

HOW JOURNALISTS ARE MURDERED IN KURDISTAN

Özgür Gündem & Yeni Ülke Files



Serdar Çelik

Institut kurde de Paris

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**This booklet
is dedicated
to the memory
of the Journalists
who were murdered**

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Editorial

"How journalists are murdered in Kurdistan", the English title of this text probably says more than any German translation. In no other country in the world have journalists been so systematically murdered in Turkey and the Turkish method of murdering journalists together with destruction of publishing houses is particularly atrocious.

This alarming statement is related to the fact that within a few months in 1992 at least 14 journalists were killed.

Many other were wounded or killed because of their indirect relationship to these journalists, and these are not included in this figure.

Only a brief mention is made here about the repressive methods which were used to close down and destroy publishing houses and publications. All these events happened in Turkish territory, almost always in the Kurdish area which is fighting for its liberation, an area where official government representatives, police and military forces deny even the people of their right to bury their dead with dignity. Turkish refusal to allow freedom of the press does not stop at the Turkish borders, death lists and threats have been found in circulation even in Germany and these have mainly been targeted at democratic journalists of Kurdish or Turkish origin living in Germany.

The fact that this can happen "as a matter of course" is probably related to the fact that international condemnation against the Turkish authorities has materialized only of late. This condemnation however has become more widespread and in September 1992 many of the large worldwide associations of the press have severely

condemned Turkey as the "*most dangerous country for journalists*". The aims and activities of the initiative "**Protection for journalists in Turkey-Kurdistan**" is primarily directed towards preventing further crimes and to ensure the long term safety of journalists.

Hans Branscheidt

Institut kurde de Paris

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS, THE ATTITUDE OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC ON THE CONCEPT, KURDISTAN AND ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM JOURNALISM

Freedom of the press

It is impossible to separate the concept of freedom of expression from the idea of freedom of thought: Thought, as an integral element of the individuals identity and consciousness, cannot be banned without undermining the philosophy of human rights to such an extent as to make it completely meaningless. The right to freedom of thought is however pointless unless it is supported by the right to freedom of expression: to deny the individual the opportunity to express thought is to deny the expression of self. Any society which professes respect for human rights and fundamental democratic freedoms must therefore guarantee the rights to freedom of thought and expression.

The media (in the broadest sense of the term) is the mechanism for the expression of thought, and societies' respect for democracy and human rights may, in very real sense be measured by its relationship with the press.

In practical terms, guaranteeing freedom of the press will require respect for certain fundamental principles such as: *“free circulation of information; receiving correct information; deterring monopolisation of the press; right to and safeguards for investment; guaranteeing job security; right of a newspaper to reach and to protect the confidentiality of the source of information; development of administrative systems to obtain correct information; guarantee of justice; no special criminal charges and a special system of justice for the press; and most important of them all, no discrimination in the freedom of press because of*

race, religion, language or ethnic origin."

The question of freedom of the press has been the subject of almost all international laws and is safeguarded by most of them. The most fundamental one of these is the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* which was declared on 10 December 1948 in Paris. Articles 18 and 19 of the Declaration address freedom of the press.

Article 18 states: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance."*

Article 19 states: *"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers."* The Turkish Republic (TR) ratified the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 6 April 1949 (Resolution no: 9119, Official Paper (OP) no: 7212). *The European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms* which was declared on 4 November 1950 and came into force on 3 September 1953 (ratified by March 1954, OP date: 19/03/1954, no: 8662); *Final Document of Helsinki Conference* (Article VII) signed, including Turkey, on 1 August 1953; *International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR)* (Articles 18 and 19) signed on 23 March 1976 in New York; the 1981 dated *On Non-tolerance As a Threat to Democracy* document and the 1982 decisions on the *Freedom of Expression and Information* of the European Convention etc. resolutions which guarantee and officially safeguard the freedom of thought and the press internationally. *UNESCO* has been authorised by the *United Nations* on this question and it has given an international meaning and quality to freedom of the press by its 28 November 1978 resolution. Although some of them forbid racism and torture, safeguard the rights of minorities and stress the right of all peoples to self-determination the Turkish Republic has signed nearly all of these resolutions.

Question of freedom of the press in Turkey and its relationship with the Kurdistan question

The Turkish Republic has inherited its attitude and the laws on the press from the Ottoman administration. The first known legislation on the press is the "Regulation of the Printing Industry" which was dated 1864. This legislation has undergone continuous change. However, the aspect of the legislation which allows the government to censor and suppress the press has never changed. Because the Ottoman state itself was a militaristic, oppressive and a colonising power. In 1908, when the *Committee of Union and Progress* (Ittihat-i Terakki) came to power the minorities and the press felt a slight easing of repression. But this situation did not last long. The changes in legislation in 1909 increased the arbitrary censorship and suppression of the press. For example: in this period, Kurds had published their first magazine, established their first association and opened a culturally orientated school. They were immediately banned and the responsible persons were heavily sentenced and imprisoned. This meant that the question of suppression of the press was much more serious where Kurds were concerned. In other words; even if there was a certain amount of freedom of the press, this was not meant for the Kurds.

Despite the fact that the Republic of Turkey was established, the press legislation of 1864 remained in force up until 1931. It is impossible to think of freedom of the press and expression in Turkey divorced from the official ideology of the state. Freedom of opinion and the press have always been under the control of the state, (i.e.; official) ideology.

There was a single party in the country and in power, the Republican People's Party (RPP). All opposition was silenced. There was a single party headed by the all-powerful leader, Mustafa Kemal, whose wishes were commands. In his opinion, there were no classes in Turkey. There could be no differing class interests. Therefore, the different sections of society could not have expressed their differences of interest, organised along the lines of these differences and made use of the means of the press. A fundamental position of the state was

that "everybody within the boundaries of Turkey, which was identified by the boundaries drawn by the National Pact of 1920 (*Misak-i Milli*), was a Turk". Only the Turks had the right to develop their life and culture. It was out of the question for such an attitude and its political reflection, which denied the existence of the Kurdish people and its culture, to tolerate freedom of opinion. Moreover, the Turkish state pursued a bloody war of suppression against the Kurdish people from 1925 to 1940 and the unorganised Kurdish people responded with some 40 mass resistance actions. Any mention of freedom of the press in Turkey in this period, where a single voice and oppression dominated, made mockery of this holy concept.

Article 22 of the 1924 Constitution, which was the first of the Republic, stated that "the press is free". Article 70 of the same Constitution stated that "the freedom of expression and the press is a fundamental right of the Turks". But, they remained only on paper. Because even the statement "the press is free", despite having no meaning whatsoever, was considered to be a luxury and there were attempts to change it. In any case, the *Public Order Act* (*Takrir-i Sükun Yasası*) ⁽¹⁾ and the *Supreme Courts of the Turkish War of Independence* (*Istiklal Mahkemeleri*) ⁽²⁾ had removed, in this period, all the freedoms and shelved all the written laws. If the freedom of press was not to be taken as separate from freedom of organisation and the socio-economical guarantees and that freedom of the press necessitates a pluralism in government, then these conditions were nonexistent in Turkey anyway. There was a repressive and extremely chauvinistic government in power which allowed only the press which toed the official line.

There was a negative reflection of this situation: the press remained under state supervision and it condemned itself to censorship and confinement of a single voice. Monopoly in the press has been started, both in thought and in the field of investment, from its inception.

Because of the reasons stated above, it was not possible to publish any newspapers, periodicals and magazines in the Kurdish language between 1924-1961. It simply couldn't have been possible. Because the Turkish state refused to recognise the existence of the Kurdish

people; pursued a strict and planned policy of assimilation; furthermore, it wanted to physically annihilate the Kurdish people and was developing the methods to do it. To properly explain the situation on the press, it is necessary to clearly present the attitude of the Turkish press regarding the Kurdish people and its national question. The Turkish press has been the greatest help to the state when the massacres were being committed against the Kurdish people. They have hidden the reality of the Kurdish people and the massacres from the eyes of the Turkish people and world public opinion. Additionally, they have portrayed the resistance of the Kurdish people as some "reactionary insurgents against the Kemalist revolution which was attempting to bring civilisation to Eastern [Turkey]" and applauded the massacres. It is interesting that the Turkish army has turned on the Turkish press itself every time after suppressing the resistance of the Kurdish people.

The first Press Act of the Turkish Republic was issued on 15/07/1950 no: 5680. It was published in the Official Paper dated 24/07/1950 no: 7564 and came into force then. Following WW II, the political face of the world of the 1950's has changed. Whatever the features of the period, there was no democratic aspect to the Press Act. In an attempt to take its place alongside the USA in the world political map, Turkey moved to a multi-party system. Even if on paper only, it adopted some of the legislation from the European communities and initiated institutionalisation. The Press Act should be taken in this context. The Democratic Party (DP) which came to power in this period received the support of the intelligentsia. But, once in power, it reneged on all its promises. It pursued an increasingly suppressive policy toward the press. Articles 141 and 142 of the Criminal Code, taken from Mussolini's Constitution, were used as the sword of Damocles against the press. It resorted to heavy handed censorship and established the famous *Committees of Investigation* (Tahkikat Encümenleri) which were directed against the press.

The DP government has ended the bloody regime of the RPP but, this brought no change in the policies of the state regarding the Kurdish people. Moreover, the DP government decided that, following the period of suppression and massacres, it was time to beat the

tar out of the Kurds and concentrated on policies of assimilation and economic plunder. It started a conspiracy against the Kurdish intelligentsia and arrested 49 Kurdish intellectuals for punishment. This conspiracy came to a stop when the 1960 military coup took place. Following the 27 May 1960 Coup, the Press Act was changed in 1961. These changes removed a considerable number of legal barriers which were placed before expression of thought in the press. These changes were directly related to the enlightenment in Turkey. The intellectual accumulation and growing social consciousness in relation to the workers and their conditions necessitated these changes. Hence, the 1960's saw an explosion in publications of printed material in Turkey. Particularly the number of newspapers, magazines and books serving the interests of the labouring sections of society who differed with the government, started to increase. There was an attempt to produce a Kurdish newspaper on the basis of Article 12 of the 1961 Constitution. Centred in Istanbul, the monthly magazines *Dicle-Firat* (The Euphrates and Tigris), *Deng* (Voice) and *Riya Newe* (New Path) started publication between 1961-1963. However, Martial Law, declared on the pretext of Talat Aydemir's attempted military coup, also targeted the Kurds. The magazines were closed down and their administrators were arrested. The Turkish administration was giving a clear message that "*freedom of press was not for the Kurds*".

We would like to present a more striking example. In this period, the work of Kurdish intellectuals who were aiming to achieve something, was cultural and not political at all. The first *Kurdish Alphabet* was printed by *M. Emin Bozaslan* in 1968. Immediately after its publication the author was arrested and tried in Istanbul Combined Press Court (Toplu Basın Mahkemesi). The Kurdish alphabet thereby received the *honour* of being the first banned alphabet in the world. *Ahmede Xani's Mem û Zîn* novel which is of immense cultural value, representing thoroughly the Kurdish tradition, was printed both in Turkish and Kurdish by the same *M. Emin Bozaslan*. Its copies were confiscated and the publisher was taken to court. This was to mean that there was no freedom of the press and expression of thought, as well as double standards at play in application of

the laws in Turkey: one for the Turks and another for the Kurds. The law itself and its application have always presented a contradiction in Turkey. Even if the law suggests the existence of some rights, it is impossible to find their application in real life. For example: torture is forbidden but, is applied in all police stations; on paper, Turkey is a parliamentary democracy but, the decision making and authority always lie with the military; on paper there are institutions of justice but the verdict always lies in the hands of some other authority. Therefore, we cannot conclude for the existence of a particular right just because it is written in the law.

The social consciousness of the people played an important role here. For example: we observed an explosion in the social consciousness and in the movement as we entered into the 1970's. The development went beyond all the legal restrictions. The military coup of 12 March 1971 was a reaction to this explosion and was aimed at stopping and dispersing it. The regime, established in the aftermath of the coup, established a colossal system of censorship and suppression. It was possible to put arbitrary restrictions and bans on the press on the pretext of "public order and public interest"; to gag the progressive press on the basis of the Articles 141, 142, 146, 163, 311 and 312 of the Criminal Code; to accuse the editors of every left wing magazine of "aiming to destroy the constitutional regime" and sentencing them to over one hundred years of imprisonment. I wrote at the beginning of this article that the thought in the head of the individual could not be banned. However, the Turkish judges and public prosecutors were able to accomplish this task as well. Particularly the magazines of Kurdish origin and the ones in Kurdish language were accused of making communist propaganda and being divisive and were closed down; their copies were constantly confiscated; their editors and administrators were given heavy sentences. We may better explain the situation if we mention here the fact that some of the writers and editors arrested in this period were released only in 1988. The most clear cut example of this is the situation of the sociologist-writer *Dr. Ismail Besikçi*. Besikçi spent over ten years in prison just for doing sociological research on the Kurds.

Despite all the suppression and the preventative measures taken, the social consciousness and the demand for democracy of society was putting pressure on the rulers of the country. In practice this pressure was reflecting itself in violent class struggles. This development, further concentrated towards the end of the 1970's, forces us to stress another important fact. Freedom of the press was the expression of the orderliness in the society. If there is a big economical injustice in the society; if, as we approach the end of the 20th century, the existence of a separate people in a country is denied and this denial is maintained by a mechanism of suppression, then there could have been no freedom of expression or the press in that country. Because this would have meant that the truth would have been laid bare and the people saw it. The rulers of Turkey never wanted that. This meant that the Turkish state was by no means abiding with: the freedom of expression; the right to freely seek and learn the truth; the right to the confidentiality of the source of information; not discriminating on the basis of race, religion and language; abolishing the special institutions of justice directed against the press. It had however signed all the international conventions guaranteeing these rights.

The real blow to the press and the freedom of expression came with the 12 September 1980 military coup. The existing constitution and the press law were abolished. All opposition was silenced. So much that the Junta went after the press, which was acting as its fifth arm, and at times banned them.

Articles 13, 14, 24, 26, 27, 28 and 31 of the 1982 Constitution brought a wide range of restrictions on the freedom of expression and the press. Kenan Evren, the leader of the Junta, had likened the previous constitution to a dress too large for the society and seen the rights it guaranteed as being too much for the society. It was time to curb these rights. It is interesting that the people were applauding him as he spoke in public squares. Repression had brought the people to such a state. New strictions were added in all legislation on the associations, trade unions, demonstrations, meetings etc. as well as on the right of expression through the press.

I am listing these only for Turkey. Where Kurdistan and the Kurdish people were concerned there was no limit to restrictions. Because

there was no legislation which applied to them whereby the level of restrictions could have been discussed. There was an arbitrariness toward the Kurds and this rested upon some 70 years of denial. You couldn't express thought as a Kurd. Even if you had a thought against the administration, you had to express it as a Turk. If you expressed it as a Kurd the punishment was too heavy.

As the law forbade expression in the languages which were forbidden by the constitution, expression in Kurdish was illegal anyway. Not only in the Kurdish language but writing about the Kurds in the Turkish language was banned as well. Legislation no:2932 which illegalises the Kurdish language was issued in 1983 on the basis of the constitution. In the years following, when the anachronistic character of this law became known in world public opinion, this legislation was abolished. But then restrictive measures were resorted to. In 1984, once again, the Turkish state came face to face with the reality of Kurdistan. But this time in a way it wouldn't be able to ever take it off its agenda again. This was natural. A people was becoming conscious, getting organised and starting resistance to rid itself of oppression, for its national rights and to live like human beings. This put immense pressure on the Turkish state. The struggle of the *PKK*⁽³⁾ (Kurdistan Workers Party) affected the situation in Turkey and was directly influential on the press. Either the mindlessness or their lack of solutions forced the press to think aloud. The government made room for the press in an attempt to widen the war front. In reality, this gave birth to a wide consensus in the Turkish front. The bourgeois press became subordinated to the Turkish army which was directing the war. These people did not use arms, sure but, they supported the state without paying any consideration to the dimension of justness or injustice of the situation and to the dimension of human rights. It is interesting that the bourgeois press in Turkey have become as though they were one of the main executors of the system which destroys the freedom of expression and the press. For example; whether the Kurdish villages were bombed; women were raped; Kurdish persons killed under torture etc., all these were of no interest to the bourgeois press. Their task was to reflect the facts upside down. Thereby, the bourgeois press in Turkey reduced the

credibility of the press to nil. The bourgeois press became special organs of war. They are receiving the news from the *Special War Department* and writing as the *Special War Department* ordered. Most of the columnists of the bourgeois newspapers are paid for this service and are selling the honour of their trade for money. There should be nothing more shameful to present the facts upside down for fear or for money. Moreover, if this is done by the journalists then the dimensions of shame and immorality should be much greater. The widening of Kurdish resistance forced the Turkish state into taking some new measures. Martial law, which was declared in the Kurdish areas in 1979, was made permanent. *The State of Emergency Law* issued on 19 July 1987 established a separate legal status in Kurdistan. *Hayri Kozakcioglu* was appointed to an area covering 9 Kurdish regions and entrusted with powers normally given to governors of colonies. Among the powers entrusted in Kozakcioglu were the extraordinary powers such as: "to ban any kind of demonstration; to subject even the wedding ceremonies to the permission of the governor; to ban any publication he chooses; to subject the entry of members of the press into the region to the permission of the governor; to ban entry and exit of any commodity in the region; to close schools; to question or force out of the region any person he wishes; etc. Moreover, the governor was to be responsible to no legal authority for his actions. The governor of the region was also defining how he wanted the press to behave: "Journalists should take sides just as in national football matches". This was the position of the Turkish state on the press. What are we supposed to call the journalists who accept this role?

When the struggle of the Kurdish people became massive and spread to the towns folk, the Turkish state increased its repression. *Decree with the Provision of Law (DPL) no: 413*, known as the *Decree of Censorship and Exile* was issued on 10 April 1990 based on the Law of State of Emergency no: 2935. The decree no: 413 was amended as the *DPL no's: 424 and 425* on 10 May 1990 on the basis of Article 285 of the Governorship of the Region of State of Emergency. Namely: the DPL increases the powers of the Governor of State of Emergency (GSE) quite considerably and empowers the Ministry of

the Interior, in the areas outside the said region, to ban the printing, duplicating and publishing any kind of printed material and even to close down the print shops printing such material and ordering them to pay substantial amounts of money. Everything was put so clearly. The Decree stated: *"on request from the Governor of the Region of State of Emergency, the Ministry of Interior is to take measures, as stated above, on printed material which is published to obstruct the security forces in the performance of their duties or cause a serious disturbance in public order or excite the people of the region by incorrectly reporting the activities in the region or preparing untrue reports or making untrue comments and regardless of where they have been printed, if necessary close down the print shops where any such material is printed."*

The law kept the fine as high as 90% of the retail price. This was not for books, magazines and newspapers only, but also for records, cassettes, films and posters. The use of exile and a ban on meetings and demonstrations was ratified as in the previous law and even increased. Clearly, any news which didn't go through the governor of the region was banned.

The date these Decrees were brought into force corresponds to the period when a war of annihilation on the Kurdish people was in the ascendancy. In this period, villages were being bombed, people were being kidnapped, women were being raped, forests were being burned, the scope of torture widened and they were becoming so sadistic as to force people to eat their own excrement. The ones who issued this law were aiming to keep Kurdistan away from the eyes of the world and hide what they were doing there.

The Turkish bourgeois press did not object to the entirety of this law and the sections of it which is directed against the Kurdish people and its press. But only the sections of it which were directed against them and their financial interests. The first victim of the Decree was the newspaper *Halk Gerçeği* and the magazine *2000'e Doğru* and their printers.

With the transformations in the world following the Gulf War, the pressure by the EC and European Parliament combined with the conditions resulting from the struggle waged in Kurdistan, the Tur-

kish government felt the need to give a misleading message to world public opinion. This was the *Anti-Terrorism Law*. Additionally, the *High Treason Law, no: 2, Law on the Protection of the Right to Assembly and Conscience, no: 6187, Articles 141, 142 and 163 of the Turkish Criminal Code and Law on Publications in Languages Other Than Turkish, no: 2932* were withdrawn. With these changes, the Turkish government was trying to prove that "*now there was democracy in Turkey*". However, the reality was not the same as claimed. Because, the application was above the law. It would have been quite unsatisfactory to depend upon the laws for judgement.

Clear change was made in the *Anti-Terrorism Law, no: 3713*. The scope of terrorist crimes was widened. So that it was possible to treat a person as though he was a member of a terrorist organisation even if that person simply had acted in an individual capacity; to accuse a writer in accordance with this Article because of any article he wrote. On the basis of this Article, the 6 newspapers were shut down accused of opposition to it.

Article 7 of the Law subjects any newspaper to substantial fines which publishes the identity of any person belonging to the security forces fighting against terrorism. The Article is very vague: it became unlawful to expose the name of a member of the security force whose name is mentioned in a robbery or theft; who tortures and commits any crime against a citizen in any part of the country. Not only the author of the article but the owner and the editor of the newspaper also get punished for the same crime. The punishments are not lenient either: it starts from 100 million TL for the owner and at least half of this amount for the editor of the newspaper. When the said crime is committed by means of a book, the copies of the book are confiscated and its author and the publisher are sentenced for the crime of either supporting the action of terrorism or the terrorist organisation. As one can see, the Article, as flexible as it is, can be taken to mean anything. Although Articles 142, 143 and some others in the Turkish Criminal Code have been abolished, a more repressive and censoring atmosphere is created by attaching such meanings to the Anti-Terrorism Law.

Article 8 of the Law states: "*No written or verbal propaganda, meeting,*

demonstration and march, which targets the undivided unity of the people and the country of the Turkish Republic, for whatever thought or aim, are allowed. "This law is also flexible. On the basis of this law, every kind of cultural, democratic activity stemming from the existence of the Kurdish people are outlawed. Such arbitrariness has been created that the local authorities have refused all demonstrations and marches since this law has come into effect. Moreover, any newspaper or magazine publishing anything on the Kurds can be confiscated and the authors be subjected to heavy fines or imprisonment. It is necessary to take *Özgür Gündem* as an example to better understand the meaning of the *Anti-Terrorism Law* which came into effect since 12 April 1991 . In fact it is not sufficient to look just at the example of *Özgür Gündem* as the main target of the law is Kurdistan itself. The aim is to not reflect the reality in Kurdistan in the public; to stop any publication which informs the people from reaching to the hands of the Kurdish people.

How the fight against *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* is carried out

Özgür Gündem started to be published as a daily newspaper on 31 May 1992. This was the only newspaper which did not submit to the control of the state in the history of the Turkish Republic. It was aimed at bravely reflecting state terror in Kurdistan; correctly and truthfully reporting the news in relation to the reality of the Kurdish people; attempting to bring truthful journalism to both the Turkish and the Kurdish peoples.

The evaluation we present here is not exaggerated. Because, all newspapers were under the control of monopolies. They were under the control of the state and the Special War Department. They were all supporting the state's war against the Kurdish people. They were all printing one sided news when it came to Kurdistan. They had all agreed to be a force of the state in the war against the Kurdish people.

Although there were numerous weekly and monthly left-wing newspapers and magazines, their circulations were very low. The state

had no worries about their influence. Additionally, with its control and legal and financial obstacles placed before these publications the state was able to either destroy them or severely curtail their influence.

The state had chosen Kurdistan as its fundamental problem. It was openly carrying out a war against the people and had allocated quite a chunk of its economy for this task. It had amassed its 100 thousand soldiers, village policemen and special teams in Kurdistan. It was implementing a policy of heavy handed censorship in Kurdistan. Existence of daily or weekly newspapers, magazines and books were in conflict with the aims and applications of the state.

For this reason, *Özgür Gündem* was declared an enemy from its inception by the state, its army, police and the public prosecutors. If we present what the state has done against *Özgür Gündem* by quoting numbers, then the crimes of the state, committed against the freedom of expression and the press, can be better understood.

Within the year 1992, confiscation orders were issued against 39 issues of *Özgür Gündem* and law suits were filed against them. Financial loss caused for each issue was 175-200 million TL.

The punishments demanded in the law suits for the confiscated issues of the newspaper were: for the holder of the franchise, *Yasar Kaya*, 187 billion 538 million TL. fine; for the managing director *Selcuk Gür*, 12 years imprisonment and 71 billion TL. fine; for the managing director *Isik Yurtçu*, 43 years imprisonment and 23 billion TL. fine.

Within a 7.5 month period, four writers and correspondents of *Özgür Gündem* were killed. Up until today, none of the perpetrators have been found. The investigations into these were also stopped. One of the correspondents of the newspaper was left *paralysed* confined to a wheel chair.

Within a 7.5 month period, three distributors of *Özgür Gündem* were killed in *Batman*, *Nusaybin* and *Van*. Two distributing agents and one newsagent selling *Özgür Gündem* were seriously wounded as a result of attacks.

Two vehicles carrying and ten kiosques and shops selling *Özgür Gündem* were burned down.

At least 55 *Özgür Gündem* correspondents were taken into police custody. Three out of these were imprisoned for months. *Three correspondents of the paper were subjected to heavy torture.* All the ones taken into police custody, without exception, were beaten up, threatened and insulted. The threats were not light either. They were threatened with death. At least 30 *Özgür Gündem* correspondents' and workers' houses and work places were raided. Almost all the *Özgür Gündem* offices were raided and kept under surveillance. The telephones of the *Özgür Gündem* offices were continuously tapped. The cameras of most of its correspondents were taken from them. Threatening telephone calls were made to workers in the offices. Without exception, all the correspondents who were taken into police custody and/or arrested were demanded to become their agents and were ordered to stop working for the paper. Police confiscated copies of the *Gündem* paper from newsagents in Nusaybin etc. People found to be carrying copies of *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke* or *Özgür Halk* during various searches and operations, were taken into police custody.

Distribution companies and newsagents were continuously threatened and were ordered not to keep and sell copies of *Özgür Gündem*. The writers and correspondents of *Özgür Gündem* were always accused of divisiveness and supporting a terrorist organisation. *Süleyman Demirel*, the Prime Minister of Turkey, is on record, referring to the attacked and/or killed writers and journalists of *Özgür Gündem*, saying: "*These people are not journalists. They are militants. They are killing each other*".

The calamities meted out to *Yeni Ülke* (weekly newspaper) were no different than what was done to *Özgür Gündem*.

Within the year 1992, *one of its correspondents was killed. 48 issues out of 114 printed until the end of 1992 were either issued with confiscation orders or had lawsuits opened against them.* Its correspondents were taken into police custody 42 times. Every time they were taken into police custody, they were beaten and threatened; their cameras broken; films confiscated; houses and workplaces searched; offices raided and were kept under constant surveillance.

During 1992, three confiscation orders were issued for the monthly

magazine *Özgür Halk*; one of its correspondents was killed; 7 of its correspondents were taken into police custody; one of its correspondents was given a 26 month sentence and fined 45 million TL. and another correspondent was given a 3 month sentence. Confiscation orders were issued for 13 out of the 14 books of *Ismail Besikçi*, a well-known sociologist and writer, for he had written on the Kurds. A total of 900 million TL fine was demanded from him. *Besikçi* was taken into police custody and interrogated many times for his work.

Apart from the above, five more journalists were killed: one from the magazine *2000'e Dogru*; one from the newspaper *Sabah*; one from the magazine *Gercek*; one from the newspaper *Hürriyet*; one from the newspaper *Bursa-Gemlik Körfeze Bakis*. Almost all the dead were Kurdish or were killed in Kurdistan or had been writing on the Kurdish question and all were killed by "persons unknown"!. These are sufficient proof of the seriousness of the problem and also portray the guilt of the Turkish state in relation to the Kurdistan question and the question of freedom of the press.

In addition to the above, confiscation orders were issued on almost all the books written on the question of Kurdistan and the people seen responsible for these books were fined and given long prison sentences. Additionally, one of every two issues of the left-wing and progressive newspapers and magazines published in Turkey were issued with confiscation orders.

The Kurdish press, the revolutionary left-wing press, the opposition press, the press which prints the truth were all declared as enemies by the state. To eliminate them, it has chosen not the means of justice but the illegitimate means. Almost all the attacks against the press were committed by militants of an organisation called *the Hezbollahi*⁽⁴⁾ which functions in alliance with the police and the Turkish Intelligence Service. With the exception of the citizens arrests made by the people, almost none of them were captured. And the ones who were caught by the people were saved from the hands of the people by the police. It is established that these killers, who somehow managed to disappear, continue their killings in other towns of Kurdistan and Turkey.

We are not even mentioning here the other difficulties placed before

the press. For example: the correspondents of *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke* and the other left-wing newspapers are not allowed into meetings, they are not allowed to participate in tours of the ministers and the military authorities. When an important incident takes place, these correspondents are forced out of the area or their movements are restricted by a special law. Wherever they go, they are also targets for attacks by the police.

These attacks on the revolutionary press are part and parcel of the attacks on society in general and the Kurdish people in particular. Within the year 1992 alone, nearly 1000 innocent Kurds were killed. 70% of these were killed by the so called *Hezbollahi*. A majority of the murders were committed in Batman, Silvan, Diyarbakir, Nusaybin, Kiziltepe and Midyat towns. The target of the attacks were particularly the executives and members of the HEP⁽⁵⁾. The state has chosen the short cut. Moreover, if these crimes were to be committed under the name of a different organisation, much of the direct accusations could be avoided.

Despite the fact that quite a large number of them are known by the people, almost none of the perpetrators were caught. Among the victims were doctors, lawyers, workers, public servants, shopkeepers, imams, elderly, women and children. The women and children were, in most cases, victims of army bullets and mines. The murders committed openly by the police and the army were committed usually in the villages. There were four openly committed rape cases. These were not even referred to the judiciary. The number of children under the age of 10 who lost their lives at the hands of the police and the army is around 20. The incidents attributed to the police, army and the special team were mostly the mass executions and killings under torture. The young girls and the women killed in this way were first violated and then killed. A large number of the murders committed in the villages were committed by ferocious gangs of village policemen. In their division of labour; *Hizbi-contra* took the towns, and the army, special teams and the village policemen took the villages. 95% of the killings took place in Kurdistan. The ones in Turkey are either mass executions or disappearances in police custody. Within one year period, five Kurdish towns and tens of villages were bom-

bed by air raids or land based cannon fire. The village policemen, special teams and the soldiers who plunged into the villages, set fire to hundreds of houses. Within one year, over 100 villages were evacuated and burned down. Most of the forest land was burned down. Human Rights Associations and the press was silenced.

The question of freedom of the press and expression in Turkey came to be linked with the Kurdistan question. The press is not only under pressure of prohibition, investigation and censorship but also the target of the state to destroy by means of its parliament, army, intelligence service and its special murder squads.

Under such circumstances, what press freedom and what reordering of what rights can one speak of. There is no freedom of expression and no freedom of press. There is no right to independent and free gathering of information and no right to publish. Particularly the Kurdish press is the target of a terror originating from the state itself.

This is the price paid by *Özgür Gündem*. There is no doubt that *Özgür Gündem* has taken its honourable place in the fight for freedom of the press and expression. In this task, the role played by the human sacrifices was decisive. The situation of the state is shameful. But the shame of the ones who participate, in the name of the press, to the applications of the state is greater. Because, newspapers such as *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* etc. have kept silent in the face of the murders of their colleagues. Moreover, together with the state, they have chosen to distort the facts.

In conclusion: The state of the Turkish Republic is guilty before the press and the entire world. The crimes it has committed are so numerous that one feels ashamed of being a human being, because the people who commit these crimes are also human beings.

JOURNALISTS WHO WERE KILLED OR MAIMED

Halit GÜNGEN: Correspondent for *2000'e Dogru* magazine, killed in an armed attack in his office at Ofis neighbourhood of Diyarbakir on 18 February 1992 at around 19.40 hrs.

Cengiz ALTUN: *Yeni Ülke* correspondent, killed in an armed attack in Batman on 24 February 1992.

Izzet KEZER: On 23 March 1992 in Cizre he was fired upon by the state forces and lost his life. He was a *Sabah* correspondent. The incident took place in full view of a group of journalists, including some from Europe. The incident was recorded by a cameraman.

Bülent ÜLKÜ: Owner and editor of the *Körfeze Bakis* newspaper which is published in Bursa-Gemlik. His body, blindfolded and shot, was discovered on the Uludag High Road on 31 March 1992.

Hafiz AKDEMİR: *Özgür Gündem* correspondent. Killed by shots fired at close range, 50 meters away from his home in Azizoglu street of Melik Ahmet main road in Diyarbakir when he was on his way to his office accompanied by his cousin *Fuat Bulut* on 8 June 1992 at around 08.00 hrs.

Cetin ABABAY: Batman representative of the monthly *Özgür Halk* magazine. Killed in an armed attack by three people near the Town Hall on the way to his home in Batman Sirinevler neighbourhood at around 19.30 hrs. on 29 July 1992.

Yahya ORHAN: *Özgür Gündem* correspondent. Killed in an automatic gunfire attack by many people a couple of hundred meters from the Gercüs gendarme station on 31 July 1991. The special team and the army were conducting an operation on the same evening.

Hüseyin DENİZ: *Özgür Gündem* correspondent and writer. Attacked by three armed people on his way to work at Ceylanpınar Gazi Caddesi Dört Yol location in the morning of 09 August 1992. Taken to hospital in a state of coma for the gunshot wounds he sustained in the back of his neck. Operated on in the Urfa State Hospital but couldn't be saved. Died on 10 August 1992.

Musa ANTER: Writer in *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke* and *Welat* newspapers. Killed in an armed attack by an armed person at 20.30 hrs. on 20 September 1992. His companion, *Orhan Miroglu*, was seriously wounded. *Musa Anter*, author of several books, was a founding member of the Peoples Labour Party (HEP).

Namik TARANCI: Diyarbakir branch director and writer on the *Gerçek* magazine. Killed in an armed attack on the way to work in Diyarbakir at 07.45 hrs. on 20 November 1992.

Hatip KAPÇAK: *Hürriyet* correspondent. Lost his life in an armed attack on his way home as he left a photo studio accompanied by two of his relatives in Mardin-Mazıdagi administrative district on 17 November 1992. His two companions were also killed in the same attack.

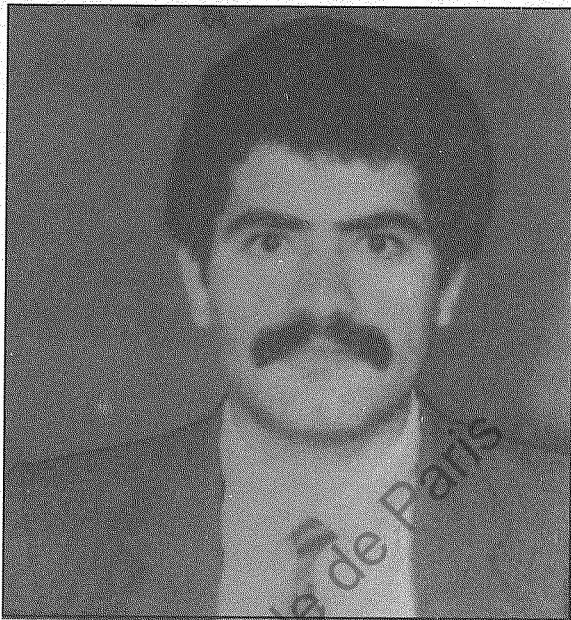
Kemal KILIC (*): Urfa representative of *Özgür Gündem* and correspondent for *Yeni Ülke*. Three armed persons lying in wait at Külünce village turning tried to kidnap him at around 18.00 hrs. on 18 February 1993. They tied his hands and blocked his mouth and killed him by the shooting two bullets in his head.

Ugur MUMCU (*): Writer of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. Killed on 24 January 1993 as a result of exploding a bomb placed in his car.

Burhan KARADENIZ: Diyarbakir correspondent of *Özgür Gündem*. He got heavily wounded in an armed attack at 08.30 hrs. on 5 August 1992. He left his home in Diyarbakir Azizmahmutogullari Caddesi Hindibaba sokak. A medium height, dark skinned person wearing blue jeans came from behind with a Smith & Wesson pistol and shot him in the neck and escaped. Karadeniz received treatment in Ankara and Diyarbakir for a period but his condition did not improve. Lower half of his body was paralysed. He is confined to a wheel chair.

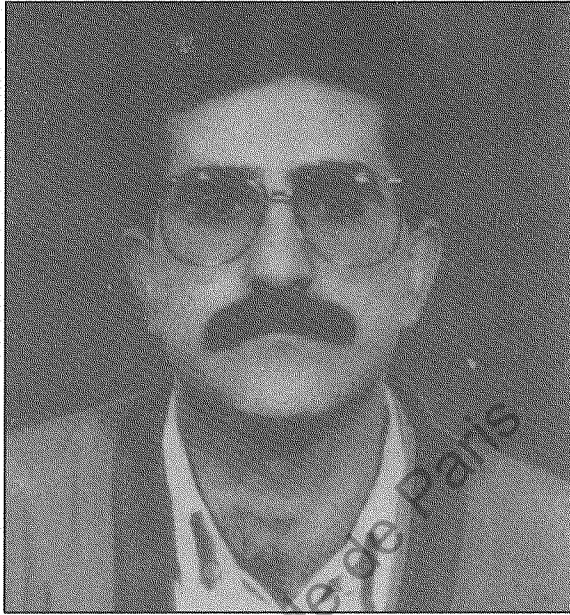
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(*) was killed while this booklet was being prepared.



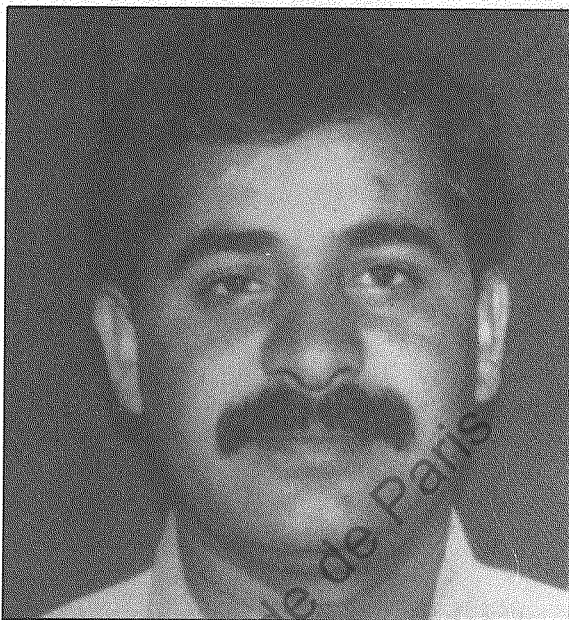
CENGİZ ALTUN

He was born in Salat village of Bismil administrative district of Diyarbakir on 8 July 1968. He completed his primary school and lycee education in Batman. In his lycee years, he was taken into police custody quite frequently and spent months in Batman, Siirt and Diyarbakir prisons. Following an 8 months imprisonment, he registered in Dicle University Batman Trade High School Motor Department. He started to work with the *Yeni Ülke* magazine and was taken into police custody several times. Despite all this, he continued his objective journalism without making any concessions. During the last months of his life, he worked on and wrote about the *Hizb-i Kontra* (death squads) organisation and stated repeatedly that this organisation was one of the darker forces of the state. His fearless and objective journalism scared the *Hizb-i Kontra* and the forces behind it and was killed by the *Hizb-i Kontra* on 24 February 1992.



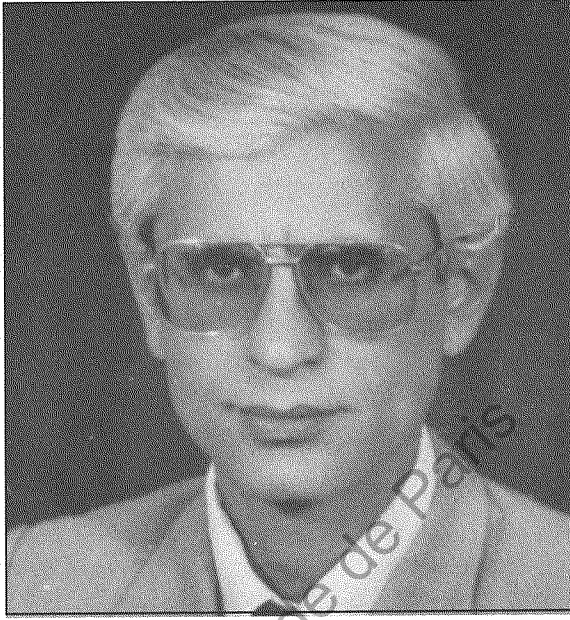
HAFIZ AKDEMIR

He was born in Sise (Yofacti) village of Lice administrative district of Diyarbakir in 1965. He was the 11th and the last child of his family. His father was a farmer and his mother was a tailor. They first moved to Diyarbakir and then to Mersin. He started his primary school education in Mersin and finished it in Diyarbakir. He was taken into police custody when he was in the second grade in Diyarbakir lycee, at the age of 18. He was tried in Diyarbakir in the main trial of Kurdistan National Liberationists (KUK) and sentenced to 20 years of heavy imprisonment. He spent 3.5 years in Diyarbakir, 2 years in Eskisehir and 1.5 years in others prisons. In 1985, he went on hunger strike for 52 days. This led him to develop hepatitis and he became paralysed. In prison, he occupied himself with attempts at producing a magazine. Following his release, 1991 onwards he worked on the weekly *Yeni Ülke* newspaper. He later moved to the *Özgür Gündem* newspaper. He was shot dead by the *Hizb-i Kontra* members on his way to work on 8 June 1992.



YAHYA ORHAN

Born in 1964 in Gercüs administrative district of Batman, worked at first on the weekly *Yeni Ülke* magazine and later moved to *Özgür Gündem* when it started publication. He was being threatened by the police, the Gercüs district governor and the special team. On 21 March 1992, during the Newroz (Kurdish New Year) celebrations, he was taken into police custody, his camera was broken and his films were confiscated. He remained in Gercus prison until 28 June 1992 and was released by the Diyarbakir State Security Court (DGM).



HÜSEYİN DENİZ

He was born in Akarsu Stil village of Nusaybin administrative district of Mardin province. He concluded his primary and secondary school education in Ceylanpınar. Graduated from Bolu Primary School Teacher Training School and appointed to Senrik village of Siverek as a primary school teacher. Later on he taught in Nusaybin. In the period following the 12 September coup he spent 5.5 years in Diyarbakir Prison, convicted of *political crime*.

Articles by *Deniz* appeared in many magazines and newspapers mainly the *Welat*, *Cumhuriyet* and *2000'e Dogru*. When *Özgür Gündem* started publication, his articles started to occasionally appear in the *Readers Forum* column. He joined *Özgür Gündem* as a staff writer on 25 July 1992 and started to write in the *Forum* column every Saturday. He was married with 4 children. *Deniz*, known for his research as a folklorist as well as his journalism, had his book *Gotne Pesye Kurda* published by Kaynak publications. He was a member of the *Kurdish PEN*.



MUSA ANTER

“I am the sworn and lying witness of the happenings of 55 years in Turkey. Just a witness? No!... I am its accused, convicted and claimant!...” (*)

Musa Anter the accused, the convicted and the claimant, the journalist, the Kurdolog, the writer was born in Zivinge village of Nusaybin administrative district of Mardin in 1918.

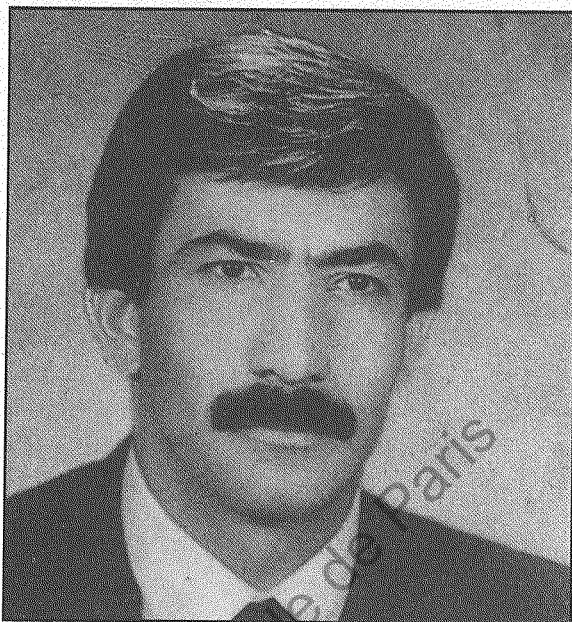
Anter graduated from the Istanbul University Faculty of Law, was tried in 49ers (refers to the 50 Kurdish intellectuals arrested towards the end of the 1950s. When one of them died there were 49 left) and Revolutionary Culture Centres in the East (DDKO) trials in 1959. When the 27 May Coup took place, Anter was taken in custody because of the trial of the 49s. He was taken into custody after the 12

(*) from the back cover of the second volume of his *Hatiralirim* (Memories) book.

March and 12 September military coups as well. His articles were published in *Dicle Kaynagi*, *Sark Postasi*, *Ileri*, *Yurt*, *Baris Dünyasi*, *Deng*, *Yeni Ülke*, *Özgür Gündem* newspapers and the *Rewsen* and *Welat* magazines.

Beside *Hatiralarim*, his book in Turkish, which was published in two volumes, Anters Kurdish books were also published: *Birina Res*, *Vakainame* and *Kimil*. He was the chairman of the Kurdish Institute and a member of Kurdish-PEN. He was also a founding member of the Peoples Labour Party (HEP).

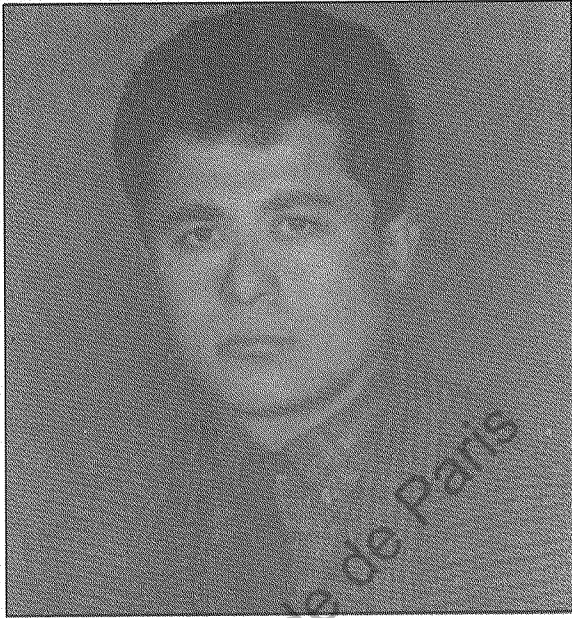
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NAMIK TARANCI

The Kurdish journalist, born in Diyarbakir in 1955, was a worker and an active participant of the political struggle in 1970s. *Namik*, arrested before the 12 September 1980 military coup, was heavily tortured.

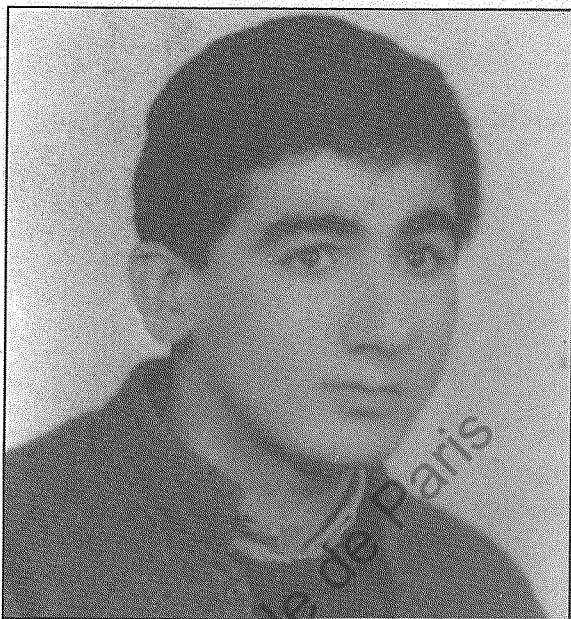
He was released from prison but rearrested when the coup took place. He remained imprisoned for six years in Diyarbakir and Malatya prisons and went through the tortures of fascism. Following his release, he worked as a labourer for a while and then became Diyarbakir representative of *Gercek* magazine. In his articles, he tried to convey the events in Kurdistan.



HALIT GÜNGEN

Born in Basra village of the Sirnak administrative province in 1971. Concluded his primary and secondary school education in Sirnak. He started his political life when he was in his school years. Because of pressures he was put under he had to move to Idil to finish his lycee studies.

Halit Gungen was a politically sensitive and mature person. He was working for the 2000'e *Dogru* magazine as a journalist. He was killed by the contra-guerrilla of his populist and righteous journalism.



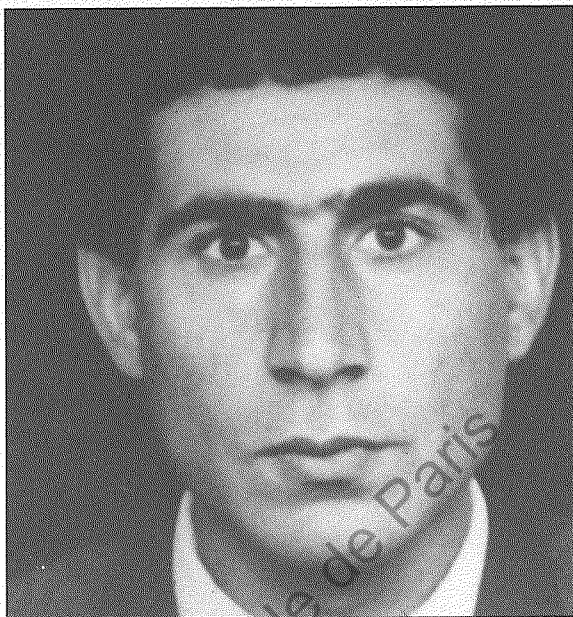
CETIN ABABAY

He was born in Batman in 1964. He completed his primary and secondary education there. He was accused of being a supporter of the PKK and for this reason was arrested in 1987 and imprisoned in Diyarbakir.

During his imprisonment he was severely tortured. As a result of the torture and lack of medical treatment he suffered injury to the muscles of his neck.

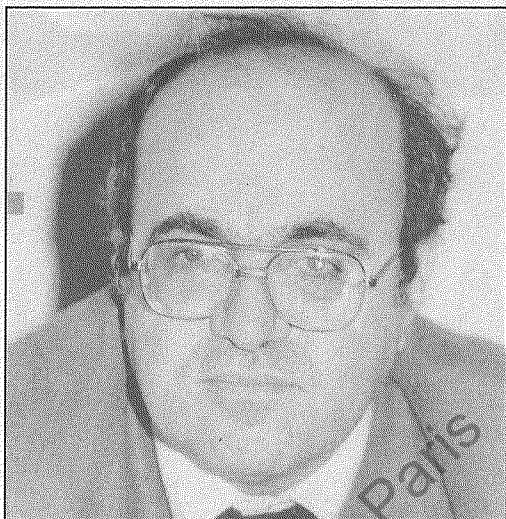
In 1989 he was released from prison, following his release he was appointed as a representative of the *Özgür Halk* magazine in Batman.

Until *Ababay* was murdered by counter-guerrillas he lived a humble life and looked after his elderly mother and two brothers.



KEMAL KILIC

Urfa representative of *Özgür Gündem* and correspondent for *Yeni Ülke*. Three armed persons lying in wait at Külünce village turning tried to kidnap him at around 18.00 hrs. on 18 February 1993. They tied his hands and blocked his mouth and killed him by the shooting two bullets in his head.



UGUR MUMCU

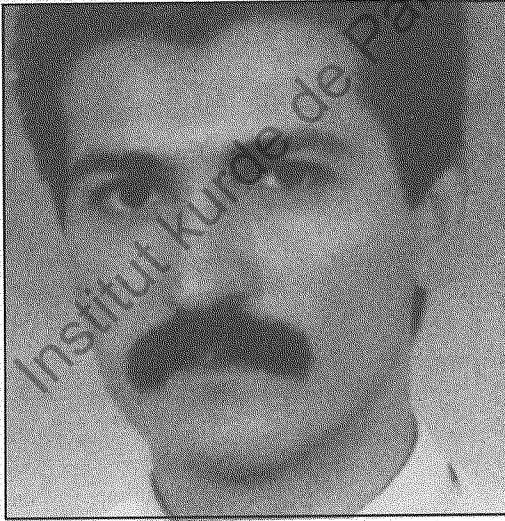
He was born on the 22.08.1942 in Kirschir. He attended the Ankara University Faculty of Law and worked as an assistant lecturer there. After 12th of March 1971 military coup he was accused of forming an organisation within the army and he was arrested and imprisoned. Whilst he was in prison it was suspected that he worked for the MIT (Turkish Intelligence Service).

Much of the information in his published books and his newspaper columns was highly confidential and was based on state sources which was available to very few people. Other well-known journalist and writers such as *Cetin Altan* (who was known to be a close confidant of *Turgut Özal*, (former president of Turkey) have also corroborated these allegations and *Mumcu* himself never denied these accusations either.

After his release from prison he worked closely with the secret service during his work as a journalist and he earned much respect from the Turkish State. Despite this close contact, his work often made the state uneasy.

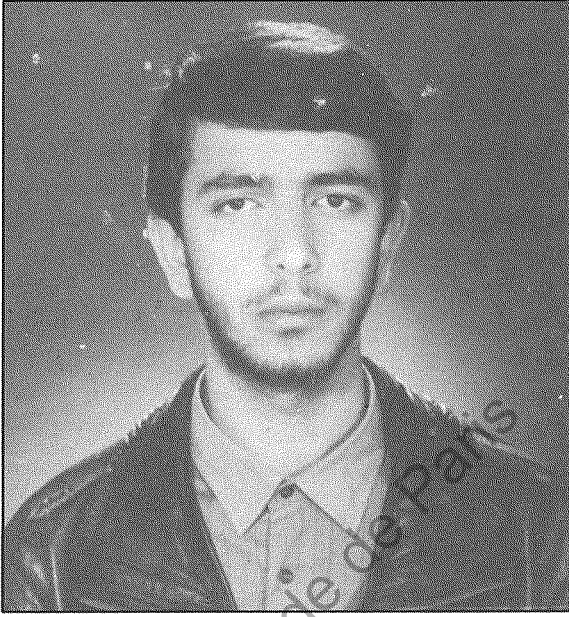
Mumcu wrote for various magazines and newspapers and since 1975 he worked as a journalist for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper. He was well-known for his research and writings on issues such as gun-running, counter-guerrilla activities, drugs, right wing terror and religious fundamentalism. He was also invol-

ved with research on the Kurdish question. In this his sources were mainly from the state and he openly supported the state policy of Kurdish repression. He wrote more than 20 books. His well-known books include, *Silah Kaçakçılığı ve terör* (Gun-running and Terror), *Agca Dosyası* (Agca Files), *Papa-Mafya-Agca* (The Pope-Mafia-Agca), *Rabita* (An International Islamic fundamentalist organisation with headquarters in Saudi Arabia and said to be jointly controlled by Saudi Arabia and the CIA of the USA. It is financed through the Aramco Petroleum Company), *Sakinçali Piyade* (Soldier under Suspicion). During his career *Mumcu* became a highly respected state ideologist but however he knew too much about such matters as counter-guerrilla activities, gun-running and relations between the state and reactionary elements.



BÜLENT ÜLKÜ

Born in 1964 in Ankara. Participated in struggle for democracy since high school. He worked in Bursa-Gemlik metal section. Later he took part in organising working youth in Bursa. Until 31 March 1992, the day he was kidnapped and slaughtered, he was the owner and editor in-chief of *Gemlik-Körfeze Bakis* newspaper.



BURHAN KARADENİZ

Born in Diyarbakir in 1973. After concluding his primary and secondary school education, he studied theatre and literature for two years. He started to work from 1991 onwards in the weekly *Yeni Ülke* and from 30 May 1992 onwards in the *Özgür Gündem* newspaper. He had been obstructed in his work and threatened by the police.

HOW TO HUNT A JOURNALIST

People who don't know how this is done, should come to Turkey. Everybody thinks that the USA and the CIA are experts in contra-guerrilla activities and political murders. I am sure that no one can match the Turkish National Intelligence Service (MIT) and the contra-guerillas in killing human beings.

It is said that contras (death squads) have killed quite a number of intellectuals and journalists in Latin America. This is correct but they cannot match the Turkish contra-guerrillas. At least, the heads of those states do not deny the murders and tell the lie that they are democratic countries. Let them come and learn these tricks from the Turkish state and its government officials. So that they can see how *innocent* they stand in comparison with the Turkish contras. I am sure that even the CIA is startled by the accomplishments of the Turkish contras.

This is not a laughing matter. These monsters have killed over 1000 Kurdish intellectuals, workers, peasants, clergyman, shopkeepers and journalists in a space of one year. And they have done this either by taking them outside the village and shooting by firing squads or shooting at them in the head at close range in the close vicinity of their homes or their workplaces. As we come to the end of the 20th century, this must be the Turkish state's contribution to humanity. How can you be hunted or get on the death list of the contra-guerrilla? First of all, you should be a Kurd. But, just being a Kurd is not enough either. You should be honest and stand against the state policy of

repression, then you are on the death list by preferential treatment. You should be journalist. But, just being a journalist is not enough either. You should be a Kurdish journalist and work particularly with the *Özgür Gündem* or the *Yeni Ülke* newspapers. Then you are lucky. You are definitely on the list. To escape? Impossible. Because you haven't got any other weapon other than your pen. In any case, you are being followed day and night and they know everything about you, come to a position to know everything: they know the routes that you take and they constantly search you just in case that you might have acquired a gun. They never leave things to chance; they come very close and just to make sure, shoot at your head. Your execution by hanging is also Turkish style. It has never been abolished. Because the game is played in this way; the murderer is the public prosecutor and the judge is the same person.

Murder of HALIT GÜNGEN – a public execution

Halit Güngen was a correspondent of the *2000'e Dogru* magazine. A Kurd. He irritated the contra-guerrilla and the state with his news articles. There was a need for an excuse to arrest him. And, why bother with months long investigation and trial.

There are eyewitnesses. Three people, undoubtedly officers of the political police, came to the office of the magazine in the Diyarbakir Ofis neighbourhood at 18.00 hrs. on 18 February 1992 in a red police minibus. They argued with *Halit*. They grabbed his collar and pushed and pulled him from one room to another. *Halit* had file folders and newspaper articles in his hand. They grabbed his collar and knelt him down by the wall next to the toilet of the large room and fired a single shot at his neck at exactly 18.40 hrs. The bullet smashed the spine and was sufficient for *Halit's* death.

The murderers, confident and cold-blooded, left the office and got into their minibus to plan further murders. Following the incident there were no investigations, no custody or any trace of anything. Ofis neighbourhood, where the murder was committed, was swarming with policemen. If the question was the safety of the policeman then this place was the safest place in Diyarbakir. It is also the most

crowded part of the city. There are police apartments just 200 meters from the 2000'e *Dogru* office where the incident took place. Some of the high level officials of Diyarbakir police department also reside in these apartments. A further 250 meters away are the apartments for the officers of the special team. Undercover police vehicles are constantly parked on the Ekinciler Caddesi (street) side of the Kisla Sokagi where the office is situated.

It is impossible for anyone other than the police to have committed this murder. It must be difficult for the public prosecutors to find the murderers when it was committed by police officers (information on the incident were published in the 2000'e *Dogru* magazine, 16 August 1992, issue no: 33).

How They Murdered **CENGİZ ALTUN**

Cengiz Altun was only 25 years old. He was writing objective news. He was writing articles on the economic and health problems of the people, on torture and contra activities. He was aware of the danger awaiting him. However, he also knew that he had to write the truth and be a reporter of true news and that a journalist had to be free to seek out the source of the news even if it would have cost his life. However, the contra-guerrilla and the so called *hizb-i contra* - masked with religion, out of convenience - didn't think the same. *Cengiz* was writing for *Yeni Ülke* newspaper. Here was the reason for the death sentence. In November of 1992 he was taken into custody on the way back from taking his mother to the Hisar village of Gercus. Taken to be disappeared, to be exact. The situation was discovered by a Gercus correspondent of the same newspaper and he was able to find out where he was being kept only after the involvement of some influential people from the district. The commander of the police station who released him has said boldly: *"If there had been no eyewitnesses, we would have killed you without registration on the books. Your mother is lucky that some people saw you"*.

He had been threatened by people known as *Hezbollahi* supporters and told: *"It is turn of the Yeni Ülke, we will make you pay one by one"*. On 22 February 1992, two people came and inquired from the land-

lord whether he resided there.

Two days later, on 24 February, *Cengiz* left his house in Batman Yenimahalle and was on his way to his workplace following a very familiar route. He arrived by the M. Sirin Mosque on 8. High Street at around 09.00 hrs. where the murderers were lying in ambush. It meant that some persons were following him and relaying the information to the murderers by radio. They were two people. According to eyewitnesses, they were both darkskinned and young; one around 17-18 and short, the other one 20-25 and tall. While one fired on *Cengiz* the other one fired around at random to deter any interference. The murderer went by *Cengiz* after he fell to the ground and fired a further 3-4 shots. Then the murderers quickly left the scene. They were afraid of the people not to police, because 40.000 attended his funeral.

Following the shooting of Cengiz Altun,

YAHYA ORHAN had said:

“Cengiz, now it is our turn”.

Orhan was not wrong. He lived in Gercüs and was writing at first for *Yeni Ülke* and since his release from prison, for *Özgür Gündem*. He ran the newsagent by the name of Evin in the house belonging to his family. Gercus was a small place. His work was provoking quite a reaction in the police and other state officials. For that reason, he was constantly being threatened. He was taken into custody on 21 March 1992 and kept there until 28 June 1992.

As far back as 25 September 1991, the civilians who came in front of the buffet where he worked, in a grey Murat automobile reg. no: 21-EC-795, were claiming to be from the police department and asked him to *risk* himself for some news for 50-100 thousand TL and suggested a meeting in front of the Batman Is Bank at 12.00 hrs. the next day. *Orhan* refused, but at the same time, knew very well what the threat meant.

Two months previous to *Orhan* being shot, a governor, *Bülent Savur*, previously a member of the ex-MHP (the fascist Party of Nationalist Movement which was responsible for hundreds of murders in 1970s)

was appointed to Gercus. The governor, who was also a member of the contra-guerrilla, was consistently threatening Orhan. Two days before his death, a person telephoned his house and said: "*We cleaned up all the journalists and now it is your turn*" and played a tape recording of gunshot sounds.

On 31 July 1992, *Yahya Orhan* closed the newsagent at around 21.30 hrs. He went to the coffee house for a cup of tea before going home. Then, he left the coffee house for his home in Yücel High Street in Bağlarbasi quarter. When he came to the ramp leading to his house, a group of people, numbers unknown, appeared before him and started to fire him. *Orhan*, receiving three gunshots in the chest, tried to hide behind a wall but this time they fired from behind. There were 27 blank cartridges all belonging to the Scorpion and MP-5 semi-automatic weapons which are used by the police, found at the place of the incident.

Despite that, the incident was recorded in the police files as *killed by persons unknown*. But the location of the incident was only a couple of hundreds of meters away from the house of the governor and the police station. And, that very same night the police, the special team and the army were in exercise in the area. This was a preplanned exercise, a exercise to kill *Yahya Orhan*.

It was **HAFIZ AKDEMIRs** turn

Police had a big grudge against *Hafiz*. *Hafiz* was a very capable man. He had been in prison and tortured. As though a weekly newspaper was not enough, now there was a daily *Özgür Gündem* being published. He had to be stopped. He was dealing with foreign delegations and preparing news items.

For the contra-guerrillas, these were sufficient reasons for him to be shot. In the morning of 8 June 1992, *Hafiz* left his home in Diyarbakir, Melikahmet caddesi (high road), Azizoglu sokak (street) to go to his work place. He was accompanied by his cousin. At around 08.00 hrs. they arrived in front of the Palu bakery, 50 meters from his house.

A push cart came between him and the murderer. The street was

quite crowded. The murderer came very close from behind and fired a single shot to his head with a 9 mm pistol. Then, the killer ran for a while and got lost in the crowd. It was obvious that quite a number of policemen were on watch to allow the murderer to escape. The police and the public prosecutors didn't even have an artists impression of the murderers, nor did they open an investigation. The police, not only had *Hafiz* killed by the *Hizb-i contra* gangs but, they didn't even hand over his body to his family; they kidnapped and buried it themselves.

Not even the features and appearance of *CETIN ABABAY*s murderers could be determined

Cetin was also shot by the same method. He was very young. He was imprisoned for many years by the PKK trial. He was carrying the scars of torture on his body. But he had strengthened his mind and determination. He was the Batman representative of the monthly *Özgür Halk* magazine. He was a target. His death warrant had been signed.

On 29 July 1992, as he was on his way home in Sirinevler quarter, his murderers leapt before him. At around 19.30 he had arrived in front of the Town Hall. At this point, his murderers stood before him. *Cetin* did not die instantly. Police reached there. They had to make sure that he was dead. Instead of taking him to the hospital, they waited for him to die. Only when the women and children interfered and started to stone the police they were forced to take him to the hospital. But it was too late. *Cetin* had died by then. Just like the others, the murderers of *Cetin Ababay* became a mystery.

They couldn't kill *BURHAN KARADENİZ* but maimed him

Burhan was only 19 years of age. The age was of no importance for the contra-guerrilla. Given that he wrote the truth, worked for *Özgür Gündem*, reported the actions of the contra-guerrillas and exposed them, then he had to be removed.

Burhan's camera was confiscated when he was taking the pictures of the panzers attacking the people on the day of the anniversary of the murder of *Vedat Aydın*, brother of Diyarbakir chairman of HEP. He was also subjected to police attack and threatened in Silvan on the way back from *Cengiz Altun's* funeral. Yet again, he was attacked, his camera was taken away and his films were confiscated when he was observing the trial of a Kurdish woman from Batman who had been attacked.

Who knows how many times they had previously lain in ambush. *Burhan* also knew this. But the attackers were cowards. It wasn't possible to determine when they would come. On 5th August 1992, they laid the final ambush. *Burhan* lived in Aziz mahallesi (quarter), Hindibaba sokak (street), Öztoprak Apt., No:7/15. He left his home and was only 200 meters away. It was 08.30 hrs.

This meant that they were watching the house and waiting. Nobody but the police could have acted so publicly. There was only one murderer. The others were not seen. It was said that he was 1.68 m in height, dark skinned and wearing, as usual, blue jeans. He approached *Burhan* from behind and fired only one shot in the back of his neck with a 9 mm calibre pistol and left the scene quite cold-bloodedly without any fear of being caught.

Burhan didn't die but he had received quite a deadly wound. The bullet had smashed his spine. This was how they shot to make sure that he died or, if not, certain that he would have been maimed. When it was not possible to have him treated in Turkish hospitals, he was taken to a hospital in Frankfurt, Germany. *Burhan* didn't walk again. He was confined to a wheel chair.

They shot *HÜSEYİN DENİZ* by the same method

Hüseyin was a writer, teacher and a member of the PEN association. He had spent long years in prison. Contra-guerrilla couldn't have tolerated an intellectual and honest journalist who worked for his people. Moreover, he was writing in the *Özgür Gündem*.

Just like the others, they cornered him as he came out of his house. They appeared before him at Ceylanpınar Gazi Caddesi (high road)

Dörtyol place on 9 August 1992. It was 7.45 hrs. They were three people. Two moved his left and right and the third one came as close as possible and fired a single shot at his head. Then, *Hüseyin* was taken to Urfa Hospital in a state of coma. He was operated but couldn't be saved. He died on 10 August 1992.

In Ceylanpinar, everybody knew everybody. The one who shot *Hüseyin* was 20 years old. *Hüseyin* was followed two days prior to his death. He had noticed this and told his family and friends. He had said that if he was to be shot it would have been these people and they were contra-guerrillas.

The appearance of the killers was known. Their names were also almost determined. The one who acted as a lookout was *Nihat Bektas* who was expelled from the Imam Hatip Lycee (Clerical High School). The second person whose name was mentioned was one *Halil Göv*. Surely, the police wouldn't catch them. They needed them for further murders. *Nihat Bektas*, the lookout, was kidnapped by people known as *Hezbollahi* supporters. At least this is what his family claimed. As he was young, he could have talked. The state was resourceful in covering this incident as well. Because the state itself was involved in the incident.

How they brought down the 74 years old great *MUSA ANTER*

How one can destroy *Musa Anter*, a witness of what Turkish colonialism has done to the Kurdish people? If his age was to be taken as the basis for judgement, then the answer would have been: no! However, if his writings, his personality, the truthful messages he passed to the people, his powerful journalism and his fearless march on injustices were to be taken as the basis for a judgement, then, he was a target. He was more of a target, because he was a witness to the colonialist oppression. The Turkish bourgeois politicians were used in the private war were particularly angry and fearful of him, because *Musa Anter* was fearlessly bringing all their dirty linen out.

Musa Anter loved people, to talk with them, to mingle with them and he particularly loved Kurdistan and its people. The murderers took

advantage of this side of his character.

Anter was invited to the *Cultural and Art Festival* organised by Diyarbakir Council. He came to Diyarbakir on 15 September 1992 and checked into the Büyük Hotel. A relative of his visited him there. He was to meet with some other persons to discuss a private matter. He telephoned them from the hotel and asked them to send someone to take him to the meeting place.

A third person was listening into the telephone conversation. They were none other than the political police who had followed him all the way from the airport. They call upon their men. The killer was the one who picked him up. They left the hotel, took a taxi and moved in the direction of the Seyrantepe neighbourhood. They passed on to the Ergani High Road. The killer had confused the location of the action where his accomplices were laying in wait. They then turned into Silvan high road. *Anter* and his companion started to become suspicious. The killer took notice of this and to hold on to his prey, told them that he had found the house. He ushered them from the taxi in a dead-end road. They asked him where his house was, but there was no such house in the street. The game was about to be spoiled but the killer, who was armed, did not wait any longer. He had his orders. He shot and killed *Musa Anter* at close range and wounded his relative. Then he left.

The accomplices of the killer, the ones who directed him were waiting not where the incident took place but where they had planned it. The *Söz* newspaper in Diyarbakir was informed of an incident in Seyrantepe. Two journalists, *Hüseyin Cicekci* and *Ferit Aslan*, immediately left for the scene of the incident. They were met there by a political police-contra-guerrilla team of three men in civilian clothing from Turkey. Their response was; to ask: "*Who sent you?*", "*Who informed you?*" etc. They took the two journalists and the driver with them and left in the middle of the night, in the direction of Elazig, Malatya high road. The exact intentions of the policemen were not clear. But the way in which they acted suggested that they had planned to kill the journalists and to hide the incident.

The kidnappers talked to their superiors and decided against the killing. But they took an oath from the journalists to keep their

mouths shut about the things that they had seen. *Musa Anter* was killed and his killers act quite openly.

Police shot the Sabah newspaper correspondent, *IZZET KEZER*, before the eyes of everybody

38 years old *Izzet Kezer* had gone to Cizre, together with several of his colleagues to celebrate the Newroz. The state security forces did not want the events which had taken place here to be reflected in the press, because they were dealing with the democratic demonstrations of the people, with guns and by murdering the innocent people.

Unarmed people were demonstrating. They had no weapons. The majority were women and children. It was the evening of 23 March 1992. *Izzet Kezer* had been out to observe the demonstration together with some other journalists. Suddenly, bullets hailed from behind the hotel where the panzers, tanks and the special patrol group were situated. Journalists were shouting: "*We are journalists, do not shoot, you have shot our colleague*", but nobody listened. Bullets continued to hail. *Izzet Kezer* was shot in head. The other journalists had run with difficulty to the houses and were sheltered by the people. The Turkish state authorities, in public statements, held that the PKK were responsible for the incident. When this claim was proved unconvincing, they hid behind an explanation that *Izzet Kezer* was killed by mistake. This was despite the fact that there had been no clash and that the people were demonstrating unarmed. The police, special team and the soldiers had opened fire. Moreover, one of the newspaper cameraman had recorded the fact that the journalist was hit by shots fired from the panzers.

This was to mean that the Turkish state was not only shooting down the journalists, but targeting everyone who publicised oppression in Kurdistan. The state tried to cover up the incident. There was another interesting point; the all too colourful Turkish press joined in this attempt by the state to pass over the killing of one of their colleagues with only a small obituary news item.

NAMIK TARANCI was also murdered in the same way as the others

Namik Taranci, Diyarbakir representative of the *Gercek* magazine, was researching the contra-guerrillas, preparing news articles on the subject and *poking his nose* into the relationship between the state and the *Hezbollahi*. *Namik* was a Kurd and spent long years in prison. On the day of 20 November 1992, he had left work and was on his way to home. It was only 7.45 hrs. and he had walked only a couple of hundred meters from his work place. Two or three people stood in front of him. They came quite close. One grabbed him by his shoulder, pulled him and fired three shots to his head. He again shot him as *Namik* was falling down, just to make sure that he was dead. Then, quite confidently they moved away from the scene of the incident. It was for certain that the appearance and features of the killers are not established. They were eyewitnesses. But, after police took them into custody, nobody had seen a thing. *Namik* had been threatened with death just a day before he was shot. Just like the other journalists, the police refused to hand over the body of *Namik* and they buried him themselves.

Contra-guerrilla did not hide the fact that they shot HALIT KAPCAK

Halit was neither a *Yeni Ülke* nor an *Özgür Gündem* correspondent. If the words of the Turkish Prime Minister are to be taken as the basis for judgement; he was not a *terrorist*. Moreover, he was the Mazidagi (Mardin) correspondent of pro-state *Hürriyet* newspaper. But, he was a Kurd. Additionally, he was following the activities of the *Hezbollahi* whose activities in the region were increasing. This research necessarily lead him to the political police (contra-guerrilla)-*Hezbollahi* relationship.

He was threatened and told to give up pursuing this research. He had informed the *Hurriyet* newspaper executives but they had ignored the situation. To the contrary, they adopted an attitude which put in the ones who threaten in the right. Because of this, *Halit* had left the

Hürriyet newspaper and started to prepare news items for Diyarbakir *Söz* and weekly *Gerçek* magazine.

This was the time to shoot him down. It was not in the interests of the contra-guerrillas to shoot down a journalist of a well-known and pro-state newspaper. With their threats, they had forced *Halit* to the place where they wanted him to be.

A plan was well established on the evening of 17 November 1992, someone telephoned *Halit's* home and told him that his relative *Abdullah Kapan* was waiting for him to be his guest at his home. *Halit* did not get suspicious. The persons who were listening on his phone conversation, took this opportunity to lay in wait for him.

Halit, accompanied with a relative, started for his relatives' house. He met his killers near Atatürk Primary School in Mazıdagi Gündoğdu quarter. The killers numbered three people. They held semi-automatic weapons in their hands. They gunned him down and wounded his companion, *Siyamend Kapan*. Some of the residents who had heard the gun shots, came out of their homes. The killers were identified. The fear of being identified led the killers to shoot a mother and son, *Reyhan* and *İsmet Adsay*, who had seen them. The police and public prosecutors were unsuccessful in determining the killers identities and catching them.

It is obvious that the *KEMAL KILIC* murder was committed by the police

Kilic was Urfa representative of *Özgür Gündem* and correspondent for *Yeni Ülke* newspaper. On the day of 18 February at around 17.00 hrs. he left the newspaper office and took a bus for his village Külünce, which is on the road to Akcakale administrative district. He got off the bus at around 18.00 hrs. at the junction for the road to his village. There were 3 or 4 armed persons lying in wait. They tied his hands and bandaged his mouth. Their aim was to kidnap and kill him in a quiet place. They covered his head with a jacket and fired two shots in his head. Then, they left the scene of the crime in a white Renault car. Only two 9 mm. blank cartridges were found where the

incident took place.

The only eyewitness to the incident was a night porter in a building site who had observed the incident from a distance. Now, let us look at the background:

Kemal Kilic was taken into custody and questioned in Urfa Police Department by *Anti-terrorist branch* on 18 and 19 January 1993. Because of the threats he received, he asked the Urfa governor for protection. The governor refused his request for protection on grounds that *"there was no threat directed against the members of the press"*. In fact, the number of journalists killed in Turkey was quite high and Turkey had made a name for itself in this regard. In Urfa itself some newsagents had already been burnt down.

Three weeks previous to his murder Ugurlu Gendarmerie Commander Noncommissioned officer *Taner* and Assistant Commander sergeant *Oktay* had started an investigation on *Kemal Kilic*. Ugurlu gendarmerie was responsible for the village where *Kilic* lived. When he said members of the army were questioned by journalists about the investigation they had been undertaking, they replied that *"the request for an investigation had come, in writing, from the police department"*. The inquiry was to learn the times *Kilic* came and left the village and the places he visited.

Previous to his murder *Kilic* had been followed by the same 21-EZ-509 registration no automobile which was used by the murderers on the day of the crime. *Kilic* had come to be aware of his tailers and told to his close friends that *"these people were from the Turkish Intelligence Service (MIT) and that they were following me the last few days"*. After the murder no investigation was opened and the evidence also disappeared. The public prosecutor *Aysan Uresin* who was meant to have carried out the investigation was forced to take a doctors certificate and left Urfa town for two weeks. Apparently he had not figured in the plans of the murderers.

Just as with the murders of the other journalists, there was no secret in knowing by whom *Kilic* was murdered. The security forces of the state had killed *Kilic* so openly. It would certainly be a silly thing to ask for them to find the murderers. The state itself has turned into a murder network.

How to kidnap and murder a journalist in Turkey

With the exception of one, all the murdered journalists were Kurds and they were killed in Kurdistan. They were against the state policy. The state itself was separating Kurds and Turks. Even if there were Turkish journalists who took a position against the state, only the Kurds were attacked. The **BÜLENT ÜLKÜ** murder happened to be an exception. *Bülent Ülkü* was publishing a local newspaper called *Körfeze Bakis* in Gemlik administrative district of Bursa. He was both the owner and the editor of the paper. He was sensitive about social events. He criticised the policies of the state. The contra-guerrilla decided to punish him for this reason.

His corpse, blindfolded and shot in the head, was found on the Uludag high road on 31 March 1992. In the same year, several intellectuals, suspected of having links particularly with some of the radical Turkish groups, had been kidnapped and some were killed in the same manner. There was no doubt that the incident was the doing of the political police, namely the contra-guerrilla.

UGUR MUMCU fell victim to his knowledge of state secrets

Mumcu was kept under extremely heavy police protection. In spite of this they allowed explosives to be placed in his car. Usually he stayed in places which were permanently under surveillance like his house in Ankara in Gaziosmanpasa Karli Street and the Tunesian Embassy. A few days before this assassination the windows of the police station in the same street were replaced with frosted glass. Oddly enough his protectors were unable to see when the explosives were placed in his car. At 13.20 hrs. on the 24th of January 1993 *Mumcu* got in his car, started it up, the powerful explosives blew up and *Mumcu* was blown to pieces. Some reports claim that the bomb was connected to the clutch pedal and others claim that the device blew up before he started the car. If the latter is true then somebody nearby activated the explosives by remote control. Whatever the allegations are, the protectors of *Mumcu* were involved in the bloody

assassination. The government tried to blame the extremist religious groups but they could not forward any clear evidence. It is possible that the disputes within the secret service made *Mumcu*'s removal a necessity. Most of the press suspected that *Mumcu* was killed by the state but however the official press was so devoted to state policy that none of the newspaper including *Cumhuriyet* for which *Mumcu* had worked for years, announced the name of his murderers.

Turkish contra-guerrillas had brought to the Turkish state the honour of killing the highest number of journalists in one year. Turkey also became famous as the most dangerous place for journalists. One honour was overlooked: the Turkish state had not caught even one of the journalists killers and not one single investigation file was opened.

One who criticises the Turkish state on this matter has to be very brave. All the above listed murders were committed by the forces of the state, by the organisation *contra-guerrilla* and the organised gangs called *Hezbollahi*.

The Prime Minister, the Minister of Interior, the political party leaders, the press and all the institutions of press in Turkey know perfectly well who killed the Kurdish journalists. Not only do they know but they applaud them as well. *Süleyman Demirel*, the Prime Minister of Turkey, is on record saying that "*these people were not journalists, they were militants and they were killing each other*". There is no need to tell how much encouragement and morale these kinds of statements give to these murderers. The Minister of Interior of Turkey, *İsmet Sezgin*, had stated: "*I will resign if you can prove to me the existence of contra-guerrillas*". But when the journalists were killed, he changed tack and made different sorts of comments. The press institutions, under the thumb of the chiefs of the colourful press, had no response whatsoever in the face of these incidents. It is obvious that the contra-guerrilla dominates them. Moreover, the highest circulation dailies in Turkey have printed the killings of the journalists under the smallest of all headings and proved themselves legging way behind the sensitivity of public opinion in this regard.

The killing of the journalists cannot be taken by itself alone, because, in the same period, tens of *HEP (Peoples Labour Party)* members have also be kidnapped, shot at or killed. None of the perpetrators have been found and no investigation has been opened on any of these incidents. The numbers are monstrous. Within the year of 1992 alone, there were nearly 1000 people murdered, according to the *Human Rights Organisation in Diyarbakir*, there were 385 murders and the perpetrators are unknown. All the murdered were Kurds. It will be appropriate to call this; a de facto killing war of the state against the Kurdish people, utilising the secret organisations of the state for the job.

Everybody who is interested in human rights; who is sensitive on the question of human rights; who does not take the human rights to be confined to single national boundaries should look at this aspect of the question. The state itself is committing the murders and quite openly as well.

Here, I have only listed the journalists who were killed. If we compile a list of deaththreats; the tortured; the kidnapped; the ones taken into police custody; the equipment confiscated; the offices raided etc. then it becomes patently obvious that the state has declared war on the *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* newspapers. This war should be taken as a war against press; freedom of conscience and expression; human rights; the Kurdish people and common human values. It should also be taken for the Turkish state to challenge the entire human race; the common law of humanity and all the related institutions. Because, despite all their criticisms and cautions, the Turkish state, in defiance, continues to carry out its murders.

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ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM FILE

(31 May 1992 - 15 January 1993) BALANCE SHEET OF THE CRIMES OF THE STATE AGAINST ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM

Confiscation orders were issued for 39 issues of *Özgür Gündem* which was first published on 31 May 1992 and forced to cease publication on 15 January 1993. Financial loss of the paper, for each one of the confiscated issues, was around 175-200 million TL.

Punishment laid out in the lawsuits filed for the confiscated issues of the paper were as follows: for the holder of the franchise, *Yasar Kaya*, 187 billion and 358 million TL. fine; for the managing director *Isik Yurtcu*, 43 years imprisonment and 23 billion TL. fine; for the managing director *Selcuk Gür* 12 years imprisonment and 71 billion TL fine.

Within a 7.5 months period, 4 of the writers and correspondents, among the ones who were subjected to armed attacks, were killed and one was paralysed.

Özgür Gündem correspondents were taken into police custody 55 times. The houses of at least 30 of them and 20 of the *Özgür Gündem* offices were raided. Three correspondents were subjected to heavy torture and most of them were propositioned to become agents. Many of them were threatened with death and their cameras and other equipment were taken away by force.

Three distributors and one newsagent who sold *Özgür Gündem* were killed. Two distributors and one newsagent were wounded. Two vehicles were set a fire. At least 10 buffets and newsagents who had sold the paper were burnt down.

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**THE SUED AND CONFISCATED ISSUES
OF ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM
(31 May 1992 - 15 January 1993)**

Özgür Gündem dated 7/6/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/.. by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no:...

Crime : Interview with Abdullah Öcalan. Page 6

Accused : Yasar Kaya

Articles of the Relevant Codes (ARC) ARC : For Selcuk Gür, Article 7/2 - last of Code 3713. For Yasar Kaya, Article 7/last of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC)

Özgür Gündem dated 10/6/1992 Confiscation order dated 15/6/1992, no: 1992/169 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime : *"To propagandise for the PKK"* and *"To propagandise against the unity of the country and the people of the Turkish Republic"*

Subject Article : *"We Demand A Referandum, No Response"*

Case filed on merit no: 1992/274 by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no:1

Accused : Yasar Kaya, Selcuk Gür

ARC : Article 7/2 and 8/last of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC)

Özgür Gündem dated 14/8/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/374 by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no: 1

Crime: To make propaganda for an illegal organisation
Subject Article: Ismail Besikci's article; "*Turkey's Share*"

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Ismail Besikci

ARC: For Yasar Kaya and Isik Yurtcu, Article 7/2-last of Code 3713 For Ismail Besikci, Article 7/2 of Code 3713. For Yasar Kaya, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC)

Özgür Gündem's dated: 24/8/1992 and 25/8/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/379 by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no:2

Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state

Subject Article: Interview with Abdullah Öcalan (issue dated 24/8/1992 p.1&11) "*Sirnak Events*", main article in the issue dated 25/8/1992

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

ARC: Article 8/1-2 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC), twice

Özgür Gündem, dated 15/9/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/22 by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no: 3

Subject Article: "*Supporting the Kurds, Why, How?*" by Haluk Gerger

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Haluk Gerger

ARC: For Haluk Gerger Article 8/1 of Code 3713 For Yasar Kaya and Isik Yurtcu, Article 2 of Code 3713 referred by Article 1

Özgür Gündem dated 18/9/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/6 by Istanbul State Security Court (SSC) no:3

Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state

Subject Article: "*Does the Brigand Want A State*", by Ismail Besikci

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Ismail Besikci

ARC: For Ismail Besikci, Article 8/1- of Code 3713. For Yasar Kaya, Article 3/2- last of Code 3713

Özgür Gündem dated 19/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 21/9/1992, no: 1992/250 by the Istanbul 2. SSC
Crime: Opposition to Article of Code 3713
Subject Article: Not defined in the Order (note: as learned from the public prosecutor informally they are monstrous confessions)

Özgür Gündem dated 20/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 21/9/1992, no: 1992/250 by the Istanbul 2. SSC
Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713
Subject Article: Not defined in the Order (as learned from the public prosecutor informally they are monstrous confessions (2) on the news item; "No investigation but promotion for the torturer policemen.")

Özgür Gündem dated 21/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 22/9/1992, no: 1992/265 by the Istanbul 2. SSC
Crime not defined in the Order
Subject Article: Articles on pages 2 and 7 (It is not clear which particular articles) (as learned from the public prosecutor, the article headlined "Deportation" by M. Can Yüce and "If Kurdistan Is Established One Day, It Should Be A Socialist One" by Sami Altıntop.)
Confiscation filed on merit no: 1992/383 by Istanbul Security State Court (SSC) no:2
Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu
Subject Article: 1) "Deportation" on page 2, by M. Can Yüce 2) "The New Period and the Hopes for Peace" on page 2, (Reader's Letter) 3) "If Kurdistan Is Established One Day, It Should be A Socialist One" on page 7
ARC: Article 8/1-2 of Code 3713. Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC)

Özgür Gündem dated 22/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 22/9/1992, no: 1992/266 by the Istanbul 2. SSC
Crime: Not defined in the Order
Subject Article: Article on pages 1, 2 and 10. (It is not clear which particular articles) (as learned from the public prosecutor, the news

item headlined "*Musa Amca is Immortal*", "*On the Pro-state Selected Ones*" by *Mehmet Metiner* and the "*A. Öcalan's advertisement*")
Case filed on merit no: 1992/389 by Istanbul 2. State Security Court (SSC)

Subject Article: 1) "*Condolences To The Kurdish People*" on page 1 and headlined news on page 11. 2) "*The Göle Violence Is An Expression Of Helplessness*" on page 2. 3) Advertisement of a death (signed by Abdullah Öcalan)

Accused: Yasar Kaya Ocak, Isik Yurtcu

ARC: Articles 6/2-4 of, 8/1 of Code 3713, TCC 312/2- last; For Ocak Yurtcu, Article 36 of the TCC; For Yasar Kaya, 6/2-4, 8/1-2 of Code 3713 and 36 of the TCC

Özgür Gündem dated 24/9/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/385 by the Istanbul State Security Court

Subject Article: "*From The Dialogue Of The Guns To Political Dialogue*" on page 2, by *Ahmet Alkan*

Accused: Yasar Kaya Ocak, Isik Yurtcu

ARC: Article 7/2- last of Code 3713

Özgür Gündem dated 25/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 29/9/1992, no: 1992/262 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: To make propaganda targeting the indivisible unity of the Turkish Republic with its country and people

Subject Article: "*Kurdish Chauvenism*" by *Ismail Besikci*

Case filed on merit no: 1992/... by Istanbul State Security Court

Accused: Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Yasar Kaya, Ismail Besikci

ARC: For Yasar Kaya and Isik yurtcu, Article 8/2 of Code 3713. For Ismail Besikci, Article 8/1 of Code 3713

Özgür Gündem dated 26/9/1992 Confiscation order dated 30/9/1992, no: 1992/1031 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Not defined in the Order

Subject Article: Articles on pages 1-11 and 2. Which particular articles are not clear

(Note: as learned from the public prosecutor; "*The Agent Who Didn't*")

Kill O. Öcalan Is Arrested" headlined news item and the readers letter signed *Dera Doristan*.)

Case filed on merit no: 1992/... by Istanbul State Security Court

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

Subject Article: *"The Agent Who Didn't Kill A. Öcalan Arrested"*
"Uncle Musa, You Are Alive" - readers letter on page 2

ARC: Article 6/1- last, 8/1-2 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 27/9/1992 Case filed on merit no: 1992/... by Istanbul State Security Court no: ...

Crime: To make propaganda against indivisible unity of the state

Subject Article: *"MGK (National Security Council) Is Like A Court"* pages 1-11, main news item. *"In The Aftermath Of The Killing Of Uncle Musa"* on page 2, by *Erdogan Tatlav*

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

ARC: Article 8/1-2 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 7/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 9/10/1992, no: 1992/297 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: Opposition to the Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"With the PKK Leader, We discussed The Background Plan Of The Events In Northern Irak "* - interview

Case filed on merit no: 1992/... by Istanbul State Security Court no:

...

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

ARC: For Yasar Kaya, Article 6/4 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code For Isik Yurtcu, Article 6/3 of Code 3713

Özgür Gündem dated 8/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 9/10/1992, no: 1992/302 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: Opposition to the Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: 1) *"Turkish Army Moved Into Irak"* 2) *"Politics Of Violence Is Not A Solution"* - interview with A. Öcalan

Accused: Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Yasar Kaya

ARC: For Yasar Kaya, Article 6/4 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code. For Isik Yurtcu, Article 6/3 of Code 3713

Özgür Gündem dated 9/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 11/10/1992, no: 1992/203 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"We Are not Secessionists"* (interview with A. Öcalan)

ARC: Article 6/2- last of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 10/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 11/10/1992, no: 1992/307 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"Turkey Directs The Attack"* (interview with A. Öcalan)

Case filed on merit no: 1992/422 by Istanbul 2. State Security Court

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

Subject Article: *"Turkey Directs The Attack"* (interview with A. Öcalan)

ARC: Article 6/3-4 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 11/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 11/10/1992, no: 1992/304 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"We Will Win The War"* (interview with A. Öcalan)

Accused: Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu

ARC: For Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Article 6/3 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code. For Yasar Kaya, Article 6/4 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 12/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 14/10/1992, no: 1992/285 by the Istanbul 1. SSC.

Crime: *"To make propaganda to put people off the national military service"*

Subject Article: *"The Culture Of The People Cannot Be Destroyed"* on page 9, by *Atilla Halis*

Özgür Gündem dated 13/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 14/10/1992, no: 1992/286 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: *"To praise the PKK and to make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state"*

Subject Article: *"Even If Turkey Wins, It Already Has Lost"* on page 11, by *Faik Bulut*

Özgür Gündem dated 14/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 15/10/1992, no: 1992/293 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"To The Public Opinion "* headlined advertisement on page 10

Case filed on merit no: 1992/455 by Istanbul 2. State Security Court.

Accused: *Yasar Kaya, Ocak Isik Yurtcu*

ARC: Article 6/1-4 of Code 3713 , Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 17/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 18/10/1992, no: 1992/297 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"The Anti-terrorist Network Is An Illegal Murder Network"* on page 3, by *Semra Caniklioglu*

Case filed on merit no: 1992/436 by Istanbul 2. State Security Court

Accused: *Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Yasar Kaya*

ARC: Article 6/1-4 of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 27/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 28/10/1992, no: 1992/315 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: To make propaganda for the PKK

Subject Article: *"The Strategy Of The PKK In The New War"* main article on page 1

Özgür Gündem dated 28/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 28/10/1992, no: 1992/309 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: *"To make propaganda prasing the unlawful organisation PKK"* (3713 / 7)

Subject Article: *"The State Met With The PKK"* headlined news item on page 1 *"Baby Killers"* on p. 9, by *Nihat Behram*

Cased filed on merit no: 1992/... by Istanbul 3. State Security Court

Accused: Ocak Isik Yurtcu, Yasar Kaya

ACR: Articles 7/2- last of Code 3713, Article 36 of the Turkish Criminal Code

Özgür Gündem dated 31/10/1992 Confiscation order dated 28/10/1992, no: 1992/315 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: *"To make propaganda for the PKK"*

Subject Article: *"Negotiations Continue, No Agreement Yet"* headlined main article on p. 1-11 (interview with Abdullah Öcalan)

Özgür Gündem dated 6/11/1992 Confiscation order dated 10/11/1992, no: 1992/338 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713. (To expose the public servants as targets)

Subject Article: *"Everywhere Is Sirnak"* on page 1-11.

Özgür Gündem dated 10/11/1992 Confiscation order dated 12/11/1992, no: 1992/351 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposition to Article 6 of Code 3713. (To expose the public servants as targets)

Subject Article: *"Murder Of Anter Brought To The Parliament"* on page 1-11. (Confiscation order lifted on protestation)

Özgür Gündem dated 11/11/1992 Confiscation order dated 13/11/

1992, no: 1992/352 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: To give public statement of an organisation in violation of the Article 6 of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"Talabani: PKK Will Carry Guns"* on page 1-11

Özgür Gündem dated 11/12/1992 Confiscation order no:1992/378 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposing the Supplement Article 1 of Code 5680 and Articles 8/1- last of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"PKK Settling Down in Talabani's Old Camp Site"* on page 1-11.

Özgür Gündem dated 24/11/1992 Confiscation order no: 1992/1282 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposing the Supplement Article 1 of Code 5680 and Article 8/2-last of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"Founding Of The PKK Is Celebrated"* on page 1-11
"To The Public Opinion" headed advertisement, page 2

Özgür Gündem dated 26/11/1992 Confiscation order no:1992/377 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: Opposing the Supplement Article 1 of Code 5680 and Articles 8/1,2-last of Code 3713

Subject Article: *"Soldiers' Joy Of Freedom"* on page 1-11

Özgür Gündem dated 27/11/1992 Confiscation order no: 1992/381 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: To make PKK propaganda and distributing literature of terrorist organisations

Subject Article: *"Incident At PKK Celebrations. Demonstrators Were Fired Upon"* on page 1-11.

Özgür Gündem dated 1/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 3/12/1992, no: 1992/391 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: To publish declarations of terrorist organisations

Subject Article: 1) *"The News Claiming PKK and Dev-Sol Creating*

Incidents Are Proven To Be False. German Police Misrepresents The Incidents" on page 1-11 2) "*Hunger Strike in Sagmalcilar Prison in Its 2nd Week*" on page 3

Özgür Gündem dated 4/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 4/12/1992, no: 1992/394 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: To publish declarations related to the terrorist organisations

Subject Article: "*PKK Found 1992 To Be A Successful Year for the Struggle*" on page 11. (On protestation, the confiscation order was lifted on 23/12/1992)

Özgür Gündem dated 10/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 11/12/1992, no: 1992/12 by the Istanbul 3. SSC

Crime: To make PKK propaganda

Subject Article: Not Clear in the Order

Özgür Gündem dated 11/12/1992

Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state

Subject Article: "*Öcalan: I Have No Need To Give instructions To The HEP*", "*Anti-Imperialism Pronouncement*" on page 2 by *Erdogan Tatlav*

Özgür Gündem dated 20/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 20/12/1992, no: 1992/414 by the Istanbul 1. SSC

Crime: To publish declarations by terrorist organisations

Subject Article: "*We Met With Cemal, The PKK Commander Of The Week*"

Özgür Gündem dated 2/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 3/12/1992, no: 1992/390 by the Istanbul 2. SSC

Crime: To make Propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state

Subject Article: "*Solution Is Not Far Away*" interview with *Osman Öcalan*

Özgür Gündem dated 30/12/1992 Confiscation order dated 31/12/1992, no: 1992/21 by the Istanbul 3. SSC
Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state
Subject Article: *"Sometimes, It Is Better To Talk Than Shoot"* on page 6

Özgür Gündem dated 1/1/1993 Confiscation order dated 1/1/1993, no: 1993/1 by the Istanbul 3. SSC
Crime: To publish statements of the leader of an organisation
Subject Article: *"PKK Disproved The News in Hürriyet"*

Özgür Gündem dated 3/1/1993 Confiscation order dated 3/1/1993, no: 1993/5 by the Istanbul 3. SSC
Crime: To set up the anti-terrorism public servants as targets and to publish statements of the leader of an organisation
Subject Article: 1) *"Contra-guerrilla Works Through Confessionist"*
2) *Yeni Ülke* advertisement on page 5

Özgür Gündem dated 5/1/1993 Confiscation order dated 5/1/1993, no: 1993/1 by the Istanbul 1. SSC
Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state
Subject Article: 1) *"Civil War; Main Cause Of Inflation"* 2) *"Hunger Strike From Kurdistan National Assembly"*

Özgür Gündem dated 6/1/1993 Confiscation order dated 6/1/1993, no: 1993/3 by the Istanbul 1. SSC
Crime: To make propaganda against the indivisible unity of the state
Subject Article: Advertisement of the members of the Kurdistan National Assembly, on page 5. headlined: *"To All Our Friends"*.

Institut kurde de Paris

HOW DID THE STATE OBSTRUCT THE DISTRIBUTION OF ÖZGÜR GÜNDEM

IRFAN UCAR - Istanbul centre correspondent. He was kept under police custody for 7 days during the preparatory stages of the newspaper before it was launched. In his own words:

"On the evening of 5 May 1992, when I was going to the office of a lawyer friend of mine, I was stopped at the staircases of the office building by the policemen from the anti-terrorist branch and taken into custody. The policemen who told me that they were looking for the lawyer himself, took my camera and contents of my pockets. They handcuffed and took me first to Kiziltoprak police station and then to Gayrettepe. As I entered in, they blindfolded me and started to swear and hit me. Later on, two policemen grabbed me by my armpits and took me downstairs. After passing through labyrinth like corridors, they further tightened the blindfold. They took the handcuffs off and sat me naked on a chair. They were continuously swearing and making threats.

They tied electrical wires to my right toe and my genitals and turned on the current. This lasted, intermittently, for an hour and a half. I was hearing myself making such sound that I had never heard from myself before. I do not know how I contracted or how my legs swerved around. Despite the fact that the place was cold, I was in heavy sweat. I asked for some water. At first, they refused. But later, they gave only a small tea cup of water. They were continuously asking me about a meeting place and the meeting time. My torturers were telling me that they had

just started and they would get into heavier tortures.

"Later on, they took me upstairs. I was still blindfolded. They asked me for my home address. They brought in a telephone. The policeman in the room was addressing the person on the other end of the line as 'my director'. They again asked me the name of the newspaper I worked for.

"Later on, I was taken home by the armed teams wearing bullet proof vests. There was nothing at home. The policemen turned the house upside down. They took the press releases related to the news items I had attended to; the magazines such as Tempo, Nokta, 2000'e Dogru magazine and the leaflets which were sent to the newspaper by organizations like Dev-Sol Kizilordu (Red army of the Revolutionary Left). They took the reply letters from death row prisoners who had replied to my letters asking questions in preparing for news article on death row. They took my photo archives and 16 unused films. They took over 10 of my books.

"In the morning, they took me to the central office of the newspaper. They discussed with the director for a short while. The request by my directors to talk to me for five minutes was refused. They told to my directors: Irfan has committed no crime but, we are keeping him in custody to be able to reach his friend. They took me to the cell. They took my finger prints on the fourth day. I wasn't able to open my eyes. The light was dazzling my eyes. They photographed me in two separate places. They swore at my directors because of the news printed in the newspaper about me.

"On the 7th day of my custody, they told me that I would be referred to the Public Prosecutor of the State Security Court (SSC). They were authorised to detain me for a further 10 days for the investigation. To avoid being taken back to the station, I told the doctor that I was OK. Then, I was taken to the SSC public prosecutor's office. The public prosecutor, after examining my file, without seeing and questioning, released me.

"After being released I suffered swelling of my genitals and tinglings in my legs. After treatment, they passed. For longtime I suffered the after effects of the torture."

A lawsuit was filed against the Özgür Gündem correspondent, Irfan

Ucar, by the Chief Public Prosecutor of the Istanbul SSC, on accusation of being a member of THKP. File preparation no: 92/584. The investigation is pursued by public prosecutor *Günay Kumru*. The accusation is based upon the letters and the documentation found in his home which he kept for his job.

BAHA KARATÜRK - Correspondent in Ankara offices of the newspaper. Taken into police custody for 4 hours by members of the Ankara Political Office when he was observing the student protests in front of the Prime Minister's office building on 27 May 1992. He was taken, at first to Cankaya Police Department, then to the Political Branch of Ankara Police Department and questioned for 4 hours. Police asked him for information mostly about the *Özgür Gündem* employees. Police also raided his house.

ALI RIZA BOZYEL - In charge of Elazig office of the newspaper. On 05/June 1992 following a police raid into a house in the town centre. They demanded information from the people they took custody, on the Elazig office employees of the newspaper. A correspondent of another newspaper has also informed Elazig office that the chief of the police organisation, *Yilmaz Ergun*, during the meetings he held in Elazig, had given instructions for the employees of *Yeni Ülke* and *Özgür Gündem* be followed and whatever was necessary to be done. Following the incident in Elazig, an army captain has gathered all newspaper employees, with the exception of *Özgür Gündem*, and told them: "If you print anything other than we have told you, you will see what we will do to you." In the circumstances, the employees in the office contacted their head office stating that they feared for their lives and that they would either be shot dead or taken into police custody and asked for some preventative measures to be taken.

RECEP KAPUCU - He has been searched 5 times since the opening of the Erzurum office of the newspaper. *Kenan Biliz* of the same office was searched twice. **Resul Kaya**, employee in the same office, was threatened by a person whom he did not know. Cargo sent from

Erzurum office to Istanbul was rigorously searched. A person telephoned the office on 6 June 1992 and threatened by saying: *"Your tongue has got to loose. Behave yourselves. Otherwise the consequences would not be any good for you."* The employees of the Erzurum office were put under the surveillance of the militants of the racist-fascist party MÇP.

RAHMI BATUR - Van centre correspondent. He has been verbally abused by the plainclothes policemen when he was on his way to observe the pre-election propaganda meeting at Cumhuriyet Square, of the leader of the Refah Partisi who was visiting the town on 7 June 1992. Some plainclothes state orderlies told him: *"Behave yourself. We have been watching you for the last one month."* Batur replied: *"I am fulfilling a public duty. You have no right to obstruct my work."* The plainclothes policemen told him. *"We do not tell you not to perform a public duty. But still, you watch yourself."*

HAFIZ AKDEMIR - Diyarbakir correspondent of the newspaper. Lost his life as a result of the gunshot wound he received in his head at 08.30 hrs. on 8 June 1992. Akdemir and other newspaper staff were being threatened with death during telephone calls made to their homes and work places. The person who called him only two days previous to his killing, threatened Akdemir and the rest of the staff stating: *"Your turn has come too."*

RAUF YILDIZ - Employee of the newspaper in the Diyarbakir office. The transcript of the telephone conversation between the deep voiced person and Rauf reads as follows:

"Hello, Rauf, is that you?"

"Yes, its me"

"Are your parents at home?"

"Yes, they are."

"Is that Kurdish cassette sound coming from your house?"

"Yes, it comes from here. Who are you?"

"I am the state, the government. We will meet again."

"Go to hell, whenever you want..."

RIZA ZINGAL - Employee in Izmir office. On 13 June 1992, he went to observe the solidarity evening organised by *Özgür Halk* magazine at Ekiciöver outdoor cafe in Izmir Fair. He left this place in company of his friends for the Izmirli coffee house at Pasaport. 4 plainclothes entering the coffee house right behind them started to hassle *Zingal*. When *Zingal* told them that he was a journalist, they slightly softened their approach. Then, they checked his ID and took the film in his camera by force on the pretext that "*there were also policemen in the solidarity evening and that they could have been identified in the photos*".

BAHATTIN SEVIM - Tatvan correspondent. Sevim went to Tatvan Military Hospital to gather information from the officials and health personell on a clash which took place in Bitlis region in mid June 1992. He was sent off by the army captain who told him: "*Piss off, so that I won't kill you.*"

Again, he was stopped by an army first lieutenant from taking photos and his film was attempted to be confiscated on the pretext that he was taking photos of the soldiers. When *Sevim* went, for the purpose of interviewing the eyewitnesses and taking photos etc., to the place of incident where 13 villagers had been executed by firing after being taken from the minibus they were in which was going to Kortikan village Tatvan administrative district of Bitlis. When the onlookers reacted to the actions of the first lieutenant, he gave up on confiscating the films.

KAZIM ÖZDOĞAN - Employment Trade Union correspondent in the central office for the newspaper. He was assigned to observe the *Rights March* from Istanbul to Ankara from 17 to 22 June 1992, by executives of the unions belonging to the Platform of Public Servants Unions. *Kazim Özdoğan* was attacked by the police at the entrance to Ankara (Sincan), when he was trying to take photos of the incident when police were roughing up the trade unionists. The police, first roughed up the correspondent and then tried to drag him up to 20m. high cliff and push him down. They stopped only after the SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party) member of the parliament

saw the incident and shouted. Then they broke his camera and confiscated all his films.

VAHAP ASLAN - Nusaybin correspondent. Taken into custody on 18 on June 1992. Kept in Mardin police department for a week and tortured. His skull cracked in three places. Because of the torture he underwent, he couldn't walk for a long time and found it difficult to eat. Aslan, together with some others was photographed and video taped with guns, bullets and books placed in front of them.

Aslan tells his story how he was taken from home and tortured:

"They attacked me full with insults and swearings and started to beat me up in front of my wife and children until blood started to run from my mouth and nose. Meanwhile they were breaking and throwing away the furniture in the house. My children were crying with fear. They grabbed my one year old son from his mothers arms and threw him onto the floor. They took my camera, two new journalist's cassette recorders and their cassettes, Müslüm Gürses and Ibrahim Gürses music cassettes and about forty of my books. After that, they took me and my wife, in separate cars, to the Nusaybin police department. They kept my wife who is of Arabic origin for two hours in the police department. I learned that they had threatened her by saying: 'Your husband is a terrorist. You must divorce him.' My wife was two months pregnant. I also learned later that my wife has lost the baby after the things she went through that day. Since that day my children do not play outside the house any more. When they see a policeman and/or a special team, they look for a place to hide.

"As soon as we arrived at the police department, they blindfolded me. They were swearing at me and saying: 'You are a terrorist. If you weren't, you wouldn't be working for the Özgür Gündem newspaper.' They stripped me naked and used water-cannon on me. They were making me support one hand with the other and beat the palms of my hands with batons. My hands were all swollen. Later, they started to hit the batons on my head. Blood was pouring down from my head. They were washing the blood under the taps. They were telling me: 'We will kill you just like the others. You won't escape. You will neither be the first nor the last person to die under torture. And, you talk about

Hezbollahi etc. There's no such thing, my son. There is only us and the PKK. Put this in your head. 'As a result of the torture, I passed out. I opened my eyes in a cell in Mardin police department.

"A day before being taken to the public prosecutor, together with about fifteen people whom I guess that they came from the town of Mazidagi. They lined me up behind a table on which was a Kalashnikov gun and vast amount of bullets for it and books. They had lined the bullets in such a way that they had written TC (Turkish Republic) with them. They filmed us in that position for about half an hour. When I asked them why they were taking my photo, they replied that they would remain in their archives.

"On 25 June 1992, they took my statement before taking me to the public prosecutor. They were asking me: 'Who in Nusaybin are from PKK. Who organises these things.' I was telling them that I knew nothing in relation to and nobody from the PKK. They were telling me: 'It is your business, Everybody working at the Özgür Gündem newspaper are from PKK. If you weren't you wouldn't be working at that newspaper.' The same day, I was taken to the public prosecutor's office and released after being questioned for possessing the State Order in the Middle East' book by Ismail Besiki."

After being released by the public prosecution office, he was again taken into custody and blindfolded. They again took him to the Mardin police department, questioned him until morning and threatened him with death. Here, many shots of his photos were taken, in company with a chemist from Nusaybin and director of Nusaybin Birth Registry Office, with some amount of books placed in front of them. Meanwhile a correspondent of one of the large circulation newspaper took photos together with the police. After this, *Aslan* was released without being taken to the public prosecution office for the second time.

MAHMUT DAS – Mardin correspondent. He went to Mardin Court house to interview *Vahap Aslan* and observe his Court case. He was not allowed to meet *Aslan* and was beaten inside the Court house. On 21 June 1992, police found *Özgür Gündem* ID card on him and

questioned him for why he was working for this newspaper.

HÜSEYİN ALSANCAK - Istanbul centre correspondent. On 18 June 1992, he was given the task to report on the Kildani family returning to their home. His account of the ensuing events was as follows:

"I was given the task of reporting on the three families of the Kildani community returning home. We left Istanbul on 18 June 1992. We arrived at Yesilova village of Sirnak administrative province at around 20.00 hrs. on 19 June 1992. We were held there for three hours for so-called ID control by soldier of the village gendarme station. They acted as though we were there for reasons of terrorism. They started to provoke and make fun of us. We started to think that somethings were to happen to us. At the entrance to Uludere town, we were stopped again. The second lieutenant who came from military unit checked our IDs and took us into custody. We were kept in Uludere Police Station for 14 hours. We were released but not given our IDs. We were able to receive our IDs the next day, only after signing the release document. No physical torture was applied but, we received many verbal threats including death threats. We were told that we could be killed by people outside of the PKK and whom we wouldn't know. Meanwhile, some of the people in the group from Dersim (Tunceli) were called, in degrading fashion, by the special team ranking police officer as 'seed of an Armenian'.

"The Uludere correspondent of our newspaper, Mustafa Kara, tried to come and learn the situation from us. The officers of the special team took him into custody for a while, as well. They later released him but he was told, in our presence: "So you are from here. Good. It is good that we met. From now on we shall get closely acquainted. We'll pay closer attention to you."

MÜZEYYEN GÜNES - Özgür Gündem Cyprus Correspondent. On the day of 19 June 1992, at around 16.00 hrs., 5 policemen from the Lefkose political police and 3 from the Degirmenlik Region police station surrounded her house at Minareli Köy Cikmaz Sokak C/1 Lefkose. They said: *"We have a Court Order. We are informed of*

stolen goods kept in the house. We will search the house. "During their search, when they saw the clippings from *Yeni Ülke*, *Özgür Halk* and *Kibris Newspaper*, they told her: "You are a secessionist. That's why you read this newspapers." *Günes* told them that she was a correspondent for the *Özgür Gündem* newspaper. On hearing this, the policemen demanded her press card and wanted to know how much she earned. When *Günes* pointed out the fact that her press card had not yet arrived, they took her to Lefkose (Nicosia) Political Branch and questioned her for three hours.

In the same day, *Günes*' older brother was taken into questioning for 5 hours. The police demanded to know why he hadn't stopped his sister and told him that it was not their business to send news to Istanbul. They threatened him by saying: "We will cause trouble for you."

On 24 June 1992 when *Günes* attempted to send a news item from Nicosia post office by fax, she has been told that the number she had was wrong and refused to transmit. But the same number had previously been used and from the same post office.

MEHMET SENOL, RAUF YILDIZ - Diyarbakir office correspondents. They were taken, from in front of the Ziraat Bank İnönü High Street, into custody by plainclothes policemen at around 17.00 hrs. on 24 June 1992. 6-7 policemen, Anti-Terrorism Branch policeman *Alican* (or *Alisan*) and Branch Assistant Chief Superintendent *Cetin* among them, came threatened *Senol* and *Yildiz* saying: "If something happens to one of our friends I wil pull the trigger on your head. You will leave this country. Wherever you go in Turkey, I will find you and fire a cartridge at your head."

ALI DOGAN - Employee in Elazig office. His ID papers were taken away from him at the entrance of Hozat administrative district of Dersim (Tunceli) on 24 June 1992. It was checked with the names on a notebook and than handed back. His papers were again checked the next day. *Dogan*, who used to work for *Yeni Ülke*, had previously been taken into police custody in Dersim threatened and banned from entering the town.

NECATI BOZKURT - Zaxo (in Iraki Kurdistan) correspondent. On 24 June 1992, after completing all the required formalities, he handed in his passport for validity extension. He paid all the fees and was told to come on 27 June to collect his passport. On 27 June, accompanied with a friend, he went to the passport department of the Van police department. Just as one public servant was about to hand over his passport, another public servant who was eyeing him carefully raised his finger at him and said: "*Right, now I recognised you.*" He stood up and repeated the same sentence several times in threatening manner. Then, the same police officer said: "*We won't give you your passport. We will investigate you.*" When Bozkurt told him that he had been given his passport and that all he needed was to extend the validity of it and that there was no prohibitive reason against that. The police officers then asked: "*OK. What about the Court case?*" Bozkurt informed him of the fact that the court case had been concluded two years previous and that there were no other cases pending. The police officer then raised the Yüksekova Court case. Bozkurt again explained that he had given statements to the public prosecution office on that particular case as well and that that case had also been concluded. They still refused to hand over Bozkurt's passport and the same police officer told him: "*We decide if there is anything on you or not.*"

MUSTAFA KARA - Uludere correspondent. He was taken, with no reasons given, from his residents in Hilal administrative district, into custody by soldiers at around 14 .00 hrs. on 25 June 1992. He was kept inside Seyhan Commando Battalion grounds for 24 hrs. with no reasons given.

KENAN DÖLEK - Van office employee. On 25 June 1992, two plainclothes policemen came to the office and found Dölek there. They told him: "*Where is Necati? We are very angry at him. If we catch him, what we'll do to him...*"

FARUK SAKIK - Mus correspondent. Sakik was observing the funeral procession of a soldier from Mus, who was killed in Varto

town region. A young person from Mus came to him and asked some questions and requested that his identity not to be revealed. The youth was taken into police custody immediately after he left talking to the correspondent. They put him into the police van and beat him up. They told him: *"What have you asked him? Why were you talking to him? He is a dangerous man."*

At the same funeral procession, when Sakik was taking some notes, a plainclothes policeman came to him and threatened by saying: *"We will deal with you soon."*

On the morning of 26 June 1992 police officers went to *Sakik's* house. *Sakik* was not in at that time. They questioned the landlord about the occupant and wanted to know where *Sakik* was working and where he would be at that time.

ABDULLAH and SAIT ARISOY - Employees of the newspaper in Cizre office. The two brothers, together with the third brother, Halil Arisoy, were taken from their home in Meteoroloji quarter into police custody at around 03.15 hrs. on 30 June 1992. Sait Arisoy was released the next day but, Abdullah Arisoy was taken, on the third day of this custody, from Cizre Police Department to Sirnak Police Department for questioning. Arisoy, subjected to systematic torture for 13 days, was taken to court on the 16th day and released. But this time, 24 hours later, Sirnak Police Department issued an arrest warrant in his absence.

ALI KUMAK - Employee of the newspaper in Cizre office. Taken into police custody together with Abdullah Arisoy. Kept in Sirnak Police Department for 13 days for questioning under torture. He was released in the lawsuit in Cizre but, Sirnak Police Department issued an arrest warrant in his absence.

On the other hand, persons *"identities unknown"* were calling the Cizre office of the newspaper and threatening the people and making them listen to music and talk on the wireless. For example, in one of the conversations it says: *"If we throw a bomb there as well, we will rid ourselves of them too."*

SÜKRÜ GÜVENC - Correspondent in Aricak administrative dis-

trict of Elazig. He received death threats on the phone and letters stating that he would be killed.

BURHAN KARADENİZ - Diyarbakir correspondent. On 10 July 1992 the anniversary of the murder of HEP Diyarbakir chairman, *Vedat Aydın*, his camera and he films were confiscated by the police as he was taking photos of the police panzers. He was taken and kept for five days in the Diyarbakir police department. They tore up his press card and beat him up.

On 24 July 1992, *Karadeniz* was observing the trial of Kurdish woman, *Heyal Gül*, who was arrested in Batman and during her interrogation was attacked and batons were inserted inside her vagina. During the trial, *Karadeniz* was beaten up by the assigned non-commissioned officer and his films were confiscated.

RAMAZAN ÖZEN - Mardin correspondent. He was kept in interrogation and under torture for four days (July 1992).

GÖKHAN KÜRÜN, CAFER YILDIZ - On 12 July 1992, they were delivering newspapers in a *Özgür Gündem* owned van. They were stopped at Ataköy neighbourhood by the police and beaten up.

MUSTAFA CETINKAYA - (Intelligence Service correspondent), **EMINE INCE** (Trade Union services correspondent) - On 28 July 1992, they went to the opening ceremony for the *Association to Fight Unemployment and Expensiveness (IPSD)*. Here, they were taken into custody.

BURHAN KARADENİZ - He was seriously wounded by the shots fired at close range on the back of his neck by a person, as he was on his way to work on 5 August 1992, at around 8.30 hrs. He was left paralysed.

YAHYA ORHAN - Gercüs correspondent. Lost his life in an armed attack on his way home at around 23.00 hrs. on 31 July 1992. The

attack took place 200 meters from his home on Yücel Caddesi in Bağlarbasa quarter. He was subjected to a hail of bullets and died as a result of three gunshot wounds he received in his back and his chest. The 27 items of 9 mm. blank cartridges found there and they were handed over to the public prosecutor. Two days previous to his killing, *Orhan* was called on the phone and told: "*We wiped all the journalists from the face of the earth. Now, it is your turn.*" *Orhan* went and saw the Gercüs governor. At this meeting, the governor told him: "*You write articles against me. From now on, I will also deal with you.*" After this, *Orhan* told the people around that if something had happened" to him, the governor would have been the responsible one. The location of the incident is 200 meters away from the governor's house.

CELAL PEKGÜL - Brother of the Batman office correspondent *Metin Pekgöl*. He was attacked on 1 August 1992 and lost his life as a result of the gunshot wounds he received in the head. The Batman office employees suggested that the people who wanted to kill them, killed *Celal* instead.

HALIT YALCIN - Hakkari correspondent. On 7 August 1992, he was taken into custody with no reasons given. His house was thoroughly searched and his 17 years old brother, *Z.Y.* and his friend *Ismail Adiyaman* were also taken into custody. before his arrest, *Yalcin* had prepared an article on the food embargo which was applied on Beytüssebap administrative district of Hakkari. In his articles, he had exposed the government imposed embargo with documentation and pointed at the fact that the residents of the town were at the brink of starvation and that they were reduced to eating grass. The government had refrained from making any statements on the subject. Another article he had prepared was on the bombing by the Turkish war planes of the Silo plains at Semdinli administrative district of Hakkari. He had met the wounded victims of the bombing in the hospital. He was threatened by the governor and the director of the police department. With a special decree, he was banned from leaving the town and talk to the wounded villagers. They had issued a

decree for a single newspaper correspondent, which in itself was a very rare thing to happen anywhere in the world. Despite the end of the year 1992 came and passed, Yalcin was still not released.

HÜSEYİN DENİZ - Newspaper columnist. Lost his life in an attack when he was on his way home in Urfa on 9 August 1992.

ÖMER CİFTKUS - Hilvan correspondent. Taken into custody on 24 August 1992.

BAHATTİN ÖZEN, AYTEN AYDIN - Mardin correspondents. On the day of 25 July 1992, they were taken into custody twice, one in Mardin and the other in Nusaybin when they were observing the investigations of the HEP members of parliament in Mardin region.

Izmir - 18 September 1992. A police team of 7, all belonging to the Anti-terrorist branch of Izmir Police Department, raided the Izmir office of *Özgür Gündem*.

SABAHAT CELİK (22) - Spouse of *Özgür Gündem*'s Batman representative *Hayrettin Celik*. *Sabahat Celik*, four months pregnant, was taken into custody on 30 September 1992.

Kulp - By the orders of the local authorities *Özgür Gündem* was banned from entering into Kulp (first part of October 1992).

MEHMET AKTAS - *Özgür Gündem* employee. On 8 October 1992, his house was raided and he was kept under custody for 48 hours.

IHSAN KURT - Adana correspondent. He was taken into custody on 11 October 1992 because he refused to be an informant. Released on 19 October 1992.

HAYRETTİN CELİK - Batman correspondent. Taken into custody in

Tatvan, together with his 4 months pregnant wife on 15 October 1992.

BIRKAN CELIK - Kars correspondent. Taken into custody on 27 October 1992. Released on 7 November 1992.

SAMET YAKTI - Mus correspondent. Taken into custody on 3 November 1992 and released on 8 November 1992. He was again taken into custody on November 1992.

HASIM CARO - Diyarbakir correspondent. Taken into custody on 14 November 1992 and released on 15 November 1992.

SAMET YAKTI - Mus correspondent. Taken into custody on 15 (November 1992 and released after 8 days.

ALI DOGAN - Dersim (Tunceli) correspondent. Taken into custody 16 November 1992.

HAYRETTIN DÜNDAR - Siirt correspondent. Taken into custody on 16 November 1992.

MAHMUT DOGAN - Malatya correspondent. At a court hearing he went to observe, the court crier claimed that he had made divisive speech. Because of this he was arrested by the SSC.

MEHMET SENOL, HASAN ÖZGÜN - (Diyarbakir correspondents) On 23 November 1992, they were fired upon by three persons when they were distributing the newspaper to the newsagents. *Özgün* got wounded and by pure accident, *Senol* did not receive any wounds. The police who managed to arrive at the place of the incident only 1.5 hrs. later, took *Senol* into custody instead of the attackers. *M. Senol* was released on 24 November 1992.

SABAN PARLAK - Cukurca correspondent. He was released from Hakkari prison on 23 November 1992 after being kept there for 93 days without being taken to court.

Mardin - In November the police who raided the Mardin office of *Özgür Gündem* threatened the employees with death.

BAYRAM BALCI - Urfa correspondent. He was stopped and searched by the police at Urfa bus station. Police threatened him with death and told him not to work for *Özgür Gündem*.

SÜLEYMAN IKE - Yüksekova correspondent. His house was raided and searched by the police (December 1992).

SIRACETTİN and **BAHATTİN SEVİM** - Van correspondents. Taken into custody on 14 December 1992.

YUSUF AK - Telex operator for the newspaper. Persons who went to Yusuf's house in a white car reg no: 34 KH 889, asked for *Yusuf Ak*. When they couldn't find him they threatened his older brother.

METİN AKBAS - Dersim (Tunceli) correspondent. Taken into custody (December 1992).

SADUN ACAR - Catak correspondent. Taken into custody (December 1992).

Van - Van office of the newspaper was stoned on 4 December 1992.

ENVER DEGER - *Özgür Gündem* correspondent. On 13 January 1993, together with the correspondents of the other newspapers, he went to observe the meeting between the Commander of European Forces, full general Brian Kelly and Chief of Turkish General Staff, Dogan Güres. He was stopped and thrown out.

OBSTRUCTIONS TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEWSPAPER

BATMAN - 8 November 1992 - Persons who introduced themselves as supporters of *Hezbollahi* threatened the newsagents and told them not to sell *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke*, *Welat*, *2000'e Dogru*, *Gercek*, *Mücadele* and *Azadi* newspapers. They were threatened with death if they did not comply.

DIYARBAKIR - On the evening of 11 November 1992, the distribution truck of the national distribution company, *Birlesik Basin Dagitim A.S. (BBD)*, which distributed to Diyarbakir region was set afire by persons unknown. The driver of another truck was threatened by the same people and was told not to distribute *Özgür Gündem* and the other left-wing newspapers. Following this, both the BBD and the main wholesale distributor stated that they wouldn't distribute *Özgür Gündem* in the said region.

BİNGÖL - 17 November 1992 - One of the trucks belonging to the wholesale newspaper distributor *Abdurrezzak Aydemir* was set afire. Two days previous to the incident *Aydemir* had been threatened and told not to distribute *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke*, *2000'e Dogru* and the other left wing newspapers and magazines.

Following the burning of newspaper distribution vehicles in Bingöl, the distribution of *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* stopped in Batman, Bingöl, Mardin, Bismil, Nusaybin, Silvan and Kurtalan.

BATMAN - 21 November 1992 - *Özgür Gündem* distributor *Halil Adanir* (32) was first knocked out and then burned together with his car by three persons who got on his car pretending to be customers.

DIYARBAKIR - 22 newsagents in Baglar neighbourhood jointly decided not to sell any newspapers because of the threats they received.

NUSAYBIN - From 12 November 1992 onwards, *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* distribution to the town stopped.

DIYARBAKIR - 11 Newsagents were threatened and told to sell only the newspapers outside *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* (namely the colour print bourgeois and clerical newspapers). Following the state sponsored obstructions, *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* started distribution to the towns in Kurdistan through their own means.

BINGÖL - 24 November 1992 - A tea house and a photographic studio, where *Özgür Gündem* newspaper were sold, were burned down at around 02.00 hrs. in an arson attack by molotof cocktails. The damage to the tea house was 20 million TL.

BATMAN - Persons who called the newsagents in the name of *Hezbollahi* threatened and told them, once again, not to sell *Özgür Gündem*, *Yeni Ülke* and the other newspapers and magazines known to be left wing. Following this threat, the newsagents told the wholesale distributor *Muharrem Idman* that they wouldn't sell the said newspapers. *Idman* stated that the newsagents were afraid and the question was beyond them.

DIYARBAKIR - 12 November 1992 - A person who called the Diyarbakir agent of the BBD threatened them by saying: "We burned your vehicle. Now, it is your turn."

MARDIN - 14 November 1992 - Because the wholesale distributor resigned his post, *Özgür Gündem* and *Yeni Ülke* did not get distribu-

ted in Mardin from this date onwards.

Some wholesale distributing agents stated that the police have confiscated the newspapers they have distributed to the newsagents.

BATMAN - 19 November 1992 - Four kids who distributed *Özgür Gündem* were attacked, beaten up and their newspapers taken away by persons known as *Hezbollahi* supporters.

VAN - 20 November 1992 - The Suzuki vehicle belonging to the BBD was set afire by three persons pouring petrol over it in front of the house on Van Serefiye mahallesi (quarter), Inkilap Sokak (street) No: 28.

ERGANI - December 1992 - Persons distributing *Özgür Gündem* were threatened by the governor of the administrative district, *Vahdettin Özcan*. A distributor by the name of *Mehmet Pence* was stabbed by the militants of *Hezbollahi*.

VAN - 15 December 1992 - Two newsagents selling *Özgür Gündem* were burnt.

DIYARBAKIR - The newsagent by the name of *Kemal Ekinci* lost his life in a *hizbi-contra* attack, on his way to work in Cahitpasa quarter of the Saraykapi neighbourhood at around 08.00 hrs. on 16 December 1992. *Ekinci* had been threatened and told not to sell *Özgür Gündem*.

CERMIK (Diyarbakir) - *Aydin Duran*, a newsagent, stopped selling the newspaper because of the threats he received for selling *Özgür Gündem*.

NUSAYBIN - On 31 December 1992, a disabled youth by the name of *Lokman Gündüz* (30) was killed when he was selling *Özgür Gündem* by three people who got off a white Renault car.

ELAZIG - 24 December 1992 - The shop with the name of *Ozan*

Plakcılık which sold newspapers were burned down at around 04.00 hrs. by the use of molotof cocktails.

URFA - Arson attacks on two newsagents.

MAZIDAGI - Arson attack on one newsagent.

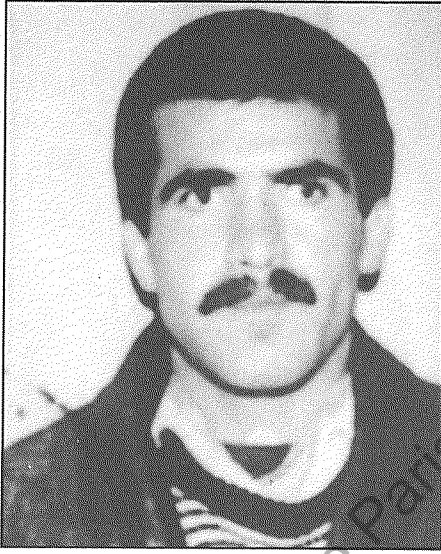
DIYARBAKIR - 30 November 1992 - *Coskun Daloglu* (60, Doso, newsagent for thirty years) He was seriously wounded as a result of an attack by persons wielding clubs.

VAN - 8 January 1993 - Police raided the office of the newspaper, confiscated the archives and the magazines and took *Orhan Karaagar* - who was in charge of the Van office - into custody.

DIYARBAKIR - A newspaper delivery boy by the name of *Hamit Yakut* (13) was taken into a police vehicle at 5 Nisan quarter, beaten up, threatened and told not to sell *Özgür Gündem*. Police also threatened his brother (15) with the same and confiscated his newspapers.

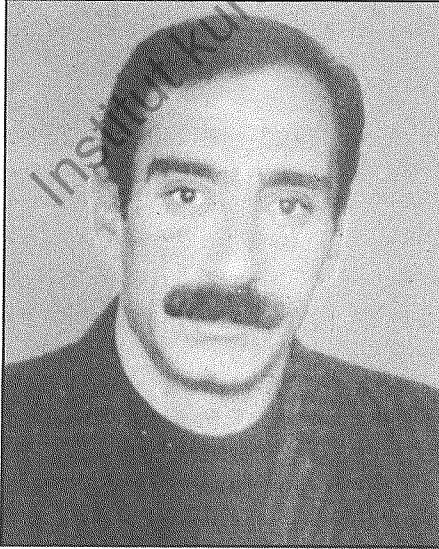
URFA - 6 January 1993 - Arson attack on the newsagent which was owned by *Mehmet Divitci* in Yildiz Square.

Orhan Karaagar, Özgür Gündem Van office director. Stabbed and killed by three persons unknown in Van at around 16.00 hrs. on 19 January 1993. He had previously been threatened. *Özgür Gündem* office was raided by the police on 5 January 1993 an Karaagar was kept in police custody for two hours. Before being killed, he had constantly been tailed and had stated: "If I am killed, these people are responsible for my death" and gave the name of *Zeki Avraz, Bedrettin Özbey, Yılmaz Keyfi* and two others with forenames *Yakup* and *Yunus* - surnames unknown.



Lokman Gündüz

*He was killed when he was selling Özgür Gündem in Nusaybin.
31 December 1992*



Orhan Karaagar

Institut kurde de Paris

YENI ÜLKE FILE

BALANCE SHEET OF THE CRIMES OF THE STATE AGAINST *YENI ÜLKE* NEWSPAPER

Either confiscation orders were issued or lawsuits were filed by the SSC public prosecutors for *48 out of 114 issues*.

Within the year 1992 one of its correspondents was killed in an attack.

In a period of one year its correspondents were taken into custody *42 times*. Its correspondents were threatened, their houses and work places were searched and offices raided on numerous occasions. Complete breakdown of the issues of Yeni Ülke newspaper which were confiscated, lawsuits filed against and investigations continuing (up until the end of 1992 up to issue no:114)

CONFISCATIONS

48 issues out of the total of 114 issues printed were confiscated by order of the Istanbul SSC. The issues confiscated on the basis of Article 142: Year 1 nos: 7-8-9-10-11-13-14-18-19-20-22-23-25

The issues confiscated on the basis of the Anti-terrorism Act:

Year 1 issue nos: 34-37-39-41-43-49

Year 2 issue nos: 1-3-4-5-7-11-15-18-25-26-32-33-35-37-39-42-44-46-48-50

Year 3 issue nos: 1-105-106-107-108-109-110-113-114

Year 1:

Issue no 1, 20-27 October 1990 *They Hang Children Too* by *Mustafa Gürbüz*. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court under merit no: 1990/663. Acquitted on Court decision dated 14/12/1990 no: 1990/479.

Issue no 2, 28 October-2 November 1990 *The Meaning Of The Kurdish Women Joining The Guerilla Force* p.1, by *Ismail Besikci*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court, lawsuit filed on merit no:1991/39 for the crime of opposition to Code 312/1. *Ismail Besikci* received 12 months imprisonment and 800 thousand TL. fine, The editing director *Özkan Kilic* received 1 million TL. fine – decision dated 19/12/1991 no:1991/581. The case is appealed. The file is in the Supreme Court of Appeals.

Issue no 3, 3-9 November 1990 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 4, 10-16 November 1990 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 5, 17-23 November 1990 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 6, 24-30 November 1990 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 7, 2-8 December 1990 a- *Turkey, University And Besikci In The Post Mustafa Kemal Era. 2*, by *Ismet Serif Vanli*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:1991/3 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted – decision dated 8/5/1991 no:91/154. Decision of acquittal also ordered the confiscated newspapers to be returned to us. b- *Clumsiness Of The Village Policemen* article prepared with *Mustafa Zeydan*. (On the basis of violation of individual rights; Yüksekova Basic Criminal Court, lawsuit filed against our managing director *Özkan Kilic* and the owner *Serhat Bucak* on merit no:1990/663 demanding 300 million TL. fine. The case continues.

Issue no 8, 9-15 December 1990 a- *There Cannot Be A State With Double Standards* p.2, by *Tarik Ziya Ekinci*. b- *Inmates In Erzincan Prison*, reader's letter, p.2, by *Mehmet Savas*. c- *From Iskenderun Special Type Prison*, reader's letter, by *Siracettin Akyol, Emin Toprak and Mehmet Aydin*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/74 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code (TCC) 142/3. Acquitted - decision dated 25/4/1991 no:91/114. Decision of acquittal also ordered the confiscated newspapers, in accordance with the Article 36 of the TCC, to be returned to us. The judge had it noted in the verdict: "Given the fact that the action is no longer a crime, it is not possible to confiscate the publications."

Issue no 9, 16-21 December 1990 *The Face Of The Turkish Republic Reflected In The CSCE Summit*, p.2, by *Dursun Ali Küçük*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/12 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3-6. Acquitted - decision dated 9/5/1991 no:91/161. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 10, 22-28 December 1990 *Speech by Besikci*, p.2, by *Ismail Besikci*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:1991/71 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted decision dated 21/5/1991 no:91/188. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 11, 29 December 1990 - 4 January 1991 a- *A Peole Made Fallen*, p.3, by *Ismet Ates* b- *Confiscation Of A Book*, p.5, by *Haydar Isik*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:1991/39 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code;142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 8/5/1991 no:91/152. The confiscated newspapers were returned. *3rd January Step Is A Split In The Road*, p.6, by *Sirri Öztürk*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court, Lawsuit filed on merit

no:72/4 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 2822. Acquitted - decision dated 21/1/1991 no:91/6.

Issue no 13, 11-16 January 1991 a- *Turkish Republic Is Internationalising The War*, p.2, by *M.Can Yüce*. b- *Strike In Zonguldak, Kurds And Democracy*, p.2, by *Tarik Ziya Ekinci*. c- *Islami Siar Magazine Explained*, p.3, by *Günay Aslan*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/73 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 21/5/1991 no:91/189. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 14, 20-26 January 1991 *Kurds Are Tried To Be Sacrificed For Freedom*, p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/56 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 10/4/1991 no:91/93. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 15, 26 January - 1 February 1991 (No case has been filed)

Issue no 16, 3-9 February 1991 (No case has been filed)

Issue no 17, 10-16 February 1991 *To Safeguard Kurdish Language Is A Task For All Of Us*, p.10, by *Faqi Hüseyin Sagnic*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court, lawsuit filed on merit no:91/168 for the crime of opposition to paragraph 3. A of the Turkish Criminal Code 2932. Acquitted- decision dated 26/4/1991 no:91/147.

Issue no 18, 17-23 February 1991 a- *The Proposal For Autonomy For The Kurds Is In The Parliament* p.1, by *Faruk Okumus*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2, Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/114 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 8/5/1991 no:91/153. b- *New policy*, p.6, by *Bay Muhalif*. Istanbul 2.

Basic Criminal Court, Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/338 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 5816. Acquitted - decision dated 3/12/1991 no:91/474.

Issue no 19, 24 February - 2 March 1991 a- *70 Years Kurdish Dilemma Of The State* p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. b- *The State Burns Village*, p.5, by *Mustafa Gürbüz*. Investigation started by the decision of Istanbul SSC Public Prosecutor, no: 91/202. Decision of nonjurisdiction given decision dated 24/4/1991 no:91/86. The confiscated newspapers returned.

Issue no 20, 3-9 March 1991 *Our Woman Embracing Freedom* p.12. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/95 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 23/5/1991 no:91/195. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 21, 10-16 March 1991 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 22, 17-23 March 1991 *I Liken Our Country To The Kurdish Women* p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/108 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 5/6/1991 no:91/225. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 23, 24-30 March 1991 *Southern Kurds And Us*, p.2, by *Cemil Gündogan*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/148 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 142/3.6. Acquitted - decision dated 21/5/1991 no:91/90. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 24, 31 March - 6 April 1991 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 25, 7-13 April 1991 a- *Turkish Political Manifesto*, p.3

The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Preliminary investigation started by the decision of Istanbul SSC Public Prosecutor, no: 91/355. Decision of nonjurisdiction given - decision dated 23/5/1991 no:91/195. The confiscated newspapers returned. b- *First Factory In The East*, p.7 Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/549 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 2860. Acquitted decision dated 20/3/1991 no:91/215. The confiscated newspapers were returned.

Issue no 26, 14-20 April 1991 *Gendarme Repression On The Rise*, p.4. *Tension In Solhan Increases*, p.4. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/262 on the basis of the Articles 6/1-4 of the Turkish Criminal Code 3713. The case continues.

Issue no 27, 21-27 April 1991 (No Lawsuit filed)

Issue no 28, 28 April-4 May 1991 a- *Süper Mistik-i Milliyeci*, p.2. b- *Press Release*, p.2, by *Sabri Ok*. c- *Interview with Öcalan*, p.1. d- *Join The Ibrahim Kaypakkaya Remembrance Evening*- Advertisement by *Yasar Gündođdu*. Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/298 on the basis of the Articles 6.8-1 of the Turkish Criminal Code 3713. The case continues.

Issue no 30, 19-25 May 1991 *How Will You Deal With So Many Terrorists*, p.9, by *Gülten Sesen*. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/331 on the basis of the Turkish Criminal Code 3713,8/1. The case continues.

Issue no 31, 26 May-1 June 1991 *What Do We Want To Do*, p.2, by *Cabbar Gezici* Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/320 on the basis of the Turkish Criminal Code 3713,8-2. The case continues.

Issue no 32, 2-8 June 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Issue no 33, 9-15 June 1991 *Kurdish Cries Of The Oppressed*

Silenced, p.1. *Liberation Struggle Won't Be Stopped* Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/331. Acquitted - decision dated 2/4/1992 no:92/70.

Issue no 34, 16- 22 June 1991 *It Is Difficult To Stop In June*, p.8. *My Son Became The Groom To His Country*, p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/332 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/1-8 and 312/2. Acquitted - decision dated 2/4/1992 no:92/72.

Issue no 35, 23-29 June 1991 *They Did Not Leave, They Run Away*, p.1-11 Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/321 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/6-2. The case continues.

Issue no 36, 30 June - 6 July 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Issue no 37, 7-13 July 1991 *We Condemn The Private War*, p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/31 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/8-2. The case continues.

Issue no 38, 14-20 July 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Issue no 39, 21-28 July 1991 *The Special War Regime Increases The Variety of Terror*, p.3, by *M. Can Yüce*. *Tomorrow Will Be Too Late*, p.8, by *Münir Ceylan*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/330 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/8-1. The case continues.

Issue no 40, 29 July - 3 August 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Issue no 41, 4-10 August 1991 *Lavê min fedaye welate xwe, A Suggestion*, p.2, reader's letter. *English Model In Kurdistan*, p.3, by

Selahattin Kaya. Kurdish History Is Being Written In Blood, p.12. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/320 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/6-8 and 312/2. The case continues.

Issue no 42, 11-17 August 1991 *Death Notice For The Ones Killed In Clashes With The Security Forces*, Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/307 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/6-2. The case continues.

Issue no 43, 18-25 August 1991 *The August Heat Goes Beyond Botan* The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/342 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/8-2. The case continues.

Issue no 44, 25-31 August 1991 *We Met With Osman Öcalan Member Of PKK Central Committee and Commander Of The Military Headquarters*, p.1-5. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/344 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3712/6-2. The case continues.

Issue no 45, 1-7 September 1991 *National Mourning In Lice*, p.1-11 *Solution Should Be Left To The Kurdish People*, p.2, by Mehmet Kaba. *Open Letter To Ugur Mumcu*, p.12, by Ismail Besikci. *Berxwedan Evening In Konya*, p.4. In Brief. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/315 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/6,8-2. The case continues.

Issue no 46, 8-14 September 1991 *We Are Ready To Meet*, p.1, by A. Öcalan. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/355 on the basis of the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/6-2. Acquitted - decision dated 9/12/1991 no:91/424.

Issue no 47, 15-21 September 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Issue no 48, 22-28 September 1991 *4000 People Marched In The Procession Of The Guerilla*, p.1. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/390 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3718/8. Acquitted - decision dated 20/April/1991 no:92/87.

Issue no 49, 29 September - 5 October 1991 *Important Tasks*, p.1. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection sustained. Istanbul SSC No:1. Lawsuit filed on merit no:91/453 for the crime of opposition to the Turkish Criminal Code 3713/8. Acquitted - decision dated 20/4/1991 no:91/189.

Issue no 50, 6-12 October 1991 (No lawsuit filed)

Year:2

Issue no:1, 20-26 October 1991 *In Its First Anniversary Yeni Ülke* (New Country - the newspaper) *Became Great Country*, p.1. *Action Beyond The Borders And International Law*, p.2, by *Mustafa Akgün*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:91/419 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/8-1-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:2, 27 October - 2 November 1991 (No court case filed)

Issue no:3, 3-9 November 1991. *Missing Soldiers Are In PKK Hands*, p.1. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:91/428 for the crime of opposition to the Article 6-2 of Code 3713. The hearing continues.

Issue no:4, 10-16 November 1991 *Amed Province Commander: Turkish People Should Share Our Pain*, p.4. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Confiscated by Court Order no:91/365. The preliminary investigation by Istanbul Chief Public Prosecution Office no:91/1019 continues.

Issue no: 5,17-23 November 1991 *Our Peoples Are Brothers*, p.1.

Öcalan My Brother The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:92/6 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6,8-2. On the basis of Articles 8-2 of Code No:3713, 5 years' sentence are demanded for Yalcin Küçük and the editor Yusuf Cacim.

Issue no:6, 24-30 November 1991 *Öcalan Is Not Hopeful Of The Coalition*. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:12/35 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6. The hearing continues. Istanbul Press Republican Public Prosecutor decided not to prosecute Davut Sehmuz Üzülmöz, decision nos: 92/2264 and 92/32.

Issue no:7, 1-7 December 1991 *Greetings To Yeni Ülke From Exile*, p.9, by Abdul Kadir Konuk. *ERNK Statement*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:92/14 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-2. The hearing continues. Lawsuit filed against the printer of the newspaper, *Metin Kuru*, for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-2.

Issue no:8, 8-14 December 1991 *Towards The National Assembly*, p.1. Istanbul SSC No:1. Case filed on merit no:91/471 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/8-1-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:9, 15-21 December 1991 (No court case filed)

Issue no:10, 22-28 December 1991 *Serihildan in Nusaybin*, p.1. *Our Children Are Our Future*, p.2, by Kübra Avsar. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:92/26 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:11, 29 December 1991 - 4 January 1992 *SSC Undermines Freedom*, p.2, by Ismail Besikci. Chairmanship Of The War Department. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Case filed on merit no:92/58 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:12, 5-11 January 1992 *91 Was The Year Of The Kurds*, p.12, by *Mehmet Önder*. Istanbul SSC No:1. Case filed on merit no:92/20 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6. The hearing continues.

Issue no:14, 19-25 January 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:15, 26 January - 1 February 1992 *Preparations For Punishment And Suppression*, p.5, by *M. Can Yüce*. Advertisement with two photos on page 5. Advertisement with three photos on page 9. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No:1. Case filed on merit no:92/35 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-8. The hearing continues.

Issue no:16, 2-8 February 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:17, 9-15 February 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:18, 16-22 February 1992 *Belligerent Status For PKK*, p.1. *Catch And Kill*, p.7, by *Musa Anter*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Istanbul SSC No: 1. Case filed on merit no:92/147 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/8-1-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:19, 23-29 February 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:20, 1-7 March 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:21, 8-14 March 1992 *Serihildan Will Be Strengthened With Newroz*. p.1. Istanbul SSC No:2. Case filed on merit no:92/104 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:22, 15-21 March 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:23, 22-28 March 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:24, 29 March - 4 April 1992 *National Mourning*, p.1. *PKK, ERNK Statement Istanbul SSC No:2*. Case filed on merit no:92/150 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/6. The hearing continues.

Issue no:25, 5-11 April 1992 *Geneve Convention Includes PKK*, p.1. *Attempt To Hide Massacre*, p.1-11 The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Confiscated By the Order of Istanbul 2. SSC no:92/83. Investigation continues by the decision of Istanbul Chief Public Prosecutor, preliminary investigation no 92/359.

Issue no:26, 12-18 April 1992 *PKK Attacks Military Targets, Turkish Republic Attacks Civilian Ones and The Article 125 and Judicial Terrorism*, p.9, by *Erdogan Tatlav*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Confiscated By the Order of Istanbul 2. SSC no:92/107. Investigation continues by the decision of Istanbul SSC Chief Public Prosecutor, preliminary investigation no 92/386.

Issue no:27, 19-25 April 1992 *Thousands Attended The Guerilla's Funeral Istanbul SSC No:1*. Case filed on merit no:92/220 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/8-2. The hearing continues.

Issue no:28, 26 April - 2 May 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:29, 3-9 May 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:30, 10-16 May 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:31, 17-23 May 1992 (No court case filed)

Issue no:32, 24-30 May 1992 *Summer Started Hot*, p1-11. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Confiscated by the Order of Istanbul 2. SSC no:92/132. Investigation continues by the decision of Istanbul SSC Chief Public Prosecutor, preliminary investigation no 92/644.

Issue no:33, 31 May – 6 June 1992 *It Is In Fact, The Turkish Republic Who Lost Its Masses* p.12, by *Hasan Özgün. Akbag Villagers Are Forced To Migrate*, p.4. *The [Army] Captain's Arbitrary Attitude*, p.4. *A New Birth In Turkey*, p.2, by *A. Özgür*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Confiscated By the Order of Istanbul 1. SSC no:92/159. Investigation continues by the decision of Istanbul SSC Chief Public Prosecutor, preliminary investigation no 92/672.

Issue no:35, 14–20 June 1992 *The History Of The Kurdish People Is Rewritten*, p.2, by *Ali Firat. The Hero Of All Times: SCC Chief Public Prosecutor, Demiral*, p.9, by *Ismail Safter*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected. Confiscated By the Order of Istanbul 2. SSC no:92/171.

Issue no:39, 12–18 July 1992 *Kurds, The People Forgotten By The World*, p.5. (Report by Christian Democratic Union). The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected.

Issue no:42, 2–8 August 1992 *Open Letter To The Head Of The Constitutional Court*, p.5, by *Ismail Besikci*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected.

Issue no:44, 16–22 August 1992 *The Real Democracy*, p.2, by *Ali Firat. The Unity Of Peoples In The Guerilla Ranks*, p.5, by *Hüseyin Dogan*. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:46, 31 August – 5 September 1992 *Sirnak, Press And Beyond*, by *Yusuf Serhat Bucak. We Won't Respond To The Massacre*, by *A. Öcalan*. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:48, 13–19 September 1992 *Youth: Do Not Join The Military Service*, p.2, reader's letter. *Making People Devoid Of PKK Is The Common Policy Of All The Enemies Of Kurds*, p.6, by *H.K.Narli*. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:50, 27 September – 3 October 1992 *Kill, Kidnap and*

Bury, p.1-11. *Reactions...Reactions...*, p.1-11. *To The Attention Of The Sane Ones*, p.2, reader's letter. *Musa Anter* advertisement by *Abdullah Öcalan*, p.8. *Does The Kurdish People Have To Live Through New Dersims*, p.9, Report of PKK Captives On The Article 125. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:52, 11-17 October 1992 *We Trust Our Consciousness and Rightfulness*, p.5, Public Prosecution Press Office.

Year:3

Issue no:1, 18-24 October 1992 *Impressions Of A Passenger*, p.4. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection Raised. Public Prosecutor's Office filed a lawsuit.

Issue no:105, 25-31 October 1992 *Extension Of The War Will Finish The Special War Regime*, p.2, by *Ali Firat*. "28?", p.5, by *Ismail Besikci*. The newspaper was confiscated. Public Prosecutor's Office filed 2 lawsuits.

Issue no:106, 1-7 November 1992 *We Will Get Rid Of The Betrayal*, p.1-11, interview with *A.Öcalan*. *We Are Together For A Thousand Years*, p. 12-11, by *Ismail Besikci*. The newspaper was confiscated. Objection rejected.

Issue no:107, 8-14 November 1992 *Y.Serhat Bucak On Alsas Radio*, p.1-11. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:108, 15-21 November 1992 *Letter To Humanity or Haftanin*, p.1-11, by *Kani Yilmaz*. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:109, 22-28 November 1992 *Birth Of The Kurdish National Assembly*, p.1-11. *The Reality Of Compassion, We Won't Remain Silent On The Massacre, Finally, The Newspaper Most Feared By The Turkish Republic, Kurdish Children Want To Learn*, p.2, letters. *The Ant Developing Wings, The Scorpion Stinging Itself*, p.4, by *Sükrü*

Gümüs. Kurdish People Has Already Won The War, p.5, by *Tevfik Yasin. Every Province Is In Level Maturity To Make Its Own Revolution*, p.5. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:110, 29 November- 5 December 1992 Hz. 1992/1994 *People Have Selected Their Representatives*, p.1-11. *The Anniversary Of The Foundation Of PKK Is Being Celebrated*, p.1-11. *Our Target Is The Institutions Of The State*, p.4, interview. The newspaper was confiscated.

Issue no:113, 20-26 December 1992 *The War Concentrates In The Cities; PKK Celebration In Bremen; We Will Eradicate The Hizbi-contra; Now, He Is A Soldier* The above articles were given as the reason for the confiscation of the newspaper.

Issue no:114, 27 December 1992 - 2 January 1993 The reason given for the confiscation of the newspaper: *To make propaganda for the illegal organisation, the PKK.*

The 1993 Calendar of *Yeni Ülke* was confiscated by Istanbul SSC.

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LAWSUITS FILED BY THE PUBLIC PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

Turkes and Apo no:7 by *Musa Anter*, Preliminary case dated 5/8/1992 no:1992/861. The case continues.

Pressure in Hazro to become informant. Insulting *Kenan Sahin* in the press. Preliminary case dated 17/11/1992 no:1992/220. Acquitted.

Press panel of the Republicans raided. Lawsuit filed on the basis of the preliminary investigation, dated 15/August/1992 no:1992/231. The case continues.

Lawsuit filed on the basis of the preliminary investigation dated 5/April/1992 no:1992/112. The case continues.

Issue no:1, 20 27 October 1990 *They Hang Children Too*, main article by *Mustafa Gürbüz*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court, lawsuit filed on merit no:1990/663. Acquitted decision dated 14/12/1990 no:1990/479.

Issue no:2, 28 October- 2 November 1990 *The Meaning Of The Kurdish Women Joining The Guerilla Forces*, p.1, by *Ismail Besikci*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal : Court, Lawsuit filed on merit no:1991/39 for the crime of opposition to Code 3713/1. *Ismail Besikci*

received 12 months imprisonment and 800 thousand TL. fine. The editing director *Özkan Kilic* received 1 million TL. fine- decision dated 19/12/1991 no:1991/581. The case is appealed. The file is in the Supreme Court of Appeals.

Issue no:17, 10-16 February 1991 *To Safeguard Kurdish Language Is A Task For Us All*, p.10, by *Feqi Hüseyin Sagnic*. Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court, lawsuit filed on merit no:91/168 for the crime of opposition to paragraph of Code 2932. Acquitted- decision dated 26/4/1991 no:91/147.

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YENI ÜLKE CORRESPONDENTS WHO WERE ARRESTED AND TAKEN INTO CUSTODY

Yeni Ülke correspondents are frequently taken into custody and released after a few days. The detained correspondents are pressurised to stop working for this newspaper and threatened that if they continued to work there, the consequences would be bad for them. The Minister of Interior, *Ismet Sezgin*, in his public statement said: "No proceedings are to be undertaken for they do not have yellow press cards."

The Prime Minister, *Süleyman Demirel*, informs *Yeni Ülke* executives in a letter signed by the permanent undersecretary *Necdet Seckinöz* and dated 16 July 1992, B.02.OMUS. 118/02481. The report of the Police Department General Directorate on the *Yeni Ülke* correspondents was verbally communicated in the Press Office of the Istanbul Police Department Directorate on the day of 9 October 1992. Constant requests of the *Yeni Ülke* executives for a written copy of the report were rejected. Obviously, it was not possible to inform the Turkish PM on whether the information in this report was correct or, otherwise.

For this reason, the following document was sent to the PM and the Minister of Interior by *Yeni Ülke*:

MARDIN

Halim Kesen (Kiziltepe) – Taken into custody on 1 November 1991 and released after one day.

Tahsin Acay - Taken into custody on 28 February 1992. Released after one week.

Bahattin Özen - Taken into custody on 15 February 1992. Released after one week.

Ibrahim Yersiz - Mazidagi correspondent. Taken into custody in Mardin on 15 February 1992. Still in custody 27 November 1992.

Zübeyir Kilic - Savur correspondent. Taken into custody on 16 April 1992. Released after 21 days.

Süleyman Balan, Mehmet Baysal - Nusaybin correspondents. Taken into custody on 12 March 1992. Released after one week.

Vahap Aslan - (Nusaybin) Taken into custody on 27 September 1992. Arrested by Diyarbakir SSC. Later on, a decision of nonjurisdiction given. Tried in Istanbul SSC. Acquitted.

BATMAN

Yahya Orhan - (Gercüs) Taken into custody on 21 March 1992.

Hayrettin Celik, Metin Pekkül - Taken into custody on 21 April 1992 for a short period of time.

Bengi Yildiz - (Kozluk) Taken into custody on 21 March 1992. Released the same day. Again taken into custody on 13 May 1992 and released on 15 May 1992.

VAN

Naif Yasar - Taken into custody on 21 March 1992. He was still imprisoned in Elazig prison until early November 1992.

Necati Bozkurt - Taken into custody on 24 March 1992. Released after 36 hrs.

Süleyman Ike - (Yüksekova) - till in prison since 21 March 1992 (November 1992).

ELAZIG

Ali Dogan - Taken into custody on 3 March 1992 for two hours. Again taken into custody on 27 March 1992 and released the next day.

Gülsüm Yildirim - His house was raided on 22 March 1992. The entrance door was broken. The Elazig office of the newspaper was

raided by the police between 18-22 March 1992.

DERSIM (TUNCELI)

Ali Riza Bozyel - Taken into custody and interrogated on 21 March 1992. Released the same day.

Haydar Gülec - (Ovacik) He was threatened with death by the Ovacik Police Department on 28 March 1992.

Nahit Aykiz - (Nazmiye) Taken into custody in February 1992 and released after 2 days.

SIRNAK

Abdullah Özcan - Taken into custody on 23 April 1992. Still kept in custody (until early November 1992).

Abdullah Arisoy - Taken into custody on 17 May 1992. Released after 2 days. Additionally our Cizre office was raided and our correspondents were taken into custody for short periods of time several times and released after being threatened.

DIYARBAKIR

Burhan Karadeniz - Taken into custody on 8 April 1992. Released after one day.

URFA

Abdulahap Turan - Taken from home and into custody on 23-24 March 1992. Released after one week.

Ali Riza Akyol - Taken into custody on 21 February 1992. Released.

AGRI

Rifki Turan - (Dogubeyazit) Taken into custody on 16 January 1992. Released.

Nizamettin Kadan - Taken into custody on 30 July 1992. Released after 2 months in his first court appearance.

MUS

Ali Cihat Ünlü - (Bulanik) Taken into custody on 16 January 1992. Released.

BINGÖL

Semsettin Ünal - Taken into custody on 22 March 1992. Released.

ISTANBUL

Yusuf Serhat Bucak - Owner of the *Yeni Ülke* newspaper. Taken into custody by the Diyarbakir SSC immediately after the funeral procession of HEP Diyarbakir chairman lawyer *Vedat Aydın* who, in August 1991, had been kidnapped then murdered by the police.

Hüseyin Aykol - General publication manager. Threatened with death by the special team at the exit to Silvan when he was returning from the funeral procession of the murdered *Özgür Gündem* correspondent, *Cengiz Altun*.

Ramazan Ülek - (Public relations manager) Threatened with death by the special team at the exit to Silvan when he was returning from the funeral procession of the murdered *Özgür Gündem* correspondent, *Cengiz Altun*.

Ebru Karabrahimoglu - On the day of 17 January 1992, when he was on his way to an interview with a music group, he was taken into custody. A group of people handing out leaflets was used as the reason. During he period in custody, he was sworn at and abused.

Kenan Dölek - Taken into custody when he was observing a demonstration of National Freight Workers at Istanbul Cagaloglu. Subjectet to threats and abuse.

Bülent Aydın - On the day of 22 April 1992, he was taken into custody, his films were confiscated and he was abused when he was observing the funeral procession of a Kurdish patriot, *Cafar Demirel*.

Yusuf Cacim - Managing Editor. On the day of 22 October 1992, he was taken into custody when *Diz Basın* organisation, where he had been for a meeting, was raided. Released after 8 hrs.

Gültan Kisanak - On the day of 28 November 1992, she was arrested after she paid a hospital visit to HEP member of parliament and later released.

ANTALYA

Ali Manaca - Taken into custody on 20 March 1992. Released after

one day.

URFA

Celil Beyazgül – Siverek correspondent. Taken into custody on 24 March 1992. When he was in custody, a policeman told him: *“Know me well. We are not doing anything to you now. This is because we have taken you in for the public good. When you go to Siverek, you can complain to whoever you want. We will kill you. If an incident takes place in Siverek, you are responsible.”*

VAN

Yusuf Aslan – Police raided the Van office of the newspaper on 23 April 1992. They took the correspondent *Yusuf Aslan* into custody and confiscated his notes.

BATMAN

Bengi Yildiz – Kozluk correspondent. Taken into custody on 21 March 1992 and released. Again taken into custody on the days of 10th and 13th May.

ISTANBUL

Kenan Mendekli – Correspondent of the newspaper. Taken into custody after the *Yeni Ülke Journalism in the Press* panel discussion held in Istanbul on 19 October 1992.

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BALANCE SHEET OF THE CRIMES OF THE STATE AGAINST THE MONTHLY *ÖZGÜR HALK* MAGAZINE

Two representatives of the magazine have been murdered in the year 1992 and early year of 1993.

15 out of 27 issues of the magazine were confiscated and lawsuits filed against 22 issues.

4 representatives and correspondents of the magazine were arrested and sentenced.

8 representatives and correspondents of the magazine were taken into custody.

All the employees arrested and taken into custody were tortured. In numerous raids organised on the offices of the magazine, the offices were messed up and the archival materials were confiscated.

The employees of the magazine were threatened at every opportunity. Every means was used in an attempt to stop the distribution of the magazine. Many readers of the magazine were taken into custody or insulted, just because they read the magazine.

The monthly magazine *Özgür Halk* started publication on 15 November 1990 and produced 27 issues in total. Following are the issues confiscated or lawsuits filed against:

CONFISCATIONS

Özgür Halk dated 15 November 1990. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Action dropped as Articles 141,142 and 163 were abolished. *Rıza Erdoğan*, the owner and the editing director of the magazine was tried.

15 December 1990. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Action dropped as Articles 141,142 and 163 were abolished. *Riza Erdogan* tried.

15 January 1991. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Action dropped as Articles 141,142 and 163 were abolished. *Riza Erdogan* tried.

15 February 1991. Not confiscated.

15 March 1991. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Action dropped.

15 April 1991. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Action dropped as Articles 141,142 and 163 were abolished. *Riza Erdogan* tried.

15 May 1991. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. *Riza Erdogan* was tried and sentenced to 5 months imprisonment and the sentence served.

15 June 1991. Confiscated. Lawsuits filed both in the SSC and Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. *Riza Erdogan* was tried and fined 3,600,000 TL. and the fine paid.

15 July 1991. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Riza Erdogan* is being tried.

15 August 1991. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Riza Erdogan* is being tried.

15 September 1991. Not confiscated.

15 October 1991. Not confiscated.

15 November 1991. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not

concluded. The editing director, *Süleyman Altun*, is being tried.

15 December 1991. Not confiscated.

15 January 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 February 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC.

15 March 1992. Lawsuit filed in the SSC.

15 April 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 May 1992. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. High Criminal Court. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 June 1992. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Fined 2,000,000 TL. The decision was appealed against. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 July 1992. Not confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. High Criminal Court. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 August 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 September 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 October 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Süleyman Altun* is being tried.

15 November 1992. Not confiscated.

15 December 1992. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in Istanbul 2. Basic

Criminal Court and the SSC. Not concluded The editing director, *Hasan Tepe*, is being tried.

15 January 1993. Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. *Hasan Tepe* is being tried.

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THE PRESSURES APPLIED ON THE ÖZGÜR HALK MAGAZINE, ARRESTS AND CUSTODIES

Özgür Halk magazine was under pressure by the state starting from the date it was launched, 15 November 1990, up until these lines are written on 15 January 1993.

First of all, the distribution of the magazine by *Birleşik Basın Dağıtım (BBD)* company was obstructed for political reasons.

The magazine tried to reach the reader and distribute the copies by opening offices in Diyarbakir, Ankara, Izmir, Adana, Bursa, Batman, Van, Ergani, Agri, Tatvan and Istanbul Kartal.

Almost all the issues of the newspaper were confiscated. Lawsuits were filed against the non confiscated issues by the public prosecutors. Thereby the magazine was confronted with financial and political attacks.

Batman representative of the magazine, *Cetin ABABAY* (29 July 1992) and Van representative, *Orhan KARAAGAR* (19 January 1993) were murdered by the *Hizbi-contra*.

Diyarbakir office of the magazine was bombed.

Diyarbakir representative of the magazine, *Hüseyin Ebe*m, was sen-

tenced to 26 months imprisonment and 45 million TL fine on the charge of "making propaganda against the indivisible wholeness of the state". Eberm was arrested and the sentence was executed.

Van representative of the magazine, *Memduh Bitik*, arrested and imprisoned for two months.

The owner of the magazine, *Riza Erdogan*, sentenced to 5 months imprisonment by the Istanbul SSC.

Tatvan representative of the magazine, *Sehmus Günüc*, was taken into custody by the political police and tortured. He was hought to have died and his body was left on the shoulder of a road.

The Istanbul, Agri, Tatvan and Batman offices of the magazine were raided by the police and most of the material, including archival, were confiscated.

Batman correspondent of the magazine, *Cevahir Yıldırım*, was taken into custody on 30 September 1992, tortured and threatened and told to leave the town.

Ankara representative of the magazine, *Medeni Ayhan*, was taken into custody in July 1992 and pressurised, insulted and threatened.

The editing director of the magazine, *Süleyman Altun*, and correspondent *Güler Celik* were taken into custody in September 1992.

Diyarbakir office of the magazine was raided and the correspondents *Hüseyin Bora* and *Güzel Ak* were taken into custody on September 1992.

Distributor *Serdar Dinc* was taken into custody in Mardin in September 1990.

Izmir representative of the magazine, *Mehmet Bayraktar*, was given 3

months imprisonment by Izmir 1. Criminal Court of Peace for the crime of keeping copies of the confiscated issues of the magazine.

In many places, the readers of the magazine were taken into custody, sellers were pressurised to stop selling the magazine and bribes have been offered.

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THE ISSUES OF THE MONTHLY *DEVIRIMCI YURTSEVER GENCLIK* CONFISCATED AND TAKEN TO COURT

All 8 issues of the newspaper published were confiscated. Because of the pressures, the magazine ceased publication.

March 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Not concluded. Editorial director *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

April 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC. Sentenced to 2 years and 6 months imprisonment and 200,000,000 TL. fine. Decision was appealed. Final verdict not yet given. *M.Kemal Begüm* was tried.

May 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

June 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

July 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

August 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

September 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

October 1992 Confiscated. Lawsuit filed in the SSC Not concluded. *M.Kemal Begüm* is being tried.

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PRESSURES PUT ON THE REVOLUTIONARY, PATRIOTIC AND DEMOCRAT PRESS

In the year 1991, 29 books were confiscated and 121 newspapers or magazines were either confiscated or stopped from publication.

Emegin Bayragi was confiscated 25 times, *Yeni Ülke* 24 times and *Mücadele* 11 times. Offices of 12 weekly or monthly magazines were raided. 52 journalists were beaten up in 24 separate incidents. *Ismail Besikci* was arrested 3 times (121 days). The Independent correspondent, *Robert Fist*, was deported on 3 May 1991. Frankfurt Rundschau correspondent, *Lizzy Schmidt*, was beaten up at the funeral procession of *Vedat Aydin*.

Edip Polat's book *Newrozladik Safaklari* was confiscated by order of the SSC despite the fact that the book was released by the Ministry of Culture.

The *Newroz 1992* calendar was confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC, accused of making divisive propaganda. The calendar contained a photo of the HEP member of parliament *Leyla Zana* making a victory sign with her hand holding a yellow red green hair clip.

The owner of *Newroz* magazine, *Hüseyin Alatas*, was arrested on the day of 17 January 1992.

The 10th issue of *Gercek* magazine was confiscated because it contained an interview with the PKK guerrilla commander, *Cemil Bayik*.

Diyarbakir representative of *Newroz* magazine, *Mehmet Kesli*, was arrested on 17 March 1992.

Correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Bilgin Günes*, was taken into custody on 30 March 1992.

Correspondent of *Gerçek* magazine, *Sadik Gülec*, was taken into custody when he was observing the burial ceremony of the Dev Sol militants at Istanbul Karacaahmet cemetery on 21 April 1992.

April 1992 issue of the monthly news magazine *Imza* which is published in Istanbul, was confiscated by order of Istanbul 2. SSC because of the news items and articles on Kurdistan.

Publications director of *Toplumsal Kurtulus* magazine, *Necati Kanbir*, was taken into custody by the police when he was going to participate the May Day 1992 mass meeting.

Correspondent of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine, *Naile Yilmaz*, was taken into custody at Istanbul Gaziosmanpasa neighbourhood when she was on her way to observe the May Day mass meeting.

1 May 1992 special issue of *Sosyalizm Yolunda Kurtulus* magazine was confiscated.

Ayla Önder of *Gerçek* magazine and *Suat Kozluk* of *Cumhuriyet* newspaper were beaten up and their films were confiscated by the police when they were taking the photos of the May Day 1992 mass meeting.

Emegin Bayragi correspondent, *Cuma Davut*, was taken into custody on 9 May 1992.

Diyarbakir representative of *Mücadele* magazine, *Sakine Fidan*, was taken into custody on 12 May 1992.

Correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Murat Özdemir*, was taken

into custody when he was filming with his German colleagues in Istanbul.

Sivas correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Rifat Özgüngör*, was taken into custody and threatened with death on 18 May 1992.

Zonguldak office of *Mücadele* magazine was raided by the police on 19 May 1992.

900 million TL. fine was demanded of the well known sociologist writer *Ismail Besikci* in the lawsuits opened against him because of the books he had written. Out of 14 of his books published by *Yurt Yayinlari* (publications), lawsuits were filed against 13 and confiscation orders were issued against 10.

Trabzon office of *Mücadele* magazine was raided and its representative, *Nihal Aslantürk*, was taken into custody (25 May 1992).

Issue no:65 of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was confiscated on the claim that it *praised terror*.

Azadi newspaper was confiscated because of the article: *These flutterings are not the solution*

A correspondent of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was taken into custody on 29 May 1992.

Issue no:13 of *Hedef* magazine was confiscated because of the article: *The executions and massacres will not turn us from our course.*

The April-May 1992 issue of *Komün* magazine was confiscated on the accusation of *making propaganda in favour of divisiveness and a terrorist organisation.*

Issue dated 31 May - 6 June 1992 of the weekly *Gercek* magazine was confiscated on the claim that the *Apo In South Kurdistan* article

was making propaganda against the indivisible wholeness of the country.

Izmir correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Savas Karatay*, was kidnapped and taken to the mountains, a gun was put to his head and propositioned to be an agent by the political police on 2 June 1992.

The lawsuit, in Ankara SSC is demanding 50 million TL. fine against *Adnan Gerger's* book *Behind the mountains, whose country is it* which is a narrative on Kurds (19 June 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

Ekrem Cemil Pasha's book *Muhtasar Hayatim*, the first book to be published by *Beybun* publications (Ankara), was confiscated for the reason that the book was *insulting Atatürk* (25 June 1992).

Ismail Besikci's book *Tunceli Law (1935), Dersim Genocide* was confiscated by order of the SSC for the second time. The SSC public prosecutor is demanding 2.5 years imprisonment and 50-100 million TL fine for *Ismail Besikci*. The total sentence demanded against *Besikci*, because of his confiscated books, is 45 years imprisonment.

4 issues of the weekly *Mücadele* magazine were confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC.

Issue no:68 of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was confiscated (July 1992).

The book *Our flag will fly everywhere in the country* published by the *Haziran* publications, was confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC.

Diyarbakir office of the *Tavir* magazine was raided by the police (23 July 1992).

The office of *Ekimler* magazine was raided on 1 August 1992 and the

police beat up the people present in the office at the time.

The *Azadi* newspaper stand at the Dikili Cultural Art Festival was attacked on 5 August 1992. On the 6th of August the people manning the stand were threatened and told to pack up the stand.

The 9-15 August 1992 issue of the *Azadi* newspaper was confiscated because of the article: *Inside story of the state incentives in investments in Kurdistan*.

The contracted distributors of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine, *Naci Celebi* and *Tekin Yazar*, were taken into custody by the police. They were tortured and threatened with death (Istanbul, 15 August 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

The daily newspaper *Sabah* correspondent, *Ramazan Imrag*, was taken to the police station and beaten unconscious. Imrag was observing the Sirnak visit of the President *Turgut Özal* (29 August 1991, *Özgür Gündem*).

A lawsuit was filed against the 18 magazines which put their signatures on the *Newroz* statement: *No to the Spring attacks*. The accused magazines are: *Emegin Bayragi*, *Devrimci*, *Mücadele*, *Medya Günesi*, *Devrimci Proletarya*, *Özgür Halk*, *Emek*, *Newroz*, *Özgürlük Dünyasi*, *Komün*, *Parti Yolunda Teori-Pratik*, *Yeni Demokrasi Barikat*, *Hedef* and *Direnis*.

The ranking police officer who searched the Diyarbakir office of *2000'e Dogru* magazine, demanded a declaration of ID from the magazine correspondent, *Fikret Ulusoy*, who was in the office at the time. Later on, the people who called in the name of the *Hezbollahi*, threatened the correspondent.

Devrimci Emek correspondents, *Bülent Toptas* and *Mehmet Hayri Imre* were taken into custody on 12 August 1992.

Ihsan Nuri Pasha's book *Agri Dagi Rebellion*, published by the *Med*

publications, was confiscated on the basis that it targetted the *indivisible wholeness of the country*.

Issue no:14 of *Devrimci Proletarya* magazine was confiscated because of the article: *What is the Turkish Republic after in Kurdistan*.

Istanbul central office of *Devrimci Emek* magazine was raided by the police. The employees of the magazine, *Naci Güleğen* and *Muharrem Yılmaz* were taken into custody.

Several newsagents in Istanbul Ümraniye quarter who sold left wing magazines were taken into custody (5 September 1992).

Bursa correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Gülcan Butakin*, was taken into custody.

Elbistan representative of the *Mücadele* magazine, *Ahmet Kirsal*, and one of the correspondents of the magazine, *Suna Yüksel*, were arrested (12 September 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

The weekly *Emegin Bayragi* and *Mücadele* magazines were confiscated (15 September 1992).

The owner of *Melsa* publications, *Murat Ilyas Burak*, his employee, *Hayati Alp*, were taken into custody (18 September 1992).

The office of the monthly *Gerçek* magazine was raided (September 1992).

Diyarbakir office of *Newroz* magazine was raided. *Nusrettin Macin*, who was present in the office at the time and the publications officer of the magazine, *Remzi Birget*, were taken into custody.

4th issue of *Iscinin Yolu* magazine, 15th issue of *Odak* magazine and 43rd issue of the *Imza* magazine were confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC. A lawsuit was filed against the author of the book *Kurds And Kurdi-*

stan In Scientific Language An Answer From Biology To The Official Ideology, Edip Polat (19 September 1992).

Devrimci Emek magazine employee, *Bülent Toptas*, was kidnapped from the DISK (Confederation of Revolutionary Workers Union) meeting in Izmit by the police and taken into custody on 26 September 1992.

27th issue of *Gerçek* magazine dated 27 September 1992 was confiscated.

The book *The Logic of Revolution and the Question of Power*, published by *Honca* publications on 24 September 1992, was confiscated by order of the Istanbul SSC on 29 September 1992.

Istanbul 2.SSC demanded imprisonment up to 5 years and 100 million TL. fine against *Prof. Fikret Baskaya*, because of his book *Bankruptcy of the Development programme, Westernisation, Becoming contemporary (Introduction to the critique of the official ideology)* published by *Doz* publications. *Baskaya* is one of the writers for *Özgür Gündem* (September 1992).

Issue no:15 of the *Devrimci Proletarya* magazine was confiscated (October 1992).

Antep office of *Newroz* magazine was raided by the political police on 3 October 1992 and the representative of the magazine, *Sait Yildirim*, and the correspondent of the magazine, *Halil Türkmen*, were taken into custody.

Nevşehir correspondent of *Tavir* magazine, *Yasar Demircan* was taken into custody (4 October 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

Issue no:40 of *Iscilerin Sesi* newspaper was confiscated because of the article: *Kurdish Question is Turkish Question*.

Ismail Besikci's documentary book *Scientific method, University autonomy and the Besikci case from the angle of the principles of a democratic society* was confiscated by order of Ankara 1. Criminal Court of Justice.

Issue no:10 of *Newroz* magazine was confiscated.

Issue no:6 of *Hedef* magazine was confiscated.

Issue no:4 of *Partizan* magazine was confiscated.

Issue no:14 of *Mücadele* magazine was confiscated.

A lawsuit was filed by Istanbul SSC public prosecutor against *Recep Marasli*, who compiled his court defenses of the years in imprisonment, under the title of *Political Defense*.

Istanbul office of *Hedef* magazine was raided by the police on the day of 7 October 1992.

In the lawsuits filed in Istanbul SSC against the monthly *Barikat* magazine, the owner and the editing director of the magazine, *Zeke-riya Özdinc*, was given a sentence of 10 months imprisonment and fined 24 million 143 thousand TL.(16 October 1992).

Issue no:30, dated 17 October 1992 of *Gercek* magazine was confiscated by order of the SSC because of the article: *The Officers who were on duty in the Southeast speak*.

16-31 October dated issue of the fortnightly *Medya Günesi* magazine was confiscated by order of Istanbul 1. SSC.

6 people from *Mücadele* magazine were arrested. The managing editor of the magazine, *Namik Kemal Cibaroglu*, in his public statement, pointed out that 9 out of the 14 issues of the magazine have been confiscated and that 6 of their correspondents were still in

confinement. They are: *Makbule Sürmeli*, *Kayhan Tazeoglu*, *Murat Özdemir* (5 October), *Enver Inan* (Kars representative), *Ahmet Kiral* (Elbistan representative), *Mikail Güven* (Malatya), *Mahmut Yurdakul* (Denizli), (21 October 1992).

Denizli office of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was raided on 26 October 1992. The representative, *Baris Mengütay* and the correspondent, *Gökhan Avanoğlu*, were taken into custody.

Eskisehir representative of *Mücadele* magazine, *Fatma Dagli*, was arrested in the Court building where she was to observe a court case on 2 November 1992.

Issue no: 18 of *Medya Günesi* magazine, dated 1-15 November 1992, was confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC because of the article: *Not To Miss The Historical Chance*.

Speakers on behalf of *Taraf* magazine announced that they were ceasing publication as from 5 November 1992 because of the pressures from the police.

Issue no:4 of the *Gençlik ve Gelecek* magazine was confiscated because of the article: *A General Review Of The Kurdistan Question By The Front Of The Revolutionary Forces In Turkey* (6 November 1992).

Issue no: 15 of *Devrimci Emek* magazine, dated November 1992, was confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC.

In the police raid to the Izmit office of *Partizan* magazine, *Enver Yologlu*, correspondent of the magazine, was taken into custody (November 1992).

In the trial of *Iscilerin Sesi* newspaper, because of an article which appeared in its 11th issue, the editing director of the newspaper, *Günnur Ilhan*, was sentenced to 1 year 8 months imprisonment and

was fined 41 million TL. In the same trial, the owner of the newspaper, *Cetin Uygur*, was fined 835 million TL.

In conclusion of the trial of the *Deng* (Voice) magazine which was tried because of an article which appeared in its 11th issue, the editing director of the magazine, *Kamil Ermis*, was sentenced to 5 month imprisonment and was fined 41 million TL. The owner of the magazine, *Hikmet Cetin*, who was tried in the same trial was fined 92 million TL.

Police raided *TÜYAP* and confiscated particularly the books on the bookstalls which displayed *Ismail Besikci's* books (11 November 1992).

In the trial of the editing director of the *Barikat* magazine, *Zekeriya Özdinc*, was sentenced to 10 months imprisonment and was fined 1 billion 24 million TL.

Sivas correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Rifat Özgüngör*, was arrested and the Sivas representative, *Sevinc Kaymak*, was taken into custody (11 November 1992).

An arrest order in absentia was issued for *Sabah* magazine correspondent, *Ramazan Imrag*, because he had taken the photo of *Mesut DüNDAR* tied to an armoured vehicle and dragged, which was printed in *Özgür Gündem* and passed it on to the press, 26 October 1992.

26th issue of *Azadi* newspaper and 77th issue of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine were confiscated (14 November 1992).

Issue no: 9 of *Mücadele* magazine was confiscated for it made propaganda for an organisation.

Samsun correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Pervin Tagen*, was taken into custody (16 November 1992).

Partizan magazine correspondents, *Tuncer Dilaveroglu* and *Kemal*

Tekin, were taken into custody when they were observing the commemoration ceremony in Istanbul, for the revolutionary, *Tuncay Carikcioglu*, who was murdered by the police (18 November 1992).

Issue no:17 of *Devrimci Proletarya* magazine was confiscated.

Issue no:78 of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was confiscated.

On the day of 21 November 1992, the police, who had taken the Istanbul office of *Gercek* magazine under camera surveillance, took the labour trade union correspondent, *Talat Ertuna*, editorial employee, *Orhan Gökdemir* and the public relations employees, *Gülşen Yüksel* and *Yeter Demir*, into custody.

Issue no: 14 of *Sosyalizm Yolunda Kurtulus* magazine dated November 1992 was confiscated. Up until November, 14 lawsuits were filed against the magazine.

Izmir correspondent of *Mücadele* magazine, *Sabri Karatay*, was taken into custody for the 14th time (26 November 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

November 1992 issue of the monthly *Toplumsal Kurtulus* magazine was confiscated.

Last issues of November 1992 of *Azadi* and *Medya Günesi* magazines were confiscated.

100 million TL. fine for a book. *Mehmet Bayrak*, who published a simplified version of *R.M. Nuri Dersimli's* book *My Recollections of Dersim And The Kurdish National Question* was fined 100 million TL. by the Ankara SSC on the basis of the anti-terrorism Code 3713.

An investigation was started by the Office of the Ankara Public Prosecutor on the book *The Screaming Voice Of The Murdered*

Mineworker/Bogazici Occupation, published by Yurt Kitap-Yayın (November 1992).

The owner and the editorial director of *Devrimci Emek* magazine was sentenced to 5 months imprisonment and fined 83 million TL. because of the articles printed in the 5th issue of the magazine: *Southern Kurdistan And Uprising In Irak and Political Status Of Kurdistan*.

Issue no:3 of the monthly *Halkın Gücü* magazine was confiscated by order of Istanbul SSC (November 1992).

The owner and the editorial director of *Emegin Bayragı* magazine, *Nazım Taban*, was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment and fined 223 million TL. in 4 separate lawsuits filed against him by Istanbul SSC on the accusation that he *made propaganda against the indivisible wholeness of the state*.

A lawsuit was filed against *Murat İlyas Burak*, accused of opposing the anti-terrorism law in the novel *Little Peshmerge* which was published by Melsa publications (3 December 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

Editorial director of *Newroz* magazine, *Mustafa Aslan*, was taken into custody when he was observing the mass meeting organised by the public employees unions in Istanbul Gaziosmanpaşa (8 December 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

The owner of *Viransehir* newspaper and correspondent for the BBC, TRT and AA, *Eyyüp Seyrek*, was taken into custody in Viransehir and his ribs were broken under torture.

Last issues of *Devrimci Proleterya*, *Azadi*, *Direnis* and *Mücadele* magazines and newspapers were confiscated because it was *making divisive propaganda with an illegal organisation and was discouraging people from doing military service*.

In three separate lawsuits filed against *Emegin Bayragi* magazine, the owner and managing editor of the magazine *Nazim Taban*, was sentenced to 15 months imprisonment and 166 million TL. fine. The punishment *Taban* has received in Istanbul SSC so far has reached to a total of 3 years and 3 months imprisonment and 390 million TL. fine.

Sociologist *Ismail Besikci* was tried both in Ankara High Criminal Court and the SSC because of his book *The crumbling of the prisons in the mind, their process of judgement and becoming free* (11 December 1992, *Özgür Gündem*).

Issue no:6 of *Partizan* magazine was confiscated.

Issue no:17 of *Odak* magazine was confiscated.

Izmir police seized the calendars for the year 1993 by *Komal* publications.

Yeni Demokratik Genclik magazine was confiscated December 1992). December 1992 dated last issue of *Azadi* newspaper was confiscated because of the article: *The Agenda of Azadi - Human Rights*.

Issue no:8 of *Emegin Bayragi* magazine was confiscated. The owner of the magazine was fined 2 million TL. by the Istanbul 2. Basic Criminal Court (December 1992).

Institut kurde de Paris

(1) TAKRIR-I SÜKUN YASASI **(Public Order Act)**

It is a legislation approved on 5 March 1925, to suppress a Kurdish uprising led by Seyh Sait in 1925. Mustafa Kemal, in order to get the decree approved by the Assembly, replaced the government within a few hours.

Ismet İnönü was appointed Prime-Minister, replacing Fethi Okyar, who was forced to resign.

The legislation gave extraordinary power to the government, army commanders and to the local authorities. Army commanders, because of their function, were not under the the government's control, but, were direct responsibility of Mustafa Kemal. Massacres, village destruction and evacuations were among the given authorisations. The legislation was in force until the 1940s, rather than to 1927 as it was originally planned. Kurdish people, for 20 years, were ruled by these laws.

(2) İSTIKLAL MAHKEMELERİ **(Courts of Independence)**

Emergency State Courts were formed by the Kemalist regime to render the opponents powerless. These courts were in function during the periods of 1921, 10 December 1923 - 25 February 1924 and 14 April 1925 - 28 April 1927.

The Independence Courts were set up in 1925 and functioned under the name of *Sark Istiklal Mahkemeleri* (East Independence Courts) in Elazig and Diyarbakir, cities of Kurdistan. These courts were set up to try the Kurdish people who participated in uprisings. The peculiarities of these courts were that none of the judges were lawyers, the judges were not under the responsibility of the government. It was not necessary for *Sark Istiklal Mahkemeleri* judges to get approval from the Assembly for the execution decrees. The judges were making decisions at first session and accused did not have the right to defence. The suspects were tortured and then taken to court for the hearing. The courts issue only two decisions; Life sentence or execution. The number of Kurds executed were greater than the number of those who died in war fields. During the Seyh Sait uprising, the courts released only one person who was a traitor and who betrayed Seyh Sait and arrested him. The judges were so sadistic, for example, if there were father and son on trial, they first hanged the son before the father's eyes and the father. The graves of the people who were executed do not exist, because the bodies were always destroyed. Among those whose body was destroyed, was Seyh Sait.

Though the Independence Courts were used against the Kurdish people, the courts seized the opportunity, to use them to judge Turkish communists, press members and bourgeois representatives who were either left powerless or arrested.

Although the Independence Courts legislation was decided to be abolished in 1927, it remained in force until 1949.

The Independence Courts were written in history as the courts of state terror and genocide.

(3) PKK

The PKK was founded on 27 th November 1978. The co-founder and president of the party since its establishment is Abdullah Öcalan.

The PKK pursues the aims of freedom from the yoke of colonialism

for the Kurdish people and creation of an independent democratic society.

The real and main organisation area lies in that under Turkish rule, currently, North Kurdistan. Over the course of time, however, their influence has extended over all parts of Kurdistan and overall where Kurds exist.

The PKK which has made the socialist ideology their guidelines, leads their organisation and their struggle on the basis of a democratic and people orientated way. The PKK voted for the armed struggle for their political aims.

The PKK has asserted itself above all through the stand against torture and destruction in prisons after the military coup of 1980 and afterwards through the military-political struggle. They have lost central committee members in prison. They have been tortured to death.

On 15th August 1984 the PKK began the armed liberation struggle. On the 21st March 1985 the ERNK (National Liberation Front of Kurdistan) and in 1986 the ARGK (People's Liberation Army of Kurdistan) were founded. In 1990, the struggle of the PKK massed, also the masses in towns and the intellectuals joined the struggle. The rights of the Kurdish people won and the Kurdish question carried international image, in March 1993 renewed lid for negotiations was made to the Turkish state. They proclaimed an one-sided armistice and explained that it is ready for discussion about the aim of a solution to the Kurdish question on a peaceful democratic basis in the form of a federation. The Turkish state did not react to this offer and instead increased its political force in Kurdistan.

The chairman of the influential Kurdish organisation Abdullah Öcalan enjoys today in the party, as in the Kurdish community the greatest authority and deepest respect.

(4) HIZBULLAH (Hezbollahi)

A contra-guerrilla organisation formed against the PKK and PKK supporters by the *Turkish Special War Department* (Super Nato).

Kurds, knowing the close ties between this organisation and the state, call the organisation as *Hizbi-contra*. It is under the control of political police. During the years of 1991 and 1992 they slaughtered at least 1000 Kurdish intellectuals, workers, students and tradesmen. Turkish Contra-guerrillas uses three groups to carry out their crimes; firstly, the people who participated in guerilla movement for a period of time and then repented, these people are trained, released from prisons and instructed to kill; secondly, political police units (contra-guerrillas); thirdly, the murder bands called *Hizbi- contra*. All the murders are committed in the cities. Often, victims are kidnapped and killed by torture or shot to death with a single bullet to the head, fired from a short distance. Apart from the ones that are captured and lynched by the people, not even one perpetrator of the killings was caught by the Turkish security forces. Turkish state authorities, despite the reality known by everyone, denies the connection between the state security forces and the murderers.

(5) HEP

It was founded in June 1990 from a group of Kurdish and Turkish representatives (MPs) who had split from the SHP (Social Democratic Populist Party) because they had criticised the chavinistic politics of the SHP and also because of the Kurdish question.

The HEP has a programme which contrary to the remaining Turkish political parties was democratic and wanted to make possible a peaceful democratic solution to the Kurdish question.

Through this programme the HEP exposed massive repression. Their officials and members were those who were to become PKK people. Through the print of the state, the Turkish MPs and functionaries were further divided from the HEP. The state wanted to hinder the HEP in the candidature for the election at the end of 1991. The HEP succeeded, however, in an alliance with the SHP to elect 21 of their Kurdish MPs to the Turkish parliament. With the success of the HEP and the fact that the influence of the middle-class parties was

loosing ground, the murder of HEP functionaries and members began.

Over 40-HEP members, mostly district or area chairmen of the party, were murdered, over 100 members severely tortured through counter-guerilla attacks, heavy wounding was sustained and hundreds of members were imprisoned.

The HEP MPs were attacked in the Turkish parliament and prevented from attending speeches. The constitutional courts, in the go ahead of the government and that national security forbade HEP members to act on the pretext that they were acting against the Kurdish interest.

Simultaneous with the introduction of the ban against the HEP in 1992, in the fringes of the HEP was founded the so *ÖZDEP (Party For Freedom and Democracy)* massive state repression was operating and many of their functionaries were murdered.

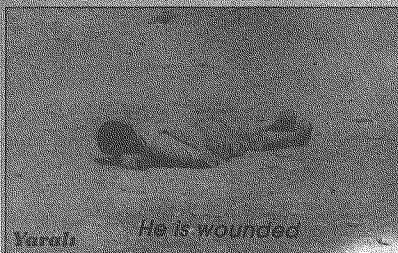
In 1993, parallel to this picture of the front, under the Kurdish organisation the *DEP (Party of Democracy)* was founded on a legal basis.

The general secretar of the *HEP Ahmet Türk*, who was imprisoned for many years on political grounds and was severely tortured. The chairman of the *DEP* is *Yasar Kaya*, who is also the publisher of the daily newspaper *Özgür Gündem*.

Institut kurde de Paris

Humanity is being dragged

İnsanlık sürükleniyor



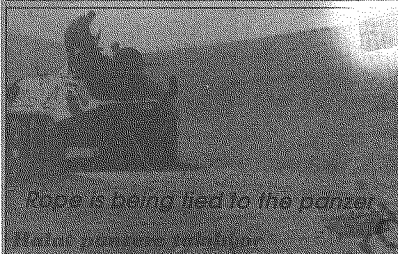
Yaralı

He is wounded



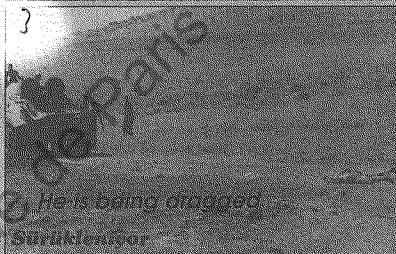
The wounded is being lied

Bağlanıyor



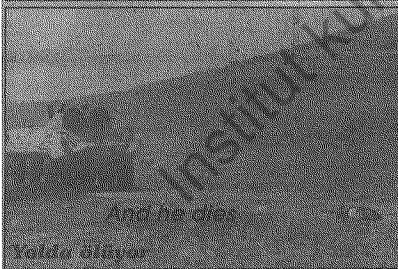
Rope is being lied to the panzer

Halatın panzerle bağlanıyor



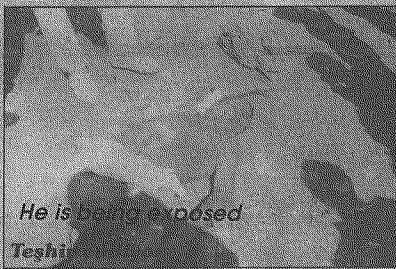
He is being dragged

Sürükleniyor



And he dies

Yolda ölüyor



He is being exposed

Teshir

Place: Cizre, date: 8 September 1992

Those who drag, the Turkish soldiers

The one who is being dragged, a young Kurd, Mesut Dündar

-Özgür Gündem, 16 October 1992

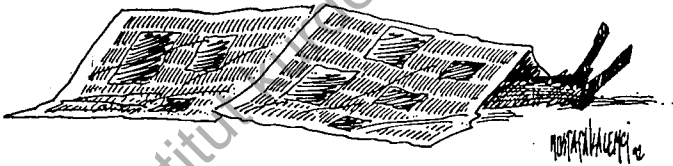
BİR GAZETECİ ...



.. VURULARAK ÖLDÜRÜLDÜ ...



.. BAZI GAZETELER ÜZERİNİ ÖRTTÜ..!



*A journalist shot dead
Some newspapers covered up the reality*

from Özgür Gündem



Chief

I am off in search of news

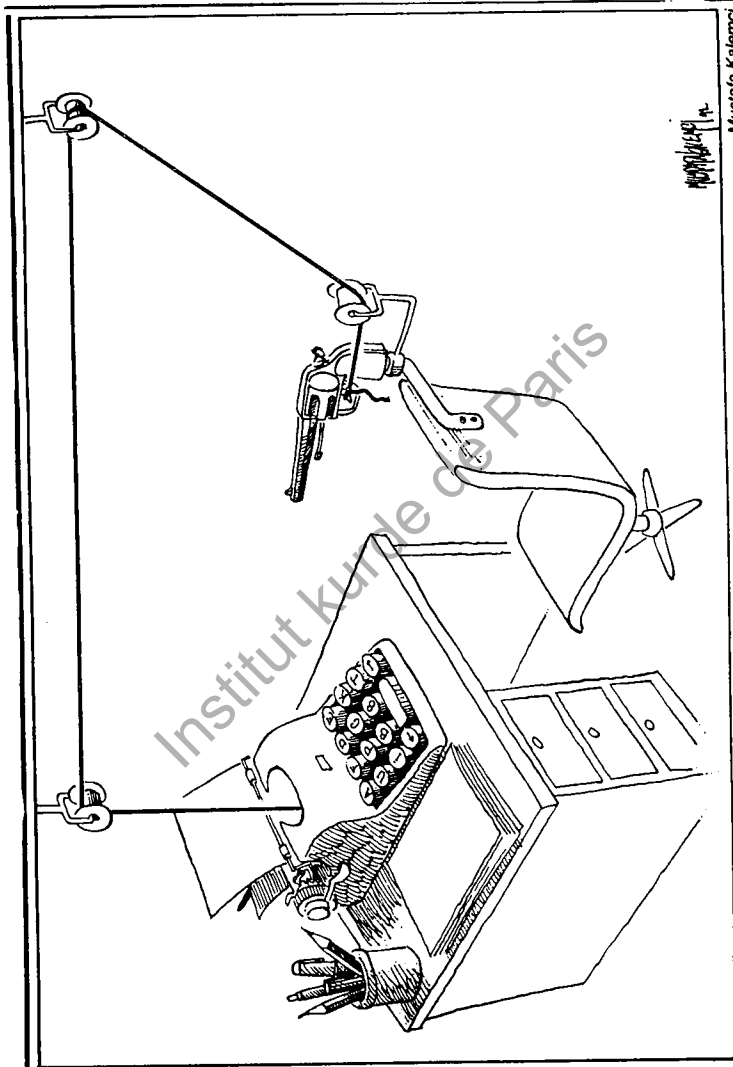
Wish me luck

I am going but I may not be able to return

Even if I return, I may not be able to see you

Your correspondent

from Özgür Gündem



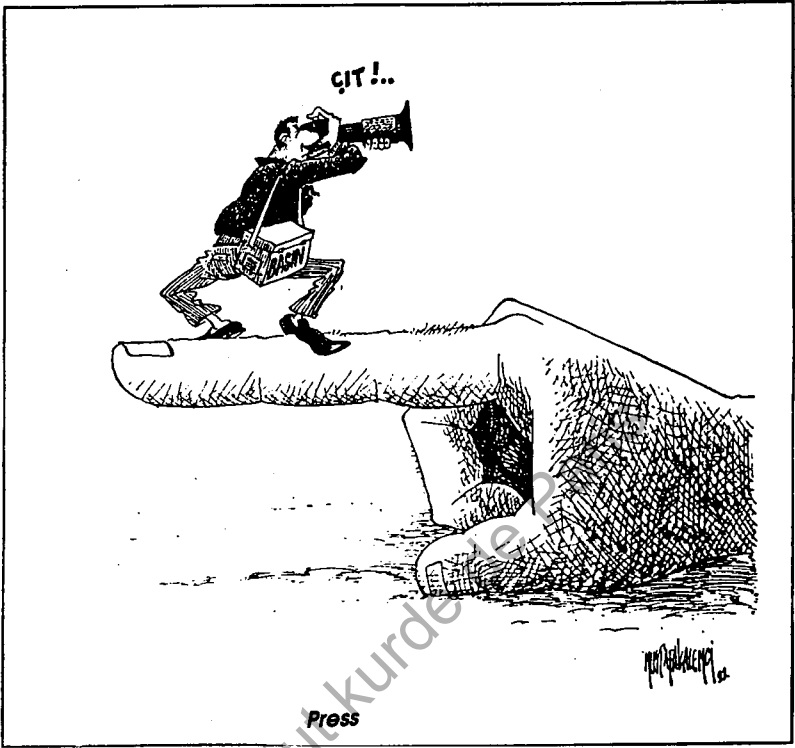
Mustafa Kalemci

Mustafa Kalemci

YENI SANSUR from Özgür Gündem

New censorship

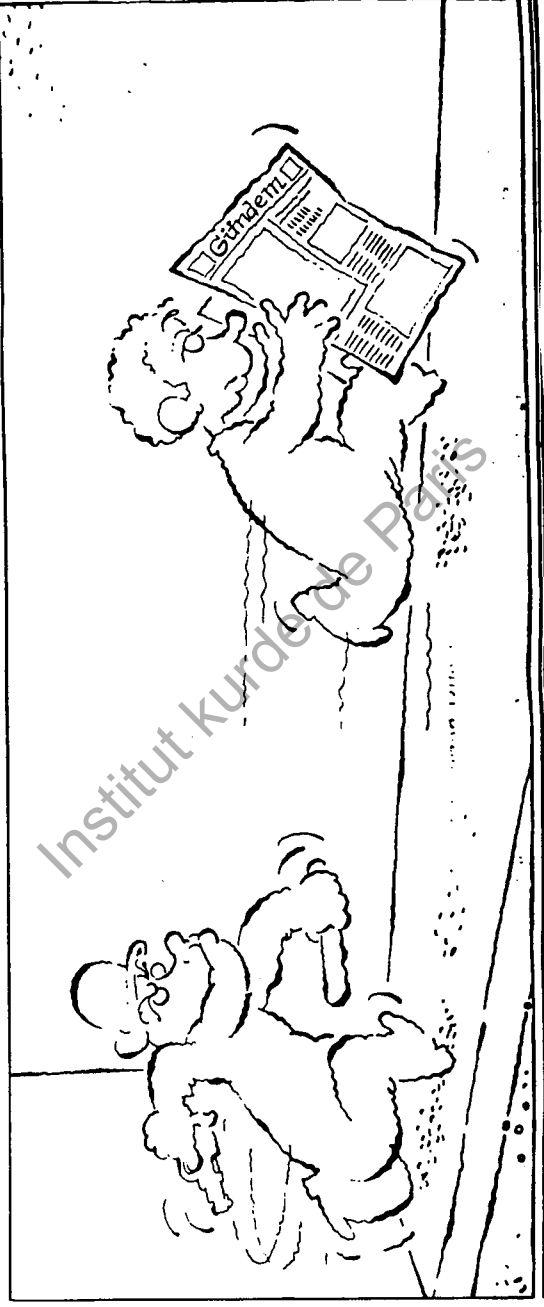
Institut kurle de Paris



from Özgür Gündem

Bilmem Anlatabildim mi?

Ender Özkahraman



I don't know if I could explain it well?

from Özgür Gündem

ƙarĝa

ertan aydın

tc anayasası
madde;28
basın hürdür,
sansür edilemez.
basımevi kurmak, ve mali teminat
yatırma şartına bağlanamaz.
devlet,
basın ve haber alma hürriyetlerini
sağlayıcı tedbirleri alır.

BAŞBAKANLIK,
İÇİŞLERİ BAKANLIĞI,
GENELKURMAY
BAŞKANLIĞI ..
VE
BİLİMUM
İLGİLİ MERCİLERİN
BİLGİSİNE ..



Turkish constitution

Article 28

There is freedom of press

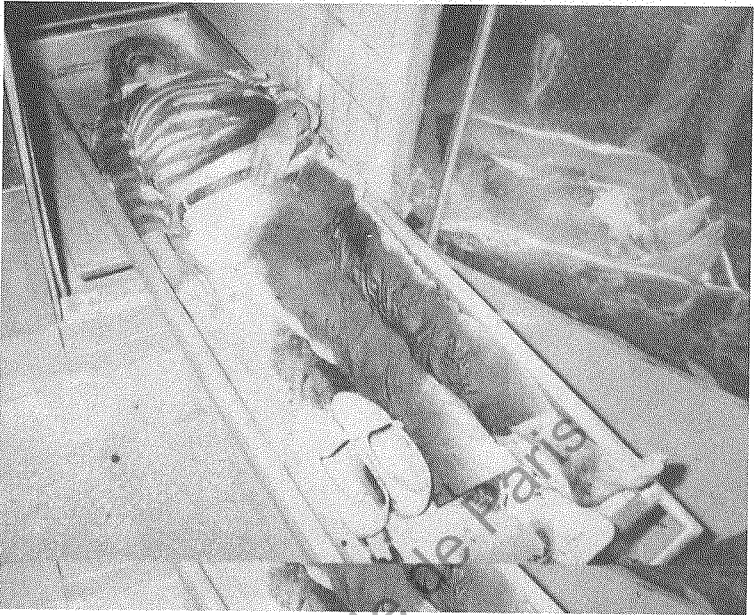
It cannot be subjected to censorship

*Its freedom cannot depend on financial assurance
and the formation of a printing press*

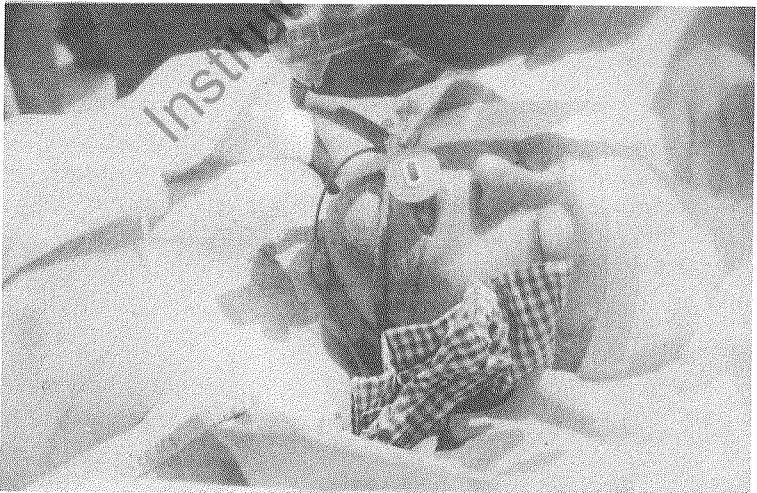
*The state takes firm precautions to protect press freedom
and information gathering*



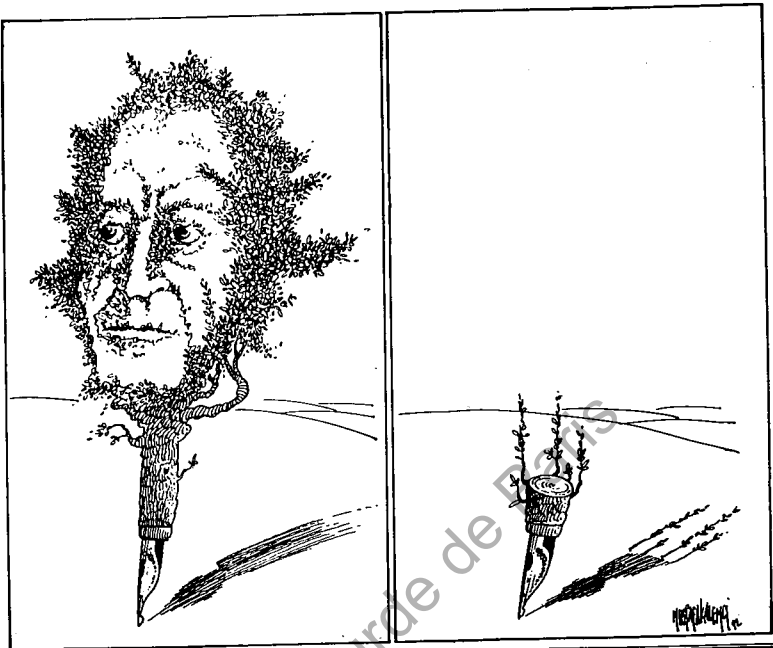
Ramazan Imrag, Cizre correspondent for the Sabah newspaper, who photographed the killing of Mesut Dündar when the later was dragged by a German panzer tank, was left in a coma by police during the visit of president Turgut Özal to Sınak Özgür Gündem, 29 August 1992



The body of Musa Anters after his death, 20 September 1992

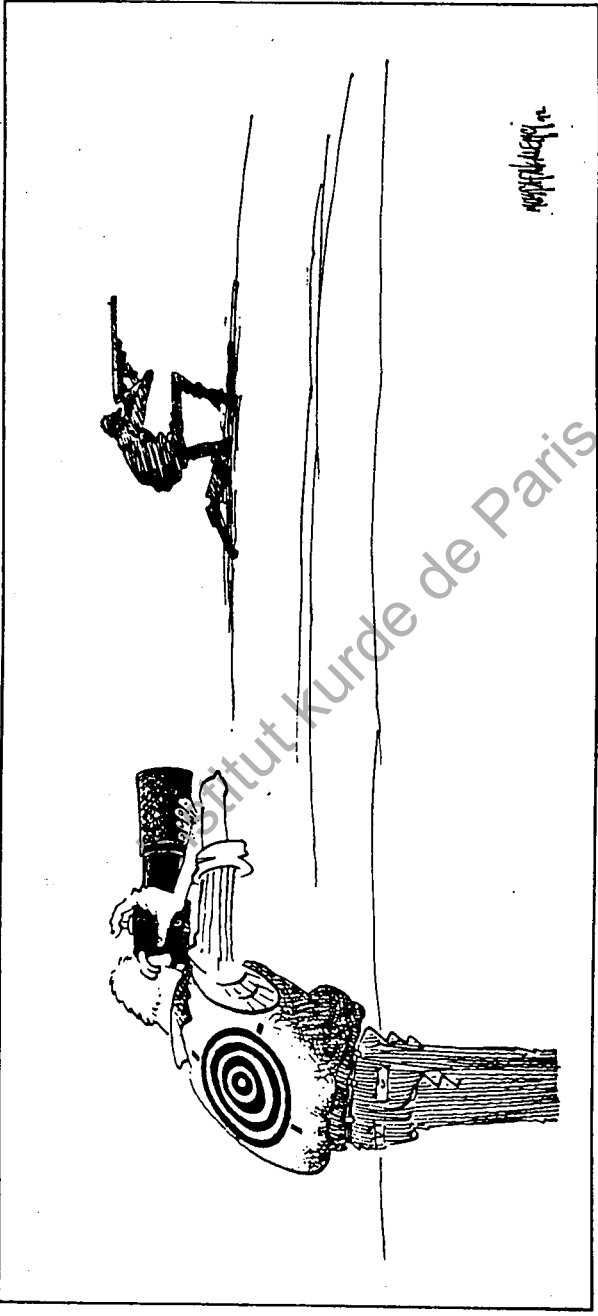


*The doctors could no longer help him,
Hüseyin Deniz after the assination, in hospital in Diyarbakir*



Caricature about the death of Musa Anter

Institut Kurde de Paris



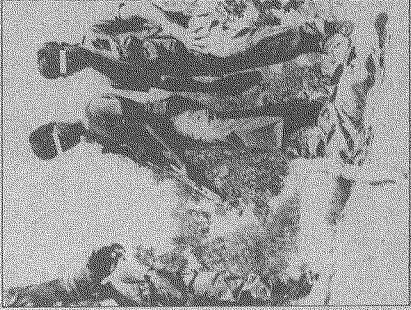
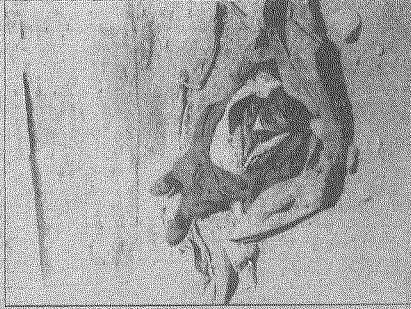
from Özgür Gündem



*A car used to distribute Özgür Gündem in Diyarbakir was shot at
Özgür Gündem, 25 November 1992*

Bölge Valiliği, "İnsanlık sürükleniyor" haberimiz için, "Biz hem ölüye, hem de diriye saygılıyız" dedi

İşte 'ölüye saygı'nın fotoğrafları



*"We respect the dead" the governor of the region, Ünal Erkan, said.
But is this respect for the dead: a Turkish soldier posing with his army
boot crushing the body of a Kurdish villager who had just been shot.
-Özgür Gündem, 21 October 1992*

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Initiative Protection for Journalists in Turkey-Kurdistan

The large professional associations of international press described in September 1992 Turkey as the most dangerous country for journalists.

The alarming statement is related to the fact that within a few months of this year 10 representatives of different newspapers have been murdered. Almost always in Kurdistan. It happened on Turkish territory where officials, representatives, police and military force wouldn't even leave the ways of the murdered to rest in peace. They confiscate and bury them in order to prevent the population from expressing their annoyance even at the graveside.

Even in Germany are meanwhile death lists and threats in circulation directed against democratic journalists of Kurdish or Turkish origin living in Germany.

The fact that this can happen as a matter of course is also in some way related to the fact that international protest against Turkish authorities materialized only of late.

We would like to present the initiative of medico international through this documentation and an appeal meant to ward off further crimes and guarantee protection for free reporting on Kurdish events.

Therefore we count on public interest and hope that journalists, writers and their associations are ready for a sign of solidarity on their own behalf.

A closing slip carefully filled in promises to the undersigned further information. Special interest goes primarily for journalists who wish to join by name the initiative for protection of their colleagues.

We thought of, just to mention the next steps, publishing appeals

signed at large which will be published in Turkish, Kurdish and German newspapers and will be directed at the government in Ankara.

In order to establish a deeper relationship and to gain insight into the problems of the journalists working there were planned a visit of delegates to Turkey/Kurdistan.

In order to get further information please contact us.

Institut kurde de Paris

I am interested in the *Initiative Protection for Journalists in Turkey/Kurdistan* and wish to keep up with its further development.

Name:

Address:

Tel:

Profession/Employer:

Please fill up an example of the slip
and send it to:
medico international, Obermainaanlage 7,
6000 Frankfurt 1, Germany

Institut für die Rechte der Menschlichkeit
de Paris

Institut Kurde de Paris

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The chronology of the events which occurred between the 31st May 1992 and the 15th January 1993 which is presented in this booklet is the most extensive and most conscientious documentation available about these crimes to date. It can also claim to be an accusation against the Turkish government who bears the fundamental responsibility for these events and therefore it can help to bring the Turkish government to justice. Whether or not it will succeed in this is for the readers to decide and this includes the international journalists, the media, the associations of human rights, the European Community and the UN organisations.

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