

# documentation on the death fast in Turkey

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TAYAD Komite Nederland  
tayad.komite@12move.nl  
010 2762149  
061 4988550  
Pieter de Hooch Str. 30  
3024CS R' Dam

## Brief history of the death fast in Turkey

*October 20, 2000:* 816 prisoners who had been tried or would be tried for connections to the DHKP-C, TKP(ML) and TKIP started an unlimited hunger strike in various prisons.

*November 10-12, 2000:* The TAYAD families organised the "Congress on the reality of the prisons, the problems and proposals for a solution".

*November 14, 2000:* The TAYAD families started a Death Fast.

*November 19, 2000:* The unlimited hunger strike was turned into a Death Fast.

*November 25, 2000:* Around 7,000 people participated in the "Meeting against the F-Type prisons" in Ankara.

*November 29, 2000:* Second Death Fast teams started with their Death Fast action.

*November 30, 2000:* Other members of TAYAD in the Aegean region started the Death Fast.

*December 2, 2000:* In the Yüksel Caddesi in Ankara, a thousand people call for the fulfilment of the demands of the prisoners.

*December 7, 2000:* Intellectuals and artists started a hunger strike.

*December 8, 2000:* The TAYAD families organised a sitdown strike in front of the "Cankaya Castle".

*December 9, 2000:* Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Türk declared that the "opening of the F-Type prisons has been postponed".

*December 9, 2000:* A delegation of a group of intellectual artists and TBMM (Turkish Parliament) Human Rights Commission member Mehmet Bekaroglu spoke with the representatives of the prisoners in the resistance. Later on representatives of TMMOB (Union of Architectural Chambers of Turkey), TTB (Union of Medical Chambers), the Bar of Istanbul and TAYAD participated as well.

*December 9, 2000:* Fascists who attacked the solidarity hunger strike tent in Rotterdam (Holland) killed Cafer Dereli.

*December 11, 2000:* Attack on the resistance started: Ecevit gave the signal of the attack by saying "As long as public interest continues, this action cannot end".

*December 12, 2000:* The police rapid reaction forces marched in several cities of Turkey shouting for "revenge"

*December 12, 2000:* The prisoners' families were attacked by police in Kizilay. Young people who were building barricades at Sakarya Street were attacked by police with gas and smoke bombs.

*December 12, 2000:* The legal left parties who closed their doors to the relatives of prisoners dur-

ing the attack in Kizilay were booed by the masses.

*December 13, 2000:* The RTÜK (Upper Institution of Radio and Television) and the DGM (State Security Court) began to apply censorship over news concerning the Death Fast.

*December 14, 2000:* The third Death Fast teams started the Death Fast.

*December 15-16, 2000:* While stopping negotiations, the government threatened to use forcible medical intervention. The prisoners stated that they would burn themselves in the case of an attack.

*December 19, 2000:* MASSACRE! The authorities burnt down the prisons in which revolutionaries are imprisoned, 28 prisoners being killed. The prisoners were transferred to the F-type prisons.

*December 20, 2000:* LIES! While the operation called "Return to Life" was still continuing, the authorities spread the lie that "there is no death fast!"

*December 21, 2000:* The TAYAD and IHD democratic institutions were raided, amongst others.

*December 23, 2000:* The funerals of eight revolutionary prisoners are held in Gazi (Istanbul) with the participation of 3,500 people.

*January 3, 2001:* The fighter of the DHKC, Gültekin Koç, carried out a sacrifice action at the Police Headquarters in Sisli (Istanbul).

*January 3, 2001:* They started force-feeding the Death Fast resisters. Semra Askeri and Hatice Yazgan were the first resisters whose memory was wiped out by this method.

*February 11-13, 2001:* TAYAD members destroyed the silence with their march to Ankara.

*March 21, 2001:* The Death Fast has given its first martyr in the F-type prisons: Cengiz Soydas lost his life.

*April 2, 2001:* During an action carried out by fighters of the DHKC in Bahçelievler, as revenge for the massacre of 28 prisoners on 19th of December 2000, two policemen died.

*April 19, 2000:* With the change of article 16 of the Anti-Terror Law, isolation and torture were legalised.

*May 11, 2001:* The Fourth Death Fast teams started their action.

*May 20, 2001:* The number of prisoners who were left handicapped through forced medical intervention in the hospitals turned into torture centres exceeded 40.

*May 21, 2001:* The members of TAYAD were prevented from entering Ankara.

*May 25, 2001:* With the participation of different democratic organisations, the families of TA-

YAD and TUYAB organised a march in Ankara, demanding the start of negotiations with the prisoners.

*May 31, 2001:* 14 prisoners who were continuing their resistance and lost their memory were released. Releases in order to break the resistance also followed in the next days.

*June 1, 2001:* Sevgi Erdoğan and Gökhan Özoçak, who were the first prisoners released as a result of the policy of trying to break the resistance, announced that they would continue their Death Fast outside prison.

*June 3, 2001:* The Fifth Death Fast teams started.

*June 4, 2001:* The Second Death Fast team of the TAYAD families started the Death Fast.

*June 7, 2001:* A delegation of the European Parliament spoke to Sadi Özbolat, a representative of the prisoners in Kandira F-Type prison.

*June 9, 2001:* A meeting in Ankara calling for negotiation with the prisoners was held with the participation of 3,000 people.

*June 26, 2001:* In spite of being surrounded by police, the Platform for Rights and Freedom organised a march in the Gazi district of Istanbul on the 250th day of the Death Fast resistance.

*July 2001:* From the resistance house to the resistance neighbourhood; More than ten revolutionary prisoners who were released from the prisons declared that they were continuing their Death Fast in Küçük Armutlu (Istanbul).

*July 2, 2001:* With the Forensic Medical Report published in the newspaper Radikal, the reality of the massacre in Bayrampasa prison and the fact that six women were burned alive was proved once again.

*July 6, 2001:* The fighter of the DHKC, Ismail

Karaman, was martyred by the police in Istanbul.

*July 4-14, 2001:* Gökhan Özoçak was martyred on the 4th of July and Sevgi Erdoğan on the 14th of July. They had both continued their Death Fast after being released from prison.

*July 15, 2001:* 600 people protested at Sultanahmet in Istanbul when permission was denied for a meeting on the Death Fast.

*July 2001:* The Death Fast was started in resistance houses in Ankara, Malatya, Trabzon and Sevaköy.

*July 2001:* The resistance neighbourhood Armutlu was surrounded by the police; they started to intimidate visitors and to disturb the people working in the town hall. The resisters warned that they would set themselves on fire if Armutlu was attacked.

*July 28, 2001:* The Sixth Death Fast teams started their Death Fast.

*August 8, 2001:* The technical bureau of the magazine Vatan was raided by police, in order to silence the voice of the Death Fast. Together with the workers of the paper the general secretary of TAYAD and the chief editor of Vatan were arrested and put in jail.

*August 2001:* To break the police siege in Armutlu, the TAYAD families called everybody to Armutlu with the appeal "Take a clove and come!"

*September 15, 2001:* The police attacked the funeral of Ümüs Sahingöz, who fell martyr in Armutlu, and also attacked the resistance houses of Armutlu with gas bombs, plastic bullets and armoured cars. The people of Armutlu built barricades and repelled the attack.

*September 26, 2001:* The Seventh Death Fast teams started their action.

November 19, 2000

## *Loung live our death fast resistance!*

The Indefinite Hunger Strike by DHKP-C (Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front), TKP(ML) (Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist)) and TKIP (Communist Workers' Party of Turkey) prisoners in the jails of Turkey which was started on October 20 is in its 30th day. Their just and legitimate demands have not been accepted, it is as though the authorities are merely awaiting their deaths. The only weapon the prisoners have is their own bodies and they announced that from today the Indefinite Hunger Strike resistance has been turned into a Death Fast. The prisoners, in the knowledge that they will win, are say-

ing, "FOR OUR DEMANDS WE HAVE LAID OUR BODIES DOWN TO DIE, FOR THEIR SAKE WE WILL DIE BUT WE WILL NOT GO INTO THE CELLS," and here is the latest information we have:

Ümraniye Prison (Istanbul):  
15 DHKP-C, 5 TKP(ML), 1 TKIP;  
Çankiri Prison:  
5 DHKP-C, 1 TKIP;  
Bursa Prison:  
3 DHKP-C, 7 TKP(ML);  
Aydin Prison: 3 DHKP-C;  
Çanakkale Prison:

10 DHKP-C, 1 TKP(ML);  
 Malatya Prison:  
 2 DHKP-C, 4 TKP(ML);  
 Bartin Prison:  
 5 DHKP-C, 2 TKP(ML), 1 TKIP;  
 Gebze Prison:  
 5 TKP(ML), 1 TKIP;  
 Usak Prison:  
 3 DHKP-C, 1 TKP(ML);  
 Buca Prison (Izmir):  
 3 DHKP-C, 1 TKP (ML);  
 Ulucanlar Prison (Ankara, scene of last year's  
 massacre):  
 1 DHKP-C, 1 TKIP;  
 Bayrampasa Prison (Istanbul):  
 10 DHKP-C, 3 TKP(ML);  
 Ceyhan Prison:  
 3 DHKP-C, 2 TKP(ML), 1 TKIP;

These are the numbers of prisoners by affiliation who have joined the Death Fast. (Translator's note: exactly 100 prisoners are on the Death Fast, 63 DHKP-C, 31 TKP(ML) and 6 TKIP.)

Today there already exist 7 Death Fast teams in the prisons.

Outside of the prisons, in support for the resistance, mothers who had been on hunger strike for six days together with their sons and daughters have turned their protest into a Death Fast.

On the 19th of December, the 60th day of the death fast, the Turkish state launched an operation in 20 prisons at the same time. It was an attempt to break the Death Fast resistance. With demagogu

and lies about "saving human lives" they tried to deceive public opinion. Massive support outside the prisons which was organised within all democratic structures and even affected parts of the bourgeoisie, intellectuals and artists. The government had to stop this support immediately.

The state called its murder operation "Operation Return to Life". Today even the government of Turkey had to expose its own massacre. Autopsy reports clearly show that the prisoners were brutally murdered by the state forces.

Mrs Yildiz Ercan, a former prison officer who was still on duty during the operation in the prisons also confirms that the massacre was planned and she resigned some months after these events. She herself confirmed that four tons of bombs, heavy weapons and chemical weapons were used against the prisoners and every kind of physical and psychological torture was applied.

A total of 28 prisoners were killed during the operation. Hundreds were injured and left handicapped. Most of the prisoners on Death Fast were directly deported to the F-Type prisons, which were officially opened then. Some others were brought to hospital for medical intervention. Almost every prisoner was tortured and mistreated even during and after the transfer to the new prisons. Many prisoners have stated that they were raped by the soldiers.

After the deportation of the prisoners into the F-Types, other organisations also participated in the death fast.

## *To the press and public opinion*

Before the eyes of public opinion in Turkey and the entire world, the state once again showed its murderous face towards the resistance which had started in 20 prisons on October 20, 2000 with an Indefinite Hunger Strike and which was gradually turned into a Death Fast from November 19. Although our demands were very concrete and just, the state gave obscure and vague replies to these demands, and by saying "We have postponed the F-Type prisons, finish the resistance," it sought to distract us, and broke off negotiations. It carried out the attack and massacre which it called "Return to Life", a massacre which it had said it had been "preparing for about a year", and which was carried out not long after the state said it was "postponing" the F-Type prisons.

Once again it was seen how much the state's

words are merely lies. On December 19 in 20 prisons, all revolutionary prisoners were attacked and 28 of our people were slaughtered, dozens left handicapped and hundreds wounded. The state's aim with this attack was to break the resistance of revolutionary prisoners. But it did not happen as the state expected. In the prisons all the revolutionary prisoners responded with resistance to this attack aimed at annihilating them.

Following the attack, we were subjected to systematic torture, put in the F-Type prisons and isolated. The state officials who spread the lie that we had resisted (in the old prisons) because of "pressure from organisations and had been compelled against our will" were given a response when, even in the F-Type conditions, our just and honourable resistance could not be broken, we showed that we

would never accept F-Type isolation, new people joined the Death Fast and all revolutionary prisoners continued the Indefinite Hunger Strike en masse.

All who are on the side of the people, justice, democracy and freedom can and must not remain silent witnesses to what we have experienced.

ONCE AGAIN WE ANNOUNCE THAT,

We will never accept F-Type isolation. Our resistance will go on until our demands are accepted, whatever the price that is paid. With resistance, we will emerge victorious from the F-Type prisons. Those who just stood by and watched and preferred to remain silent towards our resistance, and the state above all, will be responsible for the price we paid and will pay. Sooner or later, history will demand a reckoning for this. We appeal to all sensitive, democratic, progressive, intellectual and revolutionary public opinion to support our just and honourable resistance.

WE WILL DESTROY THE F-TYPE ISOLATION CELLS!

LONG LIVE OUR DEATH FAST RESISTANCE!

LONG LIVE OUR GENERAL RESISTANCE!

DOWN WITH FASCISM, LONG LIVE OUR STRUGGLE!

WE WILL WIN, OUR PEOPLE WILL WIN!

January 29, 2001

The DHKP-C, TKP(ML), TKIP, TKP/ML, MLSPB, MLKP, TIKB, TDP and TKP-Kivilcim Trial prisoners, represented by Ahmet Özdemir, Cem Yıldız, Duygu Mutlu, Nezahat Turan, Hasan Yüksel, Kerim Tepeli, Siddik Özçelik and Cafer Kurt

*(DHKP-C - Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front, TKP(ML) and TKP/ML - Communist Party of Turkey Marxist-Leninist, TKIP - Communist Workers' Party of Turkey, MLSPB - Marxist-Leninist Armed Propaganda Unit, MLKP - Marxist-Leninist Communist Party, TIKB - Union of Revolutionary Communists of Turkey, TDP - Revolution Party of Turkey, TKP-Kivilcim - Communist Party of Turkey-Spark.)*

## *Yesterday, demands and situation...*

The death fasts and hunger strikes continued and so did the actions in solidarity outside prison. For a long period the media was silent on the events. They tried to make people forget that the resistance still continued. But at the same time the repression continued outside the prisons. Several democratic institutions were illegally closed down and raided by the police. Hundreds and even thousands of people were arrested in newspaper offices, in their houses and during demonstrations in support of the prisoners. Branches of the Human Rights Association were closed because they defended the hunger strike.

As if it really wanted to save human lives, the Turkish state didn't accept any solidarity with the hunger strike, saying that everybody who defended it was assisting them to die. Several members of TAYAD were arrested and charged during hundreds of protests. They organised caravans to Ankara to meet with the Minister of Justice. The coaches in which they were driving were several times attacked by the police and even old mothers were brutally beaten with truncheons. Some people even fell into a coma. Hundreds of people

were arrested.

The state couldn't stop the resistance of the prisoners and so it tried force-feeding them. Day by day without being warned in advance, the prisoners were seized, taken to the hospitals and subjected to forced medical intervention. Because of the methods used by the collaborating doctors, dozens of prisoners lost their memory. (Serum was pumped into their veins at high pressure. This practice after more than 100 days on hunger strike – not to forget that it was even used on prisoners after more than 200 days – was deliberately intended to destroy the functioning of the brain and nerve cells.

Although forced intervention is forbidden by the Conventions of Malta and Tokyo, the Turkish state even opened court proceedings against members of the Medical Association who refused to be an instrument of the state.

Until today there was not a really strong reaction by the European governments against this practice. Several times they were warned but they waste a lot of time listening to the demagogues of reforms and changes to the Anti-Terror Law without listening to the appeals of the prisoners.

The first demand of the political prisoners was the abolishment of the F-Type prisons. But they also announced some political demands at the beginning of the strike. The demands were formulated more concretely according to the latest conditions in a statement of June 14, 2001:

*Demands of the resisting prisoners*

1) Architectural and legal reforms have to be made to the F-Type prisons. The existence of cells for one or three persons has to be abolished. The doors of the cells have to be kept open until the necessary reforms have been made. It has to be guaranteed that the prisoners and those awaiting trial can live together without any preconditions being placed upon them. The denial of living rights and isolation must end. Common living areas for the prisoners and those awaiting trial has to be created. The common facilities for sports, social and cultural activities, which are said to have been created, have to be opened for use without being bound to any preconditions. This has to be recognised as a right and the laws which prevent this have to be abolished. There has to be reforms to meet the requirements for sports, social and cultural activities between the different blocks.

Legal publications (books, magazines and newspapers) have to be allowed, taking into account that even the recent law doesn't prohibit this. The examples of the confiscation of publications, the arbitrariness of this, have to cease. The obstacles placed before us regarding our rights to letters and communications have to be removed. The practice of limiting visits to 30 minutes when our visitors are travelling hundreds of kilometres and having their visit almost turned into a torture session has to end. These limits and this arbitrary behaviour has to be stopped. The right to an open visit must not be conditional. It must be allowed and in our favour. There must not be limits placed on articles of daily use like food and clothes which are brought to the prisons by our families. It has to be made possible for our families to hand over refrigerators, ovens, radios, typewriters and cassette recorders which are necessary articles for daily use.

Regarding our legal problems, any arbitrary restrictions placed upon us during our talks with our lawyers has to be removed. The right of to have a "private consultation with our legal defence" has to be respected. Lawyers must be allowed to talk to more than one client at the same time and the arbitrariness of the humiliating and degrading treatment of our legal defence must end.

The internal and external canteen requirements have to be regulated and made suitable. The

practice of overpricing has to stop. The practice of "subjecting those who are imprisoned to charges", which forces prisoners to pay for electricity, television and medicine on their own, has to end.

The right of the prisoners to be represented has to be recognised and practiced.

The sentenced prisoners and those awaiting trial have to stay in the same common areas. Our demands and our rights have to be guaranteed by law by the state. They will be absolutely and completely applied to both the F-Type prisons and in all other prisons where political prisoners and those awaiting trial are kept, and they will be applied without making any changes. Any such changes or "improvements" which we judge to be trying to break down our thoughts have to be abandoned.

2. Article 16 of the Anti-Terror Law has to be removed. The change to article 16 has legitimised isolation and attacks. Isolation was put into law and consolidated by tying its practice to the arbitrariness within all the prisons. Furthermore the Minister of Justice has to keep the promise he made before 19th December, to remove the double standard of the "penalty execution" between political and social prisoners by making the necessary reforms to article 17 and to article 5 of the Anti-Terror Law which is connected to it.

3. The tripartite protocol has to be cancelled. This protocol has robbed us of our right to a defence. It has abolished the confidentiality regarding the trial documents between the lawyer and their client. It has to be cancelled as a whole because it not only attacks our right to defence but it is also the basis for the attacks and massacres on the prisoners. It also contains articles which are an attack upon our families and doctors.

4. The "Supervisory Committees" have to be represented not by those persons who represent those who apply isolation and repression; but by those who represent institutions like the Bar Associations, the Medical Association of Turkey (TAB), Human Right Association (IHD), Union of the Chambers of Engineers and Architects of Turkey (TMMOB) and the various association representing the families of prisoners like TAYAD, TUYAB and Tüm Yargı-Sen. The prisons have to be opened for regular inspections by the independent Supervisory Committees and the necessary recommendations that are in their reports have to be implemented immediately.

5. In relation to the abolition of anti-democratic institutions and laws such as the DGMs (State Security Courts) and the Anti-Terror Law, which is not only demanded by us political prisoners but also by all forces, the political prisoners and democratic

forces and public opinion have to be given a guarantee regarding this.

6. The punishment of the prisoners who received severe mental and physical damage during both the hunger strike-death fast resistance in 1996 and today's Death Fast resistance and during the operations carried out in the prisons, and those who for whom there's no possibility of medical treatment in the prisons and who are very ill, has to be cancelled with the compliance of the Prosecutor of the Republic. This has to be done without there being an examination by the forensic doctors whose arbitrary and subjective diagnosis has made receiving medical treatment impossible.

7. The massacres in the prisons, beginning from the operation of 19th December 2000, and including those in Buca, Umraniye, Diyarbakir, Uluçanlar and Burdur, have to be investigated by commissions consisting of independent institutions of independent democratic mass organisations and professional chambers and also the Parliamentary Human Rights Commission. There must be guarantees that there will not be any restrictions regarding their reports and they have to be made public and those who are identified as being responsible have to be taken before the courts and punished. Our demands are fully just, legitimate, democratic and humane. Against all the lies, demagoguery and distortions our demands are not unacceptable. In order to fulfil our demands, and to negotiate and to find a solution, there must be unconditional negotiations with representatives who are chosen by the prisoners by their own free will.

Signed by Ercan Kartal, Cemal Cakmak, Muharrem Kursun, Hacı Demirkaya, Yunus Aydemir, Can Ali Türkmen, M. Aytunç Altay, Nizamettin Dogan, Ramazan Sadikoglu, Ziya Büyükkisik, the political prisoners from the DHKP-C, TKP(ML), TKIP, TKP/ML, MLKP, TIKB, TDP, DY, DH, PKK/DÇS, MLSPB trials.

14th June 2001

In the face of the situation today the basic demands immediately posed to the government are:

- Immediate and unconditional end of isolation

- Forced medical intervention is torture. It has to be stopped immediately.

- The representatives of the political prisoners have to be recognised and the government has to start a direct dialogue immediately.

The government prevents direct negotiations between the representatives of the prisoners and the authorities. It is calling the prisoners "terrorists" and showed that it wasn't even ready to apply the reforms that it has presented to the European bodies as a kind of solution. The prisoners have always seen that simple change inside a law and some reforms could not be the solution to the essential problems in prisons, which are physical and mental torture.

The F-Type prisons mean total isolation both from inside and outside. The idea of such a prison system is to silence the whole opposition. The revolutionaries are the first ones to be silenced. The economic and political crisis in Turkey is reflected in all areas, mass demonstrations and countless individual actions directed against the government happen almost every day. Those who struggle for justice, democracy and independence, no matter if by legal or illegal ways, are filling Turkey's jails. They should be isolated from the people and even from each other. Nobody should know about their resistance.

Everybody in the world, calling him- or herself internationalist and who is shouting for democracy, social justice and a humane way of life who wants to live in a world without fascism, racism and other kinds of discrimination should understand this struggle as its own, because the F-types are nothing else than a new form of concentration camp and the product of the policy of so-called "globalisation".

## *Death fast martyrs*

*Those martyrs who fell down in solidarity actions and fascist attacks*

Cafer Dereli (Holland, killed by fascists of MHP during solidarity hungerstrike)

Kazim Gülbag (Germany, burned himself to protest against the F-types)

Ugur Bülbül (Istanbul, fell martyred during a self-sacrifice action)

Gültekin Koç (Istanbul, fell martyred during a self-sacrifice action)

Ibrahim Eler (Tekirdag F Type prison, burned himself as protest against the police attack in K. Armutlu)

Nail Çavus (Tekirdag F Type prison, burned

himself as protest against the massacre in K. Armutlu)

Eyüp Samur (Kandira F Type prison, burned himself as protest against the massacre in K. Armutlu)

Muharrem Çetinkaya (Sincan F Type prison, burned himself as protest against the massacre in Küçük Armutlu on the 5th of November 2001)

Arzu GÜLER (Tayad, death fast resister. On November 5, 2001 she was killed during the police

attack in Küçük Armutlu)

Sultan YILDIZ (Assistant. On November 5, 2001 she was killed during the police attack in Küçük Armutlu)

Bülent DURGAÇ (Assistant. On November 5, 2001 he was killed during the police attack in Küçük Armutlu)

Baris KAS (Assistant. On November 5, 2001 he was killed during the police attack in Küçük Armutlu)

*Those martyrs who fell down in the prisons*

5 January 2002: Zeynel Karatas – TKP(ML)  
 2 January 2002: Ali Çamyar – TIKB  
 19 November: Tülay Korkmaz – DHKP-C  
 October 2001: Ali Ekber Baris – KPIÖ  
 28 September 2001: Özlem Durakcan - Tayad  
 28 September 2001: Ayse Bastimur – DHKP-C  
 C  
 27 September 2001: Ali Riza Demir – DHKP-C  
 C  
 26 September 2001: Zeynep Arıkan Gülbag – DHKP-C  
 20 September 2001: Abdülbari Yusufoglu – Tayad  
 14 September 2001: Ümüs Sahingöz – DHKP-C  
 8 September 2001: Gülay Kavak – DHKP-C  
 31 August 2001: Hülya Simsek – Tayad  
 14 August 2001: Osman Osmanagaoglu - DHKP-C  
 3 August 2001: Muharrem Horoz - TKP-ML  
 14 July 2001: Sevgi Erdogan – DHKP-C  
 8 July 2001: Ali Koç – DHKP-C  
 4 July 2001: Gökhan Özocak – DHKP-C  
 29 June 2001: Zehra Kulaksiz – Tayad  
 26 June 2001: Aysun Bozdogan – TKEP-L  
 16 June 2001: Veli Gunes – DHKP-C  
 27 May 2001: Ugur Türkmen – DHKP-C

7 May 2001: Cafer Tayyar Bektas – TKP(ML)  
 7 May 2001: Hüseyin Kayaci – MLKP  
 28 April 2001: Fatma Hülya Tümgan – DHKP-C  
 25 April 2001: Sedat Karakurt – DHKP-C  
 25 April 2001: Erdogan Güler – Tayad  
 23 April 2001: Hatice Yürekli – TKIP  
 23 April 2001 : Senay Hanoglu – Tayad  
 21 April 2001: Sibel Sürücü – TKEP/L  
 18 April 2001: Endercan Yıldız – TKP(ML)  
 16 April 2001: Sedat Gürsel Akmaz – DHKP-C  
 C  
 15 April 2001: Canan Kulaksiz – Tayad  
 14 April 2001: Murat Çoban – DHKP-C  
 13 April 2001: Erol Evcil – DHKP-C  
 12 April 2001: Abdullah Bozdogan – DHKP-C  
 12 April 2001: Celal Alpay – TKP(ML)  
 12 April 2001: Tuncay Günel – TIKB  
 11 April 2001: Fatma Ersoy – DHKP-C  
 11 April : Nergiz Gülmez – TKP(ML)  
 10 April 2001: Gülsüman Dönmez – Tayad  
 7 April 2001: Adil Kaplan – TKP(ML)  
 7 April 2001: Bülent Çoban – DHKP-C  
 21 March 2001: Cengiz Soydas – DHKP-C

(TAYAD: Solidarity Association of Prisoner's Families)

*Martyred during the massacre in the prisons in December 2000*

Ahmet Ibili - DHKP-C  
 Ali Ates - DHKP-C  
 Ali Ihsan Özkan - TKP(ML)  
 Alp Ata Akçagöz - DHKP-C  
 Asur Korkmaz - DHKP-C  
 Berrin Biçkilar - DHKP-C  
 Cengiz Çalikoparan - DHKP-C  
 Ercan Polat - DHKP-C  
 Fahri Sari - PKK/ DCS  
 Fidan Kalsen - DHKP-C

Firat Tavuk - DHKP-C  
 Gülser Tuzcu - DHKP-C  
 Halil Önder - DHKP-C  
 Hasan Güngörmez - DHKP-C  
 Ilker Babacan - DHKP-C  
 Irfan Ortakçi - DHKP-C  
 Murat Ördemci - TKEP/L  
 Murat Özdemir - DHKP-C  
 Mustafa Yilmaz - DHKP-C  
 Nilüfer Alcan - DHKP-C



Özlem Ercan - DHKP-C  
 Rıza Poyraz - DHKP-C  
 Sefinur Tezgel - DHKP-C  
 Seyhan Dogan - DHKP-C

Sultan Sari - PKK / DCS  
 Umut Gedik - DHKP-C  
 Yasemin Canci - DHKP-C  
 Y. Güder Öztürk - DHKP-C

## *If you were there yesterday, this massacre wouldn't take place!*

November 6, 2001

Kucuk Armutlu was attacked by police troops yesterday, 5th of November. Armutlu is the shantytown, a neighbourhood of Istanbul where the 380-day long hunger strike (Death Fast) against the isolation prisons called F-types is taking place. This is the second attack by the Turkish police.

Following the operation in which CS and blast bombs, machine guns, tanks and bulldozers were used, the duty police chief Turan Tuna claimed that those who were injured are in hospitals because of setting themselves on fire and gas poisoning. And Istanbul Police Chief Hasan Özdemir repeated Tuna's press statements. Tuna stated: "We didn't open fire, and also they haven't fired back. All of those injured are activists who wanted to burn themselves".

They had said the same thing on December 19! On the other hand eyewitnesses said that since the beginning of the operation, 14.30 (local time), they heard gunshots for at least a period of two hours. And even all TV channels show the special police forces using their guns against the people. Hundreds of police officers supported by police armoured vehicles who gathered at Küçükarmutlu's main entrance started to advance into the centre of the neighbourhood at around 14.30. The

barricades on roads were moved away with bulldozers and armoured cars and they attacked some houses with CS bombs. At the same time many people were arrested. Because of the operation, the police denied access to the area.

Eyewitnesses said that the police used an excessive amount of CS gas and entered the houses with weapons. Also the TV channels broadcast the raid on the Senay Hanoglu Resistance House. The same weapons were clearly seen during this broadcast. The media claimed that "some people opened fire from the house".

The special teams with masks and heavy machine guns were also involved in the operation. A police armoured car was brought in front of the Senay Hanoglu Resistance House where Death Fast resisters were staying. During the operation one of the people aiding the resisters said that "this is very similar to the attack on December 19, they are using automatic weapons," referring to the operation called "return to life" in which 28 political prisoners were killed by the state security forces.

The streets of Kucukarmutlu were terrorised for hours, tens of houses were smashed with bulldozers and bombs.

Press release from TAYAD families

## *In Armutlu a massacre was carried out*

*They engaged in slaughter. Tens of thousands of police "saved lives" with bombs and bullets by going into an area, spraying it with gunfire and killing at will. To make a massacre in Armutlu appear legitimate and excusable, there was no pretext and excuse that they did not resort to. They are coming up with lies.*

*They made blood flow in Armutlu and their lies will collapse over their heads. The truth is this:*

**WHAT THEY DID WAS CARRY OUT A MASSACRE!**

**Sultan YILDIZ WAS KILLED WITH A SINGLE GUNSHOT!**

"She set herself on fire" A LIE! "She was a Death Fast resister" ALSO A LIE! She was not inside the resistance house. While in front of it she was KILLED WITH A SINGLE GUNSHOT. The special police team took aim and fired at her, killing her with a single gunshot. She was not on the Death Fast but was a TAYAD supporter.

**Baris KAS WAS KILLED WITH A SINGLE GUNSHOT!**

“He set himself on fire” A LIE! “He was a Death Fast resister” ALSO A LIE! While outside the resistance house he was killed with A SINGLE GUNSHOT. The special police team took aim and opened fire at him. He was a friend of the prisoners and was paying a visit to the resisters.

*Bulent DURGAC WAS KILLED BY GUNSHOTS!*

“He set himself on fire” A LIE! “He was a Death Fast resister” ALSO A LIE. He was not inside the resistance house, he was outside it. He did not burn himself but was killed by bullets. He was a former prisoner and participant in the 1996 Death Fast who was left handicapped. He was released two weeks ago and was paying a visit to the Armutlu resisters.

*Arzu GULER WAS KILLED BY THE POISON FROM GAS BOMBS!*

She was the only Death Fast resister among those killed. Arzu Guler was on the 152nd day of the Death Fast, in the last days her situation had worsened somewhat. She also did not die as a result of setting herself on fire but as a result of POISONING caused by gas bombs.

*Haydar BOZKURT SET HIMSELF ON FIRE AND WAS THEN SHOT!*

He was the only resister who attempted to sacrifice himself. Haydar Bozkurt was outside the house and made a protest against the attack, going out onto the street above and setting fire to himself, which was shown on TV screens, and when he was on fire the murderers threw stones and roof tiles at him and then OPENED FIRE. This scene was played out in front of the media and the people of Armutlu also witnessed it. We appeal to the newspapers to write the truth as they really saw it and to the TV to show the people the truth. A human being who set himself on fire was then SHOT. Now, his body burned and with gunshot injuries, he is in Istinye State Hospital. (Note: since the original of this statement was issued, Haydar Bozkurt has died in hospital.) THE SERIOUSLY WOUNDED who are in hospital now WERE WOUNDED BY GUNSHOTS! All the wounded are in hospital. Those who wish can go and see them. All of them are wounded with gunshots. Many are badly injured. It is possible that new deaths will be announced at any moment. Shamelessly, the media is trying to conceal the truth by claiming that “the police fired into the air”. But if shots were fired into the air, how were these people wounded? TV screens also showed how the wounded were brought to hospital. They were made to wait for a long time and dragged along the ground. The emaciated arms and legs of Death

Fasters were seized without any care. The inhuman savagery of this was visible to all.

No excuse can explain away the massacre. It is a lie that the resisters OPENED FIRE. The resisters did not have a single weapon, not a single shot was fired by them. Those who maintain that they did are lying. THEY (THE STATE) CAME TO CARRY OUT A MASSACRE AND THEY DID!

Three thousand murderers entered Armutlu from three directions and opened fire on the resistance house, sometimes taking aim, sometimes at random. Just like the Israeli butchers of the Palestinians, carrying out repression against villages, just like an army of occupation on enemy soil, the armoured cars started fires and cut the electricity and telephone lines. The Zionist murderers in Palestine have done exactly the same, demolishing houses. The resistance house was also burned down and destroyed. They fired bullets and threw bombs while shouting “Surrender!”

Who and why did they want them to surrender? After all there was no-one in the house who was “wanted” by the police. There was no action doing harm to those in the house or others.

Those in Armutlu were using their right to resist. The pro-American government and the servants of the IMF were there to destroy the right to resist. Thousands of police, thousands of bullets, thousands of bombs were there to oppose the people’s right to resist. This is why they started fires and fired their guns.

*THIS MASSACRE WILL NOT END THE RESISTANCE BUT THE MURDERERS WILL BE FINISHED!* In order to intimidate the people, the murderers killed resisters, showing the same lack of restraint on display on December 19th 2000 and also at Akkise. On December 19, “to save the death fasters”, the state went in and killed 28 prisoners, some of them on the Death Fast and many not on it. The Armutlu massacre was a second December 19. The Armutlu massacre like December 19 and Akkise was again the use of a policy of threats and murderous intimidation. Because they did not break the resistance, the murderers were exposed before the whole world, their own lies collapsed in upon them, they wanted to create a transitory terror and silence, for the anger of the people was growing. This is why massacres aimed at intimidation continue. For 30 years they have made our blood flow. Starting on October 20, 2000, more than a year of resistance has gone on, and Armutlu has shown how resolute it is. They can kill us but not defeat us or silence us. This is our appeal to all in this country who say they are against massacres, torture, tyranny and oppression!

*COME TO ARMUTLU, COME TO THE HOSPITALS!* What is different from December 19 is that the people witnessed the massacre, newspaper journalists witnessed it. Nobody can conceal the gunshot wounds on the dead and the wounded. The authorities and the murderers will not be able to save themselves with "they set themselves on fire". The Armutlu people, the re-

sisters, those in hospital are witnesses. To learn the truth, to oppose tyranny and oppression, come to Armutlu and listen to the people and the resisters in the hospitals. Be on the side of those who were attacked. And curse the murderers, wherever they are and whatever form they take.

*THE TAYAD FAMILIES*

*Press release from TAYAD Committee*

## *The results of the attack: 4 people killed by police*

The WOUNDED death fast resisters Nurgül KAYAPINAR, Dursun Ali PEKIN, Ali Haydar Bozkurt and supporters Sinan TOKGÖZ, Zeki Lütfü DOGRU, Hakki SIMSEK, Güzin TOLGA, Sinan DURGAÇ and Eylem GÖKTAS were taken to Sisli Etfal ve Istinye State hospitals and the authorities refused to inform the press and public about their situation.

In Taksim/Istanbul, the TAYAD (Solidarity

Association of Families & Friends of Prisoners) secretary Betül Gökoglu, Çayan Güner, Ali Haydar Demir and Sema were ARRESTED. The Istanbul police HQ denied detaining these people. Some of the ten death fast resisters in Armutlu still continue their action in the neighbourhood.

*TAYAD Committee*

Brussels: Tel 0032 473 69 88 74

or Tel: 0032 2 230 08 66

*AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL  
Public Statement*

*6 November 2001, AI Index EUR 44/080/2001 - News Service Nr. 196*

## *Turkey: Amnesty International calls for investigation into Küçükarmutlu operation*

Amnesty International is concerned that the deaths and injuries of yesterday's raid by Turkish police forces on the Istanbul neighbourhood of Küçükarmutlu might have been the result of excessive force used by the security forces.

On 5 November Turkish police forces conducted a raid on Küçükarmutlu, which has been the centre of hunger strikes against the new "F-Type" prison system. As a result of the operation four protesters – Arzu Güler, Bülent Durgaç, Baris Kas and Sultan Yıldiz – died and at least 14 others were wounded. The four bodies were removed by police officers from a house which had been burnt down in the course of the raid. The house was one of two where hunger strikes continued; Arzu Güler was participating in the hunger strikes while the other three were supporters. Official sources state that the protesters set themselves on fire and died either from the resulting burns or from carbon monoxide poisoning. During the past few months the death fasters in Küçükarmutlu had repeatedly threatened

to set themselves on fire should the security forces intervene.

The police operation reportedly started at 3 pm and lasted for 30 minutes: approximately 1,000 police officers forced their way into the neighbourhood with armoured vehicles, breaking down barricades constructed by the protesters. Ali Haydar Bozkurt, one of the hunger strikers, set himself on fire and was shot and wounded by police officers when he walked towards them from the barricades.

Eyewitnesses, interviewed by a delegation of human rights defenders, reported that the police repeatedly fired their weapons both at specific targets and at random as they moved towards the death fast house. They also reported the use of gas bombs by the police. The eyewitnesses alleged that there was no armed resistance from the protesters and some newspapers have quoted witnesses saying that police fired into the house of the hunger strikers.

After the operation ended, a contested num-

ber of people were arrested and some wounded protesters were driven away in ambulances. Police have not confirmed the number of arrests, deaths or injuries. Furthermore, lawyers are reportedly not allowed to observe the ongoing autopsies.

Amnesty International is calling for a prompt, independent and impartial investigation into the deaths and injuries. In particular the organization is seeking information from the Turkish authorities on the justification for an armed operation of this scale at this particular moment and whether the security forces complied with the UN Basic Principles on the Use of Force and Firearms by Law Enforcement Officials. These Principles recommend that law enforcement officials "shall as far as possible apply non-violent means before resorting to the use of force and firearms. ... Whenever the lawful use of force and firearms is unavoidable, law enforcement officials shall exercise restraint in such use and act in proportion to the seriousness of the offence and the legitimate objective to be achieved; minimize damage and injury, and respect and preserve human life; ..."

Amnesty International also calls upon the authorities to inform relatives about any detentions and to ensure that none of the detainees is tortured or ill-treated.

#### *Background*

A hunger strike against the new prison system has been continuing inside and outside prisons for more than a year. The shanty town neighbourhood of Küçükarmutlu in Istanbul was the main place in which supporters of the political prisoners started

a hunger strike and where a number of hunger striking prisoners continued their hunger strike having been released from prison on medical grounds. More than 40 people (prisoners, released prisoners and supporters) have already died during the hunger strike.

On 15 September 2001 police had intervened with teargas and water cannons in Küçükarmutlu in order to disperse supporters of the hunger strikes. On 5 November, the day of the second big intervention, the Turkish daily newspaper Sabah published pictures of the barricaded neighbourhood calling it an area "liberated" by the armed opposition group DHKP-C and criticizing the inactivity of the government. Prisoners have usually been housed in large dormitories that hold 60 and sometimes more prisoners, but the Turkish authorities have started to build new wings to existing prisons and also 11 F-Type prisons in which dormitories are replaced by smaller cells. From the start of this process, there have been major protests and clashes in prisons. From October 2000, more than 1,000 political prisoners participated in a hunger strike in protest against the F-Type prisons.

On 19 December 2000 the security forces conducted an operation in 20 prisons during which 30 prisoners and two soldiers died. Hundreds of male political prisoners were transferred using excessive force to three F-Type prisons. As of July 2001, six F-Type prisons were already in use, and five more were being constructed. They have single and three-person cells with adjacent yards for three prisoners at the most.

*The Death Fast is in its Fourth season...80 MARTYRS.*

*There is no difference between inside and outside the prisons.*

*The entire Turkey is like the F-Type prisons.*

*WE WILL CONTINUE TO RESIST!*

*November 13, 2001 No:426*

*Urgent.. Urgent.. Urgent.. Urgent..*

## *A second attack in Armutlu!...*

A second attack was carried out in Kucuk Armutlu, that is the centre of our Death Fast resistance outside the prisons, in order to continue the F type prisons policy. The state concentrated on the neighbourhood grossly with its police, military, special team and armoured vehicles starting from 530 in the morning. They launched the attack at 630 am. They had planned to carry out the massacre without press coverage so that the bloody scenes

are not revealed.

The Death Fast resisters; GAMZE TURAN, FERHAT ERTÜRK, ÖZKAN GÜZEL, HÜSEYİN AKPINAR, MADIMAK ÖZEN, and their aids SELMA KUBAT, VEDAT ÇELİK and tens of others that we could not get their names were detained. The state is responding to the demands of our sons and daughters with massacres and their tyranny is responded with the self-sacrificial actions of our people.

The second operation in Armutlu will not succeed to break our resistance either. No matter whether this tyranny continues for another year or another century and no matter if it means death, we will not submit to tyranny. We will resist and win.

STOP THE TORTURE OF FORCIBLE MEDICAL INTERVENTION!

CONCUR THE DEMANDS OF OUR CHILDREN!

LONG LIVE OUR DEATH FAST RESISTANCE!

*TAYAD Families*

18 people, who have been arrested after the police operations in the resistance houses of Armutlu and Alibeykoy were brought before the Istanbul State Security Court on November 14, 2001. Gamze Turan, Selma Kubat and Vedat Çelik from the resistance houses in Armutlu and Cemal Keser, Murat Sahin, Aydin Hambayat, Orhan Gül and Yeter Güzel were imprisoned. Those on death fast all denied medical intervention.

Our contact address:

TAYAD Committee

Brussels: Tel (+32) 0 473 69 88 74 or Tel: (+32) 0 2 230 08 66

Rue Stevin 190, 1000 Brussels - BELGIUM  
TAYAD (Turkey)

Istanbul: Tel and Fax: (+90) 0 212 249 26 04  
-249 26 34 -249 26 61

E-mail: hucreiskencedir@hotmail.com;  
Internet: www.tayad.org

Numbers for protest letters in support of the death fast resistance:

Prime Minister: Tel-Fax: 0090-312-419 58  
96 / 417 04 76

President: Tel-Fax: 0090-312-468 63 80 /  
427 13 30

Interior Minister: Tel-Fax: 0090-312-418 13  
68 / 418 17 95

Minister of Justice: Tel-Fax: 0090-312-419  
60 50 / 0090-312-417 39 54

Head of Parliament: Tel-Fax: 0090-312-420  
50 00

Istanbul Police Headquarters: Tel: 0090-212-  
635 00 00

Some Turkish Embassies:

USA: Phone:+(202) 612-6700 /Fax:+(202)  
612-6744

E-mail: info@turkey.org

GERMANY: Phone:+(49-30) 275 850  
/Fax:+(49-30) 275 90 915

E-mail: turk.em.berlin@t-online.de

SWITZERLAND: Phone:+(41-31) 350 70  
70 /Fax:+(41-31) 352 88 91

E-mail: turkembs@bluewin.ch

BELGIUM: Phone:+( 32-2 ) 513 40 95 -  
513 60 58 - 513 61 42 /Fax:+(32-2) 514  
07 48

E-mail: tcbbrukselbe@yucom.be

IRELAND:Phone:+( 353-1 ) 668 52 40 -  
660 16 23 - 668 55 11 / Fax:+( 353-1 )  
668 50 14 E-mail: turkemb@iol.ie

HOLLAND:Phone:+( 31-70 ) 360 49 12 -  
13 - 14 / Fax:+( 31-70 ) 361 79 69

E-mail: turkije@dataweb.nl

ENGLAND:Phone:+( 44 - 207 ) 393 02 02  
/ Fax:+( 44 - 207 ) 393 00 66

E-mail: info@turkishembassy-london.com

ITALY: Phone: ( 39-06 ) 494 15 47 / Fax: +  
(39-06) 494 15 26

*Statements by women prisoners about assault on Bayrampasa*

## *The truth is continuing to be exposed*

### *The statements of captives who survived the Bayrampasa massacre*

*Ayla Ozcan,  
First Death Fast Team Fighter*

*Hello,*

We witnessed savagery in 16 prisons on December 19, 2000. I want to reveal the massacre, as one of those who witnessed and was subjected to this savagery. We woke up to the sound of an ex-

plosion at around 5 am on December 19. One of our friends shouted "Friends! The operation is taking place!" We all rushed to put our clothes on. When I looked outside from the window I saw the special military units on the roofs. They were

wearing the gas masks and their long-range rifles were directed at the dormitory. Before we put our clothes on, they opened fire at us and we took cover. We soaked all the towels we could find. Then they started to dig into the ceiling from various places. Meanwhile they were swearing at us. "We came here to kill you," they were saying. They continued to dig into the ceiling. From outside, from the roofs they were continually throwing blast bombs. After opening several holes in the ceiling, the bombardment with gas bombs began. We were choking and trying to gasp for air. While covering our mouths and noses with the wet towels to neutralise the effect of the gas, we were breaking the windows of our dormitory to get some fresh air. The rain of gas bombs was continuing. We moved from the centre of the dormitory towards the windows to get some air. Some of our friends fainted because of the gas. Those who came to carry out a massacre were continuously shouting through a megaphone, "Surrender, otherwise we will kill you all!" Our reply to this was our marches, slogans and *tililis* (a Kurdish women's tradition during weddings and funerals: a kind of loud trilling noise). Until noon we were continuously having gas bombs and nerve-gas bombs thrown at us. Approximately 700 to 1,000 bombs were thrown at us. We, on the other hand, had nothing to retaliate with. Our best response was our marches and slogans. The enemy was belittled with every passing second. They were continuing to throwing bombs, swearing at us and opening fire from the windows. They opened holes on the ceiling from 10 different places and they continuously carried out surprise attacks from these holes by using bombs. These bombs were dropped on us and started to burn us. While we were trying to put the fire out, we were also inhaling gas. Meanwhile the special teams tried to land at the exercising area from the roofs by using ropes but they could not succeed. They were continuously throwing blast bombs and opening fire from the roofs. Since I am a Death Fast fighter my friends were trying to protect me. At around noon they started to throw nerve gas and fire bombs at us. Most of us choked and lost consciousness. The flames started to cover the dormitory. Those who have not fainted yet were continuing to shout slogans and to sing marches. The fire spread all over the dormitory. We all moved towards the door, we had to get out. The door could not be opened first. Everywhere was shrouded in smoke and fire. Because of the effect of the gas some of us lost their consciousness while attempting to reach the door. I fell too. Some of my comrades fell over me. I could not breathe and because of the fire it

was hot. When I caught my breath I stood up with a great effort. I could walk forward a step or two. Then one of my comrades pushed me out of the door. The threshold was as hot as hell. Nothing could be seen because of the smoke. The fire surrounded us. I barely remember to be pushed outside. With the fresh air I gasped. While trying to walk down the stairs my legs were trembling. Most of my comrades were in the same situation. We were in shock because of the nerve gas and we could not realise certain things. When I was downstairs some of my comrades were trying to put out the fire on them by using water. Hair, hands and the backs of most of us were burnt. When one of our comrades said, "Some of us could not come out, they are still burning upstairs", many of our comrades headed towards the stairs. I saw Ebru Dincer while sitting on the stairs and fully burnt. She could not speak and her hands, face, hair and most parts of her body were burnt. Then our comrades Hacer Arıkan, Birsen Kars and Gulizar Kesici were taken out of the flames with a great effort. There were still some of our comrades inside. Gulser Tuzcu comrade was on fire at the threshold. Our comrades tried to pull her out but could not succeed. Everyone was running from one place to another. Finally two of our comrades re-entered the dormitory to search for the others. When they returned empty-handed, their faces, hair and hands were burnt too. When we went downstairs we noticed that Nilufer, Seyhan, Ozlem, Sefinur and the First Team Death Fast fighter Gulseren Ozturk were not amongst us. They were left in the blaze. While our comrades were burning alive, the murderers were filming their creation with pleasure. They had the water hoses but they were not skirting water into the burning dormitory. Those who supposedly came for "return to life" made their real intention very clearly. They came to kill or make us all surrender. After a while we came out of the exercise area from the ground floor dormitory. We started to dance the *halay* (traditional Anatolian folkloric dance) in the exercise. We were replying to the enemy with "*Mitralyoz*". It meant, "You could not make us surrender, you were defeated". After our *halay* finished, we entered the ground floor of the dormitory C-2. Meanwhile the murderers were trying to enter by cutting the iron door. Again they started to throw gas bombs and to swear at us, shouting to us to surrender. We were trying to spill water on our burnt comrades. When the effect of the gas bombs became too much to bear we went back to the exercise area. This time they bombarded us with more bombs in there. Specifically they were targeting us. This continued for a while,

then they used pressurised water. We were trying to protect ourselves in small groups. We tried to protect our burnt friends by putting them in the middle of the groups. But we could not succeed. A group of our friends took them back to the ground floor. They were bombarded there too. Meanwhile the murderers were entering one by one from the door that was cut off. It was around 14.00 and our resistance had been continuing for seven hours. While our injured comrades were trying to come out the dormitory, the murderers opened fire at them with their long-range rifles. When our comrades were in the exercise area, they managed to join us under the pressurised water. We gathered in the middle of the exercise area and held tight to each other. The murderers were still afraid of coming to the exercise area. They came after a while. First they entered the dormitory and directed their rifles at us from the windows. Another group was facing us but could not come closer. They were pointing at us and in a cowardly fashion saying "Come towards us one by one, surrender yourselves". We said we would not surrender and if they wished to they should come and take us. They could not come. We were continuously shouting at them. "You burnt our friends alive. You will pay for this. You will present an account to our people." They started to approach slowly. They tried to snatch us one by one. They dragged us on the floor to the corridor. From there they took us to a big hall, beating us all the

way. The resistance of our male comrades was still continuing. Later on they took us to hospital one by one. We were beaten there too since we refused an immoral body search. They asked me and the other Death Fast fighter Suna Okmen whether we would accept medical treatment or not. We said "No, we refuse, we continue our Death Fast action." Then they took us back to the same hall. After some time they put 14 of us in a transport vehicle for prisoners (ring) and in completely wet clothes they made us wait for hours. We were all shivering. We were not allowed to go to the toilet or drink water. They were telling us to soil our pants. After waiting for hours they took us to Bakirkoy remand prison. They were continuously filming while all this was happening. They wanted to put us into the cells one by one when we arrived at the prison. We refused. Then they had to put us in threes. We did not let them lock the doors either. The state massacred many of our comrades under the pretext of "intervention in the Death Fast" Its aim was obvious, to make us surrender. But our great resistance has shown them once again that we will never accept surrender. From now on, maybe we will all die one by one but we will never agree to surrender. Once again they are the defeated, we and our people are the victors. We continue the Death Fast. We will continue until victory.

*Ayla Ozcan,  
First Death Fast Team Fighter.*

#### *Filiz Gencer*

*Hello,*

We realised that the operation began when we heard the sounds coming from the upper corridor on December 19, on Tuesday at 5 am. At that time I was the night shift person on duty. I had seen Birol on the corridor. I told him that we should warn our comrades. While he was saying, it may not be the case, let's wait for a while, we heard noises coming from the front door. I guess he ran to his dormitory too. With our first warning all our comrades got up and started the preparations. We gathered the group to form a barricade on the lower floor. Meanwhile the friends from other organisations who stay in the opposite dormitory started to form barricades too. We heard the sounds of digging of the wall which was coming from the dormitory where the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) people stay. We thought that they are smashing the wall down. In the same way they began to strike blows to the upper floor door. We saw that they located

machine guns on the upper corridors' observation windows. The team on the roof was located, not straight across from us but to the side, and they were the ones who threw the most bombs. They opened fire with the machine guns too. So we took cover underneath the windows. We operated the diaphone which helps us to communicate with our male comrades. But we could not contact them, maybe they did not turn it on. We tried to move the Death Fast fighters in our dormitory to a safer place. We tried to protect ourselves against the gas bombs by using wet towels. But with the first set of bombs we choked and some of us vomited. We all started to break the windows. After a time we became immune. Or this is how I felt. These bombs were releasing a yellowish gas. We threw them back. Occasionally there were duds. After some time they began to open holes on the ceiling. From the holes bombs were dropped one after another. We tried to take cover by keeping away from underneath of

these holes. We tried to neutralise these bombs by using wet bedclothes, pillows, etc. They started to detonate the bombs by using an iron cage which was hung from the ceiling. They must be planning to prevent us from throwing the bombs back where they come from. But at the same time they opened the dormitory's observation windows and continued to open fire >from the roofs. I cannot remember how many more bombs they dropped, but we threw outside those we could get to. At one stage they threw a different kind. It was an elongated one and I think its smoke was blue. It was not possible to ameliorate its effects. It chokes you and you feel you are paralysed. Then it gives you a pain as if all your internal organs are shredded. This bomb made us all faint. Then we recovered. Since they knew that we were underneath the windows, if I am not wrong, they opened seven or eight holes in there. At the same time they were verbally abusing and swearing at us. They surrounded us from the roof, the roof on the side and the observation windows behind us. "Surrender yourselves, if we wish to we can shoot you all," they said. They repeated this many times through the megaphones. We replied to each of their "surrender" appeals with our slogans. When they heard our slogans they threw more bombs from all over the place. This continued for hours. We announced that if they attempted to enter we would set ourselves on fire. Suna made the announcement. Their replies were unserious. They said "Come on, let us see how you'll set fire to yourself". The rain of bombs began again. They threw a shock bomb. This time I felt I was losing my mind. I fell. When I turned my head, I saw one of our friends, she was screaming and pulling her hair out. There was shouting inside the dormitory. We all shouted, "We will all die for our people". They never stopped bombarding us. They threw blast bombs, yellow coloured gas bombs and fire bombs. The bunk beds at the rear caught fire. The flames were bursting out the observation windows. The dormitory was full of smoke and most of us lost consciousness. We tried to bring each other back to consciousness. We started to evacuate the rear section. Nilufer, Seyhan and Ozlem were amongst those who fainted. I helped Seyhan, she regained consciousness. We came forward to the door and told the other friends that we would evacuate the dormitory. Several friends came to the door. They were not able to open the door. I joined them to help them force the door open. It could only be opened slightly. It was very hot everywhere. Everything was hot and it burnt you if you touched it. I helped push the ones in front up the steps. At that point it was dark everywhere. I thought I was fainting. I fell to my knees. A certain amount of

time later I felt some fresh air. I came round and could stand up. I could not see anything around me. There was a huge pall of smoke around the place. I went back to the stairs. A group of my friends was down the stairs. Later I started hearing voices. "They are on fire, they are on fire," they shouted. Birsen and Gulizar came down the stairs while on fire. We took them to the sink and put some cold water on them. At this stage we opened the door of the ventilation area. We took them outside. Outside the friends were pouring water over Hacer who was lying on the ground. Her back was almost burned away. The upper floor was absolutely charred and it was impossible for us to go up the stairs. Most of our friends had burns on various parts of their bodies, especially the heads. The reason for this was that flames were being projected through the observation slits in the doors. Most of our friends received burns while in the vicinity of the door. Those who were affected by smoke inhalation fell to the ground and blocked the door. Gulser fell at the front of the door and could not be removed. She had completely fainted, blocking the door. She was right at the door's edge. I did not see any of my other friends who had been burned. But from other dormitories Sefinur was seen giving the victory sign. Again, Seyhan waved from the window. Nilufer and Ozlem and Gulseren must have fainted. When we went up to the ventilation area the enemy was surprised. In any case, they looked to see what we would do. I was affected by the gas, it was hard for me to stand up. I could not feel my arms or legs and I was just able to open my eyes. With the help of my friends I stood against the wall in the ventilation area. They were still watching us from the upper area and calling on us to surrender. In reply we shouted the slogan, "The revolutionary martyrs are immortal," and we danced the halay. And again they started throwing bombs at us. We took those of our friends who were injured inside. The enemy was still shouting "Surrender" from the door. "Look, your male comrades have surrendered, if you want you can talk to them." Whatever the situation was, Muharrem from the MLKP (Marxist-Leninist Communist Party) came and said their dormitory was burnt down, this was why they had evacuated the dormitory. He said, "We didn't surrender," etc. And again they said things like "Surrender and we won't do anything," etc. Again we didn't accept this. We discussed among ourselves whether we should hand over the ones who had been wounded. Then we made the decision not to hand them over. The enemy started cutting and chopping at the door, and they were throwing bombs. Again we went out into the ventilation area. They were continuing to throw bombs. Then they started using water can-



nons. They stopped the water cannons and started throwing bombs. Then they resumed using the water cannons. Two hours passed in this way. The enemy was still unable to come in. They broke down the door but they were still keeping their distance from us and could only approach by hurling bombs. We linked arms. They were still continuing to shout, "Surrender!" We said, "No!" and continued shouting our slogans. We said we would demand a reckoning for our people they had slaughtered. At this point we were being filmed with a camera. Because of my poor eyesight I could not see this properly. At once I turned my head to look at the dormitory and it was completely blackened. Everything was burned and there was still smoke coming out of it. The enemy soldiers were going forward and back and shouting, "Come one at a time." We did not accept this. Then they said things like "Check if they have bombs on them," because they were still scared. We started to walk out in a group. They attacked us and pulled us apart and took us away one by one. The soldier who was taking me dragged me along the floor and spoke in a hoarse voice. I couldn't understand him properly but he was saying something like "Your resistance has made those dogs (ie. the officers) order us to do this." At the end he said, "Get medical treatment and the Prophet Ali shall be with you," (the soldier was an Alevi). And they took us all to the soldiers' barracks. Again, our area was surrounded. When our people were shouting at them that they were murderers and savages, they said things like we didn't do it, you did it yourselves etc. The ones who were very seriously injured were taken one by one to Bayrampasa Hospital. We went to hospital by ambulance. They said I had injuries to my ankles as well as gas poisoning. I was X-rayed. They did not want me to stay in the hospital. So they sent me back straight away. When I was asked my name etc. the officers answered all these questions. They knew my first and second name, and they were the ones who did not want me to stay in the hospital. Later on I returned to where my friends were. There were photographs taken there, and after that someone in civilian clothes asked where I had been

taken from. He asked me as if he knew me. "You were arrested in the street." I said, "No, who are you?" He did not reply. After registration, they put us - 19 of us - into the "ring" (transport vehicle). In our ring there were 14 of us. We were made to wait until far into the night. At this point we learned that our male comrades were still resisting. Then they started to bring them as well. We shouted out to the male comrades which of us had been martyred. From time to time we started shouting our slogans. In the night they brought us to Bakirkoy. The team who brought us there was swearing and going into details about how they killed comrades. They were saying things like they had killed 20 to 30 people. We shouted slogans and then the enemy said, "Tomorrow we will go and collect your arms and legs." In Bakirkoy there was no introductory beating by the enemy. Everyone was waiting for us in a panic. They registered us one by one. One by one arguments occurred at first, and then we were put into two- or three-person cells. The first day our doors were kept locked. After a discussion, the doors were opened. At the moment our doors are kept open between 8 am and 8 pm. The ventilation doors are opened twice a day. We go out in a group. The first day we went outside we held a minute's silence and shouted our slogans. Our visiting days have been declared to be on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday. Lawyers are allowed to see us. At this stage the enemy is not creating problems. Usually they accept what we want. But we think that there are political reasons for this attitude. The first night we came there was a health check-up. My eyes were completely closed. We treat ourselves with eye-drops and applied dressings to ourselves. We announced that our Death Fast resistance was continuing. This information has all been written down very quickly and so there might be some mistakes. Soon I will write it all down in more detail. Our resistance was heroic. Our comrades all fought heroically. Our slogans, marches and tililis never stopped. We engraved heroism into the historical records. Nothing can stop this power. We will win.

*Filiz Gencer*  
*December 22, 2000*

*Hamide Ozturk*

*Dear Mr Behic Ascı,*  
*Hello,*

On December 19, at five in the morning, the special team at Sigmalcilar Prison, commandos, soldiers, Rapid Reaction police and robocops surrounded us. While they were trying to dig holes in the walls, they saw us stand up and they started

firing on us. After the shooting they started to bombard us. They threw all kinds of bombs at us. They threw things like smoke, sound bombs, nerve gas and pepper gas. We constantly answered them with slogans and insults. They continually shouted "Surrender or we will kill all of you." We said, "Come and kill us all if you like,

but we will never surrender - you should be the ones who surrender to us - surrender to the justice of the people." Their calls to surrender, insults, obscenities and harassment were constantly met by us with slogans, marches and insults of our own." At regular intervals they subjected us to heavy bombardment in an attempt to render us ineffective. When the fighting started we were in the sleeping area. They started breaking holes in the ceiling. They constantly fired through the holes in the ceiling, through observation holes, from the roof, and from the observation holes in the ventilation area. They fired bombs at us. Once they opened a hole in the ceiling, they opened it gradually wider and wider while continuing to pelt us with bombs. They were particularly digging holes in the intervals between bunk beds. The bombs were striking us on our heads, backs and legs. We were putting wet towels on our faces and were huddling together to protect ourselves from bombs. We particularly tried to protect the Death Fast resistance fighters. Whenever we took them, it did not matter, because the enemy was hurling bombs at everybody. In this way it continued until 12 or 12:30 in the afternoon. They threw gas bombs and fired guns. They threw incendiary devices into the areas where there was already a lot of gas in order to cause an explosion. All of us were exhausted and most of us had actually fainted. At the same time our comrades who regained consciousness directed us to the door. Those who went out returned to bring back our other comrades. The last time we came out it was impossible to anything because of the flames. Gulser was lying at the foot of the door completely burned. Gulseren Yazgul Guder, Ozlem Ercan, Sefinur Tezgel, Seyhan Dogan, Nilufer Alcan and Gulser Tuzcu had been burned alive. They tried to burn us all. When we came downstairs to the canteen area they started heavily pelting us with bombs. All of us went into the ventilation area and started dancing the halay. We shouted out to them to come and shoot us all but they would never get us to surrender. They were very afraid. Under their gas bomb bombardment, we shouted slogans and danced the halay to the tune of "Mitra-lyoz". Along with the bombs they also sprayed high-pressure water at us. The massive bombardment of gas bombs filled the entire ventilation area. While we were going out into the ventilation area, other political prisoners also joined us from outside. The robocops continually shouted "Surrender!" And every time we answered them. We continually shouted, "We will demand a reckoning for our martyrs. You have burned us

alive, you have taken away six of our lives, you can come and riddle us with bullets as well but you will not get us to surrender." "All of us will join the Idils, Sabos and Sibels," we said. "For 54 days we have already been waiting for death, we have taken the risk of death into account." "Welcome, death." These were the slogans we shouted. This continued until 3 o'clock. At last they smashed the door down and entered the dormitories. They had already surrounded us from the roof. Later we went into the ventilation area. They approached to one metre from us but they did not have the courage to come closer. They said, "Surrender and come this way one at a time." "We will take your wounded to a hospital. We don't want anyone else to get hurt." We were in the middle of the ventilation area, and answered, saying "You have taken six of our lives away. We are all ready to die, you murderers and pack of dogs." They were continuously recording the operation from the roof. When they entered the ventilation area they were still recording. We said, "Keep on recording, you are celebrating our sacred holiday in this way, go and explain to your wives and children that you have eaten human flesh and drunk blood." They surrounded us even more and then wildly attacked and tortured us, dragging us along the corridor outside, and took us to a large room where the soldiers were. They took us in twos and threes to the Sigmalcilar hospital. I was with Aydan. In the hospital the officers and soldiers tried to search us. We replied with our slogans. They dragged us along the ground and tortured us and then threw us at the door of the accident and emergency. I had burns on my hands and leg, and only five minutes later they took us back to the large room again. From there they put us in the ring and started to make us wait. Twelve of those who had been severely injured were taken to hospital. Birsen, Hacer, Ebru, Gamze, Gulperi and Songul had received burns to the arms as a result of the fire, Mine, Alev, Ozgul, Hulya, Funda and Gulizar were also in hospital, a total of 12 persons. All had serious burns. We were able to drag them from the dormitory to the lower floor while they were on fire. And we, myself, Munevver, Filiz, Nursel, Ayla, Suna, Mesude, Fatma, Aydan, and the other political prisoners were made to wait in the "ring" for five or six hours. From there we were taken to Bakirkoy prison. Our Death Fast martyr comrade Gulser Yazgul Guder had been on the 54th day of the Death Fast. They kept on shouting our slogans, marches and telling the murderers that a reckoning would be demanded for our people. Seyhan had kept on trying to throw back

the bombs that the enemy had thrown. She had run from place to place under a hail of bullets. Sefinur had done the same. Finally Sefinur had stood up and given the victory sign while she was on fire. The comrades in the opposite dormitory explained that Seyhan had also given the victory sign while she was on fire. Ozlem was continuously trying to protect the Death Fast fighters, throwing bombs back outside and putting wet blankets over them. Gulser was also well to the front when it came to fighting. While she was taking us outside she removed the cupboards which were blocking the doorway. At the final door she collapsed. I did not see a lot of Nilufer. She kept running from place to place. I was next to the Death Fast fighters. In one way I was try-

ing to guard them, in another way I was trying to throw the bombs back outside, and I was also trying to bring the comrades back inside. All of our comrades and heroic martyrs gave a good example of self-sacrifice. With the spirit of sacrifice of our martyrs, we entered the doors of the cells. When they brought us there we were thrown into the cells one by one. Then they took us two at a time. A day later we got them to open the doors of the cells. At present we are staying in three-person cells. We have been on the Death Fast resistance since we came here. We said this is the cell-type treatment. Our resistance is continuing with great resolve.

*December 22, 2000*

*Hamide Ozturk*

### *Nursel Demirdogucu*

*Hello,*

*My lawyer Behic Asci,*

I woke up at five in the morning to the sound of my comrade shouting that there is an operation and the soldiers have entered. We got up and dressed immediately. When I looked out the window I saw the special teams wearing helmets and carrying machine guns standing on the roofs. We only had the chance to take a few containers of water from the canteen downstairs. The dormitory observation slit was forced open, and they started digging holes in the roof with drills. They were throwing bombs and shouting from the roof and the observation slit, "Surrender!" We were only able to pull two cupboards to close the dormitory door. The dormitory observation slit was opened and the roof had a hole dug in it. They threw large numbers of gas bombs through it. We tried to protect ourselves with wet towels. We especially protected the Death Fast resisters Gulseren Yazgul Guder, Suna Okmen and Ayla Ozcan, we took them to the area where the beds were and tried to cover them with wet blankets. But the enemy was shooting and throwing various types of bombs from the roof, from the observation slit and targeting the ventilation area. When we came to the point where we couldn't protect the Death Fast resisters, we took them next to the wall where we had broken the windows. I, Nursel Demirdogucu, Seyhan Dogan, Mine Demirel, Sefinur Tezgel and Ozlem Ercan were trying to throw back the gas bombs through the windows we had already broken. When they saw this, sound bombs and bullets. (illegible) four or five various types of bomb, and four or five types of gas bomb. At particular points, nerve gas bombs were

points, nerve gas bombs were used. We reached a point where we could not breathe. Most of our comrades fainted. They were trying to break our resistance by continuously throwing gas bombs. We answered their calls to surrender by shouting, "We will not surrender!" and "Welcome, death!" Many times I stood up and said, "I am here but you can only take my dead body. If you have courage for it, shoot us, kill us. We have already taken the risk of dying." Many of my friends spoke in the same way. In reply, the enemy was shouting, "Life is good. Why not surrender?" and I and many other friends said things like, "Rather than live with a dishonourable mind and commit treason to my sense of honour and beliefs, I would rather die honourably a thousand times over." In response to this, they shouted that they would kill whores like us one by one, none of us would get out alive etc, and they engaged in immoral acts. We said, "the murderers, the children of Manukyan (a notorious pimp in Turkey) and servants of the USA can take our blood and our lives if they want to take blood and lives, but they will not make us surrender. Our minds and bodies are more powerful than any weapon you possess. You are afraid. You are servants who carry out murders. Who is giving you your orders? Ecevit should come, Mesut Yilmaz should come, (fascist MHP leader) Devlet Bahçeli should come, (Justice Minister) Hikmet Sami Turk should come, they won't come." We began singing our marches, "Walk along on your way, there is nothing other than death," "The day began and we all woke up," "If you have courage, come on," "For us there is no death." We shouted all these marches despite be-

ing out of breath. Our commanders Mecit and Ismet Kavaklioglu had shown us the way to shout slogans. Ozgul Dede and Seyhan Dogan shouted, "We have been purified, comrades." And we all continually chanted the tilili. Under the hail of bombs and bullets we continually made speeches, shouted slogans and sang marches declaring that we will not give up our beliefs and we would not surrender. Many times they threw nerve gas bombs at us and five or six times we reached the point of fainting and were totally exhausted. The wet towels we put in front of our mouths were completely covered in gas and the only protection we had was no longer effective. We tried to recover the burning beds which had been set on fire by their bombs, and we tried to cover these with wet blankets and pillows. When it was 12 or 1230 in the afternoon, they knew they could not break our resistance and could not take us out of the dormitory. They understood they could not separate us from one another, so they started throwing large amounts of nerve gas at us, followed by incendiaries. The beds, the bedclothes and bunk beds were set on fire. When I saw that we could no stay in the sleeping area of the dormitory because of the nerve gas and fires, I had to remove the cupboards from the door, and these cupboards were as hot as a fire. We shouted to the comrades, "We are moving out to the canteen. We could not see a thing, and immediately all of us went out as we were on the point of fainting. The whole dormitory was set on fire. The frames of the bunk beds and windows were starting to burn. I was unable to see any other comrade. Only the comrades who were able to make it to the door had fainted and piled on top of one another. Personally, I, Birsen Kars, Gulizar Kesici dragged two comrades whose names I don't recall out of the fire. Because they had almost fainted, we had to drag them down the stairs and their heads were even striking the steps. Gulser Tuzcu was between the door and the cupboard and she appeared to be dead, either from a direct hit by a bomb or a bullet to the head. A number of times I tried to save her. Because she was stuck between the door and the cupboard I lacked the strength to pull her out. A few other comrades came but they too could not get her out. In any case she was on fire. Because the dormitory was on fire we could not see the friends Gulseren Yazgul Guder, Sefinur Tezgel, Nilufer Alcan, Ozlem Ercan and Seyhan. Apart from them we did not know who was still inside. We continuously shouted but we never heard any reply. When we got from the dormitory to the canteen, again we tried to pour water on our friends and put some Silverdin cream on them. However, the hail

of bullets, nerve gas and noise bombs continued. We broke the windows. But because they made continuous use of nerve gas, we could not remain in the canteen. We went up to the ventilation area and the hail of bombs and bullets continued. We entered the hall of the prison guards. This time they started bombarding that area as well. During this period, they were using more nerve gas and various other types of gas. We were not able to stay in any area that we entered. Then we went out into the ventilation area again. High-pressure water from water cannons was being fired at us from two sides. Those who did not use high-pressure water cannons for the fire in the dormitory tried to render us ineffective with these water cannons and bombs. I don't remember how long these attacks lasted in the ventilation area. But we went out into the ventilation area we were dancing the halay and singing the "Mitralyoz" song about Idil (Ayce Idil Erkmen, DHKP-C woman prisoner who died in 1996 Death Fast). Continually we shouted, "Welcome, death", "We will not surrender," "Where did you ever see us surrender?" We tried to protect the comrades who had been burned. Those of our friends who were just about able to stand on their feet shouted, "What are you waiting for? Beat us, kill us. You can only take our dead bodies out of here." Our C-1 dormitory was still on fire. The metal window guards were melting. The canteen of our dormitory and the upper and lower part of dormitory C-2 were surrounded by special teams armed with machine-guns. Approximately 100 special team members carrying shields stood in the entrance to the ventilation area. We were surrounded from the roof, all the observation slits, and guns were pointed at us. From time to time they were firing and shouting, "Put your hands up and surrender one by one." I don't remember how long this lasted. The last thing we did was link arms at the bottom of the ventilation area. They attacked us and pulled us apart, dragged us away, beat and harassed us and took us to a place the soldiers were using as a canteen. We continued our slogans, shouting that "the revolutionary prisoners won't surrender" and "We will not go into the cells". In the place the soldiers were using as a canteen we were put up against a wall, and the soldiers beat us to get us to face the wall. Again they tried to pull us apart. But they did not get us to do that. We told them, "You couldn't kill us in the dormitory, so do it here. Go ahead. We will not accept anything you want us to do." They forcibly searched two women and then took them to hospital. Those of our friends who had some burns stayed in the hospital. They brought us back to the same place. We constantly shouted our slogans in

the ring vehicle while they were taking us to and bringing us back from hospital. "Long live our Sagmalcilar resistance", "Long live our Death Fast resistance", "Heroes will not die, the people will not be defeated". Moreover we shouted "Comrades Gulseren, Nilufer, Seyhan, Ozlem, Gulser and Sefinur are immortal." We continued our slogans. When we were being brought back from the hospital, we were registered by the army in the vehicle. We were soaking from head to toe. I think they kept us in the ring vehicle until they finished their operation against the male comrades. They brought us to Bakirkoy women's and children's prison. They were constantly filming us. We shouted at the soldiers who were filming, "Keep on filming the massacred you have committed." Those who shouted this were attacked. The registration was completed and then they wanted to search our shoes. Because I didn't let them search, the soldiers dragged me to the ring, and took my shoes off, all the time beating me. They handed the shoes over to the prison guards. They put all of us one by one into the cells. I shouted, "I am not going in. I will die but I will not go into the cells. I want to be with my friends. If you put us in the cells, I and all of my friends will not even take water or sugar." So they took all our friends out and put them in a different section where there were two-person cells. Our first night went on like that. In the morning the prison director came. We told him we would not remain like this and we wanted our doors left open, and we also announced our other demands. The director said "You will remain two people to a cell, your doors will be kept locked, you will be allowed out into the ventilation area four at a time, and you will go out to family visits and to see lawyers one at a time." We replied, "This is isolation cell treatment. We are on a Death Fast. We have comrades who have been on a Death Fast for 60 days. If this is to be the practice, we will not take water, sugar and

salt. They killed six of our women comrades by burning and there is a massacre going on in all the prisons at the moment. We have given lives not to go into the cells, and we will give more if need be." The director went out and returned in the evening. The director said that the doors of the cells would be left open, we could all go out to the ventilation area immediately, we could see a lawyer and visitors whenever it was needed. We said, "Other demands are addressed to the state and the justice minister." We stated that we were nine DHKP-C captives on the Death Fast resistance. At the moment we are not allowed to see TV. Our families were not allowed to bring radios in. We are announcing to all public opinion that if the isolation cell practices don't end, if those who are responsible for massacres do not render an account, if the situation of all our comrades in the prisons is not clarified, there is no power on earth that can stop us from continuing the Death Fast we are on now. Moreover, I, Nursel Demirdogucu, as a 1996 Death Fast resister, announce once again that if the demands that I have stated above are not met, I will meet death with all my beliefs and honour, just as I did in the 1996 Death Fast. I will embrace death with a smile, just like my other comrades who were martyred heroically did.

REVOLUTIONARY PRISONERS CANNOT BE MADE TO SURRENDER

DOWN WITH FASCISM, LONG LIVE OUR STRUGGLE

LONG LIVE OUR DEATH FAST AND HEROIC RESISTANCE IN ALL PRISONS

LET US SACRIFICE OUR LIVES FOR OUR PEOPLE AND HOMELAND

DOWN WITH SURRENDER, LONG LIVE HONOURABLE RESISTANCE

*With love and respect*

*December 22, 2000*

*Nursel Demirdogucu*

*Suna Okmen*

*Hello, my lawyer*

*Mr. Behic Asci,*

I will try to tell you about the massacre that the state carried out in Bayrampasa Prison on December 19, 2000. Towards morning, at about 5 o'clock, while I was asleep, we woke up to the sound of noises on the roof. On one side the observation slits were having holes broken in them and were being smashed, and on the other side sound bombs were being detonated. Twenty-seven

people in the dormitories were jerked out of their sleep by this noise. They were greeted by smoke and sound bomb detonations. The enemy prevented us from coming near the windows by shooting at us and we were unable to breathe. Just to be able to get a little bit of air, we opened and broke the windows. After a short time they started digging through the roof of the dormitories. They were insulting us, swearing at us and harassing us and at the same time hurling gas bombs down on

us. The roof was perforated with holes. The dormitory observation slits were smashed and removed. They stationed sharpshooters in the observation slits of the dormitory opposite. The holes they dug in the roof were used to rain bombs down on us. The tear-gas bombs were stamped with the letters MKE. While some of these bombs prevented us from breathing, some of them attacked the nervous system and caused imbalances in coordination. On the other side they allowed a few minutes' break and then they continuously harassed us through the holes that had been opened. They shouted, "We are going to kill all of you." "Don't resist," "Surrender one by one, we will kill all of you if you don't surrender." We had nothing at all to protect ourselves against them. Not even water to wet towels and protect ourselves from the gas. We were only able to use the water we could extract from the radiator. While hours passed, the attacks were becoming more powerful. Very openly we saw that any intervention in the Death Fast that they talked about was a massive lie and demagoguery. They came to carry out a complete massacre. In the morning light, the attacks became more efficient and concentrated. They tried to get into the ventilation area by means of ropes they hung down from the roof, but later they gave this idea up. Their use of gas and nerve gas bombs became more frequent and five or six times they launched attacks. Because I was a Death Fast resister, I was protected by my friends all the time. They were trying to protect us from the gas bombs by putting wet clothing and towels over us. A few of my friends were affected by the gas. They became physically agitated, as I saw with my own eyes. From one area the enemy were viewing us through binoculars and in another they were filming us with cameras and were telling the soldiers on the roof where our exact position was. There was no place in the roof that did not have holes in it. Wherever we moved to, they would make a hole and throw gas bombs. We all moved beneath the window. They started throwing sound bombs and shooting through that particular area. About every three minutes they threw stun grenades and gas bombs. From this kind of attack we understood that they were going to massacre us at any moment. As Death Fast resisters, I, and Gulseren Yazgul Ozturk and Ayla Ozcan, announced that we would set fire to ourselves. This is what we did voluntarily, nobody forced us to say this. At about 1130-1200 this was followed by a massive hail of gas and fire bombs, and they suddenly began to burn down the dormitory. It quickly spread all over the dormitory. Beds and furniture began to catch fire.

The people were unable to breathe because of the gas bombs and the smoke. The inside was just like an oven. Our hair had started to catch fire. Because we had barred the door we were unable to go out. We forced the door open but the flames would not allow us to pass. It was difficult. Those who were able to stand with difficulty dragged us along. The enemy had water cannons, if they had wanted to they could have put the fire out. All they did was watch. We came down to the canteen and there were still many of our friends in the dormitory. We were unable to save 12 of them, and six were suffocated by the smoke, burned and lost their lives. The soldiers and gendarmes were watching all this and laughing. When they were certain our people were dead in the dormitory, just for show, they began to spray the area with water. While we were inside trying to recover our wounded, they started throwing gas bombs at the area where we were. We went out into the ventilation area with our wounded. From the observation slits and the roof they pointed their guns at us, laughing all the while. We started the halay and shouted all together, "You have burned six of our people, now spray us with gunfire." We announced that we would not surrender and expressed our resolve. When I turned back to look at the dormitory, black smoke was pouring out of it, and metal guards on the window were crumpled outwards. Those of our friends in the opposite dormitory came out as well into the ventilation area. Our wounded were collected in the prison guards' room in order to treat them. They were under continuous harassment from the corridor door. The enemy started to cut down the door and throw gas bombs inside. The situation was such that we had to go out into the ventilation area again. We were drenched by the water from fire brigade hoses they had been spraying at us for two hours. The skin of our burnt friends was completely peeling off. The enemy sprayed high pressure water on the burned areas even though they had no clothing to protect them. The enemy still shouted, "Surrender!" and when we shouted, "We will not surrender!" the enemy made attacks with gas and nerve gas bombs. All of us were in the open, bombs were detonating under our feet and behind our backs, we had nothing to protect ourselves with. We placed our burned friends in the middle and tried to protect them from the high pressure water and gas bombs. But it was not effective. Our comrades were beginning to lose consciousness. I have no words with which to describe the savagery. One group of our friends went back into the dormitory, dragging the injured with them. They had gas bombs rained down on them

all the time. We were in the corner of the ventilation area. They started to harass us by firing bullets. They gradually entered the dormitory. Those who had to come back out into the ventilation area because of the gas bombs were having stones and gas bombs hurled down on them by the gendarmerie as they stood in the doorway. Though they knew that a bomb had detonated on a friend's arm, they still were hurling down gas bombs at her. This friend's name was Songul Ince. At the moment she is in Haseki Hospital being treated. At the time of the fire in which our friend received head and facial burns, a stone was hurled at her head as well. A soldier trying to enter the ventilation area said, "Are you surrendering?" and we said, "We are not surrendering." For this we were once again subjected to bombardment and gunshots. The enemy had announced, "Put your hands on your heads and come to us one by one." We said, "We will not surrender, you will need to kill us one by one." All of us gathered in the middle of the ventilation area and we took those who were wounded and placed them between us and linked ourselves together arm to arm. The gendarmes had entered the ventilation area and dormitories. They pointed their gun barrels at us again and tried to bargain. We told them we would not bargain, we told them they were murderers, we said they had burned our people alive and we would not hand our wounded over to murderers.

Once they said they would take us one by one, and we replied, "Shoot us." They surrounded us, attacked us and tried to pull us apart. They took us to the other parts of the prison, beat us, kicked us, slapped us, swore at us and then collected us together in the soldiers' canteen. They deliberately delayed treatment for the wounded. They continued their attack by coming up with kinds of prohibitions. They continued their attacks in the hospital. The fascist officers tried to shut us up by beating us when we accused them to their face of carrying out a massacre. Before the eyes of those in the hospital, they tortured most of our friends in the X-ray rooms. At around two they took us to the ring and they made us wait until eight, still wearing our wet clothes. And they also continued their tortures. And after eight, we were brought to Bakirkoy prison for women and children, we were put into the cells. At present all our rights have been taken away and we have been put in the cells. The Death Fast action is continuing. And here our friends who have been put in isolation cells have also started Death Fasts. Mr Behic Asci, I have tried to describe this appalling massacre in general terms. Despite all the demagoguery of the state, all my explanations should be clear enough for public opinion. I wish you success in your work.

*December 22, 2000*  
*Suna Okmen*

*Fatma Guzel*  
*a Second Death Fast Team resister*

*Mr Behic Asci,*

At 5 in the morning on December 19 we were already surrounded and woken up by noises. As soon as we got up, they realised that we had started moving and began firing, shooting and throwing bombs inside. Later, they started holes in the roof and the observation slits and started hurling bombs through these holes. Various bombs such as gas bombs, smoke bombs, sound bombs, pepper gas, nerve gas and fire bombs were used. By throwing these bombs they were trying to restrict our movement and make us ineffective. Every time they threw things it involved hundreds of bombs. Every assault with bombs reduced us to a state of exhaustion. Without having the chance to recover, they would hurl more bombs and fire a hail of bullets at us. This was what went on until 12 o'clock. At that time they set fire to the dormitory. We were in a position where we could not move. Finally we headed into the canteen area. We

went upstairs to rescue our friends. We rescued those we could rescue. And those we couldn't rescue or save had become our martyrs by fire. We did not know who had been left behind, in any case. It was impossible to see anything in the smoke. We replied constantly with our slogans to their bombs, their bullets. When they shouted, "Surrender," we replied, "It is you who must surrender to people's justice." When they noticed that we had gone down to the lower floor, they rained bombs down on us. Finally we made our way into the ventilation area, deciding that if we were to die, it should be in the ventilation area in a group. In the ventilation area we shouted out the names of our martyrs one by one. We sang the "Mitralyoz" song and danced the halay. While we danced the halay, on one side the enemy was throwing bombs and firing high-pressure water on the other side. The enemy shouted, "Surrender or we will kill all of you." We replied, "If we were scared of death

we would not have lain down to die on a Death Fast.” We continued to shout one slogan after another. Then we moved to a section where the prison guards used to stay and the enemy tried to open the door, throwing bombs through a hole they had made in it. They tried to reduce us to a state of exhaustion when we were in there. Despite everything, we managed to make our way back into the ventilation area. On the one hand we tried to protect our comrades, on the other we continued to resist. While we were in the ventilation area, they opened all the doors and entered the dormitories. They did not have the courage to approach us. Continually we shouted, “If you have the courage for it, come and get us.” They threw bombs from the dormitory, from the roof and from the observation slits. In the ventilation area we resisted for four hours under a hail of water from water cannons as well as bombs. Four hours later they surrounded us and tried to pull us away from each other. We locked arms very tightly. They could not separate us. They jumped on us and dragged us through the corridors. We were trying to protect our wounded and in that situation we were still shouting our slogans. We were even shouting our slogans as they dragged us. “Long live our Death Fast Resistance,” “Long live our Sigmalcilar resistance,” “You couldn’t make us surrender”. From there they took us to the military area. There they tried to learn our names by looking at photographs. Then afterwards those who were severely wounded were sent to hospital, and we were taken to hospital in twos. When I came to the hospital, I refused to accept any kind of medical treatment. They tried to give me serum and medicine and I told them I was a member of the Second Death Fast Team and I would not accept any kind of treatment, and I then returned to where my

friends were. When this kind of registration was completed we were taken to the rings. Even here the repression and insults continued. While waiting in the ring vehicle I began to feel ill again. I was vomiting constantly and could not breathe. They took me to the ambulance. A doctor looked at me in the ambulance. He said, “Your situation is serious,” and advised that I be taken to hospital. I was taken to hospital. When I went there I refused to accept treatment and was brought straight back. We were made to wait in the ring vehicle until 10 o’ clock with wet clothes. After that they brought us to Bakirkoy. We were brought to the administration section. In that time they made us wait for hours, until they had completed their bureaucratic formalities. Then they took us two at a time to one-person cells. Then they threw us into these cells. Afterwards we told them we were on the Death Fast and they put us into two-person cells. A day later two of our representatives with the director three-person cells. (illegible) were opened. We were put in rooms for three persons. At the moment we are in three-person (illegible). We go out to the ventilation area in a group. Our current situation: we have not fully recovered yet. The effects of the gas are still continuing. I am constantly vomiting and this is mixed with blood. I find it hard to breathe. I have tremors in my body. Most of our friends have asthma. I also have asthma. Our illnesses continue. This is our general situation. We are all generally on the Death Fast at present. We will continue until we get all our rights back. We have never surrendered, and we will not do so.

*Fatma Guzel  
With my love,  
a Second Death Fast Team resister*

INTERVIEW WITH EBRU DINCER  
ABOUT THE INCIDENT WHERE

*“They burnt us alive”*

(December 19, 2000)

*“First we were suffocated with gas bombs, then we were burnt alive”*

*On December 19, 2000 during the operation in Bayrampasa prison’s women dormitory C-1, 6 woman captives were BURNT ALIVE and dozens of other captives were covered up with burning patches. One of these woman captives has been released. We have interviewed Ebru Dincer*

*about what happened on the morning of December 19 in dormitory C-1.*

*Vatan:* First of all we hope you get well soon. You are one of the friends who were burnt during the operation on December 19. How long you have been in prison and what is your health situation now?



*Ebru Dinçer:* I was arrested in 1996. I stayed in Bayrampasa prison that is for almost 5 and a half years. I have not been convicted yet. At present I am on remand. I need to undergo many operations. The doctors said that I need to receive medical treatment abroad but I have no permission to travel abroad. Due to the burning my eyelids do not close completely. I have been told that this could lead to blindness in the future. This is how we were made to "return to life".

*Vatan:* What happened on December 19?

*Ebru Dinçer:* It was the later stages of the death fast. In fact everyone knows the reasons why we started the death fast. I was in the third team of volunteers. Until we were burnt. After that I received medical treatment. Before December 19, the negotiations were continuing. But a decision was made a day before December 19. The Prime Minister had said, just a day before, "tomorrow will be a different day". I remember this very clearly. He had said, "tomorrow will be a different day". And this is what really happened. Many things had changed in one night. 28 People were massacred in one day. Most of the captives are injured and left crippled. That is how we were made to return to life. Then the final point of savagery.

*Vatan:* How did the operation take place? The day before everything is normal and the daily routines...

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, everything was normal and flowing by. It was a sudden attack. I was sleeping when the attack began. In the dormitory a couple of our friends were awake. At 4.30 we all woke up because of noises. I was in the women's dormitory C-1 in Bayrampasa prison. When the attack began, first, they drilled the ceiling of the upper floor of the dormitory. There were holes all over the ceiling. Then the bombs were thrown in. We did not even have the chance to put our clothes on. We got dressed within seconds, I can say. We had nothing to protect ourselves. At that stage, I jumped off the bed and saw the soldiers on the roof. They were positioning their weapons.

*Vatan:* Were these ordinary soldiers or...?

*Ebru Dinçer:* No they were all wearing masks. We could not see their faces. Except for a couple of them, the rest were wearing masks. The bombardment started at 0430 and continued until 1100 without any break. At the same time they were opening fire on the dormitory. At this time Songul Ince was shot in the arm. And a bomb was dropped on her bullet wound. But I managed to take the bomb out. I was right next to her. Many of our friends were poisoned because of the bombs.

*Vatan:* What kind of bomb was it?

*Ebru Dinçer:* They were bombs... Blast bombs... that are as far as I can distinguish and remember most of them were blast bombs. Nerve gas, pepper gas,.. Of course you cannot realise at that moment. Later you digest the details... Their effects are that you have no control of your movements, you lose consciousness and since they attack continuously, you have no time to recover. We tried to breathe air from the windows but they threw bombs at the exercising area as well. In this way they prevented us from breathing in fresh air and getting a little bit of comfort.

*"I was not in flames but I was burnt."*

*Vatan:* How did the burning incident take place? What do you remember about the beginning of the incident? What kind of weapons did they use? Was it one after another?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, it was one after another. The bombardment continued non-stop for 9 hours. And we could not leave the dormitory. Because we had no place to go. We could not even raise our heads. We could not stand. Because of the smoke bombs and because they were shooting at the glass, we had no cover to protect ourselves. We were all unconscious. Before we left the dormitory and at the time of departure, they burnt the entrance door. I do not know how they burnt it and with what. I still have no idea.

*Vatan:* Was it a kind of gas?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Nobody knows yet. We have been told that it was a chemical weapon. Because an ordinary fire expands bit by bit. That is, a section starts to burn first and flames spread around. This was not the case. It suddenly burst into flames. In seconds the entire dormitory was in flames. And us, for instance, when I was burning my clothing were not damaged. It only burns the skin, very strange. I have heard about substances, which burn human flesh when they come in contact with the body temperature. Even if you wear clothes. My back, hands and face are burnt but none of my clothing. My jumper did not burn but my body did. It is very strange. That is, I was not in flames but I was burning. After that we started to leave the dormitory. At that moment I lost my consciousness. Because of the dense bombardment we could not see each other. There were friends who were poisoned and who collapsed. Those friends, who left the dormitory first, came back to rescue the rest. They had taken me out too at that time. I had been saved because I was near the door gate. If I had been further in, I would not be alive now. As I remember, there were 28 of us in that dormitory and we all might have been killed there.

*They were burnt alive...*

*Vatan:* What if you had not been able to open the door?

*Ebru Dinçer:* If we had not been able to open the door we all might have been burnt by bombs, everything developed within seconds. I can consider this as pure luck. Most of those who survived, except for a couple of our friends, have been burnt. 6 of us were burnt completely and even their corpses could not be identified. Yazgül Güder, Seyhan Dogan, Nilufer Alcan, Özlem Er-can, Gülser Tuzcu, Sefinur Tezgel... were burnt alive.

*Vatan:* Did you notice afterwards, that is when you went downstairs?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, we went downstairs and our eyes started to look for our friends. Then we noticed those who were not amongst us, who were upstairs. We noticed our burnt friends. Some of our friends who seemed all right went back to bring them but it was impossible. The dormitory was in flames. Later on, we heard that even the metal components had melted. As soon as we were in the exercising area they started to squirt pressurised water. I think it was the water hose, it was very powerful. Still, while we were all injured, they continued to throw bombs on us. They were directly targeting us. It was not important for them where the bombs were landing. They were hitting our heads, arms, and backs... and we were already injured. We went to the dormitory opposite. They started to bombard there as well. This situation continued for a while. Soldiers started to enter the exercise area. They were all masked. They took some of our friends by dragging and beating them, regardless of their health situation. This operation, right from beginning, was recorded by video cameras. There were two cameras on the roofs. We shouted, "put the fire out!"...They did not.

*Vatan:* Did these cameras belong to military?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, military cameras. And the whole incident was filmed. But this video footage was not released. That is, they are still holding on to. They tried to make people believe that we set ourselves on fire. They made announcements for this purpose.

*Vatan:* We heard that they opened holes on the roof and used a chemical substance to burn the prisoners. They had water hoses from the fire department. But they did not use them for the purpose of putting out the fire. They were even laughing at you.

*Ebru Dinçer:* When we came out of the exercise area, they were laughing at us. We shouted, "Put the fire out! Squirt the water, not at us but at the dormitory. Put the fire out. You have burnt our friends alive." But in spite of this the fire continued for another two hours. For two hours we

shouted at them to put the fire out... they did not. But they were squirting water at us rather than at the fire, which continued to burn. This is another form of torture. For two hours the fire continued. Later they put it out. But there was nothing that could be done.

*Vatan:* What were they saying Ebru, could you hear them?

*Ebru Dinçer:* They were using megaphones, saying "surrender yourselves!" and they were swearing at us. "We will kill you all, burn you all" We were all in the exercise area. One by one they snatched us. All this happened between 0430 and 1400. This is as much as I can remember. Some of our friends were badly injured.

*Vatan:* Who were the ones who were badly injured?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Hacer Arıkan, Ebru Dinçer,.. Birsen Kars is in Bakirköy prison now. She is being denied medical treatment. Hacer Arıkan is in a critical situation. 45% of her body is burnt. She burst in flames while trying to rescue Sefinur Tezgel. When I was in hospital, until 2 months ago, Hacer could not still stand up or walk. Her situation was critical. They did not treat her in Cerrahpasa hospital for at least two months. Because they were waiting for her to die. They really were waiting and they also admitted this. Therefore she was not medically treated.

*Vatan:* Were they doctors?

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, doctors. They were talking to each other. And we heard it. Hacer also told us. She was denied treatment for a long time. There were four of us in Cerrahpasa hospital. We were all badly burnt. Hacer Arıkan, Birsen Kars, Gülizar Kesici and me. We have stayed Cerrahpasa hospital for two months. And none of us received medical treatment there. We were chained by our legs to the beds. We were already not in a situation to stand. It was a kind of coma situation. This torture continued for two months. I think, it was one and a half months after December 19. Representatives of the EU's CPT (Committee to Prevent Torture) had come. At that time I was under operation, therefore I could not see them. The chains of our friends were removed for a couple of hours. After the delegation left, they chained them again. They knew they were guilty, this is actually their confession. If they saw themselves as being in the right, why did they remove the chains then? Many of our friends are injured. This is known. Some of our friends are critically ill. But they are not released. Except the basic first aid neither me, nor Hacer, nor the other friends received any treatment. Only wet towels.

*Vatan:* You say 'friends', who are they and what is their situation? That is, as far as you could see, because you were unconscious.

*Ebru Dinçer:* It was not possible to open your eyes. Because of the gases you could not even see in front of you. At the same time darkness, smoke, bombs... bullets... those who were injured... those who were burnt...In terms of emergency medical aid, we had nothing. We had only wet towels. The TV channels had broadcast that we had weapons. We had only wet towels. They too could see them.

*Vatan:* And they were shouting, "surrender yourselves!"

*Ebru Dinçer:* Yes, this was the announcement for those who were in that condition. This was the announcement for the people who were in prison, under the hands of state. But in the beginning there was no warning or announcement. They suddenly opened fire and threw bombs. The barricade that they talk about was two wardrobes.

*6 Women were burnt alive  
in the same dormitory in one night*

*Vatan:* Have you got a final message?

*Ebru Dinçer:* To express my feelings is very difficult. But I would like to say that everyone knows the reality of Turkey. You know why. This was not the first massacre either. In spite of all this, I cannot stop asking myself "why?", "why?" No explanation is good enough after a while. 6 Women were burnt alive in the same dormitory in one night. Nobody can explain this. Nobody can. I was thinking of Hitler's fascism. We read about it in the books. We watched the documentaries. Or the Sivas massacre. I thought about 37 of our friends who were burnt in Sivas. When one of our friends, Birsen Kars, who were burnt in dormitory C-1, was being taken out of the ambulance, she shouted: "6 women were burnt alive". In fact we can describe it as "first we were in gas chambers then we were burnt in crematoriums." It was real savagery. We were choked with gas bombs and then we were burnt.

They fit everything into a night. They fit tyranny, separation and death into a night.

## *Ebru Dinçer and Justice Minister, Sami Türk*

Ebru Dinçer also mentioned an interesting incident she witnessed. During the meeting of the members of European Parliament, she met with the French MEP Pierre Goldberg in the same hotel where the meetings were taking place. At the same time the Justice Minister was also there. Ebru was upstairs. Sami Türk was downstairs. Sami Türk was arguing with the Dutch MEP. He

was saying how the operation was carried out very humanely. When Ebru found out that he was also there, she described her feelings.

*"First there was hatred. I wanted to be face to face with the minister of justice. I wanted to see his eyes. I would like to tell him that, "this is your handywork. Look at your work. You already know it but I want you to look at me!"*

## *Selected translations of the autopsy reports of the prisoners who were killed during the military operation in the prisons of Turkey on December 19, 2000*

*Autopsy reports of:  
Ali Ates, Gülser Tuzcu, Nilüfer Alcan, Sefinur Tezgel*

1

REPUBLIC OF TURKEY  
JUSTICE MINISTRY  
MINISTRY'S JUDICIAL-MEDICAL ASSOCIATION  
Morgue Specialisation Department  
Istanbul, February 1, 2001  
AUTOPSY REPORT

Name: Ali, Family Name: Ates, Sex: male,  
Date of Birth: 1970.

Date of Death: 19/12/2000.

Place of Death: Bayrampasa Prison.

Date of Autopsy: 20/12/2000.

Autopsy performed at: Forensic Medicine Autopsy Hall.

Autopsy performed by: Prof. Dr S. Koc, Dr C. Uysal, Dr T. Boran, Dr A. S. Cagdir, Dr C. Coskun. (Sworn in forensic doctors).

Autopsy attended by: Fatih Republic Attorney, Mr. M. Guner.

#### EXTERNAL EXAMINATION:

Length: 175 cm, Weight: 55, 25-30 year-old looking circumcised male. Black hair, long beard and mustache, brown eyes. Death stiffness and death stains were seen on the back. On the left gutter vertically descending wound 40 cm long, 10 cm wide, deepest at the middle. By separating wound edges, the middle of thighbone (femur) is seen. Heavy soot stains were seen, especially at the middle of the bruised wound, which was passing from the top to the bottom of the thigh. Parallel to the mentioned wound, an 18 cm long wound, showing similar characteristic was also seen. Between both wounds just underneath skin and fat tissue irregular muscle rupture was observed. Above the left hip bone 15 cm long, bruised regular edged wound was seen. Within the wound blackish soot stains and multiple fragments of bone. Above the right knee 2 cm long irregular edged superficial tear was observed. On the upper one third of the chin 10 irregular round shaped, metal containing wounds were observed. On both knees, 2 symmetrical oval abrasions were observed. On the middle of the left chin 2cm long tear wound with a blackish Colour change. On the left chest just under the collarbone 1cm in diameter firearm bullet entrance wound was observed. Following the tract of the bullet, it was seen that it has caused linear bleeding underneath skin. 5 cm below the left nipple, 0.5 cm wide wound, below left collarbone 2 wounds similar to the ones described on the knees, on the outer side of the left shoulder, irregular bruised superficial blackish wounds were observed. On the inner side of the left elbow 2cm long transverse blackish bruised wound was observed. 5cm below the middle of the inner aspect of the left elbow, on the left wrist, on the left thumb oval superficial wounds were seen. The described wounds on the outer side of the left shoulder were opened (dissected).

Metallic pieces, similar to the ones found before, were found. On the left side of the neck, 2 irregular oval superficial wounds were seen. 2 superficial abrasions were observed on the right fore-

head. On the inner side of the right elbow, 5 semi-irregular superficial oval wounds were seen and similar metallic objects and bruised wounds were seen as well. On the upper 1/3rd of the left forearm horizontal 2cm long old scar was observed. On the back of the right gutter 2.5cm long old scar was observed. On upper surface of the left foot 2 X4 cm wide and one cm deep bruised irregular skin loss was seen. On the outer side below left knee, vertically descending 12 cm long irregular bruised tear shaped wound was seen. On the outer surface of the left gutter vertically descending wound was found to be similar to the previously described wound.

#### External Examination:

Head: Skull bones were intact; Brain and brain stem were intact. Skull base bones were intact as well, no fractures observed.

Chest and Abdomen: 1000cc of blood was evacuated from the left Hemithorax (Chest Cavity). No free fluid was found in the right Hemithorax (Chest Cavity). Matching the described fire arm injury, the bullet entered the left chest cavity & ruptured the upper end of the left lung then passed through the diaphragm, intestine, spleen, the left kidney and the Left External Iliac Artery, rupturing the bladder, from which a deformed bullet was taken out. The Heart and Neck had no abnormal findings. The airways (wind pipe) were intact. 2000cc of blood were evacuated from the Abdomen. The liver was Normal, except some fatty changes. The Stomach, small and large bowels, and the right kidney were examined, and found to be Normal. The Bladder was ruptured and scattered. On the left side of the chest, along the 6th, 7th and 8th ribs, a bruised fracture, matching the passage of the bullet, was seen. On the right upper wing of the Hipbone a fragmented fracture was seen. The wounds described on the left thigh and foot were dissected (opened) as well as other above mentioned wounds, and several samples were taken and sent to the Chemical, Physical and Toxicology analyzing departments. Other than several holes on several sides of the clothes, and several tears matching most of the external wounds describes above, there was no sign of any chemical, metal, alcohol, or toxic material. The site of entrance of the bullet was examined, no findings of gunpowder or heavy metal were found. Knowing that a long range fire arm was used in this case, such findings do not support that the firing was done with in the close firing distance accepted for such arms (75-100cm) the same finding can't help to decide the exact firing distance.

Histopathologic Report (Tissue examination under microscope):

Samples taken from several organs suggested fresh bleeding inside the lungs, the abdomen and some muscles. Samples taken from different parts of the skin, suggested focal skin loss and skin changes related to heat (high temperature).

FINAL RESULT (Conclusion): The death was a result of internal bleeding of internal organs and major arteries caused by a firearm bullet injury, shot from a long distance. Other wounds are

not found to be fatal.

Judicial-Medical Experts, Assistant Experts  
EYUP REPUBLICAN PROSECUTOR'S  
OFFICE

PROF DR OGUZ POLAT  
Chairman of the Judicial-Medical Foundation  
Eyup Republican Prosecutor's Office HK/NS  
February 2, 2001

2

*REPUBLIC OF TURKEY*  
*JUSTICE MINISTRY*  
*MINISTRY'S JUDICIAL-MEDICAL ASSOCIATION*  
*Morgue Specialisation Department*  
*Protocol No. 2749/62096/Dec. 21, 2000*  
*Istanbul, February 1, 2001*  
*AUTOPSY REPORT*

The name of the deceased: GULSER TUZCU  
Year of birth: 1962 Gender: female,  
Population centre where registered: Kastamonu-Azdavoy, New District  
Residence: --- Certified as dead. Date: December 19, 2000.

Place of death: BAYRAMPASA PRISON  
Office requesting autopsy: Eyup Republican Prosecutor's Office

December 20, 2000, no. 00/457

Place where autopsy carried out: Judicial-Medical Autopsy Theatre.

Date of autopsy: December 21, 2000.

Those who carried out the autopsy in the presence of Fatih Republican Prosecutor O. Topcu; Prof. Dr. S. Koc, Dr B. Sam, Dr A.S. Cagdir, Dr K. Colakoglu... they were sworn in to carry out a judicial autopsy.

**EXTERNAL EXAMINATION**

About 1 metre 25 cm in length, the body could not be accurately measured because of the severity of burns, a large part of the body was burned to the point of carbonisation, the lower half of the female's body's tibia was missing; an examination under a microscope found traces of a metal watch on the left wrist, the fourth finger of the left had bore a silver ring with a design of stars in a row. The cranium was thoroughly carbonised, at the nape of the neck there was a handful of brown hair 30 cm in length present, the right half of the bone tissue of the face was carbonised, the sockets of both eyes had shrunk as a result of carbonisation, all the peculiarities of the eye socket were lost, there were no soft tissues of the face and skull left as a result of burns, it was seen that the mentum of the mandible, the right part of the maxilla and a part of its centre, the right zygoma, the

right zygomatic arch, external parts of the right orbit and the leading parts of the frontal sinus had all been burned away. It was seen that the left upper jaw was not burned and one molar was present. It was sent to the Biological Specialisation Department for analysis. The neck area was carbonised, there was no humerus of the right arm present, there was a defect in the right part of the chest which was 12 x22 cm and because of the burns which produced the defect, the internal organs were visible, the left part of the chest had is muscle tissue burnt, the tissues of the left mammary were present but in a burnt condition, the whole left arm was burnt, in some places down to the bone, the left hand was contracted, the back was completely carbonised, the skin of the armpits was burnt, the muscle tissue of both buttocks was largely burnt, in the chest the underside of the left breast, the right arch of the lower rib, the area around the navel and 5 cm down to the pubis were untouched in an area where otherwise there were 1st and 2nd degree burns, with tissues untouched and hyperaemia present at the edges of burnt areas. Both thighs had 4th degree burns and carbonisation was present, the peculiarities of the soft tissues were lost, sections of the remaining tibia only retained a small amount of soft tissue, the lower third of the left femur was absent, the tips of the bone were present but burnt. The genitals were identifiable as those of a woman but carbonised. Apart from the tooth sent off for histological analysis, no other teeth were found. The external part of the ear was burnt but it was established where the hole for the inner ear was located.

The corpse was wearing the following, largely burnt items: white underwear, a white knitted vest, two pieces of largely burnt cream-coloured towel, three pieces of a bordeaux-coloured, checked sleeved waistcoat and pieces of dark blue fabric

edged with pleated rubber. The front of the underwear on the corpse was decorated with a pattern of red flowers and green stalks.

#### INTERNAL EXAMINATION

The scalp was largely gone because of advanced burns. The brain had completely lost all peculiarities and had shrivelled as a result of exposure to severe heat. Samples were taken for histopathological analysis. The bones of the dome and the base of the skull remained intact.

**THE SIMULTANEOUS OPENING OF THE CHEST AND THE ABDOMEN:** Adipose tissues were measured to a depth of 6 cm in the abdomen and 3 cm in the chest. The cover of the sternum was removed. The right lung was seen to be shrunk as a result of burns. The heat had cooked and hardened it.

The left lung was taken out: it weighed 400 grams. The surface and sections of the inside showed no peculiarities other than those connected to the intense heat. The heart was taken out - it weighed 300 grams. It looked as if it had been subjected to intense heat. The aorta showed no peculiarities. The coronary arteries were clear. The walls of the right ventricle were 0.2 cm in width, the left ventricle 1.1 cm. Sections of the myocardium showed no peculiarities other than those connected to heat.

Examination of the organs of the neck: they were seen to be cooked and hardened by the heat. The trachea was coated with soot. The hyoid bone, the thyroid cartilage and neck vertebrae were healthy.

**OPENING OF THE ABDOMEN:** The liver was taken out: it weighed 1200 grams. External sections of the upper right lobe were carbonised. Other sections were hardened by the heat. The stomach was taken out: a small amount of brown fluid was found inside. The stomach mucus showed no peculiarities. The lobes of both kidneys and their structure were regular. The surface and sections showed no peculiarities other than those caused by heat.

The intestines were opened: the pleats were normal. No macroscopic pathologies were observed. The uterus fissure was opened. It was found to be empty. A cut was made in some of the muscle groups. No ecchymosis was encountered. It was seen that the lines of the iliac epiphysis were closed. The upper sections of the sternum were subject to severe burning, there were no changes in the manubrium sternum and corpus sternum. The lungs, liver, kidneys, brain, pancreas, skin, stomach intestine, thyroid and heart all had samples removed for histopathological analysis. The blood, viscera, hair, nails, pieces of clothing and

skin were sent to the Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department for systematic toxicological analysis for alcohol traces, narcotics, CO and the by-products of burns. Bone, muscle and tooth samples were sent to the Biology Specialisation Department for DNA analysis.

The Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department report, dated January 11, 2001, and numbered 230/610/96/11: no alcohol (ethanol or methanol) present in blood, systematic toxicological analysis of samples found no substances, a CO-OXIMETRE apparatus for examining chemical gases in blood found 44.4% COHb (carboxihaemoglobin) and 8.3% metHb (methaemoglobin), and clothing fragments and skin were found to contain a very small amount of thinner of the kind found in organic solvents, toluene, xylene and methanol were present, ethanol was not present. The Biology Specialisation Department's report dated January 2, 2001, numbered 210/001221/61096/1858: Blow, Dr of Pathology Isil Pakis registers the findings of the histopathology examination of the muscle and bone samples taken for DNA.

The myocardium: muscle fibres were found to contain ripe adipose tissue.

Diagnosis: lipomatosis.

Lungs: the lumen of the alveolae were found to exude serum, the lumen of the veins was full of erythrocytes.

Diagnosis: oedema, hyperaemia.

Liver and brain: beginnings of autolysis, hyperaemia.

Kidney: autolysis, hyperaemia.

Pancreas: autolysis.

Thyroid: hyperaemia.

Stomach: in the mucosa, reactive lenfoid follicles, hyperaemia.

Intestine: autolysis of the mucosa, hyperaemia.

Skin: skin sections show lengthening of the basal stratum of the epidermis and spinal cells, fusiform, clustering of the structure can be seen.

**RESULT:** Attention is drawn to the following findings recorded from the autopsy and examination carried out on December 21, 2000 by the Judicial-Medical Institution, Morgue Specialisation Department with regard to the body of Gulser Tuzcu, born 1962, daughter of Cemil, reported as killed within the course of the intervention by the security forces at Bayrampasa Prison on December 19, 2000.

1. According to the report of the Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department: no alcohol (ethanol or methanol) in blood, no substances showed up following a systematic toxicological analysis of samples, the CO-OXIMETRE equipment for measuring chemicals in blood found 44.4% COHb (carboxihaemoglobin) and 8.3% metHb (methaemoglobin). Clothing and skin samples found a small amount of organic sol-

vents like thinner but toluene, xylene and methanol not present.

2. In the autopsy, the body was found to be heavily carbonised as a result of which there was a great deal of tissue loss and the loss of the body's extremities, and this report concludes that death was caused by the large quantity of soot in the trachea, smoke inhalation and asphyxiation caused by

carbon monoxide.

Prof Dr. Sermet KOC  
Morgue Specialisation Department Chairman  
Dr A. Sadi CAGDIR, Dr Bulent SAM, Dr  
Kadir COLAKOGLU, Judicial Medical  
Experts and Assistant Experts.

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*Republic of Turkey*  
*Justice Ministry*  
*Chirmanship of the Judicial Medical Faculty*  
*The Morgue Department*  
*Protocol Number 2733/210/20.12.00/61051-5 Ist. 02.02.01*  
**AUTOPSY REPORT**

Name and Surname of the deceased:  
NILUFER ALCAN

Born 1963. Gender, female.

Population centre where registered: Bolu,  
Goynuk Soguali,

CN: 006/01,

ASN: 47, SN 13.

Residence: ---

Date of death: December 19, 2000.

Place of death: Bayrampasa Closed Prison

Place that requested autopsy: Eyup Republican Prosecutor's Office, December 20, 2000. Number 457.

Place where autopsy was carried out: Medical Judicial Autopsy Theatre.

Date of autopsy: December 20, 2000.

Those carrying out the autopsy in the presence of Fatih Republican Prosecutor MEHMET GUNER: Prof Dr S. KOC, Dr B. SAM, Dr O. KURTAS, Dr H. KAR.

They were sworn in to perform a judicial autopsy

**EXTERNAL EXAMINATION**

The corpse of a woman, 158 centimetres long, 50-55 kilograms, 30-35 years of age, black-haired, brown eyes specked with black, wheat-coloured skin, with traces of henna on the left palm about 5 cm in diameter. Rigor mortis continuing, visible discolouring of skin on back and usual places due to death. The corpse wore a white vest, a white bra, white underwear with dots and pale grey socks. About three centimetres from the outer edge of the right eyebrow and five centimetres from the centre of the right eyebrow, tears in the skin were found. There were burns in an area on the right frontal area of the scalp about 20 by 15 centimetres, and the hair was dirtied by smoke.

These areas had first and second-degree burns:

from the frontal right edge of the scalp extending 8 by 7 centimetres starting from the lower right-hand side of the face at the lower jaw, over a 7 cm by 3.5 cm area covering the upper and flank areas of the nose, on an area of the left eyebrow cover 7 by 5 cm, the back of both hands from the wrist to the fingertips, from the upper section of the right shoulder to under the scapula, from the right scapula downwards in a progressively narrower fashion to the spinal column, the lower parts of both scapula down to an area where they unite, down to the right metaxalli, on the left-mid scapular area, in a progressively broader fashion, both gluteal areas and both thighs behind a section that was unburnt, both of the crus behind the face in a section 16 by 10 centimetres in dimension, the front section of the right thigh in an area 28 by 17 centimetres, the middle section of the front of the left thigh in an area 15 by 12 centimetres, the front section of the left knee in an area 5 by 6 cm, a third of the frontal part of the left crus 8 cm by 4 cm, a central section of the right crus 8 cm by 4, the back of the right arm in an area 1 cm by 4. Ecchymosis was present in the middle section of the left crus, in areas 1 by 1.5 cm in diameter, 2 by 3m in diameter and on both patellas in an area 0.5 cm by 1.5 cm. An examination of the hymen found old tears at areas 1, 4, 5 and 7 as compared to positions on a clock dial. An examination of the anal area found post-mortem dilation and nothing else of note. The entire body was covered in patches of soot.

**INTERNAL EXAMINATION**

After the head was opened: The scalp was removed. The scalp was hyperaemic in six places and ecchymosis was observed in areas 6 cm by 2 in the frontal area and 2 by 2 cm in the upper middle section of the right temporal lobe. In the right temporal area's muscle group there was a 2

cm ecchymosis, at the front. The left temporal muscle group was unaffected. The bones of the skull were unaffected. The skull was opened and the brain and attached sections removed. It weighed 1340 grams. The surface of the brain and cerebellum showed advanced hyperaemia and the meningeal veins were full. It was established that sections were hyperaemic to an advanced degree and there had been heavy bleeding. The base of the skull was healthy. The left upper tooth no.4 was rotten, 5 and 6 were filled, the lower front tooth was missing. The 5th and 6th were filled as was the upper right of 4, 5 and 6. A dental bridge was made, the lower fourth tooth was filled and there were no wisdom teeth.

**AFTER OPENING THE CHEST:** No pathology was found when the breasts were sectioned and examined under a microscope. The sternum was removed. Both lungs were healthy and the chest cavity was found to be empty. The lungs and organs of the neck were removed at the same time. The right lung weighed 500 grams and the left 450. The surfaces were slightly anthracotic, had a sheen, were hyperaemic and filled with blood here and there. Sections were also hyperaemic. There were traces of bronchial shadows. The heart was taken out.

It weighed 190 grams. There were no peculiarities of the aorta other than traces of atheroma.

The coronary arteries were opened. Seven and a half cm of the aorta, 9 cm of the mitral vein, 8.5 cm of the pulmonary and 12 cm of the tricuspid were measured and no peculiarities were observed. The left ventricle wall measured 1.1 cm, the right 0.2. The myocardium section and its cavity showed no peculiarities. When the organs of the neck were examined, the hyoid bone and thyroid cartilage were found to be healthy. The soft tissues of the neck showed no peculiarities or pathology under microscopic examination. The lumen of the trachea was found to be polluted with soot. When the tongue was sectioned, no microscopic pathologies were found.

**WHEN THE ABDOMEN WAS OPENED:** In the abdomen, neither blood nor free fluid were found. The liver was removed. It weighed 1250 grams. The surface was even, the edges sharp and sectioning revealed no peculiarities under the microscope. The stomach was taken out. It was found to be empty. The kidney surfaces were even and apart from sections with hyperaemia, they showed no peculiarities. The spleen was removed. The surface and sections showed no peculiarities when examined under a microscope. A small amount of digested food was found in the duodenum and jejunum. The mesenteric part of the intestine showed no peculiarities. An examination of

the pelvic organs found both ovaries and the uterus to be empty.

The bladder was found to be full of urine. Incisions were made in the upper surface of the back and both scapula starting with the nape of the neck down to the waist, both buttocks, both thighs and the back of the crus, as well as the soles of the feet. Under the skin and in the soft tissues, no peculiarities were observed. External examination revealing two ecchymosis traces in the front of both knees caused these to be sectioned. There was ecchymosis under the skin. The skeletal system was healthy. The lungs, liver, kidneys, brain, skin (both the burned and unburned parts) the small intestine (duodenum) and the sternum had pieces taken away for histopathological examination. Blood, urine, burnt sections of skin, hair, fingernails, fluid from the eyes and viscera were sent to the Chemical Analysis Specialisation Office to be checked for traces of explosive substances, potassium, systematic toxicological analysis, alcohol, narcotic substances or soporifics and CO. The Biological Specialisation Department was sent muscle and bone tissue for DNA tests and preservation. The Chemical Analysis Specialisation Office issued a report dated January 11, 2001 and numbered 230/61051/4056. It said that in the blood, internal organ samples, urine, skin samples, hair and clothing samples, no toxic substances or alcohol (ethanol or methanol) were found. In the blood there was 57.2% of COHb (carboxic haemoglobin) and 3.1% MetHb (methemoglobin), in the fluids of the eye 8.13 mEq/L potassium K were found and organic solvents like toluene and xylene of the kind found in paint thinner were not found in scraps of clothing, hair and fabric samples, nor were alcohols like ethanol or methanol found. In the Biological Specialisation Department report of December 21, 2000, numbered 210/201200/61051/1848, it was stated that the identity of muscle and bone tissue had been established, and preservation certified by the signature of Dr of Pathology Elif Akyildiz, the results of whose histopathology report are given below. The myocardia, intestine, brain, kidneys and liver were hyperaemic.

The lung: the lumen of the alveolae exuded serum. The lumen of the veins was broad and full of erythrocyte.

Diagnosis: Oedema, hyperaemia, acute swelling.

Skin: it was not possible to examine samples of the epidermis. There was hyperaemia of the dermis but only localised examples visible on the epidermis. In the dermis there was a homogenisation of the cells that are deeply embedded, while a thinning of the cell nucleus could be observed.



Diagnosis: Signs conforming to exposure to intense heat were found in the sternum and there were 50% fat deposits in the marrow of the bone trabeculi.

#### RESULTS:

Attention is drawn to the knowledge and findings brought to light by the December 20, 2000 autopsy and investigation carried out on the corpse of Nilufer ALCAN, born 1963, who died in the course of the December 19, 2000 intervention by the security forces in Bayrampasa Closed Prison.

1. The Chemical Specialisation Analysis Office report states: no alcohol (ethanol or methanol) found in the blood, in pieces of internal organ, samples of urine, skin, and hair or clothing particles, no toxic substances were found. The blood contained 57.2% of COHb (carboxihaemoglobin) and 3.1% MetHb (Methemoglobin), eye fluids contained 8.13% mEq/L, Potassium K was found

in clothing, hair and tissue samples, there were no traces of thinner or organic solvents (toluene and xylene) or alcohol (ethanol or methanol).

2. It was established to our satisfaction in the external and internal autopsy on the body that the soot present in the respiratory system and the inhalation of a deadly amount of smoke and CO (carbon monoxide poisoning) was the cause of death.

Prof Dr Sermet KOC

Chairman of the Morgue Specialisation Department

Dr Bulent Sam, Dr Omer Kurtas, Dr Hakan Kar

EYUP REPUBLICAN PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE

PROF DR OGUZ POLAT

JUDICIAL-MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CHAIR EYUP R.

PROSECUTOR KC/ES February 1, 2001

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*REPUBLIC OF TURKEY JUSTICE MINISTRY  
JUDICIAL-MEDICAL ASSOCIATION CHAIR*

*Morgue Specialisation Department*

*Protocol Number: 2747/61094/210/21.12.2000 Ist. 06.02.01*

*AUTOPSY REPORT*

Name, surname of deceased: SEFINUR TEZGEL

Date of birth: 1971. Gender: female.

Population centre where registered: Malatya Province, Akcadag town, Bekir Usagi C. 050.01 A.S. 50.

Residence: ---

Date of death: December 19, 2000.

Place of death: Bayrampasa Closed Prison.

Institution requesting autopsy: EYUP Republican Prosecutor's Office, 20.12.00. Number 00/457.

Place where autopsy was carried out: Judicial-Medical Autopsy Theatre

Date of autopsy: 21.12.2000.

Those who carried out the autopsy in the presence of Fatih Republican Prosecutor Osman TOPCU; Prof Dr S. KOC, Dr C. Uysal, Dr B. Sam, Dr K. Altunbay. They were sworn in to carry out a judicial autopsy.

The corpse was wearing white underwear which was largely burnt, blue "L" jeans with a zipper and buttons, the left front pocket of which contained an "Ulker Final" chewing gum wrapper. The jeans were badly burnt. Under a microscope, a metallic image, a necklace and a ring on the fourth fin-

ger of the left hand were examined. Because of flexion and contraction produced by advanced burns, it was not possible to measure the corpse of the woman as would have been possible if it was undamaged: the back of the body was thoroughly carbonised by burns, the bone fibre could be seen externally because the wrists and ankles were so carbonised, the scalp had been completely burned away, and apart from the left parietal area of the skull in an area 10 x 5 cm which was blackened, burns had destroyed the tissues of the face to the point that it was unrecognisable, the ears had been reduced to a fraction of their normal thickness and both forearms, arms, sides of chest and abdomen, the upper section of the chest, both thighs and the crus were so carbonised that the muscle tissues and tendons were visible, the underside of the right hemi-thorax and the upper right section of the abdomen were rather less burnt than elsewhere (2nd degree), in a 25 cm area, the upper front of the right thigh in an area 10 x 10 cm the right knee laterally in an area 15 x 8 cm were burned to the 2nd degree, and of the whole body, 85% was carbonised and 15% was 2nd degree burnt. From the malleolus area of the left ulna, the left radius to a third of the way down, the bones had broken in three places due to carbonisation, the soft tissues had become torn and

visible in the area of the broken bones, in the left radius the head of the radius which was almost completely burned had become stuck to the soft tissue, and the phalanges of the hand were defective owing to exposure to fire. Laterally, the right knee was rather less burned in comparison with elsewhere (2nd degree) and the area was hyperaemic. Parts of this area were taken away for microscopic examination. The scalp had disappeared completely due to burns: the skull was opened, the brain and attachments removed and found to weigh 1000 grams. Apart from the surface and sections which appeared to have been boiled, its appearance showed no peculiarities. The skull and base of the skull were unaffected. The inside of the mouth and teeth were examined, the first five upper teeth were present but others were not, parts of three others were burned, the second and third teeth were slightly burned, while 4, 5 and 6 were not present, 7 and 8 were present, on the upper left 1,2,3, 5, 6 and 7 were present and 4 and 8 were absent. There were small cavities in the mouth where teeth were missing.

**CHEST OPENED:** The sternal covering was removed. the larynx, windpipe and bronchia were filled with soot. Both lungs were free, the right lung weighed 700 grams and the left 650. The lung surfaces and sections were slightly inflamed by heat and hyperaemic but showed no other peculiarities. The heart was taken out - it weighed 300 grams. The heart sections, cavities and valves showed no peculiarities. The coronary arteries were open. The thorax vertebrae and ribs were healthy. The neck organs were examined. The hyoid bone and thyroid cartilage were healthy.

**ABDOMEN OPENED:** Liver taken out - it weighed 1500 grams. The surface and section looked as though they had been exposed to heat. The small intestine's contents were digestive fluid and sigmoid and the colon contained a good deal of faecal matter. Both kidneys were removed. The left kidney weighed 180 and the right 200 grams. The surfaces were smooth and sections appeared to have been exposed to heat and were hyperaemic. The bladder was empty. the pelvis and the lumbar vertebrae were healthy. No ecchymosis was found in the chest and abdominal walls. At the front of both thighs and at the hip and back, the soft tissues were found to be deeply fissured; no ecchymosis was encountered there. The bones at the iliac spot of the crus were found to be closed. The uterus was empty. Samples were taken from the lung, small and large intestine, myometrium, endometrium, skin, liver, kidneys, brain and heart for histopathological examination. Blood, skin and clothing particles and viscera were sent to the Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department for systematic toxicological analysis and to

check for traces of alcohol, narcotics or soporifics and CO. Muscle and bone tissue were sent to be preserved at the Biological Specialisation Department for DNA. The report of the Biology Specialisation Department on January 3, 2001, numbered 210/001222/61094/1856 is as follows; bone and muscle tissue were preserved for DNA, and the report of the Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department dated January 11, 2001, numbered 230/61094/9 states that no alcohol (ethanol or methanol) was found in the blood, the CO-OXIMETRE scanned blood for chemical gases found 26% COHb (carboxihaemoglobin) and 6.2% MetHb (methaemoglobin), clothing fragments and skin samples were found to contain thinner and solvents like toluene and xylene, there were no alcohols (ethanol or methanol) present, systematic toxicological analysis of internal organ samples, skin and clothing particles detected no substances, and this is certified by the signature of Dr of Pathology Isil Pakis in the histopathological report. The myocardia: some muscle fibres had enlarged nuclei, were hyperchromatic and the cytoplasm were broad. Diagnosis: traces of hypertrophy. Lungs: the lumen of the alveolae showed erythrocytes and the vein lumens were also full of the same. Diagnosis: hyperaemic, intra-alveolar bleeding.

Liver, kidneys, brain: hyperaemic. Small and large intestine: autolysis.

Endometrium, basal endometrium, myometrium: no peculiarities.

Skin: lengthening of the skin cells in the epidermis, fusiform in shape, clustering of the structure. Widespread homogenisation visible in the dermis. Diagnosis: changes conform to the effects of intense heat.

#### CONCLUSION:

Attention is drawn to the findings recorded above by the autopsy and examination by the Judicial-Medical Morgue Specialisation Department carried out on December 21, 2000 on the body of SEFINUR TEZGEL, born 1971, daughter of Haydar, burned in the course of the operation carried out at Bayrampasa Prison by the security forces on December 19, 2000;

1. The Chemical Analysis Specialisation Department report states: no alcohol (ethanol or methanol) in the blood, the analysis by the CO-OXIMETRE of blood gases found 26% COHb (carboxihaemoglobin) and 6.2% Met-Hb (methaemoglobin) clothing particles and skin samples contained the organic substances found in thinner such as toluene and xylene, there were no traces of alcohol (ethanol or methanol) and systematic toxicological analysis of internal organ, blood, skin and clothing samples detected no sub-

stances.

2. The autopsy of a body largely carbonised by fire which caused massive tissue loss and filled the larynx, bronchus and bronchiolae with soot established to our satisfaction the conclusions in this report, that the subject died in the fire of asphyxiation as a result of poisoning from smoke inhalation and carbon monoxide.

Prof Dr Sermet KOC  
Morgue Specialisation Department Chair

Dr Cafer Uysal, Dr Bulent SAM, Dr Kutlu Altunbay  
Judicial-Medical Experts, Judicial-Medical Assistant Experts  
EYUP R. PROSECUTOR'S OFFICE  
Prof Dr Oguz POLAT  
CHAIR, JUDICIAL-MEDICAL FOUNDATION  
Eyup R. Prosecutor, KA/ST - February 13, 2001

## *Minutes of the meeting between the delegation from the EP and S. Ozpolat*

*The following are the minutes of the meeting between the delegation from the European Parliament, which publicized the results of their engagements in the F-type prisons on June 7, 2001, and one of the representatives of the prisoners in Kandira F-type prison, Sadi Ozbolat who is from the DHKP-C trial. Also we present Sadi Ozbolat's letter to his lawyer which was sent through the attorney of the prison concerning the same issue.*

*Besides the European delegation, there was also a person who attended the meetings as an authority from the justice ministry. The sub-titles are belonging to us.*

### *TAYAD Families*

*A solution can only be drawn out of a meeting between the authorities from the ministry and the representatives of political prisoners*

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: How can the Death Fast finish? Has there been any changes to your demands? What are your demands? We want to know your opinion as a person.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: It is wrong to ask for my individual thoughts. This meeting should be conducted with the council of the representatives, which presents all of the captives. It is not possible for me to answer your question about our demands without coming together with the other representatives. You did not notify me about your visit before hand. This is not the way to do things. You should have notified me first. Besides I must have access to the other representatives so I can talk to them and then, as representatives, we can meet with you. Our demands cannot be discussed in a non-serious way like this. This is a serious matter. If the representatives can come together, within an hour we can give you the written demands.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: If the representatives come together, will your demands become more flexible?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: How can a solution be found, if bringing the representatives together be-

comes a matter of negotiation? There is no flexibility in our demands and there cannot be. A solution can only be found if there is a meeting between the authorities from the ministry and the representatives of political prisoners.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: Who are these representatives who need to come together?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: First bring us together, we will announce our representatives after talking to each other.

*(Those who participated in the meeting stated that they have no authority to bring the representatives together.)*

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: There is a dialogue blockage between you and the ministry. Do you accept us as mediators?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: We can only answer this question of yours if the other representatives are able to come together. But my personal opinion is that those who talk to us must have the authority to speak on the state's behalf. The problem is not you being a mediator. You should be able to meet with us and give your word on the behalf of the ministry. Also if you come here on the ministry's behalf, a bureaucrat from the ministry must be present as a witness. But we can only give our final decision if we are allowed to come together with the other representatives.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: If the meetings begin and come to a feasible point, would you

consider giving a break in the death fast. Even when states are at war they give similar gestures when the negotiations begin.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: Under no condition will we give a break in the death fast. If the state accepts that it is fighting us, that it is at war with us, then it should announce that that is the case and our legal status should be rearranged according to this. We will give no such gesture after the operation that massacred tens of our friends and made them martyrs. In Bayrampasa prison six of our woman friends were burnt alive.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: There should be mutual flexibility in the demands.

*It is clear that the F-type application in Turkey was mutually planned between the USA and the EU countries.*

SADI ÖZBOLAT: Our demands are right, legitimate and democratic and they must be discussed. If these demands are right and democratic, then asking for flexibility does not make sense. It should stop making demagoguery out of our demand of abolition the DGMs (State Security Courts). Many circles want the abolition of the DGMs. The USA the EU and the IMF are all responsible for the F-type prisons, the operation and the massacre on December 19, and for those who lost their lives during the death fast and for those who have become handicapped because of the forcible medical intervention. It is clear that the F-Type application in Turkey was planned mutually by the USA and the EU countries. The USA in its annual terror report in 1998 stated that, In Turkey prisons are terror centres. The EU's entry programme for Turkey's membership, put the abandoning of the dormitory system in prisons as a high priority and under the title of contemporary prisons. The current structure of the F-type prisons was proposed and finally the existing F-type prisons and Article 16 were approved. The policy of the F-type prisons and their construction coincide with the mentioned report of the USA and the constraints of the EU.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: We are not here to discuss imperialism. This resistance will not continue until the end of imperialism, will it?

ANOTHER DELEGATE: We visited Bayrampasa prison. The mafia is in charge of the dormitory system. The non-political prisoners are very much disturbed because of this situation..

SADI ÖZBOLAT: There was no such thing in our dormitories. If that was the case why have we been brought here? The mafia should have been brought here instead.

ANOTHER DELEGATE: The state is claiming that you established an organisational pressure.

This is also our opinion.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: This is nonsense and a comical question. The people were isolated, they were left handicapped with forcible medical intervention, they have fallen martyrs but the resistance is expanding and continuing. No such organisational pressure can make people march to death.

*(Here Daniel Cohn-Bendit intervened and silenced the delegate who asked this question)*

THE MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVE: Let's be honest, your demands are changing continuously. E-mail messages were received from Brussels concerning changes in the demands.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: When we started the death fast we had announced our written demands. None of the demands have been changed.

THE MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVE: We have been receiving statements from Brussels signed by DHKC. Are these statements not binding you? Who is directing the organisation?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: I am speaking here on the behalf of the resisting captives, not the organisation. I represent the resisting captives.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: Is DHKC in Brussels not binding you?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: This resistance and the problem is concerning and affecting the entire people both inside and outside prisons. TAYAD and the other institutions also have a role in this resistance. All these people have the right to talk about the resistance. The DHKC in Brussels has never said come and negotiate with us.

DANIEL COHN-BENDIT: Who is making the decisions? The prisoners?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: These are the mutual decisions of all the prisoners.

THE MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVE: I am a law practitioner. Your father is also a law practitioner.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: What is your name?

THE MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVE: I do not want to reveal my name.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: In that case Mr X, I am not speaking with you.

THE MINISTRY'S REPRESENTATIVE: We shall try to obtain permission from the ministry to bring you, and the other representatives, together.

SADI ÖZBOLAT: We have no such demand. This is only so we will be able to answer your questions. But if you come again, notify us beforehand. We should also have the ability to come together and discuss.

ANOTHER DELEGATE: Why do you stay on your own like this? Is this what you want? Or do your friends not want to be with you? Or did the state put you here on your own?

SADI ÖZBOLAT: What do you think we are resisting for?

(Here the meeting was terminated and the delegation left after 2 hours.)

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENT:

The following letter is belonging to Sadi Naci Özbolat. He sent the letter to his lawyer through the prison attorney concerning his meeting with the EU delegation.

## Sadi Ozpolat's letter

Date: June 11, 2001

Dear Lawyer Behiç Asci

A delegation from the EU wanted to meet with me on Thursday, June 07, 2001. Daniel Cohn-Bendit issued a press release concerning the meeting including also some allegations targeting me. In order to defend my legal rights I found it necessary to inform you about the meeting. The delegation stated that their aim was to find out whether there had been any changes to our demands and to see what my personal view is on how to cease the resistance. Also they said that they wanted to know what our demands were.

Briefly, my answers regarding these questions were as follows: I told them that it would be wrong to know my personal view, it would be better to meet with the council of representatives which represents all of the prisoners and only then can we reply to their questions through this way. Progress in finding a solution is dependant upon meetings between the council of representatives and the authorised officials of the state, and this depends on seeking solutions to the demands. The demands of the resistance have not changed. And they will not either. The demands are democratic and rightful. And if they do not think the same way, then they should explain which demands are not and why. A solution can not be sought with the intention of finding a mid-way. A solution can only be made possible by evaluating the democratic and rightful nature of our demands. I also said that our demands could be given in writing if I could meet with the other representative friends for an hour. This is a serious matter and it would be wrong to tell them the demands in any other way, without having a chance for preparation. But roughly, I told them that the demands concerning the F-type prisons were; changing their physical structure and management, Article 16 should be lifted, the DGMs (State Security Courts) should be abolished, the release of our friends whose health is not permitting them to stay in prison, abolish the tripartite protocol, those who are responsible for the operations in prisons are to stand trial etc. They responded negatively to my wish of seeing the other representatives by saying that they have

no such authorisation. They said they will try to obtain the permission from the ministry but the ministry might come out with the suggestion that only if the demands become flexible.

I said that this is not be a matter for negotiation and that we have no such demand and I explained that it would be necessary for us to produce our demands in writing. The EU delegation said there is a dialogue problem between you and the ministry, would you accept it if we offered ourselves as the mediators? My response was, I can only answer this question if I can meet with the other representatives but my personal opinion is that the delegation should have the authority to decide on the ministry's behalf and our final answer could only be given after meeting with the other representatives.

Because the general director of the prisons, A. Suat Ertosun claimed that during the talks before December 19, the delegation of mediators had given their own views and that these were not those of the ministry's and also that they had given promises which were not approved by the ministry.

The subject concerning the thoughts of the Stone Age claim of Daniel Cohn-Bendit are as follows: In the beginning I had stated that The USA, the EU and the IMF are all responsible for the current F-Type prisons, the operation and massacre of December 19, for those who lost their lives during the death fast and for those who have become handicapped because of the forcible medical intervention. It is clear that the F-type application in Turkey had been planned mutually by the USA and the EU countries. They are experimenting with Turkey and if they succeed, they are planning to use the same policy in other colonies. The USA in it's the annual terror report in 1998 stated that, In Turkey the prisons are terror centres. The entry programme for Turkey's membership to the EU, put abandoning the dormitory system in prisons as a high priority and under the title of contemporary prisons. The current structure of the F-Type prisons was proposed and finally the existing F-Type prisons and Article 16 were approved. The policy of the F-Type prisons and their construction coin-

cide with the mentioned report of the USA and the constraints of the EU. Also in response to the recent credits of the IMF to Turkey, new legislation was passed through the parliament. The IMF officials are stating that Turkey is an experiment on this issue and if it is a success then this will be a general policy. All of this is showing the attitude of these countries towards Turkey.

Their attitude towards Turkey as a whole is no different than their attitude towards the prisoners in the F-Type prisons. During this discussion a European delegate was trying to prove the necessity of F-Type prisons by saying we visited Bayrampasa prison, the mafia is in power there, the wardens cannot enter the dormitories. My response was There was no such a problem in our dormitories, together with Article 16, the F-Type prisons are targeting us, in general they are not for non-political prisoners, therefore it is obvious that these prisons are not aiming to solve these problems they mentioned. The same person said there was internal pressure by the organisations in the dormitory system and this is not only the ministry's opinion, we share it as well. I said This claim is nonsense and comical. On the contrary, even the pressure of the F-Type prisons could not make them to quit their action, they are trying to stop the death fast resistance by leaving the prisoners handicapped because of forcible medical intervention in hospitals. No organisational pressure can make people march to death. I said the women prisoners were burnt by gassing their dormitory in

Bayrampasa prison. This is very obvious, there is almost not a single person who did not receive burns. They said fax messages are sent from the DHKC information bureau in Brussels. I said This resistance and the problem of the F-Type prisons are concerning the entire people. All these people have the right to take a stand but the decision on the resistance in the prisons can only be made by the prisoners and their representatives only, only they can take part in the meetings on their behalf. Daniel Cohn-Bendit asked In the statements sent to newspapers from Edirne the demand of lifting the isolation was mentioned, what does this mean, what should be done to lift the isolation I said, this is a precondition to begin the meetings rather than a demand. I said that I cannot answer the question of what should be done to lift the isolation without meeting with the other representatives. Daniel Cohn-Bendit, said lets say the meetings had begun, could you not give a break of 3-5 days in the death fast I said that this is not possible. He said we needed to make our demands amendable. I said the problem is not amending the demands, the problems cannot be solved through this approach and we want a reply to our demands. In general, this is the outline of the meeting. The claim of Daniel Cohn-Bendit's that if 6-9 prisoners could be brought together the death fast would cease is not realistic and such a conclusion should not have arisen from the meeting.

*Sadi Naci Özbolat*

## *3 Doors, 3 Locks*

*FOR A SOLUTION OF ISOLATION AND THE DEATHS IN THE PRISONS*

*1*

*Press articles and statements on the  
PROPOSAL OF THE BAR ASSOCIATIONS OF TURKEY  
ATTITUDE OF THE BAR ASSOCIATION*

The administrative boards of the Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul and Izmir Bar Associations assessed the draft laws concerning the amendments of the "Turkish Penal Code" and the administrations of prison and detention houses.

These two matters were submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly. Both matters have seen on their agenda since.

With this in mind the boards have made an appeal for the hunger strike and death fasts to come to an immediate end.

The Bar Associations have proposed a 2 point plan.

Their proposal is in short an end to complete isolation. The proposal aims to achieve prisoners access with others, thus bringing the death fast to an end.

The board therefore calls upon the ministry of justice, the government, the hunger strikers and the death fasters

"We call upon you and propose the following '3 doors'

‘3 locks’

By way of unlocking 3 locks and enabling the opening of 3 doors we believe that this will be the beginning of the end of the deaths.

*PRESS STATEMENT*

-Here is the joint minutes taken at the press meeting of the chairmen of the Bar Associations of Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul and Izmir.

The meeting was held in Istanbul on the 07/11/2001 and was regarding the draft laws and proposals of the administrations of persons and detention houses

Honoured press members,

The draft laws concerning the Turkish Penal Code and the administration of prisons and detention houses submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly is still awaiting to be passed.

The boards of the Bar Associations of Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul and Izmir feel it their duty to inform the public of the proposed draft laws as the proposals have been put forward in a manner which is contrary to the rules of a state of law, which puts a blow in the democratic organization of a society thus leading to restlessness in civil society.

1) One of the important aspects, which separate a democratic state from a totalitarian state is the “professional respect of confidentiality of a lawyer”.

In no aspect should a lawyer be forced into breaching the confidentiality of his/her client, the information the lawyer obtains from his/her client should not be forcibly obtained even by a judge’s ruling. This basic principle of law should be undisputed and not be breached in any way what so ever.

“Confidentiality is not only the guarantee of a lawyer or a client but is the elementary right of every individual and citizen.

In accordance with articles 89 and 144 of CMUK (The Turkish Code of Criminal Procedure) the right of confidentiality is an absolute right. Furthermore this right is also granted under article 36 of the defense law, thus securing confidentiality.

However under articles 6 and 11/3 which were amended and ratified by the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of the Interior and the Health Ministers in an open triple protocol signed on the 17th January 2000 the right to confidentiality between a lawyer and a client was legally breached as the amended laws gave power to prison officials and gendarmes, the authority to confiscate and have search powers. The new articles further allowed legally unqualified persons to decide weather documents relating to clients and lawyers were for

defense purposes.

Following an appeal call from the union of the Turkish Bar Associations, lawyers and the chairmen of each Bar Association gathered in Ankara and decided unanimously that the triple protocol was in breach of the law. The triple protocol in fact in a way took away the right to a defense.

The Ministry of Justice stated that we should await the draft laws submitted to the Turkish Grand National Assembly in respect of the legal professional laws and that should this be passed he would remove articles 6 and 11/3 of the triple protocol from the legal system.

The law regarding defense changed on 02/05/2001 and article 58 now states that the premises of the lawyer be in his house or office may only be searched by obtaining a search warrant from the courts, under the supervision of a state prosecutor and in the company of a representative of the Bar Association can such searches be made. Article 58 also prohibits the body searching of lawyers unless there is a suspicious reason for doing so which may result in severe punishment.

We would like to stress that this article only applies to lawyers and not clients for instance documents may still be confiscated and clients searched if there are suspicious circumstances such as direct acts of crimes or attempts to acts of crimes.

Despite the amendments and changes of the defense law the triple protocol still exists and is practiced contrary to the legal system, the Turkish Code of the Criminal procedure (CMUK), the defense laws and implications of the ECHR. This triple protocol breaches fundamental laws.

Every person who continues and practices the rules of the triple protocol is committing an offence and should therefore be punished accordingly.

Article 6 of the draft law which is awaiting to be passed by the Turkish Grand National Assembly prepares the foundations for practicing of the triple protocol.

According to article 6 of the draft laws defense and lawyers who attend punishment execution institutes have to declare in writing documents and files brought in. Declared documents will not be searched. However in principle documents such as witness statement which have not be amended or checked should not be made to be declared. Further documents specifically relating to clients should not be declared as all declared documents listed in writing are passed on to the prison administration. This is a breach of article 36 relating to lawyer client confidentiality and should strongly be opposed and appealed. It is seen as totally against the rights to a fair defense.

The draft laws enable lawyers documents and files to be searched in situations where judges and public prosecutors believe documents may be filed late or in situations where objections are being made. In such situations prosecutors will gain access to defense files. This is therefore seen as a threat to defense rights.

The draft laws are also in breach of articles 89 and 144 of the Turkish Code of Criminal procedures (CMUK) and articles 36 and 58 of the defense laws (solicitors code of conduct). Thus preparing a legal undercoat for the application of the triple protocol.

It is not possible to accept the attempted legalization of the draft laws which are in breach of law, civil society and especially the undivisible democratic organizing of a society.

2. Article 5 of the draft laws permits forced medical intervention of prisoners on hunger strike or death fast. The law permits the prison administration to forcibly impose this upon whom are conscious, against their free will. Where they feel that there exists a situation of danger to health or life, the prison administration further can impose this without a doctors opinion or decision.

However the universal understanding of forced medical intervention only applies when prisoners are unconscious and where there is a decision obtained from a medical professional. Where a person is conscious intervention is not permitted. Only with a doctor's decision can intervention be imposed and it should be noted that doctors should also not be put under pressure to make such decisions.

In the general justifications of the proposal of article 5 of the draft laws, examples given in support of the law have not been quoted correctly. They have been misinterpreted and tampered with. For example the French laws do not state the necessity of intervention, in the case that the hunger strike passed 7 days, but foresees that the prison director informs the general director of the prisons about the situation. Intervention is only possible if a prisoner on hungerstrike is unconscious and only with the decision of the doctor. This regulation in the French law is fitting in article 36 of the Medical Deontology Rules.

The human rights commission has stated that forced intervention is not in contrary to article 3 of the ECHR (which is the prevention of torture, degrading and ill-treatment). However this can not be justified, as the act of intervention is against a person's will. Thus being contrary to article 3.

The council of Europe's Ministerial Committee have stated in the proposed recommendation decision (98/7) that article 5 has no angle to justify or carry any legality.

3. In article 2, with the obligation 307/b which was added to article 307 of the Turkish Criminal Law, the bill opens the possibility improvement and education programmes for the prisoners, and oblige them to participate in communal activities.

It is a violation of the individual right to force a prisoner out of his wish and will to participate in any improval or education program. The same time, to make the communal activities an obligation, aims to create a market of cheap workers and by that to turn the prisons to production units of employers, industrials.

4. As a result of the hungerstrikes which turned out into death fast and started with the discussions on the F-type prisons, tens of people have died, tens remained handicapped and tens of people are at the threshold to death.

The society doesn't want to accept death as solution.

*And we,  
the boards of the Bar Associations of Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul and Izmir*

call upon the Minister of Justice, to bring to speech the demand of the public and the democratic cercles, and call upon those on hungerstrike and death fast to end their hungerstrike and death fast.

*We propose:*  
the Ministry of Justice should guarantee and declare to guarantee without any architectural and security change in the F-type prisons, that the doors of three rooms side by side, each for three persons, are opened and 9 people can be together inside that unit, and that they can benefit from the available common facilities at certain hours.

Those on hungerstrike and death fast should recognize and accept this application as end of isolation, end their hungerstrike and death fast and announce that they'll end it.

The opening of the locks of three doors will save tens of lifes.

To keep open the locks of three doors will push ahead the death from the agenda.

The Minister of Justice, the government have shown their determination.

The prisoners showed their determination.

We, the public, the democratic cercles of the society, call upon the Minstry of Justice, the government, those on hungerstrike and death fast and propose:

three doors,  
three locks,  
the opening of three locks of three doors  
This should be the beginning of the end of deaths.

*Chairman of the Bar Association of Ankara;  
Sadik ERDOGAN, lawyer*



Chairman of the Bar Association of Antalya;  
Gürkut ACAR, lawyer  
Chairman of the Bar Association of Istanbul;

Yücel SAYMAN, lawyer  
Chairman of the Bar Association of Izmir;  
Noyan ÖZKAN, lawyer

2

IHD (Human Rights Association)  
Press Statement  
December 19, 2001

## Three Doors, Three Locks

December 19, 2000 was tragic display of how life can be darkened. It was merciless. Is evil a virtue? "Three doors, three locks" is the kiss of life. "Good" is different from seeking advantage. It takes trouble over ethical principles. It conforms to human honour. It shows respect to humanity and human values.

In every situation, killing is bad. On the contrary to the common consideration of euthanasia, it consists depravity. Burning, and killing through burning is a denial of life. Perhaps there can be rebirth from ashes, perhaps medical treatment can be given. But how can our traumas be avoided by forgetting them and having others forget?

"Three doors, three locks" is a suggestion for a solution. We see it as a suggestion which will reduce the effects of trauma and guarantee the existence of human relations. A room is a special area. Thinking of a room naturally expresses the idea of a "special" area for a human being. The level of human development is indicated by the nature of an area where people are locked up by force and subjected to bullying. In the context of locking people up by force and subjecting them to bully-

ing, a solution depends on finding civilisation. Locking people up by force is foreign to human beings. But this is experienced in life. Reality is a matter of creating civilisation.

"Three doors, three locks" - from the point of view of policy, this is an alternative to the "victory or defeat" perspective. "Three doors, three locks" is an attempt to have human relations overcome physical obstacles. It is a change in behaviour as a solution to the problem. It is natural and appropriate. According to the IHD, isolation is a form of torture. The human being goes beyond isolation, beyond relations. We must think outside of walls, even if we are inside them. There are those who will say hello to life. We must create conditions and environments. The cells are not simply a matter of those who are in them today. In a bad system, they are also valid for those who seek a solution to every problem, who are curious and have a critical approach. Those outside them should know - good is not bad!

Husnu Ondul  
General Chairman

3

*Cumhuriyet* ("Republic" - a liberal daily newspaper in Turkey) 24.12.2001  
The presidents of the Bar Associations and lawyers maintained that new regulations were against the law.  
The right to a defence can't be prevented

The presidents of the Bar Associations and a number of lawyers stressed that article 6 of the "bill regarding amending the Law related to the Turkish Penal Code and the Administration of Prisons and Places of Detention" could bring difficulties for the profession of defence attorneys.

Istanbul News Service - The presidents of the Bar Associations and lawyers showed a reaction, stating that the "bill regarding amending the Law related to the Turkish Penal Code and the Administration of Prisons and Places of Detention" aims to violate the right to a defence and the pursuit of rights. The President of the Bar Associa-

tion of Istanbul, Yücel Sayman, drew attention to article 6 of the bill, saying, "It's shameful to search through the files and documents relevant to the lawyer's profession as a defence attorney and to ask for a declaration of these in written form. The regulation is against the law because it undermines the rights of such attorneys."

'Lawyers' Forum'

The Bar Association organised a "Lawyers' Forum" yesterday at the 'Cemal Resit Rey' Hall to discuss the bill which was put on the agenda of the General Assembly of the Turkish National As-

sembly in acceptance of the Justice Commission. At the forum, which was joined by 47 presidents of Bar Associations and a large number of lawyers from different provinces of Turkey, it was stressed that the professional confidentiality of lawyers is endangered, stating that the changes that were envisaged under article 6 of the bill could bring difficulties for the profession of defence attorneys.

During his speech at the forum, Yücel Sayman described as deeply unfortunate the preparation of the bill, which occurred without consultation with any Bar Association and the Union of Bar Associations. Sayman stated that it was against the law to renew article 6 of the "Law concerning the prisons and Places of Detention" which was previously annulled. He also said that the new regulation was a violation of rights and that such a regulation should not be permitted. Sayman explained that the restrictions on lawyers aimed to remove the people's freedom to seek their rights.

'Contrary to the Law' Sayman continued as follows: "In particular, the regulation within the second paragraph of article 6 of the bill, which says 'the prison administration has to be informed in writing of the documents concerning the defence which are brought with legal defenders and lawyers who enter prisons or Places of Detention' is a major disgrace. Nobody can demand, think or envisage that the documents brought with the lawyers, and especially pertaining to the defence, are to be handed over to the administration in writing." Sayman, who noted that lawyers are obliged to maintain confidentiality, stated: "This right concerns the right to a defence. It is not a right of the lawyer, but on the contrary, it is a right of people

who have a right to a defence. The regulation is contrary to the law, ignoring this right". Yücel Sayman revealed that they won't declare the files and documents concerning the defence of the lawyers and said, "We won't permit the principle of professional confidentiality to be violated".

*'We will defend the law'*

The president of the Bar Association of Ankara, Sadik Erdogan, noted that they were coming together in order to defend the law, stressing that the president of the Bar Associations who participated into the forum represented 35,000 out of a total of 45,000 lawyers. Also the AKP member of parliament for Sanliurfa, who is a member of the Turkish National Assembly's Justice Commission, explained that he opposed the bill while it was being discussed in the commission and that he made an oppositional statement on the bill that was finally passed in following votes. Akman stated, "We are confronted with an obstinate minister. We are confronted with a minister who can threaten to resign because of the discussions at the commission and who can pass bills through parliament. That's why we should act with participation on as broad a basis as possible".

DSP Istanbul Deputy Necdet Saruhan, ANAP Istanbul Deputy Sühan Özkan, DYP Istanbul Deputy Celal Adan, SP Istanbul Deputy Ali Oguz and MHP Istanbul Deputy Mehmet Pak also participated in the meeting. At the forum held at the 'Cemal Resit Rey' Concert Hall, the lawyers and the 47 presidents of the Bar Associations stressed that the professional confidentiality of the lawyers is put in danger with the new regulations sent to parliament.

4

*Cumhuriyet 26.12.2001*

*'THREE DOORS, THREE LOCKS'*

*Artists support the Bar Association*

*Istanbul News Service - The proposal 'three doors three locks' by the Presidents of the four big Bar Associations, in order to put an end to the death fast action, found support from prisoners' families, death fast activists, civil society organisations and artists.*

The Prison working group of the Human Rights Center of the Istanbul Bar Association organised a panel with the subject "From the dormitories to the cells - the Operations of 19th December and the Prisons". The deputy chairman of the Saadet Partisi (Party of Prosperity, an Islamist party) Mehmet Bekaroglu, who participated in the panel, stated that he found the proposal "three doors,

three locks" to be positive, adding that "in a secure prison, it can't cause any problems to the security of the state, when nine people can come together".

25 artists and intellectuals, among them Suavi, Derya Alabora, Cezmi Ersöz, Tuncer Necmioglu, Orhan Alkaya and Bilgesu Erenus held a meeting at the Nazim Hikmet Cultural and Art Foundation concerning the death fast action. Suavi, who issued a statement in the name of the artists' initiative, expressed their fear that the action would cause new deaths. Suavi said that they would support the proposal which was put on the order by the presidents of the Bar Associations to "open the doors of three cells for three persons and bring together nine people".

5

*Cumhuriyet 28.12.2001**Appeal to support "Three Doors - Three Locks"*

Istanbul News Service - In a statement at the Istanbul Branch of the Human Rights Association (IHD), political parties such as EMEP, ÖDP and HADEP, civil society institutions such as the Association of Contemporary Jurists, the Peoples' Houses, The Association of the IETT Workers

and a large number of trade unions called to the public opinion to support the proposal "Three Doors, Three Locks". In the statement it was said "We call upon the Ministry of Justice and all those responsible to use their willpower to achieve a solution".

6

*Cumhuriyet 30.12.2001**F-type appeal: Three Rooms for three persons should be united*

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet Office) - The IHD, TIHV, Turkish Medical Association and TMMOB called for the unification of three rooms for three, and to those on hunger strike and death fast to end their action. In a common statement by the TIHV (Human Rights Foundation) President Yavuz Önen, in the name of four civil society institutions, it was stated that during the actions which have continued for a period of more than one year, 82 people have died and more than 350 have impaired their health. In the statement which recalls that the presidents of the Bar Associations of

Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya called for the unification of three rooms each for three people in the F type prisons on the 29th of November, it was also mentioned that this appeal was supported by IHD, TIHV, TBB and TMMOB. Women who sent postcards in solidarity with fellow human beings lodged a complaint against the Chief of the Rapid Reaction Police Forces and policemen who had violently arrested them last week at Galatasaray. (The place in front of the Galatasaray high school in Istanbul is a popular scene of protests, which are often broken up by the police.)

7

*Hürriyet 04.01.2002**3 doors, 3 locks for the death fasts*

The latest solution to the death fast that was started in protest against the F type prisons came from Turkey's four great Bar Associations. If the "3 doors, 3 locks" project which has been prepared together by the Bar Associations of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Antalya finds approval with the Justice Minister then the 442 days death fasts will be ended. Lawyer Behic Asci, who is being tried at the DGM (State Security Court) for giving support to the

death fasts, declared that his clients were positive towards the project. "If the project is accepted by the Ministry of Justice the death fast will be ended", he said. One of the architects of the project, Chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association Yücel Sayman, said in his statement regarding the subject: "We developed this project with the purpose that 9 people can come together by opening the doors of 3 rooms located in the same corridor."

8

*Cumhuriyet, 05.01.2002**Yucel Sayman: Three doors, three locks puts a stop to deaths*

Istanbul News Service: The head of the Istanbul Bar, Yucel Sayman, said that the Justice Ministry could show that it has abandoned the "isolation" policy by leaving the doors open in the same corridors of the F-Type prisons. Sayman said, "Turkish society does not want to see deaths as a solution.

Leaving three doors open, three keys unlocked could be the beginning of the end of such deaths."

The Istanbul Bar made the suggestion to columnists and the heads of news agencies as a solution to ending the Death Fasts, and put it forward at the Four Seasons Hotel in Sultanahmet at a

meeting there yesterday evening.

Istanbul Bar Chairman Yucel Sayman drew attention to the fact that the “Three Doors, Three Locks” suggestion, also backed by the Ankara, Izmir and Antalya bars, has not received sufficient media attention. Sayman said, “A hope has been created. If you accept this suggestion, the deaths will end. Turkish society does not want to see death as a solution to any problem in any sphere. Above all, it wants death to be excluded as a solu-

tion. Let us talk, wage a struggle but not kill anyone. We have put forward a suggestion for a solution, based on the idea of getting away from death as a solution.” Sayman drew attention to the bars’ not being mediators, and said, “We have expressed this, both to those on hunger strikes and Death Fasts and to the Justice Ministry. We had a positive response from those on the Death Fast. If the Justice Ministry were to say ‘Yes’ to them, it would stop the situation worsening even further.”

## 9

*Cumhuriyet 07.01.2002*  
*The 84th death at the F type prison of Tekirdag*

Istanbul News Service – Another person lost their life on the death fast that is continuing against isolation in the F type prisons. With the death of Zeynel Karatas (23), imprisoned in the F-type prison of Tekirdag from the TKP(ML)/TIKKO trial, last night the number of those who have lost their lives in the action grow to 84. Karatas who lost his life on the 240th day of the action, will be laid to rest in Gebze. Zeynel Karatas who was born in 1979 in Tunceli was arrested after being under suspicion of having participated in an armed attack on a police car in Gaziosmanpasa, Istanbul one week after the operation “Return to Life”. He was first transferred to Kartal Special Type prison and then later on to the F type prison of Tekirdag. Karatas started his death fast on the May 11, 2001 and was part of the fourth group of death fasters. He lost his life late Friday

night. His dead body was brought to the Forensic Medical Institute yesterday. It was stated that Karatas will be brought to Gebze after the autopsy procedures and buried at Gebze cemetery following a ceremony at the Darica Cemevi (Alevite Community House). Meanwhile in a statement given at the Istanbul Branch of the IHD (Human Rights Association), it was declared that the state has given up on the prisoners in the F type prisons and has allowed them to die. In the statement it was pointed out that the reaction of the Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk against the project “Three doors, three locks should be opened” proposed by the presidents of four Bar Associations, were the clearest prove of this. The statement called for support for the Bar Associations’ proposal “three doors, three locks”, in order to give no reason for further deaths.

## 10

*(Adapted from the statement of the Platform for Rights and Freedom)*  
*Hikmet Sami: “To keep open three doors would mean to return to the dormitory system”*

Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk said that there were legal obstacles to the proposal by four Bar Associations’ chairmen “to leave the door locks in corridors with three rooms open during the daytime”. Hikmet Sami also stated that “Article 16 of the Anti-Terrorism Law permits those imprisoned only to come together in the social ar-

reas”. Turk, who explained that it is the “possibility of coming together during common beneficial activities” which is accepted within the law, further said “The corridors aren’t a common living area. The aim of the corridors is it to provide access. Those are not places where prisoners can come together”.

## 11

*Milliyet, January 9, 2002*  
*Is the comment by the Minister more important than human life?*

*The chairman of the Bar Association Yucel Sayman warned Minister Turk, who had commented on the proposal “open three doors and three locks, the deaths must end” with “there’s a legal obstacle”. Sayman stated: “People are dying following this interpretation “.*

BELMA AKCURA Istanbul

The fact that Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk sees Article 16 of the Anti-Terrorism Law as an obstacle to the proposal of the four Bar Associations’

chairmen in order to end the death fasts in the F-type prisons, was seen by the jurists as “a false interpretation of the law”. Turk, who doesn’t welcome the proposal of the chairmen of the Bar Associations of Ankara, Izmir, Istanbul and Antalya which would put an end to the death fasts, declared “Article 16 of the Anti-Terrorism Law just permits those in the F-type prisons to come together at the social areas”. The jurists recalled that Article 16 has been changed in order to guarantee humane living conditions in the prisons and to put an end to the death fasts and expressed the view: “Now, after removing a legal barrier, you cannot defend the prisons that were established by you according to Article 16 of the law.”

The chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association, Yucel Sayman, said that a legal commentary which leads to the death of people cannot be made, and stated: “As a government they are obliged to ensure that the death of people is prevented. Even if the

Minister were right in his commentary, even if he were the best jurist ever, people are dying as a result of such a commentary. And in our opinion the minister is making a false interpretation of the law.” Sayman further stated that Article 16, which has been given as a reason by the minister in its previous form didn’t permit people to come together, but that this would be possible with the amendment made to it. Also, the lawyer Fikret Ilkiz made the following comment: “The minister says ‘the proposal does not conform to Article 16’. But the basic aim of the amendment to Article 16 was to put an end to the hunger strikes, to create an atmosphere that guarantees life in humane conditions and to create prison conditions which are in accordance with human rights and freedoms. Now is it possible to see a law which was made for this purpose as an obstacle to continuing life in the prisons in the best possible way and to end the death fasts?”

12

*Yedinci Gündem, January 8, 2002  
Support for ‘Three Doors Three Locks’*

ADANA - Chairman of the Adana Branch of the Association of Contemporary Jurists (CHD), Lawyer Siar Risvanoglu, declared that the state remains indifferent to the proposal of “Three Doors, Three Locks”, and said that the Minister of Justice is not concerned about finding a solution.

Lawyer Siar Risvanoglu, who gave a press statement before the Adana Branch of the CHD yesterday said that prison problems are increasing

day by day, and that the institutions concerned still haven’t found a solution to the question despite a long time elapsing. Risvanoglu expressed the view that the proposal “Three Doors Three Locks” which has been developed by the chairmen of four Bar Associations to solve the problems of the death fasts and the F-type prisons, were wrongly interpreted by the Minister of Justice, and said that this proposal for a solution has to be receive a response.

13

*Cumhuriyet, January 10, 2002  
The Justice Minister Turk suggested that 10 convicts at a time could be allowed five hours a week to talk to each other  
Rejection of “Three doors, three locks”*

*The Justice Minister Turk has brought about and publicised a circular, containing the conditional offer, in connection with death fasts that have gone on for a year and a half, that as many as 10 people at a time can meet for five hours a week, conditional upon the death fasts coming to an end. The circular also gives convicts conditions for engaging in social activities.*

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet office) - The Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk, rejected the Ankara, Antalya, Istanbul and Izmir bars proposal for ending the “Three door, three locks” proposal for ending the death fasts in the F-Type prisons, citing legal obstacles. Turk came up with a “pre-conditional” offer for ending the actions which have gone on for a year and a half. According to this, it would be de-

termined that conditions were to be created for a maximum of 10 people to come to the areas for five hours a week “to convalesce, for education, sport, occupational training and building work” activities. However, a “selection commission” would decide who would go to such an area, and there was no clarity about what criteria it would follow. At a press conference yesterday, Justice Minister Turk evaluated the ongoing hunger strikes and death fasts in the F-Type prisons. Turk said that in the F-Type prisons eight persons were on hunger strike and 142 were on death fasts. Turk stated that the “Three Doors, Three Locks” suggestion by the Ankara, Antalya, Izmir and Istanbul bar chairmen, which would give a total of nine convicts and prisoners the ability to come together in an area, should

be criticised because it was sent to the media but not sent in as an official application. Re the proposal, Turk noted from the point of view of the law and practicability that the corridor was not seen as an area for communal living. Turk said that Paragraph 16 of Turkey's Basic Law created legal obstacles to the proposal, adding "The way things are set up rather goes against such a proposal. Even if we said there were no legal obstacles, it is not convenient from the point of view of the physical construction and security considerations of F-Type prisons." The Justice Minister noted that if the terror organisations had the courage to take the first step of ending the action, "We are thinking of giv-

ing groups of 10 prisoners and convicts at a time the possibility of coming together for five hours a week to chat," he said. Turk announced that "if the actions come to an end," a circular can be immediately prepared to put this into practice. Justice Minister Turk announced that all prison administrations had been told not to hinder physical possibilities for people to meet for five hours and see each other openly.

Turk said the F-Type prisons met international standards and it was necessary to end the actions, adding that "Everyone who wanted to resolve the situation should be helpful to the Justice Ministry."

14

Cumhuriyet, January 11, 2002

*"F-TYPE" CIRCULAR READY. Good conditions for having conversations*

*According to a circular from the Justice Ministry to be distributed conditional upon an end to the death fasts, at least one area must be added on for convicts and prisoners who want to meet for a chat, to convalesce, for educational, sporting, occupational training or building work purposes. But a selection commission will determine who will come to an area to meet for a conversation. For this reason not everyone will be able to come to such an area who wants to.*

ILHAN TASCI

ANKARA - The Justice Ministry has prepared a circular to be issued conditional upon the hunger strikes and death fasts ending in the F-Type prisons. The Justice Minister said that he would sign such a circular on condition of the actions ending, providing for a maximum of 10 persons who are to be determined by a "selection commission" to be able to come together to converse for five hours a week. Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk said the circular was prepared in connection with a proposal to bring an end to the hunger strikes and death fasts. He noted that the text of the circular would be settled and it would be issued when the condition of the death fasts ending was met. The circular would be put into effect and sent to all administration offices and chief prosecutors' offices with the signature of Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk if the condition of the actions ending was met. In the circular prepared by the Justice Ministry, preconditions were to be met for prisoners and convicts to meet to converse or engage in education, sports, occupational training, building work or other social and cultural activities.

This is what is said in the circular, to be issued

conditional upon the actions ending:

Good conditions for holding a conversation

"An area or other common space seen as convenient for a group not exceeding 10 convicts and prisoners who wish to do so, to be chosen by a selection commission, is to be set up in conformity with the known conditions so they can meet for a conversation or other activities in the space of a week for a period of time not exceeding five hours, under supervision of the administration who will be officially informed. The administration will ensure that there is no interference with face to face meetings, lawyers and visitors during the total of five hours organised in the course of the week." The chair of the Ankara Bar Sadik Erdogan said that the Ministry's proposal had taken the first step by abandoning the idea of "Definitely not." The new suggestion had created growing hope for a solution. "The Minister's proposal has opened a new horizon," he said. Erdogan said, "The Ministry and Minister who said under no conditions would they take a step back, have taken a step forward with this proposal. Everyone is waiting for the death fasts to come to an end as soon as possible." Istanbul Bar chairman Yucel Sayman, who did not join in the criticism of his bar's "Three Doors Three Locks" proposal which he had learned about from the media, noted that a visit was made to the Ministry, "hoping for a solution". Sayman stressed that he did not act as a mediator or for the Justice Ministry when he put the proposal forward, but indicated that he had shared the proposal with public opinion while acting in an independent capacity.

*Ozgur Politika, January 11, 2002*  
*Insistance in the 'Three Doors, Three Locks'*

MHA / ISTANBUL

Civil society organisations, trade unions and political parties have started campaigning for signatures, which should be presented to the Minister of Justice, in order to get implemented the 'Three Doors, Three Locks' proposal which aims at the ending of the death fasts. Also the Istanbul Bar Association and the Artists Initiative called the Ministry to accept the proposal.

In the announcement of the campaign it was said "We, as defenders of Human Rights, are hopeful that the death fasts which have continued for seasons will end, because of the fact that the 'Three Doors, Three Locks' proposal initiated by the Bar Associations of Istanbul, Ankara, Antalya and Izmir was also accepted by the prisoners".

Regarding Minister of Justice Hikmet Sami Turk's refusal of the proposal towards the unification of three rooms for each three persons in the

F-type prisons, the chairman of the Istanbul Bar Association, Yucel Sayman said "The decision of Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk is not juridicial but political."

A group called the 'Artists Initiative', amongst them Edip Akbayram, Suavi, Ataol Behramoglu, Orhan Alkaya and Rutkay Aziz visited the Chairman of the Bar Association Yucel Sayman.

During the visit Sayman said, "The Minister said that the proposal was contrary to article 16 of the Anti-Terror-Law. We think that this is not the case. The decision of the Minister is not juridically but political. Even if it seems to be juridically it is political. Our aim is to produce a solution", noting that the Justice Minister doesn't look sympathetically upon the "Three Doors, Three Locks" proposal. The artist Suavi said that it was possible to create again new solutions to end the death fasts, but that there was not enough time for this.

*Yedinci Gundem, January 10, 2002*  
*'Not political, political'*

ISTANBUL - After the form 'Three Doors, Three Locks' proposed by four Bar Associations was met with a negative response by the Minister of Justice, artists visited the Istanbul Bar association and stated that they were supporting the proposal.

Today at 12:30 p.m Edip Akbayram, Rutkay Aziz, Ateol Bahremoglu, Bilgesu Erenus, Dilek Gökçin, Erdal Öz, Vecdi Sayar, Zeynep Tonbay, Orhan Alkaya, Üstün Arman and Suavi visited Yucel Sayman, the chairman of the Bar Association in the name of the Artist Initiative.

The artists said that they did not understand

the reasons of the Justice Minister, for not accepting the form 'Three Doors, Three Locks'. Suavi made it clear that after this moment no technical solution will be possible to stop the deaths and said "We haven't got time for a new project, it is much too late actually. People are dying. We have to insist in the 'Three Doors, Three Locks' proposal.

Sayman said also "our proposal is not contrary to article 16. The first draft of article 16 forbid our proposal. But the article was changed. That means article 16 suggests at least to end the isolation".

*Yedinci Gundem, January 11, 2002*

ANKARA - .To make the Minister of Justice accept the statement which is seen as a beacon of hope for a solution of the F-type prison question, an open press meeting will be held tomorrow. The institutions participating in the meeting are the Ankara Branche of the IHD, the Ankara Branche of the Association of Progressive Jurists, TAYAD (Solidarity Association of the Prisoners' Families), Ankara Branche of the Cultural Association Pir Sul-

tan Abdal, the Initiative of Intellectuals and Artists, the platform of the Ankara Branches of the People's Houses, platform of the Ankara Branches of KESK, Executive Committee for the region Ankara of the Genel-Is Trade Union, Ankara Branche of the Tüm-Tis Trade Union and provincial Executive Committee of the Peace Party in Ankara, HADEP, EMEP, ÖDP and Provincial Executive Committee of the TKP in Ankara.

AHMET SIK, ISTANBUL - The complaint of the prisoners who claimed that they were subjected to torture during the transfers following the operations for the 'Return to Life' ended with the decision of no prosecution. The file of 65 people, of which some claimed to having being raped with a truncheon at the Kandira F type prison, was closed even before examining the medical reports, with the reason of "lack of evidence". 65 of those prisoners who were transferred to the F type prison of Kandira after the operations for the 'Return to Life' on the 19th of December 2000, were going before court with the allegation that they were subjected to torture while being separated into two groups. Eight of the prisoners who claimed that they were beaten up by the soldiers and guardians at the prison to which they have been transferred during and after the operation, also affirmed that they were raped with truncheons. At the end of the investigation the Public Prosecution Office of Kandira decided not to prosecute with the reason that there was no other

evidence than the allegations of the suitors. The attorney of the victims, Gulizar Tuncer, protested that the testimony of most of the complainants wasn't even taken. Tuncer said : "It's incoherent with the law that only the testimony of guardians and soldiers are taken. Except of one, the testimony of my clients wasn't taken, the witnesses weren't listened to... But the prosecutors gave such a decision without even finding it necessary to examine those reports."... Gulizar Tuncer, who stated that she wasn't even informed about the decision of no prosecution although her address is known, went before a higher court and appealed against the decision.

"There exists torture reports"

Tuncer, who claims that the prosecutors were not fulfilling their duty of collecting evidence, said: "It is contrary to the law to decide not to prosecute with the reason of a lack of evidence. Although the medical reports of my client regarding being tortured were inside the files, the prosecutors ignored this evidence".

*"Three Doors Three Locks"*

*The proposal on "Three Doors Three Locks" was once more rejected by the Minister of Justice.*

*Death fasts again in a dilemma*

*Minister of Justice, Hikmet Sami Turk, has discussed the death fasts last night in Istanbul with a large group of journalists. The Minister, who finds the proposal for a solution by the presidents of four Bar Associations "inapplicable", defended his own "counter proposal".*

AYDIN ENGIN

Last night Minister of Justice Hikmet Sami Turk and high-level bureaucrats of the Ministry of Justice, as well as a group of journalists and writers, came together for a working dinner at the Istanbul governor's house, and discussed the death fast problem. The Minister of Justice who made a speech at the dinner, clarified that the proposal for a solution, known to the public as "Three Doors - Three Locks", which has been initiated by the presidents of the Bar Associations of Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir and Antalya, were found to be "inapplicable" by the Ministry. He furthermore said that the prisoners could be allowed to meet in common areas in groups of 10 people for at least five hours a week, in the event that they stop their death fast. The General Director of the Prisons,

Ali Suat Ertosun, who spoke after the Minister, explained the Ministry's rejection of "Three Doors Three Locks" with the help of graphics reflected on an overhead projector. Afterwards the journalists were asked for their views and questions were directed to Justice Minister Hikmet Sami Turk. An important part of the journalists who spoke out stressed that the reasons concerning the Ministry's rejection of the proposal of "Three Doors Three Locks" were not comprehensive and credible, and advocated putting the proposal into practice, using uncomplicated regulations. It was added that the Ministry, by making the counter proposal on letting a maximum of ten people at a time come together once a week for five hours in common areas, was aggravating the problem from the start by making it "conditional on the death fast ending". At the meeting, which lasted far into the night, it was learned that the Ministry won't try to accept the "Three Doors Three Locks" proposal. The meeting ended without producing any concrete results and without being able to take steps towards a solution.



*Cumhuriyet, 15.01.2002*

*Lawyer Kalayci accused the Ministry of Justice of "Provoking the death fasts"  
Reaction to the 'conversation' circular.*

*The lawyer Filiz Kalayci who acts as spokesperson of the prisoners (In a later rectification, Cumhuriyet said that Filiz Kalayci is not spokesperson for the prisoners but that she speaks in the name of her clients), made the criticism that the prisoners who are going to come together should be selected by an "election commission", and said: "The proposal wasn't accepted by the prisoners. They want the proposal of the Bar Associations."*

ILHAN TASCI

ANKARA - It was found out that the circular on "conditional conversation" which according to the Minister will be published in the case that the death fast actions are ended, was distributed to the prisoners of the Sincan F-type prison. It was clarified that the proposal which is restricted by the circular, was not accepted by the prisoners. Lawyer Filiz Kalayci, argued that the death fast was not simply an action which has been developed by the prisoners, but that the Ministry has "provoked" the action by leaving no other choice to them.

... Kalayci who notes that the people have to be brought together during the hours in which the doors to the yard are normally opened, said: "Something else is not acceptable. It is also not right that the F type prisons are fitted to the international standard. There has been created a Turk-

ish type model." Kalayci said: "The Ministry of Justice once again creates a situation that pushes people to start on the death fast." Lawyer Filiz Kalayci noted that the Ministry cannot turn its back on the proposal of "three doors three locks, which was accepted by democratic mass organisations, including the Bar Associations and continued: "If it is rejectig this it is calling for new deaths. There's no other interpretation". Kalayci clarified that the proposal "three doors three locks" was distorted by the Ministry. She said: "It is not necessary to drive in a single nail to put this proposal into practice. It is enough to turn just one key to open the doors."

Kalayci, who contends that this proposal was rejected to ensure the continuation of the isolation, noted that the isolation in flys the face of the health and life conditions of the prisoners and is not acceptable. Kalayci informed that some prisoners at the F-type prisons haven't seen any other prisoner for more than a year. Kalayci explained further that if necessary, everything was possible with the administrative regulation and continued: "They should give a declaration to the PKK prisoners within the scope of the Anti-Terror Law. Why are those people inside dormitories? These people are held in dormitories with for practical reasons".

*Cumhuriyet, January 19, 2002*

*The Minister of Justice has given up waiting until the F-type actions are finished.  
The circular on prisoners having conversations has been published*

ANKARA (Cumhuriyet office) - The "circular on conversations" which Minister of Justice Hikmet Sami Turk announced should be sent to the Public Prosecutor's Office as soon as the death fast actions in the F-type prisons are finished, was published yesterday.

According to the circular, a maximum of 10 prisoners who are chosen by a "selection commission" will be enabled to come together in defined areas for a conversation five hours a week.

The prisoners who want to converse have to at least participate in improvement sessions, or in education, sports, gaining a profession or in the workshops. But the commission will define who is able to come together for conversations. Therefore not everybody can come together in the defined areas. The Minister of Justice Turk gave information about his Ministry's own proposal at a press con-

ference last week, while refusing the Bar Association's proposal for "three doors three locks" aimed at ending the death fast actions in the F-type prisons. Turk had announced that they had prepared a circular which should enable the prisoners to come together once a week for five hours, and that he's going to publish this circular as soon as the actions are finished. But as a "sign of good will" Hikmet Sami Turk published the circular yesterday without waiting for the actions to come to an end.

Huseyin Akgul of the Human Rights Examination Commission of the Turkish National Assembly, met the chairman of the Human Rights Association Husnu Ondul, chairman of the TMMOB (Chambers of Architects and Engineers of Turkey) Kaya Guvenc, the president of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation Yavuz Onen and the vice-president of the Medical Associations

of Turkey Metin Bakkalci in his office yesterday. In his statement after the meeting which lasted for around one hour, Akgul revealed that the death fasts have to end without fail. Akgul noted that

they had decided, together with civil society organisations, to cooperate in undertaking all possible attempts to start a new period at the point that has been reached.