to be more than 500. Prisons in the region are over-crowded. Furthermore, as in the examples we witnessed in Şırnak, Urfa and Batman prisons, civilian prisons were allocated for political convicts.

Plus, operations conducted by the security forces and guerilla raids of the PKK are still continuing. The villagers living in the rural area between Dicle district and Diyarbakır say that 'they almost go mad'. There are lots of villagers who say that 'National Assembly should declare itself'. Everyone tells 'whatever happens'. The state is on the scene with all its driving for realization of the blow-up. On the other hand, the masses which are depressed of heavy pressures and gathered in certain centers of the region, are watching for an opportunity to burst out".

Police Demonstrations

Demonstrations staged during funeral ceremonies by police officers following armed attacks and assassinations, were one of the worrisome developments witnessed in 1992. During the demonstrations, particularly the ones in İstanbul, Adana and İzmir, human rights activists, certain politicians and some press members were shown as targets. During the demonstrations,

journalists were beaten and detained. The authorities connived at the demonstrations. Furthermore, the activists were encouraged and demonstrations were incited. With his statements and speeches President Turgut Özal showed an attitude to enhance tension. Interior Minister backed police officers with his statements and said: "The slogans shouted at the demonstrations are psychological. We should accept that police officers shout slogans due to their sorrow caused by the killing of their friends".

About 1000 police officers who participated in the ceremony arranged on 4 February in front of İstanbul Police Headquarters in Gayrettepe for chief commissioner Atif Ödül and police officers Salih Sevgican and Mürtüvvet Akpınar who were killed as a result of an attack carried out by Devrimci Sol militants in Zeytinburnu quarter of İstanbul marched by shouting slogans. Journalists who wanted to take photographs were prevented by the police. During the funeral ceremony held in İzmir for Mürtüvvet Akpınar on 5 February, police officers made a demonstration shouting slogans such as "Down with communists", "Blood for blood, revenge".

In Adana a funeral ceremony was arranged on 7 February for Özer Özkaya who died as a result of an armed attack on the "Anti-Riot Police Headquarters" in Adana. After the ceremony, about 2000 people, most of them policemen, marched shouting slogans such as "Blood for blood, revenge", "National Assembly resign", "Down with communists", "Human rights, enemy of the police". Some journalists who observed the events were beaten by the police. Among the beaten journalists, Mehmet Aslan (Anatolian News Agency), Arap Filiz (Cumhuriyet) and Tarık Akcan (New South News) were injured. In the meantime, a crowd of some 300 people including wives and children of police officers made a demonstration on the same day in Halkalı by blocking E-5 highway in protest of the armed attacks recently carried out against the police. The demonstration was not stopped for an hour.

Events like the demonstrations of police officers who were supported by certain publications, exposed human rights activists to serious dangers. İHD's İstanbul Branch President Ercan Kanar mentioning about his fears on this matter, stated that the association's leaders were receiving death threats. Ercan Kanar said in a press meeting he arranged on 14 February: "We are opposed to all human rights violations, especially to state terror. But state authorities, first of all President Turgut Özal, do not show the same sensitivity. Authorities opened a holy war inciting unlawful sources to attack. Journalists and İHD leaders have become targets".

Another event, similar to the ones in the metropolitans, was experienced in Şırnak. During the funeral ceremony organized on 5 March for police officer Ahmet Özer who died as a result of fire opened on a security control post on the road between Şırnak and Cizre by PKK militants, a crowd of 150 policemen made a demonstration shouting slogans such as "Şırnak will be the Grave for Kurdish People". In the demonstration many people were beaten and certain shops were destroyed by police officers. During the incidents more than 50 people were injured by blows of truncheons, clubs and iron sticks, and the damage of millions of TL occurred. Sekvan Aytu, the President of the İHD's Şırnak branch said: "The events were extremely grave. We experienced real terrorism".

A second similar event took place in Batman. A wide-scale operation was started in Batman because of the killing of police officer Ahmet Yıldız working in Batman on 21 April. During the operation, the Human Rights Association's (İHD's) Batman branch, Batman office of the newspaper Yeni Ülke (New Land), the People's Labour Party Provincial Center and many shops in the city were raided and destroyed by the police. Some documents and archives of the İHD were seized during the raid. Besides, the President of the branch, Sedat Özevin, had to testify to the police.

Yavuz Önen, President of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey and Nevzat Helvacı, President of the Human Rights Association, on arranged a press meeting related to the latest events on 7 February. In the press meeting it was pointed out that HRFT and İHD are opposed to every kind of terrorist actions, whether carried out by the state, organizations or individuals, it was said: "In these days when wishes and promises for democratization are being pronounced, the escalation of violent actions is increasing our fears". A summary of thoughts pronounced in the press meeting is as follows:

"We, as defenders of human rights, do not approve of terrorist actions directly attacking the right to life and physical integrity. Such actions are the greatest obstacles for human rights and democracy. All those killed, civilians or public workers, were human beings. The state's reply to terror by terror should not be adopted as a method in a democratic state of law. All kinds of violent actions should be stopped. The Kurdish problem is one of the most serious problems of our country. This problem with social, economic and cultural dimensions may be solved fairly only by democratic methods. The attempt to find solution by means of armed methods, instead of democratic ones, will aggravate the problem. Initiatives that will make the Kurdish and Turkish people confront each other should be avoided. Statements by the state authorities or public officers saying that revenge for these events will be taken cause increased tension. It is necessary to abstain from them".

Demonstrations by police officers were suspended for a long while upon intense reactions and criticisms. Police officers who attempted to make demonstrations or to shout slogans, were silenced by their superiors. Nevertheless, police demonstrations started again in the last two months of the year.

About 500 police officers who attended the funeral ceremony arranged on 10 November at Diyarbakır Police Headquarters for police officers İhsan Sal and Ufuktan Akgüneş who were killed during the events in Hani, started to march towards Dağkapı at the end of the funeral. During the march, slogans were shouted against the Government, the Minister of Justice, Kurdish people and human rights advocates. In addition, some police officers opened fire into the air and to their left and right. In consequence of the fire, many bullets hit the building of the HEP Diyarbakır Provincial Center. Meanwhile, Ahmet Zafer Öztürk, reporter for the daily Sabah, who was following the march, was beaten by the police and his camera was broken. Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin stated that 10 police officers were expelled from their duties and an investigation was launched against them in connection with the events.

A funeral ceremony was held on 19 November for police officers Yavuz Selim Şahin, Cengiz Erkan, Bestami Şeker and Celal Kuyu who were killed by Devrimci Sol militants on 17 November in Sanayi Site of 4 th Levent in İstanbul. One day before the ceremony, İstanbul Governorate and İstanbul Police Headquarters called people to attend the funeral. A crowd of people including civilian dressed and uniformed policemen and "ülküçü" ("idealistic" right-wing nationalist) groups, frequently shouted slogans such as "Damn Human Rights", "Government Resign", "We demand executions in front of the public" and "Ülkücü-police Cooperation". Besides, posters saying "No to CMUK" (recent changes in the Criminal Procedure Code) caused attention.

TORTURE

1992 was a year during which many more incidents of torture were witnessed than during previous years, although the coalition government had made many promises when it took office in November 1991. Promises such as "preventing torture and punishing torturers" occupied prominent places in the government's program and in statements by government officials. In his first statement after taking office, Justice Minister Seyfi Oktay said that the new government would make extensive legal changes to put an end to all kinds of cruelty, adding that he was opposed to detentions without a judge's decision. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel frequently repeated similar statements. But none of these words was ever put into practice. Torture continued to be applied as an interrogation method like it had been applied for years. Changes of the Code of Criminal Procedures (CMUK) which was put on the agenda with a great noise and became law following long-term debates, could not prevent torture. Sayings of "Transparent Police Station" and "Walls of Glass" remained pleasant slogans of the election campaign. Police stations and interrogation centers turned out to be places surrounded by thick walls which could hardly be looked behind even if by deputies who on several occasions tried to do so.

Two deputies, members of the Human Rights Commission of the Assembly, were not allowed to carry out research in Ankara Political Police Center. In the incident on 23 July, police authorities who did not allow Urfa Deputy Halil İbrahim Çelik and İstanbul Deputy Halit Dumankaya to enter, stated that permission of Ankara State Security Court (SSC) was needed for an inspection. The deputies who could not enter the Political Police Center said that they would file an official complaint with the Presidency of the Assembly and the Ministry of Interior. The same members of the Human Rights Commission were not let into Diyarbakır E Type Prison, either, where they went a short time after the previous event.

During a visit to the USA, Mr. Süleyman Demirel stated in an interview with CNN that torture incidents had decreased and that all cases were seriously

tackled. However, the facts proved Süleyman Demirel to be wrong. Hardly any of the torture cases listed below were subject to serious investigations. Torture continued to be systematically applied in police stations and particularly by the political police. Not even deaths related to torture came to an end in 1992. The following examples show how difficult it was to have torture allegations investigated and to bring those responsible for it to justice.

In the case of 5 police officers accused of "having tortured and raped" Mediha Curabaz during her detention in August 1991 in Adana Police Headquarters it was decided that there was no need to prosecute them. In the decision by Adana Provincial Administrative Council of February 1992 it was stated that there was not sufficient evidence to open an investigation into the allegation that the police officers Tarık Doğan, Sami Orhan, Ferit Çakır, Hasan Ay and Muzaffer Aydın "had applied torture". Adana Provincial Administrative Council is composed of Deputy Governor Ali Aydınalp, Director of Legal Affairs Yalçın Şendur, Director of Registration Kenan Çelik, Director of National Education Abdurrahman Yıldız, Building Director Kayhan Çamurdan, Health Director Alper Pişkin and Agricultural Affairs Director Nihat Acar. At the time of the decision Director of Legal Affairs, Yalçın Şendur, was on leave and could not participate in the meeting. The appeal to lift the decision by the administrative council which was filed by the lawyers of Curabaz at the Supreme Administrative Council did not bear any results within the following 11 months.

Mehmet Zeki Özırmak running a coffee-shop in Karaman announced that he was tortured at the beginning of March in the police station where he had been taken on allegations that "his coffee-shop was a place for gambling". At Karaman State Hospital Mehmet Zeki Özırmak was given a medical report certifying "recovery in 7 days and ability to work after 20 days". He complained against the Chief of Karaman Central Police Station, Ali Haydar İnce, but in return was arrested on the ground that "he had insulted and threatened the civil servant on duty". When the event was reported by newspapers, an investigation was launched against the chief of the police station, Ali Haydar İnce. Results of the investigation against İnce who was appointed out of Karaman, were not known at the end of the year.

At the end of an enquiry which concluded in May, Eskişehir Public Prosecution Office accepted that prisoners sent to Eskişehir Special Type Prison in October 1991 had been subjected to "torture and ill-treatment, but, as a result of the investigation launched upon the official complaints filed by relatives and lawyers of inmates it was decided not to prosecute the prison officers because it could not be established whether those inhuman practices had been carried out "in prison or during the transfer of the inmates". The decision was taken, although ill-treatment and torture inflicted on 119 inmates had been certified by medical reports and the responsible persons had been named. In spite of this, no official could be found for trial. Eskişehir Special Type Prison constructed on the basis of single-person cells, and opened in October 1991, was closed down by the coalition government on 24 November 1991 due to serious reactions.

In the case of policemen Burhan Gökhan, Mehmet Deniz and İsmail Uysal who were accused of having tortured Süleyman Karadağ and Songül Kaya detained in April in Malatya on allegations of "being members of an illegal or-

ganization" it was quickly decided that there was no reason "to prosecute them". Süleyman Karadağ had obtained a medical report, certifying that he had been tortured, from Malatya State Hospital to where he had been sent after being released. However, this report was not enough to indict the accused police officers. Yıldız Koluçak, the lawyer of the tortured youths, indicated that to give a "decision of non-prosecution" for an incident of torture which was supported by a medical report was against the laws, and she appealed against the decision. Only after that it was decided to launch a trial against the police officers Burhan Gökhan, Mehmet Deniz and İsmail Uysal.

Left-wing prisoners in İzmir Buca Prison were beaten by the guardians and gendarmes who conducted an operation in the wards on the night of 14 September. In consequence of the beating 58 prisoners, 18 of them severely, were injured. Upon the official complaints and public reactions, İzmir Public Prosecution Office initiated an inquiry against 70 prison officers. Nevertheless, by saying shortly after the beginning of the inquiry "According to information I gathered, no operation was carried out by gendarmes in prison. After the event, an ordinary search was conducted in the wards. Injured inmates were treated by doctors", İzmir Public Prosecutor Melih Tarı showed how symbolic the inquiry was. The "mock-inquiry" concluded on 2 November and it was decided not to prosecute those 70 prison officers. For the justification of the decision of non-prosecution, it was written that "the prisoners had injured each other and that the officers had only carried out their duties". Thus, another torture file was closed.

Like before, most of the public officers responsible for torture who, despite all difficulties, were actually put on trial, were acquitted in 1992. In a trial which ended on 12 February at İstanbul Kadıköy Criminal Court, police officer Hüseyin Polat, accused of having tortured M.D. Hüseyin Özkahraman, was acquitted. The reason for the acquittal was that Hüseyin Özkahraman did not recognize the accused police officer Hüseyin Polat. Hüseyin Özkahraman who was detained on 6 July 1991, had been interrogated at Yeldeğirmeni Police Station and tortured. He certified the torture inflicted on him with a medical report showing his inability to work for 15 days.

The sentences of imprisonment given for the officers whose offenses were proven in court, did not exceed funny periods. On this subject, we may show, as a sample, the sentences passed on Major Ali Şahin and his friends who killed teacher Sıddık Bilgin under torture.

Major Ali Şahin, noncommissioned officers Mehmet Acar and İbrahim Yıldızgörü and Corporal Suat Akova who were tried under charges of torturing and killing teacher Sıddık Bilgin in July of 1985 in Suveren Gendarmerie Station in Genç district of Bingöl, were sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment each. In the trial which ended on 27 April at Ankara Criminal Court No. 2, the defendants were also prohibited to work as officers for 3 months. Another defendant, first lieutenant Ümit Eriş, was acquitted. Özdemir Türker, one of the judges of the trial, opposed the judgement of the court and demanded no less than 15 years' imprisonment for Ali Şahin and acquittal for the other defendants. If the Appeal Court approves the sentences, the defendants sentenced to 1 year's imprisonment each, will stay in prison for 73 days in accordance with conditional release provisions.

Another similar event was witnessed in December in Antalya. Commissioner Haluk Özkan and policemen Ömer Çelik, Ekrem Uludağ and Mehmet Şimşek, who were tried on charges of having tortured an 11-year old child detained in Antalya for theft in mid-1992, were sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment each. At the trial which ended on 9 December at Antalya Criminal Court No.2, the imprisonment sentences given for the defendants were commuted to a fine. A medical report showing that recovery would last 5 days had been given to the 11-year old child because of the torture.

The trial of six police officers charged with "killing under torture" Yücel Özen who was held in İstanbul Beyoğlu Police Station, in November 1991 started on 6 March. In the trial at Beyoğlu Criminal Court, various sentences of imprisonment were requested for the police officers Ahmet Güngör, Hasan Kirman, Yavuzhan Sützer, Nazif Aktaş, Veysel Atasü and Ünal Canlı. The parents of Yücel Özen said during the hearing that their child had no health problem and that they believed he died as a result of torture. Doctor Cahide Topsakal, working at Taksim First Aid Hospital, who testified as a witness, said that Yücel Özen had been brought to hospital because he had been beaten by police officers. The neighbours of Yücel Özen said that when they visited him in hospital they had seen marks of a string around his ankles and bruises in his palms, on his body and at his eyes.

The Constitutional Court decided on the annulment of certain articles of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" on 31 March 1992. With the annulment of Article 15 of the law, providing that trials launched against security officers because of crimes they committed with regard to their duties are conducted without arrest, was lifted. Besides, provincial or district administrative councils will not have the initiative anymore on trials to be launched against security forces. The Public Prosecution Offices can directly operate on official complaints with regard to torture. However, since the decision did not come into force because it was not promulgated in the Official Gazette, and since the Government did not make necessary changes on this issue, obstruction of legal measures against those responsible for torture continued.

In short, torture crimes remained unprosecuted in 1992 as they had been in 1991. Security General Director Yılmaz Ergün said in a statement he made in August that a total of 35 police officers were dismissed from their jobs because of certain offenses they committed in 1991. According to information given by Yılmaz Ergün, 9 of those 35 police officers were dismissed because they accepted a bribe, 13 of them because they killed someone, 3 of them because they were involved in a usurpation and 10 of them because they had political activities. No police officer who was named in torture events was dismissed from his job. This situation did not change in 1992 either.

Like in 1991, Turkey was frequently condemned on international platforms in 1992, too, because a large number of torture cases remained on the agenda. The dimension of torture in Turkey was made public in an impressive manner in reports prepared by independent human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Helsinki Watch. On the other hand, the political leadership objected to these reports and qualified the human rights organizations as evil-minded ones, instead of correcting mistakes in the cases indicated

in these reports. One of the reports which accused Turkey because of torture cases, was published in December by the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CPT).

The 10-page report based on visits made by CPT delegations in 1990, 1991 and 1992, records that both ordinary and political offenders are tortured and exposed to all kinds of ill-treatment. The report reminds the government of its duty and serious steps to prevent torture are demanded. This report is the first text that the CPT made public using its authority based on Article 10 of the Convention for the Prevention of Torture in Europe. (The 2nd paragraph of Article 10 of the Convention gives the CPT the right to make a public statement in the case that one of the countries which adopted the Convention, fails to cooperate or refuses to improve the situation in the light of the Committee's recommendations).

The report states that as a result of investigations conducted by 3 delegations in prisons, police custody and hospitals, it was established that torture is of a widespread nature and that the authorities do not take necessary precautions for the prevention of torture and ill-treatment especially at the Political Police Centers in Diyarbakır, İstanbul and Ankara. The report describes that in consequence of investigations made at the Political Police Centers in Ankara, Diyarbakır and İstanbul all kinds of physical and psychological torture and ill-treatment were found, and it is recorded that torture traces consistent with the accusations were determined on the bodies of defendants checked by the doctors of the delegation. The report also says that recommendations of each of 3 delegations were not taken seriously. Further impressions gathered by the CPT during its periodic visits are drawn up as follows:

- During visits to various prisons and negotiations with prison personnel, the Committee only found little evidence that ill-treatment is inflicted on prisoners. There are certainly some problems in the prisons of Turkey, but torture should be excluded from these problems.

- The Committee listened to allegations that gendarmes as the police force in rural areas, detain person arbitrarily and beat them. There is also sufficient reason to believe the claims that arrested people are beaten by gendarmes during transfer. Nevertheless, there is not much information to prove that the gendarmes torture prisoners.

- The 15 days' detention period for collective crimes which can be raised to 30 days in the region under emergency legislation creates suitable conditions to inflict torture, and provides enough time for the disappearance of torture traces.

- Since certain torture methods are professionally applied and do not leave any visible traces arrested people have no chance to make a complaint about the torture they were exposed to.

In the last part of the report entitled "Action Required" the CPT recommends the followings :

- Legal safeguards against torture and other forms of ill-treatment need to be reinforced and new safeguards introduced.

- Education on human rights matters and professional training of officials must be intensified.

- Public prosecutors must react expeditiously and seriously when they are confronted with complaints of torture. Persons in police or gendarmerie custody should be examined by doctors of Forensic Institutes and independent observation mechanisms must be ensured.

- Amendments made in connection with the detention period must be applied all over Turkey. An independent lawyer and doctor must be provided for the persons detained because of the offences under the jurisdiction of State Security Courts (SSCs) during interrogation, and detention period for such kind of offenses should be reduced.

a)- Amended Code of Criminal Procedures (CMUK)

In 1992, discussions on "torture" mostly focused on amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedures shortly called CMUK (Ceza Mahkemeleri Usul Kanunu). These amendments which were among the important promises of the government, were put on the agenda of the National Assembly in April under the name of "draft law on the reform of justice". The draft which shortened the detention period, banned bad treatment and torture, enabled lawyers to be present during police interrogation, and limited the period under arrest was adopted by National Assembly on 21 May. According to the draft law, detention period would decrease to 24 hours for individual crimes, and to 4 days for collective crimes. However, this period for collective crimes may be extended for another 4 days by decision of judge. Lawyers would be able to be present at every stage of interrogation, the period under arrest would be no more than 6 months during preliminary interrogation and no more than 2 years during trial stage for crimes entailing imprisonment sentences of up to 7 years. On the other hand, for crimes entailing sentences of more than 7 years' imprisonment, judge would be able to decide on release of the arrested person on bail. In spite of many improvements, the draft included many deficiencies.

The draft, despite all its deficiencies, disturbed many circles particularly the ones who accept torture as the only possible interrogation method. Subsequently President Turgut Özal blocked the draft law on 8 June and sent it back to the Assembly. In justifying his decision Turgut Özal pointed out that fundamental rights and freedoms may be limited in cases of curfew, emergency and wars, and said: "When ordinary crimes are considered under the same conditions as terror crimes, certain inconveniences will arise". It was later established that the draft law was rejected upon reactions by certain security authorities, particularly the Emergency State Governor Ünal Erkan, and in accordance with the demand of the National Security Council (NSC).

At this stage the draft became a problem between the coalition parties. The True Path Party (DYP) deputies who took into consideration the reactions of NSC and security authorities wanted to change the draft. However, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) deputies objected to the demand for change. As a result of negotiations between representatives of the two parties at the beginning of July, it was decided that the changes provided in the draft law would be applied in the Emergency State Region and for the crimes under the scope

of State Security Courts (SSCs) two years later. Nevertheless, this agreement did not satisfy many DYP deputies and the date of the debate on the draft was postponed to August.

The draft was dealt with again at the extra-ordinary meeting of the Assembly on 26 August. However, no compromise was achieved between DYP and SHP. On the one hand, DYP deputies demanded that the draft should not be applied for political crimes tried in SSCs, on the other hand, SHP deputies defended that it would be sufficient that the draft should not be applied for those crimes only for one year. About 70 DYP deputies did not participate in the Assembly session during which the draft was discussed. Therefore, the draft law was in danger of being rejected. Because of these developments, President of the Judicial Commission, Cemal Şahin, drew back the draft in order to prevent it from being refused. (In accordance with the National Assembly's Regulation, it is impossible to rediscuss a refused raft law for one year.)

Following lengthy debates the draft law was adopted on 18 November after being changed in accordance with the criticism of the National Security Council. The law numbered 3842 which was approved by President Turgut Özal this time, was promulgated in the Official Gazette on 1 December and came into force. Most of the amendments brought by the law will not be applied for political investigations (Article 31) under the jurisdiction of the SSCs and in the Emergency State Region. By excluding certain offenses from the jurisdiction of SSCs an attempt was made to silence some criticisms. The new arrangements brought by the law are as follows:

- Detention period will decrease to 24 hours for individual crimes, and to 4 days for collective crimes. This period for collective crimes may be extended for another 4 days by decision of a judge. The detention period will be 15 days for the crimes under jurisdiction of SSCs and 30 days in the Emergency State Region, as it was before.

- Lawyers will be able to be present at every stage of the investigation. Defendants in police custody may have access to a lawyer. Defendant's right to have a lawyer during interrogation and to demand legal assistance from his/her lawyer may not be rejected. The Bar Association will supply a lawyer for defendants who are unable to hire one. However, these provisions are not valid for those detained because of crimes under the jurisdiction of SSCs.

- Testimonies which are taken under torture, ill-treatment or certain physical or psychological intervention breaking down will- power, are not valid. This will be applied for all crimes without any discrimination.

- While being interrogated by either security officers or prosecutors, defendants will be made aware of "the offences charged with" and of "his/her rights". Defendants will be reminded that s/he has the right to remain silent. These will not be applied for the cases under the jurisdiction of SSCs.

- Periods under arrest will be no more than 6 months during interrogation stage and no more than 2 year for crimes entailing imprisonment sentences up to 7 years during trial stage. On the other hand, for the crimes entailing sentences of more than 7 years' imprisonment, a judge will decide whether the pe-

riod under arrest will continue or not. In that sense, the arrested ones may be released on bail if the judge approves. These provisions do not include the cases under jurisdiction of SSCs.

The amendments of the Code of Criminal Procedures caused various public discussions and criticism by human rights activists and jurists. The focus of the criticisms intensified on the exclusion of political crimes from the improvements. Following are some items of criticism by human rights activists and jurists:

- The law does not introduce measure to end torture. The detention period was not shortened decisively. Besides, former periods for crimes in the Emergency State Region and under the scope of the SSCs remained the same. Detainees are kept under custody of officers who have been applying torture as an interrogation method for years. Only to "have access to a lawyer, have a lawyer be present during interrogation and to provide legal aid for suspects" is not enough to prevent torture. Without changing the staff who during years got used to torture, it is hard to believe that this will prevent torture.

- With the amendment a discrimination was made between the political and ordinary crimes, the right for a fair trial of political offenders was disregarded and the principle of "equality" was ignored, whereas Articles 5 and 6 of the European Convention on Human Rights give everybody the "right for defence and a fair trial". Even if only on paper, the 1982 Constitution also provides the right of defence for everybody.

- Under the law the detention period for ordinary crimes may be extended to 8 days in certain cases. Whereas, between 1973 and 1980 this period was a maximum of 7 days. It shows that the law does not even catch the standards of 20 years ago. The 8-day detention period is in contravention to Article 5/3 of the European Convention on Human Rights which provides that persons apprehended shall be immediately brought before a judge.

- The Minister of Justice said in a press meeting he arranged on 19 November that "abstract clauses which enable arbitrary and unnecessary arrests under subjective considerations, and which turn the arrest into a sentence were omitted in the law". In accordance with the Article 31 of the law, suspects interrogated with regard to crimes under the jurisdiction of SSCs will not benefit from this amendment. That is to say, that they may be arbitrarily and unnecessarily arrested.

- Under the new arrangement, the police and gendarmerie were given the authority to interrogate. Up to now this authority was being used without a legal basis and raised objections and criticisms of jurists. The new law, does not leave room for such kind of objections on legal grounds. This is a step backwards.

- By Article 29 of the law, the number of the crimes under the scope of SSCs was decreased. But at this point there is an attempt to cover up one important fact. Article 1 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" is still in effect. Therefore, many crimes excluded from the scope of SSCs are considered as terror crimes under the "Law to Fight Terrorism". It means that a writing, a speech or a leaflet found in a flat may easily be taken up under the "Law to Fight Terrorism". Thus

the defendant will be tried by a SSC, may be kept in detention for 15 days (30 days in the Emergency State Region), will not be allowed to have access to her/his lawyer, and her/his relatives will not be notified, even if, s/he may be arbitrarily and unnecessarily arrested.

The amendments to the Code of Criminal Procedures were also criticized by Diyarbakır Regional Bar Association. The statement of 16 December by Diyarbakır Regional Bar Association is as follows:

- The law is generally positive in that conditions for arrest are made concrete, arbitrary arrests are partially prevented, defendants are enabled to have access to his/her lawyer, the detention period is limited or the authority to extend this detention period is given to a judge, forbidden interrogation methods are included in the text, the way of interrogation is determined, and that the defendant has the right to remain silent and for appeal against an arrest order.

- However, the negative aspects of the law created disappointment. Although it was promised that the scope of State Security Courts would be limited, nothing is changed in practice due to ambiguous qualifications such as "events which cause the declaration of a state of emergency" as expressed in Article 29. The only change is a special consideration of smugglers in areas under normal rule. Article 30 of the same law, extends detention period two times for the crimes under jurisdiction of SSC while extending the period four times in the Emergency State Region. Thus, it leads to a discord from the point of crimes under jurisdiction of SSCs and in the Emergency State Region. Under this Article, a decision of a judge or a prosecutor is not needed for the extension of this period, thus leading to another injustice.

- Law No. 3842 is comprised of 31 basic articles and it orders that positive changes under 12 articles shall not be applied for crimes under the jurisdiction of SSCs. Therefore, by Article 31 which is a key article of the law, an extraordinary law order has been created and a system of two separate laws in one country has been adopted. All of the contemporary and positive provisions formulated in 12 articles, have been withdrawn by Article 31 of the same law. During the Constitutional Monarchy period, an Ottoman Sultan once said "Just decide to abolish parliament and you can form any kind of Constitution". The attitude of Sultan Abdulhamid imposed on the 1876 Constitution, was followed while drafting Article 31 of the law; due to this article the "Democracy Package" was still-born.

- Though the aim of the law was abolition of human rights abuses and unification with western democracies, Article 31 means to move further away from these aims, because human rights abuses were mostly observed on suspects under the jurisdiction of SSCs and torture and prohibited interrogation methods were mostly seen in the Emergency State Region. In consequence, there will be no change. On the contrary this law is a step backwards, since human rights abuses under the jurisdiction of SSCs and in the Emergency State Region were legalized and systematized, and a racist-chauvenist text creating regional differences was formed.

- Before the law, there was already the possibility for lawyers to meet suspects in the preparatory stage of an investigation in accordance with a Cir-

cular of the Prime Ministry. Crimes under the scope of SSCs were included in this circular. Access to a lawyer which was granted by the Circular to anyone including defendants in SSCs was withdrawn by this law, thus being a step backwards. The right to deprive people of their liberty was removed from prosecutors and judges and given to the police. This will lead to unpreventable arbitrariness. Its victims will not be only the left-wing or Kurdish people but everyone. And this will shake the order of society.

- The amendments shown as the basis of the "democratization package" of the Coalition Government is unable to meet expectations of "democracy and freedom", is not in harmony with the level of civilization of our people it is in contravention to universal principles considered as a root for the law, and in violation of concepts such as "a state of law", "equality before the law", "general applicability of laws". This text also shows that no democratic step towards a solution of the Kurdish problem will be taken. The law causing duality before laws makes the Kurdish problem insoluble and encourages illegal solutions.

- The discrimination introduced by the Emergency State Law, the law on the Regional Governorate and the Law to Fight Terrorism was reinforced by this law which systematizes two separate legal regimes in one country. A separatist understanding was reinforced and the "unitarist structure" was attacked by law makers.

- The law does not comply with an understanding of classic states. It does not only effect Kurdish people but also other circles in society who are made to suffer. Unless Articles 30 and 31 of the law are changed, human rights abuses will not be restrained. In addition, associations, trade unions, universities, bar associations and political parties will suffer from the law.

- The solution is within the law. Groups of political parties or a sufficient number of deputies should apply to the Constitutional Court for annulment especially of Articles 30 and 31 of the law. It is possible to take these articles out of the text. If these opportunities are not used today, there will be no "tomorrow" to be talked about. Because the most dangerous terror is the "discriminating terror of law" introduced by this law. We do not think that any responsible representative of state or jurists will approve a "law terror" formed in view of prevention of terror.

In verifying all criticisms the new CMUK did not remove torture which has been an outstanding problem of Turkey for years. Torture cases and claims continued after 1 December 1992, the promulgation date of the law in the Official Gazette. (There are many examples in the chapter entitled "established torture cases"). In addition, it was frequently observed that the provision that lawyers be present during interrogation, was disregarded.

Hüseyin İskeçeli (23) detained on 5 December by the police in Söke district of Aydın, stated that he was beaten at the police station where he was kept in detention, when he asked for access to a lawyer. Hüseyin İskeçeli was sent to hospital upon his application to the Public Prosecution Office, and obtained a medical report certifying his inability to work for 15 days.

In Adana two children, 15 and 16 years old, who were detained on 9 December for stealing and taken to Bağlar Police Station were made sign a statement saying "I have no lawyer. Therefore I will defend myself" and then interrogated. On the other hand, during the same days again in Adana, a 17-year old youth, detained after a quarrel with his friends and taken to Hacıbayram Police Station, was interrogated before his lawyer came, and sent to the court after the interrogation. (The latest changes in the Code of Criminal Procedures foresee that a lawyer has to be assigned for the ones below 18 year old). Meanwhile in Ankara, lawyers who went to see a defendant in detention at Batukent Gendarmerie Station, were returned back with the directives of the station command. Besides, almost all of the defendants detained by the political police were not allowed to have access to their lawyers under the pretext that the crime is under jurisdiction of State Security Courts (SSCs).

b) Deaths in Detention

In 1992 deaths in detention occupied a prominent place on the "dark human rights" balance sheet. Within this period 17 detained persons died under suspicious circumstances. 12 of the deaths in detention were witnessed in the Emergency State Region, 2 of them in Adana and the others in İstanbul, Artvin and Antalya.

01) Abdülrakip (Refik) Akın

Abdülrakip (Refik) Akın who was detained in Sazlıbaşı village, Korkut district of Muş because of an automatic gun found at his home was killed under beatings. Muş deputy, Muzaffer Demir, who put this murder on the agenda of the National Assembly said that Refik Akın was detained on 29 January by the security forces and beaten while being forced to lie naked on the snow. Muzaffer Demir stated that Refik Akın, who fell sick due to the cold and beatings, died on 1 February in Elazığ State Hospital. Muzaffer Demir also notified that Muş Republic Prosecution Office started an interrogation into this event.

02) Burhan Serikli

Burhan Serikli who was detained during operations that started in early March directed at Ulular and Cefani settlements in Beşiri district, Batman, lost his life during interrogation at Batman Gendarmerie Regimental Station. The exact date of death could not be established. He was buried on 8 March in Binek village of Kozluk district. Human Rights Association Batman Branch President Sedat Özevin said that when he talked to the governor about the event the governor had argued that "Burhan Serikli hanged himself with the blindfold". Indicating that he did not believe that Burhan Serikli had committed suicide Sedat Özevin, said: "It is not possible to commit suicide with such a small piece. This allegation encourages torturers. If he committed suicide as they said, he must have had serious reasons for it".

03) Zeki Böçkün

Zeki Böçkün, who was detained because of a robbery in Antalya, died on 11 March in Antalya Police Headquarters where he was being interrogated. The incident was registered in a police report as "committing suicide by hitting his head to the walls". In the report it was alleged that Zeki Böçkün attempted to

commit suicide by squeezing his throat with his false teeth just after he had been detained. It was established that Zeki Böçkün was known as a "drug addict". An investigation was initiated into this suspicious death.

04) Bişeng Anık (17)

Young girl Bişeng Anık who was detained in Şırnak during the operations carried out after Newroz, died under suspicious circumstances in detention. Security authorities alleged that Bişeng Anık committed suicide on 28 March with a gun she found in the room where she was put in. Şırnak Governor Mustafa Malay made a statement related to the event and said: "Bişeng Anık was detained on 25 March. When custody rooms are crowded, some detainees are put in other rooms to testify. Along with the girl who committed suicide there were also 2 other girls. Therefore, Bişeng was taken to another room used by security forces. In that room, she committed suicide with a gun she found under the bed. The autopsy results showed that she committed suicide". On the other hand, Bişeng Anık's mother Sabriye Anık told the Human Rights Association delegation that went to Şırnak, the following: "My daughter was healthy when the police took her from home. They had a list in their hands. The first name of one of the police officers was Hasan. On 28 March, the corpse of my daughter was handed over to her grandfather Ahmet Anık. There was no flesh left between her fingers. Many cigarette burns were seen on her body. The soles of her feet were inflated and jet-black. The bullet which entered her head exited through her eyes shattering her face. They killed my daughter under torture". The investigation launched into the death of Bişeng Anık was closed on 25 May 1992 by a decision that there was no need for prosecution.

05) Tahir Seyhan

Tahir Seyhan, one of the leaders of the People's Labour Party (HEP's) Dargeçit District Organization, was detained on 7 April by the gendarmerie in Dargeçit. Tahir Seyhan fell sick under detention and was hospitalized in the intense care unit of Diyarbakır hospital on 11 April. He died in hospital and was buried in Dargeçit on 15 April. An autopsy revealed that he died because of a trauma to his brain. Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin who replied on 22 June questions of Sedat Yurtaş about the event, said: "Tahir Seyhan who gave negative answers to questions in the interrogation center, suddenly fell down when his photograph next to a militant was shown to him. First aid was provided in barracks, and when his situation became serious he was hospitalized".

06) Abdülkadir Kurt (35)

35-year old Abdülkadir Kurt who was detained in the morning of 19 April in Birik village of Bismil district of Diyarbakır, died in the night of 19 April in Gendarmerie Battalion Command where he was being interrogated. Davut Kurt, brother of Abdülkadir Kurt, said: "They tortured my brother next to me. They inserted a truncheon into his anus. As a result of torture I was subjected to, one of my hands and a rib were broken". It was established that Abdülkadir Kurt died because of a broken chest bone and an internal bleeding due to pressure on his lungs". Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin who replied on 22 June questions of Sedat Yurtaş about the event, was content with saying that Abdülkadir Kurt had died after becoming ill, instead of giving concrete information.

07) Mithat Kutlu

Bank officer Mithat Kutlu who was detained on 18 April in Bismil district of Diyarbakır, died 6 hours later because of torture. The autopsy results showed that a brain hemorrhage and an internal bleeding caused his death. A person detained along with Mithat Kutlu stated: "They struck with truncheons and curbs at his head. When he got a hard kick to his stomach, he lost his voice. They took him close to us. We requested his hospitalization, but they refused. His mouth and ears were bleeding. He died a short while later".

08) Agit Salman (42)

Taxi driver Agit Salman, who was detained by the political police in Adana on 27 April, died under suspicious circumstances on 29 April at the Adana Police Headquarters where he was being interrogated. Police authorities claimed that Agit Salman died because of an heart attack. On the other, Bedie Salman, wife of Agit Salman, stated that her husband was killed by torture and made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office. Bedie Salman said: "Agit had no illness up to now. They killed him". In the official complaint, another autopsy was demanded while the contents of the first were refused. Batman Deputy Nizamettin Toğuç who arranged a press conference on 30 April with the relatives of Agit Salman, stated: "His death is questionable. Why such heart attacks, brain hemorrhages and suicides occur always in political police centers? Prime Minister and Minister of Interior have to answer these questions". On the other hand, the Human Rights Association's Adana Branch President Cumali Tunç said: "Agit Salman who was detained in good health was handed over to his family as dead. If in detention he had been interrogated in accordance with the laws he would have been alive today. Traces of torture and blows were determined on the corpse of Agit Salman. Photographs verified this truth". Bahayettin El, under arrest in Malatya E Type Prison, stated that when he was kept in detention at Adana Police Headquarters during the last days of April, he had witnessed the killing of Agit Salman by torture. Bahayettin El who applied to Malatya State Security Court's Prosecution Office in connection with the death of Agit Salman, said the following: "I was detained on 25 April 1992 in Adana. In detention, police officers tortured me in order to make me accept the crimes that I had not committed. In the night of 28 April, they half-opened the cloth I had been blindfolded with, and showed me a dead person lying on ice asking me whether I knew him. The corpse belonged to Agit Salman. I said that I recognized him. Then they said 'if you do not want to die like him, sign whatever we wish'. Therefore, I had to sign the statements".

09) Mehmet Yılmaz (80)

Mehmet Yılmaz, who was detained during operations carried out in Batman on 21 April 1992, fell ill at Batman Police Headquarters where he was being interrogated. Therefore, Yılmaz was sent to Diyarbakır State Hospital on 24 April where he died on 25 April. Mehmet Yılmaz was buried in Batman on 26 April with a funeral ceremony in which a group of 2 thousand persons participated. The report of the autopsy carried out on Yılmaz stated that "the death was caused by a bleeding of the brain". Meanwhile, Batman Governorate made a statement, arguing that Mehmet Yılmaz suffered the brain bleeding when his blood pressure rose, and that there was nothing suspicious to his death. Ayşe

Yılmaz, wife of Mehmet Yılmaz, said that her husband did not have any complaints about his health.

10) Ali Ekber Atmaca

It was claimed that Ali Ekber Atmaca who was detained on 23 May in Şavşat district of Artvin on charges of "being a member of an illegal organization" died as a result of torture he was subjected to at Artvin Provincial Gendarmerie Command where he was being interrogated. Ali Ekber Atmaca caught with a false identity card was known under the name of Hasan Güldal for a long time. Hüseyin Göçer who was detained together with Ali Ekber Atmaca and later arrested and sent to Nevşehir E Type Prison, stated that they were exposed to heavy torture during their detention period. indicating that the torture continued until 1 June Hüseyin Göçer, said: "As a result of torture Ali Ekber Atmaca lost his consciousness and went into a coma. We have not seen him since 28 May. When we inquired about him, the officials said 'We killed him while he was escaping and then threw his corpse into Çoruh River. We will also kill you in the same manner'. He was most likely killed by Artvin Provincial Gendarmerie Commander who tortured him personally. When we were confronted with Ekber for the last time on 28 May, he was in a coma and all his body was swollen. He was continuously vomiting blood". On the other hand, Artvin Provincial Gendarmerie Commander Mehmet Sezbil stated that Ali Ekber Atmaca died because of a stomach bleeding and was buried in Artvin Cemetery as his family could not be found. The corpse of Ali Ekber Atmaca was taken out the grave in Artvin, brought to İstanbul by his family at the beginning of July and re-buried in İstanbul. Artvin Public Prosecution Office launched an investigation into the event.

11)- Nurettin Aslan (55)

Nurettin Aslan who was detained in İstanbul in July on allegations of "smuggling narcotic drugs", died on 23 July under suspicious circumstances at İstanbul Narcotic Branch Directorate where he was being interrogated. Police authorities claimed that Nurettin Aslan committed suicide by jumping down from the 8th floor into the free space of the staircase when he was taken out of the room where he was under interrogation, and that he died in hospital he was taken for treatment. İstanbul Public Prosecution Office launched an investigation into the incident.

12) Temel Uçar

Temel Uçar who was detained in Dağkonak village of Şırnak in August during disturbances in Şırnak, was delivered to his family as dead. Yusuf Uçar, father of Temel Uçar said the following about the event: "My son who was in a good health, when he was detained by soldiers, was given back to us with his testicles being cut off, his eyes gouged out, his body torn into pieces and his feet and arms broken. Persons who treated him in that way cannot be human beings. Although he had no connection to the PKK, he was detained and died as a result of torture he was subjected to". The persons detained together with Temel Uçar and then arrested made a statement in prison and said: "Temel Uçar did not accept scenarios prepared by the military officers during his interrogation. In spite of intense torture he resisted. Because of his attitude, his eyes were gouged out, his tongue was cut off and then he was killed. His corpse was delivered to his

family after a false autopsy and buried without being seen by anyone". On the other hand Şırnak Public Prosecutor, stating that an investigation was launched into the case, said: "It is true that Temel Uçar died in detention. I am not in a position to say anything about the event. If someone is found guilty, a trial will be started". Meanwhile, Amnesty International applied to the Turkish Government in September for another autopsy on Temel Uçar.

13) Remzi Basalak

Remzi Basalak who had been apprehended by the police after the robbery of a state tobacco and liquor depot in Abidinpaşa quarter of Adana on 23 October, died at Adana Security Headquarters where he was being interrogated. The death of Remzi Basalak who reportedly died in the evening of 23 October, was not made public for 3 days. As a result of the autopsy, it was established that Basalak died because of a brain hemorrhage. Police authorities claimed the following: "When he was apprehended he fell down and hit his head on the ground. Therefore, he had a brain hemorrhage". It was reported that Remzi Basalak died due to torture he had been subjected to. In a statement made by the lawyers of Remzi Basalak it was said: "Our client was killed under torture on the same day that he was detained. The murder was committed with collatoration of prosecutor and the police. Although Adana Public Prosecutor Ethem Ekim knew that our client had died, he gave a 7-day detention period and disguised the truth from the public. We were not allowed to attend the autopsy and to take the corpse". In the statement, it was demanded that Adana Chief of Police, Mete Altan, the police officers who were responsible for the death of Remzi Basalak and Adana Public Prosecutor Ethem Ekim who had disguised the truth for 3 days, be punished. In the meantime, the Human Rights Association Secretary General Hüsnü Öndül applied to the Ministry of Justice and demanded that a trial be launched against Adana Public Prosecution Office under Article 148 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Following this application, a trial was initiated against 4 traffic policemen on charges that they caused the death of Remzi Basalak. A sentence of no less than 12 years' imprisonment was demanded for the policemen named Erdal Şahin, Özay Karatepe, Süleyman Özcan and AYTEKİN YILDIZ. Lawyers of Remzi Basalak maintained that the trial was a show, and said: "The defendants are the traffic policemen who apprehended Basalak. They did not interrogate him. The real offenders working at the political police center are being protected. The file of the trial was prepared with the aim of affirming that Remzi Basalak died by falling on the ground".

14) Tahir Saday (56)

Tahir Saday, headman of Sugeldi village of Çatak, who was detained on 20 October 1992, died at Van Gendarmerie Regiment Command. The corpse of Tahir Saday was delivered to his family on 25 October with an autopsy report saying that "he had died because of a heart attack". Tahir Saday who died in detention, had applied to the Human Rights Association's Van Branch and had notified that he had been threatened by gendarmes. Tahir Saday's son İsmail Saday who made a statement about the event said: "My father was invited to Gendarmerie Regiment Command on 20 October. Upon that call, my father went to the command with his friend named Selim Kiya. We could not receive any information from him ever since. His corpse was handed over to us in the eve-

ning of 25 October. He was killed as a result of torture inflicted on him in the regiment command. In spite of torture traces on his body, it was indicated in the autopsy report that he had died due to a heart attack. This autopsy report is forged. We demand the responsables to be punished and another autopsy."

15) Ramazan Altunsöz (28)

Ramazan Altunsöz, who had been detained by the police on 21 October in Batman, died at Batman Police Headquarters where he was being interrogated. The corpse of Ramazan Altunsöz was delivered to his family on 31 October. An authority from Batman Police Headquarters said that Ramazan Altunsöz had got ill and died, and that the autopsy report documented the situation. On the other hand, Batman Chief of Police, Azmi Derin, said the following: "Ramazan Altunsöz committed suicide with an iron bar which he had broken off from a bank in the detention room. I think he did so as he was afraid of confessing something". Relatives of Ramazan Altunsöz, pointing out that the statements by the security officers were beyond reality, stated: "On 31 October they informed us that Ramazan had become ill and had been taken to hospital. When we went to the hospital we were notified that he had died. His body was bruised. The bone of his left knee was broken. Particularly there were contusions on his ribs. What kind of illness caused the death of a man whose body was bruised all over? We will keep following the event". The Human Rights Association's Batman Branch President Sedat Özevin stated that Ramazan Altunsöz died because of an internal bleeding due to torture inflicted on him. Sedat Özevin said the following about the event: "Ramazan Altunsöz interrogated at Police Headquarters, fell ill and then was hospitalized on 28 October. However, he was taken to be interrogated again a while later, although his situation was critical. He died on 31 October. The reason for his death was an internal bleeding which arose due to a bleeding in the lung tissue and acute erosive gastritis. In the autopsy, it was established that there were traces of torture on his body. Ramazan Altunsöz is the third person who died in detention in Batman within a year. The persons who did not investigate previous deaths in detention and who protect the torturers are responsible for this murder". Batman Public Prosecutor Mustafa Yücel, confirming that Ramazan Altunsöz died because of an internal bleeding, said: "We launched an investigation into the event. We will file a case if we find it necessary at the end the investigation".

16) Derviş Karakoç (33)

Derviş Karakoç detained on 10 November near Kurşunlu village of Dicle district of Diyarbakır, was found dead 2 days later near the place where he had been detained. Derviş Karakoç's mother, Rabia Karakoç, who witnessed her son's detention, said the following about the event: "We set out to go to our relatives in Elazığ in the morning of 10 November. The soldiers who blocked our road near Kurşunlu village, took my son away. They started to beat him before we left the scene. 2 days after the event his corpse was found. We sent for the prosecutor to the place of the event, but s/he did not come. Then we took the corpse to Dicle. There were villagers who saw that my son was beaten before his death".

17) İbrahim Sevilgen (60)

İbrahim Sevilgen living in Bozatlı village of Erüh district of Siirt, died on

24 December night at Çırpı Gendarmerie Station where he was being kept in detention. The death of İbrahim Sevilgen was put on the agenda of the National Assembly by Siirt Deputy Zübeyir Aydar. He said that İbrahim Sevilgen was made to work for the construction of Dikboğaz Gendarmerie Station and was being used as a shield against a possible PKK attack at nights, and added: "When I learned about the situation, I asked on 16 December the Minister of Interior İsmet Sezgin certain questions. The esteemed Minister must have made undertook some initiatives, because İbrahim Sevilgen and the persons around him were sent to Çırpı Gendarmerie Station. However, they were subjected to the similar practices there. Heavy torture was inflicted on them". On the other hand, Mustafa Ekinci and (Headman of Bozathı village) and Hacı Ekinci who were kept in detention together with İbrahim Sevilgen, were released by Eruh Public Prosecution Office on the next day of İbrahim Sevilgen's death. It was reported that the left shoulder of Mustafa Ekinci was broken due to torture inflicted on him.

c)- Disappearances

In 1992, along with the persons who died in detention, 8 persons disappeared after being detained. In addition, no information could be obtained about the fate of Yusuf Erişti, Haydar Altun, İbrahim Gündem and Hüseyin Toraman who disappeared in 1991. The authorities did not give any satisfactory information to the families who said that their relatives had disappeared after they had been detained. No serious investigation was made into the fate of those persons. Furthermore, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel replied to the families of the disappeared who visited the Prime Ministry's Office on 8 November, saying that "your children are not in my pocket, so I cannot give them to you". Police authorities were content with answers such as: "The aforesaid persons were not detained. We are looking for them too". Meanwhile, Gülay Toraman, wife of Hüseyin Toraman who disappeared in October 1991, was arrested after police custody on 12 December. Gülay Toraman said in a statement she made in prison: "They forced me to give a testimony that Hüseyin Toraman was living abroad".

01)- Mehmet Demir (32)

People's Labour Party (HEP) Siirt Provincial President Mehmet Demir disappeared on 10 January. Mehmet Demir was last seen when he left his office to go to the toilet in the evening hours. Mehmet Demir's brother Haydar Demir said that his brother was detained by civilian dressed police officials. Haydar Demir said, "According to witnesses, my brother went to the toilet. Near the toilet a police van was parked. There was an ID check at the time. And the policemen in the van took my brother away". İsmet Sezgin, the Minister of the Interior, said: "The result of a research carried out on 14 January shows that Mehmet Demir was not detained." HEP President Feridun Yazar sent a telegram to President Turgut Özal and to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel saying that "The number of people who disappear and are later found dead continues to increase. The disappearance of HEP Siirt Provincial President and the fact that he could not be found make us concerned about a second Vedat Aydın event." Meanwhile, an article in the newspaper Hürriyet of 27 September 1992, claimed that Mehmet Demir had been killed by PKK militants as he had betrayed the organization.

02) Durmuş Çaylak (27)

Durmuş Çaylak who was detained in Fethiye district of Muğla on 9 February on allegations of "being a smuggler of historical remains", disappeared. Süleyman Çaylak, father of Durmuş Çaylak whose fate remained unknown, said: "Upon the complaint of the headman of our village, Mehmet Buhuroğlu, my son was detained along with his friend Zekeriya Yaman. He did not come back after that time. I applied primarily to Muğla Police Headquarters and even to the Ministry of Interior. In the answer they sent me it was stated that my son, jumping off the car on the road to Muğla, had escaped and that he could not be caught by the police. How could the police let him go? My son was detained although he was innocent and then he disappeared. They have to give an account for this".

03)- Hüseyin Yaman (22)**04)- Soner Gül (22)**

No information was received about the fate of university students who disappeared on 4 May in İstanbul, Fındıkzade district after reportedly being detained by the police. Feyzan Yaman, elderly brother of Hüseyin Yaman, stated that they applied to various organizations in the country or abroad and said: "Up to now, we could not reach any result. Authorities of the Police Headquarters and State Security Courts (SSC) say only that they did not detain those youths, and they do not do anything to clear up the event". Feyzan Yaman added that the Human Rights Commission of the European Council, one of the organizations they applied to, took into consideration the event and demanded information from Turkey. In the meantime, certain private goods of Hüseyin Yaman were handed over to his brother Feyzan Yaman and it was said "We found the goods in a tea-house in Eyüp quarter where they had been left by a member of an illegal organization."

05)- Hasan Gülünay (32)

No information was available about Hasan Gülünay who left his house in Tarabya quarter of İstanbul on 20 July in order to go his office and then disappeared. It was claimed that Hasan Gülünay who has 4 children and works in a real estate agency, was detained by the police. Birsen Gülünay, wife of Hasan Gülünay said the following about the event: "Two days after my husband disappeared, a person, whom I did not know, called my house and said 'Hasan is at the political center now, call the police'. Upon this, we started to look for him. There are some persons who saw my husband at Gayrettepe Political Police Center. However, the authorities replied that he was not detained. The strange thing is that when deputies asked whether he was detained or not, the police said that Hasan was detained. The driving license of Hasan which he had lost a while ago, was found on Ali Ekber Atmaca who died in detention in Artvin. When his driving license got lost, Hasan had carried out the necessary procedures and obtained another one. We think that he was detained in connection with this event".

06)- Mehmet Ertak

Mehmet Ertak supposedly detained on 22 August near Şırnak, disappeared. No information could be obtained about the fate of Mehmet Ertak until the end of the year. Diyarbakır Deputy Sedat Yurttaş, indicating that he was

anxious about the life Mehmet Ertak, said: "A person named Abdürrahim Demir, who was kept in detention in Şırnak for a while, told me that 'Mehmet Ertak had stayed in the same cell with him for 10 days and had been taken for an interrogation at the end of this 10-day period, but had not returned'. Also, Şeyhmuz Sakın, Kıyas Sakın and Emin Kabul who are in Elazığ Prison now, said that they had seen Mehmet Ertak in detention. However, when the father of Mehmet Ertak applied to the authorities, they replied that nobody under this name was detained". Sedat Yurttaş applied to the Ministry of Interior at the beginning of September for an investigation about the situation of Mehmet Ertak. He made similar appeals in December for the second time.

07)- Ayhan Efeoğlu (25)

Nothing could be learned about the fate of university student Ayhan Efeoğlu who disappeared on 6 October in İstanbul. Youths Hacer Arıkan and Ali Tekin who were kept in detention during the same days at the Political Police Center in Gayrettepe, İstanbul, told that they were shown photographs of Ayhan Efeoğlu while being interrogated. The youths under arrest in Sağmalcılar Prison have also stated that the police told them that Ayhan Efeoğlu was in detention.

08)- Tuğrul Özbek (36)

Tuğrul Özbek who served 10 years in prison as one of the defendants in the "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left) trial which concluded in 1991 at İstanbul Military Court, disappeared after he left a tea-garden in Yeniköy quarter of İstanbul on 9 October. Waiter Abdullah Gündoğdu who is working in the tea-garden indicated that there were several plain cloth police officers while Tuğrul Özbek was sitting in the garden and said: "They caught him after he left before turning the corner". In addition, Aslı Güneş, editor-in-chief of the journal "Hedef" (Target), who was detained in İstanbul in October stated that she witnessed the disappearance of Tuğrul Özbek in detention.

d) Established Torture Cases

According to the statistics of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey a total of **594** (this number was 552 in 1991) persons, of whom **11** were children and **93** were women, were subjected to torture in 1992. 188 of those persons certified with medical reports that they were tortured. **24** of the tortured women reported that they were raped or sexually abused in detention. Within one year, a total of **122** persons allegedly tortured, applied to the treatment centers of the HRFT, **13** of them applied in Ankara, **42** in İstanbul and **67** in İzmir. (This figure does not cover the persons who were recently released from prisons or the persons who applied to the HRFT in 1992 although they were tortured before.) The cases established by the HRFT are only a small part of the torture cases that happened in Turkey.

It is generally known that torture is inflicted almost on every defendant, both political and ordinary offenders, as a systematic interrogation method in Turkey. Although there is a widespread use of well-known torture methods against suspects of ordinary crimes at police or gendarmerie custody, an important part of torture cases can not be revealed as these suspects do not insist on their rights. Most of the persons who lodged an official complaint about torture or ill-treatment and occasionally obtained a medical report are the ones ac-

cused of political reasons. In addition, if we consider that information flow from the cities, except İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, and particularly from the Emergency State Region is very difficult, we see that the number of torture victims who could be identified reflect only an insignificant part of the attacks directed at the physical and psychological integrity of human beings.

Some of the information compiled by the HRFT about torture cases in 1992 is as follows:

16-year old student Uğraş Ak from İstanbul Avcılar Lycé declared that he was detained on 3 January by the police and tortured in custody. Uğraş Ak explained that he was detained when he rejected a body search and said that he had been taken to Avcılar Police Station and the Political Police Centre. Uğraş Ak went to Küçükçekmece Public Prosecutor's Office to make an official complaint about police officers Mahmut Eğribel and Şükrü Çalışkan.

The unauthorized demonstration of a group of civil servants on 4 January in Sirkeci Square was forcibly dispersed by the police. 15 people were injured during the event and doctor Hüseyin Gazi Yaman was seriously injured. Hüseyin Gazi Yaman who was in danger of being paralyzed with a broken jaw and a traumatized spinal cord said "15 police officers who forced me into a room at Sirkeci Station beat me with no mercy." Hüseyin Gazi Yaman had to be treated in hospital for long period of time.

Kurdish peddlers who applied to the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch on the first days of January stated that the pressures directed at them increased after a shop was burned in December 1991. One of the applicants, Hasan Evlek, born in Tunceli, said that he was taken to the police station in Topkapı Bus Station and beaten with truncheons there. Hasan Evlek who stated that one of his friends was beaten in the station too, complained about two police officers called Yaşar and Musa.

It was announced that Hasan Ergin, headman of Sayar village of Nusaybin district, Mardin, and his 17-year old son were tortured in January at the Commando Unit. Hasan Ergin explained that they had been detained at night after the security forces had broken the entrance door of their house and said, "Regardless of my age I was suspended by my wrists being tied behind my back. I was hosed with ice-cold water. I won't forget the screams of my son for all my life. We were released without being presented to a court. They said that we would be killed, if we applied to a doctor or a prosecutor. Out of fear we did not go to either of them."

Mehmet Çelik and Ramazan Aslan who were detained in January in Batman were tortured over 5 days in Batman Gendarmerie Station. Mehmet Çelik explained that he had been suspended by his arms, hosed with ice-cold water and given electric shocks. Mehmet Çelik expressed that during times without interrogation they had been held in a cold, damp and dirty cell and said that as a result of threats they had been unable to obtain a medical report from the health centre.

Emel Doğu declared that during her detention between 4 and 28 January in Diyarbakır she had been subjected to electric shocks, suspended by her arms

and subjected to sexual harassment. She added that during her interrogation she had been forced to make a statement accusing Diyarbakır Deputy Leyla Zana.

The People's Labour Party (HEP) Bozova (Urfa) District President Eyüp Karageçi was arrested on 29 January on charges of being a member of an illegal organization. Eyüp Karageçi stated in prison that he had been tortured and threatened with death in detention.

Musician Şanar Yurdatapan, who had returned from German where he was living as a political refugee, cut his hair in protest of torture inflicted on one of his friends called Haydar Beltan. Şanar Yurdatapan held a press conference on 7 February in İstanbul saying that Haydar Beltan who had returned from political exile in Germany on 3 January was detained at Ankara Esenboğa Airport and had been tortured over a week. He added that Haydar Beltan had been arrested in connection with an investigation dating from 1979 and taken to Erzincan Prison. Şanar Yurdatapan made a 2nd statement on 11 March protesting that his previous complaints in connection with Haydar Beltan were not considered, and said: "I am complaining to the public about all institutions and the persons at these institutions who are indifferent to torture. The place and date of the torture is definite. The responsables should be identified and charged". Haydar Beltan who was kept arrested for about 7,5 months was released on 21 September 1992.

Mustafa Sürer declared that he was tortured in İstanbul Tozkoparan Police Station in February. Mustafa Sürer who was able to certify his injuries by a medical report made an official complaint to the prosecutor's office. He said, "My divorced wife had complained that I had injured her with a knife. I went to Tozkoparan Police Station to make a statement. On entry I was forced to lie down and they started to beat my hands and feet with truncheons. At some stage my ex-wife came in and said 'this is how I make a man beaten'. I complained about commissioner Cemal Dalman and another police officer on duty at the time."

45-year old Durmuş Ali Şipleme living in Aksu district of Antalya declared that he was tortured in Aksu Gendarmerie Station. Durmuş Ali Şipleme who certified his claims of torture by a medical report from the Forensic Institute certifying "inability to work for 3 days" made an official complaint to the public prosecutor's office. He said that an under-lieutenant at the station was responsible for the torture and demanded that he be brought to justice.

Kemal Gök, Barbaros Göktaş and Osman Gümüştü who were detained on allegations of "burglary" in Urla district of İzmir, stated that they were tortured in detention between 26 January and 7 February. The three suspects, still held in Urla Prison, declared that their health deteriorated as a result of torture applied in Urla Police Station and İzmir Police Headquarters. In the statement containing detailed information about the torture it was said that Kemal Gök was urged to swallow nails and wires and that despite of his poor health because of the swallowed nails and wires, he was not treated. The defendants requested punishment for the torturers and Mehmet Demir, the Prosecutor of Urla Prison, who did not permit Kemal Gök's treatment.

20-year old student Ruken Ergenç who had been detained on 14 February for "distributing leaflets" in İzmir announced that he had been tortured at the Political Police Centre. He said that during three days of detention he had been beaten and given electric shocks and been put under psychological pressure. He added that the marks of torture on his body had not been certified, because the doctor who examined him had not shown any interest.

During a house raid in Mardinkapı quarter of Diyarbakır on 16 February police officers detained student Mehmet Hadi Savaş and beat Halime Savaş, Hanım Savaş, Emin Savaş, Hacı Savaş, Birgül Savaş and Recep Savaş. Halime Savaş is reportedly 80 years old and Hanım Savaş is 6-months pregnant. Halime Savaş said about the event: "The policemen who came to our house wanted to take my grandson barefooted and without clothes on. When we opposed to this, they started to beat us with rifle butts and sticks. My body became bruised due to the beatings". After his release Mehmet Hadi Savaş told that he had been tortured in detention and said: "Thus one of my ribs was broken and I suffered from an abdominal bleeding.

18-year old Vehbi Salgut working in a hotel in İstanbul, was attacked by two persons on his way from Taksim to Tarlabası one night in February. Police officers who came to the place of the event, let the attackers go and detained Vehbi Salgut. Vehbi Salgut said "They detained me because I was Kurdish. They blindfolded me and took me to a police station. Later I learned that the place where I was taken to was Beyoğlu Police Directorate. I was subjected to torture for 24 hours. They were both beating and insulting me saying "we will eliminate all of the Kurdish people". 11 of 12 people in the room where I was kept, were Kurdish".

Mehmet Emin Dikmen who had been detained on 24 February in Midyat district announced that during his interrogation in Midyat Police Station he had been tortured and two of his ribs were broken. He was treated for some time in Diyarbakır State Hospital. From there he made a statement saying "Our people have been subjected to oppression and violence for years. The aim was to intimidate us. As long as there is oppression and violence the Kurdish question won't be solved".

Lawyer Şeref Turgut, member of İstanbul Human Rights Association, said that at the beginning of March when he wanted to see a client he had been slapped on his face in İstanbul Police Headquarters by an officer on duty. Şeref Turgut stated that he was held in custody for one hour adding that he would make an official complaint to the public prosecutor's office against the officer and support it by a medical report.

Şükrü Yılmaz who was detained on 4 March in Beşeri district of Batman stated that he was tortured in the gendarmerie station where he was interrogated. Şükrü Yılmaz said that he was hanged, beaten and given electric shocks on his fingers and genitals, and that the gendarmes attempted to insert a truncheon and a bottle into his anus. Şükrü Yılmaz filed an official complaint to Batman Public Prosecution Office after his release. He obtained a medical report certifying that he was subjected to torture.

It has been reported that Recep Genel (carrying an identity card issued in the name of Mehmet Ceran) and Mustafa Öztapak who were detained in İzmir on 5 March, were tortured at the Political Police Center where they were being interrogated. Recep Genel, one of the two persons kept in detention for 5 days, was arrested while the other, Mustafa Öztapak, was released.

Abdullah Bakır and Hanefi Yıldız, detained by the political police in Elazığ, declared that they were tortured and forced to become police agents. Abdullah Bakır, saying that he was detained by the policemen who came to his house within the first week of March, stated: "I was blindfolded and put in a van. They asked me some questions related to PKK. When I did not give the expected answers they offered me money. Then they tortured me because I did not accept their offer. Later I was released. I fear that something may happen to me".

It was reported that correspondents of the journal "Emeğin Bayrağı" (Flag of Labour), Dilek Onat and Badegül Sevgili who were detained during the demonstration made on "International Women's Day" on 8 March in Adana were injured due to beatings by the police while they were being detained and tortured in the security headquarters. İsmail Türkmen and Gökşel Güven, detained by the police during the demonstration held at İstanbul Taksim Square on 8 March, were wounded in consequence of beating. İsmail Türkmen was given a medical report showing that he was able to recover in 3 days.

A young girl called Ayşe Koç stated that she was tortured at İstanbul Alemdağ Gendarmerie Station where she was taken on allegations of "burglary". Ayşe Koç who certified by a medical report that she was tortured, made an official complaint to Üsküdar Public Prosecution Office. Ayşe Koç said: "During the 4 days in detention, I was given no food. I was both beaten with truncheons and sexually assaulted with hands and words. The name of one of the persons who beat me is Mustafa. Although the commander of the station was aware of the event, he secretly accepted it".

17-year old high school student Özgür Kılıç who was detained on 6 March in Akçadağ, was arrested by Malatya SSC on 16 March. The persons detained on the same day with Özgür Kılıç and released later, stated that Özgür Kılıç was subjected to heavy torture. İbrahim Kılıç, the father of Özgür Kılıç, was held in detention for a while along with his son.

It was claimed that Kalender Ergün, Bedia Ergün, İbrahim Taşan and Hacı Orman who were detained in İzmir within March, were subjected to torture during their detention period.

In the hearing of 24 GKB (Young Communists Union) defendants, held on 20 March at İzmir State Security Court (SSC), the prisoners who wanted to read a declaration because of the Newroz Feast, were taken out of the court hall under beatings by gendarmes. One arm of Filiz Üstünelan and 3 fingers of Erdal Özel were broken. In addition, bruises occurred on the bodies of Tayfun Uzun-kaya and Cafer Alp, and the head of Kazım Ardiç was injured.

30 people who were detained during the operations carried out by the political police in İzmir in March were sent to İzmir State Security Court (SSC)

on 23 March. Some relatives of the defendants went to İzmir SSC to see them, but were beaten by the police who took precautions around the SSC building, using truncheons, feet and fists. As a result of the beating Naile Karakoç, Yüksel Çetin, Sıtkıye Poyraz, Halime Çetin and Vasfı Karakoç were wounded. The injured people complained to the prosecutor asking that the police officers be punished.

Two youths, Mete Tuncer and Burhan Öner, detained on 23 March in Adana, stated that they were tortured at Adana Political Police Center where they were being interrogated. The youths said in a statement they made that they were beaten, given electric shocks, subjected to pressurized water and that their testicles were squeezed. A medical report certifying torture and blow signs on his body, was given to Burhan Öner by the Forensic Institute he was sent to.

14 persons who were detained on their way from Turgutlu, Manisa, to İzmir in order to participate in the funeral of Reşşan Demirel who burned herself on the day of Newroz, made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office saying that they were subjected to violence. The signs of blows on the bodies of 13 of 14 detainees, who were sent to the forensic institute, were certified by medical reports. The names of those 13 persons are as follows: "Sıddık Yapıcıoğlu, Şehmuz Demir, Şükrü Yalman, Eyüp Dalmış, Mahfuz Ekinci, Osman Taş, Akif Vermez, Saadettin Yavuz, Alaaddin Yapıcı, Haşim Gülmez, Hidayet Solmaz, Sadi Kaya, Ferhat Bulut and Zeki Bulut".

Bahattin Ekin, Ali Çelik, Hasan Aykal and İdris Yıldız who were detained in İskenderun and arrested on 28 March, were tortured in detention at the Political Police Center. Cemile Aykal, the wife of Hasan Aykal, made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office and demanded torturers to be tried. Cemile Aykal said: "As far as we learned, my husband was subjected to beatings, falanga, Palestinian hanger and electric shock. When he did not accept the accusations, about 15 cigarettes were extinguished on his body. Although he was tortured, the evidence of torture was not recorded and he was not treated". Bahattin Ekin, the father of Şükrü Ekin, made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office and stated that no attempt was made for treatment of the broken arm of his son after torture.

Haydar Ali Keskin, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party Kartal District Organization, who was detained on 27 March in Eminönü, İstanbul, stated that he was tortured in the police station he was taken to. Haydar Ali Keskin made an official complaint to Public Prosecution Office about the police officers on 30 March.

15-year old Şevki Akıncı detained by the security forces who raided Tan-yeri village of Dargeçit district of Mardin in the night of 9 April was forced to lie down on burning coal and some parts of his body was burned. It was established that there were 1st degree burns on the back, arms and legs of Şevki Akıncı who was later brought to Ankara and taken under treatment. Şevki Akıncı said: "They took me from home blindfolded. At the same time they were beating and swearing at me. They opened my eyes at a distance of 500 meters from the village. Pointing out the burning coal fire they said that they would throw me on the fire unless I gave them my gun. When I told them I had no gun they undressed

me and forced me to lie on the burning coals. I don't remember the rest. They went away leaving me there." The Human Rights Association's Batman Branch President Sedat Özevin said that Şeref Akıncı, Hamza Akıncı, Nazım Akıncı, and Latif Bülbül were detained along with Şevki Akıncı and subjected to heavy torture as a result of which Nazım and Hamza Akıncı had to be hospitalized. In September, the Ministry of Interior showed Şevki Akıncı, who recovered after a long-time-treatment, to journalists and attempted to deny the event.

Torture was inflicted on Ramazan Sat and Güler Ötaş while they were under detention from 24 March to 1 April in Batman. Both detainees obtained medical reports from Batman State Hospital after their release, certifying that torture had been applied to them. Lawyers of Ramazan Sat and Güler Ötaş applied to the prosecutor with a demand that the torturing security officials be found and penalized. In their application to the prosecutor it was stated: "Our clients were taken to Batman Security Department after they were detained. They have been subjected to various types of torture under the pretext of questioning. As a result they have lost their health. There are visible signs of torture on their bodies. Some of these signs have been confirmed by photographs. Both our clients suffer from partial amnesia. The left arm of Güler Ötaş lost its movement capacity. Ramazan Sat has deep wounds on his face and legs which were received from beatings."

Youths named Übeyde Özaras, Mehmet Tuğay, Salih Öz and Tahsin Çelik who were detained on 10 April in Suruç district of Urfa were subjected to torture at Suruç Gendarmerie Squad Command where they were being interrogated. The youths, applying to the Public Prosecution Office, complained about a noncommissioned officer named Ercan.

It was reported that in İstanbul some people were detained without a record and tortured at unknown places during some days in April. In a statement made on 24 April by the Human Rights Organization's İstanbul Branch, this practice was defined as another type of state terror. The following information concerning some cases was given in the statement:

Celalettin Çelik: He was detained by civilian dressed policemen while going out of his house. He was interrogated under torture in an empty spot, threatened, and then released.

Cengiz Çatık: He was detained by civilian officers on 25 March after he went out of DOZ Publishing House where he works. He was tortured in a car he got in and taken to a closed place and threatened. He was urged to be a police agent. There was an attempt to insert a truncheon into his anus. He was thrown under a truck in motion. He suffered a nervous breakdown following his release.

Metin Gürleyük: He was detained on 6 April by two civilian dressed policemen in Yeni Bosna. He was taken to an empty field and subjected to an interrogation under torture. After release, he obtained a medical report showing that "he will not be able to work for 5 days".

Salih Demir: He was detained in his office by gendarmes on 8 April and handed over to the police. He was taken to Kartal Police Station. After his interrogation, which lasted for 4 hours, he was released".

19 persons detained in April by the political police in Elazığ, were beaten upon directives of the prison director on 27 April in Elazığ E Type Prison where they were sent to after being arrested. Blow traces on the bodies of 12 of the beaten arrested were documented by the medical reports. Upon the beating, lawyers of the arrested lodged an official complaint with Public Prosecution Office. Just after the official complaint, those 19 persons under arrest were sent to Kayseri Closed Prison without being examined by a doctor. In the meantime, a trial was launched against 76 prison officers who were involved in the beating. Sentences of no less than 6 months' imprisonment are being demanded for each of the 76 defendants, including prison directors Kazım Başeğmez and Kazım Kaya, being tried at Elazığ Criminal Court No. 2.

Feriye Çelikdal, detained in April in connection with a robbery in İstanbul, stated that she had been tortured in detention. Feriye Çelikdal, telling that her head was injured being hit against walls, said she had nothing to do with the robbery. She also added that her husband Muammer Çelikdal had been beaten and his arm had been broken by the police officers who searched her house. Feriye Çelikdal is reportedly the sister of Neriman Papiş who died in 1989 while being interrogated at the Theft Department of İstanbul Police Headquarters.

Cemil Şahin, Mehmet Fırat, İrfan Özen, Şaban Çavdar, Mehmet Fatih Aydın and Ünsal Zor who were detained in İstanbul last April on charges of "being members of an illegal religious organization (İBDA-C) and participating in certain bomb attacks", were subjected to torture in detention. Among them Cemil Şahin, Ünsal Zor, Fatih Aydın and Mehmet Fırat obtained medical reports from a Forensic Medicine Institute, showing that "they will not be able to work for 5 days" and certifying that they were tortured. Those 6 persons arrested in İstanbul Bayrampaşa Prison made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office.

Lawyer Meryem Erdal, Contemporary Jurists Association Ankara Branch President, stated that she was tortured after being taken into custody following a demonstration in Hipodrum district of Ankara on May Day. Erdal filed an official complaint with Ankara Public Prosecution Office after being released. Meanwhile she acquired a medical report, proving the torture inflicted on her. The report states that "there is a lack of hair on the back of the head and eczemas on the left arm". In her official complaint to the prosecutor, Meryem Erdal said that she was subjected to heavier torture and insults when she told the police that she was a lawyer, adding that "They beat me up in front of hundreds of people. They kept us standing for a long time at the Political Police Headquarters and insulted us frequently".

It was reported that Ömer Özasan, who was detained in the night of 1 May in Zonguldak, was subjected to torture during his detention. His father Galip Özasan who visited his son in Zonguldak Police Headquarters where Ömer Özasan was tortured, said: "The state of my son was terrible. His face and eyes were swollen. His mouth and nose were injured. There was a scar on his forehead".

Necdet Kanbir, chief editor of the journal "Toplumsal Kurtuluş" (Social Liberation) who was detained on 1 May in İstanbul, stated that he was tortured

during his detention. Necdet Kanbir, obtained a medical report from a forensic institute showing that "he is unable to work for a week" and certifying that he was tortured.

It has been reported that Yusuf Durak who was detained because "he was walking around the street while being very drunk" on 5 May in Giresun, was first taken to hospital in order to obtain a medical report showing him healthy, and then he was beaten by policemen and night guards. In the hospital he was taken to because of the injuries he suffered from the beatings, he was given a medical report certifying that "it would take 15 days to recover". When the event become known, İHD Giresun Branch filed an official complaint. On the other hand, police authorities showing the prior report they had obtained before beating, claimed that they had not beaten Yusuf Durak.

3-month pregnant nurse Nazlı Top who was in detention between 27 April and 7 May at İstanbul Political Police Center, stated that she was tortured and raped with a truncheon during her detention. Nazlı Top, who applied to İstanbul Representatives of the Human Right Foundation of Turkey after she was released, was given a report showing that she was tortured. Nazlı Top who later applied to the Forensic Institute and Haseki Hospital obtained medical reports proving the injuries on her body. She said: "They tied my arms with a thick cloth from behind and put me on a hanger. They gave me electric shock first on my fingers and then on my genitals and nipples. They stroke particularly on my stomach, breast and abdominal regions and sometimes beat me with a sharp wooden club. I was raped with a truncheon inserted in my vagina. They also attempted to rape me with a bottle. They were touching my stomach, asking 'whether I am pregnant or not' and then punching".

İrfan Uçar, one of the correspondents of the newspaper "Özgür Gündem" (Free Agenda), who was detained by the police on 5 May in İstanbul, stated that he was tortured in detention. İrfan Uçar, indicating that he was detained in the office of a lawyer where he went for an interview, said: "They asked me where the lawyer was. While I was blindfolded they made me stark naked, gave electric shock to my toes and urged me to say where the person they were looking for was".

Taxi driver Recep Ali Topal who was detained on 28 May by the police in Laleli, İstanbul, stated that he was subjected to torture in detention. Recep Ali Topal indicating that he was detained as he fought with another taxi driver, stated that in the Public Order Department of Gayrettepe to where he was taken, his hands were beaten with truncheons about 50 times and he was insulted. Recep Ali Topal said that he was released on 29 May when he gave a bribe to police officers.

The Human Rights Association's (İHD's) Şırnak Branch President Sekvan Aytu who was kept in custody between 15 and 29 May was exposed to torture. İHD Şırnak Branch leaders who met with Sekvan Aytu after he was arrested, said: "During our visit, we noticed bruises and wounds on his left eyebrow, feet and knees. Both what he said and wounds and bruises we saw prove the torture".

A 15-year old child earning his living by shoe-shining at Antalya Yacht Marine, was detained on 8 June on allegations of "disturbing the environment" and was tortured at the Marine Police Station where he was taken to. It was established that the child whose name could not be identified made an official complaint to Antalya Public Prosecution Office after he was released. The torture applied to the child was certified by a medical report which was obtained from the Forensic Institute and was showing that "he was not able to work for 2 days". In connection with his experience during detention, the 15-year old child said: "First of all they asked me where I was from. When I said that I was from Diyarbakır, they attacked me. I told them that I had a kidney operation before. Then they started to hit on my kidneys. They squirted pressurized water on me, and beat with clubs and truncheons".

The Human Rights Association's (İHD's) Antalya Branch President Mustafa Şahin said that in May they witnessed 3 separate torture events. Mustafa Şahin, also stated that İbrahim Köktaş, Reşat Kılıç and Hikmet Yılmaz who were subjected to torture after they were detained, certified by medical reports that they were tortured.

5 youths called Atilla Kavak, Gülay Şarh, Zeynep Özgül, Hatice Duman and Ayla Peköz, who were kept in detention between 18 and 27 May at Gaziantep Political Police Center, stated that they were tortured. The youths filed an official complaint to Public Prosecution Office after they were released, and complained about Gaziantep Political Police Director Necmi Aydın and a police officer named Arif. The youths who held a press conference at the Human Rights Association's Gaziantep Branch stated that during the period they were kept in detention they were given electric shocks, molested, beaten and insulted.

A female political prisoner called Zübeyde Çokan who was to be deported from Mardin Closed Prison was beaten by guardians and gendarmes as she objected the transfer decision. Zübeyde Çokan was also insulted and tortured by the police team which was in charge of transferring her to Malatya. The signs on the body of Zübeyde Çokan, which occurred due to torture, were found accurate by a medical report issued in Malatya E Type Prison where she was sent to.

Yusuf Akan living in Sivrice village of Midyat district of Mardin was injured by beatings of the security forces who raided the village. In the incident on 11 June, Yusuf Akan, who was interrogated in a house, fainted after a while due to the beating. Villagers were not allowed to help Yusuf Akan who was kept in the village for a long time. Besides, relatives of Yusuf Akan, called Salih Akan and Bahattin Akan, who wanted to take him to hospital were detained. When Yusuf Akan's situation got worse, he was taken by a military vehicle to Midyat State Hospital. However, since this hospital had insufficient facilities, he was sent to the Hospital of the Faculty of Medicine in Diyarbakır. He was treated in the Neurology Service of the hospital for a while.

Kader Aksu, Ercan Karataş, Mahir Erdoğan, Deniz Karahan and Hilmi Nar, tried at İzmir SSC on charges of "being members of an illegal organization", were beaten by the police as they shouted slogans while entering the hearing hall on 16 June. The beaten defendants were not allowed to enter the hearing hall later. Some of the spectators who attempted to prevent the police from beating the defendants, were also harassed.

A woman called Menice Kırtay who had been detained after the house raid which was carried out on the night of 19 June and which had resulted in the deaths of 4 people, was subjected to torture at Silvan Police Headquarters. 22-year old Menice Kırtay, wife of Ali Kırtay who is the owner of the raided house, told: "Our house was pulled to the ground because of the bombs. They dragged me over the ground, forced me to get in a van and took me to the police station. They continuously kicked me and asked some questions that I could not understand. After a while I was stained with blood. Upon this, they took me to hospital. However, 15 minutes later they took me back. They were saying "Speak in Turkish". When I said that I did not know Turkish, they increased the dose of torture. They inserted a truncheon and gun barrel into my genitals. Then I fainted. They took me to hospital. When I was detained I was pregnant, but as a result of torture I had a miscarriage".

Nusaybin correspondent of the daily "Özgür Gündem" Vahap Aslan, who was kept in detention for a week in Mardin, stated that he was subjected to torture in detention. In the statement Vahap Aslan made after his release, he said that as a result of torture, his head was injured and he was not able to eat and walk. Vahap Aslan told that his 2-month pregnant wife, who was kept in detention with him for a while, had a miscarriage. He also pointed that he was released after being photographed at the back side of a table covered with guns and bullets and he was introduced to the public as an offender.

The trial launched against Melek Yıldız, Alişan Özdemir, Aliye Turan, Emsal Atıcı, Şakir Eğilmez and Halil İbrahim Buhar, who were arrested in connection with May Day demonstrations, started on 29 June at İzmir SSC. The arrested defendants testified in the hearing and said that they were beaten by the police and forced to sign baseless statements in detention.

İsmail Yılmaz who was kept in detention at İstanbul Kapıkule Police Station on 27 and 28 June on charges of "sexually assaulting a woman", stated that he was tortured in detention. In a press meeting arranged at the Human Rights Association's (İHD's) İstanbul Branch, İsmail Yılmaz showed torture signs on his body to journalists and said: "As soon as I entered the police station they started to beat me. They gave me electric shocks and pulled out my moustache with tweezers. Later, I was put in a room where there was a trained dog which did every thing the policemen said. It bit my legs and arms. A truncheon was inserted into my anus. Because of torture I was subjected to, I attempted to commit suicide, but the policemen hindered my attempt". On the other hand, İHD İstanbul President Ercan Kanar, pointing out that about 100 torture cases were established in the first 6 months, said: "Security forces torture without making any discrimination of events. It is observed that torture is systematically applied in every case".

Şahbender Akbulak and his sons Muzaffer Akbulak and Rahmi Akbulak who were taken to the police station because they had a quarrel with a policeman in Buca, İzmir, were reportedly tortured. Lawyer Kemal Kırılancı who made a statement on the event which occurred on 4 July, said: "There are torture signs on the bodies of Şahbender Akbulak and Rahmi Akbulak. On the other hand, the throat of Muzaffer Akbulak became bruised due to blows. Reports on this subject are in the investigation file. I will keep following the event".

Numan Akçal who was detained on 8 July as he objected to the policemen who closed his cafeteria in Aksaray quarter of İstanbul, stated that he was tortured in the police station he was taken to. Numan Akçal obtained a medical report showing that "he was not able to work for 3 days" from a Forensic Institute to where he applied after his release. Numan Akçal said about his experience: "When I entered the police station, a civilian dressed policeman whose name is Hasan forced me to lie down and started to kick at me. While he was beating my chest he was swearing at me. Later a commissioner called Mustafa joined. They beat me until I fainted. I was released in the evening of the day of my detention without any formal registration."

18-year old peddler Abdülbaki Kara who was detained on 11 July in Sultanahmet quarter of İstanbul, stated that he was tortured at Alemdar Police Station where he was kept under detention for 3 days. Indicating that he was detained without any justification, Abdülbaki Kara said: "As soon as I was taken to the police station, police officers started to beat me. I did not have any time to say anything. They beat and kicked me throwing blows of fists to my head continuously. Then I fainted. They brought me round by water. Torture and beating continued throughout the 3 days I stayed in detention. During this period, they gave food only once. At the end of these 3 days, I was released without being sent to court. While I was in detention, they brought my friend named İhsan Kocatepe to the police station. He was exposed to the same things".

Muammer Evren, occupied himself with transportation in Bursa, stated that they were beaten at Şerafettin Yılmaz Police Station to where he went on 15 July with his wife and son in order to inform them about an usurpation. Pointing out that the policemen did not take the complaint seriously, Muammer Evren said: "My wife Asiye Evren is neuropathic. When she insisted that the complaint should be taken seriously, a police officer swore at us. Therefore my wife shouted 'Please, be polite'. When a dispute arose, I wanted to intervene. The police officers attacked me, my wife and my son Levent. They started to beat me with kicks and cuffs. I tumbled down the stairs. In the meantime, a night guard in front of the police station run towards me and beat at my chest with the gun in his hand. Later the police officers, registered in the minutes that 'They (referred to us) objected to the police and insulted'. We were kept in detention for 5 hours. My wife was arrested in connection with the minutes".

The Human Rights Association's (İHD's) İzmir Branch stated that about 50 people kept under detention for about one week at the Political Police Center, were tortured. In the statement it was pointed out that lawyers Şennur Akkaya and Kemal Bilgiç, members of İHD, met detainees Nesibe Acar, Yıldız Demir and Kevser Gültekin, and summarized: "Those three people stated that they had been subjected to torture. We recorded that in the minutes of the meeting." Nesibe Acar (26), one of the detainees, stated that she was tortured and threatened with rape. Nesibe Acar told that she was detained under beatings when she was with her children and said that she was given electric shocks, insulted and not allowed to go to the toilet.

13 persons who were kept in detention in Kocaeli for 15 days on allegations of "being members of 'Devrimci Sol' organization", were tortured in detention. Those 13 persons obtained medical reports from the Forensic Institute

they were sent to after they were arrested. The names of those 13 persons who obtained medical reports certifying their inability to work for between 3 to 7 days, are as follows: "Hüseyin Usta, Emine İnanıcı, Nurcan Gülbaş, Sinan Oktay Özer, Sezai Kayadibi, Zeki Yakan, Ramazan Yakan, Zülfü Kalay, Ferruh Özcan, Nail Can, Kemal Köşker, Erdal Deliktaş and Hakan Yıldız". The Turkish Medical Association (TTB) reacted against the torture inflicted on M.D. Hüseyin Usta, among the detainees. In a statement made by the Turkish Medical Association about the event, it was said: "TTB Central Council hold Kocaeli Police Director, Kocaeli Governor, the Ministry of Interior and the Government responsible for the torture on Usta. Tolerance shown by the government for torturers and those who are used to kill is worrisome".

Abdullah Arısoy and Ali Komak, Cizre correspondents of the daily "Özgür Gündem", who were kept in detention at Cizre and Şırnak Police Headquarters between 1 July and 16 July, stated that they were tortured in detention. Arrest orders were issued for the journalists after they were released. One of the journalists, Abdullah Arısoy, said about the torture: "We were not subjected to ill-treatment during the 3 days we were kept in detention in Cizre. Later they sent us to Şırnak. As soon as I entered Şırnak Police Headquarters, 5 or 6 policemen started to beat me. As a result of the beatings I fainted. They brought me around by water and put me in a cell. Two days later I was interrogated. They wanted some information in connection with the reports I wrote. When I did not give the answers they wanted, they started to torture me. First of all I was hanged, then electric shocks were given to my toes and genitals. The interrogation under torture continued for 3 days". The other journalist Ali Komak indicating that torture caused wounds and bruises on his body, said: "They brought a doctor in the cell where I was kept. During that time, there were also police officers in the cell. Since I was blindfolded, I could not see whether the doctor wrote a report or not".

Fazlı Özçelik (17) who was kept in detention by the police for a while in İstanbul stated that he was tortured, and filed a complaint with the Public Prosecution Office. Fazlı Özçelik, pointing out that he was detained by the police who wanted to know where his father was, said that he had obtained a medical report from a hospital certifying the torture signs on his body.

Medeni Ayhan, Ankara representative of the journal "Özgür Halk" (Free Public), who was detained during operations carried out by the political police in July in Ankara, stated that he was subjected to pressure and insults in detention. Medeni Ayhan who after being released applied to the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey in order to be treated, told the following about his experience in Ankara Political Police Center where he was interrogated: "As soon as I was detained, they started to insult me. During 15 days they did not give anything to eat except some bread. I was kept in a cell. I could hardly go to the toilet. I was not exposed to any physical torture, but Metin Yalçın, Nejdet Gökalp and İsmail Temizyürek who were detained along with me, were exposed to. They put İsmail Temizyürek in a sewer pit, and Metin Yalçın was hanged and given electric shocks".

7 members of Tüm Sağlık Sen (Health Personnel's Trade Union) who were beaten by the police during the demonstration made on 27 July in front of the Ministry of Health in Ankara to protest the low increase in the wages, filed

an official complaint with the Public Prosecution Office. In the official complaint they demanded the police officers and the police director who gave the order, to be identified and punished. The ones who made an official complaint, obtained medical reports from the forensic institute certifying torture traces on their bodies. The names of the persons who are said not to be able to work for between 3 and 10 days are as follows: "Semih Tatlıoğlu (5 days), Fatime Akalın (3 days), Mahmut Konuk (5 days), Kalender Aydın (10 days), Cevher Tosun (7 days), Peri Arbak (3 days) and Pelin Şener (5 days)".

A trial was launched with a demand for a death sentence against Murat Gül (18) who was detained after the armed attack which was carried out by "Devrimci Sol" organization on 2 May 1992 in Şişli quarter of İstanbul and resulted in the death of 5 policemen. In the trial which started on 3 August at İstanbul State Security Court (SSC), Murat Gül pleaded not guilty. Murat Gül stated that he was tortured in detention, and then submitted a medical report certifying the torture he was subjected to. Murat Gül said: "On that day, I was looking for a job in the quarter where the event occurred. Upon suspicion I was detained. In detention, I was urged to take responsibility for certain activities which I had not carried out. I was exposed to every kind of physical torture. I did not accept the accusations and went on hunger strike".

8 persons who were detained after Güleusu Culture Association in Gülsuyu quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on 2 August, stated that they were subjected to torture and put under pressure in detention. One of the leaders of the association, Tekin Yazar, arranged a press meeting in the Human Rights Association İstanbul Branch and said that he and his friends were beaten, exposed to psychological pressure and sexual abuses in detention. Tekin Yazar, stating that the police proposed two detainees to be agents, said "the Mafia and the police work collectively and they are trying to intimidate us".

Mahmut Ceylan who was detained two times on the days of 6 and 7 August in Bismil district of Diyarbakır, stated that he was tortured in detention. Mahmut Ceylan (50) told that he was detained when he went for condolence to the family of PKK militant Ebedi Bakır who died in a clash near Savur district of Mardin and said: "The policemen who raided the house where I went for condolence on 6 August detained 66 persons in the house. As soon as we were taken out of the house, the policemen started to beat us. Later, they took us to Bismil Police Headquarters and tortured us until the morning. We were sent to court in the morning of 7 August. 12 persons were arrested and the remaining were released. I was detained again in the night of the same day by police officers who came to my house, and took me to the Police Headquarters. They beat me until the morning. As a result of the beatings my ribs were broken. When my condition got grave I was hospitalized". On the other hand, the police authorities denying the torture claims, alleged that the ribs of Mahmut Ceylan were broken when he fell down the stairs.

Tatvan correspondent for the journal "Özgür Halk", Şeyhmus Günüş, who was detained in Tatvan on 15 August, stated that as a result of torture he was subjected to, his ribs were broken and he had an internal bleeding. In the hospital he was being treated, Şeyhmus Günüş said the following about his ex-

perience: "I was detained blindfolded by 9 civilian dressed policemen who came to my office in the morning. Firstly we went to some place I did not know. Then we went to a building used as a police station near a refugee camp close to Tavan. There, I was subjected to every kind of torture. They took off my clothes and inserted a gun barrel into my anus. I fainted after a while. They left me near a road and went away".

In Karaözü village of Kayseri, Yemni Karabulut who was detained by gendarmes in August on charges of "being a member of an illegal organization", was tortured during detention. Lawyer Meryem Erdal made a statement in connection with the event and stated that Yemni Karabulut was detained by gendarmes but handed over to the police. She said: "My client was subjected to heavy torture during interrogation. Besides, my client was taken to an open field on the pretext of looking for a gun. There, the police hanged him on a tree and let a snake walk on him. There are some villagers who witnessed this event". Meryem Erdal also added that they filed an official complaint with the prosecution office about the torture.

A woman named Fatma Durmuş (63) who was detained on 20 August in İstanbul, during the funerals of Eyüphan Polat and Nurhayat Beyhan who had been killed during a house raid by the police in Küçükesat quarter of Ankara in August, was tortured at Çeliklepe Police Station where she was interrogated. Fatma Durmuş pointing out that she was detained together with 50 persons under beating, said: "They continuously beat and insulted me. As a result of the beatings my whole body got bruised. I did not feel well for 4 days". Fatma Durmuş was given a medical report certifying "her inability to work for 10 days" from the Forensic Institute she was sent to.

Ramazan Savcı detained by the police for looking suspicious on 14 August in İstanbul, stated that he was subjected to torture in detention. Ramazan Savcı said the followings: "I was beaten at the police station where I was taken to. Later, they took me to another place that I do not know. There, I was hanged and given electric shocks. Besides, they pulled out the nail of my left toe. The next day I was sent to Gayrettepe Political Police Center. However, since I got worse I was hospitalized. The necessary consultation was made in hospital. Then I was taken back to the Political Police Center. Until 24 August, the day that I was released, they did not torture me again".

Some of the 83 persons who were detained when they wanted to arrange a press meeting on 22 August in Sultan Ahmet Square of İstanbul in protest of the denunciation telephone number known as "055 Police Help", stated that they were tortured in detention. Teacher Baki Gökçe who arranged a press meeting in the Human Rights Association İstanbul Branch after his release, showed torture signs to journalists and said: "Civilian dressed police officers beat me with clubs. I was kicked. They hit with sticks at my palms". Cafer Kılınc, among the detainees, stated that he was hanged, beaten and insulted at the Political Police Center where he was taken to. Cafer Kılınc added that although the other detainees were released two days before, he was not released until torture signs on his body disappeared.

12 of 85 members of civil servants unions who went on a hunger strike in İzmir on 22 August in protest of the Şırnak events and who were later detained by the police under beatings, certified the signs of blows and scars on their bodies by medical reports. The names of those 12 persons who obtained medical reports from the Forensic Institute are: "Hacay Yılmaz (whose arm is broken), Murat Kırkateş, Ayla Bilir, Rıza Çetin, Aygün Durakoğlu, Mehmet Ural, Hikmet Özdündar, Hakkı Özdündar, Abbas Murat, Serpil Okumuş, İnan Eroğluer and Naci Güzel Bostan". Among the detainees, 3-month pregnant Ümmühan Çalışkan was taken to hospital when she became worse in detention, but she was taken back to İzmir Police Headquarters a short time later. After her release she had a miscarriage as a result of the beatings.

Coşkun Küçükaslan, who was detained on 24 August when it was established that one of the US Dollars he used while shopping in Topkapı quarter of İstanbul, was a forgery, stated that he was subjected to torture for 3 days in detention. Coşkun Küçükaslan said that he was taken to Şehremini Police Station after he was detained. He added that he was beaten and insulted by policemen and was subjected to falanga (beating on the soles of feet) there. Coşkun Küçükaslan obtained a medical report certifying his inability to work for 3 days from the Forensic Institute. He applied to the İstanbul Representatives of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey for treatment.

44 persons who were detained during the Şırnak events in August and then arrested, made a statement at Diyarbakır E Type Prison where they were sent to, and said that they were tortured in detention and forced to sign false testimonies prepared by Şırnak Brigade Commander Mete Sayar. In the statement it was said: "They continuously tortured us in order to make us admit that PKK had carried out a big attack on Şırnak. They forced us to accept that hundreds of PKK militants had raided Şırnak and that we had helped them in the raid. They said that unless we accepted everything, they would kill us. A villager named Temel Uçar died because of torture he was subjected to. We testified under pressure and our testimonies were recorded on a video tape in the room of the Brigade Commander".

Hüseyin Karavar detained by the police on 31 August in Siverek district of Urfa, stated that he was subjected to torture in Urfa and Siverek Police Headquarters. Hüseyin Karavar, pointing out that when he was detained he was ill because of an operation he had on 18 August, told that during 9 days in detention he was subjected to heavy torture without regard that he was newly operated. Hüseyin Karavar who is under arrest in Urfa E Type Prison, said about the torture he was subjected to: "Electric shocks were given to various points of my body. I was hanged. Since I was recently operated, I had much more pain. They generally did not let me drink water and sit down. One day they took me out of the city and threatened to kill me. The things I experienced in detention were terrible. Therefore, I had to accept everything the police said although I am innocent".

Ahmet Öztürk, Adana reporter for the weekly "Mücadele" (Struggle), stated that he had been subjected to torture at Adana Police Headquarters where he was kept in detention in August. Ahmet Öztürk who filed an official complaint with Adana Public Prosecution Office, obtained a medical report from the Forensic Institute which certified his inability to work for 7 days.

Senanik Öner, a member of HEP (the People's Labor Party) who was detained and then arrested in August in Kızıltepe district of Mardin, stated that he was under torture while he was in detention. Senanik Öner indicated that he could not use his arms, his nose was broken and membrane of one of his ears was torn as a result of torture, and said: "The police had tried to force me to leave the region for one year. When I didn't, I was detained. They were continuously asking why I participated in the activities of HEP and İHD (The Human Rights Association). I was kept in detention for 30 days and during that time I was subjected to every kind of torture. Although there was no reasonable evidence, I was arrested. I am still in prison and my health is extremely bad. I am not able to manage my basic needs by myself".

Safiye Akdağ (16) who was detained by the police in İzmir on 12 September, disclosed that she was tortured when she was in detention. Safiye Akdağ who was detained as she was preparing to go to Batman with her brother Metin Akdağ, told about her experience in detention: "I was detained as a result of a raid carried out by the police to the house of a person whom I know, and taken to İzmir Police Headquarters. There, I was beaten because I resisted the body search. I could not eat anything for three days as a result of the beatings. Police officers who were watching pornographic films, sexually assaulted me. They were threatening me with rape. In order to escape from torture I signed a testimony which they wanted me to sign". Safiye Akdağ added that although she was released by SSC, she was introduced to the public as a guilty person.

Two men named Sedat Bahadır (18) and Abdurrahim Uğurlu (36) who were detained by the police officers who on 20 September came to the bakery they work in Bağcılar quarter of İstanbul, stated that they were tortured for 10 hours in detention. Abdurrahim Uğurlu one of the detainees, told about his experience: "They made us get into a car by beating and continued to beat until we arrived at İstanbul Police Headquarters. We were blindfolded there. They hit at our faces, backs, waists, feet and hands with thick clubs and truncheons. While they were beating us, they were continuously asking whether we were Kurdish or Turkish. They were beating much more, when we said that we were Kurdish. After we were released, we went to a hospital and obtained medical reports proving the torture we were subjected to. We will make an official complaint to the public prosecution office and demand the policemen to be punished". On the other hand, Sedat Bahadır said in a statement he made: "The policemen asked me to give the address of a person whom I know. When I told them that I did not know, they attacked me and began to beat".

A young girl named Nursemin Yılmaz who was detained in İstanbul in September and interrogated at Gayrettepe Political Police Center, stated that she was tortured during her detention period. Nursemin Yılmaz, now under arrest at Sağmalcılar Prison, applied to İstanbul Public Prosecution Office and demanded an investigation to be launched against the police officers who inflicted torture on her. Nursemin Yılmaz was given a medical report which documents her inability to work for 15 days from a Forensic Institute. In a statement, pointing out that every kind of torture methods were applied to her, Nursemin Yılmaz said: "On the second day of my detention I was raped with a truncheon and a bottle".

Ömer Faruk Ekinci, Ankara Deputy of the Welfare Party, who was watching an activity arranged by high school students on 2 October in order to protest traffic accidents in Mamak quarter of Ankara, was beaten by the police. Ömer Faruk Ekinci who was taken to Mamak Police Station under harassment, was kept in detention for some time. Ömer Faruk Ekinci said that although he had identified himself as a deputy, he was beaten. Ekinci was given a medical report showing that he was unable to work for one week. Ömer Faruk Ekinci complained about police chiefs Hasan Eryılmaz and Sadullah Altan and a police commissioner whose collar number is 120780.

Kadri Elmas detained on 4 October 1992 in Çimenli village of Ömerli district of Mardin, stated that he was tortured at Ömerli Gendarmerie Station where he had been interrogated. Kadri Elmas said that he had been detained after a mine explosion which occurred near Çimenli village and resulted in the death of 4 enlisted men, and that he had been crippled as a result of torture inflicted on him for 3 days. Claiming that his money had been stolen by the officials who had interrogated him, Kadri Elmas said: "Upon release they threatened me not to file a case against them. Nevertheless, I will enjoy all my legal rights and file a case against those torturers".

Mehmet Aktaş, one of the reporters of the daily Özgür Gündem was detained together with his sister and brothers on 8 October night by the police who entered Mehmet Aktaş's house by breaking its door. Mehmet Aktaş was kept in detention for 2 days. In a statement after his release, Mehmet Aktaş said that he was beaten by the police officers, and subjected to ill-treatment and insulted at the Political Police Center he was taken to. Mehmet Aktaş's sister Hatice and brothers Cafer and Musa Aktaş were released too.

About 100 persons who attended the meeting arranged by members of the civil servants' unions on 10 October, in Karşıyaka quarter of İzmir, were dispersed by the police under beating. In the event, of the persons beaten in front of hundreds of people, Human Rights Association's (IHD's) İzmir Branch President Yeşim İşlegen and leaders of the İzmir Medical Association Alp Ayan and Rıza Çetin, and persons named Bülent Pişmiş and Mesut Çelebi were injured. The injured persons made an official complaint against the police officers to İzmir Public Prosecution Office.

İhsan Kurt, one of the Adana reporters for the daily Özgür Gündem who was detained on 12 October, was released on 20 October. After he was released, İhsan Kurt said that he had been under pressure and subjected to ill-treatment in detention.

University students Feridun Yücel Batu, İbrahim Kabakçioğlu and İskender Tosun who were detained by gendarmes on 17 October in Bursa, stated that they were subjected to torture in detention. The students who made a statement after being released, pointed out that they were interrogated at Bursa Political Police Center and said: "We were detained by the gendarmes who came to our dormitory and during the detention period we were continuously beaten and insulted. Some of us were not given water for 4 days, others for 2 days. Although we were innocent, they limited our freedom". Later, the students filed an official complaint with Bursa Public Prosecution Office and demanded the officers who tortured them to be interrogated.

The trial of Yasemin Okuyucu and Metin Dikme; accused of being members of the Devrimci Sol organization and having participated in 12 separate armed activities, started on 23 October at İstanbul State Security Court (SSC). The defendants interrogated in the hearing pleaded not guilty and said; "During the 15-day period that we were kept in detention, we were heavily tortured. Because of the torture, we had to sign the testimonies the police had prepared". Later, the defendants presented medical reports certifying the scars and traces which occurred on their bodies due to the torture inflicted on them.

Lawyer Cuma Yakut who was detained after a hearing held on 21 October in Ergani district of Diyarbakır, was injured because of the torture inflicted on him in Ergani Gendarmerie Station where he was interrogated. Pointing out that Cuma Yakut was hospitalized 3 hours after his detention because of beatings, Diyarbakır Regional Bar President Fethi Gümüş said: "Cuma Yakut told us in hospital that he would not receive any treatment until a prosecutor came. Then he was taken to the interrogation center at Diyarbakır Regiment Command. Our friend is still in detention. This is an attack against the defense and human rights. We expect the actors of the event to be sentenced". Cuma Yakut was arrested on 3 November by Diyarbakır SSC after a 14-day detention period.

Abdullah Tanrıverdi, detained for "being a theft" in Avcılar quarter of İstanbul at the end of October, stated that he was tortured in detention. Abdullah Tanrıverdi who was kept in detention for 4 days, but released as he was found innocent by court, said: "I was detained upon a slander of my relative Yaşar Tanrıverdi against whom I have a hostility. I was tortured during 4 days that I was in detention. I proved the torture inflicted on me with a medical report". Later, Abdullah Tanrıverdi made an official complaint to the Public Prosecution Office against his relative Yaşar Tanrıverdi and the police officers who tortured him.

A young girl named Hatun Özçelik, who was detained while she was going to a meeting arranged by the university students in Ankara on 4 November, stated that she was tortured in detention. She said the following in a statement she made after her release: "I was beaten and insulted as soon as I entered the Political Police Center. Later I was hanged. Although I said that I was suffering from my kidneys, they poured pressured water over me. As a result of torture, I fainted frequently. Then they took me to hospital. In the hospital, first a report proving my illness was given, but later the police officers obtained a medical report from another doctor saying that I was healthy."

The People's Labour Party (HEP) İçel Provincial President Sedat Kalaba, who was detained by the police on 6 November, was interrogated at Mersin Political Police Center for 24 hours. Sedat Kalaba who made a statement after being released, said that he had been beaten and subjected to electric shocks. In the meantime, Heybet Keskin, one of the 3 HEP members detained in Mersin on 31 October, was arrested while the other detainees Hülya Ayhan and Abidin Keskin were released. Hülya Ayhan, stated that they were tortured at Mersin Political Police Center and one arm of Heybet Keskin had been injured.

Two prisoners named Maşuk Sami and Alişan Turan in Çankırı E Type Prison, were beaten by the Prison Director Celadet Özer and Chief Guardian Recep Aslan. In the event on 9 November the beaten prisoners were injured and they were not allowed to go to hospital.

Haşmet Aysan, Counsellor of Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin, and his friend İsmet Civelek were beaten by police officers at Küçükkesat Police Station to where they were taken in connection with a traffic accident they had on 10 November night. After the event, Haşmet Aysan obtained a "2-day recovery" medical report and his friend İsmet Civelek obtained a "1-day recovery" medical report from the Forensic Institute. 3 police officers named Hüsnü Tike, Ahmet Gözütok and Cüneyt İnal who were involved in the event, were removed from their offices. Ankara Governor Erdoğan Şahinoğlu stated that an investigation was launched against the removed police officers by the inspectors of the Ministry of Interior.

It has been reported that Hasan Akdemir, Yusuf Gündür and Tahir Yalçın kept in detention at İzmir Political Police Center in November, were tortured. Lawyer Kemal Bilgiç who is also İzmir Branch Secretary of the Human Rights Association and who had access to the 3 persons, said: "Hasan Akdemir whom I met, could neither walk nor talk and had difficulty in breathing. He came to the meeting place with the help of two persons. Essentially, he had just been brought back from hospital before the meeting. He told me about the torture he was subjected to. Yusuf Gündür and Tahir Yalçın said similar things".

University student Filiz Çınar (21) who was detained by the police on 18 November from the canteen of the Faculty of Political Sciences of İstanbul University stated that she was tortured during the period she was kept in detention. Filiz Çınar said the following after being released: "I was detained because of a poster put up in the canteen. Police officers dragged me into a bus. Later they laid me down and beat with truncheons on my hip. They wanted me to accept responsibility for the poster. Then, they blindfolded me and took me from one police station to another. I was sent to the State Security Court's (SSC's) Prosecution Office 48 hours later. Although I told the prosecutor that there were blow traces on my body and that I wanted to be transferred to a forensic institute, my demand was not considered". It was established that there were purple bruises on the hip, calves, armpits and eyes of Filiz Çınar, caused by blows.

Tradesman Mehmet Kültür detained by the police on 10 November in Siverek district of Urfa, disclosed that he was tortured in detention. Mehmet Kültür stating that he was interrogated at Siverek Police Headquarters after being detained, said: "They inflicted every kind of torture on me. They urged me to be a police agent. When I did not accept to be a police agent, they attempted to insert a truncheon into my anus. One of the torturers was policeman Hacı Demirel nicknamed 'Karşlı'". Mehmet Kültür also claimed that the official complaint he wanted to make to the Public Prosecution Office was not processed.

University student Nurhayat Varol detained on 18 November from Avcılar Campus of İstanbul University stated that she was tortured in detention. Nurhayat Varol released on 20 November, held a press meeting and told that she was beaten, insulted and threatened with death at Avcılar Police Station. Nurhayat Varol added that she was urged to be a police agent.

Civil servant Adem Tunalı detained on 29 November evening in Fatih quarter of İstanbul upon a complaint, disclosed that he was tortured in detention. Adem Tunalı pointing out that he was detained with his girl friend upon a com-

plaint made by his former wife, said the following: "I asked the police officers who came to my house, whether they had permission to search my house. Saying 'Is here America? Probably you watch many films', they hit me with their fists. We were released at the prosecution office we were sent to on 30 November, but I was brought again to the police station. Although I said that I was a civil servant they kept me there one more day."

17 of 40 persons, detained on charges of being PKK members during operations conducted in İzmir within November, proved with medical reports they obtained from İzmir Forensic Institute that they had been tortured in detention. The names of those 17 persons, 9 of whom under arrest, and the periods of their inability to work are as follows: "Tahir Yiğit (2 days), Abdülkerim Kaya (2 days), Ali Yıl (1 day), Aziz Ayata, (1 day), Galip Anar (2 days), İzzettin Yavuz (2 days), Hayri Özer (2 days), İsmail Dündar (2 days), Garo Bakır (1 day), Şükriye Akbulak (3 days), Yıldız Kaya (3 days), Adil Alpagat (1 day), Abdülselam Arslan (5 days), Abdülrahim Kaya (1 day), Abdülsamet Aydemir (2 days), Ali Kaya (2 days) and Halil Su (25 days)". Those 17 persons lodged an official complaint with the Public Prosecution Office.

The trial against 19 persons, 16 of whom are under arrest accused of being members of the PKK and collecting money on behalf of the organization, started at İstanbul SSC on 3 December. Baran Bingöl, among the defendants who testified in the hearing, stated that he had been subjected to heavy torture in detention and said the following: "After being detained they suspended me on a Palestinian hanger, gave electric shocks to my sexual organ, feet, breast and fingers for days and inserted a truncheon into my anus. They raped me many times in such a way. They did not let me sleep for one week". Baran Bingöl added that he certified the torture inflicted on him with a medical report he obtained from the Forensic Institute showing his inability to work for 7 days, and then submitted the report to the court.

Sadettin Köse (58) detained because of a traffic offense he committed on 28 November in Hasköy quarter of İstanbul, stated that he was tortured in detention. Sadettin Köse who made a press meeting at the İstanbul Provincial Center of the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP), showed torture traces on his body to journalists. Purple bruises and wounds were determined on his back, buttocks, arms and legs. Sadettin Köse, stating that he was kept for two days in detention, said: "After being detained I was taken to Hasköy Police Station. During the first night, I was beaten by kicking and subjected to falanga (beating on the soles of feet). The next day, they took me to Beyoğlu Security Directorate. There I was not exposed to any ill-treatment. Later I was released upon a court's decision.

Atilla Aksu, detained by the police a while ago in Eminönü quarter of İstanbul, stated that he was tortured in detention. Atilla Aksu telling that he was taken to Eminönü Security Directorate after being detained, said: "I was detained upon a complaint and kept in detention for 5 hours. During this period, they inflicted electric shocks on me. Although I said that I worked at the administration of justice, they did not listen to me". Atilla Aksu who obtained a medical report from a Forensic Institute which shows his inability to work for 10 days, lodged an official complaint with the Public Prosecution Office.

Hüseyin İskeçeli (23) detained by the police in Söke district of Aydın at the beginning of December, stated that he was beaten at the police station where he was kept in detention, when he wanted to have access to a lawyer. Hüseyin İskeçeli was sent to hospital upon his application to the Public Prosecution Office, and obtained a medical report certifying his inability to work for 15 days. On the other hand, Söke Police Director Hayri Gündüz said: "Hüseyin İskeçeli who was drunk at that time, was not beaten. He got injured by boxing against the walls of the hospital where he was taken in order to have his stomach washed".

13 persons detained in Viranşehir district of Urfa on 17 November and arrested after being interrogated for about 20 days, stated that they were subjected to heavy torture in detention. 13 persons still under arrest in Urfa E Type Prison said the following in a letter they sent to newspapers: "During 15 days we were stripped and subjected to pressurized water and electric shocks. We were suspended from the ceiling by our hands and continuously beaten. Our friends Ömer Özkan, Halil Yaman and Serdar Mert were suspended at the Palestinian hanger for 12 days. At the end, we had to sign the prepared statement. 23 days after being detained, we went to the forensic institute. There photographs of torture traces on our bodies were taken and added to the medical reports".

13 persons who were detained in İstanbul within November on charges of being members of an illegal islamic group (İBDA-C), were tortured in detention. 11 of those 13 persons certified with medical reports they obtained from the Forensic Institute that they were tortured. Kazım Albayrak, chief editor of the journal Taraf, is among the 11 persons who certified the torture inflicted on them. The names of 8 persons who obtained medical reports are "Ünsal Zor, Ahmed Arslan, Mehmet Zengin, Metin Aslantürkiyeli, Mehmet Tarakçı, Mevlüt Dal, Tahir Başarıcı and Mehmet Tatlı".

Torture inflicted on 23 persons detained in November in İstanbul for being members of the PKK, was certified with medical reports. The names of the 23 persons who obtained medical reports and days for their inability to work are as follows: "Halis Çağlayan (3 days), Tarık Özcan (5 days), Ercan Narin (7 days), Rabia Tekas (15 days), Serpil Ertik (7 days), Selma Batmaz (10 days), Gülşen Şahin (5 days), Ramazan Harmancı (10 days), Hasan Şahin (7 days), Fehmi Akgül (5 days), Cesim Altındağ (7 days), Mehmet Güzel (7 days), Ercan Yiğit (7 days), Mehmet Atik (7 days), Betül Cici (10 days), Eyüphan Sönmez (15 days), Cengiz Uğuz (7 days), Bahri Kurt (10 days), Yaşar Çelik (10 days), Hıdır Pelit (7 days), Ayfer Kordu (5 days), Şeref Balcı (7 days) and Yadigar Çalışkan (7 days)".

Selahattin Behçet who was detained by police officers who raided his house in Yenimahalle quarter of İstanbul on 9 December evening, stated that he was tortured during 20 hours that he was kept in detention. Selahattin Behçet detained together with his brother Hikmet, told that they were first taken to Yenimahalle Police Station and said the following: "They kept us in that station for several hours and then they sent us to Gayrettepe Political Police Center. There I was beaten by police officers. Traces of blows on my body prove the beating". Selahattin Behçet added that his brother Hikmet was still in detention and heavily tortured.

University student Sabahat Varol, detained on 16 December in Üsküdar quarter of İstanbul, stated that she was subjected to torture in detention. Sabahat Varol who held a press conference in the Human Rights Association (IHD) İstanbul Branch, said the following: "I was taken to Üsküdar Central Police Station after being detained. First I was subjected to vulgar beating, then to various kinds of beatings along with psychological torture. While I was being tortured students from the Police College entered in room. The person who tortured me made some tests on my body and told those students how torture was applied."

High school student Rahşan Eren, detained in Natoyolu quarter of Ankara on 20 December, was reportedly tortured on a deserted field. Ankara Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association) President Metin Turan made a statement about the event and said the following: "On 20 December evening Rahşan Eren studying at Başkent High School was pushed into a civilian police vehicle with the plate number of 06 ERT 60 which had chased her since the morning. Later she was beaten, insulted and taken to a deserted field. There, she was stripped and attempted to be raped. Furthermore, they hit at her crippled waist. Thus, the health of Rahşan Eren deteriorated." Rahşan Eren who was released the same night applied to the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey for treatment of the injuries to her waist.

Tradesman Mehmet Baltaş detained on 15 December in İstanbul, was wounded because of heavy torture he was subjected to, and then hospitalized. The Human Rights Association (IHD) İstanbul Branch Secretary Eren Keskin met Mehmet Baltaş on 22 December in hospital. Eren Keskin made the following statement after this meeting: "Mehmet Baltaş was hospitalized on claims that he fell down the stairs. While talking to him he said 'they made me like that'. He also said that the police officers had seized his money amounting to about TL 20 million (appr. \$ 2.500). There are broken bones in his legs and head. He should be urgently operated". Mehmet Baltaş was operated on 23 December. In the meantime, IHD İstanbul Branch President Ercan Kanar send a telegram to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel demanding the torturers to be punished.

e) Prisons

In 1992, various inhuman cases were witnessed in prisons, too, highlighting another prominent problem of Turkey. Complaints about negative life conditions increased day by day. Hunger strikes started in some prisons. The coalition government which closed down Eskişehir Special Type Prison as soon as it came into power, created an impression that it would follow a policy respectful to human dignity. But various pressures and inhuman treatments witnessed throughout the year caused disappointment. Sometimes, prison inmates were ruthlessly beaten. Justice Minister Seyfi Oktay, who often objected to anti-democratic provisions of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" when he was in the opposition, did not make any legal attempts to lift these provisions. He preferred to keep silent on matters such as that "no defendant tried under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code in connection with Kurdish organizations may benefit from conditional release" and that "political prisoners may not benefit from free visits".

The coalition government preferred to wait for the decision of the Constitutional Court related to conditional release of prisoners convicted under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code, instead of legal changes. The Constitutional Court which completed the studies related to the "Law to Fight Terrorism", did not cancel the section of the said law which suggests that "no defendant tried under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code in connection with Kurdish organizations may benefit from conditional release". The decision was taken by 7 against 4 votes. According to the decision, in trials launched against Kurdish organizations, defendants sentenced to death will stay in prison for 20 years instead of 10, and defendants sentenced to life imprisonment will stay in prison for 15 years instead of 8 in order to be released. A member of the Constitutional Court said: "The most important reason of our decision is that crimes under this article are continuing. The organizational element of other crimes disappeared. These crimes became individual ones. However, the number of crimes under Article 125 based on the integrity of Turkey did not decrease but increased recently". This decision shows that two different standards are used for Turkish and Kurdish organizations, which is against the principle of equality in the Constitution.

Following is the information the HRFT compiled in connection with certain events, pressures and ill-treatment witnessed in prisons within 1992.

Some 1.500 political prisoners could not benefit from the right for "free visit" on New Year, because the "Law to Fight Terrorism" prohibits "free visits" for political prisoners. Political detainees and convicts did not benefit from the same opportunity provided on the Sugar and Sacrifice Feasts, on Mother's Day and on the 29 October Republic Day, either.

Şanal Saruhan, the President of Contemporary Jurists Association, stated that Lawyer Murat Demir was not allowed to see his client in Ankara Central Closed Prison although he presented his authorization as attorney. Şanal Saruhan said in the statement she made on 26 February: "The prison administration did not allow Murat Demir to see a client because he had himself been under arrest in the prison a while ago. This is unlawful".

19 left-wing prisoners in Kayseri Closed Prison started a hunger strike on 17 March demanding an improvement of living conditions. The prisoners who started the hunger strike stated that they were tortured and subjected to arbitrary isolation sentences after a successful escape-attempt from Kayseri Closed Prison. 9 prison officers against whom a trial was launched in connection with the flight of 11 political prisoners from Kayseri Closed Prison on 26 February, were sentenced. In the trial which ended on 25 June at Kayseri Criminal Court No. 1, prison directors Muhammed Ustabaşı and Hulusi Sağır were sentenced to 8 months' imprisonment, guardians Hakkı Coşkun, Hasan Özçelik, İbrahim Halil Turan, Mehmet Öztürk, Muzaffer Kızılaslan, Alpaslan Yalçın and Mustafa Özalp to 17 months' imprisonment each while Ömer Yakut was acquitted. They were tried on charges of "acting without precaution and neglecting their duties".

About 40 inmates at Ceyhan Special Type Prison went on a hunger strike on 9 April in order to protest "bad living conditions and pressures on prisoners".

It was stated that the hunger strike was conducted as a warning. The inmates made a statement and said: "The administration of the prison is despotic and refuses to comply even with our smallest request. We are not allowed to be examined medically. We are not allowed to be treated. They took away even our liquid gas burner to boil our milk with. They allow a single newspaper for the entire prison".

19 inmates in Elazığ E Type Prison were beaten on 26 April by guardians upon the directives of the prison director. Some of the beaten inmates were injured. Upon the beating, lawyers of the inmates made an official complaint to Public Prosecution Office. 12 of the 19 beaten prisoners documented blow traces on their bodies with medical reports. As a result of the investigation a trial was initiated against 76 prison officers. Sentences of no less than 6 months in prison are being demanded for the 76 defendants, including prison directors Kudret Başığmez and Kazım Kaya, tried at Elazığ Criminal Court No. 2.

A 15 year-old student, who was arrested for "murdering a friend of his", was found dead in his cell in Gümüşhane Closed Prison on 2 May. The student, whose name was not disclosed, is presumed to have committed suicide as a result of a nervous breakdown. The findings on the body of the student confirmed the suicide.

The Disciplinary Board of Ankara Central Closed Prison banned certain journals and publications which are sold freely in the market, from entering prison. The prohibition was ordered as "the said publications turn prisoners towards crime and encourage terrorist actions". Şanal Saruhan, President of the Contemporary Jurists Association reacted against the prohibition decision and said that the practice was in contravention to regulations and statutes in force. All of the banned publications are freely sold in the market.

29 left-wing prisoners in Ankara Central Closed Prison started a hunger strike demanding "improvement of living conditions and ending pressures" on 27 May. Lawyer Murat Demir, who made a statement while the hunger strike was continuing, said: "Prisoners are beaten and their hair is cut short. For example one of my clients, Orhan Akıncı, was subjected to falanga. In spite of our appeal he could not see a doctor for 10 days. Another of my clients, Nihat Atoğlu, was beaten and his hair was cut. His eyes are all purple and there are bulges on his head. Prisoners recently brought to the prison are kept in cells where even animals cannot live. Prisoners subjected to torture are not sent to doctor on purpose. They are made to wait until their wounds healed". The hunger strike ended on 6 June because the majority of the demands of the prisoners were accepted, and it was promised that "inhuman practices would be given up". In the meantime, the director of the prison, Mehmet Yalçın, who gave way to the complaints of the prisoners before the hunger strike, was removed from his post.

Urfa Deputy Halil İbrahim Çelik and İstanbul Deputy Tınaz Titiz, members of the Parliament's Human Rights Commission, were not allowed to meet prisoners in Diyarbakır E Type Prison where they went for an inspection at the end of July. The deputies who were not allowed by the director and prosecutor of the prison, took minutes following the event and left the prison. It was es-

established that the deputies had decided to make an inspection in the prison upon complaints. The Human Rights Association President Nevzat Helvacı said: "The situation is against the democratization and transparency. It is the most important proof for the practices in contravention to human rights and laws in the prison, if deputies are not allowed to enter the prison."

It has been reported that the director of the semi-open prison in Alaşehir district of Konya, Garip Ülker, had prisoners and convicts beat and tortured. Upon the events in August, the Ministry of Interior launched a trial against Garip Ülker.

Left-wing prisoners in İzmir Buca Closed Prison were beaten on 14 September by guardians and gendarmes who conducted an operation in the wards. In the event which continued for about 2 hours, 58 prisoners were injured. Out of the injured, 18 were taken to hospital. Because of the attack during which also private belongings of the prisoners were destroyed, left-wing inmates in the prison went on hunger strike. Yeşim İşlegen, the Human Rights Association's İzmir Branch President stated in a written statement that the inmates were brutally beaten in the presence of the prison prosecutor and officials. She said: "State terror which we are often faced with was conducted fearlessly in Buca Prison. The inmates were subjected to a treatment against the dignity of humanity. The events in Buca Prison were a shame for the mankind. The injured prisoners were prevented from being hospitalized for a long time". The names of some of those inmates injured during the beatings, are "Faruk Tarla (his rib was broken), Hüseyin Kurt (his leg was broken), Halim Şık, Halil Urgan, Halil Erol, Kazım Ardiç, Halil Burtu, Alişan Özdemir, Tuncal Babuş, Aydın Oran, Tayfur Uzunkaya, Ali Mitil, Mustafa Ergun, Mutlu Ocaktürk, Recep Aykan, Atilla Emrah Pak, Recep Genel, Deniz Sarıkaya, Cafer Alp, Mehmet Denizli, Mehmet Gövel, Hüseyin Akduman (his rib was broken), Timur Çelik, Murat Çoban, İskender Deniz, Ayhan Katıkaya, İsmet Kalabaktaş (his nose was broken), Erhan Karataş (his arm was broken), Tevfik Durdemir, Tarık Dursun Demir".

İzmir Public Prosecution Office launched an investigation against 70 prison inmates in connection with the events in Buca Closed Prison. İzmir Public Prosecutor Melih Tari indicating that testimonies of prison directors and inmates would be taken, said: "According to information I gathered, no operation was carried out by gendarmes in the prison. After the event, ordinary searches were conducted in the wards. Injured inmates were treated by doctors". The investigation resulted on 2 November in a decision of non-prosecution against anyone on the grounds that the prisoners had injured each other and the officers had only carried out their duties.

Relatives of the inmates who gathered in front of Buca Prison on 18 September morning in order to protest the events, were dispersed under beatings by the police. Sakine Ali Hoş, Fatma Sarıkaya and Hasan Hüseyin Aslan, among the inmates' relatives who were beaten by the police while being dispersed, were injured. A crowd of about 100 people who demonstrated in protest of inhuman and ill-treatment in the prison, was dispersed by police force. In the event, 32 persons including İzmir branch leaders of İHD and some lawyers, were detained. İzmir branch leaders of İHD, Derviş Altun and Naile Doğan and persons

named Haluk Diric and Hakkı Türkaslan who were among the detainees, were arrested while the remaining 28 detainees were released. Those arrested were released 20 days later.

Authorities remained indifferent to the hunger strike started in Buca Prison for a while. In the statement made by İzmir Human Rights Association (İHD) on the 22th day of the strike it was disclosed that the health of the inmates got worse and said: "Although 22 days of the strike already passed, the prison administration does not care for the inmates' demands and the hunger strike". Deniz Keskin and Recep Aşkın, among the inmates who went on strike, got sick and were taken to hospital, but they were sent back after a short time. The indifference of the authorities to the hunger strike lasted until the 33rd day of the action.

A delegation presided by Human Rights Association's (İHD's) Secretary General Akın Birdal, met Justice Minister Seyfi Oktay on the 33rd day of the hunger strike in Buca Prison. In the negotiation in Ankara, no positive development was achieved and arguments broke out between the İHD leaders and Justice Minister Seyfi Oktay. However, 2 days after this negotiation, a new dialogue was initiated between İHD Vice Secretary General Yusuf Alataş and the authorities from the Ministry of Justice. The hunger strike ended on 21 October, the 37th day of the strike, when most of the demands of the prisoners were accepted. Upon this development, prisoners called Cafer Alp, Filiz Üstünelan and Kenan Karadağ whose health situation was extremely poor, were taken under treatment.

21 prisoners and convicts were injured in consequence of 3-day long events which started on 5 October in İstanbul Paşakapısı Prison where ordinary detainees and convicts are kept. It was reported that the events began with a quarrel among the prisoners and convicts and then turned into clashes among the wards. 10 of those 21 injured prison inmates were hospitalized. The names of the hospitalized prisoners are "Ferhat Becermen, Mustafa Duman, İsmail Güleç, Selahattin Yiğit, Hasan Buharalı, Alpay Şentüğ, Ümit Fidan, Aytaç Yiğitalp, Serkan Bahar and Mehmet Gür". Due to the events, 145 of the inmates were sent to other prisons. In a statement by the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch, it was claimed that human rights violations began in Paşakapısı Prison. It was stated that doors of the wards were being kept closed and the inmates were not allowed access to their families and to take fresh air. It was also indicated that new inmates were beaten and their hair was cut by force.

About 200 political inmates in Elazığ Prison went on hunger strike, demanding "better living conditions and an end to inhuman pressures". Later the number of the inmates on strike reached 261. Lawyer Yıldız Koluvaçık made a statement about the hunger strike and said: "In Elazığ Prison, the laws and decrees applied in other prisons are not applied. The arbitrary attitude of the prison administration and the personnel disregards the main human rights. If this policy continues, great events may arise in the prison". The alternate hunger strike in prison continued for 50 days. The Ministry and prison authorities followed the events in an unconcerned manner. Instead, on the 50th day of the hunger strike Elazığ Prison Prosecutor Ömer Faruk Köksal said the following upon a question

by journalists concerning the striking prisoners: "What should we negotiate? Damn them all". The hunger strike ended on 20 November 1992 after it completed its 50th day. The hunger strike reportedly ended when most of the demands of the prisoners were accepted in negotiations between the prison administrators and prisoners. Nevertheless, the unrest in the prison continued by the end of 1992 because promises either were not kept or were not put into practice on time.

Two prisoners named Maşuk Sami and Alişan Turan in Çankırı E Type Prison, were beaten by the Prison Director Celadet Özer and Chief Guardian Recep Aslan. The prisoners who were injured in the event on 9 November were prevented from being hospitalized.

A prisoner named Fehmi Çetiner who was tried for being a member of the PKK and then sentenced to death at the end of the trial at Diyarbakır SSC, was beaten in Diyarbakır E Type Prison on 17 November because of slogans he shouted during the hearing at which the decision was announced. In the prison infirmary, minutes were taken about the wounds and blow traces on Fehmi Çetiner's body.

In Urfa E Type Prison, 56 prisoners, 26 of them women, went on a hunger strike on 24 December demanding better living conditions and an end to pressures. Prisoners on hunger strike indicated in a statement that rules resembling the ones witnessed during the 12 September period, were attempted to be applied in the prison and said: "The right of every kind of legal appeal is replied to by pressure, ban or exile. The administration approaches us with revengeful feelings. A group of guardians terrorized the prison. Especially female prisoners are subjected to humiliating and inhuman pressures". The hunger strike in Urfa Prison continued during the first days of 1993.

FREEDOM OF PRESS and THOUGHT

1992 was no positive year from the view of the cultural life, and freedom of press, thought and belief, either. However, certain positive decisions taken at the end of 1991 and at the beginning of 1992, led to the impression that the limits and pressures on freedom of press and thought would decrease. During the first days of the government, "practice of prohibited publications" was brought to an end in libraries of the Ministry of Culture, prohibitions put on some art works and artists in previous periods were lifted, and the Council of Ministers cancelled prohibition orders given earlier for about 700 publications.

During the same period, bans on Kurdish publications were completely lifted, and production and sale of Kurdish cassettes was allowed. The rights of 227 persons who had been deprived of their Turkish citizenship and whose properties and assets had been confiscated after the 12 September military coup were restored. Nevertheless, the above mentioned positive developments and amendments (although some only symbolic) remained ineffective in the face of pressures and restrictions on free thought and legal obstacles against the press and physical attacks. The number of the journalists killed within the year reached a total of 13, equal to the number of journalists killed during the last 30 years. Trials were launched against journalists and writers demanding tens of years in prison and fines totalling billions of TL.

a) Assassinated journalists

In 1992, a total of 13 journalists, 12 of them in the Emergency State Region, were killed as a result of armed attacks carried out by unknown persons (4 journalists had been killed during the 3-year period between 1988 and 1992). In addition, one journalist became paralysed as a result of an armed attack. While the assailants could not be identified, no clues about them were found and no serious efforts were undertaken on this matter. On the contrary, political activities of the victims and trials or investigations they had been subjected to, were put on the agenda. The killed journalists were described as militants and,

thus, grounds were laid for new attacks. The attacks against journalists during the first 6 months showed a new dimension in the history of the Turkish Republic. 6 journalists were killed between February and June. In a statement in August, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel said the following about the attacks directed at journalists: "The information we have is different. Those killed were not real journalists. They were militants disguised as journalists. They kill each other. There is a fight between them".

01)- Halit Güngen (24)

Halit Güngen, Diyarbakır correspondent of the weekly "2000'e Doğru" (Towards 2000), was killed by unidentified persons in the Diyarbakır office of the journal at 7.30pm on 18 February. Armed persons who killed Halit Güngen escaped after throwing explosives. Şule Perinçek, one of the officials of "2000'e Doğru", said in a statement she made related to the event: "We warned our colleagues in Diyarbakır office after our report in the last issue covering the relationship between 'Hizbullah' and 'contr-gerilla'. It is likely that the attack was carried out because of this report". Doğu Perinçek, the President of the Socialist Party, said in a statement related to the incident: "The State is preparing for a spring operation. This operation started with the murder of our correspondent in the Diyarbakır office. This incident was the first step to the operation. 2000'e Doğru became a target". In the meantime, Ahmet Sümbül, the second correspondent of "2000'e Doğru" in Diyarbakır was held in detention for a while following the murder of Halit Güngen. The journal "2000'e Doğru" claimed that the murderers of journalist Halit Güngen were police officers working at the bomb destruction unit of Diyarbakır Police Headquarters. In a report published on 16 August 1992 in the journal, testimony of an eye witness, whose identity was not disclosed, was published. The witness told the following in connection with the night when Halit Güngen was killed: "On 18 February at about 7.30pm, 3 persons came to the office of the journal. Since the lights of the office were on, the inside of the office could easily be seen. They entered the hall first, then the study room. After staying in the study room for a short while, they returned to the hall again. One of those persons was tall, the other had a muffler and the last one wore a wool beret. Halit was holding something like a file or paper trying to show it to the ones who came. They went to the study room again, stayed there for several seconds and then brought Halit to the hall. At that time, 10 meters away from the office there was a red van whose windows were closed and which had two ladders". In the report it was indicated that "Diyarbakır Police Headquarters have two red vans and that one of the vans has a ladder". It was stated that these vans are used by the bomb destruction teams.

02)- Cengiz Altun (24)

Cengiz Altun, Batman correspondent of the weekly Yeni Ülke (New Land), was shot and seriously wounded in the morning of 24 February as a result of an armed attack on his way to his office in Batman. 24-year old Cengiz Altun died in hospital. Mehmet Oğuz, the Publication Coordinator of "Yeni Ülke", indicating that Cengiz Altun was detained a while ago and threatened with death at Gercüş Gendarmerie Station, stated: "The murder was committed by dark forces known as contr-guerilla". Oktay Ekşi, the President of the Press Council, sent a telegram to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel and said: "After your go-

vernment took office, two colleagues of us were killed by unidentified persons. This picture shows no success for your government".

03)- İzzet Kezer (37)

"Sabah" reporter İzzet Kezer was killed while observing the events in Cizre on 23 March at 3pm by a shot to his head fired from a police tank. The journalists who were with İzzet Kezer at the moment escaped the attack unharmed. It was announced that the journalists were carrying a white flag when the fire was opened on them. Journalist Abdullah Arısoy, an eye witness to the event said that a group of journalists including İzzet Kezer had gone to Dicle quarter where clashes had broken out and added: "We had inspected some houses in the quarter for about an hour and were planning to return to the hotel and raised a white flag. When we came to İnönü Street a police tank positioned at one end of the street fired at us. İzzet fell to the ground. We entered a house and asked for an ambulance. The police tank prevented the ambulance from getting into the street. Another police tank later came to the house and took us back to the hotel." İzzet Kezer was buried in Ankara on 25 March. No healthy conclusion could be drawn from the autopsy since the core of the bullet which caused the death of İzzet Kezer was not found. The investigation launched into killing of İzzet Kezer did not bear any results by the end of the year.

04)- Bülent Ülkü (26)

Bülent Ülkü, who worked for a long time as the editor-in-chief of the local paper "Körfez'e Bakış" (View at the Gulf) published in Gemlik, Bursa, was found wounded and blindfolded near Uludağ on 1 April. Bülent Ülkü who was diagnosed "to have been beaten and shot with a gun in his head" died in hospital. Bülent Ülkü, known as a left-wing person, reportedly disappeared 5 months ago. The autopsy determined that there were handcuff marks on Ülkü's wrists and ink stains on his fingers.

05)- Mecit Akgün

Mecit Akgün, Nusaybin correspondent of Yeni Ülke who was kidnapped by unidentified persons in May, was found dead in the morning of 2 June near Çölova village of Nusaybin. A leaflet signed by PKK stating "Punished for being a traitor" was reportedly placed on the corpse that was found hanging from an electricity pole. The autopsy report revealed that Akgün was strangled to death four days ago. He was buried in Nusaybin in the evening of 2 June with a funeral ceremony in which about 30 persons participated.

06)- Hafız Akdemir (27)

Hafız Akdemir, one of the correspondents of Özgür Gündem (Free Agenda) in Diyarbakır, was killed as a result of an armed attack carried out on 8 June in Melik Ahmet Street of Diyarbakır. An 18 to 19-year old armed person who carried out the attack escaped inspite of intervention of people around. 27-year old Hafız Akdemir had spent 7 years in prison between 1984 and 1991 before he became a journalist. On 9 June, the corpse of Hafız Akdemir was smuggled from the morgue by police and buried secretly in Mardinkapı Cemetery. Relatives of Hafız Akdemir, indicating that the event was in contravention to the law, filed an official complaint with the Public Prosecution Office. On the other hand, authorities of the Emergency State Region Governorate

stated that they did not allow the funeral ceremony because they did not want tense events to occur similar to the one which took place last year during Vedat Aydın's funeral. Hafız Akdemir's corpse was taken out of his grave on 16 June and was delivered to his family. The corpse was reburied in Sise village of Lice, Diyarbakır, under police control. Nobody except Akdemir's relatives and journalists were allowed to attend the funeral.

07)- Çetin Ababay (22)

Batman correspondent for the journal "Özgür Halk" (Free People), Çetin Ababay, was seriously wounded on 29 July evening in a fire opened by unidentified persons. Çetin Ababay died in Diyarbakır University Hospital on 30 July morning.

08)- Yahya Orhan (30)

Gercüş (Batman) correspondent for the daily "Özgür Gündem" (Free Agenda), Yahya Orhan, was killed in an armed attack on 31 July at about 10.30pm. The statement issued by Özgür Gündem said that Yahya Orhan was attacked by unknown people and died on the spot. The killing of Yahya Orhan caused reactions. The statement of Özgür Gündem continued: "Nobody can say that there is freedom of press in the country. In Turkey, the press is captive and the journalists are targets". Mahmut Tali Öngören, Secretary General of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey, said that it was interesting that the armed attacks, in general against journalists and in particular against correspondents, had intensified on Özgür Gündem. Oktay Ekşi, President of Press Council sent a telegram to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel in protest of the event and pointed out that during the coalition government's term attacks against the press increased on a worrisome scale. He said in his telegram: "The number of journalists killed in Turkey went beyond the number of journalists who were victims of the Meddelli cartel in Columbia and of Serbian bloodthirstiness in Yugoslavia". In the meantime, two hours after the attack on Yahya Orhan, Celal Pekgöl (24), brother of Metin Pakgöl who is one of the reporters for the newspaper Özgür Gündem, was killed by unknown persons. It was claimed that Celal Pekgöl might have been killed as he was mistaken for his brother.

09)- Hüseyin Deniz (36)

Hüseyin Deniz (36), Ceylanpınar (Urfa) correspondent for the daily Özgür Gündem and author, was seriously wounded with one bullet to his head in an armed attack on his way to his office on 9 August morning. Hüseyin Deniz died on 10 August. Hüseyin Deniz, a member of International PEN, was also the regional correspondent for the newspaper Cumhuriyet (Republic). He was buried in Ceylanpınar on 11 August after a funeral ceremony in which about 2,000 people participated. Following the event, high school student Nihat Beşkat, who allegedly assisted in the killing of Hüseyin Deniz, was detained. Another high school student named Halil Göv became wanted by the police. Nihat Beşkat was released on 14 August because witnesses could not recognize him. Meanwhile, on 8 September "Hizbullah" followers who allegedly participated in certain killings and bomb attacks were detained in Ceylanpınar. 4 of those detainees were arrested later. In the official statement it was announced that one of the detainees, Mehmet Çatlık, was the killer of Hüseyin Deniz.

10)- Musa Anter (74)

Journalist-writer Musa Anter died in an armed attack on 20 September in Seyrantepe quarter of Diyarbakır. In the event, Orhan Miroğlu who was with Musa Anter, was seriously wounded. Musa Anter who was writing articles for the newspapers Özgür Gündem and Yeni Ülke (New Land), had been arrested many times because of his thoughts and articles. Musa Anter, a founding member of HEP, was buried on 21 September in Eski Mağara village of Nusaybin, his birth place. Orhan Miroğlu, wounded in the attack against Musa Anter, said the following about the event: "Musa Anter was my relative. I invited him for dinner at my home. He intended to let a field he owned in the region. At that time a person of 25 to 30-years old came to the hotel where Musa Anter was staying and said that he would take us to the people interested in Musa Anter's field. We got into a car and started to drive towards Seyrantepe. After a while we were out of the city. I asked the driver where he was taking us, because there was no houses around. Upon that Musa Uncle got angry and said "If you don't know the place we are supposed go to why do you make us wander?". The person who was driving the car apologized and returned back to Silvan Road. Later we arrived a quarter of squatters' houses and got off the car. We entered a small street. The man who drove the car started to shoot at us". In the meantime, writer Vecihi Timuroğlu who made a statement, said that he had met Musa Anter on 19 September in Diyarbakır and Musa Anter had told him the following: "They will kill me. Neither the State nor the National Intelligence Organization (MİT) could kill me, but Humeyni followers, Hizbullah followers will do so. I receive death threats everyday". Some publications claimed in October that "the person who had killed Musa Anter was a police officer named Seyhan working at Diyarbakır Political Police Center".

11)- Kemal Aktay

PKK militants who raided Hani district of Diyarbakır on 9 November night, killed Kemal Aktay who had worked as a local reporter for the newspaper Türkiye for a long time, in the cellar of his house. It was established that last year Kemal Aktay had frequently been threatened and that his office sustained a bomb attack. On the other hand, in a statement by the newspaper Türkiye it was said that Kemal Aktay did not work for them.

12)- Hatip Kaççak

As a result of a fire opened by unidentified persons at a shop in Mazıdağı district of Mardin on 18 November evening, Hatip Kaççak who was a local reporter for various journals and newspapers, died. In the event, persons named Rihan Aksay and İsmet Aksay died while Siyamendin Kapan and Nizamettin Aksay were severely wounded. It was reported that journalist Hatip Kaççak had carried out research on the "Hizbullah" organization during last year and thus had been frequently threatened with death. It was claimed that Hatip Kaççak had gathered important information about the Mazıdağı organization of "Hizbullah" and about some of its militants as a result of his studies. Hatip Kaççak who had served in prison for 6 years in connection with a political trial during the 12 September period, had become Mazıdağı reporter for the daily "Güneş" after release. Hatip Kaççak started to work on behalf of the daily "Hürriyet" upon the closure of the daily Güneş, but left this job two months ago. Since then he was Mazıdağı reporter for the local newspaper "Söz", released in Diyarbakır, and for

the weekly journal "Gerçek". The house of Hatip Kaçak had been bombed by unknown persons last May.

13)- Namık Tarancı (37)

Namık Tarancı, Diyarbakır representative of the weekly journal "Gerçek" (Fact), died as a result of an armed attack he sustained while he was going to his office on 20 November morning at about 8am in Bağlar quarter. It was reported that Namık Tarancı died on the spot with three bullets to his head and that the number of the attackers were 2 or 3. İsmail Kayhan, the Publishing Director of Gerçek, made a statement after the attack and said: "A while ago a person came to our office in Diyarbakır and threatened our personnel in connection with a report entitled 'We Negotiated with Hizbullah' released in our 31st issue. We followed this person after he left our office, and determined that he went to Diyarbakır Police Headquarters. Namık Tarancı was, for the last time, threatened by telephone on 19 November evening, before leaving the office". Namık Tarancı was buried in Mardinkapı Cemetery on 21 November at noon after a funeral ceremony in which his relatives participated. Namık Tarancı served in prison for a long time as a defendant in a TDKP (Turkish Revolutionary Communist Party) trial after the 12 September coup.

Burhan Karadeniz (20), one of the reporters for the daily Özgür Gündem in Diyarbakır, was severely wounded in an armed attack on 5 August morning on his way to office. Burhan Karadeniz who was wounded with one bullet to his neck was paralysed from below his waist. Burhan Karadeniz had been detained by the police on 10 July while covering HEP deputies who had gone to Diyarbakır for the first anniversary of Vedat Aydın's death. He was kept in detention for 5 days. Burhan Karadeniz was taken to Ankara for treatment after being wounded. He was treated in Ankara for a while and then sent to Germany. Burhan Karadeniz returned from Germany to Turkey when his treatment finished in the mid-December and continued his work at the office of Özgür Gündem. Burhan Karadeniz said the following about his feelings when he was wounded and his experiences after the event:

"It was one hot August morning. I was walking merrily whistling on the long and wide street of our quarter. There was the ordinary rush of a day full with the chirps of birds and children. When I was 50 meters away from my house, I fell down on the ground. Papers with notes that I grasped, were whirling at one of my side, while blood coming from my neck smoothly glided along the other side. Persons with fearful, curious and flurried expression on their faces surrounded me. I heard loud cries behind me. At that time, I understood that I had become the target of bullet of betrayal continuing for centuries. I considered myself to be an actor playing the final stage in a theater. I was on the subtle point between the life and death. While I was saying the last words, I thought of Cengiz, Yahya and Hafız. I felt relieved and happy.

(...) I went to Ankara and then to Germany for treatment. The same intense interest continued there. Political parties, trade unions, cultural associations, democratic organizations were always with me. In Germany many people visited me. I did not feel any loneliness, more exactly I could not find any opportunity to be alone. A television station broadcasting for the Turkish people in Germany made an interview with me and asked whether I had something to

say to the Turkish people living in Germany. I said that I was not visited by Turkish people but only by Kurds, and that my struggle was for the brotherhood of all people. After the program was broadcasted, most people who visited me were Turks. They stated that they loved us and wanted to welcome me in their houses. In addition, some people called by phone from other cities.

When the treatment was completed doctors said that I would not be able to walk anymore. But I am walking strongly with the honour of my occupation. Now I am walking with my brain and heart¹¹.

In the Emergency State Region, persons who distributed or sold publications such as *Özgür Gündem*, *2000'e Doğru*, *Yeni Ülke*, *Azadi* and *Gerçek*, were exposed to bullets and attacks by unidentified persons. A total of 12 newspaper vendor shops, 4 of them in Van, 2 each in Diyarbakır, Urfa and Bingöl, and 1 each in Elazığ and Mazıdağı, were damaged by being burnt or bombed. In addition, two trucks used for newspaper distribution in Van and Diyarbakır were burnt. In consequence of the attacks, the distribution of the publications in question (sometimes distribution of all publications) stopped in the region. Therefore, some publications started distribution by their own means. However, attacks continued. Three persons who distributed the newspaper *Özgür Gündem* were killed by unknown persons.

Coşkun Daloğlu (60), a newspaper vendor in Diyarbakır, was frequently threatened not to sell certain publications in November. Coşkun Daloğlu continued to sell the publications in spite of the threats. He was beaten and injured by unknown persons on his way home on the night of 20 November night.

Taxi driver Halil Adanır (32) who distributed the daily *Özgür Gündem* in Batman province, was killed by being burnt in his car on 21 November by three unidentified persons. Before the killing, Halil Adanır had been threatened for several times to give up the distribution.

Fire was opened by three unknown persons at a vehicle distributing the daily *Özgür Gündem* to the newspaper vendors on 23 November morning on İnönü Street of Diyarbakır. As a result of the fire, one of the workers for the daily *Özgür Gündem*, Hasan Özgün, who was in the vehicle, was wounded while journalist Mehmet Şenol escaped without any wounds. Mehmet Şenol and Hasan Özgün were detained after the event because of a gun found in the vehicle. Mehmet Şenol and Hasan Özgün were released on 24 November.

A total of 87 newspaper vendors in Diyarbakır, pointing out that they have been threatened not to sell certain publications, demanded security measures for their lives. They held a press conference on 30 November in Diyarbakır and stated that they would give up selling newspapers if the necessary measures were not taken.

Kemal Ekinci, newspaper vendor on İnönü Street in Diyarbakır, died in an armed attack on 15 December while leaving his house in Saraykapı quarter. Kemal Ekinci had been reportedly threatened for a while not to sell certain publications such as *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke* and *2000'e Doğru*. Kemal Ekinci was spokesperson on behalf of newspaper vendors in the press meeting held on 30 November in protest of the prevention of newspaper sales in Diyarbakır.

A disabled youth named Lokman Gündüz who distributed "Özgür Gündem" in Nusaybin, died in consequence of fire opened by unknown persons on 31 December morning in Kışla quarter. It was established that Lokman Gündüz started to distribute the newspaper on the same day that he was killed.

b)- Physical attacks and pressures on press

The physical attacks by public officers on the press continued in 1992 with the result that 13 journalists were killed and one journalist was crippled. According to the figures determined by the HRFT, a total of 56 journalists were insulted or beaten with sticks, curbs or truncheons by public or security officers in 26 different incidents (in 1991 a total of 52 journalists were attacked in 24 separate events). Many journalists were detained or arrested. The newspaper Özgür Gündem (28) and the journal Mücadele (37) ranked first in connection with detained journalists. There were also bomb-armed attacks against journalists and press organizations.

The weekly newspaper Yeni Ülke's Bulanık correspondent Ali Cihat Ünlü and Malazgirt correspondent Rıfık Turan were among several persons detained during operations conducted in January in Bulanık and Malazgirt districts of Muş province.

On 21 January, stones were thrown at the Erzurum office of Hürriyet in protest of a photograph published in the weekly "Tempo". The police did not intervene for a long while. Some journalists who wanted to take pictures of the event were beaten by the police.

Suat Toktaş, reporter of the daily "Günaydın" who observed a demonstration of students on 24 January in front of the Ministry for Education was beaten by the police and taken into a police van. The films of the journalist were confiscated and his camera was broken.

The films of 3 journalists, who on 3 February observed a demonstration in Cağaloğlu, İstanbul, in support of workers in a transport company on strike for 29 days, were forcibly taken away by the police.

The İstanbul office of the journal "Emeğin Bayrağı" (Flag of Labour) was raided by the police on 6 February. During the raid 8 persons in the office including the chief editor Nazım Taban, were detained. The detainees were taken to the Political Police Center and released the same evening.

Journalists, who on 4 February followed demonstrations made after the funeral ceremony organized for three security officers who had been killed in an armed attack in İstanbul, were obstructed by the police. Some journalists, while observing the events during the funeral ceremony held on 7 February for police officer Özer Özkaya, who had died during an attack by Devrimci Sol militants on the Directorate of the Rapid Deployment Force in Adana, were beaten by the police. Mehmet Aslan, Arap Filiz and Tarik Akcan were injured as a result of the beatings.

Musa Ağacık, Emel Hüküm, Yahya Koçoğlu and Bahri Kayaoğlu, who were among the journalists who wanted to take pictures of the demonstrations made by some 300 police officers during the funeral for İstanbul SSC Chief

Prosecutor Yaşar Günaydın, his driver and guarding police on 8 February, were detained. The films of those journalists, who were kept in custody for one hour, were burned.

Levent Yanlık, editor-in-chief of the journal "Devrimci Gençlik" (Revolutionary Youth), was detained by the police on 12 February 1992 in Istanbul. He was released on 21 February.

The photograph studio of Nizam Özekinci, Siirt correspondent for the newspaper "Güneş", was bombed and damaged by unidentified persons on 22 February night.

Publishing director of the weekly newspaper Yeni Ülke, Hüseyin Aykol, sent a letter to Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel saying that he and another 10 journalists had been attacked by soldiers and members of a special team in Diyarbakır on 25 February. Hüseyin Aykol explained that while returning from the funeral of Batman correspondent Cengiz Altun they had been beaten severely and risked their lives. Meanwhile, in two separate incidents "Yeni Ülke"s Hani (Diyarbakır) correspondent Ali Rıza Akyol and Mardin correspondent Tahsin Acay were detained by the police at the end of February. Ali Rıza Akyol was arrested later.

Doz Publishing House which publishes the newspaper "Rojname" printed in both Kurdish and Zaza dialects, was raided by the police on 26 March. It was established that the publication house was raided upon a baseless denunciation that "guns and bombs were hidden in the house". As a result of the search, no incriminating element was found in the publication house.

The car of Aykut Tuzcu, owner of a local newspaper "Sabah" published in Gaziantep, was bombed on 27 February. There was no serious damage to the car or the environment because the bomb only had little explosive power. Aykut Tuzcu said "I don't suspect anyone particular. I don't know why it was done".

Correspondents of the daily Günaydın, Murat Koç, Bekir Daşçı and Galip Rıdvanoglu who went to Ankara Çankaya District Center of the Social Democratic Populist Party upon an information that the center would be occupied, were kicked and beaten by the police. During the event which took place on 30 March, Murat Koç, being hit with a walkie-talkie at his face, was lightly injured.

Mustafa Muzaffer Tığlıoğlu, one of the writers of the local newspaper "Yeni Meram" (New Intention) published in Konya, was attacked by 4 unidentified persons on 1 April. Mustafa Muzaffer Tığlıoğlu was beaten and injured with a knife to his leg and chest. He was hospitalized.

Sadık Güleç, correspondent for the weekly Gerçek, was detained by the police during the funeral ceremony held on 21 April in İstanbul Karacaahmet Cemetery for the killed Devrimci Sol militants. Sadık Güleç was released 4 days later.

Abdurrahman Antakyalı, correspondent of the Anatolian News Agency, who was following the May Day demonstration in Hipodrum Square of Ankara, was beaten by the police and his camera was broken. The police seized the film

rolls of "Cumhuriyet" correspondent Suat Kozluklu and "Gerçek" correspondent Ayla Önder who took pictures of the police dispersing the people, marching after the May Day meeting in İstanbul with truncheons.

İstanbul Güneşli complex of the daily Sabah was attacked by unidentified persons with arms and bombs in the night of 5 May. The attack in which there was no causality caused material damage. The Turkish Communist Labour Party (TKEP) claimed responsibility for the attack.

İrfan Uçar, correspondent of the daily "Özgür Gündem" was detained on 6 May at the office of a lawyer in İstanbul whom he had met. İrfan Uçar stayed in custody for a week. After his release he said that he was tortured. The same day, Ali Haydar Umut, İzmir representative of the magazine "Yeni Demokrasi" (New Democracy) who spent the last days of April in detention, was arrested.

In Adana, 10 representatives of left-tending journals who marched in protest of the killing of Hafız Akdemir, correspondent of "Özgür Gündem", were detained by the police on 10 June. The detainees were released 5 days later.

"Özgür Gündem" correspondent Kazım Özdoğan and "Sabah" correspondent Canan Temelkaya were beaten by the police while following events which took place in Ankara on 22 June when the march, which started from İstanbul on 16 June by representatives of 9 public employee unions, came to an end.

Vahap Aslan, Nusaybin correspondent of Özgür Gündem, was detained on 19 June. Vahap Aslan, who was later taken to Mardin Criminal Court, was kept in detention until 26 June. After his release Vahap Aslan stated that he was tortured.

Muharrem Şenol and Rauf Yıldız, Diyarbakır reporters for the newspaper Özgür Gündem were kept in detention for 3 hours on 24 June. The journalists, who were detained as they opposed the search by the police, were reportedly threatened with death at the Political Police Center.

Cizre correspondents Abdullah Arısoy, Sait Arısoy and Ali Komak of the newspaper Özgür Gündem were detained by the police officers who raided their houses on 1 July morning. Sait Arısoy was released one day later while Abdullah Arısoy and Ali Komak were interrogated at Cizre and Şırnak police headquarters for 15 days. They were released on 16 July. Abdullah Arısoy and Ali Komak stated that they were tortured in police custody. On 19 July, arrest warrants were issued for the two journalists and a trial was launched demanding no less than 10 years' imprisonment for 13 persons including the journalists. The decision of arrest in absentia was lifted at the first hearing held on 11 September at Diyarbakır State Security Court.

In a search made by the police on the morning of 10 July in Küçükyalı district of İstanbul, Nazım Taban, chief editor of the journal Emeğin Bayrağı, and 3 of his friends were detained in connection with books found in their car. They were released at noon.

A vehicle of the daily "Özgür Gündem" (Free Agenda), which was carrying newspapers to the airport was stopped on 12 July at about 4.30pm. by the police in Ataköy, İstanbul. Police officers controlling the road first of all checked

the identity cards of Gökhan Kürüm and Cafer Yıldız who were in the vehicle. Then Gökhan Kürüm and Cafer Yıldız were beaten by three civilian dressed police officers. The police officers who beat the newspaper officers also tore most of the newspapers in the vehicle apart. An investigation was launched against those three policemen who are reportedly working at the "Political Police Center".

Özgür Gündem correspondent Burhan Karadeniz and Gerçek correspondent Fahri Özlahlan, who were covering HEP deputies who had gone to Diyarbakır on 9 July because of the anniversary of Vedat Aydın's death, were detained. Burhan Karadeniz said that the police officers beat them and broke their cameras on the first day of their detention. They were released on 15 July.

Bayram Balcı, Urfa correspondent of the daily Özgür Gündem, was attacked while he was taking photographs of a group of people who made a demonstration at the True Path Party Provincial Center. Bayram Balcı said in the official complaint he made to the Public Prosecution Office following the event which arose on 18 July: "At the provincial center I was beaten by party members on directives of Ali Seyhanoğlu, one of the party leaders. The films in my camera were seized and I was prevented from doing my job. I demand the offenders to be punished".

Metin Göktepe and İlkey Demir, correspondents of the journal Gerçek, who were following a demonstration made by municipality workers in Beyoğlu quarter of İstanbul on 21 July, were detained by the police. In a statement by the journal Gerçek it was said that Metin Göktepe and İlkey Demir were beaten by the police when they were detained. Meanwhile, Ali Doğan, Tunceli correspondent of the daily Özgür Gündem was kept in detention by the police for a while on the same day.

Bahattin Özen and Ayten Aydın, correspondents of the daily Özgür Gündem, who were following the investigation made by the deputies of the People's Labour Party in Mardin on 25 July, were detained by the police. Film rolls in the cameras of the journalists were seized. The detained journalists were released two hours later. Both journalists were forced to give up their occupations. Bahattin Özen was detained again on the same day.

Arkadaş Bookshop in Ergani district of Diyarbakır was raided on 23 July by 7 special team members who came to the city by a vehicle with the plate number "21 A 0199". One of the owners of the bookshop, Ümit Öztürk, beaten during the raid was lightly injured. Special team members who threw certain books, journals and newspaper on the ground and tore them into pieces, also broke the shop window. Ümit Öztürk applied to the Public Prosecution Office after the event and demanded the special team members to be punished.

A passport was not given to Yaşar Kaya, the owner of the daily Özgür Gündem. Yaşar Kaya pointed out that there was no legal obstruction for him to get a passport. He said: "I demand whatever my right is. If I do not obtain my passport, I will launch a trial. This application is not directed at me individually, but at the newspaper Özgür Gündem".

Medeni Ayhan, Ankara Representative of the journal "Özgür Halk" (Free People), who was detained during the operations conducted in Ankara in July, stated that he was subjected to pressure and was insulted in detention.

The stand opened by the weekly journal "Azadi" during the festival in Dikili district of İzmir, was damaged by unknown persons on 5 August night.

Fire was opened with automatic guns by 3 unidentified persons on 15 August night at Güneşli facilities of the newspaper "Hürriyet" in İstanbul. In the attack nobody died or was wounded, but great damage occurred in the facilities. TKEP-Leninist (Turkish Communist Labour Party) claimed responsibility for the attack.

Tatvan correspondent for the journal Özgür Halk, Şeyhmus Günüş, who was detained in Tatvan on 15 August, stated that as a result of torture he was subjected to, his ribs were broken and he had an internal bleeding. Şeyhmus Günüş who was treated at Tatvan State Hospital for a while, told the following about his experience: "I was detained blindfolded by 9 civilian dressed policemen who came to my office in the morning. First we went to a place I did not know. Then we went to a building used as a police station close to a refugee camp near Tatvan. There, I was subjected to every kind of torture. They took of my clothes and inserted a gun barrel into my anus".

Nuray Kalcı and Naki Eriklı, correspondents for the daily Özgür Gündem and Murat Özdemir, correspondent for the journal Mücadele who were covering the meeting arranged on 17 August by people living in Küçükarmutlu quarter of İstanbul in protest of the demolition of the squatters' houses in the quarter, were detained. The detained journalists were released two hours late-

Ramazan İmrağ, reporter for the daily Sabah, who was covering the events in Şırnak, was detained by special team members and beaten for a while. Ramazan İmrağ who went to Cizre after his release, was treated at Cizre State Hospital. It was reported that Ramazan İmrağ was detained because of the photographs he took and that his camera was broken.

İhsan Kurt, one of the correspondents for the daily Özgür Gündem in Adana, was detained by the police in the Justice Office where he went on 26 August. İhsan Kurt, detained without any reason, was released on 28 August. İhsan Kurt was detained again on 12 October and kept in detention for 2 days. After his release, he said that he was subjected to pressure and ill-treatment.

32 persons, including daily Özgür Gündem correspondents Mustafa Çetinkaya and Emine İnce, who joined the opening ceremony of the General Center for "Association of Struggle Against Unemployment and Expensiveness" on 1 September were detained in İstanbul. The detainees were released later.

Şaban Parlak, Çukurca (Hakkari) reporter for the daily Özgür Gündem, was arrested by court on 9 September. Şaban Parlak had been detained after the events in Çukurca on 25 August.

Ahmet Öztürk, one of the reporters for the journal Mücadele in Adana, stated that he was tortured at Adana Security Headquarters where he was kept in detention in September. Ahmet Öztürk obtained a medical report showing "his inability to work for 7 days" from the Forensic Medicine Institute where he was sent to.

İzmir offices of the newspaper Özgür Gündem and journals Özgür Halk and Gerçek were raided and searched by the police on 18 September. The journals' offices were reportedly searched on order of İzmir SSC's Prosecution Office on 31 August 1992. Certain newspapers and journals, found in the raided offices, were seized. Nobody was detained. On the other hand, offices of the journals Özgür Halk and Gerçek in Diyarbakır were raided and searched by the police on the same day at noon. In the raids persons named Nurettin Maçın, Remzi Bilget, Hüseyin Bora and Güzel Ak, who were in the offices, were detained. The detainees were released 24 hours later.

Gaziantep office of the journal Newroz was raided by the police on 3 October evening. As a result of the raid, Sait Yıldırım and Halil Türkmen who were there at that time, were detained, but released later. İstanbul office of the monthly "Hedef" (Target) was raided and searched by the police on 6 October. As a result of the raid, editor-in-chief of the journal, Aslı Güneş, and Elanur Kaya, Elvan Aslan, Mehmet Deregeç, Ali Kaya Öner, Ali Aslan and Alaattin Özdemir who were at the office, were detained. Aslı Güneş was arrested later.

Mehmet Aktaş, one of the reporters of the daily Özgür Gündem was detained together with his sister and brothers on 8 October night by the police who entered Mehmet Aktaş's house by breaking its door. Mehmet Aktaş was kept in detention for 2 days. In a statement after his release, Mehmet Aktaş said that he was beaten by the police officers, and subjected to ill-treatment and insulted at the Political Police Center where he was taken to. Mehmet Aktaş's sister Hatice and brothers Cafer and Musa Aktaş, were also released.

Ahmet Sümbül, one of the Diyarbakır reporters for the weekly 2000'e Doğru, and his brother Mehmet Sümbül were detained. Ahmet Sümbül was reportedly detained because of illegal possession of a gun found at his home. Ahmet Sümbül, who has been continuously threatened with death, had applied to Diyarbakır Governorate in order to obtain permission for gun, but the application was negatively responded to by the governorate. Ahmet Sümbül who in his defence said that he carries the gun for security, was arrested later and served one month in prison.

Mustafa Işık, Ağrı reporter for the newspaper Azadi, was detained together with his friends Cengiz Taşkın and Fatih Yalvaç by police officers who raided his house on 13 October midnight. In Tatvan, Hayrettin Çelik, one of the reporters for the daily Özgür Gündem in Batman, and his 4-month pregnant wife were detained by the police on 14 October. Those persons, detained in Ağrı and Tatvan, were released later.

Bahri Kayaoğlu, a reporter for the newspaper Meydan, who was covering the İstanbul visit of President Turgut Özal on 17 October, was thrown into a swimming pool by guard officers of Özal.

Namık Kemal Cıbaroğlu, chief editor of the journal Mücadele, said in a statement he made on 20 October, that the journal's İzmir Representative Devrim Demir, Kars Representative Enver İnan and Elbistan Representative Ahmet Kırıl had been arrested. Denizli Office of the biweekly Emegın Bayrağı was raided by the police on 25 October. During the raid, certain books and journals

in the office were seized. Furthermore, Barış Mengütaş who is the Denizli Representative of the journal was detained just before the raid.

Sinan Döker, one of the reporters for the newspaper Meydan, who was trying to shoot films of a garbage truck burning on 28 October at 5pm in Sul-tanahmet quarter of İstanbul, was attacked by police officers who came the place of the event. Three other correspondents from the daily Meydan, Ergün Güven, Bekir Pen and Eyüp Karasakal, who went to the place when the police officers got Sinan Döker into a police car by harassing him, were also beaten. Among the beaten journalists, Eyüp Karasakal was injured because of a blow with a gun handle in his face. The beaten and harassed journalists filed an official complaint with the prosecution office after the event.

Nihal Aslantürk, Trabzon Representative of the weekly journal Mücadele, was detained by police officers who raided her house on 29 October at noon. It was reported that Nihal Aslantürk was ill when she was detained.

Metin Akyürek, one of the reporters in Korgan district of Ordu for the daily "Türkiye", was beaten by the police while he was trying to take photographs of events taking place during the 29 October Republic Day Ceremonies. In addition, Metin Akyürek whose camera was also broken by the police, was detained but he was released after a while. The events during the celebration ceremonies of Republic Day in Korgan arose because headscarved female students from the İmam Hatip High School (a kind of religious school) had not been allowed to attend the celebrations for being headscarved. Therefore, a quarrel took place between the people and the security forces.

Kars correspondent of the daily "Özgür Gündem", Birkan Çelik, was detained by police officers who raided his house on 28 October evening. Birkan Çelik who stayed in police custody for 15 days, said that he was not insulted or subjected to pressure but had been blindfolded.

Fatma Dağlı, Eskişehir Representative of the journal Mücadele, and Nuran Askeri, former president of Eskişehir Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association) which was closed down a while ago, were detained by the police on 2 October. Naci Uzun, one of the reporters for the magazine Emeğin Bayrağı, and his wife Hülya Uzun were detained by policemen who raided their house in İstanbul on 6 November.

Rıfat Özgüngör, one of the reporters for the journal Mücadele who had been detained on 5 November in Sivas, was arrested on 9 November morning. After his arrest, Sevinç Kaymak, Sivas Representative of the journal Mücadele, was also detained. In addition, the Samsun office of the same journal was raided by the police on 13 November at noon. In consequence of a search made during the raid, some documents in the office were seized. Before the raid, Samsun representative of the journal, Pervin Tuğgan, was detained from her house.

Kazım Albayrak who is the owner and editor-in-chief of the monthly journal "Taraf" (Side) was detained in İstanbul on 15 November. Ünsal Zor, one of the authors for the same journal, Mehmet Tarakçı and Ali Hışiroğlu were detained along with Kazım Albayrak. The detainees were arrested by İstanbul SSC. Kazım Albayrak and Ünsal Zor disclosed that they were tortured and that they certified the torture inflicted on them by medical reports.

Ali Doğan, Tunceli reporter for the newspaper Özgür Gündem, was detained by gendarmes on 15 November while returning to Tunceli from Alturuk village where he had gone on duty. Ali Doğan, who was released on 17 November stated that he was beaten by a gendarmerie officer. Meanwhile, Muş and Diyarbakır reporters for the same newspaper, Samet Yekta and Haşım Caro respectively, were kept in detention for a while, but released on 16 November.

Ercan Gürel, Bergama reporter for the newspaper Hürriyet, was attacked with stones and clubs in front of his office in Bergama. Ercan Gürel, who was wounded with blows of iron bars hit on his head in the incident on 17 November, was taken under treatment at the Hospital of İzmir Faculty of Medicine. Two persons named Ali Hikmet Özkaldıran and Veysel Özakıncı reportedly attacked Ercan Gürel because of an article he had written.

A truck which distributes newspaper for the settlements located between İstanbul and Bartın provinces, was stopped by three unidentified persons near İkitelli quarter of İstanbul and burnt on 24 November morning. The Turkish Communist Labour Party-Leninist Organization was held responsible for the attack.

The daily Özgür Gündem reporter İrfan Uçar and newspaper Türkiye reporter Ferhat Gülver were detained while they were trying to take pictures of arrested defendants who held a poster and shouted slogans in a hearing held at İstanbul SSC in connection with the TIKKO (Turkish Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Army) organization. The two reporters were released after being interrogated by SSC Prosecutor.

Journalist-writer Yalçın Küçük, who made an interview with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan, was detained by the police on 25 December at İstanbul Atatürk Airport after he returned to Turkey. Yalçın Küçük was released after being kept in detention for 36 hours. In a statement he made after his release, Yalçın Küçük said that he was asked some questions about the talks he made with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan. In the meantime, video tapes and tape cassettes of the talks which Yalçın Küçük made with Abdullah Öcalan, were seized by the police. The confiscation of the books and cassettes was approved by İstanbul SSC. In the decision it is claimed that the documents seized by the police aimed at disturbing the unity of Turkey.

c)- Intense pressures on the freedom of thought and press

In spite of several statements by authorities that "no books will be banned anymore", 189 magazines and newspapers were confiscated by court orders within the year. In the same period, confiscation decisions were also given for 20 books (In 1991, 121 newspapers and journals, and 29 books had been confiscated). Books and newspapers were accepted as "tools of crime" and denounced on TV. İsmail Okçu (Hekimoğlu İsmail), one of the authors of the newspaper "Zaman" (Time), Şükrü Aksoy, former chief editor of the journal "Emeğin Bayrağı" (Flag of the Labour) and Sinami Orhan, chief editor of the journal Ak-Doğuş (White Birth), were put in prison because of sentences given in connection with their articles. The sentences given for journalists or writers totalled 25 years 11 months, while the total of fines them reached TL 5,976,800,000 (appr. \$ 745.850).

As is known, the freedom of press and thought was mostly oppressed by Articles 140, 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Penal until two years ago. These articles were lifted with the "Law to Fight Terrorism" which came into force on 12 April 1991. However, it became evident that this amendment did not change the practice in 1992.

In the amendment made in April 1991, Article 142/3 of the Turkish Penal Code (TCK) which is described as "separatist propaganda" and has been applied for confiscation decisions and sentences for the last years, was preserved under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". In 1992, about 60 % of the confiscation decisions and most of the sentences were given under this Article. Articles 6 and 7 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" were frequently applied in a way suitable to eliminate the freedom of press and thought. Besides, since Articles 155, 158, 159, 311 and 312 of the TCK and Law on Detrimental Publications which are other obstructions of the freedom of press and thought, are still in force, many decisions for confiscation, arrest, detention, imprisonment sentences could be given under these articles.

In the meantime, Ankara SSC Prosecution Office demanded the Constitutional Court to launch a trial for annulment of the 12 April 1991 dated amendment which lifted Articles 141, 142 and 163 of the TCK in 1992. This demand of SSC Prosecution Office which was put on the agenda at a hearing held on 28 November 1992 was investigated by Ankara SSC. The demand in question was put forward on grounds that abolition of Articles 141, 142 and 163 was in violation of the Constitution.

The pressure directed at the press also affected foreign journalists. German journalist Stefan Waldberg who entered Turkey through Habur Customs Gate on 23 October was detained because of certain documents found in his suitcase during customs control. Stefan Waldberg who was interrogated in Silopi district of Şırnak for one week, was arrested on 29 October. A trial was launched against Stefan Waldberg at Diyarbakır SSC, demanding an imprisonment sentence of between 3 to 5 years on charges of helping the PKK and being a courier for it. The trial of the German journalist started on 4 December at Diyarbakır SSC. Stephan Waldberg, who testified at the hearing stated that he was in charge of preparing a program concerning the Kurdish people living in Turkey on behalf of a broadcasting station named "Radio Dreyceland", and added that he went to Northern Iraq after having completed his research in Turkey, and met with some PKK militants there in the camps. Stephan Waldberg also said: "The photographs and tape records shown as a criminal documents are interviews I made with PKK militants. I did everything in the name of the radio I work for". A demand for release of Stephan Waldberg was rejected.

German cameraman Micheal Wilhelm Enger (37), working for SAT-1 and ZDF TV stations in Germany, was detained while entering Turkey through Habur Customs Gate on 23 November evening. It was reported that Micheal Wilhelm Enger was detained in connection with certain documents and video cassettes regarding his work in Northern Iraq and accused of "being a courier for the PKK". Along with the German cameraman, his translator Yavuz Fersoğlu

was detained. The detained cameraman had filmed the events in Cizre during Newroz feast and recorded the killing of İzzet Kezer with his camera. Micheal Wilhelm Enger and Yavuz Fersođlu were interrogated in Silopi, but released on 25 November evening.

Implementations in violation of human rights and freedoms were witnessed not only against printed press but also against visual press. Radio and TV stations of the state continued with reporting in a partial manner as it did so in the past years. TRT (Turkish Radio and Television Administration) which was accused in 1991 of being a broadcasting organ of the Motherland Party in power that time, became a mouthpiece of the coalition parties (especially of the True Path Party) in 1992. Many events were only one-sidedly reflected by TRT. Particularly the news about the Emergency State Region were made public in one-sided and mostly unreal manner. Private TV channels followed up almost the same behaviour. Some positive programs rarely broadcast by those private channels were faced with rigid reactions of authorities.

An interview with one of the PKK leaders, Osman Öcalan, was broadcasted on a private TV channel on 16 November within "32. Gün" (32nd Day) program prepared by journalist Mehmet Ali Birand and his team. In the talk broadcasted on 16 November, Osman Öcalan told about his thoughts on the operation carried out by the Turkish Army in North Iraq and defended that the official statements made by the General Staff Directorate did not reflect the reality. During the talk, pictures were shown that PKK militants did not surrender and give up their guns. This program caused reactions of many higher officials, particularly of General Staff Director Dođan Güreş. Dođan Güreş filed an official complaint with the Ministry of Justice against journalist Mehmet Ali Birand. Dođan Güreş stated in his application that the program was biased and single-sided and did not include opposite views.

During 1992, most intense pressure was exerted on İsmail Beşikçi because of his thoughts and articles. Nine different books of Beşikçi were confiscated and subjected to criminal investigation.

Three books written by İsmail Beşikçi titled "Science Method", "Letter to UNESCO" and "Thought on Kurdish Intellectuals" were confiscated by Ankara SSC at the beginning of February. The confiscation order was given under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" for disseminating separatist propaganda. Later, the Prosecution Office of Ankara SSC initiated an inquiry against İsmail Beşikçi and Ünsal Öztürk, owner of Yurt Publishing House which printed the books. İsmail Beşikçi and Ünsal Öztürk testified on 6 February in connection with the inquiry. Then, SSC Prosecution Office sent Beşikçi to court demanding his arrest. However, this demand was rejected and Beşikçi was released to be tried without arrest.

İsmail Beşikçi was detained on 10 February upon the order of Ankara State Security Prosecutor Nuh Mete Yüksel. His home and belongings were searched and his notes and 25 different books were seized. İsmail Beşikçi spent one night at Ankara Police Headquarters and was released on 13 February. Ünsal Öztürk, owner of Yurt Publishing House which printed the book "Letter to UNESCO" was also held in custody along with İsmail Beşikçi.

Ankara State Security Court (SSC) decided that Ünsal Öztürk who is the owner of Yurt Publishing House would have to pay a fine of TL 900 million (appr. \$ 135.000) because he published İsmail Beşikçi's 9 confiscated books. The court gave this decision in connection with the trials launched under Article 8/2 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". In the court decision, it was stated that if the fine was not paid by 2 June 1992, the amount would be increased at the rate of 50 per cent. The names of İsmail Beşikçi's books which caused the fine are as follows: "Ortadoğu'da Devlet Terörü (State Terror in the Middle East), Kürtlerin Mecburi İskanı (Obligatory Settling of the Kurdish People), UNESCO'ya Mektup (Letter to UNESCO), Başkaldırının Koşulları (Conditions of Rebellion), Bilim-Resmi İdeoloji-Demokrasi ve Kürt Sorunu (Science-Official Ideology-Democracy and the Kurdish Problem), Bilim Yöntemi (Science Method), Kürt Aydınım Üzerine Düşünceler-Zihnimizdeki Karakolların Yıkılması (Thoughts on Kurdish Intellectuals-Collapse of Police Stations in Our Minds), Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası'nın Tüzüğü (1927) ve Kürt Sorunu (The Republic People Party's (CHP's) Statute (1927) and the Kurdish Problem), Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni (2) (Order of Eastern Turkey)".

11 people, including İsmail Beşikçi, were detained when they wanted to put a wreath in front of the building of the Press Council in İstanbul on 27 March in protest of reports of newspapers. The detainees were released on 30 March. The trial launched against those 11 persons resulted in acquittal in December. The police confiscated all books by Beşikçi on sale during Aliğa Festival at the beginning of June. The confiscated books were not given back.

A case was launched by İstanbul SSC against İsmail Beşikçi because of an interview published in the journal "Yurtsever Gençlik" (Patriot Youth). The notice about the case was given to İsmail Beşikçi by policemen who came to the Beşikçi's house on 10 August at about 12pm. Beşikçi was taken by the police to Ankara SSC to testify in the morning of 11 August. In this trial, a sentence of 2 to 5 years' imprisonment is being sought for İsmail Beşikçi.

The trial launched against İsmail Beşikçi in connection with his book entitled "Thoughts on the PKK", which was confiscated in January under Article 8 of the "Law To Fight Terrorism", started on 27 August at İstanbul State Security Court. In the indictment read in the hearing it was claimed that "İsmail Beşikçi made separatist propaganda by praising PKK and its armed struggle against the state". A sentence of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 100 million (appr. \$ 14,500) was being demanded for Beşikçi. In the trial, a fine of TL 100 million is being demanded for Murat İlyas Burak who is the owner the MELSA Publishing House which published the said book.

Some other incidents established by HRFT relating to the pressures, arrests, trials and sentences on the freedom of thought and press are as follows:

In the case of Ümit Oğuztan, whose book "Immoral People" had been confiscated in 1991, he and the publisher Mehmet Çerçi were sentenced to a fine of TL 40,5 million (appr. 8,000 dollars) each. In the verdict announced on 16 January in İstanbul Criminal Court No.2, it was alleged that Ümit Oğuztan and Mehmet Çerçi had released "an obscene publication in contravention to general morality".

The trial initiated by the Prosecution of Ankara SSC against 28 persons including journalist Deniz Teztel and lawyers Bedii Yarayıcı, Murat Demir and Fethiye Pekşen started on 17 January 1992. In the indictment read by SSC Prosecutor in the hearing at Ankara SSC, the 28 defendants were charged with "membership of Devrimci Sol, actions and support of the organization". As a result of the hearing, 6 arrested defendants including Deniz Teztel, Murat Demir and Bedii Yarayıcı who were kept in custody for 6 months were released. A sentence of no less than 10 years in prison is being demanded for Deniz Teztel in the trial which continued in 1992.

The trial of Rafet Ballı, Şerafettin Elçi and Mehmet Ali Uğur because of the book "Kurdish File" which had been confiscated in 1991, started on 22 January. In the trial at İstanbul SSC the defendants were charged under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". Sentences of up to 5 years' imprisonment and fines of TL 100 million were being demanded. The trial launched against the book concluded in acquittal on 26 August. With the acquittal, the confiscation decision against the book was lifted.

Remzi Bilget, the publishing director of the journal "Newroz", was arrested on 18 January on allegations of "having praised criminal actions". He was arrested by Bakırköy Criminal Court in connection with a message he sent to a meeting organized by the journal "Deng" (Voice), but he was released a month later.

İstanbul SSC initiated a trial against Yalçın Küçük for an article entitled "My Brother Öcalan" which was published in the weekly Yeni Ülke. In the trial Yalçın Küçük stands accused of "disseminating separatist propaganda" and a sentence of between 2 and 5 years' imprisonment is being demanded. The trial started on 3 March at İstanbul SSC. Yeni Ülke's owner Serhat Bucak and the editor-in-chief of the same paper, Yusuf Cacım, are on trial together with Yalçın Küçük.

A trial was launched for the book "The Kurds and the History of Kurdistan, Volume 1", written by Botan Ahmedi and published by Fırat-Dicle Publishing House, according to Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". The first hearing took place on 5 February at İstanbul SSC.

A case was initiated against Erol Simavi, the owner of daily Hürriyet, and Hasan Kılıç, chief editor of the newspaper, under Article 6 of the "Law To Fight Terrorism". In the trial launched by Ankara SSC Prosecution Office, a fine of between TL 25.000.000 (appr. \$ 4.100) and 50.000.000 (appr. \$ 8.200) is being demanded for Erol Simavi and Hasan Kılıç on charges of "publishing announcements and statements of terrorist organizations". The first hearing of the trial was held on 18 March at Ankara SSC.

Mehdi Zana, the former Mayor of Diyarbakır, was arrested on 24 March because of a one year's imprisonment sentence which was given in connection with his statement that "I support the national liberation struggle of PKK", which he had made to journalists in prison. Mehdi Zana was released on 4 June in accordance with the execution system after spending 2 months 12 days in prison.

The weekly magazine Nokta's owner Hürrem Fıla, chief editor Can San, and correspondent Müşerref Seçkin against whom a trial was initiated in connection with a report about Ankara SSC Prosecutor Nusret Demiral published

on 21 December 1991, were acquitted on 27 March. The journalists who were tried under the "Law to Fight Terrorism" at Istanbul SSC, had been accused of "making public officials the target of terrorism".

Cumhur Kılıççıoğlu, the owner and chief author of the local newspaper "Mücadele" (Struggle) published in Siirt, was condemned to a fine of TL 39,9 million (appr. \$ 6.600). In the trial at Siirt Criminal Court in March, Cumhur Kılıççıoğlu was condemned on charges of "insulting public officers in his article related to certain malpractices in public institutions". He was sentenced in the first hearing of the trial.

İsmail Okçu (Hekimoğlu İsmail), one of the authors of the daily Zaman was put in jail on 12 May because of a criticism he wrote in the newspaper. İsmail Okçu was detained early in the morning when his sentence was confirmed and was kept waiting for 4 hours at Aksaray Police Station. İsmail Okçu, who uses "Hekimoğlu İsmail" as a pen name in his articles, had been tried at Ankara Criminal Court No. 2 because of his article which criticized that military schools did not accept graduates of İmam Hatip high schools (a kind of religious schools where the students have to take courses on theology). İsmail Okçu, tried on charges of "insulting moral values of the Turkish Republic", was sentenced to one year in prison under Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code. İsmail Okçu, benefitting from conditional release, stayed in prison for 72 days instead of 1 year and was set free on 21 July 1992.

The European Human Rights Commission decided to request the Turkish Republic to answer by 5 June 1992 the claims in the trial launched by journalists Doğan Özgüden and İnci Özgüden who were deprived of their Turkish citizenship after 12 September military coup. Doğan and İnci Özgüden had applied to the Court of Appeals before. However their application had been rejected as "no trial might be launched against decisions given during the 12 September period". Upon the rejection, Doğan and İnci Özgüden, stating that "Articles 3, 6, 10, 11, 13 and 14 of European Human Rights Convention in connection with freedoms of thought, expression, press and organization had been violated", applied to the European Human Rights Commission and requested their losses to be compensated.

The owner of the monthly journal "Özgür Halk" (Free Public) Rıza Erdoğan, who was tried because of an interview with PKK Secretary General Abdullah Öcalan in the 7th issue of the journal, was sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment. On the other hand, İbrahim Yersiz, Mardin correspondent of Yeni Ülke, who was detained on 12 May, was arrested by court.

A trial was launched against Servet Engin, chief editor of the newspaper Zaman, and İlhan Bardakçı (İlhan Murad), one of the writers of the same newspaper, on charges of "insulting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic". In the indictment prepared by Ankara Public Prosecution Office, it was claimed that İlhan Bardakçı had committed a crime in his article entitled "You Should Remember This Friday Ritual Worship" published last November. Sentences of up to 5 years' imprisonment were being demanded for the defendants.

Hüseyin Eben, Diyarbakır representative of the journal *Özgür Halk* who was detained in December 1991 and tried at Diyarbakır SSC, was sentenced to 26 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 45 million on allegations of "disseminating separatist propaganda". Taking into account the period that he was kept under arrest, Hüseyin Eben was released after the decision. In the meantime, Bingöl correspondent of the newspaper *Yeni Ülke*, Şemsettin Önal, who was arrested in March, was released following the first hearing held at Diyarbakır SSC.

Disciplinary Board of Ankara Central Closed Prison banned certain journals and publications, which are sold freely on the market, from entering prison. The prohibition was ordered as "the said publications turn prisoners towards crime and encourage terrorist actions". Following are some of the publications banned by the prison administration: *New Land* newspaper, *Yeni Demokrasi* (New Democracy) journal, *Halk Demokrasisi* (Public Democracy) journal, publications of *Kristal-İş* Trade Union, *Wellat* (Kurdish magazine), *Selected Articles* (book), *Mücadele* (Struggle) journal, *Ekimler* (Octobers) journal, *Contemporary Law Periodical* (a publication of the Contemporary Jurist Association)".

Sinami Orhan, chief editor of the journal *Ak-Doğuş* (White Birth) whose publication was stopped, was put in jail following the confirmation of the imprisonment sentence given to him because of an article he wrote 2 years ago. Sinami Orhan, who was sent to İstanbul Bayrampaşa Prison after he was arrested on 21 May, had been sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment by İstanbul Criminal Court No. 2. He had been tried on charges of "insulting Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic". Sinami Orhan benefitting from conditional release had to stay in prison for 3 months and 18 days. He was kept in prison for 4 months last year because of another article for which he had been sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment.

Journalist-author Metin Çiyayi, who was under arrest for 5 and half months because of his book named "*Sonsuzluk Ülkesinden Masallar*" (Tails from the Land of Infinity), was released after the first hearing of the trial held on 4 June at İstanbul SSC. A sentence of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment is being demanded for Metin Çiyayi against whom a trial was launched on charges of "disseminating separatist propaganda" under the "Law to Fight Terrorism".

Şükrü Aksoy, former chief editor of the journal *Emeğin Bayrağı*, who was sentenced to 10 months in prison because of certain photographs and reports given in one issue of the journal, was put in prison on 4 June. Şükrü Aksoy had been sentenced under Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code for "having praised activities counted as crimes by the law". Benefitting from conditional release Şükrü Aksoy served 2 months in prison and was set free on 3 August. Şükrü Aksoy also received a fine of TL 1,840,000 at the end of the trial.

A sentence of 1 year 4 months' imprisonment given for İsmail Pehlivan, Chief Editor of the humor magazine "*Gırgır*" (Gossip) on allegations of "insulting President Turgut Özal", was confirmed by the Appeal Court. İsmail Pehlivan who was tried at İstanbul Criminal Court No. 2 had been sentenced under Article 158 of the Turkish Penal Code. He will serve 6 months and 12 days in prison in accordance with the execution system.

A trial was launched under the "Law to Fight Terrorism" against Adnan Gerger because of his book named "Dağların Ardı Kimin Yurdu" (Whose Land is It Behind the Mountains) which was released in 1991. Adnan Gerger, tried at Ankara SSC, is expecting a sentence of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment.

In a trial which concluded at İzmir SSC on 18 June, Lezgin Culdüz (Former President of the People's Labour Party Aydın Provincial Organization) and İsmet Dağ who were tried in connection with a calendar they had prepared, were sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 41 million 666 thousand (appr. US \$ 6.000) each. The trial had been launched under the Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" on charges of "making separatist propaganda in the calendar".

Decision of arrest in absentia was given for Group Yorum members Hilmi Yarayıcı, Kemal Tahir Gürel, Taner Tanrıverdi and Elif Sumru Gürel after the concert they gave in Eskişehir on the evening of 19 June. The arrest warrant was lifted on 12 August at the first hearing of the trial launched by Konya SSC under the "Law to Fight Terrorism".

Ortaköy Cultural Center in İstanbul was raided and searched by the police on 11 July. It was reported that the raid was realized with the aim of apprehending Group Yorum members against whom there was a decision by default arrest. Lawyer Bedii Yarayıcı, who made a statement in connection with the event, said that the cultural center was raided without any permission for search. 24 people who were in the center during the raid were detained.

The trial launched against the book named "İtrılı Bahçe" (Fragrant Garden) confiscated in 1991 on allegations of "being obscene and in contravention to moral values", concluded in acquittal at İstanbul Criminal Court No. 2. With the acquittal, the confiscation decision was lifted. The book named "Fragrant Garden" was written by Tunisian medicine scientist Peyh Ömer İbn-i Muhammed El Nefzafu in the 16th century.

A trial was launched against Cemil Aydoğan, the owner and chief editor of the weekly newspaper Mesopotamia published in Kızıltepe district of Mardin, on allegations of "disseminating separatist propaganda in a report he wrote". In the indictment read on 31 July at Diyarbakır SSC, a sentence of up to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. \$ 7.000) were being demanded for Cemil Aydoğan. On the other hand, Cemil Aydoğan who testified in the hearing said that the report which caused his trial had been published in all newspapers, but the trial was launched against him only. The trial resulted in acquittal in December.

A trial was launched against Yaşar Kaya, the owner of the daily Özgür Gündem and Selçuk Gür, chief editor of the same paper, in connection with an interview with PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan published on 10 June 1992. They were accused of having made separatist propaganda in the interview. The first hearing for the journalists was held on 30 November at İstanbul SSC.

The trial launched in connection with certain reports and articles published in the 47th and 49th issues of the journal "Toplumsal Kurtuluş" (Social Liberation), under the "Law to Fight Terrorism" ended on 7 August. In the trial

at İstanbul SSC, chief editor of the journal Necdet Kanbir was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 100 million (appr. \$ 14.300). In the trial the owners of the journal, Ahmet Zengin and Şevki Ömeroğlu, were also sentenced to a fine of TL 100 million each. The said trial was based on an article by PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan entitled "Kurdish People and October Revolution" and a report entitled "PKK Marching Towards War Government".

A trial was launched under the Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" against 18 managers or owners of journals which jointly published a leaflet entitled "No to the Spring Attack" before the Newroz Feast. In the trial at İstanbul SCC, sentences of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment are being demanded for those 18 journal managers and owners on allegations of "disseminating separatist propaganda". The names of those 18 persons are as follows: "Nazım Taban (Emeğin Bayrağı), Mehmet Çangı (Devrimci Mücadele), Erdal Çınar (Kurtuluş), Salih Bal (Medya Güneşi), Seyit Nusret Öztürk (Ekimler), Haydar Uç (Parti Yolunda), Zekeriya Özdiñç (Barikat), Aslı Güneş (Hedef), Ertuğrul Karataş (Yeni Demokrasi), Özer Değıştirici (Direniş), Süleyman Altun (Özgür Halk), Zeynep Yengil (Haziran), Naile Tuncer (Devrimci Proleterya), Fatma Karabacak (Newroz), Sadık Güleç (Özgürlük Dünyası), Fethi Özdemir (Komün), Garip Töre (Emek)".

The National Security Council (NSC) which assembled in Diyarbakır under the presidency of President Turgut Özal on 27 August after the Şırnak events decided to pursue closely the work of certain publications (such as Özgür Gündem, Yeni Ülke, Gerçek and 2000'e Doğru). After this assembly, confiscations, detentions and arrests increased significantly.

An investigation was launched by Ankara SSC against poet Adnan Yücel because of his book named "Children of the Fire and Sun" published at the beginning of August. Adnan Yücel, accused of "making separatist propaganda and praising actions prescribed as crimes by laws", testified on 1 September at Ankara SSC Prosecution Office.

In Hekimhan district of Malatya, veterinarian Kaya Ünsalan against whom a trial had been launched as he had put up anti-war posters prepared by the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) during the Gulf War, was sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 120.000 (appr. \$ 20). The sentence given for Kaya Ünsalan, SHP Hekimhan District President at that time, was ratified by the Court of Appeals at the beginning of September. Kaya Ünsalan who was put in prison on 26 September 1992 will benefit from conditional release and stay in prison for 4 months.

Abdullah Sabri Kocaman, chief editor of the local newspaper "Doğuş" (Birth) published in Gaziantep, and Mümtaz Şahin, one of the writers for the newspaper, were sentenced to 3 months 15 days' imprisonment each on allegation of "criticizing a court decision which was not definite and insulting the judiciary system". In addition, Abdullah Sabri Kocaman and Mümtaz Şahin were sentenced to a fine of TL 7 million (appr. US \$ 1000) each in the trial which ended on 25 September at Gaziantep Criminal Court No. 1.

A trial was launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism", against Publisher Recep Maraşlı who gathered in a book the defence speeches

he made in the "Rızgari Trial" held at Diyarbakır Martial Court after the 12 September coup. İstanbul State Security Court (SSC) is seeking a sentence of between 2 years to 5 years' imprisonment for Recep Maraşlı for "disseminating separatist propaganda" in his book entitled "Political Defence". In the meantime, another case with a demand of 5 years' imprisonment was filed against Recep Maraşlı in connection with his speech in a meeting arranged by the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch on 15 March 1992.

The trial which had been launched under the "Law to Fight Terrorism" in connection with an article entitled "Dirty War Became the Policy of the State" published in the 11th issue of the monthly newspaper "İşçilerin Sesi" (Voice of Workers) on 18 July 1991, was concluded. In the trial at İstanbul SSC, chief editor of the newspaper, Günnur İlhan, was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. US \$ 7.000) while the newspaper's owner, Çetin Uygur, was sentenced to a fine of TL 1 billion 29 million (appr. US \$ 145.000).

4 separate trials which had been launched by İstanbul SSC because of certain reports, articles and writings published in 4 different issues of the weekly newspaper Yeni Ülke, ended on 7 October. In all trials, defendants Yusuf Cacım (3 separate trials), Talat Dicleli, Serhat Bucak, Özkan Kılıç, Abdülkadir Konuk and Kübra Avşar were acquitted. Those trials had been launched under Articles 6 and 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" and in accordance with Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Kamil Ermiş, chief editor of the monthly journal Deng was sentenced to 5 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 41 million (appr. \$ 5.500) at the trial launched against him in connection with an article in the 11th issue of the journal published in 1991. In addition, the owner of the journal; Hikmet Çetin, who was being tried in the same trial, was sentenced to a fine of TL 92 million (appr. \$ 12.000). The trial which concluded at İstanbul SSC in the first week of October, had been launched in accordance with Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism".

Zekeriya Özdiñç, the owner and chief editor of the journal "Barikat" (Barricade), was sentenced to a total of 10 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 1 billion 24 million in two separate trials initiated against him under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". The trials which concluded at İstanbul SSC on 15 October, had been launched on grounds that certain reports in two separate issues, one of them released in October 1991 and the other in January 1992, disseminated separatist propaganda.

The trial launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" against the book entitled "1980-1990 Prison Poetry Anthology" which was jointly prepared by "Sorun" and "Melsa" Publishing Houses, resulted in acquittal. A confiscation order for the book in question was given in 1991 on charges of "disseminating separatist propaganda". In the trial which concluded at İstanbul SSC, the confiscation decision given for the book was also lifted along with the acquittal.

Professor Doctor Fikret Başkaya against whom a trial had been launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" in connection with one of his books, was acquitted in the trial which concluded on 15 October at İstanbul SSC.

Fikret Başkaya was being tried on charges of "disseminating separatist propaganda" and a demand of an imprisonment sentence between 2 to 5 years. The trial against Başkaya had been launched because of his book entitled "Bankruptcy of Paradigm-Introduction to Criticism of Official Ideology".

A trial was launched against writer Edip Polat in connection with his book entitled "Kurdish People and Kurdistan in Science Language-Answer from Biology to Official Ideology" under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" by Ankara SSC. In the trial, sentences of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. US \$ 6.500) are being demanded for Edip Polat. In the trial, İsmail Beşikçi, who wrote the preface, and Vedat Yeniçeri, who is the owner of the Öteki Publishing House that published the book, will be tried as defendants along with Edip Polat.

It was disclosed that 54 out of 75 issues of the biweekly journal Emeğin Bayrağı were confiscated because of various reasons from March 1988 to October 1992. In the statement made by the journal Emeğin Bayrağı about the event, it was said that within 5 years, 23 reporters of the journal had been detained, its chief editor Nazım Taban had been kept under arrest for 2 months and about 300.000 copies of the journal had been seized. In the statement, it was also put forward that they faced great difficulties in distributing the journal.

A decision for arrest in absentia was given for Ramazan İmrağ, Cizre correspondent of the daily "Sabah", concerning the photographs of Mesut Dündar who was dragged being tied behind an armoured vehicle, which were published in the newspaper Özgür Gündem on 21 October 1992. Ramazan İmrağ will reportedly be tried under Article 159/1 of the Turkish Penal Code for "insulting the state and its security forces via distributing the photographs he took". On the other hand, Ramazan İmrağ, pointing out that he had not taken the photographs which caused great reactions in and outside Turkey, stated: "they try to put the responsibility for the event on me".

Chief editor of the newspaper "Son Mesaj" (Last Message), İbrahim Seral Köprülü, against whom a trial had been launched in connection with his writings against the "Jews" and the "The 500th Year Foundation" founded by Jews in Turkey, published last June and July, started to be tried on 2 November at İstanbul SSC. In the indictment read in the first hearing, a sentence of no less than 2 years in prison was demanded for İbrahim Seral Köprülü under Article 312/2 of the Turkish Penal Code. In the trial, İbrahim Seral Köprülü is standing accused of "driving people to enmity and grudge via a publication based on race and religious differences".

Stands of certain publishing houses participating in the Book Fair opened in İstanbul at the beginning of November were raided by the police on 9 November. In consequence of the raid, some books on the stands of Melsa, Belge, Tevhid, Yurt and Yön Publishing Houses were seized as prohibited publications. Furthermore, Hasan Yılmaz, Murat İlyas Burak, Süreyya Öztürk and Funda Öz who were in charge of these stands, were detained. The detainees were released upon the intervention of Culture Minister Fikri Sağlar. A group of police officers who came to the Book Fair on the morning of 16 November for the second time, attempted to capture the book entitled "Cop Cumhuriyeti" (Republic of Trunc-

heon) sold at the stand of Yurt Publishing House. The attempt of the police officers caused reactions of persons at the fair. Therefore the police officers gave up the seizure of the book and left the fair. Süleyman Demirel replying a question about the raids on the Book Fair, stated that there could be certain cases when books might be considered as criminal elements. Süleyman Demirel, said the following: "Judgement is independent. A decision was taken and then given to the police. Of course the style may be criticized, but what can the police do? They have to apply the court decision. You should not say that no book is a criminal element. There are certain cases that a book may be regarded as a criminal means. This is the same in the West. For example, separatism, Kurdish racism and Kurdish discrimination are crime under the laws. Such kind of bans are foreseen according to Article 14 of the Constitution".

In connection with a report entitled "Political Schizophrenia" published in the 21st issue of the weekly "Azadi" on 4 October, a trial was launched against Salih Özçelik the writer of the report, and Sedat Karakaş, chief editor of the newspaper. In the trial launched by İstanbul SSC, a sentence of up to 5 years in prison is being demanded for each defendant, Salih Özçelik and Sedat Karakaş, under Article 159/1 of the Turkish Penal Code.

Mustafa Aşık, chief editor of the radical islamic journal "Ak Zuhur", was sentenced to 1 year 6 months in prison at the end of a trial for insulting Atatürk in one of his articles. The trial which ended on 12 November at Fatih Criminal Court No. 3, had been launched in accordance with the law No. 5816.

Cemil Turan, chief editor of the monthly journal "Kurtuluş" (Liberation) was sentenced to 6 months in prison and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. \$ 7.100) in the trial launched in connection with 5 special issues of the journal released within last two years. In addition, the owner of the journal İrfan Cüre, who was tried in the same trial along with Cemil Turan, was sentenced to a fine of TL 100 million. The trial which concluded at İstanbul SSC on 18 November had been launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism".

Mehmet Bayraktar who is the İzmir representative of the monthly journal Özgür Halk was sentenced to 3 months' imprisonment because he kept certain confiscated reviews in the office of the journal. The imprisonment term given for Mehmet Bayraktar was later converted to a fine of TL 300.000.

Mahmut Doğan, one of the Malatya reporters for the daily Özgür Gündem, was arrested by Malatya SSC on charges of "having praised certain activities deemed to be crimes by laws". It was established that Mahmut Doğan was arrested upon a baseless denunciation made by an usher with whom he discussed while he was following a trial at Malatya SSC on 18 November. Mahmut Doğan was accused of certain wisecracks he made while joking with his lawyer friend named Fuat Karakuş.

Police officers, who raided the canteen of the Fikirtepe Campus of İstanbul Marmara University on 26 November at noon, seized about 200 books sold for the benefit of a students' association in the university. Police officers who also made a search in the canteen, detained 11 students who either sold the books or bought them.

Ankara Public Prosecution Office initiated an investigation against a book named "Boğaziçi Occupation" published by Yurt Publishing House. Ünal Öztürk, the owner of Yurt Publishing House, testified in connection with the investigation initiated under Article 312/1 TPC and on allegations of praising activities deemed to be crimes by laws.

The trial launched against Murat İlyas Burak, owner of MELSA Publishing House, in connection with a book entitled "Small Peshmerga" which was published by the said publishing house, began on 1 December at İstanbul SSC. The indictment read in the first hearing demanded 2 to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. \$ 6.100) for İlyas Burak accused of making separatist propaganda.

Nazım Taban, chief editor of the weekly *Emeğin Bayrağı* was sentenced to a total of 41 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 291,662,000 in 8 trials which ended by the beginning of December. Besides, the owner of the journal *Yalçın Ateş*, who was tried together with Nazım Taban in 3 of the 8 trials in question, was sentenced to a fine totalling TL 250 million.

Hüseyin Durmaz, owner and chief editor of the monthly journal "*Devrimci Emek*" (Revolutionary Labour), was sentenced to 5 months 15 days in prison and a fine of TL 83 million (appr. \$ 10.000), in the trial launched against him in connection with certain reports published in the 5th issue of the journal. The trial which concluded at İstanbul State Security Court (SSC) at the beginning of December, had been launched under the "Law to Fight Terrorism". In the meantime, another case was initiated against Hüseyin Durmaz because of an article entitled "Development of Class Struggle in Turkey" in the 15th issue of the journal which was published in November and then confiscated. In the case initiated in accordance with Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism", Uğur Gündüz who is the writer of the article, will also be tried along with Hüseyin Durmaz.

Muhsin Şavata, against whom a trial had been launched because of a feast greeting card he had sent to General Staff Director General Doğan Güreş in June was acquitted. In the trial which concluded at Malatya SSC on 11 December, a sentence of between 2 to 5 years' imprisonment was being demanded for 65-year old Muhsin Şavata accused of having made separatist propaganda via his card. In the feast greeting card sent by Muhsin Şavata were statements such as "We are living on this soil. Let us, Kurdish and Turkish people, put an end to bloodshed through a transparent democracy".

Hikmet Çetin, former owner of the journal *Deng*, against whom a trial was launched in connection with a speech he delivered in a meeting held in İzmir on 10 January 1992 was sentenced to 12 months in prison and a fine of TL 41 million (appr. \$ 5.000). Hikmet Çetin was tried under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". The trial concluded in December at İstanbul SSC.

Writer Edip Polat against whom a trial had been launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" in connection with his book entitled "*Newrozladık Şafakları*", was sentenced to 2 years in prison and a fine of TL 50 million (appr. \$ 6,000). In the trial which concluded on 23 December at Ankara SSC,

Hikmet Koçak, who is the owner of the publishing house which published the aforesaid book and was tried together with Edip Polat, was sentenced to a fine of TL 1 billion 728 million (appr. \$ 205.000).

Naile Tuncer, chief editor of the biweekly journal Devrimci Proleterya, was sentenced to a total of 11 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 92 million at the end of two separate trials she had in connection with certain writings published in the 1st and 2nd issue of the journal. In the trials which concluded at İstanbul SSC, the owner of the journal, Hacer Temirkan who was tried together with Naile Tuncer was sentenced to a total fine of TL 183 million.

Özer Değiştirici, editor-in-chief of the monthly journal "Direniş" (Resistance), who was tried because of an article entitled "Kurds and Imperialism" published in the 6th issue of the journal, was sentenced to 5 months in prison and a fine of TL 43 million. In the trial, the owner of the same journal, İpek Kazanç, was given a fine of TL 83 million.

The film entitled "Basic Instinct" shown at the beginning of December was prohibited in Ankara by a decision of Ankara Criminal Court No. 15 on 31 December upon the official complaint filed by a group of deputies from the Welfare Party. The prohibition was ordered on grounds that in the aforesaid film there are obscene parts which may make people ashamed. "Basic Instinct" was also prohibited in İzmir and Samsun following the prohibition in Ankara.

It was disclosed that 13 of 20 issues of the biweekly journal Devrimci Proleterya and one of its 3 special issues released by the end of December, had been confiscated. In the statement by the journal officers, it was stated that a total of 25 trials had been launched in connection with certain reports and news taking place in various issues of the journal, confiscated or not. According to the statement, 3 of the trials resulted in condemnation and 2 of them in acquittal while the remaining 20 are still continuing.

In the trials which concluded at İstanbul SSC within the last 1-2 months, Kamil Ermiş, chief editor of the journal Deng, was sentenced to 5 months in prison, Mustafa Kemal Begüm, chief editor of the periodical Devrimci Yurtsever Gençlik to 6 months, Dursun Ali Küçük, one of the writers for the same periodical to 2 years, Süleyman Altun, chief editor of the journal Özgür Halk to 5 months, Fethi Özdemir, editor-in-chief of the journal Komün to 5 months, Erdoğan Yaşar Kopan, former chief editor of the periodical Mücadele to 2 years 4 months and Tayfun Yüksekbaş, chief editor of journal the Devrimci Gençlik to 9 months. Furthermore, at the end of those trials a fine of TL 50 million was given to Kamil Ermiş and Mustafa Kemal Begüm each, 40 million to Fethi Özdemir and 41 million to Tayfun Yüksekbaş.

d)- The Kurdish language

One of several positive steps taken by the coalition government in 1992 concerned the Kurdish language and Kurdish publications. On the first days of the year, some amendments were made which mollify prohibitions and limitations applied on Kurdish publications for years. Afterwards communications means such as cassettes, books and newspapers could be freely sold in the market. Nevertheless, all those amendments did not suffice to completely lift the

pressures and limitations on the Kurdish language and Kurdish traditions. Some persons were detained because of Kurdish folk songs. Wedding ceremonies and circumcision feasts organized according to Kurdish traditions were prevented by security officers.

Furthermore, reaction against the colours "red-yellow-green" defined as colours of the "Kurdish flag" did not disappear. Cloths, vehicle decorations and shop plates with these colours, were collected and damaged. One incident sounded rather as a comedy. The green light used in the traffic lights in Batman was changed to blue. The implementation presumably started on the grounds that "the lights red, yellow and green used internationally as traffic lights reminded of the colours of the Kurdish flag". The colours of the traffic lights which remained red, yellow and blue for 3 days were returned to their original form under the directive of Batman Governor Zeki Şanal. Zeki Şanal claimed that the change stemmed from a fault of the company which renewed the traffic lamps.

The coalition government which took some positive steps on the Kurdish issue did not sign the charter prepared by the Council of Europe which enables minority and regional languages to be protected and improved. The contract opened for signatures for member countries of the Council of Europe at the beginning of September, were signed by Germany, Luxembourg, Malta, Hungary, Liechtenstein, Spain, Austria, Denmark, Finland, Holland and Norway in its first stage. The charter was not signed by 16 countries including Turkey, the United Kingdom and France. In the charter, the concept of "minority and regional language" is described as "A language which is spoken on a country's soil by a group of people whose population is less than the population of the people of the state, and is different from the official language of the state". The charter defines some obligations for signatory countries for the protection and improvement of minority and regional languages. If Turkey signs the charter, it has to consider obligations for many languages spoken in the country, particularly for Kurdish.

In the meantime, Turkey adopted the United Nations' "Convention on Civil and Political Rights" by putting a reservation on Article 27 which regulates the rights of ethnic and religious minorities. As a reason for the reservation, it was stated that the word "minority" is not defined in the act. It was said: "The article gives way to various interpretations. Therefore, Turkey reserves the right for interpretation and definition of Article 27 as foreseen by the Constitution and Lausanne Treaty." The Lausanne Treaty signed in 1923, gave minority status to societies in Turkey that are non-Moslems (Armenians, Greek and Jews).

Following is some information about events which took place in 1992 regarding Kurdish publications and traditions:

By lifting the restrictions on names that could be given to newly born children, the Ministry of Interior started to implement the right that parents can choose whatever name they wish for their children. According to a circular issued by the Ministry of Interior, the registration offices will be under obligation to register the name the parents choose. No objections shall be raised during registration against a chosen name. However, official complaints can be filed with the prosecution offices considering the opinion of the Ministry about names which are against the law.

The ban put on the film "Mem-u Zin" based on a novel by the Kurdish poet and philosopher Ehmedi Xani was lifted by Culture Minister Fikri Sağlar. The film was prohibited because of some Kurdish dirges and hymnes. The premiere of the film was realized by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey in Ankara on 18 January 1992.

The first Kurdish newspaper "Rojname" (Newspaper) was published on 29 December 1991. 38 pages were written in Kırmanchi and 2 pages in Zaza dialect. However, the advertisement spot that "Rojname" wanted to broadcast on TV was not allowed by the Administration of Turkish Radio and Television (TRT). DOZ Publishing House that printed Rojname was raided by the police on 26 March upon a baseless denunciation. The publication of the newspaper was then halted by decision of its owners. Lawyer Zeki Okçuoğlu, one of the owners, arranged a press conference in the Human Rights Association İstanbul branch and said that Cengiz Çelik who is working in the publishing house of Rojname was detained and tortured, and that the building of the newspaper was occupied by civilian dressed policemen. Ahmet Zeki Okçuoğlu stated that under these conditions it was impossible to publish the newspaper. .

The weekly "Welat" (Land) which is completely in Kurdish started to be published on 22 February 1992. Sales of the weekly whose owner is Siirt MP Zübeyir Aydar, general publication director is Abdullah Keskin and chief editor is Mazhar Günbat, continued without any obstructions throughout the year. Welat continues its publication on a regular basis. Meanwhile, the publication of books in Kurdish followed each other in 1992, some magazines and newspapers published articles in Kurdish.

The Kurdish Institute, founded as part of the Mesopotamian Culture Center which researches and develops the Kurdish language, history and culture, was opened in İstanbul on 18 April. The plate of the institute, which was prepared both in Turkish and Kurdish, was taken down by the police 3 hours later. The plate was put up again later. The founding members of the institute, under presidency of İsmail Beşikçi, are Abdurrahman Dürre, Yaşar Kaya, Musa Anter, İbrahim Gürbüz, Süleyman İmamoğlu, Hüseyin Sağınç, Cemşid Bender and Talat İnanç.

97 persons were detained because of Kurdish folk songs sung at a wedding ceremony held on 13 June in Cengizhan quarter of Karşıyaka, İzmir. 84 of the detainees were released on 16 June. The remaining 13 persons were kept in custody at İzmir Police Headquarters for a while. Abdurrahman Dayan (the People's Labour Party Karşıyaka District of President) and Abdulgafur Aksoy were arrested by İzmir SSC while the other 11 persons were released.

The Kurdish Cultural Foundation which completed its founding procedures on 22 June 1992, applied to İstanbul First Instance Court No. 1 for registration. The Kurdish Cultural Foundation was established with the aim of conducting research on the Kurdish language, literature, geography, folklore, music and ethnography, and publishing and introducing such researches. Kurdish Cultural Foundation was not registered by 31 December dated decision of İstanbul Court First Instance No.1. on grounds that it is based on a race. Diyarbakır Deputy Hatip Dicle who is one of the founding members of the

Kurdish Cultural Foundation said: "The thing prohibited is the name of Kurd. The things not wanted to be recognized are the national and democratic rights of Kurdish people. Thus Turkish Republic acted in contravention to Paris Act and AGİK decisions". He added that they would apply to the Court of Appeals for annulment of the decision.

12 persons were detained on 27 June in Gaziantep in connection with Kurdish folk songs sung at a wedding ceremony. Kemal Çağlı, Nazmi Akın, Ali Hasan Çelik, Hüseyin Erdoğan, Mehmet Sezgin and Vakkas Demir, who were among the detainees, were arrested on 30 June and the others were released.

In Akköprü quarter of Van, Burhan Burak, Çetin Burak, Sabahattin Abi, Hüsametdin Abi and Şakir Dağçoban were detained by the police while they were going to a wedding ceremony with yellow-red-green flags in their hands on 8 September. Those 5 persons were kept in detention for a while. During the same days, 18 persons accused of making separatist propaganda at a wedding ceremony in Gaziantep, were detained. The detainees were arrested later.

10 lawyers, registered with Diyarbakır Bar Association, were detained because of songs sung at a wedding ceremony arranged in Diyarbakır on 2 September. The lawyers were released after being interrogated for 5 hours. The names of the detained lawyers are as follows: "Meral Danış, Mesut Beştaş, Edip Yıldız, Baki Demirhan, Abdullah Çağır, Sezgin Tanrıku, Arif Altinkale, Vedat Erten, Cihat İpek and Abdullah Akın".

The Kurdish Institute, based in İstanbul since 18 April 1992, was raided by the police on 15 November morning upon written directives of İstanbul SSC's Prosecution Office. During the raid, many documents, publications, books, films, photographs and computer discettes were seized. Besides, three persons named Hüseyin Kaytan, Bazın Uysal and Sedat Tuncer were detained in the building. In the statement made by the Administrative Board of the Kurdish Institute about the event it was claimed that a war was launched against Kurdish people, their culture and publications and said: "We assess the raid of the institute which studies the Kurdish language, history and literature, as a plain attack against fundamental rights and freedoms".

e)- Freedom of religion and conscience

Violations of human rights were witnessed also in connection with the freedom of religion and conscience during 1992. The pressures on this subject intensified on female students following the courses while being headscarved at universities and on noncommissioned officers due to their religious activities within the army. 48 university students who wanted to enter classes while being headscarved, were punished with condemnation and 15 of them were removed from their schools for periods of between one week and 6 months. Some of the events HRTF registered on the freedom of religion and conscience are:

At the beginning of January, 12 noncommissioned officers were put in custody on allegations of "having carried out religious propaganda in violation of secularity". The officers were taken from various units in Turkey to Ankara to be interrogated in Etimesgut Military Prison. Their names are: Mustafa Sarıgöz, Hasbi Bakırcan, Ali Bülbül, Şeref Yıldız, Mehmet Aydar, Mahmut Cengiz,

Mehmet Ali Gökler, Mahmut Uçucu, Ahmet Avşar, Ahmet Kaya, Ahmet Aycan and Coşkun Aygün.

It was announced that female student Şenay Karaduman, who in 1988 had graduated from the Pharmacy Faculty of Ankara University, was not given her diploma because she refused to be pictured without a headscarf. When she had no success with legal protests she applied to the European Human Rights Commission. The Commission decided that the application was acceptable and asked the Turkish authorities to provide a reply until 27 March 1992.

A total of 7 female students were removed from their schools for periods between one week to one month because of being headscarved during lectures at the Faculties and High Schools of Hacettepe University. Along with the ban, a total of 36 students studying at the Faculties and High Schools of the University were punished by condemnation. Besides, 7 headscarved female students who study at Kastamonu Vocational High School of Ankara University were suspended for one month each.

Noncommissioned officer Mehmet Uçucu who serves at the 12th Airbase Command in Kayseri was detained on 29 January. He was sent for interrogation to the airbase in Etimesgut, Ankara accused of "religious activities in the armed forces".

An investigation was launched against 8 nurses working at the Hospital of the Faculty of Medicine of Kayseri Erciyes University, on charges of "insisting on being headscarved while working". The names of the nurses accused of acting in contravention to the "Law of Dressing" are as follows: "Nebahat Mutlu, Halime Avşar, Hatice Ercan, Hidayet Akdemir, Latife Taştan, Meryem Karaduman, Emine Yiğit and Fatma Gül Avcıoğlu". The nurses, condemning the investigation launched against themselves, said: "We put on headscarves in accordance with our religious belief". In consequence of the investigation 4 nurses named Hatice Ercan, Latife Taştan, Meryem Karaduman and Fatmagül Avcıoğlu were removed from duty. The nurses were also evicted from their lodgings.

A female student called Fatma Kozkaya studying at the Faculty of Dentistry of Hacettepe University was removed from school for a half-term because of insisting on being headscarved during the lectures. In the decision given by the Disciplinary Board of the Faculty on 11 February 1992, Fatma Kozkaya was accused of "acting in contravention to discipline and regulations".

Students of Middle East Technical University (METU), Meryem Özkan and Hayal Kocabaş, were dismissed from the dormitory indefinitely, while Ayşegül Giray, Gülnur Çetin and Halime Kavak were dismissed for a week as "they were headscarved in accordance with their religious beliefs". On the other hand, students Gülzade Atik and Şengül Aslanoğlu who were sent to the disciplinary board because on the same grounds were punished by condemnation.

12 students, studying at the Nursing School of the Health College of Ankara University, were punished by condemnation in July because "they were following the lectures being headscarved". The punished students had been warned by the school administration on 12 May 1992 to take off their headscarves.

Events arose in Korgan district of Ordu during the celebration ceremonies of 29 October Republic Day because headscarved female students from the İmam Hatip High School (a kind of religious school) had not been allowed to attend the celebrations while being headscarved. Therefore, a clash with stones and clubs took place between a crowd of people who reacted against this practice and the security forces. During the events, the newspaper Türkiye reporter Metin Akyürek, who was trying to take photographs, was beaten by the police.

Highschool teacher Halit Çığal against whom a trial had been launched on charges of having made anti-secularist propaganda and insulted Atatürk, was sentenced to 1 year 6 months' imprisonment. After the trial which concluded at Doğanşehir (Konya) Criminal Court, Halit Çığal was expelled from his job. He had been working as a religious teacher at Doğanşehir Highschool.

Meanwhile, operations and arrests directed at islamic groups were often witnessed in 1992. A trial was launched against 19 persons, 12 of whom are arrested, on the claim that they are members of an islamic organization called IBDA-C (Raiders of Islamic Great East) and participated in certain armed attacks. In the indictment read in the first hearing of the trial held on 17 August at İstanbul SSC sentences of no less than 10 years' imprisonment were being demanded for 19 defendants. Official complaints filed by the lawyers against police officers about torture inflicted on the defendants during interrogation, were rejected. This decision of the court caused reactions among the spectators. A crowd of some 100 people who marched shouting slogans after the hearing, was prevented by the police by using force. During this demonstration about 100 people were detained.

The trial launched against 23 persons, accused of being members of the Kurdistan Islamic Party (PIK-Partiye İslamiye Kürdistan) and having been involved in certain assassinations, ended on 27 October at İstanbul SSC. In the trial, Ahmet Gül was sentenced to life imprisonment, Mustafa Erbay to 33 years 4 months' imprisonment, Mesut Ernam to 16 year 8 months' imprisonment. 18 more defendants were sentenced to between 1 year to 10 years' imprisonment while the remaining two were acquitted.

34 persons, said to be members of the an Islamic religious order called Aczmendi, were detained on 10 November in Elazığ on charges of "having made an unauthorized demonstration and acted in violation of the Law on Clothing". 22 of the detainees were arrested by court on 11 November. The defendants against whom a trial was initiated on charges of being members of the Islamic Aczmendi order, having made an unauthorized demonstration and having acted in violence of the Law on Clothing, were released following their first hearing. The names of the defendants are "Şazi Karacan, Kenan Kazel, Necdet Özdemir, Abdülalim Osmanoğlu, Mikail Kartal, Remzi Yıldız, Hacı Altun, Hulusi Aslanatalı, Kenan Sever, Şahin Yılmaz, Semih Selmanlı, Turan Ayvaz, Necmettin Gündüz, Mustafa Arabacı, Bayram Güleç, Bedrettin Yalçın, Mahir Karlıdağ, Seyfi Şahin, Harun Gülenler, Yusuf Çolakoğlu, Mehmet Murat and Abidin Yıldız".

During operations conducted in November, 13 persons alleged to be members of an illegal islamic organization carrying out armed activities (İDBA-C), were detained in İstanbul. The names of the detainees are as follows: "Kazım Albayrak (Chief editor of the journal Taraf), Ünsal Zor, Kemal Şişman, Mehmet Tahir Başarıcı, Süleyman Dal, Mevlüt Dal, Mehmet Tarakçı, Ahmet Aslan, Metin Aslantürkiyeli, İbrahim Tatlı, Şükrü Sak, Malik Aslantürkiyeli and Mehmet Tatlı". 11 of the 13 persons who were kept in detention between 15 to 18 days, were arrested later. Kazım Albayrak, chief editor of the journal Taraf was among the arrested. 9 of those arrested certified with medical reports that they had been tortured in detention.

In 1992, some foreign citizens making propaganda for other religions, different from the Islam, were detained. Canadians called Wilf Gray and Bromley Robert who were allegedly making propaganda of Christianity via brochures they distributed, were detained on 7 November in İstanbul. The two Canadians, sent to the Press Department of the İstanbul Public Prosecution Office on 9 November, were released after having testified. Wilf Gray and Bromley Robert were deported later.

FREEDOM OF ORGANIZATION

1992 was not a positive year concerning freedoms to organize, meet or hold demonstrations. Pressures and attacks directed at certain political parties and mass organizations continued on an increased level. Anti-democratic provisions of the Law on Associations, the Law on Political Parties, the Law on Assemblies and Demonstrations, inherited from the "12 September period", were often applied. Pressures and anti-democratic measures intensified during the Newroz Feast, before May Day and after the Şırnak events. In the extraordinary meeting of the National Security Council held in Diyarbakır on 27 August, uneasiness stemming from activities of certain political parties and democratic mass organizations was depicted. It was decided to follow closely these parties and organizations and to keep their activities under control. Thus, existing pressures increased further. However, the coalition government had come to power by outstanding promises concerning freedom of organization.

The coalition government made no serious attempt to execute the promises given during the election campaign. It rejected further proposal and attempts concerning this subject. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel opposed the draft law prepared by Şırnak Deputy Mahmut Alnak which foresees the lifting of certain anti-democratic provisions under the Law on Assembly and Demonstrations. Süleyman Demirel who notified the National Assembly in writing about his opinion concerning the proposal, claimed that the demanded changes would prevent the administration from carrying out its duties and from taking necessary measures. Süleyman Demirel also opposed the lowering of imprisonment sentences for persons participating in unauthorized demonstrations and marches, advanced that lower sentences would reduce the dissuasiveness and efficiency of them. Süleyman Demirel stated that if the authority given to governors for banning meetings and demonstrations would be lifted, it would constitute a crime against the Constitution.

The unique positive step taken on the freedom of organization was a change in legislation which enables political parties that were closed following

the 12 September Coup, to be opened again. However, while these arrangements were being prepared, the Socialist Party was closed by the Constitutional Court. In addition, closure was demanded for the People's Labour Party.

Most of the meetings organized to celebrate 1 May in 1992 were permitted. On 1 May, security officers did not intervene in the authorized meetings, except in the one held in İzmir. On the other hand, unauthorized meetings and demonstrations were faced with rough treatment of the security officers. During May Day, more than 500 persons were detained on various grounds.

a)- Pressures on İHD

The Human Rights Association (İHD) and its members were frequently exposed to various pressures and attacks. İHD Batman board member Sıddık Tan became victim of an unidentified murder. Adana, Konya and Samsun branches of İHD were closed, while the İstanbul Branch was raided by the police four times in a year. During the Newroz events, İHD branches in Şırnak and Van were damaged by the security forces. Presidents of both branches were arrested later. İHD Van Branch President Yavuz Binbay was released three months later but İHD Şırnak Branch President Sekvan Aytu was still under arrest at the end of the year.

The 4th Ordinary General Assembly of the Human Rights Association was held in Ankara on 24 October. In the general assembly, the activities of İHD carried out within the last two years were assessed and working plan for the coming days was discussed. The list prepared under the presidency of Akın Birdal won the elections. Following are the names of new directors of İHD: "Akın Birdal, Hüsnü Öndül, Ercan Kanar, Yavuz Binbay, Yusuf Alataş, Fevzi Veznedaroğlu, Bayram Çelik, Orhan Özer, Günseli Kaya, Ragıp Zarakolu and Kamil Ateşoğulları". A division of duties was made later. Akın Birdal was appointed President of İHD, Hüsnü Öndül Secretary General, Yavuz Binbay and Ercan Kanar Deputy Presidents and Yusuf Alataş and Fevzi Veznedaroğlu Vice Secretary General.

Following are some sample cases of attacks and pressures against the İHD, its leaders and members:

İHD's İstanbul Branch was raided by the police on 20 March and searched. During the search, certain articles and announcements hanging on the walls were seized. İHD's İstanbul Branch was raided by the police for the second time on 24 April evening. In the raid, member registries and some documents of the organization were confiscated. Ercan Kanar, the President of İHD's İstanbul Branch, said: "During the raid, the police recorded minutes, but they did not give us a copy. Therefore, we are afraid of being confronted with a conspiracy. Besides, we could not see the date of the search warrant." İHD's İstanbul Branch was also raided and searched by the police on the evening of 12 August and on 10 October at noon. In the search made on 10 October by approximately 50 uniformed and civilian dressed police officers, certain announcements, press releases and placards hanging on the walls were seized. The last two searches were reportedly carried out without a court's permission.

Members of the İHD's Ankara Branch were prevented by the police from placing a wreath on Newroz Day at the Human Rights Monument in Ankara Yüksel Street on 21 March. The police destroyed the wreath and beat İHD board member Alpaslan Ertürk.

İHD's Van Branch President Yavuz Binbay who was beaten and seriously injured by the police during Newroz demonstrations in Van, was arrested on 3 April. Yavuz Binbay who was seriously wounded at his head and chest during the events stayed in hospital until he was detained. His shop in Van was destroyed by the police. Yavuz Binbay was released during the hearing held on 6 July.

İHD's Şırnak Branch President Sekvan Aytu, who was detained on 14 May was arrested on 29 May. İHD's Şırnak Branch leaders, who met Sekvan Aytu after his arrest, said: "During our visit, we noticed bruises and wounds on his left eyebrow, feet and knees. Both what he said and the wounds and bruises we saw, prove the torture". A court case demanding no less than 10 years in prison was launched against Sekvan Aytu in September. Sekvan Aytu who was able to appear in court 4 and half months after his arrest, had not been released by the end of 1992.

Siddık Tan, board member of İHD's Batman Branch, was killed as in an armed attack he was confronted with on 20 July night in a house in Hürriyet quarter of Batman. Earlier Siddık Tan had been injured on 2 June 1991 in consequence of an explosion of a bomb planted in his car. İHD General President Nevzat Helvacı who made a statement in connection with the event, demanding life security for human rights activists, said: "These murders cannot daunt human rights activists. We will continue to defend what we believe to be true". Furthermore, Siddık Tan's son Metin Tan (22) was shot to death by unidentified armed persons on 19 July morning in Sağlık quarter of Batman.

A delegation from the Human Rights Association which wanted to make an investigation in Küçükarmutlu quarter of İstanbul, a region of squatters' houses which was searched by the police on 20 June, was not allowed to do so. Upon the complaints made to the İHD's İstanbul Branch in connection with "increasing pressure and detentions", a 6-person delegation went to Küçükarmutlu at about 5.30pm on 23 June. Nevertheless, the delegation was sent back by official policemen who barricaded the entrance of the quarter. A police representative who talked to the delegation members, stated that it was forbidden to enter the quarter without permission of İstanbul Governorate.

83 persons (most of them İHD members) who participated in a press meeting organized by İHD on 22 August in Sultan Ahmet Square in İstanbul in protest of the denunciation telephone known as "055 Police Help", were detained. Among the detainees was İHD's İstanbul Branch board member Eren Keskin. 81 of the 83 detainees were released on 23 August and the remaining two were released on 25 August. Some the detainees disclosed that they were tortured in police custody. Teacher Baki Gökçe who arranged a press meeting in the Human Rights Association's İstanbul Branch after his release, showed torture signs to journalists and said: "Civilian dressed police officers beat me with clubs. I was kicked. They hit with sticks on my palms". Cafer Kılınc, who

was among the detainees, stated that he had been hanged, beaten and insulted at the Political Police Center he was taken to. Cafer Kılınc added that although the other detainees had been released two days before, he had not been released until torture signs on his body had disappeared.

On 12 September night explosives were thrown into the shop of Reşit Kahraman who is the brother of İHD's Nusaybin Representative Doctor Cemal Kahraman.

A night meeting organized by the İHD's İstanbul Branch in commemoration of one of the İHD founders, Didar Şenşoy who died on 1 September 1987, was prohibited. In the notice sent by İstanbul Governorate to the association it was stated: "The meeting was not allowed since there is no provision in the İHD regulation which allows a commemoration meeting to be arranged". The meeting could later be held under another name.

A crowd of about 100 people who gathered in front of İzmir Buca Prison on 22 September in order to protest inhuman and ill-treatment in the prison, was dispersed by police force. In the events, 32 persons including İHD İzmir Branch board members and some lawyers, were detained. İHD's İzmir Branch board member Derviş Altun, Naile Doğan and İHD members Haluk Diric and Hakkı Türkaslan, who were among the detainees, were arrested while the remaining 28 detainees were released. Those 4 arrested were released during a hearing held on 14 October.

One arm of İHD's İzmir Branch President Yeşim İşlegen who was beaten by police trying to prevent a meeting arranged by members of the civil servants' unions on 10 October in Karşıyaka quarter of İzmir, was fractured. In the event, another 4 persons were injured along with Yeşim İşlegen.

The İHD's Adana Branch was closed on 6 November by Adana Governorate on grounds that it undertook activities beyond its aims". The closure decision was handed over to İHD Adana Branch President Cumali Tunç. During the procedure, the building of the association was searched and 3 persons in the building were detained by the police. The closure decision lasted until the trial launched against İHD's Adana Branch concluded. As the trial in question resulted in acquittal, İHD's Adana Branch started to operate again at the beginning of 1993. Within December, İHD's Konya Branch was closed indefinitely by the governorate.

İHD General President Akın Birdal said that the illegal pressure and arbitrary measures on the association increased within the second half of the year. Akın Birdal who sent a telegram to the Minister of Interior İsmet Sezgin, stated that Adana and Konya Branches of the İHD had been closed, İstanbul and İzmir Branches had been raided and searched by the police and that a detention decision had been ordered against Kars İHD Branch President Yaşar Ertaş. Pointing out that the pressure directed at the İHD was worrisome, Akın Birdal said: "We believe that your ministry should not be indifferent to the pressure and closure attempts directed at our association. Otherwise, a government which came to power under promises of democratization and improvement of human rights, will have lost its reliability on the human rights issue".

IHD's Samsun Branch was closed indefinitely on 10 December, Human Rights' Day. IHD Samsun Branch President Mahmut Kolukusa protesting the decision said the following: "The practice is not legal. We are facing a comic event. In the notification sent to us it was stated that the closing decision is valid until the trial opened against our branch comes to an end. However, the mentioned trial already resulted in acquittal in 1991. They did so in order to obstruct the activities prepared for Human Right's Week". After the closing decision, activities prepared by the branch for Human Right's Week, were forbidden. The branch was reopened on 13 December and the activities prepared for the Human Rights Week were conducted.

9 of the 16 persons detained at the end of November in Yüksekova district of Hakkari on charges of "helping and harbouring the PKK", were arrested. The arrested persons stated that in custody they had been forced to sign statements against the İHD and the People's Labour Party, HEP.

Gülay Toraman (wife of Hüseyin Toraman who disappeared one year ago), who participated in a conference organized by İHD's İzmir Branch on 12 December, was detained after the conference. Gülay Toraman, who was detained upon a detention order by İstanbul Police Headquarters and then sent to İstanbul, was arrested by İstanbul SSC. Meanwhile, after a panel on "peace" which was arranged by İzmir İHD's branch on 13 December, M.D. Tayfun Gönül who attended the panel as a speaker, was detained for being a fugitive. He was released on 15 December.

b)- Pressures on mass organizations and prevented activities

In 1992, other mass organizations along with İHD were exposed to similar pressures and attacks. Works of democratic organizations were prevented, their activities were banned, their leaders and members were detained or arrested. Many concerts, demonstrations, festivals and meetings were not permitted. Fire was opened by the security forces on persons making demonstrations particularly during Newroz Feasts. (Newroz events and demonstrations resulting in deaths are presented in the part entitled "Right to Life"). A total of 118 persons died and many persons were wounded. Within one year, 32 mass organizations (3 of them İHD branches) were closed definitely or indefinitely. The closed organizations are as follows:

- + Elazığ Solidarity and Culture Association (EHDKD-2 times)
- + Association for Researching and Spreading Public Culture (HAKAD-İst.)
- + Zonguldak Association to Research and Spread Public Culture (ZOHKAD)
- + Adana Halkevi
- + Patriotic Democratic Culture Association (İstanbul)
- + Bursa Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association)
- + Karşıyaka Halkevi (İzmir)
- + DEMKAD Headquarters (Association of Women in Revolutionary Struggle)
- + Özgür-Der Headquarters (Rights and Freedoms Association-İstanbul)
- + Yıldırım Halkevi (Bursa)
- + Unemployed People's Association (İstanbul)

- + Kartal Culture and Arts Association (KKSD-İstanbul)
- + Patriotic Women's Association Center (YKD-İstanbul)
- + Revolutionary Women's Association (İstanbul)
- + 19 May University Students' Association (Samsun)
- + Branch of the Greens Party (Bursa)
- + Anadolu University Students' Association (Eskişehir)
- + Folklore and Education Association (Malatya)
- + Çukurova Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association)
- + Association to Fight Unemployment and Expensiveness
- + Esenler Solidarity and Cultural Research Association (EYKAD-İstanbul)
- + Eskişehir Özgür-Der
- + Public Cultural Association (Diyarbakır)
- + Anadolu Özgür-Der (Malatya)
- + Boğaziçi Culture and Art Association (BESD-İstanbul)
- + Bağcılar Culture and Solidarity Association (BAĞ-DER İstanbul)
- + Üsküdar Culture and Art Association (ÜKSD-İstanbul)
- + New Democratical Women's Association (YDKD-İstanbul)
- + İstanbul Özgür-Der

Some of the practices and actions in violation of the freedom of organization and assembly in one year are as follows:

A protest demonstration of some 30 people in front of the court building in Sultahmet Quarter, Istanbul aiming at the "Law to Fight Terrorism" was prevented by the police. During the event that occurred on 8 January around midday, 6 persons were detained. It was announced that 2 of the 6 detainees were handicapped people in a wheelchair.

A demonstration of 2,000 people who were unhappy with the results of the folkloric dance competition among primary, secondary and high schools were dispersed by the police using force. During the events on 13 January night in Halkari, Mustafa Özkan, Tanju Çelik, Hakim Ege and an unknown person were injured. Some persons were detained. Besides, certain buildings and vehicles belonging to the state were damaged.

On 22 January high school students who in front of the National Education Board in Istanbul demonstrated demanding "an end to beatings in school" were dispersed by the police under beatings. 15 students were detained. The demonstrators were aged between 15 and 17.

Religious groups conducted unauthorized demonstrations on 24 January in İstanbul, İzmir and Erzurum to protest the military coup in Algeria. Following the demonstrations, which started after the Friday ritual worship, 44 persons were detained in İzmir and 61 in Erzurum. 21 of the detainees in Erzurum were arrested. Against the 44 people in İzmir, a trial was opened demanding sentences of between 1 and 3 years' imprisonment. After the demonstrations made on 14 February in connection with the events in Algeria, one person was detained in Ankara and 10 persons were detained in Bursa.

A meeting on "Interpretation of Atatürk's Portrait" organized for 7 March in İstanbul by the Science Research Foundation, established by Adnan Oktar, known in public as "Adnan hodja" was not permitted on the ground that "any

kind of interpretation of Atatürk requires the permission by the Ministry of National Education".

The intended demonstration in Adana because of "8 March International Women's Day" by a group of some 150 people was forcibly dispersed by the police and 33 people were detained. 10 of them were later arrested. Under the same reason, demonstrators in Istanbul Taksim Square were beaten. Göksel Güven and İsmail Türkmen were injured and 8 people were detained.

Istanbul Beşiktaş District Center of the True Path Party (DYP) was occupied by a group of 17 persons on 28 March evening. The occupation, which lasted about 2 hours, was ended by policemen who entered the building. The 17 occupants were taken out of the building under beatings and were detained. Those detained were arrested later. 17 persons against whom a trial was launched with a demand of no less than 5 years' imprisonment, were released during the first hearing of the trial on 16 July.

12 leaders and representatives of the Leather Workers' Trade Union, against whom a trial was launched because they participated in the meeting arranged on 1 May 1990 in Kazlıçeşme, İstanbul, were sentenced to 1 year 6 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 40.000 each (appr. \$ 7). The sentences were confirmed by the Court of Appeals. The names of the 12 trade unionists who were sentenced on charges of acting in contravention to the "Law on Demonstrations and Meetings", are as follows: "Munzur Pekgüleç, Mehmet Kılınçaslan, Hüseyin Ateş, Musa Servi, Ali Gündoğdu, Ali Karabulut, Yusuf Uçar, Yusuf İrin, Kemal Çeçi, Rıza Kalkan, Hasan Karasakal and Ali Çelen".

In Diyarbakır about 100 people were detained under beatings after an engagement ceremony on 14 March. Among the detainees were Iranian national Kurdish singer Nasır Rezazi, members of a music group called "Koma Denge Azadi" and a theatre group called "Şanoya Roja Azadi".

Some 500 people including 23 women, who wanted to attend the funeral of Reşşan Demirel in the morning of 23 March who burnt herself during Newroz Feast, were detained by the police. They were gathered in the gymnasium of the "100. Yıl Police School" and not given anything to eat. Some of the detainees were beaten and others sworn at.

11 persons, who were detained when they wanted to put a wreath in front of the building of the Press Council in İstanbul on 27 March in protest of the reports of newspapers, were released on 30 March. The names of the 11 persons are as follows: "Journalist Musa Anter, İsmail Beşikçi, the owner of the newspaper Yeni Ülke Serhat Bucak, lawyer Eşber Yağmurdereli, Bilgesu Erenus, Hüseyin Sağnıç, Sara Akan, İbrahim Gündüz, Recep Maraşlı, Remzi Çakır and Abdurrahman Dürre". The case initiated against those 11 persons concluded with acquittal in December.

8 persons who put a black wreath in front of Adana Governorate on 31 March in protest of the police's attitude during Newroz, were detained. They were released on 2 April. The names of the 8 detainees are: "Erol Aslanoğlu (Socialist Party Adana Provincial President), Mehmet Çelikten (HEP Adana Provincial President), Filiz Feyhan Aksoy (HEP Seyhan District President),

Nazmi Demir, Saliha Yaprak [correspondent of the journal "Devrimci Proleterya" (Revolutionary Proletariat)], Suzan Aslanboğa [correspondent of the journal "Mücadele" (Struggle)], Hasan Kılıç and Şahin Kılıç".

In Kozluk district of Batman, a group of people who on 9 April wanted to make a demonstration during the funeral of a PKK militant named Akif Sedef who died in a clash, were prevented by the police. When the police prevented the demonstration, a fight arose between the demonstrators and the security forces. Upon this event, a curfew was announced in the district.

During the last days of April, the panel arranged in Ankara on the matter of "The Kurdish Problem and Democracy" and a meeting entitled "Towards May Day" organized in İstanbul were prohibited by the governorates. Besides, Kartal Culture and Art Association, Association for Unemployed People, Municipality Servants' Solidarity Association and Association of Women in Revolutionary Struggle (DEMKAD), acting in İstanbul were raided by the police.

A demonstration held by a crowd of 500 people in Hipodrum Square in Ankara because of 1 May met with intervention by the police. The police dispersed the crowd by force and detained 66 people. Among the detainees were Meryem Erdal, President of the Contemporary Jurists Association's Ankara Branch, Reyhan Beşcanlar, Secretary General of Finance Officers' Trade Union (Tüm-Maliye-Sen). A group of people who wanted to march after the meeting by certain trade unions in İzmir because of 1 May was hindered. The police officers, using force, dispersed the group and detained 34 persons. 6 of those detainees were arrested. A trial against 34 persons, 6 of them under arrest, began at İzmir SSC on 29 June. At the end of the hearing, Melek Yıldız, Alişan Özdemir, Aliye Turan, Emsal Atıcı, Şakir Eğilmez and Halil İbrahim Buhar were released.

4 members of the Group Yorum on a tour for concerts in several European cities were detained on the night 5 May when they returned to Turkey. Metin Turan, Elif Sumru Gürel, Taner Tanrıverdi and Nuray Erdem who were detained at İstanbul Atatürk Airport after landing, were taken to the Political Police Headquarters for interrogation. Police authorities stated that the members of the group were detained in connection with some denunciations made about the concerts. The detainees were released 3 days later. Meanwhile, concerts to be given by Group Yorum in Samsun and Ordu, by Group Ekin in Diyarbakır and a play to be performed in Trabzon by players of Ankara Birlik Theatre were banned by the governors.

President Muzaffer Aksoy and Executive Board members Muharrem Eyican, Necdet Öztürk, Nursel Tunca and Muzaffer Aksakal of Üsküdar People's House of İstanbul were sentenced to imprisonment terms of 1 year and fines of TL 40.000. The 5 defendants, convicted in the trial held at İstanbul State Security Court on 8 May, were being accused of "acting against the Law on Associations and possessing some prohibited publications".

During the funeral ceremony organized in İzmir on 7 May for youth Solmaz Karabulut, who died in a house raid carried out in Dikmen quarter of Ankara on 4 May 1992, 6 persons were detained. Among the 6 persons sent to İzmir SSC on 15 May, Fahrettin İlgin and Hilmi Nar were arrested.

A 16-year old youth studying at Atatürk High School in Nazilli district of Aydın was removed from school for a year because of his political thoughts. The young student was punished on charges that "he did not believe in God, he said that he was an atheist, defamed the religion of Islam, disturbed peace in the class, criticized the educational system, participated in activities of a political party and defended the PKK".

Singer Mehmet Suavi Saygan known as "Suavi" was detained in İzmir on 27 May. It was reported that Mehmet Suavi Saygan was detained because of an interrogation launched against him in 1978 and that he was sent to Konya. Suavi was released after he gave his testimony in Seydişehir, Konya.

About 50 hospital workers put a black wreath in front of the building of the Ministry of Interior in Ankara on 2 June in protest of torture applied to 3-month pregnant nurse Nazlı Top during her detention period between 27 April and 7 May at İstanbul Political Police Center. After the demonstration made by Health Workers' Trade Union (TÜM Sağlık SEN) 10 persons were detained. Those detainees were released on 4 June.

17 of 27 students against whom a trial was launched since they participated in a demonstration arranged on 24 December 1989 at the Vocational Training Faculty of Gazi University in Ankara, were sentenced to imprisonment terms ranging from 1 year 6 months to 6 years. Other 10 defendants tried in the same trial were acquitted. Following are the names of the defendants sentenced at the end of the trial which concluded at Ankara Criminal Court No. 18 at the beginning of June, and their sentences: "Vidcan Şahin (6 years), Nuran Kaynar, Orhan Çubuk, Hakkı Aybay, Orhan Çelebi, Mustafa Yardımcı, Hacı Yıldız, Faruk Koray Boyralı, Şenol Oymak, Cafer Mehmet Keleş and Kemal Baykan (4 years 6 months), Cüneyt Gezer, Şerif Tepe, Musa Akar, Zafer Alpaslan, Semra Zeybek and Sadun Hami Karaali (1 years 6 months)".

A crowd of about 3.000 people made a demonstration on 30 June in Nusaybin district of Mardin by blocking the road in protest of a recent increase in detentions. The crowd which gathered out of Nusaybin and then started to march towards the city center by shouting slogans was stopped after a while by security forces, supported with police tanks and armoured vehicles. When the demonstrators wanted to continue the march, about 1.000 people were detained. 136 of them were arrested later. The detainees stated that they were beaten and insulted in police custody. In connection with the march a trial was launched against 171 persons, 136 of them under arrest. 111 of 136 arrested persons were released in the first hearing held at Diyarbakır State Security Court on 24 September. Sentences of between 1 year to 8 years' imprisonment were demanded or each defendant on allegations of "acting against 'the Law on Meeting and Demonstration' and making separatist propaganda".

14 deputies from the People's Labour Party (HEP) who went to Diyarbakır along with a 200-vehicle convoy on 9 July for the first anniversary of the eath of HEP Diyarbakır Provincial President Vedat Aydın ,who was killed after e was kidnapped by armed people who introduced themselves as "police officers", were not allowed to enter the city. In addition, following a search of the onvoy, 38 persons were detained while some persons were beaten by special

team members. In the event, some cars in the convoy were damaged. Meanwhile, the meeting planned to be organized by HEP on 10 July was not permitted.

Ortaköy Cultural Center in İstanbul was raided and searched by the police on 11 July. It was reported that the raid was done with the aim of apprehending Group Yorum members against whom there was a decision for arrest in absentia. Lawyer Bedii Yarayıcı who made a statement in connection with the event, said that the cultural center was raided without any permission for a search. 24 people who were in the center during the raid were detained.

10 persons who wanted to attend the funeral ceremony organized on 16 July for Nurten Demir (22), who was killed when a house in Kasımpaşa quarter of İstanbul was raided on 13 July, were detained by the police.

A concert to be performed by Group Kızılırmak on 18 July in Antakya was not allowed by Hatay Governorate. In the statement made by Group Kızılırmak protesting the decision of the governorate, it was said: "The new government did not reduce the pressures on us. On the contrary, the pressures became more systematic".

Gülensu Culture Association in Gülsuyu quarter of İstanbul was raided by the police on 2 August. After the raid, 8 persons in the association were detained. Tekin Yazar, one of the leaders of the association, said in a statement he made at IHD's İstanbul Branch that he and his friends were beaten, subjected to psychological pressure and sexually abused.

In Savur district of Mardin, 13 persons who went for condolance to the family of PKK militant Ebeddin Bakır, were detained on 5 August. Those 13 persons, who were arrested later and against whom a trial was launched, were released at the end of the hearing held on 28 September at Diyarbakır SSC. The names of those persons are: "Nesih Bakır, Hüsamettin Yıldırım, Naci Çelik, Mehmet Can, Bekir Kalkan, Namık Kalkan, Recep Kalkan, Hamdullah Ün, Sıtkı Kalkan, Necat Baran, Davut Bakır, Hıdır Kaplan and Zeynel Gürsel".

16-year old Nermin Alkan against whom a trial was launched in connection with an "anti-war poster" she put up in October of 1990 on the wall of İstanbul Pendik High School where she was studying, was sentenced to 6 months and 20 days' imprisonment. In the trial which ended on 7 August at İstanbul SSC Nermin Alkan was firstly sentenced to one year's imprisonment. This sentence was later converted into 6 months 20 days' imprisonment, considering certain extenuating circumstances. Bünyamin Yücel, Canan Acar and Nilüfer Gen who were tried in the same trial with Nermin Alkan were acquitted.

In an attempt to prevent people from participating in the funeral of PKK militant Şehmuz Kaya, who died in a clash which broke out in Oluklu village of Lice on 6 August and who was buried in Diyarbakır, nobody was allowed to enter Diyarbakır on 10 August. In accordance with the decision by the Governorate of the Emergency State Region, this prohibition was extended on 11 August. During those two days more than 100 persons were detained for looking suspicious.

A clash arose between the police and a group of people who made an unauthorized demonstration in Bağcılar quarter of İstanbul on 15 August in connection with the 9th anniversary of activities and attacks launched by the PKK on 15 August 1984. 4 persons were injured while 147 persons were detained. 63 of the detainees were arrested later. 15 of the arrested people were released soon afterwards upon objection while 43 of them were released following the hearing held on 18 November at İstanbul SSC. On the other hand, two persons were still under arrest by the end the year. 36 persons were detained after a demonstration made on the same in Küçükyalı quarter of İstanbul for the anniversary. 15 of the detainees were arrested while the remaining were released to be tried without arrest. Then, a case was initiated against the 36 persons on grounds that they had made an unauthorized demonstration and shouted slogans praising the PKK and disseminating separatist propapanga. At the first hearing of the trial which started on 27 November at İstanbul SSC, Şükrü Yıldız, Mehmet Ergur, Mehmet Şerif Önder and Ayhan Yağcı (17-year old) were released.

56 persons, 15 of them females, who wanted to participate in the funeral ceremony arranged in İstanbul on 20 August for Eyüphan Polat and Nurhayat Beyhan, killed in the house raids on 13 August in Ankara, were detained. 31 of the 56 persons, kept in detention for nine days, were arrested by İstanbul SSC.

An investigation was launched against about 80 tradesmen who joined shop closing actions realized in certain districts of Kars, Ağrı and Iğdır on the day of 15 August. 27 of the tradesmen who participated in the shop closing action in Digor district of Kars were detained. Out of the 32 persons detained in Viranşehir district of Urfa following the shop closing action realized on 15 August, 6 were arrested. The names of the arrested persons are Naif Aslan, Ahmet Yıldırım, Mehmet Çakı, Mehmet Topçu, Nedim Oktay and Fehi Yıldırım.

10 persons who were in Karataş district of Adana on holiday, including some leaders of Özgür-Der (Rights and Freedoms Association), were detained by the police on 22 August. The names of 9 of those persons detained on allegations of "possessing prohibited publications" are as follows: "Zerrin Sarı (İstanbul Özgür-Der President), Ayten Çelik, Solmaz Tartar (İstanbul Özgür-Der Secretary General) Kerime Eroğlu, Üfuk Demirkaya, Gülten Şeşen (Owner of the journal Mücadele), Sultan Çelik, Gülay Tan, Yaşar Güzel (Malatya Özgür-Der Secretary General). Zerrin Sarı and Kerime Eroğlu were immediately released as they are lawyers while the others were released after interrogations for up to 10 days.

15 persons were detained on 24 August while they were in Alaplı district of Zonguldak on holiday. These 15 persons were kept in detention for 10 days and presented to the public as "members of an illegal organization on training". They were released by court on 3 September. The names of those 15 persons are: "Latif Tiftikçi, Ayça İdil Erkmen, Sadık Çelik, Sıral Demiral, Fatma Çiçek, Nuri Eryüksel, Nurhan Odabaş, Nuray Erdem, Serdar Akad, Deniz Uzunhasanoğlu, Özkan Oğuzoğlu, Tayfun Sabancı, Atilla Sabancı, Mehmet Karabulut and Ethem Elma".

34 women who were demonstrating on 31 August in Sultanahmet Square of İstanbul in protest of the Şırnak events and a youth named Turan Erdem who was watching the demonstration were detained by the police. 7 of the detained women and Turan Erdem were arrested later. The names of arrested women are as follows: "Mukaddes Alataş, Melek Hilal Okumuş, Evin Alibeyköylü, Birgül Kartal, Songül Kartal, Sultan Boztaş and Özlem Boztaş". The arrested were released after the first hearing held in November.

The march arranged by the Social Democratic Populist Party's (SHP's) İstanbul Provincial Organization for 1 September World Peace Day, was hindered by the police on grounds that they did not have any permission. SHP members and sympathizers carrying flowers and pancards gathered at 11pm in Tünel, İstanbul, and started to march towards Taksim Square. They were stopped by the police when they reached Galatasaray which is the middle of the march route. The crowd dispersed upon the warnings of the police.

32 people, including daily Özgür Gündem correspondents Mustafa Çetinkaya and Emine İnce, who joined the opening ceremony of the General Center for the "Association of Struggle Against Unemployment and Expensiveness" on 1 September were detained in İstanbul.

A group of 34 persons was detained by the police on 1 September before a demonstration they attempted to make in İzmir in protest of the Şırnak events. The detainees were released on 3 September. The detainees stated after release that they had been beaten by the police. 3 persons injured as a result of the beatings applied to İzmir Representative of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey for treatment.

* Activities to be organized in İstanbul on 10 September because of the 8th anniversary of the death of actor and director Yılmaz Güney, were not allowed by İstanbul Police Headquarters. In the notice sent out by the authorities of the Police Headquarters to the committee which prepared these activities, it was stated that since the application did not mention artists and persons who will attend the activities, the activities will not be allowed. However the prohibition decision was lifted upon reactions in public.

240 of the persons who attended a picnic arranged by the monthly journal "Devrimci Proletarya" (Revolutionary Proletariat) on 4 October in Adana were detained by gendarmes. 98 of them were arrested while the remaining were released. 81 of the 98 persons against whom a trial was launched were released upon objection against the arrest warrant, and 17 persons were released at the first hearing of the trial held at Malatya SSC on 25 December.

Makbule Sürmeli, Kayhan Tazeoğlu and Fatma Süzen, who were killed as a result of house raids carried out on 28 September in İstanbul, were buried in İstanbul on 5 October. When the police attempted to prevent a crowd of some people who wanted to attend the funeral ceremony, events occurred. During the events, some demonstrators were beaten with truncheons and a 70-year old woman named Cudi Göleli was injured to her head. Besides, about 60 persons were detained. Meanwhile, 9 persons who on 15 October attended the funeral ceremony of Sultan Cenik (23), killed in a house raid by the police on 10 October in Acıbadem quarter of İstanbul, were detained.

After the demonstrations made on 20 November in Yamanlar and Kadifekale quarters of İzmir because of the foundation anniversary of the PKK, 51 persons were detained under beatings of the police. 34 of the detained demonstrators were arrested by İzmir SSC and the remaining 17 persons were released. 21 of those arrested were released on 25 December at the first hearing of the trial launched against them by İzmir SSC in connection with the demonstration.

Police opened fire at a group of people who made a demonstration on 27 November in Yenipazar quarter of Mersin on the foundation anniversary of the PKK. In the fire, a 14-year old child named Aydın Pervane was injured. Besides, about 30 persons were detained. In Malazgirt district of Muş, a crowd of people who started to march from the surrounding villages towards the district center, was dispersed by the security forces. In the event, 2 demonstrators were lightly injured. In addition, 355 people were detained after the demonstration made in Kızıltepe on 27 November and a total of 120 persons were detained during the demonstrations made in Malazgirt and Mazıdağı. 54 of the people detained in Kızıltepe, were arrested on 2 December.

In Nusaybin district of Mardin, 6 coffee house owners who participated in the shop closing action on 27 November 1992 because of the 15th anniversary of the PKK, were ordered not to open their coffee houses for 3 months by the district governorate in December.

The trial launched against 26 persons for participation in a demonstration made because of Newroz Feast in Antalya, ended at İzmir SSC on 15 December. In the trial Sevim Pınar was sentenced to 1 year 8 months in prison and a fine of about TL 41.666.000 (appr. \$ 5.200) on grounds that she shouted slogans in accordance with the ideas of the PKK during the demonstration. In the trial 23 defendants were acquitted while a decision was taken that defendants Sedat Demirtaş and Selçuk Katurcı were to be tried at a civilian court.

In Ankara, Halil İbrahim Ocak and Tevfik Yurdakul, who are founding members of the Sincan Cultural and Research Association which recently started to operate, were detained on 21 December by the police.

Serkan Koç (17) studying at Kemal Naci Ekşi High School in Bağcılar quarter of İstanbul, was expelled from school for one year because "he put on a rosette on which there is a picture of Lenin". It has been reported that Serkan Koç bought the rosette, which caused his dismissal from school, from a peddler for TL 2.000. Serkan Koç, pointing out that he was punished upon the initiatives of Hüseyin Kılıç and Hanifi İnan, vice directors of the school, said: "Before, I had some unpleasant events with these persons when I objected to religious organizations and beatings at school". Serkan Koç, who is a senior student at the high school, will not be able to participate in the university entrance examination this year because of the punishment.

c)- Pressures on Political Parties

During 1992, pressure intensified, obstructions increased and there were more physical attacks on political parties, especially the People's Labour Party (HEP), the Socialist Party (SP), the Worker's Party (İP), the Socialist Union

Party (SBP) and the Greens Party (YP). Political parties were subjected to many pressures and attacks stemming from law or practices of the authorities. Trials and investigations were launched, including demands of the death penalty, against party leaders and even deputies, and in some cases they were convicted and sentenced.

A great increase was observed in armed attacks on members of local administrators of political parties, and in the unclarified murders. As a result of attacks with political aims, SHP Nusaybin District President Oktay Türkmen, one of the leaders of HEP Nusaybin District Organization Abdurrahman Söğüt, one of the leaders of HEP Silvan District Organization Felemez Güneş, Worker's Party Cizre District President Resul Sakar, former president of HEP Gaziantep Provincial Organization Abdulsalem Sakık, HEP Kovancılar (Elazığ) District President Rodi Demirkapı, leaders of HEP Antalya Provincial Organization İdris Çelik and Yusuf Solmaz died. The number of HEP members killed or wounded in the armed attacks reached 25.

In the meantime, a positive change in legislation enacted during 1992 enables the political parties, which were closed following the 27 May (1960) and 12 September (1980) military coups, to be reopened. Benefitting from this opportunity many political parties, including the Democrat Party, the People's Republican Party, the Socialist Revolution Party and the Turkey Socialist Worker's Party, were opened again. On the other hand, certain political parties (such as the Justice Party and the Turkey Workers and Peasants' Party) invited their delegates to a congress in accordance with their legal rights and preferred to join other political parties instead of opening again.

During the days when the draft law enabling closed down political parties to reopen was passed, the Constitutional Court decided to close down the Socialist Party on grounds that it developed activities in violation of the Law on Political Parties and the Constitution. In the justification of the closure decision it was stated that "views expressed in leaflets (entitled Solution of the Kurdish Problem) distributed by the Socialist Party before the 20 October elections, and speeches delivered by the Socialist Party President Doğu Perinçek on TV and during meetings violated the Law on Political Parties". With the closure decision, the possessions of the Socialist Party were transferred to the treasury. The decision was adopted by 10 against 1 vote of the panel of judges. In a statement concerning closure decision the Socialist Party President Doğu Perinçek said: "The main responsible organ for the closure of the SP is the Demirel-İnönü government. The government that finds enough time for legislation to extend the mandate of the 'Poised Hammer' and the state of emergency, that returns possessions of the MHP to Türkeş, which forgives tax smugglers, is indifferent to demands of workers for democracy, humane life and association. The government bombed the bridge between the Turkish and Kurdish people". Doğu Perinçek added that they would continue their political activities within the Worker's Party.

The justification in connection with the closure decision for the Socialist Party by the Constitutional Court was promulgated in the Official Gazette on 25 October. In the decision it is stated that the Socialist Party was closed because

it aimed at impairing the unity of the state with its land and people. It is further stated: "To use definitions such as Kurdish people, Kurdish nation and Kurdish provinces; and to encourage persons who are unable to be aware of the reality, for committing crimes by means of these definitions put on the agenda in form of a thesis, are activities in contravention to the Constitution. According to the Constitution, each state has a nation. Societies living in the country cannot be named as a nation only because of differences in their culture, descents and tribes. Though there are people of Kurdish origin within the Turkish nation, it is impossible to consider them as a separate nation in the context of scientific research and historical realities. The Socialist Party separated the Turkish nation in two parts based on racism, Turkish and Kurdish nations; defended incorrectly that the Kurdish people qualified as an oppressed nation, should have the right for self-determination, and continued its separatist activities in violence of the Constitution. Under the mask of democratic and political activities, this party pushed the people, who have been living all over Turkey and mingled together, to an uprising in order to found a separate state". Reminding that the Socialist Party also demanded separate schools and separate education for the Kurdish people, it was said: "Separate school, separate education, a separate official language and a separate administration are never compatible with the principle of the unitary state and with the principles and values preserved suitable for the Constitution".

The Public Prosecution Chief Office of the Court of Appeals launched a trial demanding the closure of the People's Labour Party (HEP) on charges of "acting in contravention to the Constitution and the Law on Political Parties". In the indictment it was claimed that "HEP acted against the indivisible unity of the nation and the state, and became a focus for illegal political activities". The Public Prosecution Chief Office had started an investigation against HEP after the events which occurred during the funeral ceremony of Vedat Aydın. This investigation expanded upon the official complaints made by SSCs' prosecution offices. The trial was supposed to start at the Constitutional Court after September. HEP Secretary General Ahmet Karataş who made a statement about the trial said: "The trial was launched according to the demand of the National Security Council (NSC), and it is an attitude directed at the struggle for democracy".

In 1992, lots of investigations were launched demanding death penalties against HEP deputies. As known, Ankara SCC Prosecution Office decided to launch a trial under the Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code demanding death penalties against 22 HEP deputies in December 1991, and applied to the National Assembly Chairmanship for lifting the immunity of those deputies. This demand of Ankara SSC Prosecution Office was rejected by the National Assembly Chairman Hüsamettin Cindoruk in January on grounds that "it was contrary to the principle of democracy and the Constitution". Then, Ankara SSC Prosecution Office applied on the same issue in April for a second time. The second application was processed by Yılmaz Hocaoğlu, Deputy Chairman of the National Assembly on 22 May. The names of the said Kurdish deputies are: "Fehmi Işıklar, Adnan Ekmen, Salih Sümer, Mehmet Sincar, Hatip Dicle, Abdülkerim Zilan, Mahmut Alınak, Orhan Doğan, Mahmut Kılınç, Naif Güneş, Ali Yiğit, Muzaffer Demir, Selim Saddak, Zübeyir Aydar, Mehmet Emin Sever, Ahmet

Türk, Sedat Yurttaş, Nizamettin Toğuş, Sırrı Sakık, Remzi Kartal and Leyla Zana". Those deputies are accused of their speeches they delivered during election campaign and in sessions of the Assembly. Ankara SSC Prosecution Office frequently repeated its application to the National Assembly to lift the immunity of the deputies.

HEP İstanbul Provincial Secretary Abdülcabbar Gezici was detained on 8 January morning and later released. HEP Bozova (Urfa) District President Eyüp Karageçi was arrested in February on allegations of "being a member of an illegal organization". Eyüp Karageçi was kept under arrest for while and released later. He was detained and arrested on 8 December for a second time.

Abdurrahman Söğüt, one of the leaders of HEP Nusaybin District Organization was shot on 18 January by unidentified persons. Abdurrahman Söğüt who was wounded while he was leaving his office in Turan quarter of Nusaybin died in the hospital where he was taken. Abdurrahman Söğüt had been detained in October 1991 on charges of "harbouring PKK militants" and released at the beginning of January after being under arrest for a while.

Oktay Türkmen, the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) Nusaybin district Secretary was killed in Nusaybin as a result of fire opened by three armed persons. SHP Nusaybin district President Adnan Sezer, who was with Oktay Türkmen during the event, escaped the armed attack without being wounded. One of the three armed persons who were chased by Adnan Sezer and passers-by was caught. It was stated that the apprehended person is a 18-year old youth "Mustafa Demirel", born in İdil.

HEP deputies Mehmet Sincar, Sedat Yurttaş and Ali Yiğit who visited Mardin in February and organized meetings in certain settlements received death-threats by Mardin Provincial Gendarmerie Commander Ramazan Çabuk.

A crowd of about 1000 people who had gathered in front of the HEP building in Esenler quarter of İstanbul on 23 March in order to celebrate Newroz Feast, was prevented by the gendarmes, who fired shots in the air. In the ensuing panic Şükrü Aydın, Mehmet Yılmaz, Asri Aydın and Fazıl Lale were injured. 247 people including 49 women, were detained. Posters about Newroz Feast, put up on the walls of HEP buildings in İstanbul, were taken down by the police.

In Kızıltepe district of Mardin, the house visited by HEP Mardin Deputy Nizamettin Toğuş as a guest was raided and searched by security forces on 24 March. Nizamettin Toğuş said: "During the raid my private goods and bag were searched although I said that I was a deputy."

About 260 persons, including HEP General President Ferudun Yazar and some Kurdish deputies, made a call on international organizations, particularly the United Nations on 2 April. In the call, the Turkish Government was criticized because of the latest events in the Emergency State Region. It was said that the Kurdish people started a struggle for freedom and equality and it was stressed that the state solves the Kurdish problem by killing Kurdish people. In the call, international organizations were asked to observe developments. In short it was said: "Although one side in the struggle insists on having a dialogue, the Turkish

Government does not feel inclined to do so. Indifference of the Turkish Government on stopping the struggle and insistence on the dirty war causes deaths of many people from both sides. The main responsibility for all deaths and damages to occur during this process lies clearly with the side which does not feel inclined to move towards a democratic and political solution. All international organizations and institutions which do not assume an attitude on this subject, will be responsible too". Against the persons who signed the call, an inquiry was initiated by Ankara SSC Prosecution Office in mid-April. The inquiry was reportedly initiated on grounds that certain statements in the text humiliated Turkey.

Ankara SSC Prosecution Office launched an investigation against HEP General President Ferudun Yazar and the Socialist Party General President Doğu Perinçek in connection with a press conference they held before the Newroz Feast. Yazar testified on 10 April at Ankara SSC for the investigation filed on grounds that "he had disseminated separatist propaganda during the press conference". State Security Court Prosecutor Talat Şalk demanded the arrest of Yazar, but the court ruled against this demand. At the end of the investigation, a trial was launched against Ferudun Yazar and Doğu Perinçek under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism".

A trial was launched against HEP officials Güven Özata, Kemal Okutan, Abdülmuhsin Melik, Salih Sahin, Hüseyin Turhallı and Cabbar Gezici for their speeches at the HEP General Congress held on 15 December 1991. In the trial started on 14 April at Ankara SSC it was demanded for the defendants to be sentenced to between 2 and 5 years in prison according to Article 8 of the Law to Fight Terrorism for making separatist propaganda.

HEP Mardin Provincial President Veysi Parılı and one of the leaders of HEP Kızıltepe Organization, were detained after raids on their houses on 14 June evening. The reasons for their detention were not disclosed.

In a trial which concluded at İzmir SSC on 18 April, Lezgin Culdüz (Former President of HEP Aydın Provincial Organization) and İsmet Dağ who were tried in connection with a calendar they had prepared, were sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 41 million 666 thousand (appr. US \$ 6,000) each. The trial had been launched under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" on charges of "making separatist propaganda in the calendar".

A leaflet entitled "End to State Terror and Special War" which was prepared by HEP İzmir Provincial Organization during the first days of July, was banned by İzmir SSC. İzmir SSC Prosecution Office also launched an investigation under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" against the party leaders who prepared the leaflet.

HEP General President Ferudun Yazar and 14 deputies who went to Diyarbakır along with a 200-vehicle convoy on 9 July for the first year commemoration of HEP Diyarbakır Provincial President Vedat Aydın who had been killed after he had been kidnapped by armed persons who had introduced themselves as "police officers", were not allowed to enter the city. In addition, following a search in the convoy, 38 persons, including the daily Özgür Gündem correspondent Burhan Karadeniz and correspondents of the journals Emeğin

Bayrağı and Mücadele were detained. Some people in the convoy were beaten and some cars were damaged by speacial team members. Deputies were allowed to enter the city at about 10.30pm. A meeting to be arranged by HEP on 10 July was not allowed by the governorate. Because of the events HEP General President and 14 deputies went on a 24-hour hunger strike in protest of the pressures directed at the freedom of meeting and demonstration. During the hunger strike, security forces controlled all streets in the city, detained more than hundred people and beat lots of people. In the meantime, a religious ceremony "Mevlit" to be read for Vedat Aydın on 10 July, was relinquished upon the pressures.

HEP Diyarbakır Provincial President Hüseyin Turhallı stated that unlawful practices witnessed in the Emergency State Region were increasing day by day. In a press meeting arranged on 15 July Hüseyin Turhallı said: "Security forces act in an arbitrary manner. In the region, everyday, people are killed, detained by means of false registrations, tortured and arrested upon baseless claims. Unlawful practices endanger our democratic function. The Kurdish problem cannot be solved through killing the people. The only solution is mutual confidence, understanding and love to be based on common values".

During operations conducted in Viranşehir district of Urfa in July, HEP Viranşehir District President Çeçen Topçu and 4 HEP members named Reşit Kırın, Şeyhmuza Çelik, Abdulvahap Duygu and Mehmet İşlek were detained. In Ceylanpınar district of Urfa, 15 persons, including some HEP members, were detained following the shop closing action on 24 July.

HEP Aydın Provincial President Lezzin Culdüz and leaders Şakir Sula, İsmet Dağ and Hamit Ekinci were detained by the police on 23 July. Lezzin Culdüz, was arrested by İzmir SSC on 30 July for helping and sheltering PKK militants, and 3 detainees were released to be tried without arrest.

Some of the people who met and talked to HEP deputies Selim Sadak, Nizamettin Toğuş, Ali Yiğit and Zübeyir Aydar, who went to Yüksekova district of Hakkari on 29 July, were detained after the deputies left the county. The detainees were reportedly tortured.

In Etiler quarter of İstanbul a house in which Diyarbakır Deputy Leyla Zana and her husband Mehdi Zana were as guests, was raided on 30 July. In consequence of the raid, Savaş Buldan (owner of the house), Mehdi Zana, Alican Buldan and Ali İhsan Dağlı (brother of Leyla Zana) were detained. Leyla Zana who arranged a press meeting about the event, said: "The state made us a target for extermination. We are shown equal to the PKK. We are faced with a planned attack. People are urged to testify against us. They are looking for a justification to close the People's Labour Party. The first group of the police who came to the house was an execution team. If we had not called our friends, what would have happened to us? Would the police say that 'they died in a clash', after they killed us"? Mehdi Zana and Ali İhsan Dağlı were released on 12 August. The authorities did not find it necessary to launch a trial against Mehdi Zana and Ali İhsan Dağlı who were kept in detention for 14 days. Mehdi Zana said after his release: "The event is a conspiracy. The aim of the state was to exterminate me and my wife. The state knows that we are not members of the organization. We escaped death".

Tradesman Ekrem Göynü was killed in an armed attack on 24 August in Batman. It was reported that Ekrem Göynü was the son of İzzet Göynü who is one of the leaders of HEP Batman Provincial Organization.

While the discussions on a draft law was continuing, Mahmut Alnak, Şırnak Deputy of HEP took the floor and called the government a "general staff government". His words caused reactions. When Mahmut Alnak insisted on his description, DYP deputies attempted to prevent him from speaking, but their attempts were prevented by other HEP deputies. It was claimed that HEP Muş Deputy Sırrı Sakık took his pistol out of his bag, loaded it and placed it on his belt while the events were going on. Mahmut Alnak had been attacked and harassed while delivering a speech from the chair of the National Assembly in December 1991.

HEP Malazgirt (Muş) District President Celalettin Yayla and 6 HEP members were detained by the police during operations carried out at the end of August in Malazgirt.

Senanik Öner, former president of HEP Kızıltepe District Organization, was detained and then arrested in Kızıltepe district of Mardin in August. Stating that he was tortured in detention he said that he could not use his arms, his nose was broken and the membrane of one of his ears was torn as a result of torture.

The 2nd Extraordinary Congress of HEP was held in Ankara on 19 September. During the congress, Mardin Deputy Ahmet Türk was elected President of HEP. In the speeches made at the congress, it was pointed out that the Kurdish problem should be solved by peaceful means instead of military methods, and a demand was put forward to legalize the PKK. Ankara SSC Prosecution Office launched an investigation in connection with the demonstrations and speeches made at the congress.

11 members and leaders of HEP including former HEP President Ferudun Yazar, were detained on 28 September on order of the Prosecution Office of Ankara SSC in connection with the investigation launched into the HEP Congress. The number of detainees rose to 13 later. In addition, Ankara SSC ordered the arrest of Serhat Bucak, owner of daily Yeni Ülke and HEP Diyarbakır Provincial President Hüseyin Turhallı along with those 13 persons. Kemal Okutan, Harun Çakmak and Cabbar Gezici who were among the 13 detained HEP members were arrested while the remaining 10 were released. Ankara SSC Prosecution Office launched a trial demanding death penalty, under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code, against those 15 HEP members. The names of the defendants under threat of the death penalty are as follows: "Ferudun Yazar (Former General President of HEP), Felemez Başboğa (HEP İstanbul Provincial President), Sultan Güneş Uysal, Şahabettin Özaslaner, Kemal Öztürk, Kemal Okutan, Mustafa Demir (HEP Ankara Provincial President), Güven Özata (HEP Antalya Provincial President), Şakir Altay, Harun Çakmak, Abdulcabbar Gezici, Hüseyin Turhallı, Mehmet Gemsiz, Hamit Geylani and Serhat Bucak". The trial launched against 15 leaders of HEP began at Ankara SSC on 25 December. Defendant Kemal Okutan interrogated at the hearing, stated that they were being tried because they opposed the official ideology and said: "This is not a judicial trial but a political one. What is being tried

here is the freedom of thought. Is there any example in the world which shows that part of a state was separated by the expression of thought. It is not clear for which country we try to separate one part of the state". At the end of the hearing, defendants Kemal Okutan and Harun Çakmak, tried under arrest, were released.

Abdulsalem Sakık (48), former President of HEP Gaziantep Provincial Organization, was shot on 3 November to his head and died in Karagöz Street of Gaziantep. Abdulsalem Sakık's elderly brother, Muş deputy Sırrı Sakık, had been threatened earlier with death and an attempt on his life had been carried out.

HEP Kovancılar (Elazığ) District President Rodi Demirkapı was killed by unidentified persons who came to his house on 5 November night. In the event, Şurzan Demirkapı, son of Rodi Demirkapı, was severely wounded. Later, Şurhan Demirkapı died in the hospital he was being treated.

HEP İçel Provincial President Sedat Kalaba was detained by the police on 6 November. Sedat Kalaba, interrogated at Mersin Political Police Center for 24 hours, was released on 7 November evening. Sedat Kalaba who made a statement after his release, said that he had been beaten and subjected to electric shocks. In the meantime, Heybet Keskin, one of the 3 HEP members detained in Mersin on 31 October, was arrested while the other detainees Hülya Ayhan and Abidin Keskin were released. Hülya Ayhan, stated that they were tortured at Mersin Political Police Center and therefore one arm of Heybet Keskin was injured.

Police officers who attended a funeral ceremony arranged on 10 November in front of Diyarbakır Police Headquarters for police officers İhsan Sal and Ufuktan Akgüneş, killed on 9 November by PKK militants in Hani, started to march towards Dağkapı quarter shouting slogans following the funeral. During the march, some police officers opened fire into the air and around. In consequence of the fire, many bullets hit the building of HEP Diyarbakır Provincial Center.

18 deputies from HEP went on a hunger strike in Ankara on 11 November in protest of pressures on political parties and of inhuman attacks and applications in the Emergency State Region. The hunger strike ended on 19 November. HEP General President Ahmet Türk, who made a press meeting, said: "Our aim was to make the public aware of all violence and pressures in order to create a peaceful and sensitive atmosphere. We managed to give our message. The government should review its policy in the Southeast". In the meantime, Ankara SSC Prosecution Office launched a new investigation against 18 HEP deputies on the 6th day of the strike in connection with the statement made by the deputies just before starting the hunger strike. The investigation against the deputies accused of having attacked the unity of the country, ended on 24 November. As a result of the investigation, SSC Prosecution Office decided to launch a trial demanding death penalties for those 18 deputies. The prosecution office will apply to the National Assembly to lift the immunity of the deputies.

In the meantime, the inquiry initiated against HEP General President Ahmet Türk and HEP deputies Mahmut Alınak, Hatip Dicle, Mahmut Kılınc and Ali Yiğit because of the speeches they delivered at the HEP Congress, held in

Ankara in September, resulted in November. In consequence of the inquiry, it was decided to try Ahmet Türk and 4 HEP deputies under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. Therefore, Ankara SSC Prosecution Office applied to the National Assembly Presidency to lift the immunity of the deputies.

İdris Çelik (40), one of the leaders of HEP Antalya Provincial Organization, was killed by unidentified persons on 1 December morning in front of his house in Işıklar quarter of Antalya and Yusuf Solmaz, another HEP leader of the same organization, was shot dead by unknown persons in Güvenlik quarter of Antalya on 4 December. Yusuf Solmaz had been kept in police custody a while ago for "forcibly collecting donations for HEP".

HEP Muğla Provincial President Zülküf Atay and 5 board members of HEP Muğla Provincial Organization named Salih Hekimoğlu, Hüseyin Atay (HEP Fethiye District President), Mevlüt Tuğay, Halim Kaplan and Ali Atay whose houses were raided by the police in Fethiye district of Muğla on 9 December morning, were detained. Detainees Hüseyin Atay and Ali Atay were arrested.

9 of 16 persons detained at the end of November in Yüksekova district of Hakkari for helping and harbouring PKK militants, were arrested. The arrested persons said that they were forced to sign statements against İHD and HEP.

As a result of operations started in Milas and Yatağan districts of Muğla on 28 December, about 30 persons, including members of HEP and of the Worker's Party, were detained. Also, HEP Yatağan District President Mehmet Nuri Ermiş was kept in detention for a while.

Other Parties

Ankara SSC Prosecution Office launched a trial against Socialist Party General President Doğu Perinçek in January for his speeches and statements during the election campaign. In the indictment, a sentence of imprisonment ranging from 18 to 40 years is being demanded against Doğu Perinçek on allegations that he "made separatist propaganda" and that he "insulted the state, the government and the army". In the meantime, it was established that the SSC Prosecutor wanted Doğu Perinçek to be arrested because of the trial but that request was refused twice by the court.

A trial was launched against Doğu Perinçek, the President of the Socialist Party, because of his speech he made in a meeting arranged by his party on 6 October 1991 in Mersin. In the trial at Malatya SSC a sentence of up to 5 years' imprisonment was being demanded for Doğu Perinçek under Article 8 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism". The first hearing in the case against Doğu Perinçek on allegations of "making separatist propaganda" was held on 20 February.

Türker Akbayram, Sabiha Daşa, Süreyya Kıran, Mihriban Tatar and Mehmet Veli Yeşilbağ, who were distributing leaflets prepared by the Socialist Party regarding 8 March Women's Day, were detained on 7 March. The detainees were released 3 hours later. Many Socialist Party members, distributing leaflets prior to May Day, were detained.

The police did allow a group of people to march after a meeting organized by the Socialist Party on 6 April in Mersin. In the clash which arose upon the

insistence of the demonstrators on marching, 25 persons including 9 police officers, were injured and 91 persons were detained.

A panel named "Newroz Events and the Kurdish Problem" which was arranged by the Socialist Party in İzmir on 18 April, was cancelled because of searches, pressures and threats of the police. In a statement made by the Socialist Party İzmir Provincial Organization related to the event, the pressures which caused the cancellation of the meeting were condemned.

10 leaders and members of the Worker's Party, founded to replace the Socialist Party closed by the Constitutional Court, were detained in Ankara while distributing leaflets prepared in connection with the strike of municipality workers. 10 persons detained on 5 August were released one hour later. Among the detainees were Secretary General of the Worker's Party, Hasan Yalçın, Deputy Secretary General Yalçın Büyükdaglı, and Ankara Provincial President Nusret Senem.

Ankara Public Prosecution Office launched a trial in September against the Worker's Party (İP) President Doğu Perinçek for having insulted the Constitutional Court. The trial against Doğu Perinçek, was launched in connection with a speech he made upon the closure of the Socialist Party and which criticized the Constitutional Court. Doğu Perinçek, tried at Ankara Criminal Court No. 2 with a demand of sentence of up to 5 years in prison under Article 159 of the Turkish Penal Code, was acquitted on 28 December.

The Worker's Party Cizre District President Resul Sakar (45) was kidnapped by masked persons who raided his house on 1 November night and was killed. The Worker's Party General President Doğu Perinçek, reminding that Resul Sakar had been taken from his house by a group of 20 persons and then killed, said: "This is the first time that a group of 20 persons committed a political murder without any camouflage. Resul Sakar was taken into an armoured vehicle after being taken from his house. In Turkey, there is not any organizations except the ones bound to the state, that has armoured vehicles. Our friend was killed by dark forces within the state, which is widely known as contr-guerilla".

The hanging up of posters which were prepared on Cyprus by the Socialist Union Party (SBP) İstanbul Provincial Organization was not permitted by the governorate in July. Slogans on the banned posters read "Independent Federal Cyprus Purified from Soldiers", "The People of Cyprus Want Peace".

Posters prepared by the Socialist Union Party in connection with the 12th anniversary of the 12 September coup were not permitted to be put up by İstanbul Governorate. The slogan on the prohibited posters read "Those who carried out the 12 September coup must be tried."

Ankara Police Headquarters sent a notification to PTT General Directorate and demanded that publications posted from abroad to the SBP should not be delivered without their control. Upon the demand of the Police Headquarters, PTT started not to deliver books or similar publications to the SBP without informing the police. The practice became clear when a party officer who went to PTT to get a package from France, was told "We were ordered not to deliver these kind of things before having them controlled by the police". SBP

General President Sadun Eren, reacting against the practice, said that this was restriction and censorship on freedom of communication.

The distribution of leaflets which were jointly prepared by the Socialist Union Party and the Greens Party in May, and which opposed the construction of a 6-line road planned for the coastal region of Karşıyaka quarter, was not allowed. The meeting named "Environmental Rights" which the Greens Party wanted to arrange in İzmir on 5 June in connection with the World Environment Day, was not allowed by İzmir Governorate. It was reported that the meeting was banned because of "the 3rd Economics Congress" continuing in İzmir.

The reason for 22 July 1990 dated Constitutional Court decision related with TBKP's (Turkish United Communist Party's) being closed, was published in the Official Gazette on 28 January 1992. With this announcement in the Official Gazette, the closing decision came into force. In the decision, it was stated that TBKP was closed as it used "communist" word in its name and made separatist propaganda which are both contrary to the laws. The leaders of TBKP applied to the European Human Rights Commission because of the closing decision given by the Constitutional Court. In the application made by Nihat Sargin and Haydar Kutlu on behalf of the TBKP it was stated that the decision for TBKP's being closed is in contravention to the "European Convention on Human Rights".

A passport was not given to 91-year old Mehmet Bozışık, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Turkey (TKP) which dissolved itself some time ago. It was stated that Mehmet Bozışık whose illness was diagnosed as "skin cancer" wanted to go to abroad for medical treatment. Mehmet Bozışık said that he could not obtain a passport due to the limitations put by the Ministry of Interior because of the trials launched against him for "his political activities".

In Hekimhan district of Malatya, veterinarian Kaya Ünsalan against whom a trial had been launched as he had put up anti-war posters prepared by the Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) during the Gulf War, was sentenced to 20 months' imprisonment and a fine of TL 120.000 (appr. \$ 20). The sentence given for Kaya Ünsalan, SHP Hekimhan District President at that time, was ratified by the Court of Appeals at the beginning of September. Kaya Ünsalan who was put in prison on 26 September 1992 will benefit from conditional release and stay in prison for 4 months.

A group of PKK militants who blockaded the road between Savur and Mardin on 19 September, executed the Social Democratic Populist Party Savur District President Nizamettin Açı and his friends named Hüseyin Gündoğdu and Mahmut Yüksel by shooting. It was reported that Nizamettin Açı and other two persons had been threatened before, as "they had undertaken construction of a gendarmerie station in the region".

Public Prosecution Chief Office launched a trial at the Constitutional Court with demand of closure of the Greens Party on the last days of the year. The closure trial was launched on grounds that the Greens Party did not submit its financial account report for 1988 to the Constitutional Court, in spite of all warnings. In accordance with the Law on Political Parties, financial accounts of the parties are inspected every year by the Constitutional Court.

Pressures Against Mayors

Hüseyin Aslan, who was the independent candidate in Narlıbahçe district of İzmir for the mayoralty elections held on 1 November, was detained on 21 October by the police officers who raided his election office. During the raid some propaganda materials in the office were seized, Hüseyin Aslan was arrested on allegations of making separatist propaganda via the posters he made printed, by İzmir SSC where he was sent to on 22 October morning. Furthermore, his propaganda brochures prepared for the election were confiscated by İzmir SSC under the "Law to Fight Terrorism". Hüseyin Aslan was sentenced to 18 months in prison and a fine of TL 83.333.000 (Appr. \$ 12.000) at the end of the trial launched against him in connection with the speeches he made during the election campaign. Hüseyin Aslan was released after the court decision disclosed on 16 December.

Altınova (Muş) Mayor Mustafa Baki Duygu detained by the special team members who raided his house on 13 November, was arrested on 20 November and sent to Muş Prison.

Silopi (Şırnak) Mayor Levent Tayşun detained on 10 November, was arrested on 11 December on charges of "helping and sheltering PKK militants". Levent Tayşun, in the statement he made in the prison to where he was sent after his arrest, said that he had been heavily tortured in detention. Certain newspapers had published various articles within the last two years claiming that Levent Tayşun was one the most important supporters of the PKK in the region.

Beytüşşebap (Şırnak) Mayor Mustafa Dursun was detained in the evening of 10 December. It was reported that along with Mustafa Dursun, Beytüşşebap Primary Education Director Ahmet Dursun and Population Director Hakkı Turgut were detained. The detainees were sent to Şırnak in order to be interrogated. The justification for the detention of Mustafa Dursun and his friends could not be established.

İhsan Çelik, the Mayor of Patnos district of Ağrı, was removed from his post by the Ministry of Interior on charges of "helping and sheltering PKK militants". A trial had been launched by Kayseri SSC against 23 persons including İhsan Çelik because of the similar charges.

Meanwhile, a group of PKK militants who blocked the road between Siirt and Diyarbakır on 14 September, murdered Şırvan (Siirt) Mayor Münif Şerafettinoğlu and Adil Kaplan together with him.

Diyarbakır Mayor Turgut Atalay was severely wounded as a result of an armed and bomb attack he sustained on 12 November in front of his house in Diyarbakır. The PKK took responsibility for the attack. In the attack, Turgut Atalay's police guard Orhan Karadağ died and his office driver Mehmet Bayer was wounded.

A group of PKK militants who blocked the road between Lice district of Diyarbakır and Bingöl on 8 December, executed Malazgirt (Muş) Mayor Ali Kemal Türker (45) and a civil servant named Halis Balı who were in a bus stopped. In the event, also 3 persons including one soldier were murdered.

LABOUR LIFE

a)- Worker's rights and trade unions

Expectations about the syndical rights and labour life frustrated, and promises on this matter were not kept in 1992. In accordance with the Government's Program, the Ministry of Labour started the preparations on the first days of the year to amend the legal arrangement put into force by 12 September regime about workers' rights and syndical freedoms. However, these studies were not completed. The only things performed were statements like that "the studies will be completed soon and sent to the National Assembly for debate".

In the meantime, 7 separate ILO (International Labour Organization) conventions were debated at the National Assembly and adopted in November. 6 of the adopted conventions (No 59, 87, 135, 142, 144 and 151) were approved by President Turgut Özal and came into force. President Turgut Özal vetoed the 7th and the most important convention which is numbered 158. The vetoed convention foresees precautions for arbitrary dismissals, and provisions which make it harder to dismiss workers and give them the right to apply to the Court of Appeals. Although the conventions were adopted, the necessary amendments could not be applied in practice.

While the legal and constitutional changes which should be done were delaying, negative applications were frequently witnessed in labour life. Dismissals continued throughout the year. The most intensive dismissal cases were experienced in textile and metal sectors. The number of the workers dismissed from their jobs reached ten thousands. The workers responded to dismissals with resistance and various activities. Furthermore, strikes were intervened. Workers and trade unionists were harassed, beaten, detained, arrested and tried.

Workers, working in the factories, workshops etc. without healthy conditions and security of work, often confronted with industrial accidents. Lots of workers died or became crippled. The most distressing incident took place in İhsaniye and İncirharmanı coal mines in Kozlu, Zonguldak. In the firedamp

explosion on the night of 3 March, 270 miners died and 126 were injured. Corpses of 122 of the dead miners were taken out of the coal pits while 148 corpses were left under the ground. With the aim of extinguishing the fire, pits where the explosion occurred, were covered with soil. Fire in the pits lasted for a long time. When the fire blew out in September, the pits were re-opened and some of the remaining corpses were taken out. It was reported that methane leakage which caused the explosion had been determined 25 minutes before the event, but the pits had not been evacuated as no alarm was given.

The report prepared as a result of the research made by an İHD commission sent to Zonguldak after the event said: "This grave sample shows us that working life in Turkey has great problems. Workers' health and security are part of the right to life. Any negligence in this subject may cause a murder. This disaster is an output of a mentality that everything is for the state and production must be carried out under every condition. The cost of using the right to work should not be death. We wish that his event would teach a lesson".

Inspector report prepared in connection with the grizu explosion which resulted in the deaths of 270 mine workers, was submitted to the Public Prosecution Office in May. In the report, which stressed that defects were not removed in spite of previous warnings, it was stated that directors of the coal mine administration had many faults in the incident which occurred as a result of a grizu explosion. It was also reported that in the evening when the incident occurred, there was only one uneducated person, in stead of two educated persons, in the head of early warning system. If the defects indicated in the report are approved by the court, directors of coal mine administration will be sentenced only to a monetary fine.

Another grieving incident occurred in August. In an explosion which occurred in the restaurant of a textiles factory which is 20-km away from Çorlu district of Tekirdağ, 32 workers died and 86 workers, 21 of them seriously, were wounded. It was established that the explosion had occurred because of methane exuding in the water depot under the restaurant. Keeping the water depot uncontrolled which is under the restaurant, though geographic condition of the land is known, showed us that necessary measures were not taken and the human life was ignored.

The General Assembly of the Revolutionary Labour Unions' Confederation (DİSK) was held on 18 January in İstanbul after 12 years. In the General Assembly, DİSK leaders were determined. As a result of the elections, Kemal Nebioğlu was elected as General Director, Süleyman Çelebi as Secretary General. Ömer Çiftçi, İsmail Halkı Önal, Kemal Daysal, Ali Rıza Güven and Hulusi Karlı were selected as members of the Council of Directors. DİSK, closed after the 12 September Military Coup, was re-opened by Military Supreme Court in June 1991 when the Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code was lifted. However, DİSK's properties and money had been transferred to the treasury. This arrangement was abolished with the Constitutional Court's decision in 1992. With the decision disclosed on 31 March, temporary Article 9 of the "Law to Fight Terrorism" which transferred the property of DİSK to the Treasury, was annulled. As a result of the decision, DİSK regained its property. DİSK accelerated its work and gradually took its place in syndical struggle.

Some of the events and development from the view of labour life, worker's rights and trade unions are as follows:

About 600 workers from a transportation company called "Yurtiçi Kargo" were dismissed from their jobs in December 1991 because of their syndical activities. Then, a resistance was started by the workers all over Turkey at the beginning of January. Resisting workers faced intensive pressure of the police. During the first days of the resistance, 38 of the workers were detained in İstanbul. Yurdal Şenol who is the Secretary General of TÜMTİS (Turkey Motorized Vehicles Workers' Trade Union), of which the resisting workers are members, was among the detainees. A group 100 people who made a demonstration on 3 February in İstanbul with the aim of supporting the workers, were dispersed by the police force. In the event, 10 persons were detained. Tents, set up in İstanbul by the workers, were taken down by the police on 19 January. Some of the workers who tried to prevent the policemen were detained under beating. Later, the Headquarters of TÜMTİS was surrounded, and Sabri Topçu, Chief President of TÜMTİS, Yurdal Şenol, Secretary General of TÜMTİS, Güven Feyzioglu, Fatma Atanur Feyzioglu, lawyers of the union, and trade unionist Ali Gündoğdu were detained. In the meantime, 30 of the workers who went on strike in Adana branch of the company were detained on 20 February, but released on the same day.

The workers on resistance made a protest demonstration in İstanbul on 24 February. The workers who held a press meeting and then sent a telegram to the Ministry of Labour by going to Sirkeci Post Office were stopped by the police in front of İstanbul Governorate. 15 persons, including Ali Küçükosmanoğlu, İstanbul branch secretary of TÜMTİS, were detained under beatings. Demonstration of the workers in front of the said company's centre in Altunizade quarter of İstanbul was prevented by the police. In the incident which occurred on 2 March at noon, 11 of the beaten workers were injured. In the meantime, about 60 workers, including trade union leaders, were detained.

In İzmir "The Solidarity Night Entertainment" which was to be held on 15 February by the workers on resistance, was not permitted. In the meantime, 4 persons who hang posters for the entertainment night of cargo workers in İzmir, were detained by the police on 13 February. Tents set up by the workers in Bornova quarter of İzmir, were taken down by the police and gendarmes on 28 February morning at about 6.00am. 11 workers were detained after the tents were taken down. The detainees were arrested by İzmir Criminal Court No.2. Mustafa Odabaş and Mehmet Özkan who were among the arrested workers, were examined in hospital, and scratches on their bodies and bruises on their feet and necks were determined. On the other hand, the workers who attempted to re-pitch the tents in the evening of on 3 March were prevented by the police and 46 workers were detained.

Municipality workers who started to march from İzmir to Ankara on 8 January on allegations that they had been unjustly dismissed from their jobs, were sent back, upon the government's statement that "All their rights were guaranteed". The workers, who waited near Ankara, were put on buses and sent back to İzmir by the police on 3 February morning. In the meantime, the wor-

kers who resisted not to go back and some people who came from Ankara in order to support the workers, were beaten by police officers and soldiers. In this event which occurred near Polatlı, 2 workers were injured.

Some of the 450 workers, dismissed on 19 December 1991 from their jobs at Toros Fertilizer Factory functioning in Ceyhan district of Adana as they had syndicalized, started a resistance action by setting up a tent in front of the factory. This resistance continued for a long time. While the resistance was lasting, the workers went to Ankara on 13 April and started a hunger strike. Pointing out that they would turn the hunger strike into a death fast if they would not be employed, the workers said that the government avoided to make any attempts to solve their problems. Meanwhile, the tent set up by the workers was taken down in the night of 12 April by gendarmes. During the event, 3 workers named Şakir Gündüz, Ali Gündüz and Fahrettin Abul were detained. The detained workers were released on 13 April.

In 1992, the 1 May Worker's Festival was celebrated in a tense atmosphere as in the previous years. The difference of this year's May Day from the others during last 5 years, was positive replies given to the applications made with purpose of organizing meetings. On 1 May, authorized meetings were held in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, İzmit and Mersin. More than 5,000 people attended the May Day meeting organized in İstanbul by the Socialist Party and supported by various trade unions. A group of people who wanted to march after the meeting were dispersed by the police. On the other hand, following the unauthorized demonstrations arranged in Fındıkzade, Çarşıkapı and Mühürdar quarters of İstanbul, a total of 34 persons were detained. Workers from certain municipalities of İstanbul and leather factories in Kazlıçeşme did not start working on 1 May. The meeting in Ankara was attended by about 4,000 people. A demonstration made by a group of about 500 persons in Hipodrum Square of Ankara in order to celebrate May Day was intervened by the police. The police dispersed the crowd by force and detained 66 persons.

In İzmir, 1 May Meeting arranged by some trade unions was held in Balık Hali Square. More than 3000 people participated in the meeting. After the meeting which passed without any events, a group which wanted to march was prevented by the police. 33 people were detained under beatings by the police. While some people were injured, 4 people fell into the sea. In Diyarbakır, a crowd of people, who made an unauthorized demonstration, threw explosives into a police vehicle and some shops. On the other hand, 1 May Meetings held in İzmit and Mersin, ended without any events.

Three important worker confederations (Türk-İş, DİSK and Hak-İş) preferred to hold a joint closed hall meeting because of 1 May Worker's Day in Ankara. In the meeting General President of DİSK Kemal Nebioğlu, General President of Türk-İş Şevket Yılmaz, General President of Hak-İş Necati Çelik and Erdal İnönü, General President of the Social Democratic Populist Party, delivered speeches. At the end of the meeting, a declaration prepared by those 3 worker confederations was read. Since the meeting hall was not big enough, only trade union leaders were able to participate in the meeting.

The strike launched on 26 May by agricultural workers working at state farms and similar works, was prohibited for 60 days by the Board of Ministers on the 4th day of the strike. The prohibition was ordered on grounds that the strike started to threaten the health of the society. The prohibition decision entered into force on 1 June.

About 10,000 workers at the municipalities of Ankara demonstrated on 8 June in protest of the failure in collective bargain negotiations. The workers who gathered in Hipodrum Square at the evening hours started to march, shouting slogans condemning the mayors and leaders of their unions. The march which ended in Ulus Square, was attempted to be prevented by the police. 20 of the workers who passed over the police barricade, were slightly injured in the arising clashes. On the same day, about 30,000 municipality workers did not start working in Istanbul. The workers who gathered in front of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality protested at the failure in collective bargain negotiations. The protest demonstration, in which the police did not intervene, ended without any events. In İzmir, 45 of the workers who demonstrated in protest of dismissals of 47 workers from sale shops of the municipality, were detained by the police. The 45 workers were released by the court they were brought before on 9 June to be tried without arrest.

The trial launched against Türk-İş managers and presidents of trade unions, bound to this confederation, in connection with the one-day strike held on 3 January 1991, started on 8 July 1992. In the indictment read in the hearing at Ankara Criminal Court No.15, it was claimed that the trade unions' directors "acted in contravention to Law on Trade Unions by encouraging the workers for an illegal strike". In the indictment, sentences of between 3 to 6 months' imprisonment were demanded for the defendants. On the other hand, directors of the trade unions refused the claims and demanded their acquittals.

The police intervention in the march, to be made on 17 July by Kartal Municipality's workers resisting with a demand of re-employment of their 11 friends who had been dismissed from their jobs, caused events. The events turned into clashes when the workers responded with stones and curbs to the police who attempted to disperse the crowd by means of force. During the clashes, 13 people, including 5 police officers, were injured. Upon the fire opened into the air by the police officers, workers occupied a building of the municipality. The occupation ended upon the mediation of İstanbul deputies Ercan Karakaş and Algan Hacıoğlu. Nobody was detained in connection with the events.

About 40,000 workers at Ankara, İstanbul, Adana and Trabzon Municipalities went on strike starting from on the morning of 30 July when collective bargain negotiations failed. In the meantime, the workers dispensed with the strike, planned to be carried at Eskişehir Municipality, upon the agreement between the trade union and the municipality authorities on 29 July. On the other hand, in İzmir, the workers did not go on strike because most of the workers were opposed to the strike in a voting. Owing to the strike, many municipality services such as scavenging services stopped. Thus life in those cities were negatively affected. In addition, 1,560 workers at Konak Municipality of İzmir went on strike as of 4 August upon the failure in collective bargaining. The

strike at Adana Municipality ended on 4 August when the trade union and municipality agreed. With the signed collective contract, the wages increased by averagely 150 %.

The strike which started on 30 July by more than 35,000 workers at Ankara, İstanbul, Trabzon and İzmir Konak municipalities ended on 13 August morning upon the prohibition decision given by the Board of Ministers. Prohibition decision caused various reactions. Some of the workers at İstanbul Municipality did not start work on 13 August morning in spite of the decision. The prohibition was ordered on the grounds that "the strike is threatening the public health and may cause epidemics".

Mustafa Paçal and Agah Kafkas, leaders of Öz Gıda İş (Food Workers' Trade Union) were arrested when the union went on a strike in a factory in Çorlu because the workers wanted to be syndicalized. Mustafa Paçal and Agah Kafkas were released three days later upon the raised objections.

A trial was launched against 6 trade unionists who participated in "Workers' Congress" held by the Socialist Party in May in İstanbul and who delivered a speech there. Sentence of 6 months' imprisonment is being demanded for each unionist. DISK (Confederation of Turkish Revolutionary Workers' Unions) President Kemal Nebioğlu and Öz Çelik İş (Steel Workers' Trade Unions) President Metin Türker are among the defendants tried at İstanbul Criminal Court No.4. The unionists are being accused of "acting in contravention to the 'Law on Trade Unions' as they held a joint activity with the political parties". 'Law on Trade Unions' which was re-arranged after the 12 September Coup prevents trade unions from cooperating with political parties

The 16th General Assembly of Türk-İş began its works on 7 December. Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel and Labour Minister Mehmet Moğultay, who attended the congress and delivered a speech, were protested by the delegates. The delegates who criticized the government's approach on the workers' rights, intervened in the speech of PM Demirel by shouting slogans such as "We can not bear", "Damn the order of Demirel!", "The 500th day of the workers' enemy is completing". At the end of the congress which lasted for a week, Bayram Meral was elected as General President of Türk-İş.

Events arose when a caravan brought with the aim of getting warm by the workers who were on strike in a meat plant in Gebze, Kocaeli, was removed by gendarmes. The workers who gathered in front of the plant in order to prevent the gendarmes from removing the caravan, were attempted to be dispersed by force. Events spread when the workers announced that they would not disperse. During the events on 9 December 3 workers named Fikri Bıçak, Aziz Keleş and Habib Bıçak were injured.

About 3,000 workers working at petroleum refineries in Aliğa district of İzmir and in Yarımca district of İzmit started a protest action on 10 December when the collective bargain negotiations failed. The protest which continued in the manner of not leaving the factory, then turned into stopping the production when the police tanks and anti-riot forces entered the refineries on 14 December. The protest ended on the evening of 18 December evening when an agreement was achieved between the workers and employer.

b)- Civil servants' trade unions

1992 did not let civil servants have syndical rights which have been awaited for years. Whereas the promises that "the civil servants will be given syndical rights" took an important part of the government's program. These promises were mentioned in many statements of Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel and Deputy Prime Minister Erdal İnönü. Nevertheless, any progress could not be achieved on this matter. Even the circular of the Ministry of Interior which was published under the Motherland Party (ANAP) government in 1991 and which announced civil servants' unions as illegal was not lifted for a long time. In accordance with this circular, trade unions founded by civil servants and teachers were confronted with various administrative pressures and obstructions. The circular was able to be lifted by court decision.

The Council of State annulled the 28 February 1991 dated circular of the Ministry of Interior which bans the civil servants to found trade unions on 12 November. In the justification of the annulment, it was stated that the authority to determine the legal status of the civil servants' union was in hand of courts not in that of the Ministry of Interior. With the annulment of the circular claiming that civil servants' unions are illegal, an important step was taken towards the trade unions for the civil servants.

According to HRFT determinations, 39 branches of the civil servants' trade unions faced obstructions of governorates or their functions were banned. Besides, lots of their activities were not allowed. The persons who attended the activities arranged by civil servants' unions, were beaten and detained by the police. Şükran Ketenci, who is a journalist closely following the life of labour, summed up the pressures faced by civil servants' unions, in her column which took place in the 1 October 1992 dated issue of the daily newspaper Cumhuriyet. Her article entitled "**Attack on Civil Servants' Trade Unions**" is as follows:

"There are not any Constitutional or legal arrangements to secure the syndical rights of civil servants. There is not any prevention originating from 1982 Constitution, either. Plus, international conventions that Turkey had signed and is bound to obey, ensure syndical rights of the civil servants. During the inhibitory rule of 12 September regime, it had taken a long time to think of founding a trade union and being organized owing to the law provision no.657 which stipulates civil servants to take a permission in order to found an association. During the ANAP governments, civil servants trade unions were founded anyhow. As a nature of the goods, pressures by the government against the teachers and civil servants started. The Ministry of Interior published a circular which put forward that a trade union to be founded by public workers is not legal. Since founding a trade union is not subject to a permission but a notification, the governorates, in the name of government, could not close the founded unions directly. However, they launched trials with demand of closure, lodged official complaints with the prosecution offices and sealed trade union centers as an administrative disposal. Teachers and civil servants were exiled. Some of them were removed from their offices like the President of Eğitim-İş.

Nevertheless, syndicalization of public workers could not be stopped. The founded unions are defending more decisively and consciously that they have

legal rights to found a trade union, and are fighting for their rights. Many trials were launched as an implementation and prevention of the government. The justice brought up the legality of the trade unions as there is no inhibition originating from the Constitution or from the laws, and as it is a right to found a trade union. As a result, establishment and activities of the unions could not be hindered although they have grappled with the unions. In time, ANAP governments were tired of launching trials and grappling with the unions. Then, civil servants' unions became institutionalized and legalized.

The coalition government took over such a heritage. Though two wings of the coalition government were not able to agree on the limits of the rights of strike and collective bargain, they came to power with the agreement to ensure legal security and rights for the public workers. First of all Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel and all related ministers played the role of the supporters of organized public trade unions. They were often seen with the public unions' leaders and used this picture as a mean of propaganda. They announced to Turkish and foreign public opinion their promises that they would give syndical rights, and boasted themselves.

From now on, Turkey would not be the only outdated country which does not give syndical rights to public personnel although it has a democratic regime. Nevertheless, they neither made any changes to give syndical rights nor lifted ANAP government's circular which prevents trade unions from any actions. The delay was explained with the intensity of the program, and bright horizons for the future and plenty of promises were presented. Then a strange thing occurred. While Labour Minister Mehmet Moğultay was participating in the opening ceremonies of the trade unions, Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin gave a speech that the circular in question would not be able to be lifted within the present legal order. Then, new pressures began, which make one long for the forgotten implementations of the ANAP governments.

It is impossible to understand what the government wants to do. There must be something in the name of public conscience, mustn't it? There are lots of trade unions which have been functioning for years. The governments addressed them. Furthermore, the government promised to give wide syndical rights to them. But then, it did not lift the unlawful circular inherited from the former government. In addition, it began to apply various pressures on the unions. What a contradiction it is. The harm of this application is not only for the government but also for the public workers, their unions and Turkish democracy."

Following is some of the information gathered by HRFT about the one-year struggle of civil servants' trade unions, and difficulties and obstructions faced:

The meeting of "Call for Collective Agreement and the Right of Strike" which was intended to be jointly organized in İzmir on 18 January by the civil servants' trade unions was not permitted by the Governorate. In the decision sent to the Meeting Organization Committee, it was stated that the meeting was not permitted under Articles 6 and 7 of Law No. 657 on State Employees. Faysal Özçift, the President of the Meeting Organization Committee said: "Article 6 covers the loyalty of the clerks and Article 7 covers the neutrality of the clerks.

It is obvious that the aim of the meeting does not concern any of these articles. The intention is to hinder our natural rights". "The Friendship and Solidarity Night Entertainment" which was planned to be held in İzmir within January because of the foundation anniversary of Tüm-Sağlık-Sen (All Health Personnel's Trade Union) founded by the personnel working in hospitals, was prohibited. The ban was based on the claim that "public officers may not found a trade union".

The meeting for the "Right for Public Employees to Establish Trade Union" was held in Ankara on 15 February. During the meeting in which over 5,000 people participated, policemen tried to seize the banners carried by some demonstrators and this caused events. In the fight between the demonstrators and the police officers, 8 persons were lightly injured and 4 persons were detained. Ankara SSC Prosecution Office later initiated an enquiry against the Meeting Organization Committee on allegations that "during the meeting legal limitations were gone beyond and illegal demonstrations were carried out". In connection with the enquiry, members of the Meeting Organization Committee, Abdullah Aydın, Fatma Akalın, Çetin Yerlikaya, Zekai Tiryaki, Mustafa Aktaş and Ersin Türkmen testified.

In İzmir, the acquaintance meeting planned to be arranged by Buca representation of EĞİT-SEN (Education and Science Workers' Trade Union) on 13 March was banned by the governorate of the district.

İstanbul, Fatih Criminal Court No.2 rejected the trial which was launched by the İstanbul Governorate with the demand of "closure of EĞİT-SEN". The court showed as reason of the decision that "there is no reason to close EĞİT-SEN in accordance with the current regulations". With this decision, administrative limitations on the 1st Ordinary General Assembly of EĞİT-SEN were lifted.

The meeting on "Syndical Rights of Public Employees and Legal Arrangements" planned to be jointly carried out by trade unions founded by public employees in June, was banned by İstanbul Governorate. The meeting was reportedly banned as its subject was not found suitable.

The meeting arranged by civil servants' trade unions with demand of "having a trade union and right for strike and collective bargain" was made in Ankara on 20 June. About 4.000 people participated in the meeting. When the police attempted to intervene in certain groups carrying banners and shouting slogans, events occurred. During the events 10 persons were slightly injured.

About 60 leaders from 9 separate trade unions, founded by public officers started to march from İstanbul to Ankara on 16 June with demand of "right of trade union, strike and collective bargain". The meeting in İstanbul ended on 22 June in Ankara. Trade union leaders who arrived in Ankara together with civil servants coming from other provinces were stopped at the entrance of the city by the police. When the civil servants insisted on marching, the police wanted to disperse the crowd through beating with truncheons. During the event, some civil servants were injured. After this event, the civil servants came to the center and went to the building of the Ministry of Labour. During the noon hours, hundreds of civil servants working in Ankara started to gather in Zafer Square. Events occurred when the police attempted to disperse the civil servants who gathered in the square. In the events, some people were injured. Nose of a civil

servant named Ali İhsan Kapıkıran, and one arm of a teacher named Hüseyin Yüztügüzel were broken. The civil servants who gathered in Zafer Square later started to march towards the building of the Ministry of Labour and they met with the other civil servants waiting there. The crowd dispersed after they had a negotiation with the Minister of Labour Mehmet Moğultay and Minister of State Şerif Ercan. 30 people who were detained during the events were released later.

Ankara Governorate launched a trial at Ankara Criminal Court with a demand of closure of the trade union (Yağlı-Sen) which was founded by officers working in courts. Lawyers of the trade union who took floor in the first hearing of the trial held on 14 May said: "Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel stated that public officers would be allowed to found a trade union. Besides the Court of Appeals decided that the Constitution had no restriction with regard to this subject", and then they requested rejection of the trial.

Ordu branch of EĞİT-SEN was re-opened as a result of the annulment decision given by Trabzon Regional Administration Court. The branch of the trade union had been closed by the order of Ordu Governorate on the allegations that "laws do not permit civil servants to found a trade union".

About 6.000 people who are members of the trade unions founded by the personnel working at the state offices, made a demonstration march on 21 December in Ankara with a demand of syndical rights with collective bargain and strike. The civil servants who gathered at Zafer Square, started to march towards the Prime Ministry building while shouting slogans. Representatives of the civil servants who arrived at the Prime Ministry building after a 45-minute walk, met with Deputy Prime Minister Erdal İnönü. The police did not intervene in the march which ended without any events. On the other hand, Interior Minister İsmet Sezgin demanded that legal procedures should be launched for the ones who participated in the actions organized by the civil servants' trade unions. İsmet Sezgin who sent circulations to the governors of 76 provinces on 16 December ordered the followings: "Please take necessary measures in order not to let the trade union member civil servants within the border of your province leave their offices with or without permission. Launch a legal procedure for the ones applying to illegal ways and inform the authorities about their cases". Later, an investigation was launched for acting in contravention to the Law on Meeting and Demonstration by Ankara Public Prosecution Office. Because of the investigation, 16 trade union leaders testified at the prosecution office.

It has been revealed that the system used in France by 1960's was taken as model for studies of the Civil Servants' Draft Law conducted by the Ministry of Labour. In accordance with his system, civil servants' trade unions which do not have any rights of collective bargain or strike, are only consulted about the wage increases and other rights, and the final decision depends on the political power. The draft being prepared taking into account of the similarity of the public administration and state personnel regimes between Turkey and France, proposes civil servants' unions to be presented by a "Higher Civil Servants' Council" and "Common Technical Committee". With the draft, the functions which may be carried out even by means of an association, will be loaded on the civil servants' trade unions.

DEATH PENALTIES

Any significant progress could not be realized regarding the death penalty in 1992. As is known, "Law to Fight Terrorism" which came into force on 12 April 1991 foresees not to execute death penalty decisions given for the crime committed by that time or to be committed. This application secured a temporary comfort on the matter of death penalty which has been on the agenda of Turkey for years. However, the presence of the criminal articles of laws which foresee death penalty is still a threat.

The coalition government did not make any preparations to lift the threat caused by death penalty in 1992. Even the draft which was prepared by the Ministry of Justice and which foresees certain amendments to the "Law on Execution of Sentences" maintains death penalty exactly in the same manner. In the draft, the single modification for the death penalty is brought for the pregnant woman sentenced to death. The present provision that "The pregnant women shall not be executed before they give a birth", is turned into that "The death execution shall not be committed unless 6 months pass after the pregnant women give a birth". In spite of the anti-death penalty statements by the SHP wing of the coalition government, trials with a demand of death penalty were launched. Death penalty threat was used even for deputies (Detailed information is available on the section entitled "Political Parties").

The trial launched against 9 people on charges of "being members of PKK and having participated in certain armed attacks in Mersin" started on 13 February. In the hearing at Malatya SSC, death penalty was requested for defendants Hasan Çimen, Mehmet Sait Can, Derviş Orhan, Mahmut Bakraç and Ramazan Özen and imprisonment sentences ranging from 3 to 15 years were demanded for the other 4 defendants.

Out of the 23 persons against whom a trial was launched by İstanbul State Security Court (SSC) because of the store burning action which occurred on 25 December 1991 in Bakırköy district of İstanbul and resulted in the deaths of 12 persons, 8 were demanded to be sentenced to death penalty while the remaining

15 were demanded to be sentenced to be imprisoned for no less than 20 years. Names of the 8 defendants under the threat of death penalty are Çetin Arkadaş, Hüseyin Bilge, Nevzat Güngör, Soner Önder, Urfan Keban, Çelik Topçu, Lütfü Yavuz and Cemgil Öz. The trial in question started on 11 March at İstanbul SSC. The defendants interrogated at the hearing pleaded not guilty and stated that they had been tortured during the interrogation by the police. On the other hand, relatives of those who died in the event, demanded "the owner of the store to be tried along with the defendants as he kept the fire escape locked".

Kasım Kahraman, Selahattin Tokmak, Ebu Talip Eren and Enver Keklik who were tried at Erzincan SSC on charges that "they had killed two soldiers by attacking Malazgirt prison in Muş province and participated in certain activities on behalf of the PKK", were sentenced to death. The death penalties given in the trial will not be carried out, even if the Appeal Court confirms them.

The trial launched against 25 persons, 15 of them under arrest, on allegations of "acting on behalf of the PKK and participating in certain armed actions in İzmir" started on 25 February at İzmir SSC. The indictment read in the hearing requested death penalty for defendant Kasım Karataş and sentences of between 5 to 15 years' imprisonment were demanded for the other 24 defendants.

Syrian Muhammed İsa Şahin who was tried at Erzincan SSC on charges of "participating in certain armed attacks in the name of the PKK" was sentenced to death on 10 March under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The trial launched against 3 persons, two of them arrested and the other arrested by default, on allegations of "having killed 3 people and attempted to kill another person in Bursa", started on 17 March at Bursa Criminal Court No.2. In the indictment read in the hearing, death penalty was demanded for arrested defendants Abdullah Papağan, Şakir Mehmet Topkan and for Ahmet Caz arrested by default under Article 450 of the Turkish Penal Code.

The case launched against Fevzi Tekindağ on grounds that "he had killed Niyazi Yıldızhan and Ali Kurtgöz, who had been working in a jeweler's shop in Çemberlitaş quarter of İstanbul, in order to steal gold in January", started on 3 April. In the first hearing of the trial at İstanbul Criminal Court No. 7, death penalty was demanded for Fevzi Tekindağ. However, Fevzi Tekindağ pleaded not guilty and stated that he had testified under torture.

The trial launched with the demand of death penalty against the youths named Mevlüt Ayar and Bülent Duran on allegations of "killing salesman Selahattin Dikenler in İstanbul in April" started on 10 June. In the first hearing of the trial held at Beyoğlu Criminal Court, the youths said that they were not involved in the event and their testimonies were taken through torture at the police station.

A trial was launched against Ali Rıza Kurt, Tevfik Durdemir and Ali Teke who were arrested in connection with the armed attack on a vehicle carrying the officers of the Police Academy in Bornova quarter of İzmir on 9 April. Under the Article 146 of the Turkish Penal Code, death penalty was demanded for those 3 defendants whose trial will start on 18 June at İzmir SSC.

A trial was launched by Malatya SSC against 7 of 12 persons who were detained during the operations carried out by the police in Adana in July on charges of having participated in various armed attacks. In the indictment, death penalty was demanded for Hayat Orak (16) and Faysal Esen under Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. On the other hand, sentences of between 3 to 15 years' imprisonment are being demanded for the other 5 defendants.

A trial was launched with the demand of death penalty against Murat Gül (18) who was detained after the armed attack which was carried out by "Devrimci Sol" organization on 2 May 1992 in Şişli quarter of İstanbul and resulted in death of 5 policemen. In the trial which started on 3 August at İstanbul SSC, Murat Gül pleaded not guilty and stated that he was tortured in detention. Then he submitted a medical report documenting the torture he was subjected to. Murat Gül said: "On that day, I was looking for a job in the quarter where the event occurred. Upon suspicion I was detained. In detention, I was urged to assume the responsibility of certain activities which I had not carried out. I was exposed to every kind of physical torture. I did not accept the accusations".

A trial was launched with demand of death penalty against 12 persons who were arrested in Adana on charges of "being PKK members and having killed farmer Arıkan Arıkoğlu (54)". The trial started on 9 September at Adana Criminal Court No.2. The names of the persons on trial are as follows: "Hacı Şanlı, Nevzat Kaldıran, Ramazan Kaya, Mustafa Oruç, İsmail Çağlar, Ömer Çağlar, Abbas Güven, Sait Özer, Cumali Gizligil, Müslüm Özer, Mehmet Özer and Şehmuz Demir". The defendants who testified in the first hearing said: "We were accused because of a scenario prepared by gendarmes. We accepted the accusations under torture".

A trial was launched with demand of death penalty against Mehmet Hakan Canpolat and Adem Kepeneklioğlu detained in August for being members of the illegal TİKB (Turkish Revolutionary Communists Union) organization and having participated in certain armed activities. The trial in question started at İstanbul SSC in November.

The trial launched against 35 persons in connection with the events in Şırnak during Newroz Feast, started on 15 October. In the indictment read in the trial at Diyarbakır SSC, death penalty was demanded for 16 of the defendants while imprisonment sentences varying from 5 to 15 years were sought for the remaining 19. The names of the 16 defendants against whom death penalty was demanded are as follows: "Şehbaz Sümbül, Leşker Acar, Lokman Külter, Bahattin Külter, Mehmet Hazar, Mehmet Yimez, Faysal Osal, İskan Osal, Zana Osal, Ali Sapmaz, Şemdin Ertaş, Emin Külter, Sait Uysal, Abdülmenaf Tekme, Halil Katar and Abdullah Yimez".

The trial of Yasemin Okuyucu and Metin Dikme who are accused of being members of the Devrimci Sol organization and having participated in 12 separate armed activities, started on 23 October at İstanbul SSC. In the indictment read in the hearing, the youths were demanded to be sentenced to death penalty. On the other hand, the defendants interrogated in the hearing pleaded not guilty and said: "During the 15-day period that we were kept in detention, we were heavily tortured. Because of the torture, we had to sign the testimonies the po-

lice had prepared". Later, the defendants presented the medical reports certifying the scars and traces which occurred on their bodies due to the torture inflicted on them.

The trial launched against 23 persons, all of whom are arrested in connection with the Şırnak events in August, started on 27 October at Diyarbakır SSC. At the trial, death penalty was sought for 22 of 23 defendants under the Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Code. The names of the defendants for whom death penalty was demanded, are as follows: "Salih Adıgüzel, Mehmet Salah Sıdar, Osman Kaya, Süleyman İrtegin, Mehmet Zeyrek, Mehmet Zeyrek Hasan Bayık, Şükrü Belge, Salih Zeyrek, Reşit Zeyrek, Mahmut Zeyrek, Ahmet İbre, Ahmet İrtegin, Şükrü Deniz, Mirve Zeyrek, Ömer İrtegin, Şevket İrtegin Şefik İrtegin, Esat Demir, Emin Demir and Kemal İrtegin". The defendants interrogated in the hearing stated that they had testified under torture at the security headquarters and pleaded not guilty. At the end of the hearing, all the defendants for whom death penalty was demanded were released to be tried without arrest except Şeref Zeyrek.

A trial was launched with demand of death penalty against Selma Üren, Mustafa Türk and İslam Vanlı who were arrested on grounds that they had killed "Osman Üren" in İstanbul. The trial of those defendants for whom death penalty was demanded on accusation of "having killed a man intentionally" and in accordance with the Article 450 of the "Turkish Penal Code", started at İstanbul Bakırköy Criminal Court No.1 in November.

A trial was launched against 26 persons who had been arrested in İstanbul on charges of being PKK members and having participated in certain armed attacks. The indictment prepared by İstanbul SSC's Prosecution Office sought death penalty for defendants Osman Tim, Mehmet Bahri Kurt and Enver Elbat while demanding various imprisonment sentences for the remaining 23 defendants. Osman Tim, one of the defendants, was killed in Bayrampaşa Prison where he was under arrest, by Sadrettin Aydınlık, a defendant of another PKK trial, for betraying the organization.

The trial launched against 12 persons, 8 of whom are under arrest, on charges of being members of the Devrimci Sol organization and having participated in certain armed attacks in İstanbul, started at İstanbul SSC on 28 December. The indictment read at the hearing, sought death penalty for Mete Niyazi Altınay, Niyazi Çelik and Ali Fadıl Celepsoy in accordance with the Article 146/1 of the Turkish Penal Code and demanded various terms of imprisonment sentences for the remaining 9 defendants.

UNIVERSITIES and YÖK

Disorder in the universities and YÖK (Higher Education Council) system continued throughout the year. The government program had stated that after necessary changes on the Constitutional Court, YÖK would be lifted and that universities would be administered by means of professors elected by the universities. On the other hand, coalition protocol had said that a temporary legal arrangement would be made in direction with the thoughts of university pro-

fessors, until the required amendments were made on the Constitution. First of those promises was not put on the agenda, and the second promise was legalized in an undesired manner. The draft law regarding the rectorate elections which was brought to the agenda of the National Assembly by the government, was mostly changed as deputies from the True Path Party collaborated with the deputies of the opposition parties. The draft was legalized in a manner which rarely affects the authority of the President and YÖK President about rectorate elections.

President Turgut Özal, ignoring the opposition of the government, reappointed İhsan Dođramacı to the YÖK Presidency in January. However, surprisingly, İhsan Dođramacı resigned after a while, and Mehmet Sağlam became the President of YÖK. Resign of İhsan Dođramacı did not lead to any significant changes. Although Minister of National Education Köksal Toptan announced several times that they were conducting studies on YÖK Law and that they would make public the draft of this issue, he did not make any statements on the dates he had earlier given. The draft in question was not put on the agenda of the Assembly by the end of the year. All events witnessed in 1992 show that problems in universities would continue and the process of lifting the YÖK will remain in a deadlock 1993 too.

Along with the negative aspects of YÖK system, students were detained and tortured. Universities and students were kept under police or gendarmerie surveillance. Clashes and quarrels between the students from opposite opinions started.

8 of the 100 students detained from Diyarbakır Dicle University at which lectures were boycotted at the end of December 1991, were arrested by Diyarbakır State Security Court (SSC) on 3 January.

78 of the students who marched on 13 January in Beytepe Campus of Hacettepe University in protest of the price increase for bus tickets were detained by gendarmes. 75 of the detained students were released after their first testimonies, but the remaining 3 students were released after being interrogated for a while.

The demonstration to be held in front of the Ministry of Education building in Ankara by about 100 university students in protest of the reappointment of İhsan Dođramacı to the Presidency of High Education Board (YÖK) was prevented by the police. During the event, about 50 students were detained under beatings. 6 of the students who on 25 January went to the True Path Party's Provincial Center with demand of release for their friends, were detained.

7 university students were detained in İzmir as a result of operations started by the political police during the last days of January on allegations that they organized the youths on behalf of "Devrimci Sol". Later, 6 of the detainees were arrested by İzmir SSC. After a search made by the police at Vocational High School in Siirt on 30 January, 4 students were detained and then 3 of them were arrested.

A clash arose between the right and left-wing students at İstanbul University at noon hours on 2 March. During the clash, 6 students were injured and more than 10 students were detained.

The canteen of Buca Faculty of Education of Dokuz Eylül University was raided by a group of 30-40 right-wing students on 5 March. In the clash which occurred when left-wing students intervened in right-wing students tearing down the posters from the wall, 3 people were injured. At the Faculty of Linguistics and History-Geography of Ankara University, left-wing students who wanted to hold a forum in protest at the coal mine disaster in Zonguldak and right-wing students who had gathered to protest the events in Karabakh clashed. As a result of the clashes which started when right-wing students tried to prevent left-wing students from holding the forum in the canteen, more than 10 students were injured.

The Rectorate Building of İstanbul Boğaziçi University was occupied on 9 March at noon by a group of students in protest of grizu explosion in Zonguldak on 3 March. The occupation was ended by police force on 11 March and 27 occupants were detained. Some of the students, Tansel Doğuel, Özkan Ateş, İsmail Hakkı Yaman and Murat Bostan, beaten by the police while evacuating the building, were injured. A trial was launched by İstanbul SSC against the 27 students arrested later. Those 27 students were released in the hearing held on 3 July.

A clash arose between right and left-wing students at Göztepe Campus of Marmara University on 17 March. In the clash, during which right-wing students used guns, a left-wing student named Ecevit Öztürk was shot and wounded in his leg.

A clash arose in the Middle East Technical University when gendarmes intervened in the march arranged on 27 March in protest of attacks of Islamic students. In the clash, Colonel Şentürk Kılıç, the Commander of Ankara Gendarmerie Troop, was lightly injured to his head by a stone. After the incident, 16 students were detained. On the same day, a clash broke out between two religious groups, Iran followers and oppositionals at the Faculty of Literature of İstanbul University. As a result of the clash student Sait Bakkal was shot and wounded to his stomach. On the other hand, 3 of students making a demonstration in the Faculty of Science of Ankara University in protest of Newroz events, were detained by the police.

Students who attempted to bring to Ankara around 3 thousand signatures against the presence of police in the university buildings were prevented by police on 15 April. 22 of the students who started to walk to Ankara with the signatures from Harem in İstanbul were taken under detention there.

93 of the students who arranged a meeting for commemoration of Şirin Tekin who was killed on 3 May 1988 by right-wing students at 100. Yıl University in Van, were detained. 11 of the detained students were arrested, 43 of them were released as they were found innocent and the remaining 39 were released to be tried without arrest.

Two separate clashes broke out on 8 May in the afternoon between left and right-wing students in Beytepe Campus of Ankara Hacettepe University. About 20 students were injured during the clashes. Students Mustafa Dursun and Adnan Işık were hospitalized. In consequence of the events, about 27 students were detained. The detained students were released on 14 May.

A clash arose between right and left wing students in the Faculty of Education of Gazi University in Ankara on 14 May at noon. In the clash during which clubs and stones were used, some students were injured. After the clash about 30 students were detained by the police.

17 of 27 students against whom a trial was launched since they participated in a demonstration, arranged on 24 December 1989 at Vocational Training Faculty of Gazi University in Ankara, were sentenced to imprisonment terms differing from 18 months to 6 years. Other 10 defendants tried in the same trial, which ended at the beginning of June, were acquitted.

The trial launched against 21 students, 9 of whom are arrested, in connection with a fight which arose between left and right-wing students in March at Uludağ-University of Bursa, started at Bursa Criminal Court No.3 on 18 June. At the first hearing, arrested Tuncay Yıldırım, Sedat Şenoğlu, Üveyz Saruhan, Birgül Göçen, Elif Horata and Nihal Çiğdem were released while the demands of Ersin Durmuş, Mustafa Seri and Aydın Güven for release were rejected. Sentences of no less than 3 years' imprisonment are being demanded for those 21 defendants. The trial launched against 17 left-wing students, 12 of whom arrested, in connection with a clash between right and left-wing students on 23 March in the dormitories of Bursa Uludağ University, started on 2 July. In the hearing at İstanbul SSC, 6 of the arrested defendants were released.

In Ankara, 8 of the students who established registration desks at Hacettepe and Gazi Universities, with the aim of helping the students to be newly registered, were detained by the police on 8 September.

The meeting arranged on 14 October by the students at Diyarbakır Dicle University because of the beginning of new academic year, was halted due to police intervention. Towards the end of the meeting in which about 500 students participated, the police teams who came to the canteen where the meeting was held, dispersed the crowd by beating with truncheons and sticks. Some of the beaten students were injured. During the events, about 80 students were detained.

Student Bahadır Sade who took photographs of a poster hanged in the campus of İzmir 9 Eylül University on 4 November, was detained by civilian dressed police officers. He was released one day later. In the meantime, Altay Ömer Erdoğan, Asaf Aytekin and Esin Aslan who were among the students who made a press meeting in protest of the detention of Bahadır Sade, were detained by the policemen who came to their houses on the morning of 5 November. 14 of the 48 students detained in connection with the demonstration made on 9 November in protest of the bad-cooked meals served at students' restaurant of Elazığ Fırat University, were arrested.

Two students named Rıza Özdemir and Nuray Özçelik were arrested as they hanged posters on the walls of the canteen of Afyon Administrative Sciences Faculty in November. Those two students were released two weeks later upon the objections raised by their lawyers.

Police hut in Göztepe Campus of İstanbul Marmara University, was raided by 4 armed persons on the evening of 21 November. In the event, police officer Ahmet Bozok (20) who was in the hut, was killed with one bullet at his head. Responsibility for the attack was claimed by Devrimci Sol organization.

Istanbul Police Headquarters Director Necdet Menzir who made an announcement through wireless following the event, demanded the İYÖ-DER (Istanbul Higher Education Association) member students to be detained.

Police officers who raided the canteen of the Fikirtepe Campus of İstanbul Marmara University on 26 November at noon, seized about 200 books sold for the benefit of student association in the university. Police officers, who also made a search in the canteen, detained 11 students who either sold the books or bought them.

A fight arose between the "PKK" and "Hizbullah" follower students at Diyarbakır Dicle University on 27 November in the morning. As a result of the fight a student named Orhan Çalık was injured with a bullet, while students named Abdurrahman Sal, Recai Aldemir, Kemal Güneş and Nurettin Sezik were injured with knife and club blows. After the incident, 10 students were detained. Furthermore, one student was injured in another fight which arose on the same day again between the "PKK" and "Hizbullah" followers at Fatih High School in Bağlar quarter of Diyarbakır.

The meeting which was organized on 16 December in İstanbul Boğaziçi University by a group of students in protest of the "human rights violations" was prevented by the police. 15 of the students who protested the prevention of the meeting, which started in one of the canteens of the university, were detained.

A quarrel which broke out between the left-wing and "Hizbullah" follower students, because of a hanged poster at the Faculty of Literature of Ege University (İzmir), turned into a fight. During the fight which arose on 16 December at noon in the canteen of the Faculty of Literature, 10 students were lightly injured. After the clash which also caused some material damage in the building of the faculty, no one was detained.

157 students who attended the entertainment night organized by the Students' Association of Edirne Trakya University on 22 December, were detained by the police. Police authorities stated that the students were detained because of PKK praising slogans shouted by the students at the night. Those 157 students were released after their interrogations were completed.

In Haydarpaşa Campus of Marmara University, a quarrel which began when the posters hanged by the left-wing students on 29 December were torn down by the right-wings, turned into a clash in a short while. In the clash during which iron sticks, curbs and oxen were used, 10 students, 3 of whom severely, were wounded. After the clash which continued for about half an hour, nobody was detained. Left-wing students stated in connection with the event that right-wing students had attacked with support of the police officers on the left-wing students.

DETENTIONS

In 1992, detentions owing to political activities and actions continued. During the year, thousands of people were detained all over Turkey, particularly in the Emergency State Region. People were mostly detained because of authorized or unauthorized demonstrations, or on charges of being members

of illegal organizations or harbouring members of illegal organizations. Detainees were interrogated under torture for lengthy periods of time. 2 out of each 3 detainees were released at the prosecution office or first interrogation stages. If we take into account that almost half of the arrested were released at the first hearing or acquitted at the end of the trial, we can see how the personal rights and freedoms were infringed by unlawful and arbitrary attitude witnessed in detention cases.

According to the 1991 statistics disclosed by the Ministry of Justice in 1992, decision of non-prosecution was given for 2,388 of about 8,000 people who were detained due to political reasons and against whom investigations were launched by State Security Courts' (SSCs) Prosecution Offices in 1991, when they proved their innocence. The conclusion that "most of the pretrial defendants against whom an investigation was conducted, were innocent" is a new indicator of the arbitrary and unlawful detentions. According to the data released by the Minister of Justice, a total of 4,644 investigations were launched by Prosecution Offices of SSCs within 1991. With regard to the number of investigations launched, Diyarbakır SSC comes first with its 2,206 files. It is followed by İstanbul SSC with its 953 files, Erzincan SSC with its 424 files and Ankara SSC with its 370 files. On the other hand, the number of investigations launched by Konya SSC is 65, which is the lowest. Most of the investigations were concluded in decisions of non-prosecution, non-jurisdiction or for lack of charge. It was found necessary to launch trials for about only 32 per cent of the investigations conducted (about 1,500 investigation files). The most outstanding imbalance between the conducted investigations and launched trials, was witnessed at Ankara SSC. It launched 128 trials out of 370 investigation files it dealt with in 1991 while giving decisions of non-prosecution for 157 files, of non-jurisdiction for 16 files, not to have charge for 54 files, and ordering unification for 6 files. It transferred 9 investigation files to 1992.

Following is some of the interesting samples regarding detention, arrest, investigation cases and trials:

Two highschool students were detained in Konya on charges of "disseminating separatist propaganda" in the writings they carved on their desks at school. The two unidentified students were released on 6 January by Konya State Security Court to be prosecuted without being under arrest. A trial is expected to be launched against the released students under Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law.

Salih Dönmez against whom a trial had been launched in connection with the events during a wedding ceremony held on 16 October 1991 in Ortayol village of Halfeti district of Urfa, was sentenced to 10 months' imprisonment on charges of insulting the Turkish flag. In the trial which concluded on 16 February 1992 at Diyarbakır SSC, Mustafa Kırac and Mehmet Çolak tried along with Salih Dönmez, were sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment and a fine of TL 50 million each for shouting separatist slogans.

Kemal Güneş who is running a cafeteria in İzmir Bozyaka was arrested as he did not hang a Turkish flag in his shop on 23 April, the day of National Sovereignty and Child Festival. It was established that before his arrest Kemal

Güneş was urged to hang a flag by some people, and when he opposed this he was beaten and a complaint was made to prosecution office. The arrest decision was given for Kemal Güneş who was detained upon the complaint on charges of "being disrespectful for Turkish flag".

Jonathan Sugden, Turkey Rapporteur of the Amnesty International, was detained by the police on 21 May morning in Ergani district of Diyarbakır where he went to research for certain issues. Jonathan Sugden who was sent to Diyarbakır Political Police Center after being detained, was released here. Jonathan Sugden stated that during his detention he was not ill-treated and that the police was polite.

One of two children who were tried on charges of "being PKK militants and participating in certain armed actions" was sentenced to 12 years 6 months' imprisonment while the other was sentenced to 16 years 8 months' imprisonment. In the trial which ended at Diyarbakır SSC on 19 June, first death penalty was given under the Article 125 of the Turkish Penal Court for those 14-year old and 17-year old children. This penalty was later converted into imprisonment sentences taking into account their ages.

Ali Ekber Başaran who had been living in France as a political refugee for a long time, came to Turkey in the evening of 7 July. Ali Ekber Başaran who was detained in Ankara Esenboğa Airport in connection with a judgement by default arrest given in 1985, was arrested by Ankara SSC one day later. He was released on 9 July evening upon the objection raised against arrest decision.

During the operations conducted in Doğubeyazıt district of Ağrı following the shop closing action on 10 July, more than 50 persons were detained.

In Batman, 9-month pregnant Media Yavuz whose house was raided by the police in the night of 13 August, was detained. It was reported that Media Yavuz's husband Emin Yavuz and her relatives Sabri Özdemir, Lokman Yavuz and Gülistan Yavuz had been detained before. Media Yavuz who was kept in detention at Batman Police Headquarters was not allowed to have access to her lawyers. She was released two days later upon the reactions and various initiations.

27 persons who had worked as village guards in Tekebaşı village of Hazro district of Diyarbakır for years, were detained by gendarmes in September when they resigned from their jobs.

Haydar Beltan, who had been detained after he had returned from Germany where he had lived as a political refugee and had been arrested later, was released on 21 September. Haydar Beltan who was kept arrested for about 8 months said: "I was detained upon unreal accusations and as a result of testimonies taken under torture. During the hearings it was understood that those accusations were not correct. I was accused of killing a person in Mazgirt in 1988. However I proved with documents that I was working in Paris at that time. I want the officers who tortured me to be punished".

Author Haluk Yurtsever who had lived abroad as a political refugee since 12 September Coup, returned to Turkey on 9 November. Haluk Yurtsever who

came to Ankara by plane, was detained by the police at Esenboğa Airport. Haluk Yurtsever was released 3 hours after his detention.

The trial launched against Nilgün Gök and Bülent Yıldırım who had been arrested in November while hanging a poster saying "Do Not Join The Army If You Do Not Want To Be A Tool Of The Dirty War In Kurdistan," started on 26 December at İstanbul SSC. At the first hearing, the defendants pleaded not guilty and stated that they had been tortured. The defendants also submitted the forensic medicine institute reports showing their inability to work for 7 days to the court. At the end of the hearing, defendants Nilgün Gök and Bülent Yıldırım were released and decided to be tried by a civilian court.

İstanbul SSC's Prosecution Office launched a trial against 6 lawyers registered at İstanbul Bar Association on charges of helping and harbouring Devrimci Sol militants. In the trial launched under the Article 169 of the Turkish Penal Code, no less than 5 years in prison sentences are being demanded for the lawyers named Zerrin Sarı, Ulutan Gün, Fethiye Pekşen, Fuat Erdoğan, Ümran Gün and Bedii Yarayıcı.

Fethiye Pekşen, one of the lawyers of the İstanbul Bar Association, who was tried at İzmir SSC on charges of helping the "Devrimci Sol" (Revolutionary Left) organization, was sentenced to 3 years 9 months' imprisonment. The trial against Fethiye Pekşen had been launched on grounds that she had given organizational documents to the prisoners in İzmir Buca Closed Prison. Mehmet Yatar, the lawyer of Fethiye Pekşen, who made a statement after the trial which ended on 17 December said: "Decision of the court is unlawful. The prosecution office first decided on non-jurisdiction, but later withdrew the decision and initiated a case. My client was not allowed to defend herself".

CONCLUSION

A closer look at the details of the 1992 Turkey Report reveals that human rights were violated on a large scale. During this year basic rights and freedoms, particularly the right to life were violated in a way that reminded very much of the dark days of the 12 September (1980) regime. Society was terrorized and left outside politics. Torture continued systematically. Torture allegations were not dealt with. Books, journals and newspapers were confiscated. Journalists were killed. The ones who tried "to speak up or write" were silenced and jailed. In the name of "fighting terrorism" unlawful methods were applied. The public only got one side of the picture and facts were turned upside down. Far from solving the Kurdish question, developments deepening the problem and opening the way for more serious clashes had to be observed. Towns were set on fire and destroyed. Demonstrators using their democratic rights were beaten and shot at. The coalition government had promised to install "democracy" and "a regime respecting human rights" at the beginning of its term in office, but did not fulfill any of these promises and acted just to the opposite.

Political violence spread in 1992. As a result of armed and bomb attacks by the Kurdish Workers' Party PKK, staging a guerrilla war, and illegal organizations such as Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) and TIKKO (Workers and Peasants' Liberation Army) many people were killed. Armed and bomb attacks resulting in death were conducted against defenceless, unarmed civilians, on public means of transport and shopping centres. The mass media and security officials held the PKK responsible for attacks in the Region under Emergency Legislation and Devrimci Sol for the ones carried out in Istanbul. While the PKK claimed responsibility for some of the actions, others for which the PKK was held responsible turned out to have been carried out by village guards or "dark forces" termed "contr-guerilla". Almost all bomb attacks and attempted attacks in Istanbul remained unclarified.

By terrorizing parts of society, some groups appeared in public sympathizing with human rights violations or even applauding such practices. Intensified PKK actions and the increase of assassinations and attacks by Devrimci Sol led to a radicalization of these "terrorized" circles. Human rights activists came under attack on a level never witnessed before 1992. They were said to be prolongation, supporters and sometimes even members of organizations resorting to violence and accepting violence as a means of their struggle.

This black account summarized above in some key-words relates to a period when a government was in power that made big promises in establishing democracy, a state of law and human rights. Turkey entered the year 1992 by listening to many positive promises, but it was faced the whole year with the most brutal examples of disrespect for human rights. The numbers of deaths, torture incidents, confiscated publications and terms of imprisonment for journalists increased by several times compared to the year before. During the year not human right were protected, but those who violated them.

The hopes at New Year of 1992 had been raised by Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel. When on 25 November 1991 he read out the government's program he said that Turkey would be changed from tip to toe, the Constitution and the legal system would be arranged according to contemporary democratic standards, inflation would be brought down, trade union rights would be brought in line with ILO standards. According to the Prime Minister the coalition government would prepare a new and democratic Constitution. Courts would become completely independent and security for judges would be increased. The rule of universities, YÖK, would be lifted and universities would become autonomous. Professors would be able to join political parties. New legislation would be introduced to secure press freedom. Radio and television would become impartial. Everybody would be allowed to speak his or her mother-tongue, to develop his or her culture and folk music. The Governorate of the Region under Emergency Legislation and the system of village guards would be reviewed. The number of soldiers and the length of military service would be reduced. The crime of humanity, torture, would be prevented and lawyers would be present during interrogation. Articles of the Constitution providing immunity for the leaders of the 12 September period would be abolished etc...

Except for one or two of these promises (Period for military service shortened but not put into practice right away, the ones deprived of their citizenship were given right to regain their citizenship and closed parties were opened again) which "raised high hopes" in the most parts of society none of them were put into practice during 1992. A great portion of the promises were not even tackled. A small proportion was opened for a delayed discussion in public. Draft laws prepared on subjects such as "the criminal procedure code and presence of a lawyer during interrogation" or "YÖK and elections of rectors" were changed according to reactions by certain circles and passed under different conditions. It may be sufficient to take some of the government's promises and compare them to events in 1992 to show how the government actually stepped backwards on democracy and human rights.

What was said and what was done?

The CSCE and the Paris Charter have provided rights and freedoms for (member) states and their peoples. As signator to these provisions and conventions Turkey has to abide by these rules. Turkey will be made a country where people live in security and peace. All over the country a state of law will definitely be installed based on human rights and the basic freedoms. In combatting anarchism and terrorism the rules of democracy will strictly be followed." ()*

However, in 1992 Turkey became a country where distress and insecurity reached one of the highest possible levels. Compared to the year before attacks on one of the most natural rights of mankind, the right to live, continued increasingly. During the year many actions of the security forces resulting in death and events termed as "extra-judicial executions" were observed. Killings of unknown assailants intensified. A total of **192** people were killed. **26** people died because of fire opened on demonstrators, **63** people died as a result of house raids, **103** people died when stop warnings were ignored, or were killed after being apprehended alive or died in randomly opened fire or similar events. The bloody balance sheet of the Newroz events was **92** dead and **341** injured (this figure does not include Bişeng Anık who died in detention and Nihat Celasun who was killed because he ignored a stop warning). As a result of widespread violence that started in the second half of the year with bloody events in Sırnak and continued in towns such as Çukurca, Musabey, Kulp, Varto and Cizre, **41** people died and about **100** people were injured. Explosions of mines placed randomly in the Region under Emergency Legislation and hand grenades left unattended resulted in the death of **38** people. In short, as a result of actions by the security forces such as house raids, use of extreme violence, torture, explosion of mines and extra-judicial executions, **380** people lost their lives. This number does not include victims of unclarified killings (**360**), members of the security forces, civilians and militants who died in clashes (**1719**), civil servants, police officers, soldiers, village guards and people who were killed on allegations that there were confessors, police informers or supporting the state (**285**) and people killed during attacks on civilians (**189**). By adding all these figures the bloody balance sheet for 1992 shows that a total of **2933** people were killed as a result of the existing atmosphere of violence, whatever particular reason there may have been for the existence of it.

"The area of eastern and southeastern Anatolia will be given a special weight, in this framework a regional development plan will be prepared and implemented. The Governorate of the Region under Emergency Legislation and the system of village guards will be reviewed. In the light of official information to be gathered, the government will deal with this subject fundamentally and bring about

(*)Promises taking place in the Government's Program declared on 25 November 1991.

a solution. In the whole of the country a state of law based on human rights and basic freedoms will definitely be enforced. The people of the area will be met with tenderness and ties of trust will be created."

However, the Kurdish question became even more complex and insolvable during 1992. Instead of trying to find a peaceful and democratic solution, the political power preferred to step up military methods used over years. The PKK, staging a guerrilla war in the region, intensified the violence for its attacks decisively. Although deputies of the political parties forming the government held different views on the subject, the state of emergency in the region was extended three times during the year. In criticizing those who wanted to lift the state of emergency, Prime Minister Demirel each time simply repeated "until a new solution is found, the system will continue". He did not even mention the system of village guards. The level of violence in the Region under Emergency Legislation increased day by day. Gendarmerie stations came under hour-long attacks of PKK militants. Clashes in some regions lasted for days. Settlements and smaller towns were turned into ruins. Almost every day young soldiers who had lost their lives during attacks or ambushes were sent to their hometowns in western Turkey. The Turkish Army conducted a large number of ground or air operations against PKK camps or strategic posts in- and outside Turkey's borders. The number of bombs used against PKK targets exceeded the number of bombs used during the Cyprus invasion by several times.

"The length of detention will be shortened, events of torture will disappear. Education of the police on individual rights and freedoms will be secured, their authorities will newly be defined and legal changes allowing lawyers to be present during interrogation will be introduced. Police stations will no more be places of fear, transparency will be secured."

In 1992 there was no interruption in the application of torture. Proverbs of "Transparent police stations" and "Walls of Glass" were no more than nice slogans during the elections campaign. Police stations and interrogation centres turned into places surrounded by thick walls hard to be entered even by deputies. At police stations and in particular at the centres of the political police, torture continued systematically. 17 people lost their lives under suspicious circumstances in such interrogation centres. In addition to those who lost their lives 8 people "disappeared" after detention. The studies and information available to the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey revealed that 594 people, including 11 children and 93 women, were tortured in detention centres and prisons. Among these people, 188 were able to certify torture by medical reports. 24 tortured women stated that they were either raped or sexually abused during detention. In 1992 Turkey was once again frequently blamed at international platforms for its use of torture. In reports of independent organizations such as Amnesty International or Helsinki Watch the degree of torture in Turkey was presented to the world public in a striking way. The political

regime, however, instead of correcting the subjects mentioned in the reports resorted to efforts of denial, characterizing human rights organization as "prejudiced and ill-intended", just like previous governments had done.

"The practice to prohibit publications will come to an end; the Law to Fight Terrorism will be reviewed in the light of the principle of basic rights and freedoms. Press freedom and the right of the citizens to know the facts and to get the right news will be secured. In Turkey everybody is equal and a first class citizen. Research of everybody's mother-tongue, culture, history, folk music and religious beliefs is part of basic human rights and freedoms which have to be protected and developed."

1992 did not show positive developments in the field of cultural life and freedoms of the press, expression and religion. **13** journalists were killed, **12** of them in the Region under Emergency Legislation. One journalist was paralyzed as a result of an armed attack on him. The killers of the journalists were not found and their identities were not disclosed. While leaving the killers in peace political activities, trials and investigations against the victims were put on the agenda. By calling the killed journalists "militants" a way was opened for new killings. In **26** separate events, a total of **56** journalists on duty were attacked by members of the security forces by kicking, cursing and hitting with truncheons. A large number of journalists was detained or arrested. Although the authorities had claimed to stop the practice of "prohibited publications" **189** newspapers and journals were confiscated in 1992 on courts' orders. During the same period confiscation decisions were passed on **20** books. Books and journals were shown on TV as "tools of crime" and later destroyed as such. İsmail Okçu (Hekimoğlu İsmail), author of the daily "Zaman" (Time), Şükrü Aksoy, former editor-in-chief of the journal "Emeğin Bayrağı" (Flag of Labour), and Sinami Orhan, editor-in-chief of the journal "Ak-Doğuş" (White Birth) were jailed because of imprisonment sentences they had received for their articles. Sentences given for journalists and writers in 1992 totalled **25 years 11 months 15 days'** imprisonment and fines totalled **5.976.800.000 TL** (appr. \$ 745.850). Practices against human rights were also observed in respect of religious and conscientious freedom. **48** female students who wanted to attend classes being headscarved received an official warning and **15** student were expelled from school for periods varying from one week to 6 months.

"All political demands will only be enforced after discussion in parliament, with mass organizations and in the press. Provisions concerning meetings and demonstrations and the right to form associations will be rearranged. Everybody will be entitled to use these rights and everybody can freely express his or her opinion."

However, 1992 did not show positive signs concerning the freedom to organize, and hold meetings and demonstrations. Oppression, attacks and obstacles against some political parties and mass organizations continued on a day-by-day increasing level. Anti-democratic provisions of laws such as the Law on Associations, the Law on Political Parties, the Law on Meetings and De-

monstrations inherited from the 12 September period were frequently applied. The work of democratic organizations was obstructed, their activities banned, their members and leaders detained and arrested. Many demonstrations, meetings, festivities and concerts were prevented. The security forces opened fire on demonstrators in many cases, especially during the Newroz celebrations. In one year 32 organizations including three branches of the Human Rights Organization, IHD, were closed temporarily or indefinitely.

"The Law on Political Parties and the Law on Elections will be amended, closed parties will be opened again. All important problems of the country will be discussed in parliament and on State radio and TV."

However, repression against political parties, in particular the People's Labour Party (HEP), the Socialist Party (SP), the Workers' Party (IP), the Socialist Union Party (SBP) and the Green's Party (YP) increased. The parties were exposed to many raids and attacks stemming either from the laws or practices of the authorities. HEP deputies were not allowed to take the floor in parliament. Court cases and investigations were launched against party leaders and deputies with demands of the death penalty. In some cases sentences were given. A big increase was observed concerning armed attacks and the number of victims of unidentified killings directed at local leaders and members of political parties. As a result of politically motivated armed attacks SHP Nusaybin District President Oktay Türkmen, HEP Nusaybin District leader Abdurrahman Söğüt, HEP Silvan District leader Felemez Güneş, the Workers' Party Cizre District President Resul Sakar, HEP Gaziantep former provincial president Abdulsalem Sakık, HEP Kovancılar (Elazığ) District Leader Rodi Demirkapı, HEP Antalya provincial leaders İdris Çelik and Yusuf Solmaz lost their lives. The only positive step taken concerning the freedom to organize can be seen in legal measures allowing political parties closed down after 12 September (1980) to start operating again. However, in those days when these measures were taken, the Socialist Party was closed down by the Constitutional Court and a demand for closure of the People's Labour Party was put forward.

"Provisions concerning labour and trade unions will be brought in line with ILO standards, obstacles for leaders of trade unions and professional organizations to be elected for parliament will be removed."

However, expectations concerning trade union and labour rights were not fulfilled in 1992, a year during which statements were not put into practice. Preparations for legal changes of provisions passed under the 12 September regime on workers' rights and trade union freedoms started during the first days of the year in the Ministry of Labour following the direction of the government's program. However, these activities did not bear any results in 1992. Some conventions of the ILO (International Labour Organization) were debated in parliament and accepted. 6 of them (conventions numbered 59, 87, 135, 142, 144 and 151) were ratified by President Turgut Özal and entered into force. President Özal vetoed the 7th and most important convention numbered 158. This convention provides measures against arbitrary dismissal of workers, makes dis-

missal more difficult and opens the way to go to court on this subject. Although the conventions were accepted, necessary legal changes in law concerning labour life were not done. Dismissal of workers continued intensely throughout the year. Most of them concerned the textile and metal sectors. The workers responded to the dismissals by resistance and actions. In addition the State interfered in strikes. Security forces were sent against workers on resistance. Workers and trade union leaders were kicked, beaten, detained, arrested and tried in court. Many workers died or were crippled as a result of accidents at work. The most striking and sad examples of accidents at work were observed in the coal mines of Kozlu, İhsaniye and İncirharmanı in Zonguldak province. 270 workers died and 126 workers were injured in the firedamp explosion which occurred in the night of 3 March.

"All workers including civil servants will be given the right to form trade unions."

Civil servants, expecting to organize for years, did not achieve the freedom of unionizing in 1992. Furthermore, a decree by the Ministry of the Interior, published under the government of the Motherland Party, which declared trade unions of civil servants "illegal" was not abolished for a long time. Trade unions formed by civil servants and teachers according to the decree were faced with various administrative reprisals and obstacles. The decree was only abolished by a decision of the High Court of Administration on 12 November. 39 branches of civil servants' trade unions had to face obstruction by governorates or were banned from their activities. Many events organized by civil servants' trade unions were not given permission. Participants in such events were beaten by the police and detained.

"Scientific and administrative autonomy will be granted for universities and the system of YÖK will be lifted. It will be secured that institutions of higher education will be administered by people elected among the personnel. An institution of higher teaching and education formed by elected candidates will be created to secure coordination among the universities. Students will be allowed to join political parties."

The chaos concerning universities and the YÖK system continued throughout the year. The subject of "necessary amendments to the Constitution to abolish the YÖK system" was never put on the agenda. The government's draft law concerning election of rectors was changed decisively by some deputies from the True Path Party collaborating with parties in the opposition. The draft entered into force without effectively restricting the powers of the YÖK President and the State President concerning the election of rectors. Although Köksal Toptan, Minister for National Education, announced several times that preparations were under way concerning the Law on Higher Education and that a draft law would be made public in due course, he did not make any statement on the dates given. The draft law in question was not put on the agenda of the National Assembly until the end of the year. All events observed in 1992 pointed

to the fact that no great interest will be shown for the universities and that the abolition of the YÖK system might further be postponed in 1993. Besides, negative developments in the YÖK-system, incidents of detention and torture of students continued. Universities and students were kept under surveillance of the police and the gendarmerie. Clashes between opposite student groups started.

For the last word

As it is seen, Turkey entered 1993 leaving behind a very dark and distressing human rights picture.

We hope that such kind of events will not be experienced from now on and that they remain as unpleasant memories in the past. However, we are aware that realization of our wishes is very difficult at least in a short term.

Unfortunately, there are no concrete steps to show that the coalition government which came to power with promises on "democratization" and "respect for human rights" overcomes the problems and keeps its promises.

Nevertheless, we are not hopeless.

We believe that democratic powers and human rights activists will not quail and will overcome all obstacles by pushing forward.

The Balance Sheet Of 1992

DEATHS:

Deaths in custody	17
Deaths during Newroz	92
Deaths during events like the one in Şırnak.....	41
Deaths by fire on demonstrators.....	26
Deaths as a result of house raids.....	63
Deaths after ignored stop warnings and the like.....	103
Deaths as a result of exploding mines	38
Killings by unknown assailants.	360
Killings by attacks on civilians.....	189
Deaths in armed attacks and assassinations.....	285
Security personnel killed in combat.....	747
Militants killed in clashes.....	972
Total number of people killed in 1992.....	2933

TORTURE:

Deaths in custody	17
"Disappearances" after detention.....	8
Tortured individuals (known to the HRFT)	594

PRESS FREEDOM:

Killed journalists	13
Killed kiosk owners	3
Journalists attacked by officials.....	52
Confiscated dailies and journals.....	189
Confiscated books.....	20
Total of imprisonment sentences given to journalists and writers.....	25 years 11 months 15 days
Total of fines given to journalists and writers.....	5.976.800.000 TL

OTHER FREEDOMS:

Killed leaders of political parties	8
Female students punished for wearing headscarves	63
Closed democratic organizations	32
Obstructed civil servants' trade unions	39

Appeal (Final Text of Symposium on Torture)

A Global Appeal for the Abolition of Torture (*)

● Notwithstanding that the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted in 1948 included right to freedom from torture by specifying that "no one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment"

● Notwithstanding that this Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly indicates that this provision constitutes a prohibition to use of torture to which no exception can be tolerated

● Notwithstanding that the United Nations International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights underlines that "even in time of public emergency which threatens the life of nation", "no derogations to the prohibition of torture and cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment can be made" still torture continues to be a fact of life being perpetuated and tolerated by a large number of governments and other authorities in countries being members of United Nations in contradiction to the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment adopted in 1984.

This is especially the case in dictatorships and in other repressive forms of government which rely on torture and the threat of torture for their continued suppression of their populations.

But also in many countries where democratically elected governments have succeeded such repressive form of government, torture continues to be practiced in parts of the system which have not been affected by the political change.

There is ample evidence to suggest that medical doctors and other health professionals are directly or indirectly actively or passively, involved in these inhuman practices thereby act in contradiction to the World Medical Associations Declaration of Tokyo from 1975 and the United Nation Principles of Medical Ethics adopted in 1982.

Against this tragic background THE 5TH INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON TORTURE AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION organized in Istanbul on October 22-24, 1992 by the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims in collaboration with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey and the Turkish Medical Association appeal to the United Nations and its responsible constituent members countries:

- to live up to the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- to make a serious effort to remove the practice of government inspired torture as part of political repression as well as interrogation or for any other purposes
 - to give the right to a detained or arrested person to demand a medical examination by an independent doctor (**) of his own choice before and after interrogation. The official report must include in detail the history and the findings of the physical examination of the case. The detained or arrested person must be permitted to read this report and the examination must be conducted outside the influences of the police or security forces, similarly the family of a person alleged or suspected of having died as a result of torture should have the right to demand an independent post mortem examination of the body
 - to prosecute with diligence and effectiveness all cases of alleged or suspected torture and enact provisions for free legal aid for the victims
 - to establish the right to compensation to victims of torture and their dependents
 - to repeal all laws establishing impunity for torturers if these laws have been established by a non-democratic government
 - to protect by law and confirm by contracts of employment of doctors and other health personnel at risk against any obligation to act in contradiction to established medical ethics especially regarding the non-involvement in torture
 - to include in the curriculum of all health professionals and as part of the training of lawyers, police and the military, specific training programs in ethical obligations and international and national law governing the behaviour of each professional group in relation to the practice of torture
 - to support the establishment of special independent centers offering treatment to torture victims and finally, as a matter of urgency
 - to increase the national contribution to the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Torture Victims from the present totally inadequate sum of 1.6 million USD for 1992 to reach 25 million USD in 1995 and at least 100 million USD in 1999.

(short of making contributions to United Nations Voluntary Fund for Torture Victims obligatory, which would be natural given the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, this could be done by setting each year minimum target sums for each country indicating what ought to be the contribution according to the usual distribution of financial contributions to United Nations activities.)

However, the sad legacy of torture, the scars in the bodies and souls of the torture survivors, will remain with us and require professional care and social attention for many years to come.

Adopted by IRCT Council and Bureau in Istanbul on October 24, 1992

Marina Berskovskaya Russia	Martin Bojar Czechoslovakia	Per Borgaa Sweden
William Curran U.S.A.	Ole Espersen President Denmark	Fleur Fisher U.K.
Inge Genefke Medical Director Denmark	Erik Holst Vice President Denmark	Hélène Jaffé France
James Jaranson U.S.A.	Dario Lagos Argentina	June Lopez Philippines
Veli Lök Turkey	Henrik Marcussen Denmark	Gregorio Martirena Uruguay
Mahboob Mehdi Pakistan	Jette Parker Switzerland	Maria Piniou-Kalli Greece
Thabo Rangaka South Africa	Ole Vedel Rasmussen Denmark	Knud Smidt-Nielsen Denmark
Bent Sorensen Denmark	Mario Vidal Chile	

Endorsed by the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey

Yavuz Önen
President

Mahmut Tali Öngören
Secretary General

and by the Turkish Medical Association

Selim Ölçer
President

Şükrü Hatun
Secretary General

(*) İstanbul Declaration released at the end of the 5th International Symposium on Torture and the Medical Profession organized in İstanbul on 22-24 October 1992 by the International Rehabilitation Council for Torture Victims in collaboration with the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey and the Turkish Medical Association.

(**) In countries where doctors are not easily available they may be substituted by other authorized health professionals.

Press statement (For killing of Musa Anter)

The Human Rights Foundation of Turkey shares great sorrow for the death of thinker Musa Anter with our people and condoles with his family, our intellectuals and people. We are afflicted with the loss of such an invaluable thinker whose place will not be filled. We will never forget him and will always keep him in our hearts.

We could not help ourselves in thinking that Süleyman Demirel Government which did not take any positive steps on human rights issues, will be silent about this disgusting murder, will not find the responsible persons and will not prevent the Southeast policy of Turkey from bogging down.

Everyone has to accept that the murder of Musa Anter is a very significant sign of the danger directed at the unity and rights of Turkish, Kurdish or the other people who had lived and have been living on this soil for years.

We condemn this abject murder and bend with respect and love in front of immortality of dear Musa Anter.

Mahmut Tali Öngören
Secretary General of HRFT

Letter (For Bosnia-Herzegovina)

Esteemed
Boutros Ghali
UN Secretary General

Attacks by Serbian armed forces against the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina have been continuing violently for more than nine months. In spite of political intervention of the United Nations, European Community and certain countries, no fair and just political solution was able to be reached. The war caused lots of deaths, thousands of orphans, concentration camps which are more terrible than those of the Nazi's, hundreds of emigrants, lots of raped women and children, and destroyed the history, natural beauty and cultural inheritance. Nevertheless, the U.N. and all of the world only watched the savagery. It is an irrefutable fact that the Serbians are determined to conduct an ethnical extermination operation in the region.

In an era on the threshold of the 21st century, we believe that the intervention should be made without further delay in order to stop the shameful attacks in a short time, to ensure the peace, life security and human rights. The intervention is inevitable also to prevent the universal human values, international human rights institutions and the U.N. from degeneration in the conscience of the world". We hope that you will take the necessary steps.

With best regards,

Yavuz Önen
President of HRFT

Killing of
UĞUR MUMCU

is a violent attack directed at whole society. He will live forever in the struggle for independence, freedom, democracy and human rights. We condole with his family, personnel of the newspaper Cumhuriyet, press and our people.

**THE HUMAN RIGHTS FOUNDATION OF TURKEY
THE HUMAN RIGHTS ASSOCIATION**

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