

**June 18, 1991**

## **FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION IN TURKEY: ABUSES CONTINUE**

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### **Freedom of Expression Under Attack**

**Helsinki Watch continues to be extremely concerned about the unrelenting restriction of freedom of expression in Turkey. On April 12, 1991, the Turkish Parliament repealed Penal Code Articles 141, 142 and 163, which were directed at communism, separatism and attempting to establish a religious state, and which had been used regularly to punish expressions of opinion. Sadly, on the same date Parliament replaced these Articles with an equally restrictive Anti-Terror Law.**

**In addition, during the past fifteen months scores of journalists and editors have been investigated, detained, arrested, tried and sometimes convicted for their writings. And dozens of journals and books have been banned or confiscated, sometimes before reaching newsstands or bookstores.**

**Helsinki Watch calls on the government of Turkey to repeal the new Anti-Terror Law, to release any remaining prisoners sentenced for their writings, and to end its severe curtailment of freedom of expression in Turkey.**

## **The New Anti-Terror Law**

**The definition of terrorism in the new Anti-Terror Law is so broad that almost anyone can be charged with terrorism. Article 1 states:**

**Terrorism is any kind of action conducted by one or several persons belonging to an organization with the aim of changing the characteristics of the Republic as specified in the Constitution, its political, legal, social, secular and economic system ...**

**People convicted of violating the new law may be imprisoned for up to ten years and fined heavily.**

**The Anti-Terror Law sharply restricts freedom of the press. The law provides heavy fines for writers or publishers who assist or publish propaganda for terrorist organizations, or who disclose the identity of civil servants charged with fighting terrorism or the identity of informants. Editors may also receive prison terms ranging from six months to two years. See "Turkey: New Restrictive Anti-Terror Law," *News From Helsinki Watch*, June 1991, for further information.**

## **Journalists Released from Prison**

**On the positive side, many journalists have been released from prison under the new law; some had served over ten years in prison. Helsinki Watch has received from the Turkish Human Rights Foundation the names of twenty-one released journalists. These include: Hasan Selim Acan, Kazim Arli, Irfan Asik, Guzel Aslaner, Nail Cavus, Mete Dalgin, Ilker Demir, Mustafa Dum, Mustafa Eker, Bektas Erdogan, Ayhan Erkan, Mehmet Resat Guvenilir, Ahmet Kardam, Bayram Kazakli, Mehmet Ozgen, Candemir Ozler, Alaattin Sahin, Abdullah Soydan, Erhan Tuskan, Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan, and Veli Yilmaz. In addition, writer Ismail Besikci and publisher Recep Marasli were released. According to the Turkish Human Rights Foundation, others may have been released or may shortly be released as well. Still in prison, among others, is Esber Yagmurdereli, a blind lawyer/journalist imprisoned since 1978, whose sentence has been reduced to 15 years.**

**Helsinki Watch continues to urge the release of all journalists and writers who have been imprisoned for expressing their opinions.**

## **Press Freedom: 568 Charges Against Journalists in 1990**

**Since the last Helsinki Watch newsletter on Freedom of Expression in Turkey (issued in February 1990), Helsinki Watch has received reports of hundreds of charges lodged against journalists and editors for what they have written or published. In May 1991, *The Turkish Daily News* reported that "Members of the Turkish press faced the judge 586 times in 1990, receiving final sentences of 126 years and five months in prison" (reported in *The Anatolian*, May 19-25, 1991). In January 1991, the Turkish Human Rights Foundation reported that 294 violations of free expression had been reported in Turkish newspapers during 1990 (*Dateline*, January 19, 1991). This included the confiscation, banning, or other censorship of 98 separate issues of newspapers and magazines. During 1990, according to the Foundation, convicted journalists not only received prison sentences, but eleven other journalists were arrested and detained by police, journalists were beaten by police in twelve incidents, and police raided the offices of seven journals. On**

several occasions, police shut down newspaper printing presses as well.

## **The Mainstream Press**

The Turkish government continues to harass the mainstream press. According to *The Turkish Daily News*, 381 cases, 173 of them criminal, were filed against 15 newspapers during 1990. Eighty-five cases were filed against *Sabah*, 75 against *Tan*, and 74 against *Hurriyet*. The remaining cases included *Milliyet* (42), *Gunes* (32), *Cumhuriyet* (21), *Tercuman* (16), *Milli Gazete* (14), *Zaman* (9), and 13 against other dailies. The charges brought against journalists, columnists and editors of these newspapers include "criticizing" or "insulting" President Ozal, printing "anti-military propaganda," "criticizing the Turkish judicial system," "humiliating the spiritual dignity of the government via publication," and publishing information that should have remained secret.

In addition, an early edition of *Sabah* that contained a story on an alleged cover-up of a plot to assassinate President Ozal was confiscated from newsstands, and a later edition was censored by the Prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court. *Milliyet* was warned by the public prosecutor not to release a similar story.

In all cases of which Helsinki Watch is aware in which trials resulted in convictions, prison sentences were later commuted to fines. So far as Helsinki Watch knows, no reporter or editor of a mainstream journal served time in prison in 1990.

Some of the reports Helsinki Watch has received are summarized below:

### **Cumhuriyet**

- On July 20, 1990, Ilhan Selcuk, *Cumhuriyet* columnist, and Professor Ali Gitmez of the Middle East Technical University, in Ankara, were summoned to the Prosecutor for Press Offences and interrogated about whether certain articles released in May constituted an insult to President Turgut Ozal. (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90)
- On July 27, 1990, the public prosecutor of Istanbul initiated legal proceedings against columnists Ilhan Selcuk, Oktay Akbal and Responsible Editor Okay Gonensin for criticizing President Ozal. The charges, under Article 158, carry maximum sentences of four and one-half years. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 6/90)
- *Cumhuriyet* columnist Oktay Akbal went on trial September 5, 1990, in an Istanbul criminal court for criticizing President Ozal. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- *Cumhuriyet's* Nusaybin correspondent, Osman Yildiz, was detained from September 28-30, 1990, in Istanbul. The Judicial Medical Board determined that he had been tortured while in detention. (*Turkey Briefing*, 11/90)
- Responsible Editor, Okay Gonensin, columnist Ilhan Selcuk, and cartoonist Necdet Sen, were indicted in Istanbul in December for "insulting the President of the Republic." (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- In December 1990, journalists Erbil Tusalp and Okay Gonensin were each sentenced to one month imprisonment -- later commuted to a pecuniary fine -- for publication of documents related

to an ongoing trial in Ankara which the Istanbul State Security Court declared "were supposed to be kept secret according to the Press Law." (*Hurriyet*, 12/29/90)

#### **Gunes**

- The March 7, 1990, issue of *Gunes* was confiscated by order of the Istanbul State Security Court for revealing the minutes of a January meeting between Presidents Bush and Ozal that, according to the Court's prosecutor, contained "information that should remain secret in the interest of security and the state." Uluc Gurkan, the author of the article, was arrested and then released on bail. Both Gurkan and *Gunes* Responsible Editor, Alev Er, face prison sentences of up to eight years. (*Diyarbakir Times*, 3/10 and 3/24/90)
- On April 4, 1990, prosecutors from the Ankara State Security Court warned *Gunes* editors against releasing a story about a cover-up of a plot to assassinate President Ozal. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 4/90)
- In early April 1990, Alev Er and Kutlu Ozmakinaci were indicted by the Ankara State Security Court for a series of articles alleged to be "anti-military propaganda." They face possible prison sentences of up to two years. (*Info-Turk*, 4/90)
- Journalists who attempted to cover the engagement ceremonies of President Ozal's son on January 25, 1991, were harassed by police guarding the event. Those harassed included *Gunes* correspondent Samiha Caglayangil and journalists Cem Bulunmaz, Merih Ak, and Nevzat Donmez. (*Gunes*, 1/28/91)

#### **Hurriyet**

- Cetin Emec, columnist for *Hurriyet* and the newspaper's former Editor-in-Chief, was shot and killed by masked assailants as he left work on March 7, 1990. Although several Islamic organizations claimed responsibility for the attack, the actual identity of the gunmen remains unknown. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 3/90)
- Journalists from the *Hurriyet* news service were detained for 72 hours in late January 1990 for attempting to photograph villages near the Iraqi border subject to evacuation by local military units. Major Mustafa Nacak, commander of the Cukurca border region battalion, ordered the detentions. (*Hurriyet* 1/29/90; reprinted in FBIS 2/2/90, p. 26.)
- On August 24, 1990, a libel suit for insulting President Ozal was brought against Responsible Editor Emin Colasan and columnist Hasan Kilic, both of the daily *Hurriyet*. They face possible prison sentences of up to four years. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 8/25/90)
- *Hurriyet* reported on December 17, 1990, that journalists Tufan Turenc, Mehmet Yasin, Gazanfer Karpaz, Cemalettin Ozdogan and Erdal Izgi, who had been charged with insulting Turgut Ozal when he was Prime Minister, were acquitted.

#### **Milliyet**

- On April 4, 1990, prosecutors from the Ankara State Security Court warned *Milliyet* editors against releasing a story about a cover-up of a plot to assassinate President Ozal. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 4/90)
- *Milliyet* Responsible Editor, Eren Guvener, and Economic Affairs Editor, Necati Dogru, were indicted on August 18, 1990, for "discrediting the Turkish nation" and face prison terms of up to six months. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)

#### **Sabah**

- On April 4, 1990, before the late edition of the newspaper was released, prosecutors from the Ankara State

Security Court forced editors of the daily *Sabah* to modify a story about a plot to assassinate President Ozal. Seventy thousand copies of an earlier edition, already on the newsstands, were confiscated. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 4/90)

- The daily *Sabah* was ordered to pay a compensatory fine of U.S. \$2,000 by a court in Ankara for libeling Turkish President Ozal in an article "Bribe Offered to Evren by Ozal" that was published in September 1990. (*The Turkish Times*, 4/15/90)
- On November 11, 1990, *Sabah* Responsible Editor Nazim Ozdemir and correspondent Kenan Akcay were tried in an Istanbul criminal court for "criticizing the Turkish judicial system." They face prison terms of up to six years. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)

#### **Tercuman**

- Nazli Ilceek of the daily *Tercuman* was sentenced to pay compensatory damages to 102 deputies of the Motherland Party (ANAP) who filed suit against her for a November 5, 1989, article in which she compared the deputies to "Pavlov's dogs." Ilceek is also being tried for insulting President Ozal. (Human Rights Foundation, 11/90)

#### **Other**

- Editor-in-Chief Yilmaz Bozkurt and correspondent Ozden Alpdag of the Ankara daily *Ulus* were acquitted by Ankara Heavy Penal Court No. 2 on December 19, 1990. They had been charged with "humiliating the spiritual dignity of the government via publication." (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/20/90)
- On June 11, 1990, the tabloid *Bugun* was ordered to stop printing a series of articles about Semra Ozal, the President's wife, entitled "Where is Semra Running?" (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90)

### **Journals Confiscated and Banned; Their Writers Detained, Beaten and Charged**

As in the past, the Turkish government has continued to harass a variety of small, mostly left-wing journals. Governmental harassment has included repeated confiscations and police raids on editorial offices. Journalists for these small journals are often detained and tortured, and many have been tried and given long prison sentences. *The Turkish Daily News* reported in May 1991 that, during 1990, 142 cases were filed against 101 journalists from 17 left-wing magazines, and 22 cases were filed against 30 journalists from right-wing magazines.

Many of these journals carry frequent reports on the situation in the Southeast which has made them particularly vulnerable to repression under the April 9, 1990, Decree 413 and its successors Decrees 424 and 430, that have restricted press coverage of the Kurdish struggle in the Southeast. After the decree was passed, several printing houses refused to continue producing publications reporting on the Southeast. Many issues of these journals have been confiscated and, in recent months, some have been forced by government harassment to shut down.

One journalist, Turan Dursun, who wrote for the weekly *Yuzuil* (*Century*), was shot and killed by unknown assailants on September 4, 1990. Dursun, formerly an Islamic cleric, had written extensively on behalf of secularist causes, including articles criticizing Sharia (Islamic Law), fundamentalism, and various religious prohibitions. No one has been charged with his murder. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)

Some of the reports that Helsinki Watch has received on abuses accorded to journals and journalists are summarized below:

### **2000'e Dogru (Towards 2000)**

In the beginning of June 1990, *2000'e Dogru* was closed indefinitely under Decree 424 by the Interior Ministry. *2000'e Dogru*, founded in 1987 by Dogu and Sule Perincek, earned a reputation for hard-hitting coverage of such controversial issues as army abuses and the role of religion in the officially-secular Turkish state. The magazine, which had grown to become an influential news weekly, regularly criticized government policy toward the Kurds.

During 1990, *2000'e Dogru* was frequently harassed by government officials:

- In January 1990, *2000'e Dogru* correspondent Faysal Dagli was detained by police for two hours while investigating a story in the town of Bismil. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press* 1990)
- In March 1990, four *2000'e Dogru* journalists -- M. Adnan Akfirat, Mecit Akgun, Musa Anter, and Faysal Dagli -- were charged under Law 2935, Section 25 (q-2) for a March 18 story that appeared in the magazine entitled "Intifada in Nusaybin." (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press* 1990)
- Two *2000'e Dogru* correspondents, Faysal Dagli and Ulku Demirtepe, were followed by police as they travelled from Cizre to Idil in March 1990. In Midyat and Hasankeyf they were detained without explanation for two and four hours respectively. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press* 1990)
- Tunca Arslan, Responsible Editor of *2000'e Dogru*, was arrested on March 13, 1990, detained for ten days, and charged under Article 142 with issuing propaganda harmful to national patriotism. The charges resulted from an article in *2000'e Dogru* that condemned a military solution to the Kurdish issue and advocated the creation of an independent Kurdish state. The first session of this case was scheduled for November 28, 1990. Arslan has at least six other court cases pending against him. (*Diyarbakir Times* 3/17/90; PEN update 1/91)
- In May 1990, charges were brought against *2000'e Dogru* owner and editor, Dogu Perincek, and its Responsible Editor, M. Adnan Akfirat, by the Istanbul State Security Court under Article 312 for "inciting unrest against the security forces" based on an article entitled "Kissinger's Prescription" that appeared in the April 1, 1990, issue of the weekly. The charge carries a sentence of up to six years in prison. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press* 1990) Adnan and Perincek were acquitted in May 1991 when Article 142, under which they were being prosecuted, was lifted. (*Cumhuriyet* 5/30/91)
- On May 15, 1990, *2000'e Dogru* correspondents Faysal Dagli and Baki Karadeniz were detained by plainclothes police at the magazine's Diyarbakir office. The men were reportedly charged under Articles 141 and 161 for alleged ties to the Kurdish separatist movement, the PKK. Dagli claims that psychological pressure was used against him while in detention. Karadeniz was released in June, and Dagli was released in July. (*Cumhuriyet* 1/16/90;)
- The May 23, 1990, issue of *2000'e Dogru* was seized before distribution by the Istanbul State Security Court under Article 142 for propaganda "undermining national feelings" because of its cover story, "1925-1938-1960 Kurdish Exiles." (*Hurriyet* 5/23/90)
- The May 28, 1990, issue of *2000'e Dogru* was seized before distribution because of its lead story, "Turkish State is Creating Two Different Countries." The magazine was permitted to release the issue after expunging the story. (*Cumhuriyet* 5/28/90)

In August, *2000'e Dogru* began publishing as *Yuzyiil* (Century). On March 5, 1991, the Ankara office of *Yuzyiil* was

raided by police and 13 employees were detained. Two employees were released on March 7, 1991, and the remainder were released on March 12, 1991. Ankara State Security Court Chief Prosecutor Nusret Demiral announced that the detainees were being investigated for "relations with illegal organizations." Dogu Perincek, Editor-in-Chief of *Yuzuil*, declared at a press conference held to protest the detentions that Turkish President Ozal himself had ordered the raid. (*Cumhuriyet* 3/4,6,7/91; *Hurriyet* 3/8/91)

*2000'e Dogru* reappeared in late December under its original name. Its December 30, 1990, issue was immediately banned by the Istanbul Court of First Instance No. 2 on the basis that "bureaucratic formalities had not been carried out." *2000'e Dogru* Editor Dogu Perincek charged that the government was trying to suppress the December 30, 1990, issue cover story that discussed opposition within the Turkish armed forces to Ozal's Gulf war policies.

The third issue of the weekly was subsequently banned by order of the Elazig Criminal Settlement Court for "separatist propaganda." However, Perincek successfully appealed that decision on the basis that only Istanbul courts are legally empowered to exercise jurisdiction over the magazine, since that is where it is published. The fourth issue of *2000'e Dogru*, dated January 27, 1991, was banned before release "for creating an atmosphere of unrest among the people." The issue contained articles that criticized Turgut Ozal's Gulf war policies. In response, Perincek charged that the government was treating all anti-war opinion in Turkey as a crime.

On January 8, 1991, the editorial board of *2000'e Dogru* received a warning from the Interior Ministry. According to the latest modification of the "Southeast Decree," Decree 430, the Interior Ministry cannot ban a publication without prior warning. At the end of January 1991, the Istanbul State Security Court, citing Decree 430, ordered *2000'e Dogru* to cease publication for two months. In addition the magazine's printer, Serler Printing House, was forced to close for ten days. The Court declared that the magazine "continued to commit crimes." (*Cumhuriyet* 1/4/91, 1/8/91, 1/12/91 and 1/28/91)

In May 1991, an investigation was launched against *2000'e Dogru*, based on the Anti-Terror Law, for an interview with PKK leader Abdullah Ocalan. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 5/90)

#### **Hedef (Target)**

In April 1990, Amnesty International reported that most issues of the journal *Hedef* have been confiscated "for issuing separatist propaganda" since the journal began publication at the end of 1988. In addition, because *Hedef* frequently includes articles about Southeastern Turkey, where the majority of the Kurdish population in Turkey is located, the journal has experienced difficulty finding a printing press since the April 10, 1990 government decree restricting coverage of the area. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action* 4/25/90 & 5/4/90; *Gunes*, 1/14/91)

- On April 22, 1990, Ali Aslan and Mehmet Torus, co-owner and Editor-in-Chief, respectively, of the journal *Hedef* were arrested outside Istanbul and later held incommunicado at Istanbul Police Headquarters. Other detainees, later released, reported that the two men were subject to severe torture including electric shocks, that Torus was virtually incapacitated and bleeding from the mouth, and that both men were refused medical treatment. Aslan and Torus were formally charged on May 3, 1990, with "membership in an armed gang," for allegedly belonging to the outlawed Turkish Communist Party. The two men were released following the first hearing of their case on July 24, 1990. In addition, Torus was sentenced *in absentia* on another charge to six and one-half years' imprisonment under Article 142-3 for disseminating separatist propaganda. Torus also faces a charge for a speech he gave during the Bayrampasa election. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 7/90)
- On February 9, 1991, three *Hedef* journalists were detained in Istanbul. Editor-in-Chief Zeki Tombak, Erdogan Ergin, and Salih Koc, were reportedly being held incommunicado at Istanbul Police Headquarters and according to Amnesty International it was feared that they were being interrogated under torture. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 2/12/91)

### **Deng (Voice)**

The journal *Deng*, which deals primarily with Kurdish questions, was permanently banned by the Istanbul prosecutor in June 1990. The magazine attempted to continue publication through January 1991 of this year, although each issue was confiscated "for issuing separatist propaganda" for articles written in Kurdish or about the situation of the Kurds in Turkey. (*Turkey Briefing*, 11/90; *Gunes*, 2/1/91)

During 1990, the journal experienced considerable harassment by Turkish authorities:

- Kamil Ermis, former *Deng* Editor-in-Chief, was released from custody after the first session of his trial on March 8, 1990. His trial is continuing. Ermis had been charged in January 1990 under Article 142 with "disseminating separatist propaganda." (See *News From Helsinki Watch*, 2/90)
- The first hearing in the case of *Deng* Editor-in-Chief, Sedat Karakas, and owner, Hikmet Cetin, took place on April 11, 1990, in Istanbul State Security Court. Both have been charged under Article 168/2 with "membership in an armed gang," for their alleged membership in the illegal Kurdish resistance organization, Ozgurluk Yolu. In 1987, the Military Appeal Court ruled that Ozgurluk Yolu be considered an "armed gang" even though the organization does not advocate violence. Ermis and Cetin continue to deny any affiliation with the organization and the only evidence for the prosecution is a shipment of books addressed to *Deng* that appears to have been sent by Ozgurluk Yolu sympathizers outside the country. (Amnesty International *Update* 4/90)

### **Yeni Cozum (New Solution)**

Because it was unable to find a printer, the journal *Yeni Cozum* was forced to discontinue publication in April 1990, but a new monthly, *Mucadele*, was created to take its place. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 4/90) During the preceding months, *Yeni Cozum* had been in difficulty with Turkish authorities:

- Alpaslan Dibek and Ibrahim Biberoglu, journalists for *Yeni Cozum*, were arrested in January 1990 while meeting with members of the Samsun branch of the Association for Prisoners' Relatives, TAYAD, and held incommunicado at the Samsun police headquarters. Dibek and Biberoglu were formally charged on January 21, 1990, with distributing literature for the illegal group Devrimci Genclik (Revolutionary Youth). Biberoglu was released pending trial, but Dibek apparently remained in detention, at least through January 1991. (PEN bulletin 3/90 and update 1/91; *Info-Turk*, 4/90)
- Dogu Aydogmus, a correspondent for *Yeni Cozum*, was detained on February 24, 1990, when police raided the journal's offices. She reportedly was subjected to torture. (*Info-Turk*, 2/90)
- On August 31, 1990, police raided the Bursa branch of *Yeni Cozum* and arrested 15 people inside the office for "keeping unlicensed communiques and banned publications." (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90; *Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- Yasar Kopan, the Responsible Editor of *Yeni Cozum*, received a one-year-and-eight-month sentence and was fined \$3,500 on August 31, 1990, for inciting racial enmity by "taking account of racial and regional differences." (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90; *Info-Turk*, 9/90)

Later in the year, Kopan was sentenced to five years imprisonment as the result of two separate trials in the Istanbul State Security Court. Kopan's sentence, for "issuing separatist propaganda," was commuted to a \$5,600 fine. (*Milliyet*, 12/20/90)

### **Mucadele (Struggle)**

The first issue of *Mucadele*, *Yeni Cozum*'s successor, was confiscated on July 24, 1990, because it allegedly



contained "Communist and separatist propaganda and anti-patriotic material." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 7/90) In the following months *Mucadele* staff members were detained and the journal confiscated:

- Erol Sarikaya, Ankara correspondent for *Mucadele*, was detained by the police on September 10, 1990, and held incommunicado. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 9/90)
- *Mucadele* correspondent Bulent Bagci was released on October 18, 1990, after two weeks of detention during which he claims to have been subjected to electric shocks and genital mutilation. (Amnesty International, 12/4/90)
- *Mucadele* Chief Editor Cafer Darici was detained in Kars on October 27, 1990. (*Info-Turk*, 11/90)
- Doruk Aydogmus, Izmir representative for *Mucadele*, was detained on October 31, 1990. (*Info-Turk*, 11/90)
- *Mucadele* correspondent Bulent Bagci was detained at his home on November 28, 1990. (Amnesty International, 12/4/90)
- The December 12, 1990, issue of *Mucadele* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- The February 1991 issue of *Mucadele* was confiscated by order of the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing Communist propaganda." (*Cumhuriyet*, 2/6/91)
- The owner of *Mucadele*, Ahmet Serdar Demirtas, closed the journal in mid-February 1991, citing the detention of its journalists on a number of occasions and repeated confiscations. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/91)
- Former *Mucadele* correspondents Bayram Atsay and Burhan Kardas were detained in early March 1991 and held for interrogation at the Political Branch of the Ankara Police Headquarters. Kardas was formally arrested on March 19, 1991, and charged with membership in an illegal organization; Atsay was released on March 24, 1991. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 4/26/91)

#### **Adimlar (Steps)**

- *Adimlar* journalists Mehmet Umur Coskun and Semih Gumus were arrested at the newspaper's Istanbul office on January 30, 1990, and held incommunicado at Ankara Police Headquarters until they were formally charged, on February 9, 1990, under Penal Code Articles 141 and 142. (See *News from Helsinki Watch*, 2/90). Coskun has been transferred to Ankara Central Prison and Gumus was released pending trial. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 2/13/90; PEN update 1/91)
- The July 1990 issue of *Adimlar* was confiscated for "issuing separatist propaganda." (*Info-Turk*, 7/90)
- Mevlut Ilgin, reporter for *Adimlar*, was sentenced on October 6, 1990, by the Istanbul State Security Court to six years and three months in prison for an interview with a Kurdish intellectual. (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)

#### **Sokak (Street)**

- The December 1989 through February 1990 issues of *Sokak* were confiscated by order of the Ankara State Security Court because of articles on conscription. (*Turkey Briefing*, 4/90)
- Tugrul Eryilmaz, managing editor of *Sokak*, was acquitted of obscenity charges for several nude photographs of women published in a March 1990 issue of the weekly. The charges were brought by the

**Council to Protect Minors from Harmful Publications. ( *Turkey Briefing*, 4/90)**

- In early April 1990 Tugrul Eryilmaz was indicted by the Ankara State Security Court for a series of articles published in *Sokak* alleged to be "anti-military propaganda." He faces a possible prison sentence of up to two years. ( *Info-Turk*, 4/90)

At the end of April 1990, *Sokak* announced it would cease publication citing increased governmental harassment including repeated confiscation for "anti-military propaganda." ( *Sokakfax* 4/90)

**Emegin Bayragi (Flag of Labor)**

- In March 1990, the Chief Editor of *Emegin Bayragi* was detained by police and reportedly subjected to electric shocks and beating. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 12/17/90)
- Sukru Aksoy, the Responsible Editor of *Emegin Bayragi*, was sentenced on August 2, 1990, by the State Security Court of Istanbul, to ten months' imprisonment for "issuing Communist propaganda." ( *Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- *Emegin Bayragi* Editor Ibrahim Cicek was detained on October 1, 1990, and then transferred to prison for completion of an earlier sentence. ( *Turkey Briefing*, 11/90)
- *Emegin Bayragi* correspondents Mukaddes Celik and Nazim Taban were detained on December 13, 1990, in Zonguldak, a major Turkish coal-mining region, where they were collecting information about a strike by local workers. They were reportedly tortured in detention. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 12/4/90)
- In May 1991 the Istanbul State Security Court initiated proceedings in a trial against *Emegin Bayragi*, based on Articles 7 and 8 of the Anti-Terror Law. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 5/13/91)

**Emek Dnyyasi (Labor World)**

- The February 1990 issue of *Emek Dnyyasi* was banned by the Ankara State Security Court because of an article about the Kurds. ( *Turkey Briefing*, 4/90)
- Osman Gunes, responsible editor of *Emek Dnyyasi*, was sentenced by Istanbul State Security Court to six years and three months' imprisonment for his article, "Massacre of the Kurds is a Provocation." ( *Cumhuriyet*, 6/4/90)

### **Halk Gercegi and Yeni Halk Gercegi (Peoples' Reality and New Peoples' Reality)**

- In May 1990, *Halk Gercegi* was closed by the Interior Ministry under Decree 424. (Committee to Protect Journalists *Attacks on the Press* 1990)
- Ismail Safter, Editor-in-Chief of the weekly *Halk Gercegi*, was arrested on June 22, 1990, in Istanbul, and charged under Article 142-3 with "disseminating separatist propaganda designed to undermine national pride." (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90)
- The first issue of *Yeni Halk Gercegi*, the successor to *Halk Gercegi*, was ordered confiscated by the State Security Court of Istanbul in June 1990 on the basis that it fostered separatist sentiment. (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90; *Info-Turk*, July 1990)

### **Zaman (Time)**

- Editor-in-Chief Servet Engin and correspondent Omer Okcu, of the daily *Zaman*, were acquitted by Ankara Heavy Penal Court No. 2 on December 19, 1990. They had been charged with "insulting the Turkish armed forces." (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/20/90)
- In December 1990, *Zaman* columnist Mehmet Kafkas was sentenced to three years for several articles which appeared in the daily paper. The sentence was later commuted to a fine. (*Zaman*, 12/15/90)
- *Zaman* correspondent, Yilmaz Polat, and Responsible Editor, Servet Engin, were each sentenced in late 1990 to three years imprisonment for insulting Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish state. (*Info-Turk*, 1/91)

### **Yeni Demokrasi (New Democracy)**

- In May 1990, *Yeni Demokrasi* was ordered to suspend publication for four months. (*Info-Turk*, 6/90)
- The first issue of *Yeni Demokrasi* after the four-month suspension, dated September 28, 1990, was confiscated for "separatist propaganda." (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- Ankara representative Ali Ekber Kaypakkaya and correspondent Kamil Eser of the monthly *Yeni Demokrasi* were detained on October 10, 1990. (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)
- Ali Ekber Kaypakkaya, Ankara representative of *Yeni Demokrasi*, and seven contributors were placed under formal arrest by the Ankara State Security Court on November 8, 1990, after twelve days of detention. *Yeni Demokrasi* correspondent Ismail Atik was arrested in Kars on the same day. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- Tuncer Dilaveroglu, *Yeni Demokrasi* Editor-in-Chief, was arrested in late April 1991 by the Istanbul State Security Court for "disobeying police and membership in an illegal organization." Dilaveroglu claims that he was tortured while in detention at the Istanbul Police Center before he was formally arrested. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 4/29/91)

### **Isçi Dnyasi (Worker's World)**

- *Isçi Dnyasi* journalist Geman Turan was beaten during a 42-hour detention at Kartal police station in Istanbul following his arrest on September 24, 1990. (*Turkey Briefing*, 11/90)
- On September 27, 1990, Cemal Turan, Erdal Karahanli, and Huseyin Sengul, journalists for *Isçi Dnyasi*, were detained by police and reportedly tortured. (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)

### **Ozgur Gelecek (Free Future)**

- Bekir Kesen, Editor-in-Chief of *Ozgur Gelecek*, was sentenced by the Ankara State Security Court on October

17, 1990, under Article 142-3, "issuing separatist propaganda," for articles that appeared in the journal. The sentence of 18 years, 9 months' imprisonment, was commuted to a fine of U.S. \$10,000. (*Info-Turk* 10/90) *Ozgur Gelecek* commentator, Mehmet Bayrak, was also sentenced on October 17, 1990, to six years and three months' imprisonment for an article which appeared in the journal. Both men were acquitted by the Appeals Court in February 1991. (*Info-Turk* 2/91; *Cumhuriyet* 2/20/91)

#### **Yeni Ulke (New Land)**

- The December 1990 and January 1991 issues of *Yeni Ulke* were confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing separatist and Communist propaganda." (*Gunes*, 1/14/91)
- Mecit Oztunc, Hakkari correspondent for the weekly *Yeni Ulke*, was formally charged with "membership in an illegal organization," in mid-February 1991, by the Diyarbakir State Security Court. Oztunc was reportedly subject to severe torture, prior to indictment, while in detention in Hakkari. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/91)
- The second February 1991 issue of *Yeni Ulke* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "elements that weaken the national integrity" because of an article that appeared in the newspaper entitled, "Grand National Assembly Recognized Kurdish Autonomy on February 10, 1922." (*Gunes*, 2/19/91)
- In May 1991 the Istanbul State Security Court launched an investigation against *Yeni Ulke*, based on Articles 6 and 8 of the Anti-Terror Law, for five articles in its 28th issue. (*Cumhuriyet* 5/10/91)

#### **Toplumsal Kurtulus (Social Liberation)**

- Professor Yalcin Kucuk, political commentator and editor of the journal *Toplumsal Kurtulus*, was sentenced in February 1990 by the State Security Court of Malatya to four years and two months' imprisonment for a declaration defending Kurdish peoples' rights. (*Info-Turk*, 3/90)
- The October 1990 issue of *Toplumsal Kurtulus* was confiscated. (*Info-Turk*, 11/90)
- The February 1991 issue of *Toplumsal Kurtulus* was confiscated for "separatist and Communist propaganda." (*Milliyet*, 2/19/91)

#### **Religious Journals**

A number of religious publications have been confiscated by authorities since February 1990, and several journalists detained, tried or charged, usually for "anti-secular propaganda."

#### **Akdogus**

- The January 1990 through July 1990 issues of the radical Islamic magazine *Akdogus* were confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "anti-secular propaganda." In December the magazine was ordered closed. (*Info-Turk* 7 & 8/90; Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 8/90)
- *Akdogus* Editor-in-Chief Sinami Orhan was sentenced by the Istanbul State Security Court to three months' imprisonment for an article that appeared in the magazine before it was banned. (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/28/90)

### ***Yeni Asya***

- On October 31, 1990, police raided the Ankara office of *Yeni Asya* and detained two journalists, Bedrettin Ergul and Ahmet Akdag. Subsequently, *Yeni Asya* publisher, Mehmet Kutlular, was taken into police custody along with seven other of the paper's journalists. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 10/90)
- The Ankara State Security Court began an investigation of the daily *Yeni Asya* in late November after the paper organized a religious ceremony in honor of Said Nursi, founder of the Nurcu sect, with which *Yeni Asya* is closely affiliated. ( *Turkey Briefing*, 11/90)
- The March issue of the Istanbul publication, *Girisim*, was confiscated by order of the Istanbul State Security Court for anti-secular articles advocating establishment of an Islamic state in Turkey. An investigation was launched by the Court Prosecutor against Chief Editor Huseyin Okcu. (Teheran Int'l Service in Turkish 3/16/90 in Foreign Broadcast Information Service 3/20/90)

### **Other Journals and Journalists**

- Hasan Cako and Hayriye Cako, editors of the monthly *Kivilcim*, were detained on February 11, 1990. ( *Info-Turk*, 3/90)
- During the month of April 1990, the Istanbul State Security Court ordered confiscation of the following publications for negative commentary about the April 1990 decree restricting press coverage in the Southeast: *Toplumsal Kurtulus*, *Emegin Bayragi*, *Iscinin Gazeti*, *Isciler ve Politika*, *Devrimci Genclik*, *Genç Sosyalistler*, *Ozgerluk Dunyasi*, *Kivilcim*, *Yeni Demokrasi*, and *Yeni Cozum*. ( *Info-Turk*, 4/90)
- Irfan Asik, Editor of *Partizan*, was arrested and convicted in May 1990, under Articles 141 and 142, for "issuing Communist and separatist propaganda." (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press 1990*)
- Mehmet Ozgen, Editor-in-Chief of *Bagimiz Turkiye* and *Devrimci Miitan*, journals published by the Turkish Labor Party, was arrested in May 1990 and convicted under Articles 142 and 159, for "issuing separatist and Communist propaganda." His sentence of 41 years in prison was reduced on appeal to 36 years. (PEN Update 1/91) He reportedly was released following enactment of the Anti-Terror Law in April 1991.
- Erhan Tuskan, Editor of *Ilerici Yurseyver Genclik*, was arrested in May 1990 and convicted under Articles 141 and 142 for "issuing separatist and Communist propaganda." His sentence of 48 years in prison was reduced on appeal to 36 years. (PEN Update 1/91) He reportedly was released following enactment of the Anti-Terror Act in April 1991.
- Hasan Fikret Ulusoydan, former Editor of *Halkin Sesi*, a journal with ties to the Turkish Workers and Peasants Party, was arrested in May 1990 on 23 charges and sentenced under Articles 142 and 159 to 75 years in prison. (PEN Update 1/91) He was reportedly released under the Anti-Terror Law in April 1991.
- The cartoon magazine *Girgir* was confiscated on June 9, 1990, for a cartoon which allegedly insulted President Ozal and Prime Minister Akbulut. The Responsible Editor of *Girgir*, Ismail Pehlivan, was charged with insulting the president and faces a prison sentence of up to six years. ( *Turkey Briefing* 9/90; *Info-Turk*, 1/90)

- Gultan Demir, Editor of *Devrimci Genclik* (Revolutionary Youth), was sentenced by the Istanbul State Security Court on July 13, 1990, to one year in prison for issuing "propaganda with the intent to incite citizens to strife and enmity by taking account of class, race, religious, sectarian and regional differences." Her sentence was later commuted to a \$600 fine. (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90)
- The August 1990 issue of the monthly *Ozgurluk Yol* was confiscated by the State Security Court of Istanbul. (*Info-Turk*, 5/90)
- Aslan Ari, Editor and owner of the magazine *Kafkagi*, and Murat Ozden, author of an article entitled, "Cultural Problems of the Circassians," that appeared in *Kafkagi*, went on trial in the Ankara State Security Court on August 2, 1990. They were charged with "weakening national sentiment" and face jail sentences of up to ten years. (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90; *Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- Abuzer Kilic, Responsible Editor of the monthly *Emek*, received a seven-year-and-six-month sentence for "issuing separatist propaganda." The sentence was later commuted to a fine of \$5,000. (*Turkey Briefing*, 9/90; *Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- Journalist Hasan Uysal was indicted on September 12, 1990, for insulting President Ozal. He faces a prison term of up to five years. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)
- The October issues of *Yuzuil* and *Yeni Oncur* were confiscated. (*Info-Turk*, 11/90)
- The trial of *Limon* cartoonists Mustafa Bilgin and Cemal Genc began at Istanbul Heavy Penal Court on December 12, 1990. They have been charged with making the judicial system a subject of humor. (*Tercuman-Gunes*, 12/90)
- December 1990 issues of *Yeni Ulke*, *Devrimci Emek*, and *Ozgun Halk* were confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing separatist propaganda." (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/5/90; Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 12/31/90)
- The December 1990 issue of *Atak* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "separatist propaganda." (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- The January 1991 issue of *Devrimci Mucadele* (Revolutionary Struggle) was confiscated by the Istanbul DGM for "issuing separatist propaganda." (*Cumhuriyet*, 1/4/91)
- The January 1991 issues of *Komun* and *Odak* were confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing separatist and Communist propaganda." (*Gunes*, 1/14/91)
- The February 1991 issue of *Ozgurluk Dunyasi* (World of Freedom) was confiscated by order of the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing separatist propaganda." (*Cumhuriyet*, 2/91)
- The February 1991 issue of *Odak* (Focus) was confiscated for "Communist propaganda." (*Cumhuriyet*, 2/6/91)
- Seven persons who distributed a special "anti-war" issue compiled by *Deng* and *Emegin Bayragi* detained by police during the first week of February 1991. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/91)

- The March 1991 issues of *Ozgurluk Dunyasi*, *Demokrat* and *Teori* (the bulletin of the Turkish Socialist Party) were confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "issuing separatist and Communist propaganda." (*Milliyet*, 3/4/91)
- The March 1991 issue of *Demokrat* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "undermining national feelings" because of the cover story "The End of Kemalism: Turkey in Search of Her Kurds" and an interview with representatives of an organization affiliated with the PKK, the Kurdish resistance movement. (*Demokrat* release 3/7/91)
- The March 1991 edition of the Socialist Party monthly *Theory* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court because of an article entitled "The Kurdish Problem and the Socialists." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 3/91)
- On April 26, 1991, Yasathak Aslan, Chief Editor of the political magazine *Devrimci Yol*, and his wife, were taken into custody and held at Istanbul Police Headquarters for interrogation. *Devrimci Yol* is published by the illegal Devrimci Yol movement. (PEN telex 5/2/91)
- In May 1991 Ismail Pehlivanli, Editor-in-Chief of the humour magazine *Girgir*, was sentenced to one year and four months' imprisonment and fined 2,856,000 Turkish Lira for a cartoon in the June 10, 1990, issue of *Girgir* that allegedly insulted President Ozal and Prime Minister Akbulut. (*Gunes*, 5/2/91)
- The May 1991 issue of *Ozgur Halk* was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court under Article 312-2 of the Turkish Penal Code because "the magazine contained articles provoking the public to commit crimes." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 5/91)

#### **Foreign Journalists**

During 1990, several foreign journalists were detained in Turkey while trying to cover news events in Southeast Turkey and in Istanbul:

- Michael Dag, a German citizen, was indicted on February 10, 1990, by an Izmir criminal court for distributing a newspaper, *Kurtulus*, in 1979. He faces a prison sentence of up to 15 years. (*Turkey Briefing*, 3/90)
- U.S. freelance journalist, Aliza Marcus, was detained by police on March 8, 1990, in Siirt, while attempting to meet with a human rights lawyer. She was briefly detained on May 8, 1990, in a Southeastern refugee camp. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press 1990*)
- Katharina Bjarvall, correspondent for the Swedish daily *Sydvenska Dagbladet*, was detained for three hours on March 19, 1990, after photographing demonstrations in Diyarbakir. Police confiscated Bjarvall's film and copied names from her address book. (*Sydvenska Dagbladet*, 3/90)
- *Le Monde* correspondent, Nicole Pope, was detained by police on May 29, 1990, while interviewing hunger-strikers at the Nusaybin headquarters of the Democratic Socialist Party. Later that day she was forced by police to leave the town. (*Le Monde*, 5/90)
- Josh Friedman, a member of a Committee to Protect Journalists mission to investigate press conditions in Turkey, was detained and questioned for an hour on July 21, 1990, in Kiziltepe. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press 1990*)
- BBC journalist Jane Howard was detained for an hour in July 1990 while attempting to visit a well-known

### **Kurdish intellectual in the Southeast. (*British Broadcasting Service*, 7/90)**

- On November 28, 1990, four members of a Dutch TV team were detained in front of the Bayrampasa prison in Istanbul by authorities who suspected the team might attempt to shoot footage of the prison. They were released the following day. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)
- On May 2, 1991, Robert Fisk, a correspondent for the *Independent* of London, was arrested in Diyarbakir and declared *persona non grata* by Turkish officials. *Independent* correspondents Christopher Bellamy and Phil Reeves were also declared *persona non grata* and all three were expelled from the country on May 3, 1991. The Turkish officials apparently acted in retaliation for reports by the journalists of Turkish soldiers looting Iraqi refugee supplies. The Turkish Press and Information Office also announced that it will no longer extend accreditation to reporters from the *Independent* (Committee to Protect Journalists, Telex 5/2/91; The *New York Times*, 5/3/91; The Ankara *Anatolia*, 5/4/91 as reprinted by the Foreign Broadcast Information Service 5/6/91)

## **Freedom of Publishing**

Publishing continues to be a hazardous profession in Turkey. Since February 1990, Turkish authorities have confiscated books, raided book stores, charged, arrested and tried authors and publishers for such offenses as "issuing communist propaganda," "propaganda damaging to national feelings," "separatist propaganda," "inciting an armed uprising," and "undermining the spiritual personality of the state."

A summary of reports received by Helsinki Watch follows:

### **January 1990**

- On January 1, police confiscated 107 books destined for sale in a bookshop in the city of Van. (*Info-Turk*, 2/90)
- On January 12, police cited emergency powers to raid the Cumhuriyet Book Club shop in Kiziltepe, and the house of the shop's owner, Davut Bahadir. Police threatened to close the shop in the future and brought Mr. Bahadir to the Southeastern province of Mardin for questioning. (*Turkey Briefing*, 1/90)

### **February 1990**

- On February 2, Muzaffer Ilhan Erdost, writer, publisher and President of the Human Rights Association Ankara branch, was charged by the Istanbul State Security Court with "issuing Communist propaganda," for the publication of Lenin's speeches at the Third Internationale. The indictment carries a prison term of up to fifteen years. (*Info-Turk*, 3/90) On February 12, Erdost was detained and taken to Ankara Police Headquarters for questioning in connection with a short preface he had written for Edip Polat's book about the Diyarbakir prison, *Diyarbakir Gercegi*. Erdost was released the following day. (Amnesty International *Urgent Action*, 2/12/90)
- Edip Polat's book about Diyarbakir Prison, *Diyarbakir Gercegi*, was confiscated by the Ankara State Security Court on February 12. Polat was arrested on February 13 and held in Ankara Central Closed Prison until he was released pending trial on May 1. Polat was acquitted and the confiscation decision reversed on August 22.



(Human Rights Foundation, 2,5&8/90)

### March 1990

- Dr. Ismail Besikci was arrested on March 12 in Ankara and brought before the State Security Court of Istanbul to face charges for publication of his book *Kurdistan: A Colony of Many Nations*. The book asserts that the Kurds are denied fundamental human rights by the three countries in which the majority live: Turkey, Iran, and Iraq. Besikci was freed on bail in July. His trial reopened on September 11 with many international observers present, and was then postponed. A second case has been opened against Mr. Besikci for his book *Knowledge: Official Ideology, the State, Democracy, and the Kurdish Problem*. (PEN Update, 1/91) Besikci was taken to the Ankara State Security Court on March 20, 1991, interrogated, served an arrest warrant, and then incarcerated in Ankara Central Closed Prison. (PEN Telex 3/25/91) He was released in April 1991, following the enactment of the Anti-Terror Law.

Ismail Besikci's *Tunceli Law and Genocide* was confiscated for "separatist propaganda" by the Istanbul State Security Court on November 7. ( *Turkey Briefing*, 12/90)

### April 1990

- Metin Ciyayi's memoirs, *A Man in the Horizon*, was banned for "propaganda damaging to national feelings" in April by the Istanbul State Security Court.
- In April, Akif Dalci's *May Day 1989*, about the May Day demonstrations that included the death of a young worker, was banned by the First Minor Court of Istanbul for violating Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code.
- *1921 Kurt Ayaklanmasi*, by M. A. Hasretyan and K.M. Ahmad, about the Kurdish revolt of 1925, was banned for "separatist propaganda" by the Istanbul State Security Court in April.
- *Uniformali Kasaplar*, by Gunay Aslan, a journalist for *2000'e Dogru* and *Sokak* was banned for "propaganda with the intention to weaken national feelings" by the State Security Court of Istanbul in April. The book describes abuses by military personnel against inhabitants of Southeastern Turkey.
- On April 18, Volume No. 70 of the *Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles* was confiscated by the State Security Court of Istanbul. ( *Info-Turk*, 5/90)

### May 1990

- Police seized four bags of books and detained 30 people during a raid at the Sisli Cultural Center in Istanbul on May 18. ( *Gunes*, 5/18/90)

### June 1990

- In mid-June, the trial began at Istanbul State Security Court of Ali Erkan Kayli, the Chief Editor of the *Encyclopedia of Socialism and Social Struggles*, on charges of "spreading Communist propaganda through publication." ( *Info-Turk*, 6/90)

- On June 22, publisher Mehmet Ali Eser submitted an affidavit to the Prosecutor's office in Istanbul describing the use of torture against him following his detention on June 10. Eser's claim was corroborated by a forensic expert who examined the marks on his body. Eser requested that legal proceedings be initiated against police superintendent Ibrahim Aslan. (*Info-Turk*, 7 & 8/90)

### **July 1990**

- A book about the revolutionary youth organization, Dev-Genc, was banned by the Istanbul State Security Court on July 2. Its author, Ali Tildirm, was accused of attempting to incite an armed uprising. (*Index on Censorship*, 10/90)

### **August 1990**

- *General View of the Recent Past and a Draft Platform*, published by Eksen Printing House, was banned by the Istanbul State Security Court on August 4 for "separatist propaganda." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 8/90)

### **September 1990**

- *The Reformist Tendency in Revolutionary Movements*, put out by Eksen Printing House, was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court on September 13 for "Communist propaganda and undermining the spiritual personality of the state." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 9/13/90)
- Author/poet Seyyid Dursun Doganay was detained because he did not have an identity card during a police check in Izmir, in late September. Doganay was formally arrested when police discovered a book in his bag that he had written but which had not yet been published. Doganay was charged with insulting President Ozal for comments that appeared in the book, *The Development of the Alevi and its Implications*, about a Muslim religious sect. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 10/4/90)

### **October 1990**

- Yalcin Kucuk's *Thesis on Kurds* was confiscated by the Istanbul DGM on October 10 and an investigation launched against the author. (*Gunes*, 10/11/90)
- Emin Colasan, Author of *Where is Turgut Running?* was fined U.S. \$38,000 on October 19 for "attacking Ozal's personal rights." (*Turkey Briefing*, 12/90)

## November 1990

- On November 22, the Istanbul State Security Court confiscated *Leninist Party and Cadres*, by Enver Hoxha, for "Communist propaganda" and a book of poetry by Soysal Ekinçi, *The Call*, for "separatist propaganda." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 11/23/90)
- In November, *Dersimli Memik Aga* by Haydar Isikalan, was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court for "separatist propaganda." An investigation was launched against Isikalan and against its publisher, Belge Publishing House. (Human Rights Foundation, 11/26/90)
- On November 27 the book *Lesbian*, by Ruya Eser Oguzcan, was confiscated by the Istanbul Court of First Instance No. 4 for "anti-ethical and obscene" sections. (*Gunaydin*, 11/28/90) On February 22, the trial of Oguzcan and the book's publisher, Mehmet Cerci, began in the Istanbul State Security Court. The prosecution demanded a two-year sentence for the defendants. (*Info-Turk*, 2/22/91)
- Publisher and poet Ugur Kaynar was taken from his home to police headquarters on November 27. (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/1/90)

## December 1990

- A collection of Kurdish folk tales, *Siyabend and Ece*, was confiscated for "separatist propaganda in its preface" by the Istanbul State Security Court on December 5. An investigation was launched against the book's author, Huseyin Erdem. (*Hurriyet*, 12/6/90)
- *Memoirs* by journalist and author Musa Anter was confiscated for "separatist propaganda" by the Istanbul State Security Court in December. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 12/31/90)
- The Yaprak Publishing House received a fine of U.S. \$4,000 in December for the release of *Erotic Graffiti*. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)

## February 1991

- In early February, a collection of writings about the Devrimci Sol trial called *Dava Dosyası* was confiscated for "Communist propaganda" by the Istanbul State Security Court. (*Cumhuriyet*, 2/6/91)
- Two books published by Revolutionary Proletariat Publications, *Last Ten Years of Surrender* and *On Union*, were confiscated for "Communist propaganda" by the Istanbul State Security Court in early February. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/12/90)
- *Writings on the Question of Women*, published by Donusum Publications, was confiscated in early February for "Communist and separatist propaganda" and for "weakening the national sentiments of the people." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/11/91)
- The Istanbul State Security Court confiscated for "separatist propaganda" *Devrimci Sol Writings* by Oguzhan Muftuoglu and *The Social Reality of Turkey and Revolutionary Strategy* put out by Varyos Publications. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 2/18/91)

## March 1991

- ***Diyarbakir Twilight at the Darkness of September 12* by Selim Currukaya, who is in prison, was confiscated by the Istanbul State Security Court in March. (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 3/5/91)**
- **At the First Bursa Book Fair in May 1991, the political police confiscated Lenin's *What is to be Done?* and Leo Huberman's *Initiation to Socialism*. The publisher of these editions, Erdal Baysal, pointed out that Article 142, under which these books have been prosecuted in the past, has now been abolished. (*Cumhuriyet* 5/17/91)**

## Freedom of the Arts

Since February 1990, Turkish authorities have banned plays, films and videos for "disturbing the public order," offending the Iranian government and "offending and humiliating governments worldwide." Concerts and recordings have been banned for being "contrary to the public interest," for "causing political incidents," for "engaging in Kurdish propaganda," for "separatist propaganda," and "for their ideological content." Many of these concerts involved the singing of Kurdish folk songs.

## Theater

- **On March 2, 1990, the governor of Ankara banned the performance of a play entitled, *Why Did We Make this Coup D'etat?* (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)**
- **In late August 1990, the Istanbul, Denizli, Kirklareli, Kocaeli, and Izmir Governorates banned the play *Pir Sultan Abdal* performed by the Ankara Birlik Tiyatrosu players. In response, director Zeki Goker pointed out that the ban violates the right to freedom of artistic expression guaranteed in the Turkish Constitution. (*Hurriyet*, 8/27/90) In February 1991, a court ordered that the play could be performed in Istanbul, Denizli, Kocaeli and Izmir. (*Gunes*, 2/11&13/91) The play was then banned in late February by the Ankara Governorate "for disturbing the public order." (*Gunes*, 2/23/91) During the first weekend in March, Erol Toy, the author of *Pir Sultan Abdal*, was detained along with 18 actors from the Ankara Union Theatre who attempted to march to the local government assembly building to protest the ban on the play. Toy and the actors are being prosecuted for violating the Law on Meetings and Demonstrations. (*Cumhuriyet*, 3/4/91) On March 5, 1991, despite a decision by Ankara's Regional Administrative Court to allow performances of *Pir Sultan Abdal*, police arrived at the theatre and blocked performance on the grounds that the court verdict was too late to reach governorate officials. (*Gunes* 3/6/91)**
- **The Kirikkale Governorate banned the play *Game of Freedom: Amnesty* scheduled for performance at a cultural festival organized by the Hasandede municipality in February 1991. (*Hurriyet*, 2/22/91)**
- **In early March 1991, the Istanbul governorate banned *Atesin Dykusu*, (The Story of Fire) that was to be performed by the Diyarbakir Art Theatre Company. Cuma Boynukara, director of the play, released a statement listing previous productions by the company that had been banned and alleging that "even the name of our theatre constitutes a reason for the ban...being from Diyarbakir is like being born as a criminal." (*Gunes*, 3/11/91)**

## Film

- The Board of Censorship prevented *Nights of Blackout* from being shown in April 1990 at the International Film Festival held in Istanbul. The film, directed by Yusuf Kurcenli, details the use of torture in Turkey during World War II. (*Info-Turk*, 4/90)
- In early June 1990, parts of *Naked Gun*, a film made in the United States which alluded to the Ayatollah Khomeini, were censored due to the Turkish government's concern about damaging relations with Iran. After an official protest by the Iranian government, police barred showings of the film in theatres in Ankara and Istanbul. Owners were warned by police that their cinemas would be closed down if they continued to feature the film because President Ozal did not wish it to be shown. (*Cumhuriyet*, 6/20/90) At the end of June, the company distributing *Naked Gun* announced it would withdraw the film because "No other work received so much pressure. For us no film is worth risking your life." (*Gunes*, 6/30/90) On July 30, 1990, the film was officially banned by the Turkish government. (*Index on Censorship*, 10/90)
- In July 1990, parts of a video of the Amnesty International "Human Rights Now" concert were censored by the Film Inspection Council of the Ministry of Culture on the grounds that they "offended and humiliated governments worldwide." Censored parts of the film included remarks by tour organizer John Healy, and British singer Sting's comment that "governments are using torture and pressure more than ever to be able to stay in power." (*Cumhuriyet*, 7/31/90)
- On August 17, 1990, the governor of Istanbul banned screening of the film *Ordinary Fascism*. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)

## Music

- Two concerts by Group Yorum, scheduled for February 1990, in Izmir, were banned by the governor. (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)
- Seven members of Group Yorum were detained in April 1990, for "giving a concert without permission." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 4/23/90)
- On June 24, 1990, police obstructed a concert jointly organized by the Istanbul Kadikoy Municipality and the Cumhuriyet Book Club on the grounds that permission had not been obtained from the Security Department. (*Hurriyet*, 6/25/90)
- In June, authorities banned a recording by singer Ozan Cagdas as contrary to the public interest and to the maintenance of peace and order. (*Gunes*, 6/26/90)
- Group Yorum was forbidden to give a concert at a June 11 arts and environment festival organized by the Sariyer municipality in Istanbul. The Istanbul Governorate announced that henceforth the group would be banned from giving concerts in Istanbul. (*Hurriyet*, 6/11/90)
- On July 16, 1990, folk singer Ahmet Kaya was indicted by the Istanbul State Security Court for "causing political incidents" during a performance he gave in Istanbul. (*Tercuman*, 7/16/90) Kaya was taken into custody by police from his home on the night of August 5, 1990. He was held for one day, charged with "separatist propaganda" and released pending trial. The singer faces a prison sentence of up to ten years. (*Sabah*, 8/6/90; *Cumhuriyet*, 8/7/90)

- **Twenty-five persons were detained and held for seven days after a concert by Group Ekin at Hacattepe University during the first week of August 1990. (*Gunaydin*, 8/7/90)**
- **The Istanbul Governorate banned a concert by singer Ferhat Tunc scheduled for August 5, 1990. Tunc was taken to the local police station and detained for four hours. (*Milliyet*, 8/6/90)**
- **Singer Besir Kaya was charged with "engaging in Kurdish propaganda" for Kurdish folk songs he sang at the Emirgan Gazinosu nightclub, in the town of Sanliurfa, on August 6, 1990. (*Turkey Briefing*, 8/90)**
- **On August 17, 1990, the governor of Istanbul banned a concert by the musical group Kizilirmak. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)**
- **Police prevented Group Ekin from giving a concert in Mersin on August 19, 1990. Group member Metin Turan was taken into custody. (*Gunes*, 8/20/90)**
- **Singer Gulhan Tabak was detained by police for singing Kurdish folk songs at a concert in Iskenderun in late August 1990. Tabak was later formally charged with "separatist propaganda." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation, 8/21/90)**
- **On November 11, 1990, the Ankara State Security Court issued an arrest warrant for folk singer Bedri Aysel who was accused of singing a Kurdish song at a marriage ceremony attended by officials from the Interior Ministry. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)**
- **In December 1990, the governorate of Siirt banned "for their ideological content" cassettes by Ali Asker, Bedrettin Coskun, Hasan Huseyin Demirel, Ahmet Kaya, Besir Kaya, Mehmet Sah, and Ferhat Tunc. (*Cumhuriyet*, 12/5/91) These cassettes were later banned in Kayseri in February 1991. (*Gunes*, 2/11/91)**
- **On December 16, 1990, the district governor of Bismil banned the singing of Kurdish songs at marriage ceremonies. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)**
- **A concert scheduled for performance in mid-February in Kayseri, with the participation of movie actor Ilyas Salmon, was banned by the political police on the grounds that security measures were inadequate. (*Cumhuriyet*, 2/23/91)**
- **A Group Yorum concert scheduled for March 1, 1991, was banned by the Ankara Governorate. (*Cumhuriyet*, 3/2/91)**
- **Folk singers Vahit Akgun, Gani Naz, Besir Bilici and Huseyin Demirel, who had sung Kurdish songs on several occasions, were detained on May 23, 1991, without explanation in Zeytinburnu, Istanbul. (*Gunes*, 5/24/91)**

## **Dance**

- **Members of a folkdance troupe were detained by police on June 2, 1990, in Iğdir, Kars, for waving handkerchiefs in the colors of the Kurdish national flag during their performance. (*Info-Turk*, 6/90)**

## **Fine Arts**

- **On August 24, 1990, three German painters, Judith Hamann, Sahin Ince, and Heiner Metzger, were banned from exhibiting at the Kadikoy Festival in Istanbul. (*Info-Turk*, 9/90)**

## **Freedom of Speech**

Since February 1990, many Turks have been interrogated, detained, charged, tried and convicted for offenses involving free speech. Their offenses included distributing pacifist leaflets; "insulting President Ozal;" "disseminating separatist propaganda;" "encouraging Kurdish nationalism;" speaking Kurdish during a trial; putting up posters without authorization; speaking, translating and supporting the use of Kurdish; and "insulting police."

- **Two university students, Hasan Kursun and Hakan Cicekli, were arrested on January 19, 1990, for distributing pacifist leaflets in Sakarya. (*Hurriyet*, 1/21/90)**
- **On February 10, 1990, Behzat Akdolun, District Mayor of Gocek, was released after serving eighteen days in prison for "insulting President Ozal" during a municipal council session. (*Info-Turk*, 3/90)**
- **Mehmet Fehim Isik, the Diyarbakir correspondent for *Deng* magazine, was arrested on March 5, 1990, after participating in a press conference in Diyarbakir to commemorate International Anti-Colonial Day at which he read a statement from various political publications which referred to the anti-colonial struggle of the Kurdish people. Isak was taken to Diyarbakir prison and charged under Article 142 of the Turkish Penal Code with "disseminating separatist propaganda." The Diyarbakir State Security Court sentenced Isak to five years' imprisonment in July. (Amnesty International 3/9/90; PEN update 1/91)**
- **Sixty-eight workers were ordered to appear before the Istanbul Criminal Court No. 4, on May 5, 1990, for a letter sent to President Ozal protesting the coal mine disaster in Yeni Celtek. Each faces a prison term of up to six years for "insulting the President of the Republic." (*Info-Turk*, 6/90)**
- ***Deng* journalist Mazhar Kara was arrested on May 25, 1990, and charged under Article 143 for a public statement. Kara claims that he was physically and verbally abused before being released later that day. (Committee to Protect Journalists, *Attacks on the Press 1990*)**
- **On June 12, 1990, the Istanbul governor refused to give permission for a rally organized by editors of nineteen socialist-oriented publications to protest the state of emergency imposed in the Southeast. The editors attempted to hold a press conference, but were detained by police. Those taken into custody included: Tuncer Dilaveroglu and Mehmet Ali Eser from *Yeni Demokrasi*, Sirri Ozturk from *Sorum*, Riza Akyuz from *Yeni Oncu*, Muteber Yildirim from *Isciler ve Politika*, Fikret Ipek from *Medya Gunesi*, Kamil Ermis from *Deng*, and Halil Celik from *Sosyalizm*; and Saban Devres and Gurdal Cinar from *Devrimci Mucadele*. (*Info-Turk*, 6/90)**

- Canakkale Mayor Ismail Ozay was dismissed by the Interior Ministry in March for not standing up when President Ozal entered the room for ceremonies commemorating the Turkish victory at Gallipoli. Ozay faces a possible sentence of between three and six years under Articles 158, 159, and 526, of the Turkish Penal Code for "insulting the President." (*Cumhuriyet*, 7/90; *Turkey Briefing*, 7/90)
- On June 15, 1990, in Istanbul, police detained 22 members of political reviews as they were leaving for Ankara to submit a petition, with 13,000 signatures, to Prime Minister Akbulut to protest the state of emergency. (*Info-Turk*, 6/90)
- *Cumhuriyet* journalist Erbil Tusalp was investigated in July 1990 for "encouraging Kurdish nationalism" because of remarks he made at a Human Rights Association meeting in Gaziantep on December 16, 1989. Tusalp stated, "I respect the fight that the Kurds have put up to maintain their cultural identity." (*Turkey Briefing*, 7/90)
- Green Party activist Ibrahim Eren was reportedly detained by police for two months after giving a press conference. Eren also claims that his New Byzantium Culture and Art Shop has been raided several times by police and employees beaten and detained. (*Turkey Briefing*, 7/90)
- The jail sentence of Mehmet Emin Sert, Editor of *Emek Dnyasi* (Labor World), was upheld by the Court of Appeal in July 1990. The Istanbul State Security Court sentenced Sert in October 1988 to four years and two months' imprisonment, for pro-Kurdish remarks Sert was alleged to have made at a press conference. An additional case is pending against Sert in the Istanbul State Security Court. (*Turkey Briefing* 8/90)
- Haci Bayram Yuksel was indicted on July 30, 1990, for a critical letter that he had sent to President Ozal. He faces a prison sentence of up to five years. (*Info-Turk*, 8/90)
- Nurettin Sirin, a writer for the Islamic newspaper *Yeni Nesil*, went on trial in the Izmir State Security Court on August 2, 1990, for a statement made in a panel discussion. Sirin faces 17 years imprisonment for saying, "The Koran is gradually gaining mastery of these Islamic lands. Those who spread the things that Allah has forbidden on these Islamic lands shall be driven out from them." *Turkey Briefing*, 7/90)
- Political detainee Halil Celikaslani was sentenced in August 1990 to an additional prison term of nine years and eight months, for having used Kurdish during his trial. He was also sentenced to an additional ten months in prison for writing his appeal to a higher court in Kurdish. (*Info-Turk*, 8/90)
- Ismail Durna, a member of the Turkish Socialist Party Central Committee, was detained on August 11, 1990, during a talk with recently fired workers in Terme, Izmir. (*Info-Turk*, 8/90)
- Dogu Perincek, Editor of *2000'e Dogru*, was arrested on August 7, 1990, after four months in hiding, and charged under Article 142 (3) of the Penal Code with "issuing separatist propaganda," for speeches he gave on the Kurdish issue in Diyarbakir and several other cities. He was released pending trial on September 24, 1990. The prosecution has requested a 25-year sentence. (*Turkey Briefing* 9/90) Perincek was acquitted in May 1991 when Article 141 of the Turkish Penal Code was revoked. (*2000'e Dogru* 5/91)
- Journalist Hasan Uysal and actor Ilyas Salman were indicted on September 12, 1990, for insulting President Ozal during a meeting in Akhisar. Both face prison sentences of up to five years. (*Info-Turk* 9/90)
- On October 10, 1990, film director Sema Poyraz was indicted under Article 140 by the Istanbul Criminal Court for speeches she made while in self-imposed exile abroad. Poyraz faces a possible prison sentence of up to five years. (*Info-Turk*, 10/90)



- **Murat Kocak, a member of the Human Rights Association of Turkey, was sentenced to one year imprisonment on October 12, 1990, by the Ankara State Security Court, for putting up posters without prior authorization. (*Info-Turk*, 11/1990)**
- **Ali Ozler, Tunceli Chairman of the Human Rights Association of Turkey, was sentenced on October 15, 1990, to six years and eight months' imprisonment, for his declarations on the Kurdish issue. He had already been under arrest for six months. (*Info-Turk*, 11/90)**
- **Vedat Aydin, Ahmet Zeki Okcuoglu, and Mustafa Ozer, of the Human Rights Association of Turkey, were detained during a meeting of the Association on October 28, 1990. The three were charged with "separatist propaganda" for "speaking, translating, and supporting the use of Kurdish." Okcuoglu had given a speech which was translated by Aydin and publicly supported by Ozer. The trial of the three Association members began on November 23, 1990. (*Info-Turk*, 11 & 12/90; *PEN Freedom-to-Write bulletin*, 2/91)**
- **Ibrahim Aksoy, Secretary General of the People's Labor Party and Deputy to Parliament from Malatya, was indicted for "separatist propaganda" on November 1, 1990, for a speech he made on July 25, 1990, in Diyarbakir. The prosecutor requested that the Ministry of Justice rescind Aksoy's parliamentary immunity. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)**
- **Movie actor Ilyas Salman was indicted on November 2, 1990, for "separatist propaganda" by the State Security Court of Istanbul for a speech he made in Bursa on August 19, 1990. Salman was acquitted in December. (*Hurriyet*, 5/12/90)**
- **Diyarbakir Chairman Hatip Dicle and three other members of the Human Rights Association of Turkey were arrested on December 20, 1990, for addressing a meeting in Kurdish. Each faces a prison sentence of up to ten years. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)**
- **Emin Deger, a lawyer and founding member of the Human Rights Association of Turkey, was sentenced in December 1990 to ten months' imprisonment by the Ankara State Security Court for "insulting police" during the defense of his client at a political trial. (*Info-Turk*, 12/90)**
- **Lawyers Husnu Ondul, Ali Yildirim, Esin Fatma Kulac, and Aydin Erdogan, were detained on January 4, 1991, for issuing a protest against the arrest of striking coal-miners. Police also raided the homes and offices of Ondul and Kulac and confiscated various documents. Husnu Ondul is an active member of the Human Rights Association of Turkey, and also belongs to the Foundation for Human Rights and the Association of Contemporary Lawyers. (*Info-Turk*, January 1991) The trial of the four lawyers began in early April 1991 with the prosecution demanding ten years' imprisonment for Ondul for "membership in an illegal organization" and one to three years for**

the other lawyers for "staging an unauthorized demonstration." (Turkish Human Rights Foundation 4/10/91)

- Bekir Ozturk, an Istanbul restaurant owner, was arrested on January 12, 1991, for posting anti-war placards on his shop. Ozturk, who was released later the same day, claimed that he was beaten while in detention at the Topselvi Police Station. (*Gunes*1/14/91)
- On January 22, 1991, five persons were detained in Igdar, Kars, for posting anti-war placards distributed by the Social Democratic Populist Party. Those detained were: Yanar Yalcin, Haydar Isik, Murat Bayat, Erdem Ciftci, and Baris Agayar. (*Hurriyet*1/22/91)
- Leniz Onaran, president of the Doctors' Association Against Nuclear War, was taken by police from her home on January 22, 1991, and interrogated for four hours at the Ankara Security Directorate and then released. Onaran was questioned about the activities of the Doctors' Association in protest of the Gulf war including the watering of a "peace tree" at a rally the previous Sunday. (*Cumhuriyet*1/23/91)
- Socialist Party members Ali Cafer Bas and Ali Remzi Tuncel were detained in Ankara in early February 1991 for planning to send a telex to President Bush protesting civilian deaths in the bombardment of Baghdad. (*Cumhuriyet*2/26/91)
- Three Socialist Party members, Mehmet Akkoc, Belma Sabuncu, and Turan Ozlu, who planned to mail a U.S. flag to President Ozal to protest his Gulf crisis policies, were arrested on January 23, 1991, in Istanbul. On the same day, ten other Socialist Party members were also detained by police for planning a similar activity in Ankara. Known detainees included: Ilknur Kalan, Hacer Oguz, Hasan Yildiz, Haldun Solak, Ayhan Sedef, Erdogan Aslanoglu, and Sahin Onus. (*Hurriyet*1/24/91) The detainees were released the following day. On January 25, 1991, Ilknur Kalan, who is the Ankara Section President of the Socialist party, was ordered rearrested by another prosecutor for the same case. (*Cumhuriyet*1/26/91) Kalan was released on February 1, 1991, pending her trial scheduled for March 7, 1991. (*Cumhuriyet*2/2/91)
- In late February 1991, the Izmir Security Directorate began investigating Izmir Mayor Yuksel Cakmur for the public placement of several placards with pacifist statements attributed to Ataturk, the founder of the modern Turkish state. (*Cumhuriyet*2/22/91)
- In late February 1991, 115 inmates at the Eskisehir Prison were sentenced to an additional six years, eight months' imprisonment for "issuing separatist propaganda" because of a 1988 petition signed by the inmates protesting the use of chemical weapons on Kurds in Halabja, Iraq, by the Saddam Hussein regime. More than 5,000 Kurds are believed to have died in the incident. The petition was sent to the Turkish National Assembly and the Iraqi Embassy in Turkey. (Human Rights Foundation 2/25/91)
- Mehmet Karakas and Nuri Simsek, members of the Social Democratic Populist Party, were acquitted in March. They had been indicted for distributing anti-war pamphlets. (*Hurriyet*3/21/91)

*This issue of News From Helsinki Watch was written by Mia Nitchun and Lois Whitman. News From Helsinki Watch is a publication of Helsinki Watch, an independent organization created in 1978 to monitor domestic and international compliance with the human rights provisions of the 1975 Helsinki Accords. The Chair is Robert L. Bernstein; Vice Chairs, Jonathan Fanton and Alice Henkin; Executive Director, Jeri Laber; Deputy Director, Lois Whitman; Washington Representative, Catherine Cosman; Staff Counsel, Holly Cartner; Staff Consultant, Ivana Nizich; Orville Schell Fellow, Robert Kushen; Associates, Sarai Brachman, Mia Nitchun and Elisabeth Socolow; Intern, Jemima Stratford.*

*Helsinki Watch is a component of Human Rights Watch, which includes Americas Watch, Asia Watch, Africa Watch, and Middle East Watch. The Chair is Robert L. Bernstein and the Vice Chair is Adrian W. DeWind. Aryeh Neier is Executive Director; Kenneth Roth, Deputy Director; Holly J. Burkhalter, Washington Director; Susan Osnos, Press Director.*

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