

## **THE NAME OF THE WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLE: THE CONTRA-GUERRILLA**

### **FOREWORD**

**A HANDFUL OF TYRANTS ARE GUILTY TOWARDS OUR PEOPLE AND THE WORLD.**

**LET'S STOP THEM!**

The world public opinion should know that the violations of human rights and the laws in Turkey are much more widespread as they appear to be. Now, after the recent events have reached this point, it would be a grave mistake to view the human rights violations and crimes as the acts of just a few criminals because the Turkish state is organised crime itself. What crashed into the lorry in Susurluk, was a criminal organisation. But the horrible facts, becoming public because of this accident, are a mere top of the iceberg... In other words: just a part of the darkness became visible. It shows the internal conflict within the oligarchy which rules the land. But behind this is a sheer never-ending darkness which still has to be revealed. Behind this is the darkness, created by the war against the people.

Those who watch the evidence, confessions and witness accounts which have come into the open so far, will see that those who wage a cruel war against the people are the same as those who carry out terror operations abroad, ordered by the state, and deal in drugs. Nowadays members of this gang, the prime minister, the minister of foreign affairs, the minister of home affairs, the minister of justice etc., are on a diplomatic mission to the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

### **SINCE 1980, TURKISH FASCISM HAS BEEN EXPORTING TERROR**

A single name, Abdullah Catli, is sufficient to show who the activities of the contra-guerrillas were spread to foreign countries. Abdullah Catli is a fascist, wanted for the murder of seven members of the Turkish Labour Party (TIP) and other terrorist acts, among them the assault against the pope, and officially on the run since 1977. Catli was in prison in France and Switzerland for his proven involvement in drug trafficking. Mehmet Eygur, deputy chief of the secret service department of the MIT, and chief of the Anti-Terror Department of that same organisation, said about Catli, who was in the unlucky Mercedes together with DYP delegate and Kurdish clan leader Sedat Bucak and the chief of police Huseyin Kocadag: "The MIT used Catli abroad since 1983. From 1994, he was run by the General Police Directorate." Also Korcu Eken, a retired lieutenant-colonel, former MIT agent and counsellor of the former minister of home affairs Mehmet Agar, confirms that Catli "was used in operations". He furthermore stated Catli was not only used after the coup of September 1980, but that he had already been used before that period. With this, he hinted at operations abroad assaults and bomb attacks against Armenian, Kurdish and Turkish revolutionaries who lived abroad. The minister of Foreign Affairs and deputy premier Tansu Ciller, during a statement in parliament about this murderer who got killed in the accident: "These people who shoot and get shot for the fatherland are honourable people."

It is known that Catli was member of the group which was sent to the former Soviet republic of Azerbaijan to carry out a coup against Haydar Aliyev. After the putsch

attempt failed, the group returned to Turkey. And also the dirty acts by the contra-guerrillas in Cyprus are no longer a secret. Last year, Catli was sent to Cyprus with a group of Turkish fascists to organise provocations and attacks at the border, as people got to know them from the media. Besides these armed attacks, party buildings and houses were also bombed, and Kutlu Adali, a journalist of the paper Yeni Duzen (New Order) who wrote critically about the paramilitary gangs, was murdered. The public learnt that Catli was the one who organised all these events. It became public also that Catli frequently travelled to Cyprus, using a false passport on the name of Mehmet Ozbay, and that his hotel expenses were paid by OYAK, the military-owned conglomerate. Catli was paid 65 billion TL (approx. 600,000 dollars) by Tansu Ciller for his activities in Cyprus. As documents revealed, Catli travelled to Cyprus together with the "King of the Casinos" and mafia boss Omer Liftu Topal and both spent their time the same hotel. Later, Omer Luftu Topal was killed by Catli and members of the Special Units because of a "difference of opinion" with the contra-guerrillas on the orders of Mehmet Agar and Ibrahim Sahin, deputy chief of the Special Units.

It's obvious that these forces only constitute a small part of the criminal network. Abroad, especially in Europe, sabotage, provocations, assaults and attacks against Turkish and Kurdish opposition members are acts which are committed by paramilitary organisations, of which the Grey Wolves are well-known, covered by diplomacy and economic relations.

### **THE MAFIA STATE CONTROLS THE DRUG TRADE**

Those who really want to act against the drug trade have to fight it. The drug trade in Turkey is organised by the Turkish contra-guerrillas. Mrs Dilek Ornek, arrested with a suitcase full of money when she entered Turkey, stated she acted on the orders of Ayhan Akca, the bodyguard of the deputy chief of the Special Units, Ibrahim Sahin. And the boss of Ibrahim Sahin is Mehmet Agar. Mehmet Agar and Sedat Bucak are part of the same gang. The city of Lice is the centre of the heroin trade in Turkey. Sedat Bucak, whose base of support is Lice, is the number One of the drug market with his army of 10,000 armed village guards. According to the former department chief of the Special Operation Units, Korkot Eken, the drug trade in Turkey annually amounts to 25 billion dollars. Without doubt, this drug trail extends to deputy prime minister and foreign minister Ciller, also mentioned in connection with the gang chiefs, the generals, who share the war loot among each other, and the other police chiefs.

It is no coincidence that the names of policemen and military officers make the headlines in this war about the loot. For example, it became known that the chief of the Yuksekova Gang, which controls the drug trade, kidnappings and contract killings in the region of Hakkari [southeastern Turkish Kurdistan], is the gendarmerie commander of Hakkari. These regional gangs constitute the lower level of the gang hierarchy. Because of their internal confrontations, they became known to the public as the Soylemezler Gang, the Kocaeli Gang, the Ankara Gang, the Adana Gang, the Izmir Gang and the Balikesir Gang.

### **THE TIES GO UP TO THE PRIME MINISTER, THE MINISTERS, THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (MGK), THE PRESIDENT AND THE GENERALS**

Mehmet Agar, whose name is mentioned in connection with all murder cases, drug deals

and other kinds of dirty business, chooses attack as a means of defence: "All these things make me untouchable," and he threatens his rivals: "We will have to sit together to talk about it, because we all know what has happened in the past..."

The minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister Tansu Ciller visited the School of the Special Operation Units, the hitting forces of the contra-guerrillas, as an act of demonstration. These units have, according to Mehmet Agar himself, carried out "thousands of operations", that is to say: sabotage, torture, bombardment of villages and murders. Tansu Ciller's words to these units, in the presence of the press: "You do not receive your orders from those who attack you, you receive them from the state. This country is in your hands. The nation is very proud of you. (...) I respect your work. Keep your heads up high. All those who are against you will have to fight hard, we cannot allow them to win. I will always be behind you." The Special Units of the contra-guerrillas can rest assured that the whole state apparatus and all their rivals are in the same quagmire. The same kind of crimes and the same kind of filth already existed during the time of the governments of Mesut Yilmaz, Deniz Baykal and Bulent Ecevit. The junta chief of the September coup in 1980, Kenan Evren covered the filthy affairs of the state and he emphatically rejected the disclosure of the latest events. But the revelations, beginning with Susurluk, continue. Even summit meetings or meetings of the National Security Council will not change this, even if they wanted to. While the circles of those who are involved become larger and larger, the balance of the crimes and the murders, which makes the state "untouchable", becomes clearer and clearer.

### **THE DARKNESS OF THE "THOUSAND OPERATIONS"; THE MASSACRES, THE DISAPPEARANCES, THE BURNING DOWN OF VILLAGES, AND THE MURDERS BY UNKNOWN PERPETRATORS MUST BE LIFTED**

The evidence which became known and the discussions in the media are only covering a small part of these "thousand operations". They are trying to divert attention to the known cases to keep the rest in the dark.

Among the gangs who participate in all these crimes, a war is going on to secure and expand territories. The revealed filth stems from these power struggles within the oligarchy. Several circles of big capital, the military, the police, bureaucracy and large landowners are forming an alliance to deal with the complicated circumstances. They try to get rid of their opponents by leaking information and evidence about the deeds of their rivals to the press. But in the end they all still benefit from the war of all forces of the contra-guerrillas against the people. The balance of human rights violations of the first 11 months of 1996 is abundantly clear:

2395 people were shot during armed confrontations.

59 people were executed by unknown perpetrators.

191 people disappeared while in custody.

According to official figures, 309 people were tortured. The actual number of tortured people is more than 17,600.

95 bomb attacks carried out by the state.

67 villages were forcibly evacuated and burned down.

170 people were arrested because they voiced their opinion.

12 prisoners lost their lives in the Death Fast.

5 prisoners set themselves on fire as a protest against inhuman prison conditions.

As a result of attacks by the police and the gendarmerie against the prison of Umraniye/Istanbul, 4 prisoners were murdered, and 11 prisoners were murdered in

Diyarbakir. Because they were refused medical treatment, K. Kayapinar, U.D. Gonul, M. Kaya and three other prisoners lost their lives in Turkish jails.  
108 buildings of associations and unions were raided by the police.  
Journalists were sentenced to 164 years in prison and a fine of 9 billion 401 million TL in total.

### **WHAT DO WE WANT?**

The source of the terror, which the Turkish and Kurdish people are subjected to, is the system of the guilty and the criminals, called the "state". Nowadays more and more concrete evidence is becoming public. One has to monitor the crimes which are coming to light, the violations of international and national law and human rights violations. The Turkish oligarchy maintains power with an apparatus that openly breaks its own national law. Against governments which ignore their own laws and refuse to honour human rights, international law and international treaties have to be applied. Otherwise, when the Turkish state is allowed to act in the international arena officially and undisturbed, the balance of the human rights violations in Turkey, and the tendencies of the past years will deteriorate accordingly.

The true face of the state, the face of the mafia, torture, trading in drugs and women, the massacres, in short: the contra-guerrillas, became visible to all. Susurluk has shown that the oppressors of our people are the Special Units, the village guards, the traitors and the traitors to the homeland. Everybody can see who governs our people and how they are governed. The Turkish contra-guerrilla state is sinking into the swamp which it has created itself with the war it wages against the people with all its institutions and all its means.

In this swamp, human life, future, health and the possessions of those who are on the side of the people, those who love their land, are no longer secure. Our people can no longer sleep quietly in their homes. It has even become impossible to determine whether behind the uniform of a policeman lurks a gangster, a drug dealer, a trafficker in women or a certified murderer. The handful of collaborators and exploiters who identify themselves with massacres, torture, immorality, intrigues and extortion, the ruling parties, cannot remove the filth of this system. It's obvious that they are the representatives of the mafia state, the gang state.

Now a broad opposition by large sections of the people is springing up. It demands democracy and freedom. We as the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party and Front (DHKP-C) have the same demands. We support them, and we fight for them.

### **THIS LAND DOES NOT BELONG TO THE GANGS, IT BELONGS TO US!**

### **WE WANT AN INDEPENDENT AND DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IN WHICH:**

- 1 we do not have to be afraid to go out on the streets,
- 2 we do not have to go through torture, executions, disappearances and murders by unknown perpetrators,
- 3 people, looking for their rights, are no longer beaten, arbitrarily arrested, imprisoned and registered,
- 4 all people and all nations can live together in fraternity, using its language and

- culture in freedom, and where they can exercise their religion,
- 5 the Kurdish people can exercise its right to self-determination,
  - 6 there is no state of emergency, no martial law, no village guards and no traitors,
  - 7 there is no forced migration, no burning of villages, no food embargoes,
  - 8 workers are not sacked and civil servants are not transferred,
  - 9 there are no large landowners who keep the peasants as slaves, no master classes and exploiting merchants,
  - 10 the producers receive a fair reward,
  - 11 the roofs are not torn away over the heads of the poor inhabitants of the slums, and where the people are not forced to live in slums,
  - 12 where there is no prostitution, no drugs,
  - 13 the mafia cannot roam around freely,
  - 14 nature is not destroyed and where people do not become the victim of "natural disasters",
  - 15 thoughts are not punished,
  - 16 democratic associations and parties are not banned,
  - 17 people are not kept hostage in hospitals,
  - 18 our pupils are not beaten,
  - 19 the people receive a scientific training in school,
  - 20 the national honour is not trampled upon,
  - 21 the natural resources are not given away to the imperialists, a country which is not ruled by the IMF and the World Bank!

We demand that all traitors, kidnappers and murderers are held responsible!

We demand justice for our poverty and the demolition of our houses!

We demand justice for the burned villages and the people who were forced to move!

We demand justice for the blood that has been spilt for decades!

We demand the rights of the nations!

We want freedom for all religions!

We demand freedom of ideas!

We want freedom for the prisoners who fought against oppression and exploitation and were incarcerated for that reason!

**WE WANT FREEDOM, JUSTICE AND EQUAL RIGHTS!**

## **WE DEMAND INDEPENDENCE AND DEMOCRACY!**

**WE' LL HAVE TO KNOW THAT NOBODY IS GOING TO GIVE US THESE RIGHTS JUST LIKE THAT, AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THESE GANGS WILL DO ANYTHING TO PREVENT THIS.**

Those who have oppressed our people, tortured and massacred them, made them "disappear", who burned down villages and abandoned the people to poverty and diseases, should be sentenced by a court which is established and confirmed by all patriots, people, institutions and forces which are on the side of the people, and this court should be open to all of them.

**THE ONES THAT RULE ARE THE ONES THAT GUILTY!  
WE WANT THE GUILTY TO BE HELD ACCOUNTABLE!**

## **THE NAME OF THE WAR AGAINST THE PEOPLE: THE CONTRA-GUERRILLA**

Nothing has changed in the past decades. It has become a regular item in the news reports. No days passes without it. We're talking about the "traffic monster". Normally the news reader says: "We have sad news for you again, the traffic monster demanded another victim." Most of the times, the deceased are unknown to us. But we damn the traffic monster: "God damn it, it demands thousands of victims each year." It hurts, we are saddened because most victims are part of us, part of the people.

The traffic accident on November 3 initially seemed like just another accident. But the news programs opened with it, it was not at the end as usual because the people involved were not just people like that.

The accident occurred in Susurluk. Police chief Huseyin Kocadag died when a brand new Mercedes crashed into a lorry, member of parliament Sedat Bucak was seriously injured. There were two more victims inside the car, one of them was a woman. At first not much attention was paid to these two, because they were not as known as the others. But this all changed within half an hour. It was Abdullah Catli who changed everything and who brought the naked truth into the open. It was the "state" who crashed. The passengers in the car immediately became symbols, the representatives of the present Turkish state, maintaining the system and the ruling powers.

The discussions in the bourgeois media partly revealed the truth about the filth the state is in, showing its decay, revealing that it is the state itself which produces this filth. The discussions about the drug trafficking, murders, disappearances, the contacts between the Mafia, the police, members of parliament and civic fascists revealed the existence of "secret focal points" within the state, in other words: the existence of the contra-guerrilla. The truth, spoken by revolutionaries from several sides, is now apparent for the people. Of course the discussions are just about a part of the truth, and while the discussions go on, the state tries to improve its image again.

The existence of the contra-guerrilla and its activities can no longer be denied. But they try to pretend this organisation and its activities are just about a tiny group within the state. In this way they try to create a base for covering up this issue, before it all escalates. All take part in this game, all bourgeois parties, from the CHP till the DSP, to

begin with Mesut Yilmaz, presented as the most radical of the opposition. At this point it is the task of the revolutionaries, patriots and democrats to not allow that the truth, coming into the open because of Susurluk, is covered up again. We must make the people conscious about this case, leading them into the direction of the struggle.

## **THE CENTRE OF THE CONTRA-GUERRILLA IS THE USA**

The contra-guerrilla organisations in Europe, becoming public in 1990, originate from the CIA and were planned "against a communist government, against the danger of a communist occupation".

The responsables, who acknowledged the existence of the contra-guerrilla organisations, said the secret organisations were set up to fight behind the enemy lines like a guerrilla force in case of such a threat, organising the people against the enemy. The necessary weapons, ammunition and equipment were kept in depots in several parts of the country. Contra-guerrilla organisations were set up in all NATO-countries and also in European countries which were no members of NATO. All these organisations were joined under the name "Super-NATO" and a central council was established. But why did imperialism, or the USA, think this organisation necessary?

The USA, emerged from the 2. Imperialist War of distribution of 1939-1945 as the strongest state which gained the most. The USA used this opportunity to impose itself as the world police force of all imperialist systems. Its goal was achieving world domination. "The communist danger" was supposed to be the largest obstacle. They wanted to cut off the path for communism, giving it not an inch of land. Therefore the strategy of the "Cold War" was developed. Truman presented the framework of this strategy in a speech before Congress on March 12, 1947, giving the signal for the "Cold War". According to the decided strategies, the "free" states were given economical as well as military support and it was "not allowed that these states walk into the trap of communism". But the USA declared as well that the aid depended on "the enlargement of the human liberty and democratic organisations and the securing of a liberal economy and governments, parties and groups which oppose the plan of the USA will be confronted with counter-measures by the USA." The USA wanted, according to its strategy for achieving world domination, to install collaborating governments in all countries. The economical side of this strategy was to find accomplices which were prepared to co-operate with the USA, controlling the economy of these countries with the support of these collaborators. In this way they wanted to decide the economies of the countries and gaining influence upon the governments.

### CIA, Organizer Of The International Contra-Guerrilla

In the military field a joint military organisation, NATO, was formed "against the communist block". But this was not enough for the USA and in the '50's they began to set up contra-guerrilla organisations in all NATO-states, using the CIA as a model. Not even the parliaments in these countries knew anything about the existence of these organisations. These secret contra-guerrilla organisations were not just set up against the external threat of "a communist occupation", they were also supposed to oppress all revolutionary and democratic movements which opposed the interests of the USA. This means the contra-guerrilla was supposed to fight the own people in the countries where it was set up.

"Our security is not only threatened by open attacks. Besides these open attacks there are even more dangerous threats of another nature, not looking to be attacks. These dangers are changes which are wanted in the interior of the countries. Such masked attacks sometimes appear as civil wars, sometimes as a revolutionary movement, and sometimes as a democratic or reform movement. It's our goal to prevent these, and similar, movements." (Report of the Rockefeller Foundation, American War Doctrine, p. 297)

The CIA trained the members of several contra-guerrilla organisation in training camps in the USA and other states. At the International Police Academy, near Washington, contra-guerrilla tactics of interrogation and torture are taught. Seminars are held about the social problems in different countries, about the destructivity and the agressivity of communism, attacks with explosives are with the help of films, near the Mexican border, in the vicinity of Matamaros, technics of silently killing people, like stabbing and strangulation, are taught under supervision of the Green Berets. At the US-base in Panama, officers were trained how to conduct a military coup. Until 1975, 30.000-40.000 people were trained here. In 1963 alone, 82 generals were trained. Around 1.400 officers were trained there annually. The coup leaders of Chile and Argentina followed courses there. The prime-minister of Mexico, Luis Echeveria, was a CIA-agent at the same time. He is mentioned in the CIA-archives under code-name Litempo-14. One of the former government leaders in Costa Rica, Jose Figures, stated he had served the CIA for 30 years, and the same was true for many government leaders in Latin-America.

#### The Source Of The Necessary Personnel: Old Nazi's

Investigations have shown the CIA used wanted Nazi's and fascists to set up the contra-guerrilla and to improve its tactics. The expert of psychological warfare Henry Kissinger had close relations with old Nazi's. He told them about his experiences with the US-government and he made them a proposition: "In Germany there is a great hate against the Soviet-Union, especially in Eastern Germany. However, this feeling is expressed nowhere because there is no organisation, no focal point. To steer this feeling, the Germans must be organised. [...] When America does not use these groups, the communists will use them."

The contra-guerrilla organisation, initially set up "against the danger of a communist occupation" in reality served to give the USA control over the countries in question and to hand them over the neo-colonialised countries.

#### The Contra-Guerrilla In The European Countries

In 1990 the contra-guerrilla organisation, known as GLADIO, was discovered. After this, all over Europe the existence of contra-guerrilla organisations was revealed.

#### **ITALY:**

"To discover one is the only person, except for the members of this organisation, who knows about the existence of Gladio, and thinking about it that they could kill you any moment, is a terrible feeling", said state prosecutor Felice Casson who tracked Gladio. After a long investigation the Italian Gladio was discovered. A bomb attack near Triest in 1972 in which 3 people were killed was brought to court in 1989 by state prosecutor Felice Casson. The more his investigations progressed, the closer he came to Gladio, but



the solving of the case was prevented by the secret service and prime-minister Andreotti. Despite the attempts to cover up the events, the state had to acknowledge the existence of Gladio. The investigations revealed 622 members, 138 secret arms depots and a training camp in Sardinia. An arms depot was discovered in Northern Italy in 1988, containing 127 weapons and explosives. This depot was controlled by the Italian intelligence service SISMI.

Gladio. The state attorney Felice Casson, who was entrusted with investigating it, found that the Gladio was founded in October 1956 by the USA and the Italian secret service SIMSI. Every year the CIA sent 20 to 30 million dollars since the 1950s for anticommunist activities in Italy.

Moreover, there were close contacts between the organisation and President Cossiga, the P2 masonic lodge, and Prime Minister Andreotti, who in 1993 was accused of mafia membership.

In the P2 lodge discovered in 1981, there were 2,500 members, of whom 47 were industrialists, 119 were bankers and representatives of high finance, 43 were generals, 6 were ministers or state secretaries in the government, 18 were leading members of the judiciary, 22 were leading journalists, 38 were parliament deputies and one was the CIA resident in Rome, Howard Stone. After numerous failed coup attempts, the P2 had the task of undermining all important positions in the state and bringing a dictatorship of the fascist type to power.

Known members of P2 include Silvio Berlusconi and Giulio Andreotti, who at the moment is facing trial for mafia membership and leadership of the Gladio.

The actions in which the Gladio was shown to be involved:

- \* Three fascist putsch attempts: 1964, 1969 and 1973.
- \* The bomb at the Piazza Fontana in Milan in December 1969, in which 16 were killed and 80 wounded.
- \* The May 1973 bomb in a police station in Milan, in which three people died.
- \* The 1980 bomb in the Bologna railway station which cost more than 80 lives. For this attack the known fascist Stefano delle Chiaie was sentenced, but nonetheless he organised the international drugs trade unhindered and also had contact with Abdullah Catli.
- \* The murder of three gendarmes with a car bomb in May 1988.

With the uncovering of the Gladio, the ties between the Italian government, the mafia and the CIA as well as to contra-guerrillas in other countries became known. But despite the major scandal that this caused as well as the de facto removal of the Christian Democrats from power, there have been scarcely any sentences or even charges so far. None of the generals responsible for coup attempts were dismissed from the army. Against Giulio Andreotti there are several trials in progress, but through his seat in the Senate which he holds for life, he possesses permanent immunity and need fear no sentence being passed.

#### **FRANCE:**

The French contra-guerrilla organisation was called "Windrose". Defence minister Jean Pierre Chevenement stated the contra-guerrilla was founded in the '50s and that the organisation had been dissolved by president Mitterand. However, an Italian source revealed the French contra-guerrilla organisation had been present at a meeting of representatives from all contra-guerrilla organisations, the so-called "Super-NATO" in Brussels as late as October 1990.

#### **SPAIN:**

The socialist government of Felipe Gonzales, coming to power in 1984, at first denied the

existence of a contra-guerrilla organisation in Spain. But defence minister Narcis Serra ordered a investigation committee, without participation of the military. It was known that contra-guerrilla organisations existed during the junta of Franco and that Franco participated in talks with fascist politicians and European military leaders. A Italian member of Gladio stated on television that Gladio, together with Spanish contra-guerrilla's, had been trained on the Canary Islands by the American army. Later there had been training centres and contra-guerrilla sections in Spain itself as well, supported by the Spanish military. The official denials were exposed as lies.

The activities of the Spanish contra-guerrilla were even more disclosed after a statement by a policeman in 1994. The policeman stated the bookkeeper Galey, accused of being a member of ETA, had never had any relations with ETA in the first place, and that he had been kidnapped by the Spanish contra-guerrilla organisation GAL. After these revelations, a new investigation was ordered and a trial was opened. The investigation revealed that between 1983 and 1987 at least 23 people, accused of being ETA-members, had been kidnapped and murdered by the GAL.

#### **BELGIUM:**

The Belgium contra-guerrilla organisation "Glaive" was established in 1949 in co-operation between England and a subdivision of the Belgium military intelligence service SGR, the SDRAB. The core of this contra-guerrilla organisation was constituted by 8 officers in active duty and 10 pensioned officers.

#### **HOLLAND:**

1990 the Dutch prime-minister Ruud Lubbers denied in a written statement to parliament that a contra-guerrilla organisation existed. This was a lie. Subsequent investigations revealed the existence of the secret contra-guerrilla organisation "Operaties en Inlichtingen" (Operations and Intelligence). This organisation receives 1.5 -3 million dollars each year from a secret fund of the defence department. Several secret arms depots were discovered like the one in Velp in 1983.

#### **GREECE:**

The Greek contra-guerrilla organisation is called "Sheepskin". At first the Greek government denied the existence of a contra-guerrilla organisation as well. Prime-minister Papandreou did acknowledge the existence of the Greek contra-guerrilla in a statement in October 1990, but he claimed to have ordered its dissolution after he had come to power in 1984. Greece became NATO-member in 1952. That same year, the Greek "Central Information Service KYB" was established. On March 25, 1955, the Greek chief of staff Davos and the CIA officer Trascott signed the papers for the establishment of the Greek contra-guerrilla organisation which was later known as "Sheepskin". The document was contra-signed by the then prime-minister Papagos. The organisation had 1.500 members, a number which could be increased to 3.500 in case of emergency. There were 800 depots to its disposal, filled with weapons, munition and explosives. On April 21, 1967, KYB officers used a plan dating from 1950, drawn up in case of a communist occupation, to carry out a military coup. Within 20 minutes, the putschists controlled all major objects. When the CIA, who backed the coup, convinced the junta of the possibility of a similar coup to seize power on Cyprus, the way was opened for a military intervention by Turkey on Cyprus. **GERMANY:**

The chief of the German contra-guerrilla organisation "Antikommunistische Angriffstruppe" (Anti-communist Attack Force), the retired general Reinhard Gehlen, was also chief of the federal intelligence service BND from 1945-1968. The German

contra-guerrilla organisation is also known as "Gehlen-Bewegung" (Gehlen Movement), "Stay Behind" and "Sword". The "Bund Deutscher Jugend" (German Youth Federation), founded in 1950, is in the same tradition. A former agent of this organisation, Dieter von Glahn, stated for the press that the BDJ was one of the many organisations which were financed by the CIA.

One of the organisations in Germany, set up by the CIA, was "Peters Organisation", later known as "Technischer Dienst TD" (Technical Service). The best agents of these organisations had the disposal of high-tech radio equipment "Harbuna", manufactured by AEG/TST, especially for BND-agents. Germany supplies the contra-guerrilla organisations in other countries with "training and requisites". Near Munich, the US 20. Special Forces had its headquarters, and the "School for Counter-Insurgency" was situated in Ober-Ammergau. Contra-guerrilla members from many countries, not just from NATO-countries, were trained in camps in Bayern/Bad Toelz and Schoengau.

#### **SWITZERLAND:**

The contra-guerrilla organisation in Switzerland was set up in 1950 as "Geheime Abwehr Organisation" (Secret Resistance Organisation). Investigations showed the organisation kept files about 1/6 of all Swiss, that is more than 900.000 Swiss. The GAO belonged to the Intelligence and Counter-intelligence Service (UNA), directed by the chiefs of staff. Although not a NATO-country, the chiefs of the Swiss contra-guerrilla participated in the meetings of "Super-NATO" in Belgium. An investigation by a parliamentary committee revealed the existence of the organisation "Project-26" (P-26), as well as several arms and explosives depots in Switzerland. The members of P-26 were trained in a country which name was not disclosed, and they possessed radio equipment which was used by secret NATO organisations and which the Swiss army did not dispose of. This equipment was supplied by the German BND. Furthermore, a special service ("Spez. D") was set up to facilitate the exchange of information between Switzerland and NATO. This organisation had links with the German organisation "Schwarze Hand" (Black Hand).

#### **AUSTRIA:**

In October 1950, the Austrian minister of the Interior, Franz Olah, ordered an attack against a workers' strike in which communist workers participated as well. After the strike was crushed, the scabs were brought together in a organisation, the "OeWSGV" (Austrian Defence Sports and Friendship Association). Franz Olah described the organisation as a "special project" which was to be activated in case a communist government was to be formed. The OeWSGV was equipped with a central headquarters, special radio equipment, as well as arms and explosives depots in several places.

#### **SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES:**

The contra-guerrilla organisations in the Scandinavian countries like Denmark, Norway and the non-NATO countries Sweden and Finland were set up between 1951 and 1953 by William Colby who later became director of the CIA.

William Colby wrote in his memoirs that he received support of governments in Norway and Denmark to set up the contra-guerrilla. In Sweden and Finland the contra-guerrilla was organised in an illegal way with the help of right-wing parties. In 1978, a large arms depot was discovered in Norway. The government stated this depot was to be used in case of war. The roots of the contra-guerrilla in Sweden can be traced back to the "Sveaborg Brothers in Arms". The people who were contacted, all belonged to independent contra-guerrilla groups.

## **Was The Contra-Guerrilla In Europa Dissolved?**

The scandalous developments, suddenly becoming visible, and the existence of secret organisations for some 40 years, revealed at roughly the same time in all European countries and NATO-countries, except Turkey, as well as the fact that this happened immediately after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, show this has not been a natural development. The European countries did no longer need these organisations, set up against the "communist threat" after the Soviet Union split up. There is no longer a threat that Europe will be occupied by the Soviet Union. In their view the danger of a revolution does not exist, at least not for the near future. And even if such a threat would exist, without support by the Soviet Union, such a threat could easily be suppressed. The organisations, costing billions of dollars each year, became too much of a burden for the European imperialists, and they wanted to get rid of this burden. By keeping the contra-guerrilla organisations a secret, they proved that these organisations carried out illegal actions, massacres and provocations. Were similar organisations set up after these were dissolved? That is not known. But it would be easy to imagine how these organisations would look like and what kind of activities they would carry out.

## **The Existence Of The Contra-Guerrilla In Turkey Has Always Been Denied**

The contra-guerrilla first let itself be known during the May 12-Junta 1971 during the tortures in the Ziverbey villa. The torturers sometimes openly admitted to the tortured to belong to the contra-guerrilla. The discussions about whether or not such an organisation existed, started in those days, some 25 years ago. The discussions kept on. Something else did never end: the denials of the existence of the contra-guerrilla by all subsequent governments. It would probably be natural for the military and the police in a country to deny the existence of a contra-guerrilla, but it is not for a delegate, chosen into parliament to represent the people.

Some remain silent because they never opposed it, some because they co-operated with them, or they supported them, and some remained silent when the people were murdered under torture, just not to harm the state. They kept silent, and they participated in all the crimes against the people.

The revelation of the existence of the contra-guerrilla organisations and similar organisations in the European countries caused a closer look at the contra-guerrilla in Turkey as well. The statement by the prime-minister of Luxemburg, Jacques Santes on November 13, 1990: "The secret organisation in Turkey is called contra-guerrilla", forced the then officials to react.

Demirel, in those days in the opposition, stated: "There is no room for such kind of organisations in a state of law. It has become a task of parliament to combat these secret organisations which constitute a threat to the people. The Turkish state can not step to the Turkish people with a murderous image. Where are the state prosecutors?"

The SODEP (Social-democratic Party) chairman, Erdal Inonu, in the opposition benches as well: "We expect a solution in this case about the contra-guerrilla, but we're not in the government now".

Three years later. Demirel and Inonu are now part of the same government coalition, and they speak about the contra-guerrilla quite differently.

Demirel: "Discussions about the contra-guerrilla just whips up things. An ideology which tries to harm the state, which hides behind these events, must be finished."

Inonu: "The discussions about the contra-guerrilla endanger our government coalition."

### **Parliament Protocol Of March 2nd 1993 On The Subject Of The Contra-Guerrilla**

Protocol of parliament session on March 2, 1993 about the contra-guerrilla: "The government opposes to make these false accusations, intended to harm our state, a theme of investigation for our high parliament." (Nevzat Ayaz, Defence Minister, DYP)

"The number of murders by unknown perpetrators, risen to 600 in one year, constitutes a great shame for the coalition government, for all of us and for democracy. In case the request for an investigation is rejected today, this would mean a wound for our democratic parliamentary regime. If our high parliament misses this opportunity, it will have to account for history." (Algan Hacaloglu, CHP)

"Mister Demirel has said here: We wanted an investigation of the contra-guerrilla, the sent a message not to stir up things. Apparently a message was sent today as well to mister Demirel and mister Inonu to sent this message through to the present opposition so they leave this matter as it is, to put their own fractions under pressure." (Hasan Mezarci, RP)

"There are certain reasons why this organisation has become the target of these attacks. The reasons: to harm the security forces, corrupt its morale, create internal problems, making them biased, making society despair about these forces, getting society over to their side. To say it 2 words: shaking the trust in the state." (Baki Tug, DYP)

"In a time when the great masses do not have sufficient information, some people, circles and even institutions wage campaigns which from time to time even become actions. The goal is obvious: confusing the thoughts of the people, harming the Turkish state and some of its institutions, destroying them." (M. Bahri Kibar, ANAP)

### **Founding Of The Contra-Guerrilla In Turkey**

At the beginning of the 1990s, the existence of contra-guerrilla organisations was revealed in the NATO countries and in countries like Finland and Sweden, which did not themselves belong to NATO. However, although Turkey is a NATO member, the existence of a contra-guerrilla organisation in Turkey has always been denied. Perhaps the European imperialist countries no longer have a need for contra-guerrilla organisations, but the Turkish oligarchy will have a need for it for a long time to come. It has never been possible here to put an end to the revolutionary and the national liberation struggle, on the contrary: the danger of a revolution has only become greater for the oligarchy.

Neither the oligarchy nor imperialism could live in peace with that. Therefore the fight against the people was stepped up, especially at the beginning of the 1990s, and more and more use of the contra-guerrillas was made. With disappearances, executions, massacres, coercing people to betray others, the burning down of villages, provocations, forced emigration and denunciations of revolutionaries and patriots, psychological warfare was increased, the activities of the contra-guerrillas were institutionalised and became state policy.

New organisations such as the Special Units and the secret service of the military, JITEM, were set up, contra-guerrilla traitors were employed and the "village guards" were legalised. Using such methods means waging war against the people. But these methods of war against the people are nothing new. They have been used before by the imperialists, especially by the USA and its contra-guerrilla centre, the CIA, in their war

against the peoples all over the world.

When the USA began to enlarge and secure its capitalist world order after 1945, contra-guerrilla organisations were set up in all the countries in the world it could reach. The aim was not to protect these countries from the danger of "communist occupation", they actually wanted to prevent national liberation struggles and revolutions in these countries, to bring collaborator governments in power and keep them there with the help of the contra-guerrilla organisations. In this way these countries were to be made dependent upon the USA, and transformed into a constant resource for exploitation. Therefore contra-guerrilla organisations were not only set up in the NATO countries, they were set up in all countries which collaborated with the USA.

The military experts Peter Paret and John W. Shy described the goal of the USA in this way: "The goal is to strengthen the authority of the governments which are supported by the USA, securing their regimes." (P. Paret and J.W. Shy, *Guerrillas in the 1960s*, p. 42) "The USA can and must deploy the contra-guerrillas in crushing leftist or non-leftist governments which are not acting according to the wishes of the USA. [...] It's our goal to instal friendly governments instead of unfriendly governments which are not acting in accordance with our interests." (ib. p.302)

To achieve these goals, the USA planned coups in many countries, carried them out themselves or supported those who did. The military coup of 1973 in Chile, for example, was planned by the financial director of the American monopoly ITT. The socialist president of Chile, Allende, who won elections democratically, was brought down and his place was taken by a military junta. In 1953, the CIA was involved in bringing down the government of Prime Minister Mossadeq in Iran. Feyzullah Zahidi, brought into power in his place by the CIA, had been a supporter of the Nazis. In Greece, the governments were controlled by contra-guerrillas. Vietnam, Korea and other countries where the USA waged open war, and Latin America, known as the "backyard of the USA", served as a laboratory for the contra-guerrilla. The contra-guerrilla in Turkey, strengthened in the 1980s and actually forming the government, have been waging an intensified war against the people since the 1990s, profiting from the experiences the CIA had made in previous years in these countries.

### **The First Contra-Guerrilla Centre: The "Mobilisation Workgroup"**

In 1947, the government of the CHP (Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People's Party) changed the system from a one-party system into a multi-party system, because of relations with the imperialist countries, especially the USA. This phase has been very important for Turkey. The relations with the USA rapidly developed under the government of the DP (Democratic Party), led by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes. In the general treaty with the USA and the European countries, Turkey asked for economic aid in particular.

Under the Marshall Plan, influenced by the Truman Doctrine, this aid was generously granted to bring the USA closer to its aim of world domination. Although there was no written request by the USA or a corresponding treaty, Turkey - on its own initiative - sent soldiers to Korea for the benefit of the imperialists in order to show itself a reliable friend of the USA. On April 4, 1952, Turkey became a member of NATO. Under the "Treaty for Mutual Defence", Turkey signed many treaties which made it dependent of the imperialists. As in all other NATO countries, a contra-guerrilla organisation was set up in Turkey in 1952 against the "threat of a communist occupation", and this was called

"Mobilisation Workgroup". And like in all founding member countries, the public and parliament were not informed about the existence of the contra-guerrillas. Only the few who took part in setting it up, knew about it. The contra-guerrilla, under the command of the deputy chief of the general staff, was housed in the same building as the US aid-organisation JUSMAAT, in Ankara/Bahcelievler. In 1965, the name was changed to "Special Warfare Department", and in 1990 it was renamed "Special Forces Command". Until 1974, the CIA took care of all the costs and the training of the contra-guerrillas.

### **The Contra-Guerrilla And The CIA**

Under the "Being of Help" programme, and through the mediation of the CIA, prospective contra-guerrillas were trained in schools or camps in the other imperialist countries or the colonies. Among the trainees were officers, policemen as well as civilians. They are trained by the USA, but not because the USA wants to be of help. In the training camps and schools, the CIA contacts them and tries to enlist them as CIA agents. It establishes an organisation of its own in all the contra-guerrilla countries. And thus it governs all the countries it wants to keep under its control through the contra-guerrillas. It works its way into the most remote corners of the state, getting information about politicians, about the latest developments, much quicker than those who are wielding official power. It tries to get the policemen and military officers - who have become its agents or who can easily be indoctrinated with its policy and even the bureaucrats and politicians - into key positions in state bodies. During the putsch and the military junta, these officers - who had become CIA agents - played a major role. **In 1967, Secretary of Defence Robert McNamara explained US aims:** *"To state it even more openly, with the aid for Latin America we pursue the aim, if necessary, to support the training of the military or paramilitaries to restore much-needed internal peace, together with the police and the other security forces.*

*"The actual reason for our military aid for these countries, where the military is weakly developed, is to model them according to the ideology of the USA, to use them, if necessary, in the future in governing these countries."*

### **Military Coup 1960**

The war of the contra-guerrillas against the people also increased opposition. Forty-four years have passed since the contra-guerrillas were set up in Turkey. But in the last five years considerable differences have appeared, both in relation to the power it achieved in state bodies, as well as concerning the methods which are being used in the war against the people. Certainly this is no coincidence. When the oligarchy - through the contra-guerrillas - uses the most brutal and cruel methods in the war it has opened against the people, then this stems from its helplessness against the revolutionaries and the national struggle. In the past they saw all its tools and methods weren't sufficient to stop the struggle, and now it's forced to develop new methods and tools to continue the war. Between 1950-1960 the US "policy of Cold War" was applied in a radical manner in Turkey by the Democratic Party, led by Menderes. "Communism and the Soviet Union" were supposed to be the biggest enemies. In this period, in 1955, the contra-guerrillas carried out its first operation: a bomb attack against the Ataturk House, a museum, in Thessalonika, Greece. The government and the pro-government press used this event to provoke the people. Fascists, organised by the provocations of the contra-guerrillas, carried out attacks against houses, shops and workplaces of Armenians and Greeks in

Istanbul. These places were burned and destroyed.

But the bankruptcy of its economic policy caused an economic crisis and poverty in the country and the Democratic Party suffered setbacks. The contra-guerrillas increased their attacks against the opposition even more, eventually leading to growth in the democratic opposition and the coup of May 27, 1960. The USA knew about this coup beforehand, but it became clear they could not control the organising officers in the way they wanted. It's true, the fascist Alparslan Turkes, trained in the USA, initially took part in the newly founded committee of national unity, but he and his friends were quickly removed and sent into exile. Later he became the leader of the civilian fascist movement the MHP (the Nationalist Action Party).

In the mid-1960s the mass actions started. In 1967, DISK (Revolutionary Trade Union Confederation) was founded and the organisation of the workers rapidly developed. From 1968 onward, the discussions among the left increased and the revisionist line of the TKP (Turkish Communist Party) and the TIP (Turkish Labour Party) was considered obsolete. Large parts of the youth disassociated themselves from this line. First the FKF (Debating Club Federation, theoretical led by Mahir Cayan) was founded, and later the Devrimci Genclik (Revolutionary Youth). The contra-guerrillas were more and more used against the growing and radicalising opposition which began to strive for revolution. A civilian organisation of the contra-guerrillas, the fascist MHP movement, began to organise in this period. From 1967 the civilian fascists were trained in the commando camps of the contra-guerrillas. Alparslan Turkes is the leader of this movement. Nihat Yazar, former chairman of the MHP disciplinary committee, who later left the party, reported in a statement to the paper Politika about the participation of Alparslan Turkes in the coup of 1960: "The contacts between Alparslan Turkes, who was involved in the coup, and the CIA, began in those days."

Against the growing people's opposition, the state began to make use of the civil fascists, as well as the police and the military.

### **Military Coup 1971**

Since the 1960s, provocative actions have been part of the methods of the contra-guerrilla to increase the impact of its psychological warfare. The March 12 coup and many sabotage actions were carried out. And attempts were made to make it look as if the revolutionaries were the perpetrators. A large-scale smear campaign was launched against the revolutionaries. Some of these actions are listed below:

- \* A red flag was hung from the Galata Tower in Istanbul.
- \*The Ataturk Cultural Palace in Taksim/Istanbul was burned.
- \* A ferry was sunk in Eminonu/Istanbul.
- \* A bomb attack against the Sirkeci Train Station in Istanbul.
- \* A bomb attack against the Ataturk Airport in Yasilkoy/Istanbul.
- \* The Marmara ferry was set on fire.

With such provocative actions, the contra-guerrillas used terror against the revolutionaries, democrats and intellectuals. Hundreds of people were arrested and tortured. But as always in these types of actions, the perpetrators were never found.

### **The Beginning Of The Mass Execution**

With the coup of March 12, 1971, the contra-guerrillas became even stronger. Unlike the coup on May 27, 1960, the contra-guerrillas played a major role. During the junta, the



name of the contra-guerrillas could most be heard in Istanbul/Erenkoy, in the torture centre in the Ziverbey House. In this period the contra-guerrilla chief of the general staff was Memduh Tagmac.

Later the organisations of the contra-guerrillas, the fascist MHP, and the support bases of the fascists gained in strength. From 1974, when the revolutionary struggle began to increase, the attacks by civilian fascist gangs began anew. The fascist gangs wanted to control the schools, neighbourhoods and villages in the entire country. The oligarchy wanted to strangle the growing opposition by imposing a fascist occupation. This caused the masses, forced into the class struggle, to organise the anti-fascist struggle. Although several opportunistic and revisionist organisations behaved passively towards the fascist attacks, resistance was mounted in the schools and the neighbourhoods. Large sacrifices were made and thousands of revolutionaries and patriots fell. But the fascist plan was frustrated. The attempts by the fascists to seize places by force were largely disrupted in all parts of the country.

When the growing opposition could no longer be halted with the help of state-supported fascist attacks, the oligarchy had no other option left than to carry out a military coup. Between 1975-1980, most contra-actions were carried out by civilian fascists. In this period, revolutionaries and patriots were mostly kidnapped, tortured and murdered by organisations like ETKO (Salvation Army for the Imprisoned Turks, led by MHP-fascists) and the TIT (Turkish Revenge Brigade). The murdered people were put in sacks and dumped. The contra-guerrillas carried out the most shocking and conspicuous mass executions in this period:

\* May Day, 1977: people on the streets are shot at by snipers in buildings and crushed by tanks. The death of 36 people was a starting signal for a veritable wave of mass executions.

\* March 16, 1978: In front of the University of Istanbul democratic and revolutionary students were shot when they left the university building. Later seven students are murdered in a bomb attack.

\* October 8, 1978: seven students who were members of the TIP (Turkish Labour Party), were murdered in their houses in Ankara/Bahcelievler by fascists. Abdullah Catli was one of those responsible for this massacre.

\* October 1978: Four students were taken from a bus by fascists in Istanbul and shot.

\* December 21, 1978: Before the massacre in Kahramanmaraş, two teachers, members of the TOB-DER (Teachers' Union) were murdered. The next day, December 22, fascists attacked the people who attended the funeral ceremony for the murdered teachers. From there, the fascists marched to the shopping centre where they destroyed shops owned by Alevis, as well as the buildings of the CHP. During a confrontation, three more people are murdered. On December 23, ostensibly to prevent a confrontation between police and the people, the policemen were called off the streets. This gave the fascists the opportunity to gather, and they were given a free hand. Soldiers, summoned by the governor on December 21, never arrived. On December 24, the fascists attacked a neighbourhood predominantly inhabited by Alevis. They murdered children, elderly people, women even pregnant women and the sick. The massacre continued until the evening of December 25. Two hundred and ten houses and 70 workshops are destroyed and burned. As far as can be ascertained, 111 people were murdered.

\* May 16, 1979: Fascists stormed a cafe in Ankara/Etilik Piyangotepe which was frequented by leftists. The people were forced to lie down and were then shot. Seven people were murdered.

\* October 27, 1979: A cafe in Devrim Street in Istanbul/Bayrampasa which was

frequented by leftists was stormed by fascists.

\* On October 28, 1979: Another cafe, this time in Kayseri, was riddled with bullets by fascists: five people died.

\* On December 16, 1979: the Barbados Coffee House in Istanbul/Besiktas, often frequented by revolutionary students, was bombed. Five students died in the attack. (These are only a few examples, the list of massacres is almost endless)

## **1980 Military Coup**

In the years before 1980 the fascist terror increased. Civil fascists took over important positions in the government and judiciary. Increasingly the police recruited fascists. However, the people also organised themselves against massacres and executions. In 1978 the liberation movement Devrimci Sol (Revolutionary Left) was formed, which continued the legacy of the THKP-C (People's Liberation Party-Front of Turkey). The leaders of the THKP-C fell in Kizildere in 1972, but their line of popular armed struggle was continued and developed by Devrimci Sol. On March 30 1994, the anniversary of the "Kizildere manifesto", Devrimci Sol concluded the renewed development of the party. On this day, the DHKP-C, the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front, was founded.

The Turkish state did not succeed in silencing the ever louder calls of the people for democracy and justice. To preserve the system, the military staged a coup with the help of the imperialists on September 12 1980.

Hundreds of people were murdered. Tens of thousands were arrested and tortured. All democratic organisations, newspapers, trade unions were banned, their members arrested, tortured, murdered or sentenced to long prison sentences. With the September 1980 coup, the policy of disappearances, executions in the street and systematic torture which constitute today's Turkey made its first appearance.

Some members of the fascist Grey Wolves, for example their leader Turkes, were also arrested and sentenced. However, this was a matter of keeping up a pretence, and even those Grey Wolves who had been sentenced to death were released after a few years. After the coup a number of institutions were set up which exist to this day. Their aim is to safeguard the power of the military, no matter what kind of civilian government is set up as a facade.

MGK: National Security Council. The top brass of the armed forces, the president and the most prominent members of the monopoly bourgeoisie sit on it.

YÖK: on November 6 1981, at the command of the generals, this higher education council was set up. YÖK is a committee of 25 which directs and guides the administration of higher education establishments. It looks after study syllabuses, exams and disciplinary procedures. For years there have been protests against YÖK from students, especially the boycott which takes place on November 6 every year.

In the education system, hundreds of textbooks have been rewritten to conform to fascist ideology.

Various laws, for example the ban on the Kurdish language, are used to suppress the expression of cultural identity.

Emergency Areas. Most of Kurdistan is a state of emergency area in which the "law" has ceased to be applied at all. The declaration of the state of emergency is regularly extended every six months.

The trade unions, which since 1986 can organise outside of Türk-İs, the state trade union

federation, are subject to strict legislation. For example, a legal notary must confirm the membership figures claimed by a union. If a union has 50 percent or more of the labour force in a workplace, enabling it to represent workers legally, this still has to be confirmed by the Labour Ministry, a process that can take months and which gives the employer plenty of time to sack union members. Persons convicted of a "political offence" are banned from holding any position in the unions.

DGM: State Security Court. All "crimes of terrorism" come under its jurisdiction. These include arrests at demonstrations as well cases involving journalists, trade unionists, artists and members of the armed forces. There are three judges in the DGM, of whom at least one must be a member of the armed forces (normally two of them are). The lawyers too are frequently part of the military structure.

In 1981, the military set up a puppet government headed by the Motherland Party (ANAP). In 1983, the first "free" elections took place. But this "elected" government, like the successors, was a puppet regime lacking real power. The National Security Council determines which parties can go on the ballot.

The contra-guerrillas have maintained their supremacy through the institutions that were set up after the coup and their rights of intervention, and through the use of executive bodies which recruit heavily among the fascists. The renewed resistance, which has grown despite all crackdowns, has been met with increased repression. Human rights violations increase from year to year. The wave of disappearances, executions, mass arrests and torture which was first experienced in 1980 have become part of everyday life in Turkey.

In October 1996 (the month before Susurluk) Oya Gökbayrak, the spokeswoman of the Platform for Rights and Freedoms, described the differences as compared with 1980 thus: "The one important difference is the dirty war being waged against the Kurdish people. This war has of course been going on for decades, and has now reached the highest point with the burning of villages, massacres and mass expulsions of people from their homes. "The other important difference is that in 1980 civil fascists described as 'persons unknown' were the ones who carried out massacres. Now crimes like disappearances, extra-judicial executions and so on are carried out by the state security forces as part of their duties, ordered and protected by the highest levels of the state."

## **THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE CONTRA-GUERRILLA**

### **The Command Of The "Special Armed Forces"**

When the contra-guerrilla was organised in Turkey in 1952 as the "Institute for War Research" it could possibly be described as a "dark force within the state" or "a state within the state" like similar institutions in Europe. Nowadays such a description is no longer valid, considering the institutionalisation of fascism. The first contra-guerrilla organisation developed imultaneous with the increasing class struggle, its organisation was enlarged and it developed into a mechanism which nowadays controls the entire state.

The "Institute for War Research" can be described as the core of the present "Special Forces", used in the war against the people. The "Institute" was set up in 1952 without any legal basis as a secret contra-guerrilla centre, under the command of the general staff. Its existence wasn't even publicly known till 1974. The existence was not documented in any written document or archive. After it's existence was revealed, it was claimed the

organisation was only to be used against occupying forces of the enemy in case of a war. The organisation had allegedly nothing to do with a contra-guerrilla organisation. But whatever they claim, it's obvious the contra-guerrilla is always used in the war against the people. After its existence became known, the organisation was legitimised. Its superior commanders and its bases are known. But this is just the public side of its face. The inner structure of the organisation and its activities are still kept secret.

The "Institute for War Research" was first called "Special Warfare Institute", and afterwards it was renamed "Special Forces Command". Its command heads the departments, leading and centralising their activities. The Gendarme Corps, the Gendarmerie Intelligence Service to Combat Terrorism (JITEM), the Special Operation Teams, the Village Guards, the Special Commando Units and the OHAL (Emergency State Areas) governors work under the leadership of the command. Furthermore it commands the Special Operation Units (judicially ordered by the Interior Department and belonging to the Police Chief structure), the Anti-Terror Departments, the MIT (National Intelligence Service) and the Civil Defence Organisation (also officially belonging to the Interior Department). All these organisations are controlled by the contra-guerrilla. The activities of the contra-organisations MHP and Hizbullah are also controlled through this command by the contra-guerrilla. All of them combined constitute the military hitting power in the war against the people. The activities are not limited to the military field. The psychological warfare, important in the war against the people, is also controlled by the command through the Department for Psychological Warfare. This psychological warfare is conducted by the media and also maintains contacts with the employers and several economical institutions.

In its war against the people, the contra-guerrilla tries to get rid of all obstacles in its way. It therefore has its fingers in all state positions. It is organised in the state bureaucracy. It occupies important positions within the state through MHP-members or supporters of the contra-guerrilla. The contra-guerrilla is also organised in the judicial apparatus, among the judges and the state prosecutors. Also parliament is to be kept under control of the contra-guerrilla. The parties who are represented in parliament are accordingly manipulated.

### **National Security Council (MGK) And Parliaments**

The military controls the National Security Council (MGK), in which the general staff, the commanders of the armed forces, the president, the prime minister, and the Interior and Defence minister are represented. The advice of the MGK to the government are in fact nothing less than direct orders. Judicially, the MGK is controlled by parliament, but until now no government has ever risked to ignore a MGK advice. De facto the MGK controls parliament. This power does not stem from laws or the judicial apparatus, it stems from the contra-guerrilla organisation within the state and its military strength. This perfectly fits a contra-guerrilla state and a contra-guerrilla justice. The MGK is a contra-guerrilla organisation. It's a product of the September 12 junta. Even without any judicial basis the MGK controls parliament. All laws and decisions by parliament must be confirmed by the MGK before they are passed. Any other conduct would get a government into serious problems, no party could get away with that. It is said the contra-guerrilla was behind the attack against prime-minister Turgut Ozal because he had a conflict with the MGK about the Kurdish problem. It is not clear whether or not this is really the case, but it is certain the assailant Kartal Demirdag did not act out of personal

interests. Furthermore it is said that the former SHP (Social-democratic Party) chairman Erdal Inonu stepped down because of a conflict with the MGK. Inonu remains silent about this.

The common goal of US-imperialism and the contra-guerrilla was -and remains- to establish a pro-American government and to keep it in power. For this reason Demirel was trained in the US, appointed as representative of the US-firm Marrison for Turkey and supported in all elections. For the same reason Turgut Ozal was first trained in the US after the September coup and then elected as prime-minister in the sham elections of 1983 as a known supporter of the US. And because of her co-operation with the MGK, Ciller was appointed as chairman of the DYP. Trained in the US, and a US national herself, Tansu Ciller has until now always been supported in the elections by the US. As thanks she appointed the contra-guerrilla chiefs Dogan Gures, Mehmet Agar, Unal Erkan, Hayri Kozakcioglu, Necdet Menzir and Sedat Bucak into parliament. This also shows the contra-guerrilla has increased its power over parliament in time. But the contacts of the contra-guerrilla go beyond this. Members of the civilian fascist organisations or not only found in the MHP or its split, the BBP. A lot of them can be found in the DYP and ANAP. Eight members of the advisors staff of Mesut Yilmaz are former MHP members. The new minister of the Interior Meral Aksener, who replaced Mehmet Agar, stems from a MHP family and has a MHP background herself. It might be difficult to prove direct or indirect connections between individual parliamentarians and the contra-guerrilla, but when we look at politics, it becomes clear that no political party, including the social democrats, can ignore the contra-guerrilla. The contra-guerrilla conducted even the most brutal actions, provocations and massacres during the period of the coalition government between the social-democratic SHP and the DYP. In short: there are no differences between left-wing and right-wing parties in parliament. In the end all parties are, directly or indirectly, accomplices of the contra-guerrilla and the executors of its policy.

### **Civil Fascist Organisations**

#### **MHP:**

In all the countries where the contra-guerrilla was established, it founded civilian fascist organisations or it fell back on already existing fascist organisations, making these organisations into a support base of the international contra-guerrilla. The contra-guerrilla has always needed this kind of organisations and used them in its war against the people. The CIA, for example, used the experience of Nazi officers and Gestapo agents in founding the contra-guerrilla and determining its tactics.

It was established that Catli travelled from Latin-America to Miami on September 9, 1992, accompanied by Stefano delle Chiale, co-ordinator of the international drug trade for the CIA. Stefano delle Chiale is a CIA agent. He is also chief of the Italian Gladio, founder and chairman of the North-Italian fascist party and responsible for a bomb attack in Bologna in which 81 people were murdered.

The first civilian fascist organisation in Turkey of the contra-guerrilla was the "Combat Organisation against Communism", founded before 1970 by Turkes. After the coup of 1980, the need for fascist organisations was even bigger for the oligarchy. Led by Alparslan Turkes, the MHP was founded. The then chairman of the intelligence service of the general staff, the retired admiral Sezai Okunt meant: "the armed forces were more afraid of the left than for the right because the right was not organised till then. The organisation of the right started with the MHP. Turkes received a lot of help in those

days". (Hurriyet, November 19, 1990)

Leading MHP cadres took over the leadership of the civilian fascist movements. The youth was organised in the "Ulku Ocak" (literally: the Idealist Herd, the Grey Wolves) and the "MHP youth associations". Under the control of the Special Warfare Department they were trained in military combat in Elazig, Kayseri, Eskisehir, Gaziantep and Cannakale by the contra-guerrilla.

The contra-guerrilla uses the fascist organisation in several ways. As anti-Communists they are the natural supporters of fascism and they are used as a mass weapon and a basis. Sometimes the civilian fascist organisations are used as a hitting force against the revolutionary-democratic opposition. The contra-guerrilla uses members of civilian fascist organisations everywhere in the country for gathering information, provocations, sabotage and massacres.

It suits the state very well to have the dirty work done by civilian fascist organisations. Because if their actions, provocations, sabotage and massacres are disclosed, it's easier for the state to deny any involvement. Until the coup of September 12, 1980, the fascist organisations of the contra-guerrilla like the MHP and its youth organisation Ulku Ocaklari carried out thousands of actions for the state, murdering revolutionaries, democrats and patriots. But the state was able to present these acts as a result of confrontations between the left and the right, thus twisting the heads of the people. Before September 12, 1980, the contra-guerrilla had the fascists kill thousands of people, among them well-respected people, known progressives, like the educators Bedrettin Comert, prof. Bedri Karafakioglu, prof. Cavit Orhan Tutengil, prof. Umit Doganay, the teacher Orhan Yavuz, Umit Kaftancioglu, the chief-editor of the Milliyet Abdi Ipekci, state prosecutor Dogan Oz, the chief of police in Adana Cevat Yurdakul and DISK chairman Kemal Turkler. Alparslan Turkes was accused of personally giving the order to kill Kemal Turkler, but he was acquitted. During the trial his aids, Yilma Durak and Aydin Esi, testified that when Kemal Turkler was mentioned during a meeting, Turkes gave them a sign, meaning: Tear his head off.

Another example of the relation between the contra-guerrilla and the MHP fascists was the attack against the then chairman of the ANAP and prime-minister Turgut Ozal. The assailant, Kartal Demirag, was a MHP fascist, trained in Dazkin by the contra-guerrilla. Kartal Demirag was later arrested and sentenced. But the investigation of the case was blocked by the contra-guerrilla, preventing the truth of coming out. The chairman of the investigation committee, appointed by Ozal, the retired judge of the Court of Appeal (the highest court in Turkey), Ugur Tonuk, stopped his work after he was threatened.

Demirdag was released after 4 years. The attack was first offered by the contra-guerrilla to MHP member Veli Can Oduncu, imprisoned in Gaziantep and sentenced before September 12, 1980, because of his participation in several massacres. However, he refused to do the job. When the offer was reported in the press, he was found murdered in prison. From the beginning the MHP was supported by the CIA and the capitalists in Turkey. For example: the Turkey specialist of the CIA after 1974 who worked at the US-embassy in Ankara before 1980, CIA agent Paul Henze, is one of the best friends of Alparslan Turkes. Another example is Ruzi Nazar who until 1971 worked as a CIA agent in Ankara. After 1971, Ruhi Nazar went to Germany as leader of the MHP. One of the financiers of the MHP, Murat Bayrak born in Yugoslavia was a Nazi who played a major role in organising the MHP in Germany. Ugur Mumcu describes the MHP financiers in his book "The Pope, the Mafia and Agca" in this line-up: "Berker Inanoglu, Ali Kocman, Feyyaz Berker, Jak Kamhi, Emin Hattat, Halit Narin, Mete Has and Mafia-

boss Dundar Kilic".

Nowadays it's no coincidence that the Mafia gangs, connected with the contra-guerrilla, are mostly led by fascists. The state uses hundreds of people like Catli, hundreds of MHP members or members of its youth organisation as professional killers in its war against the people. As long as the "Special Warfare", waged by the contra-guerrilla against the people continues, the contra-guerrilla will need this kind of fascist murderers. Because they are best suited for this filthy work. That's why the biggest source for the cadres of the "Special Operation Units", founded after 1980, is the MHP.

### **Hizbullah:**

The Hizbullah is a contra-guerrilla organisation, consisting of civilians. It was founded under the control of the contra-guerrilla to cut off the national movement of the Kurds. It could be said that it is a version of the MHP, using a religious ideology as its basis instead of nationalism. The contra-guerrilla feared that the nationalist and racial ideology of the MHP would not find much support among the Kurdish people, the Hizbullah was founded instead. Between 1992-1994 some 500 people were organised in the Hizbullah. The massacres by other contra-guerrilla were attributed to the Hizbullah. This also helps the state to pretend having clean hands. This contra-guerrilla organisation which organises among the people on a religious basis, has been brought to do the dirty work for the state. Youth between 16-20 years old are used for the actions of Hizbullah. They were organised in meeting centres, schools, mosques and book-stores, and trained by the contra-guerrilla. The attacks were mostly carried out with guns and butcher's knives. The security of the attackers was guaranteed by the police. In his confession the battalion commander Cem Ersever stated about Hizbullah: "The two persons who were in contact with Hizbullah are Alaatin Kanat and Adem Yakin. They always told us: 'The Hizbullah is the enemy of the PKK. The enemy of my enemy is my friend. The security forces must in no case fight the Hizbullah, they should rather clear its way.' And what these two men said, happened. The security forces protected the Hizbullah and they strengthened them. The best Hizbullah execution teams consisted of (PKK) traitors."

### **Village Guards:**

One of the ways of the contra-guerrilla to protect the state against the growth of the national Kurdish movement is to institutionalise the village guards in the war against the people. In this way they wanted to incite the Kurdish people to fight against each other. And at the same time an armed support organisation for the contra-guerrilla was formed. There have been similar examples in the past.

With two new paragraphs added to the "Village Laws in paragraph 74" on March 26, 1985, the judicial hindrances were lifted for the village guards.

In the founding years the tasks of the village guards was explained like this: "to protect their village territory against the PKK". The first source for the village guards were nomadic tribes. To make the task of the village guards more popular, they were promised wages. They were granted insurances and pensions. To make the task really attractive, even very old people who in reality couldn't do the job anymore, sick people, disabled people and women were made village guards. In the judicial basis for the village guards, paragraph 7 reads: "They must be able to read and write Turkish, they must have absolved their military duty, they must not have served more than 50 days in jail and not been accused of acts they must be ashamed of" etc. In reality this law was not kept. Many who were accused of shameful acts like murder, kidnapping and desertion were pardoned

in case they accepted to become village guards. The nomad leader of Jirki, Tahir Adiyaman, is an example for this. The blood feud between several nomadic tribes was used to arm the tribes and to incite them against each other. When one side armed itself, the other had to become village guards to arm themselves as well. The nomads and village people who refuse to become village guards were forced to. Those who could not be convinced by threats were forced with violence. They were told they would be treated as supporters of the PKK in case they would not accept the arms and become village guards. And the threats were put into practice. Hundreds of villages whose inhabitants refused to become village guards were burned down. Hundreds of farmers were murdered and their murder was presented as the result of an armed confrontation between rival clans.

The tasks of the village guards were expanded. In the beginning it was said: "They protect their own villages". Afterwards it read: "It will not be allowed that the guerrilla's visit the villages, it will be prevented that the people from the villages join the guerrilla, the network of spies will be expanded, the people who grant the guerrilla shelter will be found out and they will be forced to join the operations, they will protect the military units, the city institutions, buildings and vehicles." The village guards were made into paid units, next to the military, fighting with the contra-guerrilla against the own people. In January, 1993, there were 39.000 village guards, in January 1994 there were 50.000, at the end of 1994 there were 56.000 and now there about 60.000.

Every nomad leader who joined the village guards established his own small kingdom. With the support and indulgence of the state, they gathered money. Using their military might, they began to attack villages and burned them down. They started to kidnap people. Murdering and raping, they made money by trafficking arms and drugs. Officially the village guards are subjected to the Interior department, but in fact they are directly led by the contra-guerrilla. Besides using the village guards for its operations, the contra-guerrilla also used traitors of the PKK in separate contra-guerrilla units.

### **The Special Operations Units:**

They were founded by the contra-guerrilla in 1985. Nowadays they number 7.000. Officially they are subjected to the Interior department and the general directorate of the police as a police unit. Many of them are active in Kurdistan. Their headquarters are situated in the cities. They are used in the rural areas in operations against the guerrilla, side by side with the military, as well as for special "tasks" in the city centres.

A large part of the Special Operation Units consists of MHP fascists. Thousands of people were sent to the special units by the MHP and the Ulku Ocaklari. The requirements for the recruits were a high school degree and having absolved military service. In 9 months they are trained in shooting, torturing, interrogation techniques, sabotage, assaults and adoption to the area where they will be stationed. Some of them are sent abroad for training. Their members are not forced to wear uniforms and they are allowed to let their hair grow and grow a moustache and a beard.

Mostly they operate together with military units. Their task is mainly to get rid of the targets which are surrounded by the military. Because of their greed for money, their lumpen, racist and nationalist character they have become the ones who commit the most gruesome massacres against the people. Because they get paid for every head to chop of from the guerrilla's, they became head hunters. To receive rewards, they started to murder farmers, claiming they are guerrilla's. They have become so inhuman, they started to cut of the ears, noses and even the heads of the people, besides torturing and raping them.



According to official records, judicial inquiries were started against 1.500 members of the special teams. 500 were dismissed from their duties because they committed acts which were not in accordance with their tasks.

### **JITEM Gendarmerie Intelligence Service to Combat Terrorism**

When the OHAL (Laws for the Areas in State of Emergency) came into force in July, 1987, and the founding of the Gendarmerie Army Corps and its information work, the JITEM was established as well. In the beginning the JITEM was intended to gather sound information, monitor the PKK and keep them under control. In a short while, JITEM became equivalent with torture, kidnapping, disappearances and executions. Starting from the cities Diyarbakir, Siirt, Mardin, Cizre, Sirnak, Hakkari and Van, the JITEM buildings became torture centres.

But its activities were not limited to that. From time to time, its members dressed up like guerrilla's to discover which farmers supported the guerrilla, spreading fear among them so they would no longer dare to support the guerrilla. Another important practice was to set up contra-guerrilla cells with traitors, village guards and fascists. One of the founders of the JITEM and its first commander, major Cem Ersever described these cells as "Star Units". The contra-guerrilla organisation JITEM has extraordinary power in the areas under the state emergency where it is active. At any given time it can ask for the handing over of any prisoner by the State Security Court, the police, or even the MIT. It's members possess specially issued police passports and personal cars which license plates have been changed. The JITEM, quickly becoming quite strong in these areas, is able to carry out operations with large forces of its own. Cem Ersever opened state offices in 1991 in Northern Iraq in cities like Zaxo and Erbil. He had close contacts with the Gendarmerie Army Corps commander Esref Bitlisand high state officials. He was dismissed in 1993 after a disagreement with his superior. Before he was murdered he told the media some of the inner secrets of the JITEM. Part of his confessions were published, albeit not under his own name. He was arrested by his own people in the middle of October, 1991. In the morning hours of November 5, 1991, he was found on the highway between Ankara and Kirikale, his hand tied to his back, and two bullets through the back of his head. Shortly after, two more bodies were found. One of them was Mustafa Deniz, considered to be his right hand and the other was Mahsune Dguebe, known as Ersever's girl friend and whose real name was Neval Boz. Mustafa Deniz was once arrested as member of the PKK. He became a traitor and joined the contra-guerrilla. According to Ersever, Neval Boz worked for the MIT when she studied at the university in Syria. Later she worked for the JITEM. Internal conflicts between the enemies of the people, between the gangs, are often accompanied by massacres.

### **The Anti-Terror Department:**

The political department, belonging to the Interior department and founded by the Security Police Directorate, changed its name in 1991 into Anti-Terror Department after the Anti-Terror Act became law in 1991. Its headquarters were situated in Ankara and there was a department in the police stations of all the cities. The contra-guerrilla became best organised in these departments in the cities. The policemen who work for these departments are trained abroad, especially in the US and in Germany.

With the growth of the revolutionary struggle, the power and the responsibilities of these contra-guerrilla unites were expanded as well. The Political Departments, now known as Anti-Terror Departments, have been known for a long time by the people as torture

centres. But in the past years its name is more and more mentioned in connection with executions, massacres and disappearances.

Anti-Terror Departments were set up in all police stations. Together with the plainclothes department they control the neighbourhoods of the cities and gather information. A network of spies was set up in all the neighbourhoods and workplaces. For gathering information, policemen, voluntary and forced informants are used. The fascists supply them with voluntary spies. Another practice is to kidnap sympathisers and members of revolutionary organisations and force them to betrayal. Almost without exception, detainees are offered to work as an agent.

Since the intensification of the war against the people in the '90s, the Anti-Terror Departments play a major role. The contra-guerrilla, organised in these departments, is behind almost all cases of disappearances. These cases have become daily policy and arrests are always flatly denied, even if there were a number of witnesses. Also the execution of unarmed people on the streets, presented as an armed confrontation, attacks against mass demonstrations, provocations, false and slanderous reports about revolutionaries... all this is part of the war by the contra-guerrilla, waged by these departments.

### **MIT The national Intelligence Service :**

In 1923, after the Republic of Turkey was founded, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk asked Husamettin Ertürk to set up an intelligence service. In the Ottoman Empire, Husamettin Ertürk had been the director of the intelligence service "Teskilat-i Mahsusa", organised by Germany for Abdulhamit in 1880. The new service, set up by Husamettin Ertürk Mudafai Milliye Istihbarat (MM) was renamed Milli Emniyet Teskilati in 1941 (also known as Milli Amele Hizmet MAH). The intelligence service, subordinated to the general staff, was controlled by the American, French and English intelligence services. Even the wages of the Turkish employees were paid by the foreign services. So much for the "national" character of the organisation...

In 1965 the name was changed once again and the organisation was now known as "Millii Istihbarat Teskilati" (National Intelligence Service). A new law was passed to cover its activities. In this period the relations between Turkey and the US and Europe developed which was used by the CIA for its own purposes. From a partly by the CIA controlled organisation, the MIT became a totally controlled organisation. The CIA agent Philip Agee wrote about this: "The CIA had been in contact with the MIT for years. The CIA took care of the training, the development and the equipment of this organisation." (Philip Agee, Diary of the CIA)

From the beginning the MIT worked closely together with the Israeli MOSSAD.

According to the deputy director of the MIT, Sabahattin Savasman, who stated in 1977 that he had spied for the CIA, the MIT was organised like this:

"The CIA has a delegation of at least 20 people who co-operate in the MIT with the CIA and who occupy high positions inside the MIT. They supply information, contacts and they participate in operations at home and collectively in operations abroad. (...) All technical equipment is supplied by the CIA. A lot of personnel was trained by the Americans in courses abroad, the buildings were constructed by the CIA, the instructors were supplied by the CIA. (...) The employees have been working for years as CIA agents, for the benefit of the American secret service, it takes over its tasks without pay in operations at home and abroad. (...)

"Our tasks were not just limited in delivering information. When the Shah was still in

power in Iran, we had regular meeting every few months with members of the secret services SAVAK and MOSSAD. Most of the times it was the MOSSAD who led these meeting with their quite developed technique. The MOSSAD has a lot of possibilities in our homeland. Hiram Abas participated in operations. (...)

"There were also regular meetings with the German intelligence service. (...) In these meeting military and non-military information, gathered all over the world, was passed."

### **The directorate of the MIT contra-guerrilla:**

The MIT is the largest and best equipped organisation of the state. It is said to have its own planes, helicopters and military units. It has always been kept a secret how many employees it has. 1/3 of the personnel are officers. And a part are pensioned officers. The structure of the MIT is quite complex. Legally it is subordinated to the departments, but in reality it is led by the general staff. As director of the MIT most of the times somebody of the Special Warfare Department is appointed, thus an officer of the contra-guerrilla. Like other organisations, the MIT is interwoven with the contra-guerrilla. But because members of several secret services and several interest groups of the oligarchy are active in it, unavoidably there are power struggles within the MIT.

Although the MIT is supposed to work in the foreign policy field, all its capacities are used for hunting and prosecuting revolutionaries, democrats, progressives and patriots to prevent "enemy activities".

## **THE LAWS AND THE TASKS OF THE MIT**

### **Anti-Terror Law, 1991:**

Art. 8 - Propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state: "Written or spoken propaganda, meetings and demonstrations, notwithstanding the aims and ideas, aimed at destroying the indivisible unity of the state territory and the people, are banned. He who violates this law will be punished with a prison sentence of 2-5 years and a heavy fine."

Art 9 - The competent court: "For procedures because of crimes according this law, the State Security Court is competent." (There are 3 judges in these courts, one of them must be from the military. The state prosecutors are also often from the military)

Art 11 - The length of detention "People, arrested because of a crime under this law, must be brought to court within 48 hours (not including the time necessary for transport from the place of arrest to the nearest court), and in case of jointly committed crimes, within 15 days." (In areas under the state of emergency - large parts of Kurdistan - this can be expanded to 30 days.)

Art. 15 - Prosecution without detention: "Criminal procedures against leading of minor public servants, active in the struggle against terrorism, of the intelligence services or the public order authorities, or against other personnel working for these institutions, for crimes committed in the line of there duty, will be held without the detention of the accused, until the end of the procedures." "The costs of legal defence are paid for, without limitations, by the authority involved, using a especially reservation on the budget."

Other regulations: "Public servants, as mentioned above, including those who are no longer in active duty, may use guns in defence of attacks by terrorist criminals against their lives, or the lives of there husbands or wives, and children."

### **The Tasks Of The MIT after The New Law Of 1983:**

1. Setting up a national security service in the whole country, gathering information about activities against the unity of country and people, against the existence, independence and security of the state, against the laws and the national strength of the land, giving this through to the president, the prime-minister, the general staff, the chairman of the National Security Council and other necessary institutions.
2. Preparing and developing plans for the national security, satisfying the information needs and wishes of the departments through the state president and the prime-minister, and the chairman of the general staff..
3. Leading activities to gather information, making suggestions to the National Security Council and the prime-minister.
4. Advising the state commissions and institutions in activities to distribute information and preventing distribution of information in technical matters, advising and supporting in matters of organising structures.
5. Passing on reports and information, considered necessary by the chief of staff of the Armed Forces.
6. Other tasks as decided by the National Security Council.
7. Fighting information leaks.

## **THE WORK METHODS OF THE CONTRA-GUERILLA**

### **The Contra-Guerrilla: How Do They Operate?**

For securing the existence of the state, all means massacres, provocations, torture, and all kind of cruelties are justified. This view is the basis for the organisation and the manner of operation of the contra-guerrilla, and this determines their degree of unlawfulness. The contra-guerrilla should not be conceived as an organisations which destroys and burns down everything, which commits massacres and plans provocations and intrigues. Of course, in their war against the people they'll make ample use of these methods, but this is just one side of the medal in this war. The contra-guerrilla should be conceived rather as one of the many organisations which were set up for the war against the people, it should be seen in the context in the entirety of this war, waged on several levels by these organisations to oppress the revolutionary struggle. This was is a total war, and with its economical, democratic, political, ideological, psychological and military dimensions, it covers almost all fronts. With the growth of the revolutionary struggle, the contra-guerrilla will apply new means, that's the rule of war. The "Village Guards" (the para-military) set up after 1985 , the increasing number (since the beginning of the '90s) of executions, mass murders, kidnappings, murders by "unknown perpetrators", the institutionalisation of treason (deserters), the growing activities if undercover agents and informants, the special teams, the legalisation of the village guard system, the recruitment of special teams, the state of emergency, and the anti-terror laws constituted, together with all the other attacks, an increasing aggression by the contra-guerrilla, opening the total war against the people.

### **Executions, Disappearances And The Victims Of "Unknown Perpetrators"**

Executions, abductions, and murders by "unknown perpetrators" were "practices" of the contras which intensified rapidly after 1991. This development did not come out of the blue sky, of course. 1990 and 1991 were the years Devrimci Sol rose quickly. The strengthening of the revolutionary opposition shocked the oligarchy on its foundations

with mass protests, dozens of armed actions and punishments. The Kurdish national movement, which they said to "exterminate" "in spring" could not be exterminated. Furthermore, 1990 and 1991 were the years of the mass protests and the "Intifadah" in Kurdistan. The state, feeling cornered by the expansion of the revolutionary movement and losing its psychological superiority, initiated a new wave of aggression. The chapter of disappearances started with Yusuf Eristi, taken into "custody" on May 14, 1991, in Belgradkapi-Istanbul. Although witnesses testified they saw Yusuf Eristi in the police station, the police never acknowledged officially that he had been arrested. Since then, the reports about "disappearances" increased continuously. Although the exact number is unknown, the balance of the past three years shows more than 400 people who disappeared. Between 1980-1991, there were just 13 cases, in 1991 4 people disappeared, in 1992 there were 8, and in 1993, as far as can be established: 23. This means that there wasn't a "systematic policy" of "disappearances" in that period, whereas the number of "disappearances" grew explosively since 1993 and disappearances, as a method of the contra-guerrilla, became calculated state policy. In 1994, 24 people disappeared. Furthermore, 229 people were "abducted" in Kurdistan and they were never seen again. In 1995, 213 people disappeared in police custody. The method is a CIA method. In earlier years they tested and applied this method in other countries, such as: \* Guatemala: since 1966, tens of thousands of people were abducted or killed by the state. \* Uruguay: the Junta, seizing power in June 1973, had thousands of revolutionaries disappeared in the depths of the jungle and in the sewers. \* Chile: General Pinochet, who overthrew the government of Allende, elected by the people in 1973, imprisoned thousands of revolutionaries and opponents in stadiums and had them massacred. \* Argentina: The generals took power in 1976. The junta arrested and killed an estimated 30.000 people. Thousands were thrown from planes into the sea. \* Peru: In the past 10 years, some 4.500 people disappeared in a systematic policy. Why did the Turkish state think it necessary to apply such a policy as well? There are many possible answers. The method of disappearances was preferred to imprisonment and uncertain convictions, and as phrased by the leader of the coup, general Evren: "Should we feed them instead of hanging them?" As a conclusion, this is certainly accurate, but the goal is not merely the physical annihilation of the opposition, they also want to intimidate the people. The "murders by unknown perpetrators" are used as an element of psychological warfare. Revolutionaries, democrats and patriots are taken away from their houses, their work, or from the street, and their dead bodies are thrown in ditches or river beds, usually after torture. The marks of torture are usually clearly visible and the contra-guerrilla does not make any effort to hide the bodies, they are rather put at places where they are easily found. Not as if they wouldn't have time to "hide" them. The state officials, time and time again, swear that the police, the security organs, act against terror "within the framework of the law", but the contra-guerrilla openly shows its impudence, they will not be hindered by a law or a decree to massacre and torture.

The rise of the number of executions since 1991 is a result of this policy. The murder of the Devrimci Sol fighters Olcay Uzun and Faruk Bayrakci on April 9, 1991 in Izmir, of Hatice Dilek and Ismail Oral on May 19, 1991 in Bayrampasa-Istanbul, of Perihan Demirer on May 28, 1991 in Besiktas-Istanbul, and the massacre of 11 people (among them 10 Devrimci Sol members) on June 12, 1991 in Balmumcu, Nisantasi, Dikilitas and

Yeni Levent-Istanbul, revealed that the state developed its policy of executions into a systematic general policy. Since then, hundreds of alleged revolutionaries and patriots were murdered all over Turkey under the pretext of razzias against revolutionary cells. The aim was to kill them, not to arrest them. Weapons were placed next to unarmed people to suggest an armed confrontation. The executions went as far as targeting democratically working sympathisers and supporters. One of the most recent examples was the murder of Irfan Agdas, in the middle of the street, who was distributing the Kurtulus weekly. In a similar manner patriots in Kurdistan, teenagers, who distributed the papers Ozgur Ulke and Ozgur Gundem, were murdered. The policy of executions was not restricted to the major cities, it was a state policy which covered the whole country. The state took a stand of totally annihilating the guerrilla, of not taking them alive. Except for those who surrendered themselves, they started to execute the guerrillas who were captured alive after a fight, instead of arresting them. The executions and massacres were extended from the guerrilla to the village population, suspected of logistically supporting the guerrilla. People who were taken from their villages, or who were summoned to the police station, were never seen again or their bodies, often tortured, were found next to the street. Looking at the increasing number of executions and "murders by unknown perpetrators", one recognises besides the physical annihilation, that the state wants to unleash a wave of terror among the opposition. It's their intention to intimidate, to subdue the revolutionaries, to make them drop their goals, to show them what they have to expect in case they continue their struggle for the people, against the state. The massacres of the past years in the prisons of Buca, Umraniye and Diyarbakir must be seen in this context as well. The people were imprisoned already, but it's not the detention that counts for the contra-guerrilla, it's the resistance. They want to break the resistance which they can not suppress by attacks, culminating into mass murders. This is a threat, not just to those in prison, but also to those who continue the struggle on the outside. The message from the contra-guerrilla to the revolutionaries and patriots is this: "Don't believe you'll only have to come through the torture alive, we can kill you in prison any time we want. In here, there is no guarantee for your life." Like us, all revolutionaries, democrats and patriots know about the high price for revolutionary work in a fascist environment. Taken into custody and getting tortured, being arrested and thrown into jail, falling in the struggle against the enemy. These are almost natural consequences of the struggle and the confrontation with the enemy. As a revolutionary, one accepts this price and one takes a stand in this struggle. But the contra-guerrilla wants to increase this price with its practice of oppression, terror, massacres, disappearances, executions, "murders by unknown perpetrators", and by demonstrating that they are not bound by laws or judicial regulations, they want to erect a wall of fear in the minds, not just of those who are directly active in the struggle, the guerrilla and the militias, but rather in the minds of all, also those who work in the democratic field, revolutionaries, patriots, democrats and even normal workers, union members. Although it is impossible for them to kill all revolutionaries, patriots, sympathisers and supporters, they want to tell the people this: "To get killed, kidnapped or beaten to death, it's not necessary to carry a weapon yourself." To become a target for the contra-guerrilla, it's enough to distribute a revolutionary paper or magazine, to be active in a legal association, to show solidarity with the revolutionaries. Because it's the law of the contra-guerrilla not to know any laws. They lost all measure for guilt and punishment, for them an enemy is just an enemy, no matter what he has done, no matter whether his deeds are punishable by present law, or not. An enemy is an enemy, and all kinds of punishment are justified.

And thus: "Watch your steps, if you're a revolutionary, then quit. If you're not, then keep away from them, do not participate in acts against the state, otherwise it will end badly for you."

Well, now the question arises whether the state succeeds with this policy, or whether the true character of the state is revealed even more forced because of this policy? The state applies more modern methods and develops new strategies to get results at any price, an act which also means the failure of its formerly practised strategy to suppress the revolutionary struggle. It did not succeed to suppress the revolutionary, democratic opposition with its policy of extra-judicial executions, the murders by "unknown perpetrators" and the disappearances. But claiming that this policy has had no effect at all on the people would be extremely optimistic. It has played a "constraining" role in certain places. It's obvious that the spread of fear and the height of the "price" which has been paid, caused the strengthening of the tendency of the petite-bourgeoisie, who did not separate themselves totally from the system, even of the petite-bourgeois revolutionary organisations, to return back to the system. As often as the state denies this policy, it can not prevent its revelation. To lengthen the "life" of the status quo, of having to choose between preventing a revolution and risking to get exposed, it chooses for the latter, of course. It's forced to take these risks, because it does not have the capability and the reserves to invoke democratic and economic reforms to fulfil the needs of the people. And so it does not have an alternative but to suppress the opposition, the people, by repression and terror.

### **Report By Human Rights Association 1996**

2395 people were killed in armed conflict.

59 people were murdered by "unknown perpetrators".

191 people disappeared in custody.

According to the official figures, 191 people were tortured in police custody. 17,604 people were actually tortured, although this number is not officially confirmed.

109 people were murdered.

95 bomb attacks were carried out by state forces.

67 villages were depopulated and burned down.

170 people were jailed because of their political convictions.

12 political prisoners died in jail during the Death Fast.

5 prisoners put themselves on fire in protest against the conditions in prison.

In the attack against Umraniye Prison four prisoners died, in the attack against Diyarbakir Prison 11 prisoners were killed. The prisoners Kalender Kayapinar, Umit Dogan Gonul, Mustafa Kaya and three others died because they were not medically treated.

108 associations and unions were attacked.

97 press organs and publications were banned.

342 journalists were arrested.

167 editions of papers and magazines were confiscated. Journalists and writers were sentenced to 164 years in prison and a fine of

9, 401 billion TL in total.

### **Torture**

Countless pages could be filled with reports of the victims of the torturers of the Turkish

state. The methods of torture are as manifold as the human brain can be inventive in finding possibilities to torment people. Most of the thousands of people arrested in 1996 in Turkey alone were subjected to torture. The police stations in Turkey all have their torture chambers, without exception. Arrested people can be held for 15 days by the Turkish police (in the emergency state areas up to 30 days), without seeing a lawyer, without seeing a public prosecutor or a magistrate. During this period, the arrested are regularly tortured. But the torture does not stop when they are later kept on remand or sent to jail. Also in prison, during the transfer to court, during transfers to other prisons or to hospital, torture continues. Some do not survive the torture. Some are disabled for the rest of their life. Almost all are haunted for the rest of their life by the terrible memories of this period of injuries, pain and disgrace. The tortures make no difference. All who fall into their hands are tortured, it doesn't matter whether the victim is 13 or 83, whether it is a man or a woman. Even pregnant women are tortured. From the numerous reports about torture in Turkey, we've only selected a few. They serve as examples of arbitrariness, cruelty and the loss of all human feelings of the Turkish torturing bullies.

Manisa:

The case of the youths in Manisa attracted special attention. On December 25, 1995, 15 secondary school pupils in Manisa aged from 14 to 19 were arrested along with their teacher and severely tortured. Even though the fact of torture was confirmed by doctors, the confessions obtained through torture were accepted by the court. Although the pupils disowned the statements they had given and there was no other proof against them, 12 of them were sentenced to from 2.5 to 12.5 years in jail for membership of the DHKP-C.

### **What is the purpose behind torture?**

According to unofficial statistics, last year more than 17,000 people were tortured during 14 days in police custody. Torture affects everyone, regardless of age or gender... Everyone in Turkey who decides to stand up for democracy, justice and human rights decides simultaneously to risk torture and death. There is no legal protection against this because police responsible for torture are never found guilty by the courts. This is how the state endeavours to intimidate the people and suppress opposition.

### **Disappearances**

The families of disappeared daughters and sons cannot go to a grave and say a funeral oration. They cannot stretch out a clenched fist and say, "Our children are immortal," because their children are neither alive nor dead. Even the right to a gravestone is taken from them. So being "disappeared" is different from being dead.

The policy of "disappearances" became a method of worldwide notoriety in the 1970s as a result of its use by contra-guerrillas in Latin America. The dictators hunted thousands of people like animals and had them murdered. Nobody knows how they were killed or where they were buried. Sometimes the graves were found years later. Mostly the corpses could no longer be identified by their families.

After Latin America, the policy of making people disappear is being used more and more in Turkey. In 1995 Turkey had the most "disappearances" in the world. Probably in 1996 it will continue to lead the world in terms of this sad statistic.

Aysenur Simsek: one of hundreds

She was born in Ankara in 1968. After she graduated from the pharmacy faculty, she opened a chemist's shop. But she had picked up some political education. She began to



organise protests. Later she closed her shop in order to devote herself entirely to politics. In organising office workers in Ankara, she showed great organisational skills and a tremendous capacity for work. She was also one of the founders of Saglik-Sen (trade union for health workers).

When she was abducted by the contra-guerrillas, she was the chair of Saglik-Sen. Before her abduction she came under massive pressure from the police. Her family received death threats on the phone, demanding that Aysenur give up political work. But she did not let herself be intimidated, because she thought spreading resistance was more important than her life.

On January 24 1995 she was abducted by the contra-guerrillas and on January 29 she was killed by three shots in the head, chest and chin, fired at close range.

After her family realised she had been abducted, her family and friends began to look for her. Even though they asked at all police establishments about her, they received the same answer: "We don't have her."

On April 13 Aysenur was found. The state lawyer's office in Kirikkale called her family and told them of the spot where the body was buried. To this day, investigations have naturally been fruitless.

## **Executions**

To describe 15 years in Turkey briefly, two words suffice: disappearances and extra-judicial executions. In this period, about 25,000 people were massacred by state security or paramilitary forces, mostly in the villages and mountains of Kurdistan.

The main reason given is this: "They were members of an organisation." After a massacre is carried out, the investigations by the state are restricted to determining whether the murder victim was a member of an organisation. It must be mentioned that most of the people executed are not members of an organisation. Their only crime is to be considered revolutionaries or democrats by the police.

When the authorities do happen to institute proceedings against the police, the same people are charged again and again. It is obvious that these police are an execution squad. Up to now, none of these murderer policemen have been sentenced for a crime. Evidence disappears mysteriously, or judges openly take sides with the murderer policemen.

The orders for executions and massacres were in all cases issued by the police presidents (Mehmet Agar, Necdet Menzir and so on) who were in office at the time.

April 12 1995, in Batikent-Ankara: one of hundreds of examples

Mustafa Selcuk, Sirin Erol and Seyhan Ayyildiz were executed during an operation in Ankara, in Batikent's Kardelen district, in Haritacilar Sitesi, Block 13, number 10. As they always do in such cases, the police said, "The call to surrender was answered with shots. The militants were taken into custody dead."

The investigation into the incident conducted by the delegation from the Platform for Rights and Freedom produced a different finding.

"The relevant government official said there was an armed conflict and described the operation as a great success. This is how they try to justify this massacre. When we investigated in the house it was clear that no clash had taken place. The evidence showed that Mustafa Selcuk, Sirin Ekol and Seyhan Ayyildiz were executed while lying on the ground. There were 64 gunshot wounds in the corpses. This showed that the house was stormed with the aim of killing the revolutionaries. In the house there were no signs of a clash. All windows and furniture were undamaged. Everything was in its place. The only

sign of a clash was the shots fired by the police.

"The clash did not last an hour, like the police said. The operation was carried out by the police in five minutes and was a premeditated murder. This is a great disgrace for humanity."

### **Destruction Of Villages And Food Embargo**

Thousands of villages in Kurdistan have been destroyed, the inhabitants were murdered or driven away. The rural areas of Kurdistan are depopulated. A humane life in the cities has become impossible, the struggle for survival has rendered other thoughts a luxury. Hundreds of operations were carried out in the Kurdish areas in 1996 again against the PKK. Every time a village was completely destroyed, the Turkish media proudly reported a "new success in the struggle against terrorism". When dozens of civilians are shot, they talk about a victory against the guerrilla. The food supplies for the civilian population are being rationed to prevent food is given to the guerrilla. Thousands of people, even 15 year old children, are forced to become "village guards". But even with these methods of annihilation the Turkish military is not able to win the struggle against the guerrilla. More and more people are going into the mountains to confront this system. In 1996, the Turkish military even had to endure criticism by the loyal media why 2.000 heavily armed soldiers were needed to attack a single village. Houses and villages are not only destroyed in the Kurdish areas. In the major cities, especially in Istanbul, the houses of the poorest among the poor, the Gececondular, are being attacked and destroyed. According to Turkish law, a house which is built on state owned land overnight becomes the legitimate property of the builder. Contrary to this law, also in 1996 countless Gececondu-houses were demolished by the state, leaving the inhabitants, whose most valuable (and often only property) is their house, without any means.

"Solidarity with Sivas continues

"The Platform for Solidarity with the People in Sivas made a press statement on the Ozgurluk Meydani in Bakirkoy in which they protested against the depopulation of the area, the arrests and the torture. 63 villages have been depopulated in the area of Sivas. 111 primary schools were closed in Divrigi, 63 in Zara. 500 peasants, among them 75 village mayors, were arrested and tortured. Some 300 villages were surrounded by the state security forces. At present there are around 200 soldiers and members of the Special Units in the villages of Baloca and Dikmecay... "We demand an end to the oppression of the population and an end of the embargo against the villages. We demand that these villages are not depopulated any longer and that the governor of Sivas will be suspended", the statement reads. "February 1st, 1996, Politika"

"11 Villages raided in Sivas

"During the last 5 days the state security forces raided 11 villages in the area between Sivas, Divrigi, Zara and Kangal. 20 peasants, among them mayors as well, were arrested. Three peasants are still missing. It is reported that temporary guards were deployed in several villages in Divrigi. The soldiers are conducting house searches. The peasants are not allowed to leave the villages. After sundown, they are not even allowed to leave the house."

"September 12, 1996, Cumhuriyet - Sabah - Zaman - Aksam"

"Food embargo against Tunceli

"Mayor Mazlum Aslan stated the whole city was surrounded. A delegation of

representatives of the Human Rights Association (IHD) and democratic organisations went to Tunceli to monitor the situation. The delegates requested information from several official institutions about the food embargo and executions.

"October 19, 1996, Kurtulus"

"Gececondus destroyed in Eskisehir

"Like in the Gececondular (slum areas) of Istanbul, the houses of the poor are destroyed in other cities as well. In Eskiseher, 21 houses were destroyed by the state. The inhabitants said the state had promised to leave their houses in peace, but this promise had been broken.

"October 29, 1996, Kurtulus"

"Protest against the food embargo in Dersim

"On October 12, the district mayors of Dersim and Tunceli staged a protest in Guven Park (Ankara) against the food embargo in Dersim. Banners were shown with the texts: "We want to return, are we not human beings?" and "We demand compensation". A message for the prime-minister was drawn up as well, demanding the end of the food embargo in Dersim. It is also said that the people who were driven away from Dersim want to go back, they do not want to be treated as criminals any longer. Furthermore they demand that the massacres are being stopped.

"November 1, 1996, Kurtulus"

## **Susurluk**

After Susurluk, some members of the contra-guerrillas took advantage of the situation to stop their "work". Whenever possible, they fled abroad and gave opposition forces information about massacres they had participated in, and disclosed who had put them up to it. One of these is Murat Ipek, a former member of the PKK, who turned traitor and spent years working for the state.

[Article in Ozgur Politika of February 11th 1997]

*When did you begin your treason?*

Ipek: I joined the PKK in 1987. I used the name Mustafa. On February 10 1992 I was arrested at the Cizre bridge. The same year, having turned traitor, I was brought to the E type prison in Diyarbakir. A short time later I was sentenced by the State Security Court. In the organisation I helped the official responsible for Cizre. After my release I started working with a unit of the anti-terror detachment in Sirnak. They tested me. Unal Erkan wanted me to kill someone called Biseng to see how far I could be trusted. After Newroz 1992, Unal Erkan came to Sirnak. He got everyone together. He asked, "Who took part in the events (Newroz) here?" The police mentioned the name of Biseng Anik. Unal said to me, "Take care of him." He gave me this task in order to test me.

Biseng Anik's house was in front of the mosque. We and the civil police brought him in and he was tortured in the police station. I was told that in his house a policeman was lynched by the people during the Newroz events. They gave me a G-3 weapon they had in the police station and I killed him with a bullet through the head.

*Did you carry out any further tasks?*

Ipek: On August 18 1992 Mehmet Ertak and the lawyer A. Rahim Demir were both

buried together. The police chief Necati Altintas and the TEM chief Mehmet Kaplan said that this man, Mehmet Ertak, who lived on Agabey mountain, had to be killed. We got into an armoured car and drove off. Near the city, not far from a coal mine, we stopped, got out and killed. We had put on guerrilla clothing and dirtied our hands. We said, "We killed a terrorist."

In Cizre, Abdurrahman Cengiz owned a petrol station. Together with the traitor Ismail, also known as Zana, we arrested him. Alaatin Kanat drove the car.

In the Sirnak area we kept Guclukonak Kasrik prisoner in a ravine. I kept an eye on him. The order to abduct him came from Unal Erkan. The police chief Necati Altintas gave us the same command. Kanat drove with Zana, taking banknotes into the city. When they came back they had a bag with them. He gave me 25 million Turkish lira from it. After we had gone, lorry drivers rescued the man. The car we used had the number plate 34 N 7423. The governor Unal Erkan and the police director of Cizre said we should split up and leave the area. Then the police chief of Cizre, Cevat Deniz, wanted to take us away. Zana, who at that time was in Diyarbakir prison in the cell block reserved for traitors, pulled a gun on the director. So they could not arrest us. We went to Diyarbakir and stayed in the Demir Hotel. The state lawyer's office of Cizre was looking for us. So we fired a rocket and threw a grenade at the advocates' office. We said, "If you come looking for us again, we will kill you." He did not come a second time.

Together with Alaatin Kanat we went back to Sirnak. I think Kanat was in prison at the time. He was needed afterwards. I was also called from Cizre to attend a hearing. In Cizre we killed Sivan, whose codename was Abdulvahap, without the knowledge of the police chief, and then we buried the body."

*"We murdered Musa Anter\*"*

Ipek: Musa Anter came to Diyarbakir. Anter was summoned by the city administration for September 15 1992, to prepare for a cultural festival. Scarcely had he arrived before he was being tracked by the police. We had our instructions.

*Who gave them?*

Ipek: We asked who gave the orders. Alaatin Kanat received the order from Yesil. They gave the order for Anter to be fetched from the hotel. We were a team. Besides Kanat, there was Adil Timurtas, myself, Kahraman Bilgic, Zana and Mesut Mehmetoglu. A day before the event three of us went to the Buyul Hotel where Anter was staying. (It was about 2300.) At the reception desk we said we wanted to see Anter. The employee sent us away because Anter did not want to see us. We left the hotel and reported to Kanat. An hour later we went to the hotel again. In the hotel we met the same employee and asked again.

Anter was annoyed with the employee and said, "At this time of night I wouldn't receive my own father." The hotel employee sent us away again. The first day ended in failure. Two evenings later we went with Kanat to the hotel, carrying a compass. We told the employee at reception that we wanted to bring Musa Anter a compass. A little later he came back and said Musa Anter would see us. Then Musa Anter came with Orhan Miroglu. In front of the hotel I got into a car. We drove direct to Seyrantepe. Kanat's car was in front of us. There was another car behind us.

Towards Seyrantepe we turned down the Ergani road. Then we stopped. Kanat got into our car. Musa Anter recognised Kanat. They knew each other. Anter turned his head and did not speak. Orhan Miroglu on the other hand spoke to us. After that we drove onto the

Silvan road and a little later we stopped. We got out and Kanat took Musa Anter by the arm. Anter said, "Children, you are making a mistake." We followed them both. Then a signal was given. The first bullet fired by Alaatin Kanat hit Musa Anter in the head. Then we fired as well. (Four bullets hit Musa Anter.) Orhan Miroglu started to run away. We began to shoot at him. After the killing of Musa Anter, soldiers nearby began to fire in the air. We panicked and fled the area. We came to Dicle University and stopped. A little later came a minibus with civil police on board. We got into it. Our three vehicles were taken away by the civil police. Last year (1996) Cemil and village guards he brought from Egil murdered teachers in Hantepe\*. The gendarmerie corporal immediately came and threatened me, saying I could not kill the village chieftain. I said, "I will kill him," and this annoyed him. So soon afterwards he arrested my uncle who lived in the village.

*Do you know where Alaatin Kanat is?*

Ipek: He is neither in the Kirklareli prison, nor is he in the one at Kalecik. Kanat still works in the gendarmerie commandant's office at Diyarbakir in the service of Ersin Bagi, and he still drives a Renault Menajer with the number 06.

### **The Confession By Mayor Cem Ersever**

"You ever heard of Alaatin Kanat? ... I think he was a PKK member in 1986. He quickly rose up in the organisation. He was responsible for the regions of Mardin and Batman. In 1990 he was appointed as the responsible for Istanbul. That's where he killed the deputy-director of the Diyarbakir prison, major Esat Oktay Yildiran... But later he got into trouble with the organisation... He came to us and surrendered. He confessed. Until that time PKK-general Zinnar had been the most important person we got into our hands. Allaatin Kanat now lives in a house, property of the OHAL governor, in Diyarbakir. Alaatin Kanat has created a unit of his own, consisting of 30-40 traitors. He created this unit in the Diyarbakir prison from the cells of the traitors. Whenever a new "singing bird" enters prison, they try to get him into their unit." "These units of traitors are called Star Units. We had a lot of Star Units. We had a Star Unit, exclusively consisting of women, which was sent into the mountains, and it was very successful." "As I said before, these traitors were joined together in units. Another member was Recep Tiril. He is a psychopath. Another one had the code name Salman... This man with the code name Salman was form Eruh. Another member was Adem Yakin... He had been arrested in 1990 during the armed confrontation in Tahtoras. He is a traitor too. They all live in houses of the OHAL governor. The personnel of the president and the personnel of the Gendarmerie Command are all in the same place."

"This man with the code name Salman, I don't recall his real name, was also active in trafficking arms and heroin. Even after he became a traitor, he was arrested for robbery. Of course he was immediately freed again."

"You have written correctly: the Gendarmerie and the police participate in trafficking arms and heroin. They all co-operate."

### **The Main People Behind Susurluk**

#### **AGAR Mehmet**

Mehmet Agar was born in Ankara, on September 31 1951. He is of Kurdish origin and an Alevi. He began his professional career as deputy commissioner in the department of security and the department of the prime minister. He worked as a regional director in

several provinces.

In the 1970s Mehmet Agar received a special training in the USA for special police tasks. In 1979 he resumed his old job as deputy police director. In that period he became known for the new methods of torture he introduced.

After five years he was appointed as the second in command in the second police directorate in Istanbul. In 1988 he became police director of Ankara, and in 1990 he was appointed to the same position in Istanbul.

In 1992 he became governor of Erzurum. The DYP-SHP government in Ankara appointed him at the same time as police chief for the whole of Turkey.

The leader of the DYP, Tansu Ciller, proposed him in 1995 as a candidate for the elections of December 24 1995. He was the candidate for Erzurum and he won a seat in parliament.

After the elections he was appointed as minister of justice by the coalition government of DYP and ANAP.

After the collapse of the coalition he became interior minister in the new DYP and Refah government. After Susurluk he had to leave politics because his involvement in crime was too blatant. In the meantime, however, he may be making a comeback, perhaps as successor to the late fascist leader Alparslan Turkes.

The work of Mehmet Agar left a trail of blood since he became a member of the police force. The following documentation will give an impression of his doings.

The First Massacres. On July 2 1980, three revolutionaries were executed in Topkapi. Faruk Tuna, accused of hanging a banner with a forbidden text, died in custody as a result of brain trauma caused by torture.

On September 20 1980, Ahmet Karlangic was arrested. He died while he was tortured. Hayrettin Eren, arrested on November 20 1980, was made "disappeared".

In police operations, under the responsibility of Mehmet Agar, people were executed without any trial:

On March 18 1981, Abdullah Gozalan was murdered in Bakirkoy.

On April 3 1981, Mehmet Selim was executed in Karakoy.

On April 7 1981, Selcuk Kucukciftci was executed in Istanbul.

On July 1 1982, Tahsin Elvan was murdered in Maslak.

In September 1987, Ala Demiralp was executed in Cengelkoy.

On April 30 1988, Salih Kul and Ozturk Acar were executed Topkapi.

Mehmet Agar's Time As Police Chief In Ankara. In September 1990, the arrested Newroz Turkdogan lost her 2.5 month old unborn child as a result of torture.

On October 5, the "Solidarity Association of the Relatives of Political Prisoners and Detainees" in Ankara was closed. On his orders the oppression and censorship against the socialist press were increased. Many papers and magazines were confiscated or banned, the publishers, editors and fellow-workers were arrested. Intellectuals and writers were sentenced to jail for more than 100 years together.

Mehmet Agar's Time As Police Chief In Istanbul. In the night of January 31 1990, thousands of policemen and soldiers surrounded the slum area of Kucukarmutlu in Istanbul. The houses were destroyed, many inhabitants were wounded, and hundreds of people were arrested. On February 16 1991, Ali Riza Erdogan, was thrown from the fourth floor of the police station in Beyoglu and murdered.

On March 12 1991, Esmâ Polat, was raped while in custody.

On March 14 1991, Yusuf Eristi "disappeared" in police custody.

On May 19 1991, Parihan Demirer was executed without trial.

On July 12 1991, ten revolutionaries were murdered in a police operation in Istanbul.

On September 1 1991, Ali Riza Karagoz was tortured to death by his torturers.

On October 27 1991, Huseyin Toroman was arrested in front of his house in Kocamustafapasa and he disappeared while in police custody in one of the torture centers.

The Balance Of His Time As Police Director Of Turkey. Number of murdered people in operations against houses and on the streets: 124

Number of people who were tortured to death: 22

Prison sentences for journalists: 122 years

Fines against journalists: 21 billion TL

Number of murdered journalists: 8

Number of arrested journalists: 55

### **BUCAK Sedat**

Member of parliament from the DYP. Leading position in the contra-guerrillas and in drug dealing. The city of Lice is the centre of the heroin trade in the Republic of Turkey.

There, Bucak commands a 10,000 strong unit of "village guards". With this, he is the unquestioned overlord of this area and responsible for the massacres that happen there.

He described himself as a good friend of Catli.

He was the sole survivor of the Susurluk accident.

### **CATLI Abdullah**

alias Mehmet Özbey

One of the leading personalities in the contra-guerrillas and the international drug trade. In 1977, a leading member of the MHP, sentenced for the murder of seven members of the opposition TIP (Turkish Labour Party).

May 13 1981: Involvement in the assassination attempt against the Pope. The attempt was carried out by Mehmet Ali Agca, who was helped by Catli to escape from a Turkish prison a short time before. Catli also gave him the weapon he used. Some months after the attack, Catli made a statement as a witness at the trial against Agca and three other Turks (one of them Oral Celik) and three Bulgarians, and said the Bulgarian and Soviet secret services had ordered the attack.

It is not surprising that Catli was not arrested even though he was wanted by Interpol. At this time he developed a drugs and weapons trade involving Turkey, the Sicilian mafia and the CIA.

In 1982 he went to South America with the well-known civil fascist, drug dealer and Gladio member Stefano delle Chiaie (who was sentenced for the bomb attack in Bologna in 1980 in which 81 people were killed) and then went with him to Miami, where they met CIA people.

According to a statement by Korkut Erken, he had been employed by MIT since 1983 to get rid of Kurdish, Armenian and Turkish revolutionaries living abroad.

In 1985 he appeared again as a witness against Ali Agca. Again, the Italian police made no attempt to arrest him. In these proceedings he said the West German secret services had paid him to say the Bulgarian and Soviet services were behind the attack on the Pope.

This was confirmed by the ex-CIA agent Melvin A. Goodman, who said at a hearing in the US Senate on September 25 1991: "The trail to the Bulgarian and Soviet secret services was invented to present the USSR as a force for evil and to divert attention from

the close ties between the CIA and the far right in Turkey."

Catli went to prison, first in France and then in Switzerland, for involvement in drug dealing. He was released from jail in Switzerland by the Turkish secret service.

From 1994 he worked for the general police headquarters in Turkey.

It is known that Catli belonged to a group that was sent to the former Soviet Republic of Azerbaijan to stage a coup against its leader Haydar Aliyev.

In 1995 he was sent to Cyprus to arrange provocations. In one of these bomb attacks Kutlu Adali, a journalist on the newspaper Yeni Düzen, was killed.

Catli went to Cyprus on several occasions, where his bills were paid by OHAL (Military Property Firm) and where, according to available account statements, he received 65 billion Turkish lira. In Cyprus he had several meetings with Topal, in whose murder he was a participant.

Catli was killed in the Susurluk accident. At the time he was carrying a diplomatic passport which was arranged by Mehmet Agar personally.

### **CILLER Tansu**

At present, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of the Republic of Turkey. Took over from Demirel as chair of the DYP in 1993 and became prime minister of the coalition government with the SHP.

Ciller studied in the USA and is an American citizen. Her great wealth is the result of her ties to the mafia.

When she was sent to Turkey in 1993, the question arose among many as to why she left a nice place like America to assume the burdens of office in Turkey. Love for the fatherland certainly had nothing to do with it. When her role in the contra-guerrillas and mafia is examined, it is clear that she was offered these political offices in order to establish control over the heroin trade in Turkey. An offer she would find difficult to refuse. According to Korkut Erken, the drugs trade in Turkey has a turnover of 25 billion dollars every year!

There are indications that she knew Catli personally. Tansu Ciller and her husband Özer Ciller were more and more frequently named as ordering murder and drug dealing and acting as protectors of drug cartels.

### **DEMIREL Süleyman**

President of Turkey since 1993

Was in opposition for years and made promises like "Nobody will be fetched by the police in the middle of the night! Torture shows contempt for human beings, we are against any form of torture. We guarantee freedom!" In 1991 he was elected into government. He kept none of his promises. During his time in office and also as president, the number of human rights violations increased. As head of the government and as president, he cannot say he had no idea what was going on.

### **ERBAKAN Necmettin**

At present, prime minister in the DYP and Refah coalition. Member of the Department for Special Warfare. The involvement of Refah and Hizbullah with the contra-guerrillas is still a relatively blank and undisclosed chapter in the recent disclosures. It is clear that as head of the government he knew where billions of Turkish lira went. Erbakan, like the ministers of his party, have up to now done nothing to throw light on the background to Susurluk or to bring those responsible to justice. Amongst other things, Justice Minister



Sevket Kazan (Refah Party) has failed to sign applications to lift Mehmet Agar's immunity from prosecution.

### **KOCADAG Hüseyin**

Former head of the Department for Special Warfare. Former deputy police chief in Istanbul. His last position was head of the police school in Istanbul. He died in the Susurluk crash.

### **YAZICIOGLU Kemal**

At the start of 1996 until November 1996 (Susurluk) police president of Istanbul. Former police president in Ankara.

## **CHRONOLOGIE**

At half past seven in the evening on November 3 1996, on a main road about seven kilometres from the town of Susurluk, a Mercedes with the licence plate 06 AC 600, driven by the senior police official Huseyin Kocadag and belonging to the member of parliament Sedat Bucak, collided with a lorry with the licence plate 20 RC721 whose driver had just come onto the main road from a petrol station stop. This accident resulted in the deaths of the former deputy police chief H. Kocadag (more recently trainer of the Special Police Units), Abdullah Catli (a murderer wanted by police throughout the world, a convicted drug dealer and a former deputy chairman of the fascist Grey Wolves) and Gonca Us (a former beauty queen heavily involved in drug dealing), and altered the course of everyday life in Turkey. As a result of this accident, the triangle of connections between the state, the mafia and the police were exposed. In Susurluk, a part of the Turkish state's true face was exposed. This is the face of the contra-guerrilla. The following chronology sets out the events which have taken place up to the present.

November 3 1996

After the accident, the interior minister Mehmet Agar said in his first statement that this accident was nothing out of the ordinary. When journalists asked if this proved a connection to the mafia, he answered: "the member of parliament Sedat Bucak is our friend. His friendship with former police chief Huseyin Kocadag is also quite normal. The car hit a lorry because of a failed attempt to overtake."

November 5 1996

After the accident, the press began to ask questions. The answers to some questions will be given later, while some still remain unanswered. Why did the car involved in the crash contain an entire arsenal? What were automatic weapons, of the MP5 model only used by police, doing in the car? What were silencers of types compatible with the automatic weapons doing in the car? Police do not use silencers, only assassins use them. Were they used to carry out "murders by unknown perpetrators"? A diplomatic passport belonging to Abdullah Catli was found in the car. How did a murderer and drug dealer come by such a passport? The pass was issued in Sanliurfa/Suruc, the home village of the MP Sedat Bucak. Which forces used Catli as a policeman? Where did the money, reportedly found in two briefcases in the car, come from? Was it drug money? Why did the briefcases disappear? Is the allegation true that the occupants of the car had just met A Cakici (a mafia boss) in Kusadasi? If so, what did they talk about? Already, bit by bit the network linking criminal bands and the state had been exposed, through internal disputes

involving the gangs headed by Hayri Kozakcioglu (former governor of the state of emergency area [Kurdistan]) and Necdet Menzir (former police chief) on the one side and the bands of Erken (also a former governor of the state of emergency area) and Interior Minister Mehmet Agar on the other. This exposure has been accelerated by Susurluk. When Kozakcioglu was transferred to Istanbul it was said he had taken a large sum of money out of the state's treasury. To cover him, President Demirel said he had sent him the money.

The Turkish security police department MIT has also broken its silence. In a published statement, it said that special units had been set up for the fight against the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and Devrimci-Sol (Revolutionary Left). These units, primarily formed from Grey Wolves members, had recourse to means such as extortion, theft, threats, drug dealing and murder.

Some members of the special units were issued with diplomatic passports and police IDs. Some were sent abroad to fight "terrorist groups". Moreover, money was obtained abroad by means of drug dealing. Police chiefs reportedly headed these units.

Catli received his pass from the state. He is said to have been involved in killing Kurds in Sapanca. He is also said to have played a leading role against the Armenian organisation ASALA. With the help of his connections to the officer Korkut Eken, who headed a similar gang, orders from the BOTAS business were entrusted to him.

Besides Abdullah Catli, other gang members have been named:

Haluk Kirici, born in Erzurum in 1958, who studied at Ankara University. Member of the Idealist Hearth associations of the Grey Wolves. Kirici was given a jail sentence for murder.

Abdurrahman Bugday (or Bulday), born 1959 in Elazig/Palu, graduated from the Ataturk secondary school in Malatya and is said to have killed a chauffeur named Sanverdi on Dec. 20, 1979.

Sami Hosnav (nicknamed Arnavut Sami), drug dealer in Spain, Holland and Colombia. He owns a shoe shop and has a share in a casino. Gangs are financed from its earnings.

Sedat Peker, member of the Grey Wolves, took part in their actions in Germany and Istanbul.

Mehmet Gozen, brother-in-law of Nurettin Guven, member of the Grey Wolves, being sought on a smuggling charge.

Ali Yasak (Drej Ali), a feared and notorious man in the underworld, belongs to the Bucak clan. He has good ties to police and parliament members.

November 6, 1996

Mehmet Agar's daughter stayed at the hotel where Bucak, Kocadag and Catli stayed overnight. It is probable that all three met Agar.

November 7, 1996

Mesut Yilmaz declares: "the state is occupied by thieves and murderers. We have a lot of proof." CHP deputies in parliament suggest setting up a parliamentary commission to investigate Susurluk. According to the press, Tansu Ciller sought Agar's resignation.

November 8, 1996

Interior Minister Agar resigned, using the pretext that his daughter was seriously ill. This does not put an end to the government's difficulties.

November 9, 1998

Meral Aksener is named interior minister. The ANAP (opposition party) deputy Carsancakli says: "It isn't just Agar who is involved. Ozer and Tansu Ciller are also involved. they are gang leaders. Catli phoned me a few times and said: `Yesterday I had supper with Ciller, if you have any work I can deal with it.' He was certainly someone who met Agar and ate with Ciller."

A card belonging to Haluk Kirici is said to have been found on the murderer Haluk Kirici. A senior civil servant said this was done so he could move about more freely, and added that when Kirici was arrested this year, the justice minister intervened and he was freed. One of the policemen being accused made a similar statement. Tansu Ciller is said to have set up paramilitary units and used money from a secret state fund to pay them.

November 11, 1996

According to a statement by the former MHP [fascist] and current ANAP member Avni Carsancakli, Catli was connected to the Special Warfare Department and regularly met Mehmet Agar.

November 13, 1996

Former Grey Wolves start talking, one after the other. Ibrahim Ciftici: "The state used us, Catli and those like him worked for the state. They carried out operations on behalf of the state. When we were in prison, officers came to us and told us we were friends of the fatherland. They urged us to fight the PKK and promised that the state would forgive us." The chief advocate responsible for the Susurluk case said these people formed a gang to commit crimes. He signed several arrest orders accordingly.

The TV news shows a video of Catli, who was sought by Interpol, attending a wedding festival in the presence of the new interior minister, Meral Aksener, and various police chiefs.

November 14, 1996

The Istanbul lawyers' office says efforts to shed light on Susurluk are fruitless. The state lies behind it all, from drug smuggling to executions.

The weapons certificate held by Catli was signed by Mehmet Agar. This designated Catli as holding a special police director's pass. Moreover, Catli was twice released after being arrested.

Shortly after the accident, someone is said to have phoned from Ankara to demand that notebooks and lists of telephone numbers found at the scene of the accident should be made to disappear. This was immediately done.

H. Baybasin, Kurdish drug dealer, most recently active in Holland, was given a false identity card with which he had no problems in relation to military service or obtaining visas. The pass was given to him so he could settle drug dealing business abroad.

The CHP member of parliament from Erzincan, Mustafa Kul, said Catli was an adviser on Agar's staff and before the December 1994 elections he made an offer to him to become an MP.

In the car at the accident, a yellowish white powder wrapped in aluminium foil was found. It is assumed that this was heroin.

Mustafa Pehlivanoglu, who was sentenced for involvement in the 1981 murder of five people in a coffee shop, said: "I hope everyone who put me in this situation gets their just deserts. I have been condemned to death and I therefore want to tell the people the truth. We all carried out murders and assaults on the orders of Catli."

November 15, 1996

In a broadcast on Channel D, Mesut Yilmaz declares that Bucak's bodyguards are enforcers. He says also that members of the Special Units killed the gambling chief Omer Topal, and statements by the killers and witnesses are available on video. He said the state murdered with its own hands.

Agar says he never met Catli.

Investigations against a mafia gang, the Yuksekova gang, continue. Six members who operated in Hakkari, in the southeast, were arrested.

The wife of Medet Serhat, a lawyer for Kurdish businessmen and mafiosi who was killed by persons unknown, said her husband was probably shot from a distance of two or three metres by Agansoy (a mafia member killed by Catli and Ciller's bodyguards).

Lab tests show the powder in the crash vehicle was cocaine.

November 16, 1996

Tuncer Gunay, investigative journalist states that after the coup of 1980 Abdullah Catli, Huseyin Kocadag, Alaatin Cakici and Oral Celik were given the task by the state to lead special units in actions against the Armenian organisation ASALA. According to Gunay, Catli murdered Agoc Agopyan. Furthermore Catli is said to have taken Agca out of prison and he played an active role in the murders of Behcet Canturk and Savas Buldan. Gunay states he knows Catli since 1979 and he met him last in August, 1996.

Catli is said to have gone abroad in 1980. In that period suddenly the attacks against ASALA started. ASALA is said to have not possessed a mass base and supposedly consisted of units of some 20 militants. During meetings of the general staff with leaders of the Special Operation Units, it was discussed how ASALA could be destroyed. In that period there were only two organisations in Turkey who would have been capable of doing that: the Turkish secret service MIT and the police. But it was impossible for both to conduct actions abroad, considering the laws of that time. Instead these two forces were to establish special units who were going to do the job. The legendary MIT deputy-chief Hiram Abas was also involved in leading these units. The developments after the murder of "Casino King" Luftu Topal show the relations between state-mafia-police even more clearly. According to the statements of the policemen from the 3rd Special Unit, who were interrogated, Topal was also involved in drug trafficking. As those responsible for the murder, they named Tansu Ciller and Mehmet Agar. Mehmet Agar stated to the chief-editor of the Hurriyet, Ertugrul Ozturk: "We've carried out thousands of operations. But I can not tell more about this. The result of our operations was peace for the people. It has been quiet in Turkey for three years now. But from now on we cannot take anymore risks. In Cizre it was even impossible to walk peacefully across the street. But now there is no difference anymore between the West and the East." Sadik Avunduoglu, chairman of the parliamentary investigation committee for murders by unknown perpetrators, stated the wealth of Ciller was clear evidence for her involvement with the mafia.

As a result of the accident in Susurluk:

the MIT report and the accusations it contains became public;

it became known that Interpol had a international arrest warrant issued against Abdullah Catli;

it was revealed that Catli received a diplomatic passport anyway;

it was probable that Bucak, Catli and Kocadag met Agar in the Princess Hotel;

it is thought that the nephew and the brother of the leader of the Soylemez gang, Sene Soylemez, were murdered by a gang, led by Bucak;  
it became known that the murderer Haluk Kirici, wanted for the massacre in Bahcelievler 18 years ago, carried a card with him, signed by Mehmet Agar, identifying him as a protégé;  
it was revealed that an assault was planned against Abdullah Catli in 1996, involving a policeman;  
it was discovered that the members of the Special Operation Teams, Tekdemir from Ankara and Mehmet Hadi Ozcan met Catli in Catli's villa;  
it became clear that Catli was taken out of a Swiss prison, where he was jailed because of drug trafficking, most likely by the CIA;  
it became clear that Turgul Turkes, the deputy chairman of the MHP (and of the leading drug traffickers) met Catli in Nakhichevan and had something to do with the former president of Azerbaijan, Elchibey,  
Omer Ay, one of the closest friends of Catli in the 1970s, stated that Catli cooperated with the state since the coup of September 12, 1980, carrying out special operations;  
it became known that the gun which Catli had registered belonged to Nihat Yasak who recently lost his life during a confrontation.

November 17, 1996:

President Demirel to the press: "Let's not burn down the whole house because of one mouse. Susurluk was a mistake by the state." According to the putschist general Evren, they used the Grey Wolves for special actions. The MIT even made use of enemies, and if this was going to continue, soon nobody would want to work for the state. Necdet Menzir is said to have phoned chief of police Mehmet Agar, warning him not to send his people to Menzir's area.

Bodyguards of Sedat Bucak on trial for carrying out executions. Ayhin Carkin and Omer Kaplan, official bodyguards of Sedat Bucak, are being prosecuted for murder in five different cases, killing 13 people. One of the cases is the attack against the coffee-shop Beyaz Saraz in Okmeydani, August 13, 1993, in which five people were murdered. Witnesses testified that Selma Catlak (Tan) was shot in front of their eyes, after she had surrendered. In the two trials against both bodyguards, the prosecutor demanded 48 years of imprisonment in total. The trials still continue. The courts are still busy with the operation of January 27, 1992, in Mahmutbey in which Servet Sanim, Ismail Cengiz Gizenek and Huseyin Yasar were murdered, the operation of March 24, 1992 in Bahcelievler in which Ibrahim Yalcin Arikan, Avni Turan and Recia Dincer were murdered (for the 2nd Court for Capital Crimes in Bakirkoy), the attack on March 6, 1993 in Kartal in which Bedri Yagan, Gurcan Ozgur, Menekse Meral and Rifat-Asiye Kasap were killed. The massacre in Okmeydani, mentioned above, in which Selma Catlak, Mehmet Salgin, Sabri Atilmis, Hakan Kasa and Nebi Akyurek were murdered, is now being tried by the 2nd Court for Capital Crimes in Istanbul. The massacre of April 16-17 in Ciftehavuzlar in which Sabahat Karatas, Sinan Kukul, Taskin Usta and Eda Yuksel were murdered, is being tried by the Court for Capital Crime in Kayseri. The murder of Ibrahim Ilci is being tried by the 4th Court for Capital Crimes in Istanbul. The murder of Nurten Demir and Ismail Akarcesme is tried by the 1st Court for Capital Crime in Beyoglu...

November 21, 1996:

Sedat Bucak is on HBB Television. Bucak, claiming he has 30,000 armed men under his command, says he loved Catli like a brother. While he covers Catli with compliments, he warns Yilmaz to be very careful. Mesut Yilmaz states there are even ministers who give orders to the mafia: "These people are used for jobs which do not benefit the state, they benefit the interests of certain political tendencies. They cooperate with criminals for the money." The papers report that Agar had a secret meeting on September 2, 1993, with the leaders of the Bucak clan. On this occasion, 1,500 Kalashnikovs were given to the clan. The same offer was made to other clans, but most of them declined. The members of the Bucak clan received the assurance that there would be no unpleasant investigations into the affairs of the clan members in case they agreed to fight against the PKK. Agar is said to have ordered the murder of the Soylemez gang which is in jail. For this reason, Sedat Peker, convicted for the possession of drugs, murder and assault - and probably a member of the Grey Wolves - went to the prison where he beats up the prison director, saying: "Why have they not been killed yet?" Agar is said to have been Haluk Kirici wedding's witness. When pictures of the wedding were published in the papers, Agar claimed he did not have any idea whose wedding witness he had been.

November 22, 1996:

The office of Mesut Yilmaz is said to be bugged.

November 23, 1996:

Catli's widow about the connections of her late husband: "It's possible some state officials helped my husband. He did work together with the state. But he didn't have a high opinion about that. It was known who Catli was, and therefore they never disturbed him. My husband did not escape from this prison in Switzerland, he was liberated, as everybody knows." The CHP chairman Deniz Baykal states: "When the events in Susurluk are solved, Ugur Dundar (television journalist) and Dogu Perincek (publisher of the paper Aydinlik) will die. Everybody will get his turn. The state kills people. We must get rid of this burden, the state is executing its people. In Turkey, people are blackmailed, kidnapped and murdered."

Ciller calls Bucak, who plays a major role in the triangle of mafia-state-police, a hero: "He fought against terror like a hero, nobody should make the mistake to forget the past of these people."

November 25, 1996:

The people are protesting. Several mass organisations set up committees to show their reaction to the public. The democratic mass organisations started to set up associations against organised crime. Mehmet Gul, former chairman of the Ulku Ocaklari (association of the Grey Wolves) in Istanbul, says Catli escaped from prison in Switzerland in the time that ANAP was in government and that Catli cooperated in the ANAP party congress. Party chairman Yilmaz is said to have met Catli before the congress. Yilmaz needed the support of the 300-500 fascist-orientated delegates to win the congress, and that is where Catli came in. Catli primarily worked for Akbulut, but he also gave his support to Yilmaz. A former member of parliament and former minister of culture in the period Catli was in a Swiss prison, says: "Everybody who has been prime minister or minister of the interior in Turkey should know Catli travelled abroad as an agent, and they do know." ANAP party chairman Mesut Yilmaz was attacked by former fascists (at present mafia members) in the Hilton hotel in Budapest.

November 27, 1996:

Police director Alaatin Yuksel reports investigations in the last six months revealed the existence of several gangs to which some 30 policemen belonged. Yuksel says 350 policemen were suspended in one year and some 100 files still had to be treated. It was again said that the death of gendarmerie commander Esref Bitlis had not been the result of an accident, but that his plane had been sabotaged. It is said that Bitlis was murdered by a uniformed gang in Yuksekova. PKK renegade Kahraman Bilgic is supposed to belong to that gang as well. These are no village guards, these are criminal gangs. The village guards present a disturbing picture. In 11 years, 23,000 temporary village guards were sacked, primarily because of murder, kidnapping, drug trafficking and arms dealing. There are 76,906 village guards in Turkey, 14,872 of them are volunteers. Ciller defends Catli: "Those who fire bullets for this state, or who are shot, are remembered with respect, they are honourable."

November 28, 1996:

Refah Party delegate Firat says: "Sedat Bicak has connections with the contra-guerrillas, when the truth about the gangs is revealed, the oppression in the east will also come to light. Sedat Bucak and his clan are doing nothing that could be of benefit for Turkey, they are only involved in organised crime and murder." In 1982, Abdullah Catli went to Latin America, together with the Italian della Chiesa, from there they went to Miami. The Turkish and the Italian Gladio work together in the US.

A law to save Gladio. The minister of justice is preparing a new law. According to this law, the number of crimes which are tried by the State Security Court will be reduced. Membership of a criminal association (the mafia) will in future no longer be a case for the State Security Court ("to reduce the workload of the State Security Court"), it will become a case for the normal courts.

A newspaper publishes the following article: "The victims of the gangs were Kurds and Armenians. The first job of A. Catli and his gang, used in Turkey for murder and trained by the Special Units, was the murder of Vedat Aydin through torture. Later, at the funeral, these people opened fire at the then party chairman Fehmi Isiklar and his friends. A. Catli and his friends committed this murder, controlled by state institutions. Musa Anter, a critical author, was murdered by these gangs. Sedat Bucak sheltered these murderers. It would be naive to think the governor of the region knew nothing about this." After the office of the paper Ozgur Gundem was bombed, the police director of Istanbul Menzir pointed at Agar as the one who gave the order, but nothing was done. Thousands of people were murdered by these criminal gangs. High-ranking officers, governors in this region and the former National Police Director Agar knew about it. Almost all papers carry reports about these accusations.

November 30, 1996:

The expert about the drug trade between Germany and Turkey, Harald Luder, explains that morphine is processed to heroin in laboratories in Istanbul. Turkey has been transformed into one gigantic drug laboratory. A parliamentary investigation commission began looking into the connections between the mafia, the police and the state. But the democratic institutions have no hope the commission will unearth the truth. The chairman of the European Islam Association (ATIB), and accused of being an accessory in the plot against the pope, Musa Serdar Celebi, states in the press: "The murders smell of the state. In Turkey, murders by unknown perpetrators are committed by a dark force. You can call

it Gladio or the Department for Special Warfare if you like, but they really exist in Turkey. They accused the Ulkucus (Grey Wolves) then, but in reality it was Gladio. Gladio is walking around freely."

December 2, 1996:

A reporter for the news agency Reuters interviewed Sedat Bucak, the only survivor of the Susurluk accident. He reported: "Bucak, leading one of the strongest clans in eastern Turkey, lives like a feudal landlord. He has thousands of armed men under his command to fight against the PKK. The government in Ankara, which has a policy of suppressing Kurdish rebellions by using clans, applied the same policy as early as 1925 against the rebellion which was led by Sheikh Said. The state granted the clans which fight the PKK social and military privileges, thus creating a state within a state. For example: Sedat Bucak doesn't supply more than 2,000 village guards. But he claims to have 10,000 village guards in arms, so he receives 1.3 million dollars each month." The money which was extorted from Omer Lutfu Topal was taken from the bank by the murdered MIT [Turkish state intelligence agency] spy Tarik Umit. Although the police discovered the money transfers, no measures were taken.

December 3, 1996:

There are at least two gangs within the state. The minister of Industry said: "The state is surrounded by gangs. It looks like there are at least two gangs, fighting each other." It is reported that at least 3,200 people were ordered by "unknown perpetrators" in the southeast of the country, hundreds of people in this region make a living by murdering people. Besides intellectuals and democratic journalists like Musa Anter, Vedat Aydin and Ferhat Tepe, gang members like Ahmet Cem Ersever from the JITEM (Gendarmerie Intelligence Service) also became victims of internal gang wars. The papers write about three major gangs among many others. One of them is the Diyarbakir group, the second is the Sirnak group and the third one, considered the most dangerous, is called "Sakallilar" (the "full-bearded ones"). This information is said to have come from Cem Ersever, before he was murdered. Cem Ersever, a long-time MIT agent, then founder and chief of the JITEM, stepped down and told his friends and relatives that traitors were involved in criminal affairs. They were said to be active in drug trafficking, robbery and car theft. No state official can say these facts are false, that Cem Ersever was lying. The Turkish Republic depends on traitors. Most unsolved murders were committed by these traitors.

December 5, 1996:

The party chairman of the MHP (fascists), Alparslan Turkes concedes: the state has used Abdullah Catli. It is claimed that Ciller ordered Ahmet Demir (known as Yesil ["Green"]) to kill Abdullah Ocalan, giving him 25 billion TL from a secret fund. Yesil supposedly got scared and did not carry out the assault. However, he kept the money. The murder should have been carried out by Yesil and Abdullah Catli. The former Refah (Welfare Party) deputy, Hasan Mezarci claims Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan belongs to the Special Warfare Department, the source of all the gangs. Erbakan's statement that he would dismantle the gangs if they really existed, is called untrustworthy by Mezarci: "Erbakan does not want to solve this case. He just wants to cover it up... Nobody is sincere, concerning solving the case. The gangs are not important, the Special Warfare Department is... This department - right-wing, left-wing,



fundamentalist and nationalist gangs, it uses and protects them, until they are of no more use. Then they produce new gangs. The problem is not Catli, there are thousands of Catlis who work for the state."

December 6, 1996:

The minister of the Interior, Meral Aksener, suspends police chief Kemal Yazicioglu, the chief of the Special Warfare Department, Ibrahim Sahin, the deputy chief of police Bilgi Unal and the three bodyguards of Sedat Bucak, Ercan Ersoy, Ayhan Carkin and Oguz Yorulmaz. Ugur Dundar presents his program: the murder of Omer Lutfu Topal was solved, but the investigations were stopped by Ankara. Yazicioglu was suspended because he passed his information about the murder of O. Lutfu Topal to Prime Minister Erbakan. New accusations:

There were two more persons involved in Omer Lutfu Topal's casino in the Sheraton Hotel in Istanbul: Sami Hostan ("Arnavut Sami") and Mehmet Ozbay (Abdullah Catli); Catli wanted to buy Topal's share, but he refused. - It was decided to kill Topal. The major roles in this murder were played by Arnavut Sami and one of his men. Ali Tevfik. The murder was committed by the three bodyguards of Sedat Bucak; After the murder, phone calls were made with mobile telephones. One minister was phoned as well. "The operation has been completed successfully", the murderers said; The Istanbul police arrested the three bodyguards, Arnavut Sami and Ali Tevfik. Arnavut Sami and Ali Tevfik confessed to the murder when interrogated. They say they received the order from a minister and the wife of a well-known politician; These statements were passed on to Ankara;

The deputy chief of police and Ibrahim Sahin, leader of the Special Warfare Department, arrived in Istanbul to bring the arrested to Ankara.

Police chief Kemal Yazicioglu opposed this. Thereupon Mehmet Agar, the minister of the interior himself, gave the order to bring these five people to Ankara;

The day before yesterday, Kemal Yazicioglu passed on all his information about the murder of O. Lutfu Topal to Erbakan;

Kemal Yazicioglu was suspended because he solved the murder of Topal.

Mesut Yilmaz, chairman of ANAP (Motherland Party) said: "There are three gangs within the state.. They're killing each other because they don't want to share the money from the heroin trade."

After the massacre in the Diyarbakir Prison, in which 11 prisoners were murdered, parliament sets up an investigation committee. The Refah deputy Okcu, member of this committee, stated that even governors do not have any control over the acts of JITEM and the intelligence service in the southeast. He said certain forces were influencing the state and that the state was having contacts with circles of traitors and fascists in the region, allowing the existence of gangs like the Soylemezler and Yuksekova gangs. The attacks inside the prisons were organised by these forces. Okcu described the massacre in Diyarbakir prison as "a massacre which was carried out by traitors, supervised by the state".

December 7, 1996:

It was revealed that Sedat Bucak's bodyguards (also members of a special unit) took leave a few days before the murder. One of the policemen yelled at Ibrahim Sahin, the leader of the Special Warfare Department: "Did you come to kill us, or are you going to save us?" The minister of the Interior, Meral Aksener, stated no fingerprints were found

on the weapons which were secured in Susurluk.

December 8, 1996:

Journalists were attacked at Catli's funeral. The police watched the attack but did not intervene. The attack was carried out by supporters of Ali Yusak. According to another accusation, the Ozgur Gundem journalist Nazim Babaoglu was kidnapped and murdered by members of the Bucak clan on March 12, 1994, in Siverek. He was found murdered and his body showed the marks of severe torture. Bucak's village guards supposedly called Babaoglu, telling him to come to Siverek for a story. Thereupon Babaoglu was kidnapped by the village guards Gani and Ahmet Karakaya.

December 10, 1996:

On March 16, 1978, seven revolutionary students were murdered in a bomb attack at the entrance of the Istanbul University. The trial is still going on at the Istanbul Criminal Court. According to statements of accused policemen and some fascists who gave statements to the press after the attack, the massacre was organised and led by Catli personally. The state prosecutors demanded punishment of the supporters and accomplices of Catli. A retired MIT agent who took part in several major operations said Catli and his friends were not ordered by the MIT in the ASALA operation [against an anti-Turkish Armenian group]. The orders came from a group organised by Kenan Evren, then state president. Hiram Abas and Mehmet Aymur played the major roles. A high-ranking bureaucrat, active during the presidency of Ozal, claimed the failed assault against Prime Minister Ozal was carried out by the same gang and the assailant Kartal Demirag was supported by fascists and the police chief of Ankara in those days, Mehmet Agar. The accused in the Topal murder case were accusing Ozer Ciller, Tansu Ciller's husband, and Mehmet Agar. "They knew about the murder plan," they stated against the Istanbul police. Sedat Bucak is protecting his bodyguards and rejected the accusations against them.

December 12, 1996:

On the day of the accident Catli carried papers which were signed by the minister of the Interior himself. Catli's gun permit said: "The person shown this photo, Mehmet Ozbay, works at the police directorate as a specialist and is allowed to carry guns." Investigations by the Criminal laboratory showed the signature was authentic. After this, state prosecutor Nihat Artiran requested the immunity of Mehmet Agar be lifted to make a trial against him possible.

December 14, 1996:

According to new reports, fingerprints of Abdullah Catli were found on the cartridge found at the scene of the murder of Topal. The ANAP chairman, Mesut Yilmaz, stated: "This is just the tip of the iceberg." Abdullah Catli is said to have founded three firms, using a false name. After he was elected in the board of the association Ulku Yolu (a fascist association), he led the organisation and the actions from Nevsehir. This is also the place where he became friends with the later chief of the Special Warfare Department. It was revealed that Ibrahim Sahin was convicted of torture during his time of office in Nevsehir. Sahin is said to have been a militant member of the MHP and involved in the murder of the CHP (social democrat) chairman in Nevsehir. Agca [the would-be murderer of the pope] and Catli received false passports from the police

directorate in Nevsehir in that period.

December 16, 1996:

According to a paper's investigation, 18 organised gangs exist in Turkey. While many abduction cases in the southeast could not be solved, Necip Barkan was kidnapped on September 22 by persons who dressed like PKK guerrillas. The kidnapers demanded 130,000 dollars from Barkan's family in the name of the ERNK. Later it became known that the kidnapping was organised by the chief of a special unit of traitors and village guards. Proof of this was presented to the parliamentary commission which investigates the Susurluk incident. According to these documents, village guards, traitors and special units, dressed up like PKK guerrillas, carry out murders, deal drugs, burn down villages, kidnap people and make them disappear. The evidence is clear. The gangs were supervised by the state and their acts became known because of internal feuds. According to the same documents, 430 investigations were started against members of the police force between April 30 and October 31, 1996. Among them were 71 police presidents and 15 chief commissioners. 119 policemen were tried already, the cases against 371 others are still going on.

December 17, 1996:

It was revealed that Abdullah Catli received "special attention" when he was given a diplomatic passport. According to a police statement, the preferential treatment was ordered by a police president, but they didn't remember the name of this official, they claimed. Dozens of Mafia gangsters received diplomatic passports in the same way. The file of state prosecutor Nihat Artiran, requesting that the immunity of Mehmet Agar be lifted, was handed over to the Justice Department. Artiran was taken off the case. Catli worked for Mehmet Agar in the 1995 elections. The MHP lost 6% of their vote in Elazig. (Mehmet Agar stood for the DYP)

December 18, 1996:

The order to bring the policemen, suspected of murder, from Istanbul to Ankara was given by Mehmet Agar. Ibrahim Sahin, in the meanwhile suspended as chief of the Special Warfare Department, said he received this order from Mehmet Agar. The chief of police in Istanbul, Kemal Yazicioglu, was said to have sent an invitation to Abdullah Catli for a religious festivity during his office in Izmir. The fascist A. Kirici, wanted by the police, was said to have been in the car which was behind the Mercedes belonging to Bucak when it crashed in Susurluk. He was said to have done the most to save Catli. After Catli's death, Kirici supposedly took over the organisation. Kirici is said to have been Catli's right hand. He took part in several operations, next to Catli. After Catli's death, Kirici disappeared from sight. He was said to have good relations with Sedat Bucak and once in a while he was said to hide in Siverek. The chief prosecutor of Istanbul, Ciftci, said the police are not passing on their information. A fax, sent by the state prosecution to the police directorate in Istanbul, showed information was passed on very late, and the names of the arrested wasn't even given to the prosecution. Investigations were carried out in the name of the state prosecution without their knowledge. The minister of Defence, Turhan Tayan, stated 400 billion TL were spent daily for the anti-terror campaign. In 1996, the Turkish government spent 80 billion daily for the Gendarmerie, 40 billion for the land forces, and 5 billion for the air forces. According to the MGK (the National Security Council) report weapon smugglers pay

billions in bribe money to members of parliament which use their immunity to carry out their deals without being disturbed.

December 19, 1996:

The evidence against the Yuksekova gang disappeared. Video tapes and documents about the Yuksekova gang, consisting of members of the special units, traitors and village guards, have gone missing. The officer Huseyin Oguz, who discovered this gang, was threatened with death and he was transferred to another city. His lawyer, Yasar Alturk, said the first investigation took nine days and the tapes and the documents were handed over to the appropriate officials. Some of these officials then made this evidence disappear.

December 21, 1996:

The report of the MIT to the MGK (National Security Council) says the village guards in the southeast are no longer under the control of the state. They are said to have become criminal gangs.

December 22, 1996:

According to the deputy department chief of the MIT, M. Eymurs, the MIT killed Tarik Umit after he was interrogated by Catli. Mehmet Agar and Ibrahim Sahin, the chief of the Special Warfare Department, are said to be responsible for this case. After 1980, the MIT used Catli abroad. Eymur: "When we heard Catli was dealing in drugs, we dropped him, then the police directorate used him." During an operation in Kocaeli, a gang of 27 people was caught. This gang is held responsible for seven murders, five disappearances, two kidnappings and seven cases of extortion. The leader of this gang is said to be Mehmet Hadi Ozcan, a close friend of Catli.

Meral Aksener charges village guards. Aksener is sacking 23,000 village guards. Up to now it was determined that 296 village guards committed murder, four village guards kidnapped men, 77 village guards were guilty of kidnapping women and girls and many village guards were involved in the smuggling of drugs and weapons.

Catli was said to be trained by the Israeli MOSSAD and the CIA. His weapon originated in Israel. It was found in the car in Susurluk. Because this kind of weapon is not used in Turkey, it became known these weapons originated from a deal between the Turkish police and Israel.

December 25, 1996:

Yasar Oz's gun permit, handed over by ANAP leader Mesut Yilmaz to the parliamentary commission, was of the same type as the gun permit which was issued to Abdullah Catli. It was established that it was printed on the same kind of paper, carrying the same text and the same signature. Sevket Kazan opened the case against Haluk Kirici who was recently arrested but immediately released because he possessed a special document. Haluk Kirici, accused because of the Bahcelievler massacre, was released on probation in 1989. Later he was wanted because of another crime. He was arrested in April, but he managed to escape, helped by two policemen. When his papers were checked, a policeman discovered Haluk Kirici was in the possession of a document, signed by Mehmet Agar, with the request to help the owner. Agar also phoned and prevented Kirici being taken into custody. But Agar denies all of this. The MIT report states Haluk Kirici was arrested, together with Ayhan Akca (member of a special unit), because of the murder of Tarik Umit. A phone call was made to the police station to have him released

again. During his time as governor of Erzurum, Mehmet Agar was Haluk Kirici's wedding witness.

December 26, 1996:

The national chief of police Alladin Yuksel broke his silence. Yuksel reported the police was in the possession of Catli's fingerprints: "Surely the friends in Istanbul have some explaining to do how these fingerprints were misplaced", accusing the Istanbul chief of police, Kemal Yazicioglu. In a television programme on HBB, Yuksel stated Catli's fingerprints first showed up in the attack against a student hostel in 1977, and for the last time in Susurluk. According to Yuksel, the Gendarmerie came into action immediately after the accident in Susurluk:

"After the incident the Gendarmerie came into action. The files in this case, containing all the information from the car, were secured by the Gendarmerie."

Yuksel said the investigations were started immediately upon requests by the state prosecution and the state security court. Yuksel also said that the three policemen, wanted because they belonged to the Soylemez gang, had not been apprehended yet: "That depends on the methods of apprehension. Because of their tasks, they have a lot of acquaintances, it's possible they hide with friends."

Huseyin Baybasin, arrested in 1995 in the Netherlands in the case of the drug ship Lucky-S, claims to have smuggled drugs together with relatives of Mehmet Agar: Yumus Agar and Yalcin Akcadag (Mehmet's uncle) using the oil trade as a cover. Baybasin states they were transporting petrol from Libya, taken drugs on board along the way, smuggling these into the Netherlands. Baybasin also states:

"Nobody was allowed near the ship by the police. Suleyman Basgol, chief of police in that time, was there as well. Nobody can claim to have seen nothing. This was all done under the supervision of the Istanbul police." According to Baybasin, Mehmet Agar was making 500,000 dollars a month and he demanded Agar should explain where all his wealth came from.

December 28, 1996:

The Special Units Academy in Golbas was visited by Tansu Ciller, together with the minister of the Interior Meral Aksener, minister Bekir Aksoy, DYP delegate Hayri Kozakciogly, Unal Erkan, Saffet Arikan Beduk and the national chief of police. Ciller made a statement about the recent reports about the police, the MIT, the Special Units and similar organisations: "Your orders are not coming from those who attack you, they're coming from the state. This country is grateful to you. The nation is proud of you, now they're trying to denounce you.

They are the enemies of the fatherland, we have many who fell, who were murdered by the enemies of the fatherland. I know you'll save the country. I call upon all who falsely accuse you: Stop, do not cross the line. The persons who are conspiring against you will be ashamed one day. I know you love our nation and your country very much. I respect your work. Keep your heads up high. All those who are against you will have to fight, because we will not allow them to win. I will always be behind you." Tansu Ciller and the others also dressed in Special Unit uniforms. The former MIT member Korkut Eken, who later became advisor of the minister of the Interior Mehmet Agar, stated he was a friend of Catli. He said so on December 27 in front of the parliamentary commission. Catli had been his friend, and Eken added that Catli had been used by the state since 1980, claiming it was impossible that MIT chief Eymur had not known Catli. Eken:

"Catli was used as an informant about the PKK after 1994 in Germany. I know Catli did some jobs for the state." He also said: "I know Tarik Umit, but I haven't seen him in three years. I did not kill Tarik Umit."

1 January 1997

"SABAH" said that, though he had a police record since 1961, slain casino king Omer Lutfu Topal had managed to secure from the Istanbul Judicial Records Department a paper which said that he was "clean." That document enabled him to get licences to operate 13 gambling facilities in the country. Topal had been imprisoned in the United States and the Netherlands for narcotics smuggling. He also had a long police record back home involving not only narcotics smuggling but also murder. At the recent party leaders' Susurluk summit Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan had asked, "How could such a man get a licence?"

Here is the list of the ministers who had permitted Topal to operate casinos: Adana Seyhan Hotel (ANAP's Ilhan Akuzum in 1991), Saray Regency (ANAP's Bulent Akarcali in 1991), Ofo Hotel, Aydin Onura (both authorized by SHP's Abdulkadir Ates in 1992), Polat Renaissance, Grand Kaptan (both authorized by SHP's Abdulkadir Ates in 1993), Mersin Hilton, Seven Seas Hotel (both authorized by SHP's Abdulkadir Ates in 1994), Bodrum Park Resort (CHP's Irfan Gurpinar in 1995, but at that time Topal was no longer a member of the company operating the casinos), Ersin Topkapi (CHP's Irfan Gurpinar, 1996, again Topal was not a board member), Ceylan Intercontinental (1996, application received but permission denied because of certain shortcomings).

2 January 1997

"RADIKAL". Yasar Öz, in whose name a green passport-signed by DYP Deputy and former Interior Minister Mehmet Agar-had been issued similar to the one Catli was carrying when he died, turned out to be an alias used by Esref Cudar, the uncle of Meral Catli, Abdullah Catli's wife. Cudar is known as an Abkhazian-Circassian nationalist. He is a friend of Selim Gosterisli, the mysterious figure who had acted as an intermediary between the Turkish authorities and the group of Abkhazian nationalists who had commandeered the Avrasya ferry in the Black Sea in early 1996. A suspected narcotics smuggler and author of counterfeit passports, "Yasar Oz" is one of the names cited in the 59-name National Intelligence Organization (MIT) list disclosed partly by Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan at the Dec. 22 summit meeting of party leaders.

10 January 1997

"MILLİYET" said that the Ankara chief prosecutor prepared the documents needed to formally ask Parliament, via the Justice Ministry, to strip two deputies implicated in the Susurluk incident of their legislative immunity so that they can be prosecuted. The two are Sedat Bucak and Mehmet Agar, both of them members of the True Path Party (DYP).

11 January 1997

"HÜRRIYET" said that the Prime Ministry Board of Inspectors presented its Susurluk report to Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on Thursday. The board recommended in its report that complaints be filed against 35 persons. The list includes the names of Mehmet Agar, Sedat Bucak, Halil Tug, deputy director general of security; Ibrahim Sahin, the former acting director of the Special Operations Department; Kemal Yazicioglu, Istanbul's former police chief; Bilgi Ünal, Istanbul's former deputy police chief; Ayhan Carkin, Ercan Ersoy, Oguz Yorulmaz, Ayhan Akca, Ziya Bandirmalioglu, Enver Ulu,

Ömer Kaplan, Mustafa Altınok-all special team members; Sami Hostan, Ali Fevzi Bir, a close friend of Hostan; Haluk Kirci, the right hand man of Abdullah Catli, Turgay Marasli, Sedat Demir, the former head of the Law and Order Department of Istanbul; Korkut Eken and Yasar Öz. "RADIKAL" reported on the activities of the parliamentary research commission looking into the mysterious traffic accident in Susurluk and the "police-mafia-politician relationship". On Thursday the commission heard Sönmez Köksal, the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) undersecretary. In reply to questions, Köksal said, "The MIT uses and benefits from persons who can bring in information from the street. Tarik Ümit was not a salaried staff member of the MIT. He was a person serving the MIT by bringing in information and getting rewarded for his services in various ways." Köksal refused to give an answer when he was asked whether he knew Catli.

"DEMOKRASI". Like Catli and the chairman of the Great Union Party (BBP), Muhsin Yazıoğlu, Burak Eke (nowadays member of the board of Ziraat Leasing) belonged to the hard-core members of the Grey Wolves before 1980.

It is reported that Burak Eke travelled to the Black Sea coast before 1980 to collect weapons on orders of Catli.

Because of his work for the Ziraat Bank, Burak Eke has good contacts with firms in Israel. During Tansu Ciller's time as prime minister, he frequently went to Israel to prepare a training camp for the Grey Wolves. He also frequently visited the headquarters of the Grey Wolves in Azerbaidzjan where he was one of the people who planned the coup against Elçibey.

This was also confirmed by former members of the Grey Wolves.

January 20 1997

"DEMOKRASI" said that when a group of journalists showed up for a scheduled press conference in downtown Istanbul on Saturday, opposition Labor Party (IP) leader Dogu Perincek unexpectedly took them in a bus to a campsite in a wooded area in Kurtkoy near Pendik, a suburban district of Istanbul. He said that this was the site where the "gunmen" of the Ülkücüs (youth organization of MHP) had been trained, fugitives from justice had been sheltered, and certain persons were interrogated and killed after being abducted. Stressing that he came to know about the camp thanks to the confessions of seven former Ülkücüs who had contacted the IP, Perincek distributed to the journalists copies of these Ülkücüs' statements in which they said that bodies of many persons killed by Ülkücüs were buried in the campsite. These included the body of Mustafa Dogan, a policeman said to have been the person who staged the March 16 massacre in Istanbul in the 1970s where scores of university students were killed by a bomb. Perincek said that Ibrahim Gümürkiçioğlu, the man who tried to assassinate President Süleyman Demirel, had been trained in the camp, and Selçuk Parsadan, the con artist involved in a scandal involving Tansu Ciller using the prime ministry slush fund, had been "interrogated" in the camp. Journalists saw on the site a Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) flag. There were five two-story houses and a barn, all riddled with bullets, as well as a number of wells. There were army or hostel-type metal lockers in the buildings and lots of empty cartridges on the premises, remnants of bullets fired from air guns and hunting rifles. The site is occupied by a shepherd and his family for the time being.

"CUMHURİYET" quoted Perincek as saying, "Kemal Oktem, who was the administrator of the camp, had committed 33 murders. In fact, there is more substantial evidence than in the case of Susurluk." The camp is seven kilometers away from the Kurtkoy

gendarmerie station. The site belonged to the father of Kemal Oktem, who is known as the person who trained Alaattin Cakici, well as many other rightwing activists. A board member of the Grey Wolves, Gölcük Murtaza Didin, confirmed the statement of Dogu Perincek that there was a training camp of the Grey Wolves in Kurtköy, a village near Istanbul. He said: "I have known the leader of the training camp in Kurtköy, Kemal Oktem, for 20 years. I have been there for 2 years myself and I was trained there as well." Gölcük described the camp as "a place of physical and armed training, a place for the underground people, a place where people became monsters."

"DEMOKRASI" said that it had been determined, via a number of photographs, that two of the three special team members arrested as prime suspects in the July 1996 assassination in Ankara of casino king Ömer Lütfü Topal, had been involved in last year's Gazi district incidents in Istanbul. They are Ayhan Carkin and Ercan Ersoy.

"HÜRRİYET" said that Yasar Öz has been in Britain. Tahsin Simsek, a man who says he has been acquainted with Öz since the day the latter arrived in Britain, says, "Öz used to smuggle illegal aliens from Turkey to London, charging 3,000 to 4,000 pounds for each counterfeit passport he supplied. When he arrived he did not have a penny. Three and a half years later he owned a coffeehouse worth 100,000 pounds. Then he was caught and expelled from the country." Nafiz Bostanci, known for claiming in the past that the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) had tried to assassinate him, says Öz had brought into Britain some 150 illegal aliens. He says that some time after being expelled, Öz returned to Britain, this time carrying a green passport which enabled him to travel abroad without having to obtain a visa. Öz had been apprehended in his house in Istanbul during a police raid in 1995. The incident was covered up. Mehmet Agar, at that time director general of security, ordered the Istanbul police to set Öz free and to send to Ankara the green passport, special gun carrying license, two drivers' licenses and the two guns with serial numbers erased found in his possession. Both Agar and Necdet Menzir, who was at that time Istanbul's police chief, now face irregularity charges arising from that incident.

23 January 1997

"HÜRRİYET" said an erroneous German Press Agency (DPA) news item had caused a lot of turmoil in Ankara, with a story in which a chief judge at a Frankfurt court accused the Turkish Government, especially one of its members, Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, of protecting narcotics smugglers. The Turkish Foreign Ministry issued a verbal protest to the German Embassy in Ankara and the DPA issued a corrected version which said that the German chief judge in question, Rolf Schwalbe, was merely referring to a defendant's claim about Ciller. The DPA was reporting on the trial of three Turks, one of whom, identified as Mustafa K., told the court that "two families supplying heroin to Europe, the Senocaks and the Baybasins" were "being protected by Ciller."

"YENİYÜZYIL" quoted Justice Minister Sevkett Kazan as saying that the plane crash which killed Gendarmerie Commander Esref Bitlis four years ago must definitely have resulted from an act of sabotage. He said, "Experts' reports make that clear. Earlier, General Bitlis had been the target of an attack on Dec. 17, 1992 while he was on his way to northern Iraq."

Yesterday, the former police chief of Istanbul, Necdet Menzir, stated in front of the Susurluk Investigation Committee: "On January 13, 1994, the police headquarters in Adana sent a letter to the Istanbul headquarters, reporting that Ali Rizaoglu was arrested at the Adana airport because he had a fake passport on the name of Metin Bozdogan. His



telephone was registered on the name of Yazar Oz. Thereupon the police raided the house of Yazar Oz where they found a gun, a Smith & Wesson 9 mm, ammunition, a 38. pistol, a gun permit, a drivers licence - showing the picture of Yazar Oz but registered on the name of Esref Cudar on March 2, 1993, and 2 diplomatic passports - one on his real name and one on the name of Tarik Umit - issued by the Department of Home Affairs.

The gun permit showed a guarantee by Mehmet Agar that Yazar Oz had his permission to carry a gun. Before Yazre Oz was sent to Istanbul, Mehmet Agar called my representative, Mestan Sener, and said: "We are using this person, he will participate in an operation soon. We prepared his passport and the other documents. Send all documents to us and let our man go."

Asked by journalists if he was released without checking whether he was guilty or not, Menzir answered: "In the police force we have the rule that an order from above has to be followed. We asked again to be sure, and we received the same answer."

"Were the diplomatic passports real ones?" Menzir: "They were real. Agar confessed to me and my deputy that they had issued them." "Is it so easy to issue the security police passports?" Menzir: "No, normally they are not issued that easy. It was against the law." "Is it usual for the state to use such people". Menzir: "Yes, that's normal. The state uses such people once in a while."

24 January 1997

"MILLIYET" and "HÜRRIYET" published photos showing a top police official and a prime massacre suspect having fun, arm-in-arm "like old friends," at a circumcision ceremony which was held at Avrasya Music Hall on Sept. 3, 1995. One of the people in the picture was Abdullah Catli. The other person was Ibrahim Sahin. Sahin has been suspended following the Susurluk incident after Wednesday.

Meral Catli said that her husband had been "the state's man". She said she believed it was Turkish government officials who enabled Catli to escape from a Swiss prison after heroin was found in his possession. She said, "He used to know many politicians. One day he told me he met with (ANAP leader) Mesut Yilmaz, that he worked for his (the ANAP) congress, and that Mr. Yilmaz thanked him for his services.

He used to have talks frequently with (controversial former National Intelligence Organization official) Korkut Eken."

"MILLIYET" quoted Meral Catli as saying that Abdullah Catli had met in Germany with former President Kenan Evren, the leader of the 1980 coup.

"CUMHURİYET" referred to the testimony True Path Party (DYP) deputy Mehmet Agar gave recently at the parliamentary Susurluk commission. He said in 1988 he wanted to bring charges against the National Intelligence Organization (MIT) which had made certain accusations concerning him. He said that he was prevented from doing so by then Prime Minister Turgut Özal. Referring to Abdullah Catli he said, "I may have known him as Mehmet Özbay." Agar underlined the greatness of Turkey, stressed that the fight against terrorism would continue, and said, "DYP leader Tansu Ciller's abandoning me does not mean anything."

"DEMOKRASI" extradited to Turkey by Swiss authorities on Sept. 14, Oral Celik, a key name in various criminal cases including the assassination attempt on Pope John Paul II, has been put on trial for the assassination in Istanbul nearly two decades ago of MILLIYET editor in chief Abdi Ipekci and for the murdering in Malatya of a teacher. He has been cleared in both cases and is now free.

When he arrived in Turkey he had, with a smile on his face, told journalists he wanted to

be tried in Turkey. On Jan. 10 he threatened that he would speak up. On the following day the court dealing with the Ipekci murder case acquitted him for lack of conclusive evidence. On Jan. 22 he was released by a court in Malatya on the grounds that the main files containing information and evidence on the case had been "lost." So Celik walked out as a free man.

"ZAMAN" said that Ekrem Marakoglu, who had served as Topal's lawyer, told the Istanbul State Security Court that "a person very close to Cankaya (the Presidential Palace) had sent Hüseyin Kocadag as a mediator to Topal when the chairman of the chamber of commerce of a big city lost TL 140 billion in gambling. He said, "Kocadag thought that he should have been made Istanbul's police chief after Necdet Menzir. He accepted the mediation offer because he hoped that the 'person close to Cankaya' could help him get that post."

January 28, 1997.

"CUMHURİYET". The Turkish Writers Association protested against the events of the past days, against the "gangs, the hangmen and the reactionaries" and they called for unity against it.

The chairman of the general department against smuggling and organised crime, Tuncay Yilmaz, stated that Hüseyin Baybassin, wanted by Interpol for drug trafficking, is being used as an agent by England.

On April 13, 1970, a group of 12 Grey Wolves, stormed the main building of the Hacateppe Medical Faculty in Sihhiye. Professor Dr. Necdet Güclü was murdered by a bullet through his head. Witnesses recognised Ibrahim Erdogan as one of the perpetrators. He was convicted but released 4 years later after the intervention of Amnesty International. Ibrahim Erdogan is a physician nowadays and a member of parliament.

February 5, 1997

"DEMOKRASI" On February 5, a banner was hung from the fifth floor of a flat in Mersin. The banner read: "Let us demand justice for Susuluk. The truth must not be hidden. DHKP-C". It took the police one hour to remove the banner.

"KURTULUS". On January 31, the city administration destroyed 19 jobs in the Adnan Mendres Boulevard in Adana, claiming there was no permission. The city denied the owners to save their property before the demolition of the building. The people resisted and yelled: "The gangs are walking around free and our shops are being destroyed".

"YENİYÜZYIL". The deputy chairman of the Security Directorate of the Intelligence Service, Hanefi Avci, in his statement about Susurluk: "The Turkish secret service, MIT, and the gendarmes worked together with special organisations in their fight against the PKK. After we lost control over these persons, they started to work together with illegal organisations."

"MILLİYET". A hitherto secret manual of the CIA has now been published. The book, "Manual for the use of human potential" from 1983, also gives guidelines for torture. The book explains how to break the resistance of a prisoner by using fear and the change of perception. The book, stemming from the Reagan area, was used for training the security forces and anti-Communist units.

The manual describes how to deal with arrested people. The interrogation room should have no windows, it should be sound proof, and there should be no toilet. The interrogation room is described as a stage of war for the interrogated and the

interrogators. The interrogated persons should be made to believe that their rescue is in the hands of the interrogators. The manual also describes experiments which were conducted with volunteers of the CIA.

## **APPENDIX**

### **"WE WEREN'T EVEN ABLE TO NATIONALIZE THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS"**

(Inonu to Suleyman Genc during a visit on April 22, 1970)

The youth leader in 1970 decided to make a report about NATO, CENTO, oil, the national economy, the building industry, the nationalisation of natural resources and independence. This report was meant for the then Prime Minister Inonu. Suleyman Genc took this task upon himself. After Inonu read the report, he told Suleyman Genc: "Let me tell you what happened to me once: I was prime minister in 1963. The situation on Cyprus was growing tense. The London-Zurich Treaty was unilaterally changed by the Cypriot state minister. I called for a meeting of the council of ministers and we discussed the necessary security measures. We decided on a policy we were going to implement. The meeting was concluded and my friends left. Forty-five minutes later the American consul phoned and asked for a meeting. He indicated he wanted to talk to me about the problems in Cyprus. I agreed. He listed all we had discussed during the meeting. 'These are dangerous thoughts, these could lead to dangerous reactions. The Turkish government must not be the cause of such dangerous events,' he told me.

Inonu in 1970:

"I give an order, and before I even get the results, Washington knows about it"

During a meeting in 1964, Ismet Inonu reported how the CIA was organised in Turkey under the name of "advisers-experts":

"We still want an independent policy, full of character. Everybody is talking about the same things. But how am I going to do this. I will decide and give the matter into the hands of experts. Can they do this? They are surrounded by foreign advisers, and it is all being delayed. And when this doesn't help, they take security measures. I give an order, and before I even get the results, Washington knows about it. I do not get the results from my civil servants, I get them from the foreign advisers. Have we handed over the state like this? They never showed me a report which constituted a real solution. All was forbidden. All we do, we do it with our people. And so thousands of people just walk around, having certain abilities. And now these gangs are on the agenda. We could have resolved the tension between the two states ourselves. It's all about the attack on our own powers of initiative. They were prepared to make a proposition if we agreed to accept even one of their experts. We didn't agree. We knew perfectly why they wanted this. And they knew perfectly why we didn't agree. That's how things are.

They make promises, and when you sign, they arrive the next day. Then just you try to get rid of them again! They will not leave anymore. But we have to consider this seriously. Otherwise it's impossible to conduct an independent foreign and domestic policy. Do not think it's all that easy. Even unexpected events are better than this. If we

tried to get rid of them, I don't know what would happen to us."