

INSTITUT
KURDE
DE PARIS

Bulletin de liaison et d'information

N° 115

Octobre 1994

Ce bulletin paraît en français, allemand, anglais,
kurde, espagnol et turc.

Prix au numéro : France : 30 FF — Etranger : 35 FF
Abonnement annuel (12 numéros) France : 300 FF — Etranger : 350 FF

Périodique mensuel
Directeur de la publication : Mohamad HASSAN

Numéro de la Commission Paritaire : 659 15 A.S.
ISSN 0761 1285

INSTITUT KURDE, 106, rue La Fayette - 75010 PARIS
Tél. : (1) 48 24 64 64 - Fax : 47 70 99 04

Sommaire

- Un ministre turc dénonce le «terrorisme d'État» dans les provinces kurdes
- Saddam Hussein mobilise à nouveau à la frontière koweïtienne
- Reprise du procès des députés kurdes
- Washington débloque un crédit militaire de 1,5 milliard de dollars pour la Turquie
- L'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe recommande «la vigilance» envers la Turquie
- Helsinki Watch demande la suspension de toute aide à la Turquie
- Chronique de la guerre au Kurdistan de Turquie
- En bref, la revue de presse

L'intensification de la guerre, de l'évacuation et de la destruction des villages kurdes s'étend désormais à la province kurde de Dersim (Tunceli) au nord du Kurdistan. En quelques jours plusieurs dizaines de villages ont été rayés de la carte, leurs habitants jetés sur les routes. Au péril de leur vie, les maires de ces villages kurdes alévis sont venus manifester à Ankara et dénoncer la terreur d'Etat. Cela a fini par susciter un débat dans les médias et contraint les officiels à réagir. Répondant

UN MINISTRE TURC DÉNONCE LE «TERRORISME D'ETAT» DANS LES PROVINCES KURDES

aux critiques, Monsieur Nihat Mentese, ministre turc de l'Intérieur a expliqué, dans un débat parlementaire, résumé par le quotidien turc de langue anglaise *Turkish Daily News*, qu'«il n'y a pas de problème kurde en Turquie». Aux députés soulevant «les violations massives des droits de l'homme commises dans le Sud-Est», le ministre a simplement

répondu que «tous (les citoyens) ont des droits égaux et constituent ensemble la nation turque».

Mais, en même temps, Azimet Köylüoğlu, le ministre turc des Droits de l'homme qui ne cesse de se plaindre que son titre est uniquement honorifique sans pouvoir et structure réels, a jeté un pavé dans la marée. Sans

évoquer l'existence d'un problème kurde, il a affirmé que tous les «citoyens de Turquie» n'avaient pas des «droits égaux». Il a dénoncé les «dérapages» de l'offensive militaire des forces turques dans la région de Tunceli (anciennement Dersim) : «A Tunceli, a-t-il précisé, c'est l'État qui brûle les villages». Selon lui, «le terrorisme est commis par l'État (dans cette région), et par le PKK dans d'autres». Dédratisant toutefois les faits et en réévaluant à la baisse le bilan des droits de l'homme, il a expliqué que «218 maisons où habitaient 1234 personnes ont été incendiées par l'État». Il a certes admis qu'au total 1390 localités étaient évacuées et deux millions de personnes étaient déplacées (Cf. p.85 du Bulletin). Le Vice-premier ministre Murat Karayalçın a également reconnu que ces villages ont été incendiés «soit par accident, soit par obligation», et que «l'État et le gouvernement feront tout le nécessaire afin d'aider la population délocalisée par la force».

En réponse au ministre, le gouvernement a déclaré que le PKK, «déguisant ses combattants en militaires», était responsable de ces destructions massives. Le ministre de l'intérieur Mentese a également opposé un démenti catégorique à son collègue. Le «Super-préfet» de la région, Ünal Erkan s'est plaint, de son côté de l'«exploitation» de ces destructions par les médias et les organisations des droits de l'homme, tout en reconnaissant que de «pareilles choses peuvent arriver pendant des opérations militaires». Commentant cet argument, Ilknur Çevik, éditorialiste de *Turkish Daily News* écrivait : «Cela est une honte pour

les autorités. Le préfet Erkan devrait savoir que si l'État avait agi d'une manière responsable, il n'y aurait eu aucun lieu pour l'exploitation» (cf. p. 65 de notre dossier).

En effet, même si le ministre Köylüoğlu avait pris des précautions et considérablement réduit la responsabilité de l'armée, ses déclarations n'en restent pas moins iconoclastes. L'armée est une organisation qui est considérée comme sacrée en Turquie. Elle est constitutionnellement «la garante de l'ordre à l'intérieur» et devrait être, à ce titre, à l'abri de tout contrôle et de toute critique. Ainsi, même l'opposition s'est montrée «indignée» de ces déclarations officielles. Orhan Ergüder, député d'ANAP (conservateur) a ainsi

exprimé sa colère : «notre armée n'incendie pas de village. C'est une force légale. Le ministre qui dit cela doit démissionner».

Pendant ce temps, la guerre de guérilla, entrée désormais dans son onzième année, continue, en faisant un nombre de plus en plus important de victimes. Ainsi, *Turkish Daily News* a annoncé, dans son édition du 10 octobre, que 116 «terroristes» étaient abattus en deux semaines, dont certains ne feraient pas partie du PKK. Le quotidien rapporte également de nombreuses arrestations des militants kurdes. Toujours selon *Turkish Daily News*, qui ne donne pas le nombre des pertes militaires, le PKK aurait tué, au cours de la première semaine d'octobre, 30 civils dans les régions de Bitlis et Hakkari.

SADDAM HUSSEIN MOBILISE A NOUVEAU À LA FRONTIÈRE KOWEÏTIENNE

A la veille de la discussion, au Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU du débat sur le renouvellement des sanctions contre l'Irak, Saddam Hussein a de nouveau privilégié la stratégie de la «provocation». Ainsi, il a entassé quelque 80.000 soldats à la frontière koweïtienne. Cette concentration de troupes était accompagnée, comme toujours, par une rhétorique guerrière. La presse irakienne a diffusé, des appels de l'Union générale de la jeunesse irakienne à la mobilisation de «volontaires en vue de leur enrôlement dans la résistance pour exécuter les missions que commande la

conjoncture actuelle et défendre l'Irak».

Cette concentration qui a suscité de nouvelles inquiétudes dans les pays du Golfe semblait avoir deux objectifs dont le premier était de faire pression sur l'Occident en monnayant sa capacité de nuisance dans la région. En effet, bien qu'affaibli, Bagdad possède toujours une force militaire importante et les experts onusiens n'en finissent pas de découvrir de nouveaux dépôts d'armement non conventionnels. Le deuxième objectif était de détourner l'attention de l'opinion publique irakienne de la dégradation dramatique de ses conditions de

vie, de la pénurie, de la paralysie des systèmes scolaires et médical etc. Saddam, qui reste l'homme fort de Bagdad, tente ainsi de montrer que le malheur de la population irakienne vient de l'étranger et non de sa politique intérieure et extérieure. Quant aux sommes colossales dépensées pour construire de nouveaux palais pour le «raïs», tout comme les nouvelles violations des droits de l'homme (comme l'amputation des «déserteurs»), elles sont présentées comme le prix à payer pour exprimer la «résistance nationale contre l'ennemi».

Les gesticulations militaires de Bagdad ont provoqué une réponse immédiate de la part des Américains et Britanniques qui ont renforcé leurs dispositifs militaires dans la région. Ainsi, 19.000 «marines» et 17.000 hommes de la 24^{ème} division d'infanterie ont été dépêchés dans la région. William J. Perry, secrétaire d'Etat américain à la défense a également précisé que le non retrait total des forces irakiennes aboutirait à des actions militaires à son encontre. De même, l'opinion publique anglo-saxonne a vivement réagi. Ainsi, Laurie Mylroie expliquait, dans l'*International Herald Tribune* du 4 octobre, que Saddam affaibli restait toujours vicieux, et qu'il ne méritait «aucune pitié». William Safire, éditorialiste influent de *New York Times* écrit également que le «renversement de Saddam constitue le seul espoir des Irakiens».

Après une guerre psychologique de plusieurs jours, Bagdad a affirmé, le 12 octobre, le retrait de ses forces. Cependant, selon le Secrétaire d'Etat américain Warren Christopher, «la crise n'est

pas terminée» et il faut «maintenir un niveau élevé d'alerte».

La réactivation de la diplomatie irakienne a accompagné la concentration des troupes à la frontière koweïtienne. Ainsi, le ministre irakien des Affaires extérieures, Mohamed al-Sharif s'est entretenu avec les représentants russe, français et chinois, trois pays souhaitant la prise en considération des «progrès» accomplis par Bagdad. Au lendemain de la crise, V. Kozyrev, ministre russe des Affaires étrangères, en visite en Irak déclarait que les Irakiens reconnaissent désormais pleinement la souveraineté du Koweït.

En effet, Saddam Hussein a su, à cette occasion, utiliser les divisions qui règnent depuis quelque temps au sein du Conseil de Sécurité de l'ONU. Les pressions américaines consistant à

adopter une résolution très contraignante à l'égard de Bagdad, prévoyant un contrôle étroit de ses mouvements militaires, n'ont pas abouti, notamment à cause de l'opposition de ces trois pays (cf. *Le Monde* du 16-17.10.1994). Toutefois, après des actes de mauvaise foi aussi flagrants, l'ONU ne pouvait plus envisager d'alléger les sanctions contre l'Irak. En effet, ces nouvelles aventures ont, une fois de plus, mis quelque peu mal à l'aise les trois membres du Conseil qui demandaient une politique bienveillante à l'égard de Bagdad. Le ministre français des Affaires étrangères a déclaré que la France prenait «très au sérieux» la crise provoquée par l'Irak. Même la Russie, redevenue grande avocate de la cause de la réhabilitation du régime de Saddam l'a accusé de «prendre des mesures politiques visant à faire pression sur le Conseil de sécurité pour la levée des sanctions».

REPRISE DU PROCES DES DÉPUTÉS KURDES

Le procès des six députés kurdes accusés de «séparatisme» a repris le 7 octobre devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État d'Ankara, après un mois de suspension. L'audience, de pure forme, a duré quelques heures. Le temps pour la Cour de rejeter la demande de mise en liberté des députés et leur comparution en prévenus libres. Comme toutes les autres demandes de la défense, cette requête a été rejetée par les juges turcs qui ont renvoyé le procès au 10 novembre.

«Nous sommes occupés par une

comédie depuis huit mois. Ce procès purement politique montre à l'opinion une image lamentable d'une justice aux ordres du pouvoir et d'une démocratie de façade» a déclaré M. Mahmut Alinak, député indépendant de Sirmak.

De son côté, Ahmet Türk, député de Mardin, ancien président du HEP, ancien président de la Commission des droits de l'homme du Parlement a lancé à la Cour: «Nous sommes des politiciens légaux, ayant agi au grand jour. Nous n'avons pas été arrêtés dans la montagne l'arme à la main ou en ville en lançant des bombes çà

et là. Nous mettre derrière les barreaux et nous juger pour nos opinions montre que dans ce pays la liberté d'opinion n'existe pas, même pour les élus du peuple».

Cet avis est également partagé par nombre de parlementaires américains. Dans une lettre datée du 4 octobre et adressée au Premier ministre turc, 43 membres de la Chambre des représentants et 19 sénateurs écrivent notamment: «Ce procès soulève des questions sérieuses au sujet du respect par la Turquie de la liberté d'opinion et des autres principes qui sous-tendent la démocratie. Nous croyons fermement que des élus doivent pouvoir représenter les vues et les besoins de leur électeur et parler ouvertement — spécialement à l'Assemblée nationale. Si les citoyens kurdes de la Turquie continuent de se voir refuser une voix dans le processus politique, une importante voie pour régler le problème kurde sera coupée et les extrémistes de tous bords seront renforcés — un résultat que nous savons que vous voulez éviter».

Les parlementaires américains évoquent aussi «le problème de la terreur auquel la Turquie fait face» et affirment: «Cependant nous croyons que la violence responsable pour 13.000 morts depuis 1984 s'intensifiera si votre gouvernement faillit à distinguer les actes du terrorisme de l'exercice légitime par des individus de leur droit à la liberté d'opinion».

La lettre rappelle que la troisième réunion de l'Assemblée parlementaire de la CSCE tenue

en juillet à Vienne avait «adopté à une majorité écrasante une résolution notant la détérioration de la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie par rapport aux libertés d'opinion, de réunion et de mouvement et appelant le gouvernement de Turquie à libérer les six parlementaires actuellement en procès aussi bien tous ceux qui sont détenus pour avoir uniquement exprimée d'une manière non violente leurs opinions». Nous nous joignons à cet appel ajoutent les signataires avant de conclure: «Nous vous appelons également, Madame le Premier ministre, à rechercher une fin au cycle brutal de violence qui menace de défaire tout le progrès important fait par la Turquie vers une démocratie fondée sur l'État de droit et une société enracinée dans la protection des droits individuels» (Cf. en annexe le texte de cette lettre et la réponse de Mme. Çiller).

Intervenant quelques jours après l'adoption, le 29 septembre d'une résolution du Parlement européen décidant de geler toutes ses relations avec la Turquie jusqu'à l'issue du procès des députés kurdes, l'appel des parlementaires américains constitue un élément important des pressions occidentales exercées sur Ankara.

Cherchant apparemment une «sortie honorable», Mme. Çiller a promis d'organiser le 4 décembre des élections pareilles dans les circonscriptions de 13 députés kurdes déchus de leur mandat depuis l'interdiction en juin de leur Parti de la démocratie (DEP). Les

députés emprisonnés pourraient se porter candidats et être libérés en cas de leur réélection. Cette fausse bonne idée, avancée lors de la visite à Ankara d'une mission du Conseil de l'Europe, inquiet du fait que plusieurs provinces n'étaient plus représentées au Parlement turc, le statut de la délégation turque au sein de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil soit contesté au prétexte qu'elle n'est plus représentative de l'ensemble du pays, manque d'un minimum de logique: si les députés kurdes emprisonnés sont, comme l'affirme Mme. Çiller, des «terroristes» et «traîtres séparatistes» pourquoi les autoriser à se présenter aux élections? S'ils sont innocents et dignes de reprendre leur siège pourquoi ne pas les libérer immédiatement. Elle se heurte aussi à un obstacle de taille: depuis les élections d'octobre 1991 où les députés revendiquant ouvertement leur identité kurde avaient été triomphalement élus, les registres électoraux ont été complètement bouleversés à la suite de la destruction des villages et de déplacements de plus de 2 millions de Kurdes. Comment procéder à des élections sans une mise à jour complète des listes électorales que le gouvernement ne semble pas vouloir envisager pour «des raisons de sécurité»?

En tout cas, le sort des députés kurdes embastillés à Ankara dépend plus que jamais de la conjoncture politique intérieure et internationale et non pas du contenu de leurs dossiers juridiques.

WASHINGTON DÉBLOQUE UN CRÉDIT MILITAIRE DE 1,5 MILLIARD DE DOLLARS POUR LA TURQUIE

La Turquie et les États-Unis ont signé, le 3 octobre à Ankara, un accord sur le déblocage d'un fonds de 1,5 milliard de dollars. Ce fonds constitué au moment de la Guerre du Golfe avec des contributions des États-Unis, d'Arabie Saoudite, du Koweït et des Émirats arabes unis et de la Turquie était bloqué depuis sur un compte de la Réserve fédérale américaine. Aux prises avec de graves problèmes financiers, en raison de la guerre du Kurdistan, Ankara a demandé et obtenu le déblocage de ce fonds «pour faire face à ses besoins de défense».

Le soutien de l'administration américaine à la Turquie est cependant de plus en plus critiqué par le Congrès. Le co-président d'une importante commission du Congrès, celle de la C.S.C.E. a appelé le 9 octobre ses collègues à exiger du gouvernement des États-Unis à lier toute aide militaire à Ankara au respect des droits de l'homme. *«En dépit de nos intérêts stratégiques et économiques mutuels, nous devons exprimer des réserves sérieuses quant à la continuation de fournitures d'armes que la Turquie utilise contre ses propres citoyens, rasant des villages, détruisant le cheptel et les récoltes et forçant plus d'un million de Kurdes à devenir des réfugiés dans leur propre pays».*

Mécontents de la «position anti-turque» de la C.S.C.E. les dirigeants turcs ont refusé de

recevoir l'autre co-président de cette commission dite Helsinki, Le sénateur DeCocini, qui est également président de la Commission du Renseignement du Sénat (*Senate Intelligence Committee*). Après avoir rencontré des parlementaires et des représentants des organisations turques des droits de l'homme, le sénateur démocrate a quitté Ankara pour Erbil, capitale du Kurdistan irakien où il s'est entretenu avec les responsables kurdes du problème de la population kurde protégée par l'opération *Provide Comfort*. Il

s'est ensuite rendu à Aman pour y joindre le président Clinton venu parrainer la signature du traité de paix israélo-jordanien.

Une délégation de la Commission Helsinki, composée de 7 membres, dirigée par Mme. Mary Sue Hafuer, directrice-adjointe, s'est rendue à Diyarbakir le 25 octobre pour s'informer sur place de la situation des droits de l'homme dans le Kurdistan turc. Elle y a rencontré les représentants du barreau et de la branche locale de l'Association des droits de l'homme ainsi que de nombreux citoyens tenant, en dépit des risques, à venir témoigner. La délégation doit présenter un rapport à la réunion de Budapest des pays signataires de l'Acte final de Helsinki ainsi qu'au Congrès américain.

L'ASSEMBLÉE PARLEMENTAIRE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE RECOMMANDE «LA VIGILANCE» ENVERS LA TURQUIE

A la suite d'une mission effectuée début septembre à Ankara, le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe, Miguel Angel Martinez a demandé, le 3 octobre à Strasbourg, la «vigilance envers Ankara concernant le respect des droits de l'homme en Turquie et le traitement de la question kurde». Citant les promesses de démocratisation qui lui ont été répétées pour la énième fois par Ankara, M. Martinez s'est ainsi exprimé : *«il faut avoir confiance, tout en restant extrêmement vigilants... Si des changements ne se produisent pas en Turquie, cela mettrait sérieusement en question... son appartenance même au Conseil de l'Europe».*

Ce rapport a suscité de nombreuses réactions de la part des membres de l'Assemblée du Conseil, impatientes de voir les choses bouger en Turquie. Ainsi, M. Ole Espersen (Danemark) a accusé le Conseil d'être «trop patient» : *«La Turquie nous a fait des promesses depuis 10 ans : nous avons été trompés».* Lord Kirkhill, travailliste britannique, a regretté de son côté que *«la situation des députés d'origine kurde emprisonnés soit noyée dans le rapport».* Aucune sanction concrète n'a été prise à l'égard d'Ankara à la suite de cette session. Toutefois, le rapport de Martinez est considéré comme l'une des ultimes occasions offertes à Ankara pour concrétiser ses promesses.

Toujours, en octobre, la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme a déclaré comme «recevables» les premières plaintes déposées contre la Turquie, les premières d'une interminable série. Il s'agit de trois plaintes déposées par des Kurdes, alléguant des violations des droits de l'homme, concernant la destruction des villages, tortures, et meurtres et blessures provoquées par un obus tiré par les forces gouvernementales. Le gouvernement turc a répondu chaque fois

en niant les faits. Il a expliqué que la destruction des villages devrait être attribuée au PKK et non pas aux forces de l'ordre. Sur le deuxième dossier, il a soutenu que la Turquie ne pratiquant pas la torture, une telle plainte n'avait pas lieu d'être. Sur le troisième point, il a accusé les «forces séparatistes» d'être responsables du tir de l'obus en question. Ces affaires seront désormais jugées par la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme qui pourrait envoyer sur place des missions d'enquête.

invite l'administration américaine à cesser toute aide à la Turquie tant que ces violations continuent.

L'organisation humanitaire dénonce également les violations des droits de l'homme commises par le PKK dont les militants se sont rendus coupables de nombreuses exécutions sommaires au cours de 1993.

Elle demande, en conclusion, l'abolition du système des «protecteurs de village», le retrait des équipes spéciales de l'armée, l'indemnisation des personnes déplacées, la punition des membres des forces de l'ordre responsables de la violation des droits de l'homme et l'autorisation des organisations des droits de l'homme d'enquêter dans la région. Elle appelle le PKK d'arrêter la violation des droits de l'homme, de cesser des expéditions punitives contre les familles des protecteurs de village ainsi que les exécutions extrajudiciaires et celle des enseignants.

HELSINKI WATCH DEMANDE LA SUSPENSION DE TOUTE AIDE A LA TURQUIE

L'organisation humanitaire Helsinki Watch, qui n'a pas été autorisée à se rendre dans la région kurde, a publié un rapport alarmant sur la situation des Kurdes de Turquie. Le rapport intitulé «Le déplacement forcé des Kurdes du Sud-Est de l'Anatolie» se base largement sur le témoignage de certains journalistes turcs, notamment Ismet G. Imset, déclaré *persona non grata* en Turquie et exilé depuis quelques mois en Angleterre.

Le rapport dénonce la destruction systématique des villages par l'armée et la politique d'Ankara consistant à obliger les villageois à s'enrôler dans les milices supplétives de «protecteurs de village». Cette politique de déplacements forcés déséquilibre la démographie de la région et celle des villes turques. Le rapport note que la population d'Adana

est ainsi passée de 900.000 h à 1.5 million, celle de Mersin de 550.000 à un million. La torture ainsi que les exécutions extrajudiciaires des civils, en réponse à des activités militaires du PKK, est devenue systématique. L'organisation

CHRONIQUE DE LA GUERRE AU KURDISTAN DE TURQUIE

1er octobre

Selon le quotidien *Turkish Daily News* des militants du PKK ont tué, le 29 septembre, le fils et le neveu du maire du Silvan. Selon des sources officielles turques, reprises par l'Agence France Presse, 22 combattants kurdes et huit soldats turcs ont trouvé la mort lors des affrontements dans les régions de Hakkari, Sirnak, Batman, Siirt et Tunceli. L'agence

française cite également le bilan de dix ans de guerre, tel qu'il est reconnu par le Président Süleyman Demirel : 12.661 morts.

3 octobre

Le président de HADEP à Yüregir (Adana) et un autre représentant du même parti sont abattus à Adana par des tueurs non-identifiés.

4 octobre

Halil Acar et Ismail Alkan, enlevés le 16 septembre ont été retrouvés morts à Midyat (province de Mardin).

5 octobre

L'Agence Reuter rapporte le début de la destruction des villages, par l'armée turque, dans la région de Dersim. La même agence précise, le 12 octobre, que le nombre de villages incendiés dans la région s'élève à une trentaine.

6 octobre

Cemalettin Akbulut a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés à Midyat. Toujours dans la même ville, l'explosion d'une bombe fait deux morts, tous deux enfants, et deux blessés.

7 octobre

Selon le gouverneur par intérim de la région de Sivas (l'Anatolie du Centre), cité par la presse turque et l'Agence France Presse, une quarantaine de guérilleros du PKK ont été tués lors des opérations de l'armée turque. Le même jour, Cemalettin Baran a été tué par des tueurs inconnus à Sason, dans la province de Batman.

11 octobre

Selon *Turkish Daily News*, les militants du PKK ont exécuté quatre instituteurs dans le département d'Erzurum. Le nombre d'enseignants assassinés en 1994 par le PKK s'élève à 34 selon la Fondation turque des Droits de l'Homme.

12 octobre

La police a rendu à la famille le corps d'Aydin Kismir, mort sous la torture. Kismir avait été arrêté le 6 octobre à Diyarbakir.

13 octobre

L'employé municipal Mesut Yildirim a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés à Nusaybin. A Semdinli, l'explosion d'une mine posée par les forces turques a provoqué la mort de Nevruz Sevim, conducteur de camion.

14 octobre

Le cuisinier Veysi Sizlanan a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés à Diyarbakir.

17 octobre

Fikret Un et Ahmet Siyahtas ont été assassinés par des tueurs inconnus respectivement à Diyarbakir et à Van.

18 octobre

Osman Siyahkoç, blessé le 16 octobre par des gens armés non-identifiés, est mort à Diyarbakir.

19 octobre

Hasan Polat et Mustafa Yildiz sont tués par un groupe de protecteurs de village dans le village de Sekinek à Çemiskgezek. Le même

jour, le corps d'un paysan kurde de 70 ans, enlevé le 30 septembre, a été retrouvé près du village Dogançay (Midyat).

20 octobre

A Diyarbakir, Mehmet Mutlu a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés.

24 octobre

A Yüksekova, l'explosion d'une mine provoque la mort de Serefettin Erçi et d'une femme non-identifiée. Le même jour, Murat Tasan et Mehmet Binbay sont assassinés par des tueurs non-identifiés, respectivement à Batman et à Urfa.

26 octobre

Ismet Gün et Mahsun Kavak sont assassinés par des tueurs non-identifiés, respectivement à Diyarbakir et à Adana.

27 octobre

Cemil Yildirim a été assassiné par des tueurs non-identifiés à Batman.

EN BREF, LA REVUE DE PRESSE

KLAUS KINKEL SOULÈVE LA QUESTION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME DANS SA RENCONTRE AVEC SOYSAL. Le ministre turc des Affaires étrangères rejette l'offre d'envoyer une délégation de la CSCE dans le sud-est ; LA MARCHÉ DES DÉFENSEURS DU DROIT D'EXPRESSION. LE DYP INSISTE SUR LA NÉCESSITÉ DE LIMITER LE DROIT D'EXPRESSION. Le président Demirel et les députés turcs

critiquent vivement la décision du Parlement européen de suspendre ses relations avec le Parlement turc. (*Turkish Daily News*, 1er octobre 1994), p. 1-3.

FRANCE-ALLEMAGNE- KURDES. LE PONT DE STRASBOURG TOUJOURS BLOQUE PAR DES MANIFESTANTS KURDES. (*Afp*, 2 octobre 1994), p. 3.

22 REBELLES KURDES ET HUIT

SOLDATS TURCS TUES DANS LE SUD-EST ; Les députés kurdes emprisonnés autorisés à participer aux élections partielles. (*Afp*, 1er octobre 1994), p. 4.

Philippe RONDOT : KURDISTAN, TÔT OU TARD, L'INDÉPENDANCE. (*Missi*, n°22, octobre 1994), p. 5.

LES MILITANTS DU PKK TUENT LE FILS ET LE NEVEU DU MAIRE DU SILVAN (*Turkish Daily News*, 1er octobre 1994), p. 5.

FEMMES KURDES : LA RÉPONSE POLITIQUE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE. Une délégation à Ankara, Des manifestations au palais. (*Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 4 octobre 1994), p. 6-7.

LA FÉROCE RÉPRESSION TURQUE. (*Rocca*, 1er octobre 1994), p. 8-9.

L'ASSEMBLÉE DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE RECOMMANDE LA «VIGILANCE» ENVERS LA TURQUIE. (*Afp*, 3 octobre 1994), p. 10.

SADDAM HUSSEIN ENVOIE DES MANUELS SCOLAIRES AUX REBELLES KURDES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 3 octobre 1994), p. 11.

SAMIR ADEL : SADDAM HUSSEIN, LE RETOUR. (*Libération*, 3 octobre 1994), p. 11.

LAURIE MYROLIE : SADDAM AFFAIBLI, MAIS TOUJOURS VICIEUX, NE MÉRITE PAS LA PITIÉ ONUSIENNE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 4 octobre 1994), p. 12.

LES MANIFESTANTS TURCS BLOQUÉS. La police française a interdit l'intrée en France à une manifestation de femmes kurdes

près de Strasbourg. (*Basler Zeitung*, 3 octobre 1994), p. 13.

800 RÉFUGIES KURDES IRAKIENS DU CAMP DE SILOPI EN GRÈVE DE LA FAIM. (*Afp*, 4 octobre 1994), p. 13.

L'IRAK OPTÉ POUR UNE LIGNE DURE. ANKARA DÉCIDE DE RÉÉVALUER SA POLITIQUE. Le champ de manoeuvre du PKK se rétrécit. LES ÉTATS-UNIS DÉBLOQUENT 1,5 MILLIARD D'AIDE POUR LA DÉFENSE TURQUE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 4 octobre 1994), p. 14-15.

LA TURQUIE LIE SON DIF-FÉREND AVEC LA SYRIE SUR L'EUPHRATE AU PROBLÈME KURDE. (*Afp*, 4 octobre 1994), p. 16.

L'IRAK N'ACCEPTERA PAS DE COOPÉRER AVEC L'ONU S'IL N'A PAS LA GARANTIE D'ALLÈGEMENT DES SANCTIONS. Le calendrier des élections partielles commencera le jeudi prochain. MARTINEZ REND PUBLIC SON RAPPORT SUR LA TURQUIE. Il adopte une politique de «wait-and-see», mais demande la modification de certains articles de la Constitution et du Code pénal. LES RÉFUGIES D'IRAK DU NORD EN GRÈVE DE LA FAIM. L'Irak et l'Iran espèrent des relations plus étroites. (*Turkish Daily News*, 5 octobre 1994), p. 17-19.

ANKARA MENACÉ D'EXPULSION DU CONSEIL DE L'EUROPE, Les violations des Droits de l'Homme en Turquie. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 5 octobre 1994), p. 19.

AMNETSY INTERNATIONAL : ACTION URGENTE. TURQUIE : ÉTAT DE SANTÉ/ MAUVAIS

TRAITEMENT. (*Action Urgente*, 5 octobre 1995, p. 20-21.

REUTERS : VILLAGES KURDES ÉVACUÉS EN TURQUIE ET EN IRAN, Le ministre turc de l'intérieur dément les exécutions extrajudiciaires. INDUSTRIE PÉTROLIÈRE : SELON LES CONSULTANTS, L'IRAK A AUTANT DE RÉSERVE QUE L'ARABIE SAOUDITE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 6 octobre 1994), p. 22-23.

TURQUIE-KURDISTAN. REPRISE DU PROCÈS DE SIX DÉPUTÉS KURDES SUR FOND DE PRESSIONS EXTÉRIEURES. (*Afp*, 6 octobre 1994), p. 23.

«COMME UNE CHANDELLE DANS LA PROFONDEUR DE LA NUIT», Les écrivains turcs Yasar Kemal et Aziz Nesin organisation une marche pour le droit d'expression. (*Tages Anzeiger*, 6 octobre 1994), p. 24.

SADDAM DOIT ALLER ENCORE PLUS LOIN. (*International Herald Tribune*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 25.

REPRISE DU PROCÈS DE SIX DÉPUTÉS KURDES JUGES POUR «SÉPARATISME» ; REFUS D'UNE DEMANDE DE MISE EN LIBERTÉ. (*Afp*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 26.

LA TURQUIE JOUE SES RELATIONS AVEC L'EUROPE DEVANT SA HAUTE COUR. Le procès de six députés kurdes, qui risquent la mort, reprend à Ankara. Le gouvernement est mis en demeure de démocratiser ses institutions. La violence ne faiblit pas dans le Sud-est. (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 27-28.

TURQUIE. L'UNION INTERPARLEMENTAIRE S'INQUIÈTE DES

DÉPUTÉS KURDES. (*Le journal de Genève*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 28.

DIFFICILE CORRESPONDANCE EN TURQUIE. Les droits d'opinion et d'expression restreints. (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 08-9 octobre 1994), p. 29-31

La CSCE envoie une lettre au Premier ministre Çiller et dénonce le procès du DEP. LE PRÉSIDENT DEMIREL ORDONNE UNE ENQUÊTE SUR LES ALLEGATIONS DES VILLAGES INCENDIÉS. Le chef d'état-major et le Ministre de l'intérieur démentent les allégations remettant en cause les forces de l'ordre. (*Turkish Daily News*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 31.

LES MUTINS DE LA PRISON DE DIYARBAKIR SONT TRANSFÉRÉS A GAZIANTEP. Le Professeur Sait Kemal Mimaroglu, président du groupe turc de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe : LA TURQUIE DOIT ABOLIR SES LOIS ANTIDÉMOCRATIQUES. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 32-33.

DEUX POLITICIENS KURDES SONT TUES A ADANA. (*The European*, 7-13 octobre 1994), p. 33.

FRANÇOIS BUSNEL : VISITE AU KURDISTAN IRAKIEN. (*La Croix*, 6 octobre 1994), p. 34.

L'ARMÉE TURQUE INCENDIE DES VILLAGES KURDES. (*L'Humanité*, 6 octobre 1994), p. 34.

DE L'IUT AU KURDISTAN IRAKIEN. (*La République du Centre*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 35.

PRÈS DE 40 REBELLES KURDES

TUES DANS LA RÉGION DE SIVAS. (*Afp*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 36.

TURQUIE : LA DÉMOCRATIE PROGRESSE. (*La Libre Belgique*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 36.

SÉPARATISME. ATTENTION AU DÉPLACEMENT VERS TUNCELI. (*Turkish Probe*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 37-38.

NOUVELLES DIPLOMATIQUES EN BREF ; L'Agenda des Droits de l'Homme. (*Turkish Probe*, 7 octobre 1994), p. 39-40.

FEHMI ISIKLAR : LORS DES ÉLECTIONS LE SHP NE DOIT PAS TENTER DE REMPLACER LES DÉPUTÉS DU DEP EMPRISONNÉS. Le nouveau «Think-tank» de Washington poussera les Kurdes vers l'indépendance. La Cour de Sécurité continue le procès du DEP. (*Turkish Daily News*, 8 octobre 1994), p.41.

UNE VUE PESSIMISTE DE L'EXIL par Sami Sastri. (*Asiantimes*, 8 octobre 1994), p. 42.

LES FORCES AMÉRICAINES NE PERMETTRONT PAS UNE NOUVELLE INVASION DU KOWEÏT PAR L'IRAK. Des milliers de «volontaires» en Irak. LES TROUPES TURQUES INCENDIENT LES VILLAGES KURDES. (*International Herald Tribune*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 43-44.

QAZVIN : L'INSURRECTION AVORTÉE IRANIENNE RÉPAND UNE LUMIÈRE DE MÉFIANCE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 08-9 octobre 1994), p. 45.

MOUVEMENTS DE TROUPES IRAKIENNES ÉGALEMENT DANS LE NORD, SELON LES KURDES. — SADDAM HUSSEIN : Homme qui

croise le fer avec Washington. (*Afp*, 8 octobre 1994), p. 45-47.

L'IRAK- FICHE TECHNIQUE. (*Afp*, 9 octobre 1994), p. 47-48.

DES ARMES CHIMIQUES PRÈS DE LA FRONTIÈRE KOWEÏTIENNE, SELON L'OPPOSITION CHI'ITE. (*Afp*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 48.

IRAK : L'OPPOSITION FAIT ÉTAT DE MOUVEMENTS DE TROUPES VERS LA FRONTIÈRE KOWEÏTIENNE. (*Le Monde*, 8 octobre 1994), p. 49.

NOUVEAUX FRONT SD'ANKARA DANS SA LUTTE CONTRE LE PKK. (*Basler Zeitung*, 8 octobre 1994), p. 50.

LE PROCÈS DES DÉPUTÉS KURDES JUGES SÉPARATISTES REPREND. (*La Liberté*, 9 octobre 1994), p. 50.

LE CO-PRÉSIDENT DE LA CSCE VEUT POSER DES CONDITIONS POUR L'AIDE MILITAIRE A LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 51.

Hervé COUTURIER : LA NOUVELLE CRISE DANS LE GOLFE EST UN COUP DUR POUR LA TURQUIE. (*Afp*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 52.

ÉDITORIAL D'Antoine MAURICE : L'IRAK SORT SES CHARS. (*Le Journal de Genève*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 53.

LES FORCES DE L'ORDRE TUENT PLUS DE 100 TERRORISTES EN DEUX SEMAINES, L'agissements de Saddam : un coup dur pour la politique turque. La Turquie attentive aux mouvements de troupes dans le Nord de l'Irak, MALGRÉ LA PROMESSE

GOUVERNEMENTALE D'AIDE, LES VILLAGEOIS DÉPLACÉS CONSPUENT LE VICE-PREMIER MINISTRE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 10 octobre 1994), p. 54-56.

L'EXPRESSE DE MINUIT. — Un livre de caricatures d'Arif Sevinç sur les militants kurdes emprisonnés à Diyabakir. (*Kiriakatiki*, 9 octobre 1994) p. 57-58

WILLIAM SAFIRE : L'ESPOIR POUR LES IRAKIENS : LE RENVERSEMENT DE SADDAM. SADDAM DOIT SE RETIRER. Là où Bush a failli en 1990, Clinton bondit dans le vide, MALGRÉ LES AFFIRMATIONS IRAKIENNES DE RETRAITE, CLINTON DOUBLE LES FORCES AÉRIENNES DANS LE GOLFE. (*International Herald Tribune*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 59-63.

ANKARA DEMANDE LA PRÉSERVATION DE L'INTÉGRITÉ DE TOUS LES ÉTATS DE LA RÉGION. Le dépeuplement des villages: un changement de mentalité est nécessaire. MALGRÉ LA PROMESSE GOUVERNEMENTALE D'AIDE, LES VILLAGEOIS DÉPLACÉS CONSPUENT LE VICE PREMIER MINISTRE. — La CSCE envoie une lettre au Premier ministre Çiller et dénonce le procès du DEP. LE PRÉSIDENT DEMIREL ORDONNE UNE ENQUÊTE SUR LES ALLÉGATIONS DES VILLAGES INCENDIÉS. Le chef d'état-major et le Ministre de l'intérieur dément les allégations mettant en cause les forces de l'ordre. LE PROCUREUR DE LA COUR DE SÛRETÉ DE DIYARBAKIR DÉCIDE DE NE PAS INTENTER UN PROCÈS CONTRE LES DÉPUTÉS DU DEP. (*Turkish Daily News*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 64-66.

LA POLITIQUE DE LA «TERRE

BRÛLÉE» DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE CONTRE LES KURDES. (*Libération*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 66.

Alors que les Etats-Unis mobilisent 36.000 soldats dans le Golfe, LA FRANCE PREND «TRÈS AU SÉRIEUX» LA CRISE PROVOQUÉE PAR L'IRAK. Un peuple dans la terreur et le dénuement. — LA LENTE ASPHYXIE DE L'ÉCONOMIE IRAKIENNE. (*Le Monde*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 67-69.

LES PLAINTES TURQUES CONCERNANT LE «SOMMET KURDE» SE RALLUMENT DE NOUVEAU. (*Turkish Daily News*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 70.

LE MAINTIEN DE L'EMBARGO IRAKIEN PORTERAIT UN COUP DUR A L'ÉCONOMIE TURQUE. (*Les Echos*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 70.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS VEULENT INTERDIRE DES ARMES DANS LE SUD DE L'IRAK, Le jeu d'un Saddam désespéré. (*International Herald Tribune*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 71-72.

LE PRÉSIDENT CLINTON CONSULTE ÇILLER SUR L'IRAK. L'aviation turque bombarde les bases du PKK dans le Nord de l'Irak. Le remboursement de dette turque s'élève à 5 milliards de dollars en 1994. (*Turkish Daily News*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 73.

LOGIQUE DE FORCE EN IRAK, L'ONU n'envisage plus d'alléger les sanctions contre l'Irak, LES ÉTATS-UNIS DOUTENT DU RETRAIT IRAKIEN. (*Le Monde*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 74-76.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS PROPOSENT DE NOUVEAUX PLANS POUR CONTRÔLER L'IRAK. (*International Herald Tribune*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 76-77.

TURQUIE : TRANSFERT DE POPULATION CHEZ LES KURDES. (*La Croix*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 77.

IBRAHIM SELMAN A FAIT UN FILM SUR LA QUESTION KURDE, Turquie : Un ministre accuse l'armée de l'incendie de villages kurdes. (*L'Humanité*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 78.

LE PROBLÈME DE SADDAM EST QU'IL EST LUI-MÊME UN PROBLÈME. DANS LA TEMPÊTE VERBALE, LA MENACE DE SADDAM DE TRANSFÉRER LA GUERRE A L'EXTÉRIEUR. (*International Herald Tribune*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 79-80.

LE DÉBAT SUR L'INCENDIE DE VILLAGES FAIT RAGE. Les députés arrêtés demandent la permission de s'adresser à l'Assemblée sur les villages de Tunceli, REUTERS: LES RÉFUGIÉS QUITTENT LE CORDON DE SÉCURITÉ ÉTABLI A TUNCELI. (*Turkish Daily News*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 81-82.

ARMÉE TURQUE DÉNONCÉE. UNE STRATÉGIE DE LA TERRE BRÛLÉE. (*Le Nouveau Quotidien*, 12 octobre 1994), p. 81.

PARIS S'INTERROGE SUR LES MOTIFS AMÉRICAINS, La menace de malnutrition en Irak. SCHWARZKOPF DÉTECTE UN «FACTEUR CARTER». (*International Herald Tribune*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 82-83.

WASHINGTON CERCHE UN MÉCANISME INTERNATIONAL POUR EMPÊCHER TOUTE NOUVELLE MENACE DE BAGDAD. (*Le Monde*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 84.

TURQUIE-KURDES. UN MINISTRE TURC ACCUSE L'ARMÉE D'AVOIR

INCENDIE DES VILLAGES DANS L'EST. (*Afp*, 11 octobre 1994), p. 85.

UN MEMBRE DU GOUVERNEMENT QUALIFIE LES OPÉRATIONS MENÉES CONTRE LES KURDES DE «TERRORISME D'ÉTAT». (*Le Monde*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 86.

KURDES : ANKARA RECONNAÎT DES BAVURES. (*Le Figaro*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 86.

UN MINISTRE TURC ET LE «TERRORISME D'ÉTAT» D'ANKARA. (*L'Humanité*, 13 octobre 1994), p. 86.

SADDAM : CONTENIR SES EFFORTS DÉSESPÉRÉS AFIN D'INTIMIDER. (*International Herald Tribune*, 14 octobre 1994), p. 87.

UNE MÉDAILLE BIEN MÉRITÉE POUR LE GÉNÉRAL GÜRES, LA SCÈNE DOMESTIQUE. RENCONTRES ENTRE LES OFFICIERS TURCS ET BARZANI. Le livre de Selim Çürükkaya, ancien dirigeant du PKK, «*Les Versets d'Apo*» a été l'objet des attaques dans plusieurs villes allemandes. LA TURQUIE SE PROPOSE DE VENIR EN AIDE À DES VILLAGEOIS DÉPLACÉS, Le rapport de l'Association turque des Droits de l'Homme appelle à agir pour faire cesser les violations des droits de l'Homme. VELAYETI : AUCUNE SOLUTION POUR LE NORD DE L'IRAK SANS L'IRAN, LA SYRIE ET LA TURQUIE ; Çiller soutient énergiquement la modernisation des forces armées turques. (*Turkish Daily News*, 14 octobre 1994), p. 88-90.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (*Turkish Probe*, 14 octobre 1994), p. 91.

LA TURQUIE MALADE DU KURDISTAN, Les Kurdes nient la doctrine de l'homogénéité ethnique prônée par Ankara. La montée de l'intégrisme islamique met en cause la laïcité de l'État. La population, elle, manifeste sa lassitude face à cet interminable conflit. (*24 Heures*, 14 octobre 1994), p. 92-94.

IRAK : WASHINGTON AFFIRME QUE LA CRISE AVEC BAGDAD «N'EST PAS TERMINÉE». (*Le Monde*, 14 octobre 1994), p. 95.

LE SECRÉTAIRE D'ÉTAT A LA DÉFENSE MENACE L'IRAK DES ACTIONS MILITAIRES S'IL NE RETIRE PAS SES FORCES DE LA FRONTIÈRE KOWEÏTIENNE. V. Kozirev : l'Irak accepte la souveraineté du Koweït. (*International Herald Tribune*, 15-16 octobre 1994), p. 96-97.

LA CONTRE-ATTAQUE DE LA TURQUIE AU CONSEIL D'EUROPE. La Turquie : deuxième grand importatrice des chars pour la seconde année consécutive. (*Turkish Daily News*, 15 octobre 1994), p. 97.

BAGDAD SERAIT PRÊT A RECONNAÎTRE KOWEÏT. IRAK : LES AMIS RETROUVES. (*Le Figaro*, 15-16 octobre 1994), p. 99.

MALGRÉ LES CONFLITS, LES ASSYRIENS GARDENT L'ESPOIR D'UN KURDISTAN LIBRE. (*La Dépêche du Midi*, 16 octobre 1994), p. 100-101.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS S'EFFORCENT DE FAIRE ADOPTER PAR L'ONU UNE RÉSOLUTION TRÈS CONTRAIGNANTE POUR L'IRAK. (*Le Monde*, 16.-17 octobre 1994), p. 102.

LE MESSAGE AMÉRICAIN A L'IRAK : RETRAIT DES TROUPES OU ATTENDEZ VOUS A AUTRE CHOSE. Christopher dit que les sanctions seront maintenues aussi longtemps que Saddam reste au pouvoir. L'IRAK PREND NOTE DE L'AVERTISSEMENT ONU SIEN SANS RÉPONDRE, Les affaires irakienne et haïtienne renforcent la popularité de Clinton. (*International Herald Tribune*, 17 octobre 1994), p. 103-104.

HIKMET ULUGBAY : LES FABLES DE LA TANTE ÇILLER. ÖCALAN s'en prend violemment à ses militants. (*Turkish Daily News*, 17 octobre 1994), p. 105-107.

DIX-HUIT MILITANTS DU PKK TUES EN TURQUIE. (*L'Humanité*, 17 octobre 1994), p. 107.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME, *Turkish Probe*, 18 octobre 1994), p. 108.

LE PKK INTENSIFIE SA CAMPAGNE DANS LES PAYS DE L'ANCIEN BLOC DE L'EST. (*Turkish Daily News*, 18 octobre 1994), p. 109.

LES REVENUS PÉTROLIERS : 20 MILLIONS D'IRAKIENS DANS LE PIÈGE DES LIGNES DE BATAILLES. (*International Herald Tribune*, 18 octobre 1994), p. 110.

PRÈS DE 10.000 KURDES PRÊTS A COMBATTRE SADDAM HUSSEIN, SELON L'OPPOSITION. Aide alimentaire du CICR aux Kurdes irakiens. (*Afp*, 17 octobre 1994), p. 111.

RÉUNION DU COLLECTIF DE SOUTIEN AU PEUPLE KURDE : DONNER AUX KURDES LE DROIT D'EXISTER. (*Ouest-France*, 18 octobre 1994), p. 112.

LES JOURNALISTES AMÉRICAINS SE PLAIGNENT AUPRÈS DE ÇILLER DE LA LOI ANTI-TERREUR, Les réfugiés irakiens, en grève de la faim, menace de s'immoler. (*Turkish Daily News*, 19 octobre 1994), p. 112.

KURDES : PREMIÈRES PLAINTES CONTRE LA TURQUIE DÉCLARÉES RECEVABLES PAR LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME. (*Afp*, 20 octobre 1994), p. 113.

«LIBÉRATION» PARRAINE UN JOURNALISTE KURDE EMPRISSONNE EN TURQUIE. (*Libération*, 20 octobre 1994), p. 113.

MINISTRE DE L'INTÉRIEUR, MENTEUSE : IL N'Y A PAS DE PROBLÈME KURDE EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 20 octobre 1994), p. 114.

LES KURDES IRAKIENS ONT-ILS MAL JOUÉ ? Le journaliste Hasan Cemal : Le centre de la politique turque se désintègre rapidement, LES VILLAGEOIS QUI ONT PERDU LEURS MAISONS CHERCHENT L'ASILE A ANKARA. (*Turkish Daily News*, 21 octobre 1994), p. 115-117.

LE PARLEMENT DISCUTE DU «PROBLÈME KURDE», L'agenda des Droits de l'Homme. (*Turkish Probe*, 21 octobre 1994), p. 118-120.

THÉÂTRE A THÈME KURDE. DES MÉMOIRES PEUVENT ÊTRE FORGÉES A PARTIR DE CELA. (*Ham & High*, 21 octobre 1994), p. 121.

DEUX BELGES REVIENNENT DE LA FRONTIÈRE TURCO-IRAKIENNE. Kurdistan irakien : évolution turque. (*Le Soir de*

Bruxelles, 21 octobre 1994), p. 122.

LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ENQUÊTE SUR LES VIOLATIONS DANS LE SUD-EST, Alors, qu'est-ce que la vraie image du SUD-EST? LES RESPONSABLES AMÉRICAINS ENQUÊTENT SUR LES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 22 octobre 1994), p. 123-124.

TURQUIE : PLUS DE 5,2 MILLIONS DE TOURISTES ÉTRANGERS EN 9 MOIS. (*Afp*, 22 octobre 1994), p. 124.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS ET LA GRANDE BRETAGNE METTENT EN GARDE L'IRAK. (*International Herald Tribune*, 22-23 octobre 1994), p. 125.

LE PKK VEUT NÉGOCIER UNE SOLUTION POLITIQUE APRÈS DIX ANS DE GUERRE. ENTRETIEN AVEC A. ÖCALAN. (*La Libre Belgique*, 22-23 octobre 1994), p. 126.

LES HAUTS RESPONSABLES AMÉRICAINS : LES DROITS DE L'HOMME SERONT PARMI LES SUJETS LES PLUS IMPORTANTS DES JOURS A VENIR, MATÉRIAUX DE CONSTRUCTION ET DE LA NOURRITURE AUX PERSONNES DÉPLACÉES DANS LE SUD-EST. (*Turkish Daily News*, 23 octobre 1994), p. 127-128.

UN DIPLOMATE AMÉRICAIN DÉCRIT UN «CYCLE CROISSANT DE VIOLENCE» DANS LE SUD-EST DE LA TURQUIE. (*Afp*, 25 octobre 1994), p. 128.

KENDAL NEZAN : LA SOLUTION FÉDÉRALISTE. Après avoir vainement lutté pour leur indépendance, les Kurdes se

résignent à une cohabitation qui respecterait leur identité, UN PROBLÈME INSOLUBLE POUR ANKARA, BAGDAD ET TÉHÉRAN. Trois États face à un peuple éclaté. (*Le Figaro*, 25 octobre 1994), p. 129-131.

LE RAPPORT DU CONGRES AMÉRICAIN : LE NATIONALISME INFLUERA NÉGATIVEMENT SUR LES RELATIONS TURCO-AMÉRICAINES. L'absence de politesse élémentaire met Ankara dans une mauvaise posture dans ses relations avec l'Ouest, Les responsables du sud-est donnent un briefing à la délégation du Département d'État. (*Turkish Daily News*, 24 octobre 1994), p. 132-134.

A LA SUITE DE REFUS DE 1.400 ENSEIGNANTS DE PRENDRE LE TRAVAIL, DANS LE SUD-EST, L'ÉDUCATION N'EST TOUJOURS PAS ASSURÉE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 25 octobre 1994), p. 135.

UN TANKER EST ARRÊTÉ POUR AVOIR VIOLÉ L'EMBARGO CONTRE L'IRAK. (*International Herald Tribune*, 25 octobre 1994), p. 135.

DES CENTAINES DE HAMEAUX KURDES RASES EN TURQUIE. (*Libération*, 26 octobre 1994), p. 136.

LE BUDJET D'ÉTAT EN ROSE DE MME ÇILLER ANNONCE-T-IL DES ÉLECTIONS GÉNÉRALES PLUS TÔT QUE PRÉVUES ? (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 29 octobre 1994), p. 137-138.

SOLIDARITÉ. DES PARLEMENTAIRES LANCENT UN APPEL AU GOUVERNEMENT TURC. (*Le Courrier*, 27 octobre 1994), p. 138.

TURQUIE : COMMENÇONS PAR RESPECTER LA DÉMOCRATIE. L'adhésion turque à l'UE et la question kurde. (*Courrier International*, 27 octobre 1994), p. 139-140.

TURQUIE : UN ÉLÉMENT DE LA STABILITÉ EUROPÉENNE. (*Le Figaro*, 27 octobre 1994), p. 140-141.

HELSINKI WATCH DEMANDE AUX ÉTATS-UNIS DE COUPER

TOUTE AIDE A LA TURQUIE. (*Turkish Daily News*, 28 octobre 1994), p. 141-142.

TURQUIE : LA LIBERTÉ DE LA PRESSE BAFOUÉE. (*L'Humanité*, 28 octobre 1994), p. 142.

TURQUIE : AVERTISSEMENT AMÉRICAIN. (*La Croix*, 27 octobre 1994), p. 142.

L'AGENDA DES DROITS DE L'HOMME, Çiller défend le bilan turc

des droits de l'Homme. (*Turkish Probe*, 28 octobre 1994), p. 143-144.

SELON LA FONDATION TURQUE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME : A LA FOIS L'ÉTAT ET LES CITOYENS PRIVÉS VIOLENT LES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE. (*Torture*, V°4, n°2, 1994), p. 145.

TURQUIE : L'ARMÉE FAIT LA POLITIQUE. ATATÜRK ET SES CONSÉQUENCES. (*Amnesty Magazin*, octobre 1994), p. 146-148.

Annexe

COMMISSION ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

234 FORD HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20516

(202) 225-1901

October 4, 1994

Her Excellency Tansu Ciller
Prime Minister
Basbakanlik
06573 Ankara, TURKEY

Dear Madame Prime Minister:

We are writing to express concern about the trial of six former deputies of the Turkish Grand National Assembly. This trial raises serious questions about Turkey's commitment to free speech and other principles which underlie democracy. As members of the United States Congress, we are disturbed that duly elected parliamentarians face the death penalty for speaking out in the national assembly and other forums about problems facing Kurds in Turkey. As a fundamental political and civil right, freedom of expression is a basic gauge of a nation's commitment to democracy.

We firmly believe that elected officials must be allowed to represent the views and needs of their electorate and to speak openly -- especially at the national assembly. We believe there can be no justification for detaining and trying individuals for exercising their rights to free speech -- however unpopular that speech might be. The increasingly volatile Kurdish crisis facing your country, we believe, should be resolved through democratic means and through dialogue. If Turkey's Kurdish citizens continue to be denied a voice in the political process, an important avenue for resolving the Kurdish issue will have been cut-off and extremists on all sides strengthened -- an outcome we know you seek to avoid.

We understand Turkey faces a difficult and complex security problem. However, we believe the violence responsible for 13,000 deaths since 1984 will intensify if your government fails to distinguish between acts of terrorism and the legitimate exercise by individuals of their rights of free speech.

The Third Meeting of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, held in Vienna this past July, overwhelmingly adopted a Resolution noting the deteriorating human rights situation in Turkey with regard to freedom of speech, assembly and movement. The Assembly called upon the Government of Turkey to release the six parliamentarians now on trial as well as all others detained solely for non-violently expressing their opinions. We join our CSCE Parliamentary Assembly colleagues in these concerns. We also urge you, Madame Prime Minister, to seek an end to the brutal cycle of violence that threatens to undo all the significant progress that Turkey has made -- and is committed to ensuring -- towards a democracy premised upon the rule of law and a society rooted in individual rights.

Sincerely,

Dennis DeConcini

Dennis DeConcini

Dave Durenberger

Dave Durenberger

Alfonse D'Amato

Alfonse D'Amato

Ted Kennedy

Ted Kennedy

Harris Wofford

Harris Wofford

Patrick Leahy

Patrick Leahy

Paul Sarbanes

Paul Sarbanes

Joe Lieberman

Joe Lieberman

Frank R. Lautenberg

Frank R. Lautenberg

Harry Reid

Harry Reid

Arlen Spectre

Arlen Spectre

Bob Graham

Bob Graham

Chuck Grassley

Chuck Grassley

Barbara A. Mikulski

Barbara A. Mikulski

Claiborne Pell

Claiborne Pell

Howard M. Metzenbaum

Howard M. Metzenbaum

*Prime Minister
Ankara*

Senator Dennis DeConcini,
Congressman Steny Hoyer,
Co-Chairmen,
Commission on
Security and Cooperation in Europe,
237 Ford House Office Building,
Washington D.C. 20515
United States of America

October 17, 1994

Dear Senator DeConcini and Congressman Hoyer,

Thank you for your letter of October 4th and for the interest and concern which you and your co-signatories express in the functioning of democracy and free expression in Turkey. I want to assure you that I am every bit as much attached to these principles as you are.

Throughout this summer, my government has been working hard at ensuring that Turkey's Constitution and its legal system become more explicitly libertarian and that individual rights are safeguarded. This is not an easy task because a great many laws introduced by the military government of Turkey in the early 1980s will have to be either replaced or amended. My government does not at present have a sufficiently large majority to be able to approve constitutional amendments by itself. We have to get the approval of opposition parties and this inevitably takes time. However we are making progress. An independent commission, made up of journalists, lawyers, and university teachers, is currently drafting amendments to laws affecting freedom of expression. Once these draft amendments are completed, we hope to present them to the Grand National Assembly as soon as possible for its approval.

I would respectfully point out that your letter is very wide of the mark when it claims that there is a 'Kurdish crisis' and that Turkey's ethnic Kurdish citizens are denied a voice in the political process. There are people in all walks of life in Turkey, including my Cabinet, who have an ethnic Kurdish background. There have always been Turkish Kurdish politicians, diplomats, businessmen, and academics. There is no distinction between people of different ethnic backgrounds in our country and certainly no political discrimination. There is no 'Kurdish crisis' in Turkey. One only exists in the minds of certain separatist groups and their international sympathizers, who with very limited popular support inside Turkey, are trying to detach a portion of our country from the rest of it.

You refer to the six former deputies in the Grand National Assembly who are facing trial. This is essentially a legal and judicial matter, not a political one. The charges against them center on their alleged involvement and direct connections with an outlawed terrorist movement. The courts are strictly independent of the executive in Turkey and I cannot comment on the proceedings, beyond saying that freedom of speech is not an issue in this trial. Terrorism is the issue.

My Government has taken two steps in the political arena which are intended to show very clearly that we do not want issues of freedom of expression and democratic rights to be in any way linked with this trial.

A special law on by-elections has been enacted which allows the six former deputies and seven of their colleagues now outside the country to run on 4 December. The decision on whether or not they stand as candidates is of course entirely their own. If however they are re-elected, they would regain their parliamentary immunity from prosecution and all judicial proceedings against them will be frozen.

The law also allows HADEP - the successor of the DEP - to stand in the by-elections. Public opinion is now watching to see whether it will take this chance to test its popularity. You will no doubt recall that neither DEP, nor its predecessor HEP, has ever contested elections by itself. In the 1991 general elections, the HEP - including the deputies now facing legal proceedings, ran on a joint ticket with the Social Democracy Populist Party. They refused to participate in Turkey's local elections on March 27 this year. This background should be born in mind when it is claimed that the DEP former deputies represent a large segment of opinion.

I naturally fully share your aspirations for an end to violence and brutality. As someone who has seen at first hand the victims of terrorism, this is a matter which I feel very strongly about. The Government of Turkey puts the welfare and liberty of all its people first. We are confronted however by a terrorist movement that regularly murders non-combatants including teachers, health workers, and men of religion, as well as women and children. Its brutal revolutionary aims are self-evident. When there were uncompromising terrorist movements in your country, such as the Weathermen, no fair-minded person recommended a policy of conciliation and dialogue with them. I believe that on this issue our country is faced by a problem in which the only way forward is determined opposition to terrorism.

Sincerely,



TANSU ÇILLER
Prime Minister of Turkey

Revue de Presse

Institut Kurde de Paris
IKP
Bulletin de liaison et d'information

Klaus Kinkel raises human rights issue with Soysal

Turkish FM rejects offer to send CSCE monitors to Southeast

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

NEW YORK- German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel met Turkish Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal at the U.N. Plaza Hotel in New York and expressed his continuing concern over human rights violations in Turkey. Germany has, in the past, slapped an arms embargo on Turkey on the grounds that weapons were being used by Turkey in the Southeast against Kurdish civilians. The embargo was later lifted.

During his meeting with Soysal, Kinkel said Germany hoped Turkey would complete its customs union with the EU during Germany's current term presidency. Soysal said Turkey was determined to realize the customs union by the end of 1995. In a press conference after the meeting, Kinkel said his 70-minute talk with the Turkish foreign minister had covered many bilateral issues, including language problems, the Kurds, human rights, fundamentalism, church issues, and economic problems. Kinkel said he found Soysal to be "open-minded" and was aware of the Turkish foreign minister's sensitivity about human rights issues due to the latter's previous work for Amnesty International. "We discussed all these things in a friendly spirit," he said.



Klaus Kinkel

Kinkel said Germany recognized the seriousness of the terrorism problem facing Turkey. "We condemned and banned the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) in Germany" he said. But he added that "Turkey has to maintain a constitutional state." One cannot pretend that Turkey has no problems just because one is aware of its special situation, he said. "These issues have to be raised and I raised them with Soysal fully and freely," Kinkel added.

As an example of human rights violations in Turkey, Kinkel mentioned "the acts of torture" performed at "some police stations in rural areas." Ambassador Bilgin Ünün, who was also present at the meeting, later told Turkish journalists that he could not recall Kinkel mentioning that example during his face-to-face talk with Soysal.

Soysal and Çiller reject CSCE monitors

Kinkel said he also raised the issue of the monitors that the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) had offered to send to Turkey (to monitor human rights violations in the Southeast).

"Turkey is well-advised to allow these observers into the country.

But Soysal refused," he said. "When I previously offered the same thing to Prime Minister Çiller she said she would look into it but she also refused later. I won't go into the details of how and why that happened now," Kinkel said.

Church issues?

When, following the press conference, TDN invited Kinkel to explain what he meant by the term "church issues," Kinkel refused to elaborate. "No, I won't answer that question," he said.

Attacks on Turks

When Soysal brought up the issue of attacks on Turks living in Germany, Kinkel took the opportunity to express again his regret that such neo-Nazi attacks had taken place.

"We are ashamed of such attacks and are fighting to prevent them," he said.

Freedom of expression protestors in Ankara

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Freedom of expression protestors who set out from Istanbul on Thursday were met on their arrival at the outskirts of Ankara on Friday by a greeting committee representing various organizations, including Çankaya Mayor Doğan Taşdelen and Social Democratic People's Party Ankara Deputy Salman Kaya. A large number of ordinary citizens were also on hand to greet the protestors.

The protestors marched for a symbolic

500 meters carrying placards calling for freedom of expression in Turkey and later went to Parliament accompanied by a large police presence.

The author Aziz Nesin, whose views on Islam and various aspects of Turks and Turkish society have created great controversy in Turkey, was present at the steps of Parliament to greet the Freedom of Expression Committee comprising famous writers, well-known politicians and human rights activists.

After being searched by the police, members of the committee were allowed into Parliament, where they were received by Deputy Speaker Kamer Genç, who accepted their petition.

Members of the committee later received permission from the Ministry of Justice to visit Haymana prison where Assistant Professors İsmail Beşikçi, Haluk Gerger and Fikret Başkaya are being held for views they have expressed on various issues.

DYP insists on limited freedom of expression

DYP, SHP split on freedom of expression endangers coalition

By Kemal Balci

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- While the junior coalition partner Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) insists on the amendment of the Antiterrorism Law that restricts freedom of expression, the senior coalition partner True Path Party (DYP) will reportedly maintain its stance defending limits on freedom of expression. The main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) shares the DYP view.

The issue of making changes in the legislation to remove barriers restricting freedom of expression — which is a bargaining chip between the coalition partners used on the privatization issue — has apparently not yielded concrete results yet.

SHP's condition that it will sign the privatization draft bill only if necessary changes are made in the Antiterrorism Law has created the risk of governmental dissolution. SHP Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın is reportedly preparing to resign from the government if proposed amendments such as elimination of thought crimes and abolition of the law concerning security clearance are not carried out before the Dec. 4 by-elections.

On the other hand, the DYP allegedly will reconsider its position in the govern-

ment if the SHP ministers of the Cabinet fail to sign the privatization bill.

The special commission the DYP has set up within its parliamentary group has already taken a stance against the SHP's proposed changes in the Antiterrorism Law.

Yaşar Topçu's views

Sinop Deputy Yaşar Topçu, head of the parliamentary commission affiliated with the DYP group, told the Turkish Daily News that freedom of expression cannot be limitless. Topçu noted that international law accepted certain limitations on freedom of expression, when the concept of near danger was in question. He pointed out that today the concept of near danger for Turkey mainly concerned any threat against its indivisible integrity. He stressed that no country can make a concession in that regard.

Topçu added that other restrictions which should be imposed on freedom of expression include the acts of spreading racist propaganda and defamation of character.

"Amending Article 8 of the Antiterrorism Law regarding the actions against secularism and not eliminating the crimes that create danger in terms of separatism is not an approach which we can accept," Topçu said.

Topçu listed the subject areas where his party planned to impose restrictions or keep those which already exist in certain legislations are as follows: separatism, terrorism, racism and defamation of character. He stressed that his party would not allow freedom of expression for persons who provoke those subjects and those who create danger for a state.

Sungurlu shares same views

ANAP Parliamentary Group Deputy Chairman Oltan Sungurlu, one of the designers of the Antiterrorism Law, told the TDN that he was for the restriction of free-

dom of expression by means of the concept of "provocative close danger." Sungurlu said when the Antiterrorism Law was prepared, the issue had been discussed at the National Security Council (MGK) and that the ANAP's proposed amendments then had been altered by the MGK. Because there had been issues on which he and his colleagues could not agree at the MGK meeting, Sungurlu said they had removed the law that banned speaking in a mother tongue by means of a separate law.

He added, "We have deliberately not put the definition of terrorism in the law in order to include any type of terrorism in the future which may not suit its legally worded definition. Since the law does not contain a definition of terrorism, when different types of terrorism arise in the future, there will be no need to change the law. We have left the discretion in this respect to judges. In our opinion, displaying opposition to a state's indivisibility is a crime. There are some people who argue that it should not be considered a crime. If the DYP group defends that it is not a crime, then it should bring the law to Parliament and alter it. What we want punished is the act of spreading propaganda in this respect.

"Regarding expression of thought, no matter whether it contains violence or not, some restrictions are always imposed. This is done all over the world. The act of insult (defamation of character) does not contain violence or force but it is considered a crime throughout the world. It cannot be viewed as a freedom of expression.

"In my opinion, under Turkey's current circumstances, separatism is a provocative close danger. However I do not see expressing antisecular views as close danger. Those who defend that spreading propaganda should be free apply different standards on those who live according to their beliefs," he said.

Saturday, October 1, 1994

turkish daily news

European Parliament decision scorned by President Demirel, deputies

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel as well as Turkish deputies have reacted strongly to the decision of the European Parliament to suspend all contacts with the Turkish Parliament to protest the trial of pro-Kurdish deputies whose parliamentary immunity has been lifted and whose Democracy Party (DEP) has been closed by the constitutional court.

"It is impossible to carry out what the European Parliament requests from Turkey," Demirel told a press conference Friday when referring to the European Parliament's call for the release of the

deputies in question and the reopening of the Democracy Party (DEP).

Calling the "pressures and accusations" against Turkey "unfair," the president said: "We are familiar with these. Nor do we intend to exaggerate their importance.

"There is nothing in the Turkish system that should be questioned," Demirel said.

Turkish deputies also showered scorn on Thursday's decision by the European Parliament to suspend all ties with the Turkish Parliament.

Turkish members of the Turkey-EU Joint

Parliamentary Commission (JPC) reacting to news of the suspension termed this decision "unjust, extreme, deliberate, and "lacking in seriousness."

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the European Parliament had, earlier in the year, decided to call for a suspension of all relations with the Turkish legislature while uncertainty remained about the fate of the pro-Kurdish deputies. The Foreign Affairs Committees call was endorsed by an overwhelming majority of Euro-deputies on Thursday with 254 deputies out of a total of 258 voting to suspend ties with the Turkish Parliament.

The decision effectively suspends the meetings of the JPC, thus preventing an important contact point between the Turkish and European legislatures.

The European Parliament also criticized Turkey for what it claimed were its obstructions to humanitarian aid to northern Iraq.

The Parliament also recommended that the proposed customs union between Turkey and the EU be suspended as long as the trial of the pro-Kurdish deputies continued.

The decision is the harshest ruling against Turkey by the European Parliament since its decision in 1980 to suspend ties with the Turkish Parliament following the Sept. 12 military coup that year.

Turkish JPC member Engin Güner,

Motherland Party (ANAP) deputy for Istanbul, commenting on this development said on Friday that the decision of the European Parliament was not a surprise for them.

Indicating that it was a negative development in terms of Turkey's overall relations with Europe, Güner said the European Parliament's decision had been taken by an organization in which Turkey was not represented and characterized this decision as "unfair."

"It is noteworthy that this decision was taken just prior to the implementation of the customs union with the EU in 1995. This brings forth the question of whether the decision was ill intentioned. We must also see an attempt to prevent the customs union with this decision," Güner said.

He added that Turkey was also faced with some difficulties in the Council of Europe, but that it managed to explain its position there by means of dialogue.

Acknowledging that there were articles in the constitution, such as Article 84, which they had difficulty in explaining in the Council of Europe, Güner added that Turkey was in the process of trying to change these for itself and not because Europe wanted these changes.

"We would prefer Turkey's territorial

integrity to membership in the European Union or the Council of Europe. It is not possible for us to concede on terrorism," Güner said defiantly, reflecting a widespread belief among Turks that Western interest in the Kurdish issue is merely motivated by a desire to split up Turkey.

Sait Kemal Mimaroglu, True Path Party (DYP) deputy for Ankara and another member of the JPC, for his part said that the European Parliament's decision represented interference in Turkey's internal affairs.

Mimaroglu, a joint chairman of the JPC, repeated the view that the decision to suspend ties with the Turkish Parliament was taken unilaterally in an organ where Turkey was not represented.

Mimaroglu argued that the European Parliament's decision was out of keeping with international law.

"We know that there are undemocratic articles in the Constitution left over from the time of the military coup.

The Turkish Parliament is determined to change these... We want a fully established democracy except that just as in all parliaments there are divisions on this score in our Parliament."

Mimaroglu, like Güner, cited Article 84 as an undemocratic article.

~~A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —~~

FRA0308 4 GI 0289 FRA /AFP-AP08

France-Allemagne-Kurdes

Le Pont de l'Europe toujours bloqué par des manifestants kurdes

STRASBOURG, 2 oct (AFP) - Le Pont de l'Europe, qui enjambe le Rhin à la hauteur de Strasbourg, était toujours bloqué, dimanche, en début de soirée, en raison de deux manifestations de Kurdes, l'une en France et l'autre du côté allemand, a constaté l'AFP sur place.

Côté allemand, quelque deux cents femmes et enfants exigent de pouvoir se rendre à Strasbourg pour y achever une marche commencée, lundi dernier, à Mannheim (Allemagne), manifestation cependant interdite par les autorités allemandes.

Ces personnes, de nationalité turques pour la plupart, doivent toutefois être munies de visa pour se rendre en France. Le gouvernement français a fait savoir qu'il n'autoriserait l'entrée dans Strasbourg qu'à une délégation limitée qui devrait être reçue, lundi matin, par le Conseil de l'Europe.

Sur l'accès français du Pont l'Europe, environ 150 kurdes manifestaient encore, dimanche, en début de soirée, pour protester contre le refus des autorités françaises de laisser entrer leurs compatriotes bloqués de l'autre côté du Rhin. Les négociations entre les responsables français et allemands se poursuivaient en fin d'après midi. La circulation dans les deux sens était totalement interrompue depuis 14 heures et les véhicules étaient détournés vers un pont situé à 14 km en aval de Strasbourg.

La marche initialement prévue entre Mannheim et Strasbourg visait à dénoncer l'oppression du peuple kurde par le pouvoir turc. Cette marche avait été interdite mais avait occasionné de violents affrontements qui s'étaient soldés, lundi et mardi derniers, par de nombreux blessés et quelques 200 arrestations à Mannheim.

lh/mst

AFP /JO0245/021922

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

FRA0191 4 I 0154 TUR /AFP-TT51

Turquie-Kurdes

22 rebelles kurdes et huit soldats turcs tués dans le sud-est

ANKARA, 1er oct (AFP) - 22 maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et huit soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires et de combats dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens à majorité kurde, a-t-on annoncé samedi de source officielle turque.

Les opérations et les combats se sont déroulés dans les régions de Hakkari (frontière avec l'Irak et l'Iran), Sirnak (frontière avec la Syrie et l'Irak), Siirt, Batman (sud-est) et de Tunceli (est), indique un communiqué officiel qui ne précise pas leurs dates.

Le chef de l'Etat turc Suleyman Demirel avait déclaré vendredi à Ankara que 12.661 personnes --civils, membres de forces de sécurité turque et rebelles kurdes-- avaient trouvé la mort depuis que le PKK a déclenché une rébellion contre le gouvernement central d'Ankara en août 1984.

CE/mo/mmr

AFP /JO0245/011506

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

Les députés kurdes emprisonnés autorisés à participer aux élections partielles

ANKARA, 1er oct (AFP) - Les députés turcs d'origine kurde membres ou anciens membres du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP, dissous), actuellement emprisonnés et jugés pour "séparatisme", seront autorisés à se présenter aux élections partielles du 4 décembre prochain, a annoncé le ministère turc des affaires étrangères dans un communiqué.

Une modification en ce sens de la loi électorale a été approuvée jeudi par la commission des affaires constitutionnelles de l'assemblée nationale turque, à l'initiative du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP) du Premier ministre, Mme Tansu Ciller, précise le communiqué. Elle sera présentée à l'Assemblée dans son ensemble pour approbation définitive.

Cette décision permet donc à sept députés kurdes emprisonnés et à six autres en exil à l'étranger de se représenter dans leur circonscription du sud-est anatolien. En cas de réélection, les 13 députés récupéreront immédiatement leur immunité parlementaire et toutes charges pesant sur eux seraient gelées, ajoute le texte.

HC/pb/br

ATTENTION EMBARGO

AFP /JO0245/011123

OCT 94

KURDISTAN

Tôt ou tard, l'indépendance

On peut risquer un pari : l'État oriental, quel qu'il soit -Iran, Irak, Syrie, Turquie-, auquel il apparaîtrait possible d'oser l'alliance kurde jouerait, pour l'avenir, gagnant à coup sûr.

Il est inconcevable, en effet, qu'un peuple de plusieurs dizaines de millions d'âmes, situé aux proches confins de l'Europe et de l'Orient et, de par une exception unique à notre époque, encore colonisé, n'acquière pas à bref délai son indépendance.

Les nécessités de la guerre froide, durant trois quarts de siècle, ont dissuadé les puissances occidentales de favoriser en l'occurrence le droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes -un droit auquel, cependant, elles avaient sacrifié quelques-uns de leurs intérêts mondiaux.

Mais les conditions géopolitiques ont évolué. Les États occidentaux n'ont plus besoin de rechercher en Orient, comme naguère, des garanties contre une ambition moscovite de longue portée. La couverture anti-soviétique de l'antique Pacte de Saadabad, édifié dans les années 30 entre l'Iran, l'Irak et la Turquie, n'a plus de raison d'être.

En revanche, le souci majeur des droits de l'homme pousse désormais ses prolongements dans le domaine politique. Toute oppression d'une minorité constitue un scandale de plus en plus durement ressenti ; et ce, à plus forte raison, lorsqu'il s'agit non d'un groupuscule humain, mais d'une masse considérable.

Notre siècle, que l'on dit être celui de l'affirmation des libertés et de la reconnaissance du droit des peuples à disposer d'eux-mêmes, ne pourra réellement mériter ces titres que lorsqu'il aura été permis au peuple kurde, encore assujéti aux lisières de l'Occident, de se prévaloir enfin de ces mêmes principes d'équité.

Pierre Rondot

turkish daily news

Saturday, October 1, 1994

PKK militants kill son, nephew of Silvan mayor

Security force operations to begin in the Zara and Kangal districts of Sivas

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In an armed attack by the outlawed "Kurdistan Workers Party" (PKK), the son and the nephew of Kemal Geçmez, the mayor of Silvan in Diyarbakır, were killed on Thursday.

Kemal Geçmez survived the assault. Local sources alleged that the Welfare Party (RP) mayor was a member of the illegal fundamentalist organization "Hezbollah" and that was why he won in the March 27 local elections.

The sources indicated that the PKK attacked his house for the same reason. During the armed attack, Ali Rıza Geçmez and Esref Geçmez, son and nephew of the mayor, were killed. Esref Geçmez was the general manager of the state-run "Ziraat Bank" in the district of Kulp.

In another incident in Diyarbakır, the provincial accountant of the Kurdish-based "People's Democracy Party" (HADEP), Hamza Akalan, reportedly was thrown by police from the balcony of his house in the Yenişehir district.

Akalan reportedly suffered a spinal injury and risks being paralyzed. Sources also claimed that the daughter of Akalan, İlknur Akalan, a high-school student was taken into custody

by the officers.

Meanwhile, security forces are said to be planning an operation against the PKK that will be concentrated around Sivas' Zara and Kangal districts where the PKK has increased its attacks recently. The separatist organization is reported to have 600 militants in the Sivas region at present.

A 2,000-man force is said to have been stationed in the region to eliminate militants located around "Yılan" mountain.

On Friday it was reported that 18 people in Mardin's Tepekoyu village in the district of Midyat were kidnapped by PKK militants.

During rescue attempts by village guards, clashes broke out between the guards and the militants. Sixteen of the kidnapped were later released by the separatists.

Additional forces from the 3rd and 8th Army Corps have been transferred to the Tunceli region, where clashes have been reported for the past two weeks.

The operations, which have been identified as the largest against the PKK, are continuing in the Munzur mountains and nearby regions.

EUROPE

Femmes kurdes: la réponse politique du Conseil de l'Europe

●● Deux mondes se sont croisés hier sur le parvis du Palais de l'Europe. Celui des femmes kurdes venues manifester après leur longue marche de Mannheim à Strasbourg, via Kehl. Et celui des institutions européennes. Mais deux mondes qui ne se sont pas rencontrés.

Certes, une déléguée de l'Europe envoyée des observateurs kurde a été reçue au Conseil de l'Europe et sa parole-parole a rappelé les multiples résolutions prises par l'Assemblée parlementaire en faveur du respect des droits de l'homme et des minorités, en soulignant au passage que toutes ces résolutions ne restent pas seulement sur le papier, mais que le Conseil de l'Europe agisse pour les faire appliquer».

L'admission d'Andorre

D'une part, elle recommandait de «la vigilance» sur la situation en Turquie en avertissant clairement («si des changements ne se produisaient pas en Turquie, cela mettrait sérieusement en question son



Une femme kurde hier à Strasbourg: le symbole d'un réel malaise. (Photo DNA Christian Lutz-Sorg)

appartenance même au Conseil de l'Europe»). Mais d'autre part, elle insiste sur les spécificités de l'Etat turc confronté à un terrorisme lan-

cé au nom de mouvements kurdes, tout en présentant une conclusion résumée sous forme de vœu pieu: «il faut avoir confiance».

Face à ce délicat problème, il était plus facile pour l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe de montrer une inébranlable unité sur un autre point: l'admission de la principauté d'Andorre comme 33ème Etat membre...

J.C.L.K.

Une délégation à Ankara

Une délégation de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe conduite par son président, Miguel Angel Martínez, a entamé hier à Ankara des entretiens avec les dirigeants turcs et les chefs de principaux partis centrés sur

le procès en cours de huit députés kurdes pour «séparatisme».

Les députés de l'assemblée strasbourgeoise devraient examiner leur «préoccupation» à propos du procès de leurs collègues kurdes en jugement de-

vant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara.

Ces élus kurdes, accusés d'être «l'aile politique» du mouvement séparatiste kurde, le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, clandestin), au sein du parlement turc risquent la peine de mort.

Leur procès doit reprendre le 7 septembre avec le début des plaidoiries de la défense.

En juin dernier, l'Assemblée parlementaire avait demandé leur libération et le retrait des accusations qui pèsent sur eux. Elle avait «souhaité» éga-

lement une modification, «le plus rapidement possible», des articles de la Constitution turque ayant permis la dissolution du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP) le 16 juin, auquel appartenaient sept de ces huit députés.

Des manifestants au Palais

●●● *Après avoir bloqué le pont de l'Europe, une délégation représentant les femmes kurdes de Turquie a été reçue par un fonctionnaire du conseil de l'Europe. Cent vingt manifestantes ont patienté devant le palais.*

Kehl, 12h. Un couloir de policiers allemands. Tenue kaki, casque et matraque. Cent vingt-six femmes kurdes, en possession de leur passeport, ont emprunté hier ces deux cents mètres de chemin soigneusement balisés pour rejoindre les deux cars, qui devaient les conduire au palais de l'Europe. Une fois leur passeport contrôlé par la police allemande et tamponnée par

liciers allemands et, à proximité, deux autres unités en renfort.

Parties de Mannheim le 26 septembre —où la manifestation avait dégénéré— pour une semaine de protestation contre la politique du gouvernement d'Ankara, ces 220 manifestantes projetaient de re-

joindre Strasbourg à pied. Arrêtées à Kehl, les manifestantes avaient bloqué pendant près de 24 heures la circulation sur le pont de l'Europe. «Je suis venu jusqu'ici à pied, pour une marche de la liberté, afin que l'Europe s'occupe du Kurdistan», expliquait l'une d'entre elle.

Hier, vers 12h30, les deux cars arrivés devant le palais de

l'Europe, six membres de la délégation kurdes ont été reçus par Léonard Davies, directeur adjoint des affaires politiques et chef des relations extérieures du conseil de l'Europe. En attendant à l'extérieur, les manifestants sortaient drapeaux et banderoles Rouges.

«Allez-y...»

A la sortie de la réunion, qui aura duré près d'une heure trente, la porte parole de la délégation énumérait les revendications: la suspension de la Turquie du conseil de l'Europe et l'application des résolutions de l'Assemblée parlementaire en faveur du respect des droits de l'homme. Avant d'accuser «la France et l'Allema-

gne d'être les complices de l'Etat turc en tentant d'interdire ces manifestations.»

Un peu plus tard dans l'après-midi, les membres de cette même délégation étaient reçus par des représentants des groupes politiques socialistes, européen démocrate et libéral démocrate-réformateur de l'Assemblée parlementaire, ainsi que par des membres des commissions des affaires politiques, juridiques et des relations avec les pays non-membres. Pendant ce temps, les 120 manifestantes qui étaient restées à l'extérieur rejoignaient Kehl, où la manifestation devait prendre fin dans la soirée.

Pascal Mazoué
(1) P. K. K. Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan.

KURDI



la feroce repressione turca

Laura Schrader

Il processo a sei parlamentari kurdi del Partito della Democrazia (Dep) per reati di opinione, iniziato il 3 agosto e ripreso il 7 settembre ad Ankara è il segnale più clamoroso del fallimento della politica turca. Una politica che si ostina a considerare la guerra come soluzione per la questione dei diritti democratici, negati al popolo kurdo (15 milioni, un quarto della popolazione del paese). Dopo tre colpi di stato militari in 20 anni, l'ultimo nell'80, la Turchia non riesce a percorrere la via democratica. Sui suoi governi, continuano a pesare il potere della casta militare e le norme antidemocratiche della costituzione, varata dai golpisti nell'82. Nel processo ai deputati del Dep, preceduto dallo scioglimento d'imperio del partito, nel giugno scorso, sono violati principi

fondamentali, quali libertà di associazione, libertà di opinione, libertà personale (arresti e detenzione sono avvenuti con modalità arbitrarie), nonché il diritto alla rappresentanza politica di milioni di cittadini. Mahmut Alinak, Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan, Sirri Sakik, Ahmet Turk, Leyla Zana sono accusati di separatismo ai sensi dell'art. 125 del codice penale, che prevede la pena di morte. I capi d'accusa elencano comizi, interviste, interventi parlamentari, in cui i sei deputati eletti in Kurdistan chiedevano per i loro elettori il rispetto dei diritti umani e il riconoscimento dei diritti culturali, nonché un appello alla pace, contro la guerra che da dieci anni insanguina il Kurdistan. Scendendo nel dettaglio, Leyla Zana, per esempio, è imputata di aver detto «sono kurda e di aver pronunciato in par-

ROCCA 1 OTTOBRE 1984

KURDI

lamento qualche frase «in una lingua incomprensibile che ella definisce kurda». Il che, come si legge nell'atto d'accusa, è contrario all'art. 3 della Costituzione: «La lingua dello stato è il turco». Il procuratore generale scrive inoltre che «l'elemento costitutivo dello stato è la nazione turca. La protezione dello stato turco si identifica nella protezione del nazionalismo kemalista nel quadro dell'idea di stato unitario». Il nazionalismo kemalista è il fondamento della repubblica turca, nata 70 anni fa, e si basa sul valore assoluto della «turchità». Il massacro di un milione e mezzo di armeni, le stragi e l'espulsione dei greci, il genocidio del popolo kurdo tra gli anni venti e i quaranta, il governo di legge marziale o di «stato di emergenza» nelle province kurde, che si trovano così nella situazione di una colonia occupata da ingenti forze militari, sono tutte espressioni dell'esasperato nazionalismo kemalista.

La ferocia della repressione, la distruzione del territorio, dove si concentrano basi militari della Turchia e della Nato, la miseria della popolazione kurda, priva di lavoro e abbandonata a se stessa in una terra che per decenni non ha avuto né scuole né ospedali, ha fatto nascere e crescere il Partito dei lavoratori del Kurdistan (Pkk), di cui è segretario Abdullah Ocalan, e che dall'84 guida la guerra di liberazione nazionale. Dal 1988 Ocalan cerca il dialogo con il governo, per una soluzione pacifica e democratica della questione dei diritti del popolo kurdo. Propone una modifica della costituzione in senso federale, che tenga conto della identità kurda. «Non ho mai imbracciato un'arma, non ho mai sparato un colpo — ha detto Ocalan — ma se mi dicono 'tu non esisti', allora devo difendermi». Nella primavera del '93, il Pkk, sempre alla ricerca di un dialogo, è arrivato a mantenere una lunga tregua unilaterale, ma inutilmente.

una guerra internazionalizzata

Con la guerra continua contro il nemico interno, la casta militare legittima il proprio superpotere e difende grandi interessi economici. L'attuale Premier, Tansu Ciller, che si è più volte vantata di essere gradita ai vertici militari, ha imboccato la strada della guerra a oltranza e, secondo i suoi estimatori, «vale 30 generali». Ma — scrive il quotidiano Turkish Daily News — «è responsabile del collasso dell'economia e di una politica che mina la credibilità e la rispettabilità della Turchia all'estero». Infatti, Onu, Consiglio d'Europa, Csce e il Parlamento europeo continuano a richia-

mare il governo turco al rispetto dei diritti umani e ad una soluzione politica della questione kurda, fino a minacciarne l'espulsione dal Consiglio d'Europa. Dal punto di vista economico, nonostante i cospicui finanziamenti ricevuti dagli Stati Uniti per l'aiuto fornito nella vicenda del Golfo, la guerra ha precipitato il paese in una crisi gravissima. Per far fronte alle spese militari, qualche mese fa sono stati bloccati salari e stipendi dopo un brusco rialzo dei prezzi, provocando un'ondata di violente proteste dei lavoratori e sono state varate tasse speciali per un fondo di guerra. Nelle elezioni amministrative del 27 marzo scorso, la rabbia popolare si è espressa con il voto al partito islamico Rafah e sindaci islamici sono stati eletti in 23 grandi città, perfino a Istanbul, perfino ad Ankara.

La Turchia con la fine dell'Urss ha visto volatilizzarsi il proprio ruolo di baluardo anti-sovietico sul fronte sud-orientale della Nato. Ha cercato di riaccreditarsi presso gli alleati americani e europei sia come difesa contro la «nuova minaccia russa» sia come possibile egemone delle ex repubbliche sovietiche asiatiche, in prevalenza musulmane, contro l'influenza dell'integralismo iraniano. Ma gli alleati occidentali non credono alla «nuova minaccia russa» e per quanto Sulaiman Demirel, quando era primo ministro nel '93 affermasse «c'è un mondo turco che va dall'Adriatico alla Grande Muraglia» le repubbliche asiatiche hanno preferito mantenere buoni rapporti anche con la Russia. A questi smacchi in politica estera, si aggiunge la pericolosa velleità di attribuire i successi del Pkk a congiure di altri paesi. L'Armenia sarebbe la principale responsabile della rivoluzione in Kurdistan, ma vengono tirate in ballo, di volta in volta, anche Siria, Georgia, Iran, Russia, Grecia... Pressata dalla crisi economica, la Turchia ha tentato, senza successo, di ottenere la riapertura del oleodotto iracheno che sfocia sul suolo anatolico e ha cambiato politica nei confronti dell'Irak, chiedendo la fine dell'embargo. La guerra del Kurdistan si è già internazionalizzata, non solo per le accuse rivolte ai paesi confinanti o vicini, ma per i frequenti attacchi della Turchia in territorio kurdo-iracheno e i bombardamenti oltre il confine iraniano, dove (è sempre Kurdistan) possono trovarsi basi del Pkk. Soltanto la via del dialogo, della pace e della democrazia sostenuta dai deputati del Dep, che per questo rischia la pena di morte, può arginare una situazione tragica per il popolo kurdo, funesta per la Turchia, e potenzialmente molto esplosiva.

Laura Schrader

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P.

FRA0449 4 I 0398 EXT /AFP-GE25

Europe-Turquie-Kurdes

L'Assemblée du Conseil de l'Europe recommande la "vigilance" envers la Turquie

STRASBOURG, 3 oct (AFP) - Le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe Miguel Angel Martinez, rendant compte d'une visite qu'il a effectuée en août dernier en Turquie à la tête d'une délégation du Bureau de l'Assemblée, a recommandé lundi "la vigilance" concernant le respect des droits de l'homme en Turquie et le traitement de la question kurde.

La délégation a été informée que des "initiatives" vont être engagées pour réformer la constitution et la législation turques, pour "améliorer la pratique quotidienne des droits de l'homme, et plus particulièrement en ce qui concerne la torture" et pour garantir le droit à la liberté d'opinion, selon un rapport d'information présenté par M. Martinez (Espagne, socialiste) lors de la session d'automne de l'Assemblée parlementaire.

"Il faut avoir confiance, tout en restant extrêmement vigilants", a insisté M. Martinez. "Si des changements ne se produisent pas en Turquie, cela mettrait sérieusement en question (...) son appartenance même au Conseil de l'Europe", avertit le rapport du président de l'Assemblée.

Si, lors du débat, les cinq orateurs turcs ont exprimé leur satisfaction à M. Martinez, ce rapport a essuyé les critiques de plusieurs parlementaires.

Pour M. Ole Espersen (Danemark, social-démocrate), l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe est "trop patiente". "La Turquie nous fait des promesses depuis 10 ans: nous avons été trompés", a-t-il dénoncé. "Les engagements pris (à l'occasion de la visite de la délégation du Bureau de l'Assemblée) concernent des dispositions que la Turquie aurait dû mettre en oeuvre depuis longtemps", a estimé M. Espersen.

De son côté, lord Kirkhill (Royaume Uni, travailliste) a regretté que "la situation des députés d'origine kurde emprisonnés soit noyée dans le rapport" présenté par M. Martinez. "Ils sont toujours en prison, leur procès a repris le 7 septembre et ce genre de procès en Turquie peut durer plusieurs années", a-t-il déploré.

L'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe a exigé par deux fois la libération de ces députés --qui encourent la peine de mort aux termes de la loi turque--, le retrait des accusations portées contre eux et leur réintégration au sein de la Grande Assemblée nationale turque.

dro/mb/bw

AFP /J00245/031849

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P.

Saddam Hussein sends textbooks to rebel Kurds

Reuters

BAGHDAD - President Saddam Hussein has provided textbooks and stationery to Kurds in northern Iraq for the first time since he broke ties with them almost three years ago, a United Nations source said on Sunday.

"We have started transporting about two million textbooks to Kurdish students in the north," an official of the U.N. Children's Fund (UNICEF) in Baghdad said.

"The Iraqi government finally agreed to our request to ferry the materials to the Kurds with the start of schools this year," the source added. Baghdad severed ties with the Kurds following the collapse of talks on autonomy for the area in 1991. Since then they have

been running their own affairs, protected from Baghdad by Western air support, operation Provide Comfort, which is stationed in Turkey.

The government newspaper al-Jumhuriya said the books and other school requirements cost the Iraqi government more than 150 million U.S. dollars.

The paper said the books were being sent despite severe shortages in paper and stationery caused by the continuing U.N. trade sanctions imposed to punish Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990.

UNICEF said the books would cover needs of about 600,000 Kurdish students in the provinces of Irbil, Sulaimaniya and Dahouk.

turkish daily news

Monday, October 3, 1994

COURRIER

Saddam Hussein, le retour

La presse française multiplie des articles paraissant tendre à une réhabilitation du régime de Saddam Hussein. Il s'agit, semble-t-il, d'en refaire un partenaire économique fréquentable. Votre journal (*Libération* du 22 septembre 1994 : *Les États-Unis doivent changer face à l'Irak*) a choisi de donner la parole à Tarek Aziz,

porte-voix de Saddam Hussein, pour plaider la cause de la levée de l'embargo, présenté comme un bras de fer entre Washington et Saddam Hussein. Or, la vraie et seule victime de l'embargo est le peuple irakien, absent du débat faute de représentation reconnue. Il est significatif que nulle part dans l'article de Aziz ne figure la moindre référence à la souffrance du peuple dans la situation actuelle. L'idée qui sous-tend cette position est l'identification complète

entre l'Irak et le régime, une idée qui a malheureusement fondé la politique des principales puissances envers l'Irak. Bien qu'il nie avec prudence les contacts entre l'Irak et Israël, de tels contacts ont été cependant confirmés par des dirigeants israéliens. Selon Aziz, les États-Unis ont un double objectif : le changement des dirigeants irakiens et l'affaiblissement de l'Irak. Or, concernant le premier point, les États-Unis ont « *sauvé* » le

régime à deux reprises. La première lorsque le président Bush a ordonné de ne pas avancer vers Bagdad et de permettre la retraite à plusieurs divisions de la garde républicaine. La deuxième quand les Américains ont accordé à cette garde l'autorisation d'utiliser l'aviation pour réprimer, en mars 1991, le soulèvement populaire devant lequel le pouvoir baasiste s'était effondré dans 14 provinces sur 18. C'est d'ailleurs pour cette raison que la majorité des irakiens du

pays croit à une sorte d'« *alliance* » entre le régime et les dirigeants américains pour affaiblir l'Irak. Cet affaiblissement est réel, mais il est dû à la fois à l'embargo et à la politique aventureuse du régime. Aziz laisse entendre que le régime bénéficie d'un soutien populaire fort. Rien n'est plus loin de la réalité. Le fossé entre le régime et le peuple n'a cessé de se creuser depuis la répression de 1991. En témoignent, les exécutions qui frappent tous les secteurs de la

société, dont les officiers de l'armée et des cercles proches du pouvoir, les lois barbares nouvelles, les opérations militaires contre l'opposition et le blocus économique imposé au Kurdistan irakien. Aziz attribue les demandes croissantes d'une levée de l'embargo à la « *fermeté et à la détermination des dirigeants du régime* ». Les cercles du pouvoir ne sont nullement touchés par l'embargo. Bien au contraire, ils ont accumulé des fortunes

grâce à leur contrôle de l'économie. En fait, le ton employé par Aziz laisse penser que le régime se positionne pour récolter, outre les avantages financiers, les fruits politiques d'une levée de l'embargo. Bien que le régime irakien se soit conformé à la plupart des résolutions du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, il persiste à ignorer la résolution 688 qui exige le respect des droits de l'homme. **Samir Adel, économiste irakien**

Saddam, Weaker but Still Vicious, Deserves No UN Mercy

WASHINGTON — As the narrator intones two Koranic verses — “The thieves, cut off their hands for their ill gains and as punishment from God who is great and wise,” and, “There is life for you in punishment, O you who can reason, that you may follow the right path” — the camera focuses on a severed hand placed on a torn green jacket.

On June 4, the Iraqi regime introduced the Islamic punishment for theft, amputation of the right hand, while decreeing that repeat offenders should lose a foot. Three months later, the hand of a thief, along with the man himself, were shown on Iraqi television.

Saddam Hussein has launched a new reign of terror intended to shore up his weakening grip on power. Although Islamic law does have provisions for cutting off the hand of a thief and the head of a murderer, many punishments being meted out have nothing to do with Islam. They are simply cruel and bizarre.

The regime has decreed that dealing illegally in foreign currency and forging official documents are punishable by amputation of the hand. On Aug. 18, it announced that those whose hands are cut off should have an X tattooed between their eyes, although Islam forbids such mutilation. Saddam has personally signed all the amputation decrees.

But the decree that has had the broadest impact is the Aug. 25 announcement

since the 1991 post-Gulf War uprisings. Many army deserters and other opponents of the regime have headed north to Kurdish-controlled territory. This has become the staging area for an umbrella organization called the Iraqi National Congress, which orchestrates most of the internal opposition to Saddam.

Since early last month, the Iraqi National Congress has been receiving more than 100 Iraqis a week fleeing his control. Until recently, most were men who came to join the fight against Saddam, leaving their wives and children with relatives. Now army deserters predominate and those that have families try to bring them.

The regime is clearly teetering. The key is the UN sanctions, which are undermining Saddam's control. Yet several countries, especially France and Russia, are pressing the UN to lift the sanctions because they are eager to resume trade.

Lifting the sanctions would be foolish. Given Saddam's determination to hold on to as much of Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons program as possible, it will be impossible to control him once Baghdad is allowed to sell oil. Even the chief of the UN weapons inspection team, Rolf Ekeus, has publicly voiced his doubts about Iraq's intentions.

UN Resolution 687, which established the sanctions, was very much an American document, and reflects the flaws of U.S. policy at the end of the Gulf War. It links

the ban on exports solely to the destruction of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Thus Iraq could invade Kuwait again, but according to Resolution 687, that would not affect its ability to export oil. The resolution also reflects the Bush administration's indifference to what governments did to their own people. The sanctions are in no way connected to Saddam's persecution of his people.

Now that the Security Council is moving to establish tribunals to investigate human rights violations in Bosnia and Rwanda, why not investigate Iraq? In April 1991, as Baghdad crushed the post-war uprisings, the Security Council passed a resolution demanding that Iraq stop repressing its population. The European Community called for war crimes trials. But the Bush administration, hoping that those around Saddam would overthrow him, foolishly opposed the measure.

Rather than debating whether to lift sanctions, the Security Council should be addressing Baghdad's human rights violations, including the campaign to chop off body parts. Failure to do so will only give the appearance that the UN has different rules for countries without oil and those with lots of it.

The writer is a research associate with the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia. She contributed this comment to The New York Times.

Türkische Demonstranten blockiert

Französische Polizei hat am Samstag einem Demonstrationszug kurdischer Frauen bei Strassburg die Einreise verweigert. Die Frauen wollten vor dem Europarat auf die Lage der Kurden aufmerksam machen.

Kehl/Strassburg. AFP/DPA. Ein Protestmarsch von rund 250 kurdischen Frauen und Kindern ist am Samstag nachmittag an der deutsch-französischen Grenze bei Kehl gestoppt worden. Die französische Grenzpolizei liess die Frauen, die vor dem Europarat in Strassburg auf die Lage der Kurden in der Türkei aufmerksam machen wollten, nicht über die Grenze.

Bei Verhandlungen am Sonntag beantragten die Demonstrantinnen, man solle zumindest die etwa 150 Frauen, die einen Pass haben, nach Frankreich einreisen lassen. Die Stadt Kehl stellte den Frauen am Samstag Übernachtungsmöglichkeiten in einer Turnhalle zur Verfügung. Dort könnten die Frauen auch bis zum Montag bleiben, sagte ein Polizeisprecher.

Die Frauen, zu denen sich rund 300 kurdische Männer gesellt hatten, waren am Samstag auf der Europabrücke von der französischen Grenzpolizei zurückgewiesen worden. «Wir sind angewie-

sen, niemand ohne Visum hereinzulassen», sagte ein Grenzbeamter. Kurden, die die türkische Staatsangehörigkeit haben, brauchen für die Einreise nach Frankreich ein Visum. Die demonstrierenden Frauen drängten jedoch weiter auf eine Einreise und beriefen sich auf eine angebliche frühere mündliche Zusage der zuständigen Präfektur in Strassburg.

Ursprünglich hatten die Frauen am vergangenen Montag einen Protestmarsch von Mannheim nach Strassburg beginnen wollen. Dazu kam es aber nicht, nachdem die Mannheimer Polizei eine verbotene Demonstration von rund 300 kurdischen Frauen gewaltsam aufgelöst hatte. Rund 200 Frauen wurden dabei vorübergehend festgenommen.

Die Frauen wollten heute Montag zum Auftakt der Parlamentarischen Herbstsitzung des Europarats vor dem Strassburger «Europa-Palast» demonstrieren. Diese Kundgebung wurde aber von der Präfektur in Strassburg wegen

«möglicher Ausschreitungen» untersagt.

● Bei Kämpfen zwischen der türkischen Armee und Guerillas der Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans (PKK) sind am Wochenende nach offiziellen türkischen Angaben und laut Presseberichten etwa 50 Menschen getötet worden.

Der Chef der oppositionellen Demokratischen Linkspartei (DSP) in der Türkei, Bülent Ecevit, hat am Sonntag in Ankara zu einem Boykott der türkischen Nachwahlen am 4. Dezember aufgerufen. Auf einem Parteitag der DSP sagte Ecevit, die Nachwahlen zur Neubesetzung 22 vakanter von insgesamt 450 Sitzen in der Grossen Nationalversammlung seien «ein Täuschungsmanöver». Insbesondere in den mehrheitlich von Kurden bewohnten Bürgerkriegsgebieten im Osten und Südosten Anatoliens seien durch Massenflucht oder Vertreibung der Menschen alle existierenden Wählerlisten unbrauchbar.

AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse

FRA0149 4 I 0199 TUR /AFP-IY73

Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

800 réfugiés kurdes irakiens en grève de la faim

ANKARA, 4 oct (AFP) - Huit cents réfugiés kurdes irakiens du camp de Silopi, près du poste frontalier turco-irakien de Habur (sud-est) sont depuis six jours en grève de la faim pour protester contre l'arrêt de l'aide humanitaire que l'ONU effectuait depuis plus de trois ans, rapporte mardi l'agence turque Anatolie.

Plus de 400.000 Kurdes irakiens s'étaient réfugiés en Turquie après la guerre du Golfe (1991, à la suite de l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak). Quelque 60.000 avaient été installés dans des camps en Turquie alors que les autres étaient retournés chez eux dès le début de l'opération "Provide Comfort" d'aide et de protection de l'Irak du nord, en juillet 1991.

La quasi-totalité de ces 60.000 personnes étaient elles aussi retournées chez elles après la création "du gouvernement kurde irakien" dans le nord de l'Irak en mai 1992, alors que 1.000 seulement, en majorité des chrétiens, attendaient de partir à destination de pays occidentaux.

L'ONU a arrêté il y a une semaine l'aide humanitaire au camp de Silopi pour inciter ces derniers à retourner en Irak du nord, précise Anatolie.

YM/HC/jmc

AFP /JO0245/041047

OCT 94

Iraq takes hardline, Ankara decides to reassess policy

Turkey gives the green light for better relations with Iraqi Kurds

By Ilnur Çevik
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Turkish government is irked with Baghdad as Iraq takes a hardline position on the flushing of the oil inside the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline and shows signs that it is prepared to defy the West until the United Nations sanctions against this country is lifted.

The Turkish government has started to reassess Turkey's policy on Iraq with an emphasis on turning its back on Baghdad. Both government and intelligence sources say Iraq has abandoned its relatively moderate stand in recent months and has become progressively more hardline. According to government sources Saddam Hussein has once again started to weed out the more moderate elements in his administration and hardliners like first deputy Prime Minister Taha Yassin Ramadan and Saddam's son Uday have once again become more influential in the Baghdad administration.

Baghdad now says it is no longer merely interested in the flushing of the Turco-Iraqi pipeline but wants the lifting of all the sanctions against Iraq.

Observers say Iraq has been encouraged by recent contacts with the French and countries like China which may also support lifting of the sanctions on Baghdad.

However, the United States is strongly opposed to the lifting of the sanctions and recent contacts between Ankara and Washington at various diplomatic and ministerial levels may have convinced Ankara to do some

rethinking.

Turkish sources said the Western powers had shown all the flexibility on the pipeline issue they could possibly show and it was left for Iraq to give the green light. Yet, at first Iraq opposed the distribution of the revenues from the pipeline to the Iraqi Kurds and the Shiites in southern Iraq through international organizations. Baghdad at first seemed receptive to the Turkish idea to have the money distributed to the Iraqi Kurds but then flatly turned it down.

According to diplomatic sources Foreign Minister Mumtaz Soysal did not get too far with Iraq's Tariq Aziz in New York during their lengthy talks on the issue.

Sources said the Iraqis did not act sincerely and stressed the recent visit of a high powered Turkish trade delegation to Baghdad led by Turkish Union of Chambers President Yalın Erez was exploited by Iraq for political reasons and did not yield any economic results.

Turkish sources said the time had come for Ankara to also take a tough line on Baghdad and resume close cooperation with the Iraqi Kurds.

PKK's spheres of action narrowing

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Kurdish conference held in Sofia early this month has caused unease in government circles trying to restrain the PKK's field of activity in Western European as well as in Syria. The news of a conference in Sofia, a capital Ankara appears determined to maintain good-neighborly relations, came amid a major diplomatic initiative to curb activities of the PKK in nearby countries.

Ankara's major success in this field came with the postponement of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan's press conference, which he planned to hold in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley this week because of initiatives Ankara took in an approach to the Syrian government.

"We are satisfied with the attitude of Lebanon and Syria. This cancellation shows the international isolation of the PKK," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman said last Wednesday. Reports that Öcalan and other high-ranking officials of the PKK attended the conference in Sofia is further evidence that the PKK, which has long had good relations with Greece, has moved further north into the Balkans.

News Analysis

Some say that Öcalan attended the conference secretly but the Turkish government firmly states that there was no participation by the PKK leader. Diplomatic observers in the Turkish capital note that Ankara's reaction to the Sofia conference had been more muted than the one to Moscow when a Kurdish conference was organized in Russia several months ago.

Political observers, as well as officials, say that, among Turkish ties with Balkan nations, the best good-neighbor relations are between Bulgaria and Turkey and, for this reason, it is unlikely that the Bulgarian government officially hosted or organized the meeting. The observers said that because Bulgaria gets electricity from Turkey and has close, good relations in the military and the civilian spheres, it would not choose a road that did not follow intergovernmental rules. However, it is being spread around that the Turkish government approached the Bulgarian government diplomatically in order to ensure that the Kurds did not engage

Tuesday, October 4, 1994

turkish daily news

in these kinds of activities, even if they took the form of a conference in that country.

It has been confirmed by sources in Turkey and Bulgaria that there are groups which oppose the Bulgarian government's position vis-a-vis the PKK in that country.

Bulgarian sources say that some groups that are not very strong within the administration are trying to benefit from the political confusion in the country. And political observers suggest that the PKK has been cooperating with opposition groups that want to bring back the country's socialist administration and that these groups look on the PKK with sympathy. It has further been suggested that the PKK, which is known to have played an influential role in drug trafficking in Europe for a long time, has been cooperating with former members of the secret services in the Balkan countries. Observers say that in the famous hotels of Sofia, where smuggling deals were cut prior to the end of the Warsaw Pact, the Kurdish mafia is now running wild. They say that Bulgaria, because of the spread of bribery and various illegal activities, is proving to be a suitable base from which to operate.

As for PKK activities that are most bothersome in the Balkan countries, the Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK) opened the way in Athens for diplomatic trouble between the Greek and Turkish governments. The Greek government portrays the issue as a matter of democratic rights and the freedom to organize. However Cemil Bayık, one of the leaders of the PKK, has made statements about how the Greek and the Kurdish people are allies. He has also offered himself as a candidate for the position of mayor in the village of Lavrion, where the PKK have a camp in which refugees from Turkey are housed, which shows to what extent the dimensions of the affair have grown. Another country in which the influence of the PKK and the Kurdish mafia has increased is Romania. It is known that the Turkish mafia, which had been centered in Bucharest, abandoned the place to the Kurdish mafia in 1992. The influence the Kurdish mafia exerts comes from serving as a middleman for the worker.

It is being suggested that German and French policies restricting refugees — because of unemployment and other social and economic reasons — limited the field of activity for the Kurdish mafia, which is tied to the PKK, and so it took on the role of middleman. In Romania, the Kurdish mafia offers Kurdish and Turkish workers fake passports

and visas in return for DM 10,000. It then makes workers who come from Turkey wait in Romania until they can pass into Western European countries. Reportedly the PKK has organized 65,000-70,000 Turks who live in Romania and the organization has nearly 3,000 sympathizers in that country. Moreover, in Romania the PKK has been working on organizing businessmen whose numbers are around 15,000 and are working on forming a legal association. Former intelligence expert Melih Aktas, who is currently on the faculty of Gazi University, says that it is impossible to comment on the PKK's move into the Balkan countries. Aktas says, "It is difficult for the PKK to be active in Bulgaria because of the good relations between the Bulgarian and Turkish governments. As for the Kurdish mafia... in Romania, it has to be discussed rather differently. For years they have been smuggling petroleum and motor oil. If the PKK is hindered in Syria there is nowhere else that they can go other than Southern Cyprus and Greece."

Moreover, among the countries of western Europe and especially in Germany in recent months the PKK has begun to destroy the sympathy which it enjoyed among the German public through its violent activities and is seeking new areas to become active. It is not clear whether or not the PKK which, it has been suggested, is trying to establish a sphere of influence along an Athens-Bucharest-Constanza-Sofia line will be able to create this influence with the support of the Kurdish mafia. However, it has been observed that Syria, which is trying to erase its image as a terrorist state, will not give the PKK the same easy freedom of movement in its own region as it had before or at the very least it will have to behave more carefully.

Ocalan has confirmed this. "Unfortunately Turkish officials who heard that we were organizing this meeting [the press conference in Lebanon] gave this information to the governments in the areas where we were likely to hold it. All the police went into action. At the same time a problem of security arose. So we couldn't hold the meeting." And thus he acknowledged, in so many words, that their ability to maneuver in the areas where for so long they had been able to race their horses had been restricted. The latest attitude of the Damascus government, which is trying to reach a peace agreement with Israel through the intercession of the United States, shows that the days are near when the PKK will have to seek new places to move about freely.

Washington to release \$1.5 billion defense funds to Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The United States and Turkey signed an agreement here on Monday for the transfer of a total of \$1.5 billion in defense funds which have accumulated in a special account at the Federal Reserve but withheld since after the Gulf War.

The agreement was signed at a ceremony at the Turkish Ministry of Defense.

Turkey has long been demanding that the U.S. adminis-

tration release the funds to the Turkish Defense Fund. The participants in the fund were Turkey, the United States, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates.

"This agreement will enable us to better control the funds as part of the money will soon be transferred to the Turkish Central Bank," said Defense Ministry Undersecretary Lieutenant General Teoman Erkan.

He said that \$1.2 billion will be transferred in the first stage.

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

ECF0145 4 F 0426 SYR /AFP-JF93

eco.-environ.

La Turquie lie son différend avec la Syrie sur l'Euphrate au problème kurde

LE CAIRE, 4 oct (AFP) - Le ministre turc des Affaires étrangères Murtaz Soysal a subordonné tout règlement du problème de la répartition des eaux de l'Euphrate entre Ankara et Damas à celui des Kurdes et annoncé qu'il se rendrait en Syrie "fin octobre ou début novembre".

"Nous cherchons d'abord à résoudre avec la Syrie les questions les plus faciles, comme la traversée des frontières et le développement des relations commerciales entre les deux pays, avant de passer aux problèmes plus compliqués dont ceux de l'eau et du terrorisme", lié pour Ankara aux Kurdes, a indiqué M. Soysal dans un entretien publié mardi par le quotidien arabe al-Hayat, édité à Londres et imprimé notamment au Caire.

Il a indiqué qu'il se rendrait à Damas "fin octobre ou début novembre" pour rencontrer son homologue syrien Farouk al-Chareh. Ces entretiens, "visant à renforcer la confiance" entre les deux pays, ne porteront pas sur le problème kurde, a-t-il affirmé.

"L'examen du problème de l'eau sera ajourné jusqu'à ce que soit assuré un progrès dans les autres problèmes dont celui des Kurdes", a poursuivi M. Soysal.

Il a indiqué que la Turquie qui se prononce "pour l'intégrité territoriale de l'Irak", a établi avec Bagdad et Téhéran "un mécanisme d'échange d'informations et de consultations" sur le problème kurde.

Il a insisté sur "la nécessité de conjuguer les efforts" de la Turquie, la Syrie, l'Iran et l'Irak "pour empêcher l'établissement d'un Etat kurde indépendant, notamment à l'intérieur de l'Irak, car ceci se répercutera d'une manière négative sur les trois autres pays voisins". Depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en 1991, le nord de l'Irak est contrôlé par les autonomistes kurdes.

Après avoir admis que la Turquie "est soumise à des pressions européennes et américaines" en faveur du droit à l'auto-détermination des Kurdes, M. Soysal a estimé que "les aspirations du peuple kurde peuvent être satisfaites par un autre moyen".

Il a appelé à "une solution démocratique de ce problème, basée sur le respect des droits de l'Homme et la reconnaissance des libertés auxquelles aspire le peuple" kurde.

L'Euphrate, long de 2.800 km, prend ses sources en Turquie avant de traverser la Syrie et l'Irak. La Turquie a construit des barrages en amont et les quotas respectifs de volume d'eau ont fait l'objet de plusieurs protocoles notamment en 1982 et 1987 mais un accord final, souhaité par les Syriens est toujours en négociation.

mk/szb/cv

AFP /J00245/041131

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

Iraqi government takes tougher stance on easing of United Nations economic sanctions

Wednesday, October 5, 1994

Reuters

BAGHDAD- Iraq said on Tuesday it would not cooperate with a visiting U.N. envoy on arms control if it received no guarantees sanctions against it would be eased.

The government newspaper al-Jumhuriya declared that envoy Rolf Ekeus was no longer trustworthy.

He had reneged on promises to ease sanctions in return for Baghdad's cooperation in eliminating its arsenal of weapons prohibited by Gulf War cease-fire terms, it said.

"Unless you (Ekeus) offer Iraq something...you will not get from us that open, serious and honest cooperation," Jumhuriya said in a front-page editorial signed by editor-in-chief Salah al-Mukhtar.

The Iraqi press has led a growing attack on the United Nations for continuing to block Iraq's oil exports, which financed the country's war machine and a comparatively impressive infrastructure before its adventure in Kuwait.

The hardening tone reflects the increasingly burdensome effects of sanctions, which drove Iraqi authorities last week to slash food rations by up to 50 percent for some items. Ekeus arrived in Baghdad on Monday for talks on a long-term armaments monitoring system, whose satisfactory operation could indicate when the U.N. might ease or lift sanctions imposed on Iraq for invading Kuwait in 1990.

Ekeus, a Swedish diplomat who heads the United Nations Special Commission on Iraq, is due to report to

the Security Council in mid-October.

Mukhtar said it was now clear to Iraq that Ekeus was a mere official and had no powers of his own. He said Ekeus played a "soft technique" until he stripped Iraq of its weapons and now was trying to extract more concessions on matters not included in the 1991 Gulf War cease-fire resolutions.

He said Ekeus had not previously demanded Iraqi recognition of Kuwait as part of conditions for easing sanctions, but Baghdad now expected the envoy to insist on this in talks.

"Mr. Ekeus you will say recognize Kuwait and its borders and then the path will be open for the partial lifting of the embargo," Mukhtar predicted.

A U.N. team demarcated the border with Kuwait after Gulf War but Baghdad disputes the ruling.

Mukhtar said Iraq would not accept any added terms. "New conditions will be yet another step on the path of extracting progressive concessions from Iraq without anything in return." Mukhtar said if the U.N. wanted Iraq to continue cooperation in implementing other resolutions, Baghdad should first be rewarded for what it had already done.

He said Baghdad would be ready to enter into a dialogue with Kuwait and other states to solve pending issues, but added: "Human rights issues and Kuwait's sovereignty and borders were being raised for political rather than legal reasons."

By-election calendar to start on Thursday

High Electoral Board announces names of 21 political parties competing in Dec. 4 polls

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The High Electoral Board's announcement that the by-election "calendar" will commence on Oct. 6 was published in the Official Gazette on Tuesday.

Turkish Armed Forces' personnel and civil servants planning to run as candidates in the Dec. 4 by-elections must resign from their posts by 5 p.m. today at the latest and inform the relevant institutions of their decision.

Political parties must notify the High Electoral Board of the procedures and criteria they used to select their candidates and of the constituencies where these candidates will be running by Oct. 11 at the latest.

The High Electoral Board will hold a drawing on Oct. 14 to determine the order in which the political parties will appear on ballots. Lists of voters in by-election districts must be posted between Oct. 18-26 and the final electoral list must be ready by Oct. 28.

Those wishing to run in the by-elections as independent candidates must apply to the High Electoral Board by Nov. 11 at the latest.

If requiring to do so, political parties can hold their respective primaries on Oct. 30.

The election campaign will commence officially on Nov. 24 and political parties must abide by the by-election laws from this date onward. Parties will

not be allowed to continue their election campaigns after 6 p.m. on Dec. 3.

The High Election Board has also determined the names of the 21 political parties which can run in the by-elections. These parties are: the Motherland Party, Motherpath Party, United Socialist Party, Grand Unity Party, Republican People's Party, Democrat Party, Democratic Left Party, Resurrection Party, True Path Party, People's Democracy Party, Labor Party, Liberal Party, Nation Party, Nationalist Movement Party, Welfare Party, Social Democrat People's Party, Socialist Revolution Party, Socialist Rule Party, Turkish Socialist Labor Party, New Party, and Rebirth Party.

The districts where by-elections will be held to fill vacant parliamentary seats are as follows: Adana (1), Adiyaman (2), Ankara (1), Bursa (1), Diyarbakır (4), Isparta (1), Istanbul (2), Mardin (3), Muş (1), Siirt (2), Van (1), Batman (1) and Şırnak (2).

Meanwhile, Provincial Chairman Mümtaz Yavuz has been chosen by the True Path Party (DYP) to run for deputy in Muş. DYP Deputy Chairman Rıfat Serdaroğlu indicated that whatever the outcome of the by-elections, this would not bring the question of early general elections onto the agenda. He said the decision to hold early elections lay with the Parliament.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 5, 1994 /

turkish daily news

Martinez releases report on Turkey

Adopts wait-and-see attitude but maintains that certain articles in Constitution and Penal Code should be changed

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- In a report on Human Rights in Turkey, released late on Monday, Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly President Miguel Angel Martinez urged Turkey to amend some of its constitutional articles and penal laws. “

Constitutional articles 4, 14, 68, 69 and 84 should be changed,” the report said.

Article 4 bans making any proposal on the form of the state as a republic, on characteristics of a republic and on the territorial integrity, national anthem and on the flag of the republic.

Article 14 refers to “inciting and provoking” others to violate the integrity of the state; Articles 68 and 69 refers to political rights and dissolution of political parties. Article 84 refers to loss of membership of a deputy.

Martinez report also called on amendment of related articles in the Penal Code, Law of the Political Parties and Anti-Terrorism Law.

The report also urged Turkey to guarantee the freedom of expression and political rights, as well as “seriously investigate” the allegations of torture.

Turkish deputies who attended the Parliamentary Assembly meeting in Strasbourg found the Martinez report to be “generally evenhanded,” Anatolia news agency reported from Strasbourg. “I think

the report prepared by Martinez is a positive one, on the whole,” Anatolia news agency quoted Selçuk Maruflu of the Motherland Party, said.

“We are ready to listen to constructive criticism as long as it takes the facts into consideration,” Engin Guner, a member of the Turkish delegation, said. “But it should be seen that it is the PKK terrorism that obstructs democratization.” “It is terrorism which makes tolerance difficult,” Erdal İnönü, the former deputy prime minister of Turkey, said at the meeting. “Turkey has no intention of window-dressing for Europe. We want democratization for ourselves.”

The Martinez report contained severe criticism of terrorism by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) and supported Turkey’s territorial integrity.

The PKK inflicts damage on the rights of the Kurdish people, the report said.

But Martinez also signalled that the human rights, democratic and human rights violations and some legal practices left from the military era — as well as the Southeast problem — continued to make European Council uneasy.

“If Turkey does not carry out promised changes, Turkey’s membership in the Council of Europe and within the integration of Europe should be assessed,” he said in the report.

Northern Iraqi refugees assail UN

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Angry over the U.N. decision to cut aid to refugees from northern Iraq, the Iraqi refugees in a refugee camp in Silopi, near the town of Şirnak, have begun a hunger strike in protest, the Anatolia news agency reported on Tuesday. Of the 1,000 refugees at the camp, who have been waiting for a long time now to move on to European nations, 800 refugees have just completed the sixth day of their hunger strike. One refugee told Anatolia that many of his friends were sick and their condition was serious. He also said the hunger strike would continue until the United Nations resumed aid supplies to the refugees.

The refugees say the United Nations has cut off their aid completely: “For one month, we have received only one kilogram of rice and sugar. It is impossible for us to live on these

food items alone. The United Nations has cut aid because it wants us to return to Iraq. We want to go to a European country. If the European countries do not accept us we want to stay in Turkey. We have started a hunger strike because of the stance adopted by the United Nations. We will continue until the United Nations resumes aid supplies to the refugees.”

The governor of Şirnak, Kamil Acun, stated that “the situation (hunger strike) was beyond Turkey’s control. The refugees are under the care of the United Nations.”

A press release from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees on Tuesday stated that the conditions which initially forced northern Iraqis to flee no longer existed and that there was no valid reason why the refugees should not go home.

Iraqi issues

Iraq and Iran said to hope for closer ties

Reuters

UNITED NATIONS- Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz and Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati expressed hopes for closer relations between their two countries during a meeting at the United Nations, an Iranian source said.

Iran and Iraq, which fought a bloody war from 1980 to 1988, have diplomatic relations at the charge d'affaires level. But many issues stemming from the war remain unresolved. These include the fate of thousands of prisoners or soldiers missing in action, Iranian claims for reparations, and the dredging and reopening of the Shatt al-Arab waterway. Aziz was said to

have repeated a two-year-old invitation for Velayati to visit Baghdad, but no date was set, the source said. Velayati was reported to have spoken positively of the work of lower-level delegations which the two countries have exchanged from time to time.

The Iranian source said Velayati told a closed-door meeting earlier of the Organization of the Islamic Conference that Iran was concerned at the suffering of the Iraqi people as a result of U.N. sanctions imposed after Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Velayati was said to have called on all parties to take steps to bring this situation to an early end.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 5, 1994

Herbstsession der Parlamentarischen Versammlung in Strassburg

Ankara droht Ausschluss aus dem Europarat

Die Missachtung der Menschenrechte in der Türkei

uth. Strassburg, 3. Oktober

Erstmals ist der Türkei in einem offiziellen Dokument des Europarates wegen der unzureichenden Achtung der Menschenrechte der Ausschluss aus der 32-Staaten-Organisation in Strassburg angedroht worden. Wenn sich die Situation nicht radikal ändere, stelle dies die Mitgliedschaft im Europarat ernsthaft in Frage, heisst es in dem Bericht einer sechsköpfigen Delegation der Parlamentarischen Versammlung, in der alle wesentlichen europäischen Parteigruppierungen vertreten waren. Die Gruppe war Anfang September nach Ankara gereist, um die Chance für Reformen in der Türkei zu erkunden.

Gegen Meinungsterror und Verfolgung wegen politischer Überzeugung

In dem Bericht, der vom Präsidenten der Versammlung, Miguel Angel Martinez, vorgetragen wurde, wird als vordringliche Massnahme die Änderung der Verfassung in den Punkten verlangt, die im Widerspruch zur Menschenrechtskonvention des Europarates stehen; ferner wird die Regierung zu einer Revision des Parteiengesetzes, der Strafgesetzzordnung und der Anti-Terrorismus-Gesetzgebung aufgefordert. In der alltäglichen Praxis der Menschenrechte müsse endlich die Meinungsfreiheit in dem Sinne garantiert werden, dass niemand wegen seiner politischen Überzeugung verfolgt werde. Gleichermassen wichtig sei eine politische Lösung der Kurdenfrage, die den Kurden ihre kulturellen Rechte garantiere. Eine Abstimmung über den Delegationsbericht wurde nicht vorgenommen.

In der Aussprache warfen mehrere liberale und sozialistische Abgeordnete dem Europarat vor, gegenüber der Türkei, die die Organisation seit Jahren immer wieder mit Versprechungen hinhalte, zu nachsichtig zu sein. Die niederländische Sozialistin Baarveld-Schlaman, Autorin früherer Türkei-Berichte, reagierte kompromisslos; auf

den Vorwurf des Abgeordneten der Mutterlandspartei, Maruflu, dass der Europarat mit seinen Vorwürfen die Versuche zur Zerstörung der türkischen Einheit unterstütze, erklärte sie, die Türkei solle doch aus dem Europarat austreten, wenn sie keine Einmischung in ihre inneren Angelegenheiten vertrage.

Fehlende Reformanstrengung

Im Juni war ein Vorstoss der sozialistischen Fraktion gescheitert, aus Protest gegen die Verhaftung von sechs kurdischen Abgeordneten in Ankara die türkischen Parlamentarier von der Parlamentarischen Versammlung in Strassburg vorübergehend auszuschliessen. Statt dessen wurde die Entsendung der Delegation nach Ankara beschlossen. Wenn deren Bericht nun auch überwiegend negativ ausfiel, so entdeckte die Delegation auch einige wenige Zeichen der Ermutigung. Der Wille, die Rechte der Parteien und Gewerkschaften sowie die Meinungsfreiheit durch eine Verfassungsreform zu verbessern, sei bei allen Gesprächspartnern vorhanden gewesen. Die Reform komme aber offensichtlich kaum voran, und in der Kurdenfrage sei überhaupt keine politische Perspektive erkennbar. Dafür ist nach Ansicht der Europaratsdelegation allerdings die Untergrundorganisation PKK mit ihren Terroranschlägen in hohem Masse mitverantwortlich.

Vorangegangen war der Türkei-Debatte eine Demonstration kurdischer Frauen vor dem Palais de l'Europe, die dem Europarat eine Resolution mit der Bitte übergaben, eine Beobachterdelegation nach Südostanatolien zu entsenden. Allein in den letzten drei Jahren seien von den türkischen Streitkräften 2000 Dörfer zerstört und etwa 3000 Menschen ermordet worden. Die Demonstrantinnen, die vor allem Deutschland und Frankreich aufforderten, keine Waffen mehr in die Türkei zu liefern, waren bereits am vergangenen Samstag nach Kehl angereist, wo der Zug auf der Europa-Brücke nach Strassburg von der französischen Polizei gestoppt worden war. Nach langem Tauziehen durften dann 126 Frauen bis zum Europarat, der inzwischen von Polizeikräften hermetisch abgesperrt worden war, weiterziehen.

Mittwoch, 5. Oktober 1994 Nr. 232

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Amnesty international

SECTION FRANÇAISE

SERVICE DES ACTIONS URGENTES
66, RUE PARGAMINIÈRES
31000 TOULOUSE
TÉLÉPHONE : 61 23 53 73
TÉLÉCOPIE : 61 23 53 90

Action urgente

EXTERNE

POUR INFORMATION

SF 94 U 0846
EUR 44/112/94

Avertissement : " Amnesty International défend des individus sans prendre position ni sur leurs idées, ni sur les organisations auxquelles ils pourraient adhérer "

AU 367/94

ETAT DE SANTE/ MAUVAIS TRAITEMENT

TURQUIE :

Mehmet Doluviran)
Mehdi Yaman) en soins intensifs
Mehmet Akgül) à l'hôpital d'Etat
Hasan Orak) de Diyarbakir
Hanefi Haram)
Sahabettin Fidan)
Zulfikar Bayram)
Esat Dikin) à la faculté médicale
Sirin Bilin (m)) de l'université Dicle
Sehmuz Karagöz) avec des blessures
Hasan Onur) à la tête
Muhyedin Pirinçlioglu)
Ramazan Özüak, 19 ans) décédé

Londres, le 5 octobre 1994

Le 4 octobre 1994, dans la prison de type E à Diyarbakir (prison spéciale pour les prisonniers politiques) après que des policiers et des soldats soient entrés dans la prison, au moins 80 prisonniers ont été blessés, certains gravement, l'un d'eux est décédé.

Selon un avocat du barreau de Diyarbakir, qui a visité la prison le 5 octobre 1994 et qui a parlé aux prisonniers du quartier 29, les événements du 4 octobre se sont déroulés de la façon suivante:

A dix heures du matin environ, un grand nombre de policiers en civil, d'autres en uniforme, et de soldats, armés de bâtons, de barres de fer et d'armes à feu, sont entrés dans la prison, apparemment dans le but de faire sortir quelques prisonniers qui faisaient une grève de la faim et boycottant les audiences de procès. Quand les prisonniers ont bloqué les entrées de certains quartiers, les plafonds et les murs ont été soufflés, semblerait-il, par des explosifs et des gaz lacrimogènes ont été lancés à l'intérieur. Ces événements se sont déroulés dans les quartiers 18, 27 et 31, dans lesquels se trouvaient 306 prisonniers. Les détenus ont été réduits à l'impuissance, amenés à l'extérieur, dans la cour de la prison et auraient été battus jusqu'au matin du 5 octobre. A cinq heures du matin environ, ils ont été mis dans des fourgonnettes de la prison et conduits en direction d'Urfa. On présume qu'ils ont été envoyés à la prison de type E de Gaziantep.

Soixante-douze prisonniers blessés ont été conduits à l'hôpital public de Diyarbakir où cinq d'entre eux, au moins, (dont les noms se trouvent ci-dessus) ont été soignés dans le service des soins intensifs. D'autres, dont sept cités ci-dessus, ayant des blessures à la tête, ont été conduits à la faculté de médecine de l'université Dicle à Diyarbakir. Certains auraient été emmenés à l'hôpital militaire. Le corps d'un prisonnier du quartier 27, Ramazan özüak, a été conduit le 4 octobre, de la prison à l'hôpital public de Diyarbakir. Il portait des traces de brûlures sur le corps, mais les causes de sa mort ne sont pas connues. Douze prisonniers ont été, pendant ce temps, renvoyés de l'hôpital.

D'après les témoignages, certains gardiens auraient été blessés pendant l'attaque, bien qu'aucun, croit-on, n'ait été hospitalisés.

INFORMATIONS GENERALES

Dans la prison de type E de Diyarbakir, il y aurait plus de 1000 prisonniers politiques kurdes, jugés ou accusés d'activités en faveur du parti des travailleurs kurdes, le PKK. En février 1994, le Ministre de la Justice a déclaré qu'il y avait en Turquie environ 6500 prisonniers politiques et que ce nombre atteindrait bientôt 10000. La grande majorité de ces prisonniers politiques est suspectée ou accusée d'être membre ou sympathisant du PKK. Depuis trois mois environ, ceux qui passaient en jugement ont boycotté les audiences du procès contre le PKK auprès des tribunaux de la sûreté de l'état dans toute la Turquie et par conséquent, de nombreux incidents violents ont été signalés dans les prisons de type E et dans les prisons spéciales où sont détenus les prisonniers politiques kurdes.

La lutte entre les forces gouvernementales et les guérilleros du PKK dans le sud-est de la Turquie ont fait près de 13000 victimes depuis le début du conflit, en août 1984. Les opérations de police contre les sympathisants du PKK ont eu lieu dans toute la Turquie. L'état d'urgence reste en vigueur dans 10 provinces de l'est et du sud-est, dans lesquelles la police et la gendarmerie ont l'autorisation de garder au secret durant plus d'un mois les personnes suspectées de délits politiques.

ACTION RECOMMANDEE : télégramme/télex/télécopie/aérogramme/lettre par avion :

- exprimez votre profonde préoccupation concernant les mauvais traitements, subis par 306 prisonniers politiques des quartiers 18, 27 et 31 de la prison de type E de Diyarbakir, le 4 et 5 octobre 1994;
- demandez avec insistance que tous les prisonniers blessés, reçoivent les soins médicaux dont ils ont besoin et qu'ils bénéficient de ces soins aussi longtemps que nécessaire;
- demandez instamment que des enquêtes immédiates soient menées sur les mauvais traitements présumés et sur la mort de Ramazan özük et que les personnes responsables soient traduites en justice, demandez à être informés des résultats des enquêtes;
- demandez avec insistance que les transferts de prison soient effectués humainement.

APPELS A:

1/(Ministre de la Justice)
Mr. Mehmet Mogultay
Adalet Bakanligi
06659 Ankara, TURQUIE
Télégrammes : Justice Minister,
Ankara, TURQUIE
Fax : (90) 312 425 4066 ou 417 3954

2/(Procureur, Cour de sûreté de l'Etat
de Diyarbakir)
DGM Bassavcisi
Devlet Güvenlik Mahkemesi
Diyarbakir, TURQUIE
Télégrammes : DGM Bassavcisi, Diyarbakir,
TURQUIE

3/(Gouverneur de l'état d'urgence)
Mr Ünal Erkan
Olaganüstü Hal Valisi, Diyarbakir, TURQUIE
Télégrammes : Olaganustu Hal Valisi, Diyarbakir, TURQUIE
Telex : 72110 OHVT TR, 72084 DYVA TR (Veuillez faire suivre au Gouverneur), 72090
JASY TR

COPIES A:

(Ministre des affaires étrangères)
Prof. Mümtaz Soysal
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Disisleri Bakanligi
06100 Ankara, Turquie
Télégrammes : Foreign Minister, Ankara, Turquie
Fax : 90 312 287 1866

Ambassade de Turquie dans votre pays:

Pour la France, 16 avenue de Lamballe 75016 PARIS

SVP, PRIERE D'INTERVENIR IMMEDIATEMENT. SI VOUS RECEVIEZ CET APPEL AVEC RETARD, NE PLUS INTERVENIR APRES LE 16 NOVEMBRE 1994. MERCI.

Reuters: Kurdish villages in Turkey, Iran evacuated

Reuters

TUNCELI/PARIS- Turkish security forces torched 17 villages in an intense two-week offensive against separatist Kurds in the remote eastern province of Tunceli, local politicians and witnesses said on Wednesday.

"The people whose houses were burned are in the town center ...and they urgently need tents and food," said Musa Yerlikaya, mayor of Ovacik township, to which the villages are linked. He said troops, in one of the biggest offensives in modern Turkish military history, had given residents of several other villages three days to get out or risk the same fate. Headmen from nine villages and Tunceli councilors sent a telegram to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, her deputy Murat Karayalçın and President Süleyman Demirel, asking for an end to the operation that left them homeless on the brink of winter. "They (soldiers) told us all to get outside and then burned the place to the ground — whole families are stranded", said the telegram, a copy of which was made available to Reuters. "We are devastated," said the villagers, who have taken refuge with friends and relations in Ovacik and Tunceli town. The villages were torched on October 3 and 4. Eight people, including four children are still missing from the village of Gökçek, which the army evacuated and destroyed on September 28. "Let those who love Tunceli cry for Tunceli," said Mehmet Ali Türkel, provincial head of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) — junior partner in Turkey's ruling coalition. The military says it must empty villages to group people in

large settlements to deny refuge and supplies to the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is strong in the region. Tunceli residents said mortar and gunfire were heard all night as soldiers tried to head off a suspected approach by PKK militants.

The army brought in about 20,000 soldiers to join the 20,000 already stationed there as the offensive got underway. The Tunceli offensive began with the arrival in the region of PKK commander Şemdin Sakık — known as "fingerless Zeki" after he blew off his thumb while firing a rocket in north Iraq, where the PKK also operates.

He appeared last month to take command of all PKK operations in a wide swathe of the largely-Kurdish provinces of the southeast.

The most intense fighting is concentrated on the Munzur mountain range, where more soldiers have been flown in to join 6,000 men fighting against some 2,000 separatists.

Fighting spread from the Munzur mountains to the borders of Erzincan province, where a senior military official said troops were closing in on a 400-strong PKK group. The army was also pushing against a smaller group in neighboring Sivas province. Forces have set ablaze a large area of woodland in the region in their bid to flush out the PKK.

Iran targets villages

In Paris a group representing Iranian Kurds charged on Wednesday that Tehran intended to level 17 Kurdish villages in western Iran and

appealed to the world to protest.

"The international community's silence and indifference can only encourage Iran to persevere in its criminal actions," the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) said in a statement issued by its Paris office.

The group sent news agencies what it said was a translation of a confidential government communique dated August 22 in which the governor of the Sardasht region ordered the villages evacuated and razed and the residents compensated.

No independent confirmation of the KDP report was available. The party is one of several Kurdish groups fighting Tehran's Islamic government.

Terrorists hit pipeline

Back in Turkey, Kurdish militants bombed the idle Iraqi oil pipeline in southeast Turkey, causing a fire but little damage, a Turkish official said on Wednesday. "They hit the pipeline near Midyat (in Mardin province) last night, but there was little damage and the fire has now been put out," an official from state pipeline company Botas said. Bulldozers shovelled earth to put out the fire. Midyat is about 40 km (25 miles) from the Iraqi border. The PKK has in the past attacked the line, closed in 1990 to comply with a U.N. embargo on Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait to start the 1991 Gulf War.

Turkey wants the 985-km (615-mile) twin pipeline flushed with up to 27 million barrels of oil to prevent corrosion, but Baghdad and the United Nations have yet to agree on terms.

Interior minister denies extrajudicial executions

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Interior Minister Nahit Mentese, of the True Path Party (DYP), denied allegations by Ziya Halis, the junior coalition partner Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Sivas deputy, that the security forces were carrying out extrajudicial executions.

In an unscheduled speech in Parliament, Halis claimed that three people had been killed by the police, without benefit of a trial, in the Besiktas district of

Istanbul. To protest the killings Halis said that he had resigned from his memberships in parliamentary commissions.

Mentese took the rostrum to respond and said that the security forces opened fire only in self-defense and that extrajudicial killings were out of the question. He noted that the three people who had been killed were members of the outlawed Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol) organization and that they were carrying false ID cards. He also said that the three had opened fire on policemen who were making ID checks in a cafe and that the police had responded. He said that the police were acting on a tip and their intention was to take the suspects alive.

Oil industry

Consultant says Iraq has Saudi-level oil reserves

Reuters

AMMAN- Iraq has vast undiscovered oil reserves that would put it on the same level as the current world leader Saudi Arabia, an oil consultant told a conference on Middle East geology. "Iraq's present ultimate oil reserves are 144 billion barrels and a potential to be discovered of a further 280-360 billion barrels," Tariq Shafiq said in a presentation.

The figures compare to official oil reserves listed at the end of 1992 of 257.8 billion barrels for Saudi Arabia and 100.0 billion barrels for Iraq, second largest in the world. Iraq's oil exports, once about 3 million barrels per day, have been blocked from world markets since Iraq invaded Kuwait in August 1990. It has asked the United Nations to lift the ban on exports, but the Security Council is unlikely to ease sanctions before some time in 1995.

Shafiq, a petroleum engineer and a founding director of the Iraq National Oil Company in 1964; also said the cost of finding oil would be as low as in Saudi Arabia.

"The bulk of Iraq oil reserves has been discovered at a finding cost below 0.5 cents (per barrel) and it is unlikely to rise above this level," he said in a paper to the annual conference.

"Iraq's cost compares with that of Saudi Arabia and both rank lowest when compared with others within and outside OPEC countries," said Shafiq, who left Iraq for political reasons in 1968 and now works as a consultant based in Britain. Shafiq said so far only 114 out of 400 known geological structures in Iraq that might hold oil have been drilled. He said a worldwide pattern — in which the rate of oil discoveries accelerates after a slow start, stays stable and then declines —

indicates Iraq's "ultimate reserves are far from being approached."

"Saudi Arabia will perhaps soon approach its ultimate reserves, while the Iraqis have stayed behind," Shafiq told Reuters in a later interview.

Shafiq said official low reserves figures were caused mainly by the low level of drilling in Iraq since 1968, when the state took over exploration. Oil exploration was further curtailed by subsequent internal disorder, a war with Iran between 1980 and 1988 and the Gulf War in 1991.

"Iraq's reserves stand on a par with Saudi Arabia's," he said. Iraq's oil potential has long been the subject of

speculation because exploration was concentrated in Middle East countries that worked more closely with Western oil companies. Diplomatic sources in Baghdad have offered similar estimates for Iraq's oil reserves to those projected by Shafiq. Reserves on the scale of Saudi Arabia would also indicate the potential for sharply higher exports after the lifting of sanctions and the development of new fields. Saudi Arabia has been the unquestioned leader in exports.

A senior diplomat in Baghdad who follows the oil industry estimated last August that Iraq could raise oil production to 5-6 million barrels per day within three years of reaching its pre-Gulf War production level.

AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse —

FRA0217 4 I 0266 TUR /AFP-XK83

Turquie-Kurdes

Reprise du procès de six députés kurdes sur fond de pressions extérieures

ANKARA, 6 oct (AFP) - Le procès de six députés turcs d'origine kurde qui encourent la peine de mort pour "séparatisme", reprend vendredi après un mois de suspension, alors que les pressions, notamment européennes, sur la Turquie s'intensifient pour qu'elle abandonne les charges.

Les six députés, élus du Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP), dissous en juin, sont accusés dans le cadre de l'article 125 du code pénal turc d'"avoir constitué l'aile politique" du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) au sein du parlement et "d'avoir collaboré avec le PKK pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est (à majorité kurde) anatoliens". Cet article prévoit la peine de mort.

Ce procès a gravement endommagé l'image de la Turquie à l'étranger, notamment en Europe occidentale, où de nombreux appels ont été lancés pour qu'Ankara y renonce.

Le parlement européen a ainsi décidé le 29 septembre de geler la commission parlementaire mixte Turquie-UE en attendant la fin du procès, tout en réclamant la libération immédiate des députés kurdes.

Les élections législatives partielles décidées pour le 4 décembre prochain par le Premier ministre, Mme Tansu Ciller, pourraient offrir à la Turquie une porte de sortie honorable.

Les députés emprisonnés ont été autorisés à y participer et en cas de réélection, ils récupéreraient leur immunité parlementaire et les charges contre eux seraient gelées pendant toute la durée de leur nouveau mandat.

«Wie eine Kerze in tiefschwarzer Nacht»

Die türkischen Schriftsteller Yasar Kemal und Aziz Nesin führten einen Protestmarsch für die Gedankenfreiheit an



Der Schriftsteller Yasar Kemal. BILD TRAPPE

Sehr lange haben die türkischen Intellektuellen zu den Maulkorbgesetzen und Zensurmassnahmen geschwiegen, mit welchen die Gedankenfreiheit in der Türkei im Namen der Terrorbekämpfung Schritt für Schritt eingeschränkt wird. Jetzt sind etwa 70 kritische Anwälte, Schriftsteller und Journalisten unter Führung der Schriftsteller Yasar Kemal und Aziz Nesin von Istanbul nach Ankara gezogen, um für die Gedankenfreiheit zu demonstrieren.

■ VON WERNER VAN GENT,
ANKARA

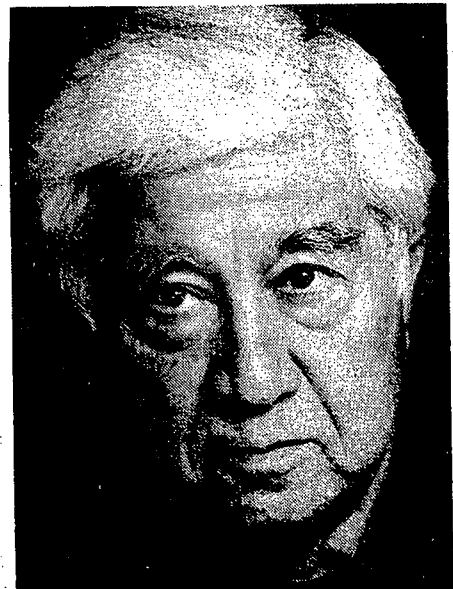
Wer für die Gedankenfreiheit demonstrieren will, hat es schwer in der Türkei. Als Versammlungspunkt für den «Marsch für die Gedankenfreiheit» hatten die Organisatoren – der Verband Zeitgenössischer Anwälte und der Türkische Menschenrechtsverein – einen kleinen Platz im Istanbuler Stadtzentrum angegeben. Um dorthin zu gelangen, mussten sich die Teilnehmer zunächst einmal durch einen dichten Polizeikordon kämpfen.

Nichts für Touristen

Weiter oben sei eine illegale Versammlung im Gange, bekam der Berichterstat- ter von einem freundlichen Polizisten zu hören, «da gehen Touristen besser nicht hin». Die Polizei zeigte sich jedenfalls fest- entschlossen, den geplanten Marsch nötigen- falls mit Gewalt zu vereiteln. Selbst die Präsenz so prominenter Schriftsteller wie Yasar Kemal, Aziz Nesin und der be- kannten Schauspielerin Zuhul Olcay konnte daran nichts ändern. Erst nach zä- hen Verhandlungen und Telefonaten mit Ankara fand man zu einer Kompromiss- lösung. Die Demonstranten würden ruhig – dieses Wort wurde mehrfach betont – und nur in Zehnergruppen durch die Istiklal Caddesi laufen.



Parlamentarierin Leyla Zana. BILD SAHELARIOU



Der Schriftsteller Aziz Nesin. BILD TAPPE

Und so liefen rund 300 Polizisten und knapp 100 Demonstranten – allen voran Yasar Kemal – betongelb durch die Zeh- nergruppen durch die wichtigste Istanbül- er Geschäftsstrasse an erstaunten Pas- santen und Geschäftsinhabern vorbei, die keine Ahnung hatten, was die vielen Poli- zisten frühmorgens so nervös machte. Be- ruhigt zeigten sich die Ordnungshüter erst, als die ganze Gruppe in einen Reise- bus eingestiegen war. Ursprünglich hatte man in jeder Stadt auf dem Weg nach An- kara anhalten und sie zu Fuss durchque- ren wollen, angesichts des Widerstandes der Polizei die Zahl der Zwischenhalte dann aber stark reduziert. Man wolle Akzente setzen, nicht provozieren, sagte einer der Organisatoren.

Unerwünschte Tänze

Das hatte zuweilen groteske Folgen. So bekam man in der Industriestadt Izmit

den Eindruck, als ob die schweigende Gruppe – so, wie sie langsam hinter dem schwarzen Transparent durch die Straßen zog – aufgebrochen war, die Gedankenfreiheit zu Grabe zu tragen. Doch dann war es auch immer wieder zu spontanen Tänzen gekommen, woraufhin die Organisatoren die Tanzenden jeweils ~~drängend~~ aufforderten, ~~doch bitte sofort~~ in den Bus zu steigen.

Einige der populärsten Privatsender der Türkei hatten das Unternehmen wohlwollend kommentiert. Für einmal wurde die Forderung nach Gedankenfreiheit nicht automatisch mit terroristischer Propaganda gleichgesetzt. Beachtlich war jedenfalls, dass sich türkische und kurdische Intellektuelle aus völlig unterschiedlichen politischen Lagern gefunden hatten, um für nur ein einziges Anliegen zu demonstrieren: die Wiederherstellung der Rede- und Gedankenfreiheit in der Türkei.

Man müsse aber nicht nur die Beschränkungen in der Gesetzgebung bekämpfen, warnte eine Gewerkschaftsführerin während einer Veranstaltung in der Kleinstadt Düzce. Genauso gefährlich sei das «Gedankengefängnis im eigenen Kopf». Daraus auszubrechen scheint in der Tat nicht leicht. Immer wieder kam es während der zweitägigen Reise zu Zwischenfällen, als Mitglieder der Gruppe in vorausweisendem Gehorsam mögliche Reaktionen der immer präsenten Polizei vorwegnahmen. Lieber sollte man zurückhaltend sein, um die ganze Mission nicht zu gefährden, war ein vielgehörtes Argument.

Neben dem Parlament, wo eine von 30 000 Personen unterzeichnete Petition zur Abänderung der Gesinnungsgesetzgebung eingereicht wurde, sollte auch dem sozialdemokratischen Justizminister ein Besuch abgestattet werden. Von ihm wollte man die Bewilligung erhalten, einige der mehr als 100 aufgrund ihrer politischen Überzeugung inhaftierten Parlamentarier, Schriftsteller und Akademiker im Gefängnis zu besuchen.

Besuch im Gefängnis

Neues hat die Gruppe vom Justizminister Mehmet Mogultay nicht erfahren. Auch er bedauere, dass Menschen aufgrund ihrer Gedanken eingesperrt seien, doch seien die Gesetze nun einmal so. Sie abzuändern sei eine Frage der Zeit. Dass der Minister die ob dieser Haltung sichtlich genervte Gruppe überhaupt empfing, musste dann aber doch als Erfolg gewertet werden.

Immerhin gab er einer zehnköpfigen Delegation Erlaubnis, die kurdischen Parlamentarier der Demokratiepartei und die ebenfalls aufgrund ihrer Gesinnung inhaftierten türkischen Akademiker Haluk Gerger und İsmail Besikci im Gefängnis zu besuchen. Normalerweise können Gefangene in der Türkei nur von direkten Verwandten besucht werden.

Die sechs kurdischen Parlamentarier, darunter auch die weit über die Grenzen der Türkei hinaus bekannte Leyla Zana sowie der Soziologe und Schriftsteller İsmail Besikci, hatte man eigens zum Besuch in das «Teezimmer» des Gefängnisses geführt. Der Ehemann von Leyla Zana, Mehdi, ebenfalls aufgrund von politischen Äusserungen in Haft, durfte sich dann aber nicht hinzusetzen, er konnte die Besucher nur im Nebenzimmer begrüßen. Viel wurde nicht besprochen; man tauschte Grüsse aus und besprach, sofern möglich, die Lage in der Türkei. Leyla Zana, die im Gegensatz zu ihren Kollegen im Gefängnis kaum Kontakte hat, sah etwas angeschlagen aus. «Gefängnis bleibt Gefängnis», sagte der Vorsitzende der Demokratiepartei, Hatip Dicle, «auch wenn es uns, verglichen mit anderen Gefangenen, etwas besser geht.»

Nicht nach oben schauen

Dasselbe sagte am Abend auch der Politikwissenschaftler Professor Haluk Ger-

ger im 90 Kilometer entfernten Haymana-Gefängnis. Weil er in einer Ansprache eine offene Debatte über die Kurdenfrage gefordert hatte, sitzt er eine 22monatige Gefängnisstrafe ab. Im Vergleich zum Zentralgefängnis von Ankara wirkt das Gefängnis von Haymana geradezu idyllisch – im schmucken, weissgetünchten Innenhof wachsen Blumen. «Man darf aber ja nicht nach oben schauen», sagte Gerger. Am oberen Ende der Hofmauer hört die Idylle abrupt auf; dicker Stacheldraht sorgt dafür, dass die Gefangenen mitsamt ihren Gedanken nicht fliehen können.

Gerger sieht die Zukunft der Türkei schwarz. Wegen der Kurdenfrage, vor allem aber auch wegen der Unfähigkeit der Bürger zum Dialog. Den Versuch prominenter Intellektueller, eine Debatte über die Gedankenfreiheit in Gang zu setzen, begrüßte er: «Das ist wie eine Kerze in einer tiefschwarzen Nacht. Ich habe aber sehr viel Angst, dass dieses Licht nicht stark genug sein wird.»

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1994

Saddam Still Has Far to Go

The continuing argument over lifting the international sanctions on Iraq, aggressor in the Gulf War, is in a new and more difficult phase, thanks in large measure to the success of the last phase. The United Nations had insisted that Iraq open up to intrusive inspection to ensure that it could not retain or acquire region-threatening weapons of mass destruction. So now, Saddam Hussein has by common agreement gone far to meet the United Nations' terms and is demanding that sanctions be brought to an end.

There is a case against piling on new demands, and it is no less weighty for being made mostly by those countries and economic sectors that look forward to lucrative trade with Baghdad. The case is this: If you keep "raising the goalposts" and denying rewards for good behavior, you weaken an offender's incentive to meet international standards at all.

Saddam Hussein, however, is not an ordinary regional transgressor. He is an unregenerate potential repeat offender and the leader of a once-and-future powerhouse state, who could reasonably be expected to make further trouble with the resources he would gain from the lifting of sanctions. This is the rationale for the American call to take into account, in the sanctions debate, "all the issues which comprise the true test of Iraq's peaceful intentions."

Foremost among these is recognition of the sovereignty and borders of Kuwait, the country that Iraq swallowed in 1990 and continues to call its "19th province." Not to require Iraq to make a full formal disavowal of the central claim that led it to war is to invite it to take a second bite. Fortunately, the centrality of this issue is widely accepted, as is the requirement that Iraq account for people and property it took away during its invasion.

Not so well accepted as it ought to be is the requirement to use the embargo as a lever against Iraqi repression of Shiites in the South and Kurds in the North. It would be insupportably inconsistent to allow Saddam Hussein to escape the very economic isolation he is imposing, along with harsh military measures, on two vulnerable groups of his own citizens.

Otherwise, Saddam is said to have ordered the ears cut off of hundreds of accused army deserters and draft evaders. Such punishment is not what the United Nations wrote sanctions to counter. But it reminds onlookers of the way Saddam Hussein uses power, and it unavoidably colors the atmosphere in which the issue is weighed. The wise course remains to go slow on lifting sanctions. Who will have the will, once trade resumes, to interrupt it to punish further offenses?

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

FRA0393 4 I 0295 TUR /AFP-HU41

Turquie-Kurdes

Reprise du procès de six députés kurdes jugés pour "séparatisme"

ANKARA, 7 oct (AFP) - Le procès de six députés turcs d'origine kurde, passibles de la peine de mort pour "séparatisme", a repris vendredi après un mois de suspension devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara, avec la lecture des preuves contre eux.

Les six députés, élus du Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP), dissous en juin, sont accusés dans le cadre de l'article 125 du code pénal turc d'"avoir constitué l'aile politique" du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) au sein du parlement et "d'avoir collaboré avec le PKK pour créer un Kurdistan indépendant dans l'est et le sud-est (à majorité kurde) anatoliens". Cet article prévoit la peine de mort.

Parmi les preuves, figurent des déclarations des députés parues dans la presse, des textes d'interventions prononcées lors de différentes réunions publiques en Turquie et à l'étranger, des enregistrements de conversations téléphoniques avec le chef du PKK, Abdullah Ocalan dit "Apo", et un document de 125 pages sur les rapports entre le PKK et le DEP.

Les six députés sont MM. Hatip Dicle, président du DEP, Ahmet Turk, Orhan Dogan et Sirri Sakik, ainsi que Mme Leyla Zana, tous membres du DEP, dissous le 16 juin, et le député indépendant Mahmut Alinak, démissionnaire du DEP.

Ils sont détenus depuis la levée de leur immunité parlementaire le 2 mars et sont déchus de leurs sièges depuis la dissolution du DEP par la Cour Constitutionnelle, à l'exception de M. Alinak qui conserve sa qualité de député parce qu'il n'était plus membre du parti lors de son interdiction.

Le procès avait endommagé l'image démocratique de la Turquie à l'étranger et suscité des protestations européennes.

ce/bw

AFP /JO0245/071712

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

FRA0479 4 I 0188 TUR /AFP-IO45

Turquie-Kurdes

Procès de six députés kurdes jugés pour "séparatisme": refus d'une demande de mise en liberté

ANKARA, 7 oct (AFP) - La Cour de Sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara a refusé vendredi une demande de mise en liberté de six députés turcs d'origine kurde jugés pour "séparatisme" et a renvoyé leur procès au 10 novembre, a-t-on appris de sources judiciaires.

Le tribunal a décidé de la "poursuite de l'état d'arrestation" des députés du Parti pro-kurde de la Démocratie (DEP), dissous en juin, dont le procès avait repris dans la matinée après un mois de suspension.

"Nous sommes occupés par une comédie depuis huit mois, (...) la Turquie est un pauvre de la démocratie", a déclaré M. Mahmut Alinak, le seul des six qui conserve sa qualité de député parce qu'il avait démissionné du DEP avant la dissolution du parti. Il faisait allusion à leur arrestation début mars et au procès ouvert le 3 août.

"Nous sommes des politiciens. Nous n'avons pas été arrêtés dans la montagne l'arme à la main ou en ville lançant des bombes çà et là", a dit pour sa part M. Ahmet Turk, lors de l'audience de vendredi.

CE/mb/bw

AFP /JO0245/071835

OCT 94

LE NOUVEAU QUOTIDIEN - 7 OCTOBRE 1994

La Turquie joue ses relations avec l'Europe devant sa Haute Cour

Le procès de six députés kurdes, qui risquent la mort, reprend à Ankara. Le gouvernement turc est mis en demeure de démocratiser ses institutions. La violence ne faiblit pas dans le sud-est.

ALAIN CAMPIOTTI

Aujourd'hui reprend à Ankara, devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat, un procès qui nous touche de près. La Turquie, plus déchirée que jamais entre Occident et Orient, joue dans ce tribunal très politique ses relations avec l'Europe. Sur le banc des accusés comparaissent six députés kurdes, dont la haute figure de Leyla Zana, la femme de l'ancien maire de Diyarbakir. Ils risquent tous la peine de mort. Leur parti, Parti de la démocratie (DEP), a été interdit en juin pour connivence, aux yeux du pouvoir turc, avec le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), qui mène depuis dix ans une guerre auto-

miste ou indépendantiste dans le Sud-Est anatolien.

Les six députés avaient déjà été arrêtés au printemps, après la levée de leur immunité parlementaire, accusés de «crime séparatiste». Que leur reproche exactement la Cour - et le pouvoir? D'avoir, comme parlementaires, soutenu le combat pour les droits des Kurdes bafoués par la Turquie kémaliste, ce qui suffit à les faire passer pour les complices des «terroristes séparatistes» - comme on dit à Ankara - du PKK.

Ces arrestations et ces inculpations ont alimenté les campagnes de tous ceux qui se battent, dans le pays et au dehors, pour le respect des droits de l'homme; et le

PKK en a fait, en Europe occidentale, un thème de lutte, demandant par exemple l'expulsion de la Turquie du Conseil de l'Europe.

Ces campagnes ont eu de l'écho. Le Parlement européen (celui des Douze) a décidé la semaine dernière de geler la commission mixte Turquie-UE, en attendant l'issue du procès, et il exige la libération des députés. Quant à l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe (où la Suisse est représentée), elle a décidé de dépêcher à Ankara une délégation de six de ses membres, dirigée par son président, Miguel Martinez. Cette mission a eu lieu au début du mois de septembre, et elle vient de

présenter son rapport à Strasbourg. Constatant que de nombreuses dispositions constitutionnelles et législatives, de même que la pratique quotidienne policière et judiciaire, ne se conforment pas aux critères européens, la mission avertit que, si «des changements ne se produisent pas, cela mettrait sérieusement en question non seulement la participation de la Turquie au processus de construction européenne, mais son appartenance même au Conseil de l'Europe».

Derrière ces rudes mises en demeure, il y a pourtant, du côté de Strasbourg, beaucoup plus de souplesse. Les Européens savent qu'un véritable bras de fer a lieu



Les six députés kurdes accusés de trahison devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat. Le premier ministre turc leur a tendu une perche. REUTER

à Ankara autour des projets de démocratisation avancés par les sociaux-démocrates, membres de la coalition au pouvoir. Et Tansu Çiller, le premier ministre, a tenu une perche aux accusés devant le Cour de sûreté et à leurs soutiens en Europe: les parlementaires détenus pourront se présenter aux élections partielles qui seront organisées le 4 décembre; s'ils sont élus, ils recouvreront leur immunité, et les charges contre eux seront gelées.

Mais le 4 décembre (22 sièges de députés seront à repourvoir) pourrait bien confirmer la percée électorale des islamistes du Parti de la prospérité: ils devraient remporter 16 victoires. Ce petit raz de marée renforcera le courant nationaliste et anti-occidental à Ankara. Et il encouragera la

diplomatie turque dans le ton qu'elle adopte depuis qu'un nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, Müntaz Soysal, est arrivé cet été aux commandes. Il est même si Ankara n'a pas abandonné l'ambition de se rapprocher de l'Europe - plus dur à l'égard de l'Ouest: sur la question chypriote; dans ses relations avec la Grèce, à propos des eaux territoriales; dans sa volonté de se rapprocher de l'Irak, d'obtenir la levée des sanctions contre Bagdad, et de calmer les ardeurs autonomistes des Kurdes irakiens, que les Turcs ont pourtant appuyées depuis la guerre du Golfe.

En ce qui concerne les Kurdes de Turquie, il n'y a pas besoin de durcissement, tant la violence des combats et de la répression dans le sud-est est implacable, malgré

les ouvertures verbales de Tansu Çiller, qui promettait il y a peu un enseignement et une télévision en langue kurde. Dans la province centre-orientale de Tunceli, une offensive de l'armée turque vient d'aboutir, dit le maire du chef-lieu, à la destruction par le feu de onze villages (qui s'ajoutent à des centaines d'autres) dont la population s'est réfugiée dans la ville. Cette action a eu un tel retentissement dans le pays que le président Souleiman Demirel vient d'ordonner une enquête. Dans le même temps, les militants détenus du PKK se sont soulevés dans la prison de haute sécurité de Diyarbakir (capitale du pays kurde); il y a eu au moins un mort et 45 blessés, et 300 autres détenus ont dû être évacués pour mater l'émeute. □

LE JOURNAL DE GENÈVE - 7 OCTOBRE 1994

TURQUIE

L'Union interparlementaire s'inquiète des députés kurdes

C'est aujourd'hui que s'ouvre à Ankara la troisième audience de huit ex-députés d'origine kurde, appartenant au parti dissous du DEP (Parti de la démocratie), accusé d'être le bras politique du PKK (Parti des travailleurs kurdes).

Selon l'Union interparlementaire, tous les parlementaires du DEP ont été déchus de leur mandat après l'arrêt de la Cour suprême le 16 juin dernier; six députés ont alors fui à l'étranger, quatre autres ont été réintégrés dans leurs fonctions et deux autres ont été arrêtés, venant s'ajouter aux six qui avaient été appréhendés en mars, poursuivis en vertu de l'article 125 du Code pénal turc pour «séparatisme».

Selon l'Union interparlementaire, ces députés risqueraient la peine de mort. Or celle-ci, d'après les renseignements fournis par la Mission de Turquie à Genève, n'a plus été appliquée depuis la fin du régime militaire en 1984. Qui plus est, les députés actuellement traduits en justice auront le droit de participer aux élections par-

tielles du 4 décembre, organisées à la suite de l'interdiction du DEP dans le sud-est du pays. En cas de réélection, ils retrouveraient leur immunité parlementaire.

Détenus dans la prison de haute-sécurité d'Ankara, les ex-parlementaires ont eu le droit de recevoir leurs avocats et leurs familles. Des accusations de tortures n'ont pas été prouvées. L'Union interparlementaire a demandé au Gouvernement turc la permission d'envoyer une mission internationale pour enquêter sur place des chefs d'accusation précis, «matérialisés», au-delà du réquisitoire de 450 pages du procureur qui se basait, selon l'Union, sur des violations de la liberté d'expression.

L'Union interparlementaire a demandé avec insistance des détails sur la régularité d'un procès dont l'issue est importante pour l'image démocratique de la Turquie.

**Du Palais des Nations:
P.-E. Dentan**



Die sechs angeklagten kurdischen Parlamentarier im August vor dem Staatssicherheitsgericht in Ankara (von links nach rechts): Mahmut Alinak, Hatip Dicle, Sirri Sakik, Orhan Dogan, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Turk. (Bild Reuter)

Erschwerte Berichterstattung aus der Türkei

Beschränkte Meinungs- und Ausdrucksfreiheit

Die täglich eintreffenden Meldungen über Gefechte im Osten Anatoliens zwischen türkischen Sicherheitskräften und Angehörigen der kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) wiederholen sich seit Jahren und werden hier kaum mehr zur Kenntnis genommen. Eine unabhängige Berichterstattung über die Bürgerkriegssituation ist nicht gewährleistet, da beide Konfliktparteien Journalisten für ihre Interessen zu instrumentalisieren versuchen. Als Folge davon spielen sich massive Menschenrechtsverstösse von der Öffentlichkeit beinahe unbemerkt ab.

Wok. Die Bilder könnten grauenhafter nicht sein. Massakrierte Familien, erschossene Kleinkinder und geblendete Greise. Dies sei das wahre Gesicht der Terrororganisation PKK, lautet der Begleittext zu regelmässig in europäischen Redaktionsstuben eintreffenden, reich bebilderten Broschüren. Vergleichbare Horrorbilder verunstalteter Leichen junger Männer erschienen unlängst in der prokurdischen Zeitung «Özgür Ülke», begleitet mit einem Aufruf an die Menschheit, sich zu schämen. Niemand könne vor den Menschenrechtsverletzungen des türkischen Staates die Augen verschliessen. Gemeinsam ist solchen Publikationen, dass sie Partei ergreifen: die einen für den türkischen Staat, die andern für die bewaffnete kurdische Opposition. Unabhängige Berichte aus dem Konfliktgebiet sind kaum mehr erhältlich. Laut Angaben der Organisation *Helsinki Watch* sind in der Periode von Februar 1992 bis März dieses Jahres 32 türkische Journalisten und andere Angestellte von Medienunternehmen ermordet worden. Mehrheitlich waren sie für prokurdische Zeitungen tätig. In Zusammenhang mit diesen Morden sind von diversen internationalen Menschenrechtsorganisationen glaubhafte Beschuldigungen erhoben worden. In Verdacht stehen parastaatliche Verbände aus dem Umfeld der Sicherheitskräfte. Die Bewegungsfreiheit ausländischer Journalisten in Ostanatolien ist beschränkt, das Gebiet ist zu gefährlich geworden.

Verhärtete Fronten

Mit jedem weiteren Jahr des ungelösten blutigen Konflikts in Ostanatolien verhärteten sich die Fronten mehr. Seit Beginn der bewaffneten Feindseligkeiten streitet Ankara hartnäckig die Existenz eines Kurdenproblems ab. Obwohl zeitweise gegen 300 000 Angehörige der türkischen Sicherheitskräfte in den 27 Ostprovinzen im Einsatz sind, wird dieser enorme Aufwand von offizieller Seite als Kampf gegen Terrorismus eingestuft. Mit dieser Begründung verweigert Ankara internationalen Gremien den Zugang zum Konfliktgebiet. Trotz jahrelangen intensiven Bemühungen ist es beispielsweise dem *Internationalen Komitee vom Roten Kreuz* (IKRK) verwehrt, Gefangene zu besuchen oder sich um die Bedürfnisse der vom Krieg betroffenen Zivilbevölkerung zu kümmern.

Bisher wurde von den einflussreichen Regierungen des Westens dem Problem nur am Rande Bedeutung zugemessen. In diplomatischen Kreisen ist die Empfindlichkeit Ankaras gegenüber Druckversuchen von aussen wohl bekannt. Hinzu kommt, dass sich das Land in der Ära Özal in den achtziger Jahren zu einem interessanten Handelspartner entwickelt hat und darum eine Brückierung der Türken in Wirtschaftskreisen wenig opportun schien. Diese Skrupel dürften aber angesichts der sich stets verschlechternden Wirt-

schaftslage seit Beginn der Regierung Ciller allmählich schwinden. Immer deutlicher zeigt sich, dass eine noch stärkere Polarisierung der türkischen Gesellschaft den Interessen ausländischer Investoren zuwiderläuft.

An einem vor kurzem in New York abgehaltenen Treffen zwischen den deutschen und türkischen Aussenministern *Kinkel* und *Soysal* lehnte es die Türkei ab, Beauftragte der Konferenz über Sicherheit und Zusammenarbeit in Europa (KSZE) zur Überprüfung der Menschenrechtssituation im Lande einzuladen. Ende September hat nun das EU-Parlament seine Beziehungen zur Türkei vorläufig abgebrochen. Betroffen davon ist der interparlamentarische Ausschuss, dem Abgeordnete des EU-Parlaments und der türkischen Nationalversammlung angehören. Ausgelöst hat diese Protestmassnahme das Gerichtsverfahren, welches im August gegen fünf Abgeordnete der prokurdischen *Demokratie-Partei* und einen unabhängigen kurdischen Parlamentarier eingeleitet worden ist. Der oberste türkische Staatsanwalt hat gegen die Abgeordneten die Todesstrafe beantragt. Ihnen wird Hochverrat vorgeworfen, da sie sich für die Abspaltung der kurdischen Siedlungsgebiete von der Türkei eingesetzt und separatistische Propaganda betrieben hätten.

Abwanderung in die Städte

Der Konflikt hat im Osten der Türkei in den letzten Jahren gewaltige Bevölkerungsmassen in Bewegung gesetzt. Wie so oft in Guerillakriegen geriet die Landbevölkerung in weiten Teilen Ostanatoliens immer mehr zwischen die Fronten. Dorfgemeinschaften hatten sich zu entscheiden, entweder als bezahlte Mitglieder der staatlich organisierten Dorfmitzeln sich gegen die PKK zur Wehr zu setzen oder aber dem dauernden Verdacht der Sicherheitskräfte ausgesetzt zu sein, mit dem bewaffneten kurdischen Widerstand zu sympathisieren. Wer in dieser Zwangslage Farbe bekennt, weiss, dass der Gegner sein Leben nicht schonen wird. Nach kurdischen Schätzungen liessen es über zwei Millionen Landbewohner nicht auf diese Entscheidung ankommen und flüchteten in die relative Sicherheit der Städte. Wie viele von ihnen aktiv vertrieben wurden, ist schwer eruierbar. Tausende zogen es gar vor, sich von türkischem Gebiet in den politisch und sicherheitsmässig äusserst labilen Nordirak abzusetzen. Die Bevölkerungszahl der grössten Stadt Ostanatoliens, *Diyarbakir*, hat sich in den letzten vier Jahren vervierfacht und liegt heute bei rund 1,5 Millionen. Gleichzeitig ist der kurdische Bevölkerungsanteil in den Metropolen der Westtürkei massiv gewachsen und vergrössert dort das Heer der unterbeschäftigten oder arbeitslosen Slumbewohner. Eine Minderheit der abgewanderten Kurden hat sich in die reichen Industriestaaten Westeuropas abgesetzt, wo seither die Diskussion im Gange ist, ob es sich bei ihnen um Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge oder Asylbewerber handelt.

Laut verschiedenen übereinstimmenden Angaben kurdischer Quellen sind seit 1991 über 1300 Dörfer im Osten Anatoliens zwangsweise evakuiert worden. Gleichzeitig tauchen in letzter Zeit vermehrt Berichte auf, wonach in östlichen Konfliktzonen die kurdische Zivilbevölkerung in bewachten Lagern interniert wird. Eine sachliche Überprüfung solcher Berichte ist nur schwer möglich. Gegenwärtig befinden sich laut unabhängigen Angaben über hundert kurdische und türkische Journalisten oder Schriftsteller wegen ihrer

Überzeugung im Gefängnis – viele von ihnen wegen ihres Engagements für eine politische Lösung der Kurdenfrage. Eine der letzten unabhängigen Stimmen ist seit diesem Sommer verstummt. In der englischsprachigen Tageszeitung «*Turkish Daily News*» hat sich der Journalist *Ismet Imset* während der letzten Jahre zu einem insbesondere in den diplomatischen Kreisen Ankaras geschätzten Experten und Kommentator der Kurdenfrage entwickelt. Nachdem in diesem Sommer das Leben Imsets und seiner Familie von anonymer Seite ernsthaft bedroht worden war, setzte sich der kritische Journalist fluchtartig ins Ausland ab. Seither mangelt es den Diplomaten in Ankara erst recht an Berichten über die Situation im Osten. Sich an Ort und Stelle selbst zu informieren erscheint den meisten als zu riskant; die Gefahr einer Entführung durch die PKK ist real.

Polemik gegen Korrespondenten

In letzter Zeit haben auch die wenigen in der Türkei akkreditierten Vertreter ausländischer Medien eine Beschränkung ihrer Bewegungsfreiheit erfahren. Zwei Schweizer Journalisten – die Korrespondentin dieser Zeitung und ihr Ehemann – wurden im Juli bei Recherchen im türkischen Touristenort *Antalya* festgenommen und während vier Stunden verhört; ihnen wurde angedroht, sie unter dem geltenden Antiterrorgesetz während vierzehn Tagen festzuhalten. Grund für die journalistischen Recherchen waren die sich häufenden Bombenanschläge gegen Touristen an der türkischen Westküste. Den Journalisten wurde vorgeworfen, unerlaubte «wissenschaftliche» Untersuchungen vorgenommen zu haben. Als Grund für diese Einschüchterung durch die Behörden darf vermutet werden, dass die Journalisten während ihrer Recherchen nicht nur Hotelbesitzer und Personen aus dem Tourismusgeschäft interviewten, sondern auch kurdische Politiker und Tagelöhner kontaktierten. Wenige Tage nach dem Vorfall erschien in der armeefreundlichen Tageszeitung «*Hürriyet*» ein verleumderischer Bericht über die beiden Journalisten. Beigefügt war ein wohl als Aufforderung gemeinter Hinweis, dass eine Ausweisung der beiden wegen Rufschädigung der türkischen Republik bevorstehe.

Abkapselung nach aussen

Seither sind einige weitere Fälle von staatlicher Einschüchterung ausländischer Korrespondenten dokumentiert worden. Ende September beispielsweise wurde in *Konya* ein schwedisches Fernsichteam verhaftet und später ausgewiesen, weil, wiederum laut Angaben der Zeitung «*Hürriyet*», kurdische Flüchtlinge ohne offizielle Bewilligung gefilmt wurden. Anderen Korrespondenten wird die Ausübung ihres Berufs mit bürokratischen Hindernissen erschwert. Seit diesem Jahr ist ein jährlich zu erneuerndes Arbeitsvisum erforderlich. Dieses wird den Korrespondenten nur von den türkischen Vertretungen in den Herkunftsländern der Gesuchsteller gewährt. Auf seiten der Journalisten besteht die Befürchtung, dass kritischen Korrespondenten in Zukunft ein Visum ohne Begründung verweigert werden könnte.

Eigentlich wäre die Türkei dringend auf eine fundierte und kritische Berichterstattung ausländischer Medienleute angewiesen. In den letzten Jahren hat sich in diesem Lande die Tendenz verstärkt, alle Gründe für die herrschende Misere in Politik und Wirtschaft im Ausland zu suchen. Ein

Teil der türkischen Presse erhöht seine Auflagen mit immer wiederkehrenden Berichten über finstere Verschwörungen des Auslands gegen die Türkei, der kein Platz an der Sonne gegönnt werden solle. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass in diesem Klima eines wachsenden Nationalismus von Ausländern verfasste Berichte, die auf ungelöste hausgemachte Probleme hinweisen, weitherum als feindlich und destruktiv empfunden werden. Die Folgen dieser Entwicklung sind absehbar. Anfang Oktober hat, wie bereits berichtet, der Europarat

Ankara mit dem Ausschluss gedroht, da fundamentale Menschenrechte nicht respektiert würden. Auf die Einwände von türkischer Seite erwiderte eine holländische Abgeordnete, die Türkei solle doch aus dem Europarat austreten, wenn sie eine Einmischung in ihre inneren Angelegenheiten nicht vertrage. Ein solcher Schritt ist im gegenwärtigen Klima nicht ausgeschlossen. Konsequenz dieser Entwicklung wäre allerdings, dass die Türkei ihrer vielgerühmten Funktion als Brücke zwischen Europa und Asien wohl endgültig verlustig ginge.

turkish daily news

Monday, October 10, 1994

Displaced villagers boo Karayalçın despite promise of government help

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A group of villagers forced to flee their homes in the Eastern province of Tunceli booed Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın during a weekend fact-finding tour to investigate allegations that nearly 20 villages had been evacuated by security forces.

The crowd, which confronted Karayalçın Saturday in the Ovacık township of Tunceli, chanted anti-government slogans and demanded Karayalçın's immediate resignation and the withdrawal of the Social Democrat People's Party from the governing two-party coalition.

Karayalçın said the government would help villagers who were allegedly forced by soldiers to flee their homes during military operations against the separatist Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists.

"Whatever the reason for the evacuation, we will provide financial resources for this region. We will study and meet all the needs of the people, especially with the winter months coming on," Karayalçın told reporters after arriving in Tunceli aboard a military helicopter.

He added that the government would build homes for the displaced villagers on 555 hectares of government land. "At present, a very wide operation is being conducted against the PKK. We felt the need for this operation after the PKK recently increased its force here," Karayalçın said. "In a clash, mistakes and unfairness may take place."

He told the crowd, "My task is to correct the situation regardless of its roots. This is why we are here. We have come to help you, to embrace you all."

Acting governor of Ovacık, Major Yüksel Sönmez, told reporters that all of the 100 families who gathered here after their villages were evacuated were being housed in public buildings.

The semi-official Anatolian news agency reported Sunday that some villages and

forests were still burning as the Karayalçın delegation's helicopter flew over them.

Karayalçın and his delegation of ministers and MPs later flew to Ovacık town, south of Hozat, where 20 villages have been burned down allegedly by troops.

A crowd of some 1,000 Ovacık residents, who heard Karayalçın repeat his promises of food and shelter to the displaced people, urged him to visit the burned villages.

"This is neither Bosnia nor Azerbaijan. This is Turkey. Why are we being treated like this?" some shouted in anger before Karayalçın left to return to Ankara.

President Süleyman Demirel on Thursday ordered the army to investigate the reports that soldiers burned the villages. Karayalçın and a team of senior politicians flew on Saturday to the eastern province of Elazığ to investigate earlier reports of village burnings in neighboring Tunceli.

CSCE sends letter to PM Çiller decrying trial of DEP deputies

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON The Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) on Wednesday sent a letter, long-in-preparation, to Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, decrying the "trial of six former deputies of the Turkish Grand National Assembly." The letter, signed by 43 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and 19 Senators, says "this trial raises serious questions about Turkey's commitment to free speech and other principles which underlie democracy.

"We firmly believe that elected officials must be allowed to represent the views and needs of their electorate and to speak openly — especially at the National Assembly," the letter continues.

"If Turkey's Kurdish citizens continue to be denied a voice in the political process, an important avenue for resolving the Kurdish issue will have been cutoff and extremists on all sides strengthened — and outcome we know you seek to avoid."

CSCE recognized the terror problem Turkey is facing. "However," the letter continued, "we believe the violence

responsible for 13,000 deaths since 1984 will intensify if your government fails to distinguish between acts of terrorism and the legitimate exercise by individuals of their rights of free speech.

"The third meeting of the CSCE Parliamentary Assembly, held in Vienna this past July, overwhelmingly adopted a resolution noting the deteriorating human rights situation in Turkey with regard to freedom of speech, assembly and movement.

The Assembly called upon the Government of Turkey to release the six parliamentarians now on trial as well as all others detained solely for nonviolently expressing their opinions. We join our concerns.

"We also urge you, Madame Prime Minister, to seek an end to the brutal cycle of violence that threatens to undo all the significant progress that Turkey has made... towards a democracy premised upon the rule of law and a society rooted in the protection of individual rights," the letter concluded. The CSCE letter to Çiller was signed by the following members of the U.S. House of Representatives:

Steny Hoyer, Ben Cardin, Don Edwards, Ben Gilman, Carlos Romero Barcelo, Lane Evans, James H. Bilbray, Jim Traficant, Barney Frank, Carolyn B. Maloney, Richard Behman, Lucille Roybal-Allard, Karen Shepard, John E. Porter, Chris Smith, Tom Lantos, Michael Bilirakis, Edward J. Markey, Ronald V. Dellums, John W. Olver, Elizabeth Furse, Frank McCloskey, Frank Pallone Jr., Nancy Pelosi, Robert Torricelli, Esteban E. Torres, William D. Lipinski, Elliot L. Engel, Robert E. Andrews, Joe Kennedy, Bill Richardson, Jim Noran, Caris P. Meek, David A. Levy, Nita Lowey, Jolene Unsoeld, Christopher Shays, Charles Schumer, Henry A. Waxman, Steven Gunderson, Lynn C. Woolsey, Dick Zimer, and Gary L. Ackerman.

The U.S. Senators who signed the letter are as follows: Dennis DeConcini, Alfonse D'Amato, Harris Wofford, Patrick Leahy, Joe Lieberman, Harry Reid, Paul Sarbanes, Frank R. Lautenberg, Arlen Specter, Chuck Grassley, Claiborne Pell, Howard M. Metzenbaum, Dave Durenberger, Ted Kennedy, Bob Graham and Barbara A. Mikulski.

Friday, October 7, 1994

turkish daily news

Demirel orders investigation into alleged village burnings

Chief of Staff's office, interior minister Nahit Mentese deny security forces are to blame

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel has ordered the armed forces to investigate reports that security forces have burned more than a dozen villages in the Ovacık district of Tunceli province in south-eastern Anatolia, the TDN has learned from parliamentary sources.

Demirel is said to have acted on a request made by Kamer Genç, a deputy from Tunceli and the deputy speaker of Parliament, and other deputies from the region and to have instructed the Chief of Staff's Office to investigate these allegations. Gen. Hürşit Tolon, the secretary-general at the Chief of Staff's Office, denied the allegations in his response to

Kamer Genç, parliamentary sources said on Thursday.

Tolon told Genç that the villages had not been burned down by the security forces, as alleged, but by militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

In the meantime, it was announced on Thursday that Deputy Prime Minister and Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Chairman Murat Karayalçın would be traveling to Tunceli today to investigate the allegations made by deputies of his own party about village burnings.

The delegation which is to accompany Karayalçın will include State Minister Esat Kıratlıoğlu, a deputy

from the senior coalition partner, the True Path Party (DYP).

Answering questions for the TDN

on Thursday, Genç, an SHP deputy, said they were receiving "serious reports" from the municipality of Ovacık district attached to Tunceli. "Sixteen villages in the region have been evacuated and the people are running away to the town of Ovacık in a state of fear and panic. All the houses in the villages that have been evacuated are being burned down. I let the president, the prime minister, the interior minister and the chief of general staff know about the situation the day before yesterday, in order for the incidents to be prevented and for an investigation to be started."

Genç added that the president had called him back to say that he had instructed the launching of an investigation into the allegations. He said that Tolon had subsequently called him to deny allegations that villages were being burned by soldiers. Genç said that in his explanation, Tolon had said in one incident the security forces had been fired on during a search operation and in the return of fire, two houses had been damaged.

He said the owner of one of the damaged houses was a terrorist who had escaped to the mountains. All the other houses had been burned by the PKK, Tolon said.

Genç went on to say that in spite of this explanation all the information coming from the region indicated that villagers had run away from their villages out of fear during operations by the security forces and that some villages were burned at this stage. He said that villagers from villages where no operations were conducted had also run away in fear on hearing of the operations elsewhere and had taken refuge in Ovacık. "The press should go to the region and the facts should be unearthed," Genç said.

Meanwhile, Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe said on Thursday that the villages in question had been burned down by the PKK for "propaganda against the state."

Menteşe was responding to an address to the parliamentary general assembly by the SHP deputy for Tunceli, Sinan Yerlikaya, on Thursday in which the latter repeated allegations of village burnings by security forces.

Yerlikaya said that the PKK was known to burn villages and to kill people and this was what made it a terrorist organization. "But is not the burning of villages by the state in a manner that violates human rights, forcing people from their villages and imposing a food embargo on the region terrorism also," Yerlikaya asked during his address.

Yerlikaya also said that the Parliament should send a delegation to the region to investigate the allegations. Menteşe, who responded to Yerlikaya, said that the principle aim of the security forces during their operations in the Southeast was to ensure that innocent people were not harmed. He said there was no logical reason why the security forces should burn down villages and indicated that during various operations 86 PKK hideouts containing military uniforms had been discovered.

Menteşe also denied that the armed forces were burning forests in the Southeast, indicating that the burning of villages and forests was being carried out by the PKK, which was subsequently blaming the security forces in order to discredit them.

Diyarbakır prison rioters transferred to Gaziantep

Five prisoners still remain under intensive care

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA/DIYARBAKIR- Authorities at the Diyarbakır prison on Thursday transferred almost 300 of 1,350 inmates to Gaziantep after a riot on Tuesday in which one prisoner was killed and dozens were injured.

The Anatolia news agency quoted officials as saying that 279 inmates were transferred to another prison in Gaziantep, about 370 km (230 miles) to the southwest of Diyarbakır.

At least forty-five people were wounded in Tuesday's overnight riots, which were quelled by security forces. Many cells were badly damaged and could no longer be used.

Most of the inmates are charged with involvement in the separatist war waged by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

The dead prisoner was said to be 17-year-old PKK suspect Ramazan Öztürk. He died of asphyxiation, according to prison officials.

The riot is believed to have begun when inmates resisted security efforts to take some of them to court for a scheduled hearing.

According to differing accounts, at

least 45, and at the most 80, prisoners were wounded in the incident. Legal sources said some of the inmates had sustained severe wounds after police and soldiers entered the prison on Tuesday.

They said that apart from the one prisoner that had died, five others are currently under intensive care.

A Diyarbakır lawyer, who wished to remain anonymous, visited the prison on Oct. 5 to talk to prisoners of Ward 29. He claimed that large numbers of plainclothes police, uniformed police and soldiers armed with sticks, iron bars and firearms entered the prison on the morning of Oct. 4.

He said their aim was to move some of the prisoners, currently on hunger-strike and boycotting trial hearings, out of the prison.

When the prisoners blocked the entrances to the wards, explosives were used to blow holes in the walls and ceilings and tear-gas was fired in.

Prisoners were then allegedly brought out into the prison yard and beaten. Some prison wardens were also said to have been wounded during the incident.

The European - 7-13 October 1994

■ **ANKARA:** Two Kurdish politicians were shot dead on 3 October in the southern Turkish city of Adana.

Ismail Arslan, the deputy president of the People's Democracy Party (Hadep), said Rebih Cubuk, the president of a local branch of the party, and Sefer Cef, another party official, were killed by two unknown gunmen in front of a coffee house. Another Hadep member was wounded in the attack. No one claimed responsibility.

Several Kurdish politicians have been killed by unknown assailants in the past years. Human rights groups have accused security forces of carrying out the murders. The government denies the charges.

Hadep was established earlier this year to replace another party which was banned for supporting Kurdish separatism.

On 3 October soldiers killed 20 rebels in separate clashes in the provinces of Sirnak, Hakkari and Sivas.

Mimaroğlu: Turkey should repeal anti-democratic laws

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Professor Sait Kemal Mimaroğlu, chairman of the Turkish group in the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, said that Turkey has to purge the anti-democratic laws of the military regime.

"Otherwise, Turkey will continue to get into difficult situations in the Council of Europe and other international institutions," Mimaroğlu said in his press conference in Strasbourg on Thursday.

He revealed that he had written to President Suleyman Demirel, Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller regarding this issue. "The 84th article of the Constitution has to be changed," he insisted.

But he stressed that Turkey should democratize its laws not in order to satisfy European opinion but for the sake of its own people.

He described the report on Turkey drawn up by the president of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Miguel Angel Martinez, as "realistic".

"This is a friendly report, designed to make a helpful contribution to finding solutions," he said.

He also claimed that Lord Finsberg's Cyprus report, which was discussed in the Council's political commission on Thursday, was a positive one. "As the Turkish delegation, we are going to work for positive decisions in the Assembly related to Finsberg's report," he declared.

LIBRE OPINION

VISITE AU KURDISTAN IRAKIEN

FRANÇOIS BUSNEL*

LA CROIX - 6 octobre 1994

La vieille Renault 12 à la carlingue déginglée qui fait office de taxi sur la frontière turco-irakienne s'arrête dans un nuage de poussière. Trois douaniers turcs, fusil-mitrailleur en bandoulière, entreprennent l'inspection minutieuse des bagages et de l'intérieur du véhicule tandis que deux soldats, équipés de solides tournevis, déboulonnent nerveusement les sièges, puis le capot et le tableau de bord. Sur les sacs de sable qui décorent le bas-côté de la piste, une mitrailleuse lourde est pointée vers le cadavre désossé du véhicule... Une heure plus tard, les vérifications sont terminées, la voiture est remontée. Nous pouvons repartir. Le même scénario se produira à onze reprises sur les 300 kilomètres qui séparent Zakho, le principal point de passage vers le Kurdistan irakien de Diyarbakir, la « capitale » du sud-est anatolien.

Ces contrôles répétés et l'intense activité militaire qui règne dans le sud de la Turquie sont la conséquence de la récente loi par le Parlement d'Ankara restreignant l'accès des étrangers au Kurdistan d'Irak. Une mesure qui isole encore un peu plus le Kurdistan sur la scène régionale et concrétise le rapprochement entrepris par le gouvernement turc avec le régime de Saddam Hussein.

Depuis plus de deux ans, il existe une République autonome kurde dans le Nord de l'Irak. Pourtant le gouvernemen-

ment d'Erbil, issu des élections officielles du 19 mai 1992, n'est reconnu ni par Bagdad, qui lui impose un blocus en réaction à l'embargo qui frappe l'Irak ni au plan international. Les États voisins, la Syrie, l'Iran, mais surtout la Turquie (1), ayant eux-mêmes des populations kurdes sur leur sol, ne veulent pas entendre parler de la création d'un État kurde indépendant en Irak du Nord même si le premier ministre du Kurdistan autonome se défend formellement d'une telle initiative : « Nous souhaitons exister dans

les 70 000 km² de la zone autonome kurde. Sangar travaille du matin au soir. Avec ses deux fils, il rebâtit les maisons dans un ancien camp de réfugiés pour 200 dinars par mois (environ 25 F), « autant qu'un médecin mais plus que l'instituteur du village voisin », aime-t-il à préciser. Sangar subit de plein fouet les effets de l'embargo : « Au marché noir, le kilo de riz s'échange entre 80 et 100 dinars (de 8 à 10 F). Mais avec l'hiver qui approche, beaucoup ont acheté plusieurs kilos et attendent que les prix montent pour

part de l'ONU, c'est nous condamner à être les prochaines victimes de Saddam. » Malgré la pénurie et des conditions de vie catastrophiques, Saadi, professeur à l'université d'Erbil continue le combat : « Nous sommes là pour résister, pas pour l'argent : mon salaire suffirait à peine pour acheter une nouvelle chemise. Croyez-moi, nous supporterons la faim et le froid, mais ne nous abandonnez pas ! Mieux vaut souffrir ici, libres, que mourir oubliés dans les geôles de Bagdad. »

À Zakho, où 150 000 personnes vivent sans électricité depuis plus d'un an, la population kurde, amère, regarde partir les membres d'une ONG française. Elias est un vieux peshmerga. Depuis deux ans, c'est lui qui accueille d'un large sourire édenté les étrangers qui se rendent en Irak par la Turquie. Quand on lui a dit, hier, que les journalistes ne viendraient plus, une larme a coulé sur son visage ridé. « Alors, c'est vrai qu'on va nous oublier ? », a-t-il demandé calmement. Puis il s'est retourné vers la montagne, désignant du bout de sa kalachnikov une pancarte multicolore sur laquelle on peut encore lire : « Welcome to Kurdistan ! »

*Radio-France Internationale, directeur de la revue *Les Cahiers de Saint-Martin*.

(1) On peut estimer la population kurde en Irak à 25 % (soit plus de 3,5 millions de personnes) alors qu'elle est de 20 % en Turquie et 15 % en Iran.

● Une République autonome qui n'est pas reconnue

● Discussions sur l'embargo

● Va-t-on l'oublier ?

un cadre fédéral, nous ne cherchons pas l'indépendance » explique Abdoullah Rassoul.

La nouvelle politique turque à l'égard de l'Irak intervient sur fond de discussion aux Nations Unies autour de la levée de l'embargo. Mais les Turcs ne sont pas les seuls à demander la suspension des sanctions économiques qui frappent l'Irak depuis 1990. Au Kurdistan irakien, les opinions s'affrontent parfois violemment. « Allez-vous enfin lever l'embargo ? Combien de temps devons-nous payer pour les crimes de Saddam Hussein ? » Cette phrase retentit comme un leitmotiv à travers

écouler leurs stocks. Si seulement vous leviez l'embargo, notre situation pourrait peut-être s'arranger ! »

Un avis que ne partagent pas les responsables politiques, kurdes ou arabes, présents au Nord de l'Irak : « Je sais que le peuple irakien souffre, confie Ahmad Chalabi, mais il faut tenir bon et souhaiter que l'embargo contre l'Irak soit maintenu. » Massoud Barzani, leader charismatique du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), tient un discours identique à ses combattants : « Accepter une levée des sanctions économiques sans contrôle de la

L'Humanité - 6 octobre 1994

L'armée turque incendie des villages kurdes

L'armée turque a intensifié depuis deux semaines ses offensives contre les combattants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) et incendié 17 villages de la province de Tunceli, dans l'est du pays, ont indiqué hier des témoins. L'armée turque a donné trois jours aux villageois des environs pour évacuer leurs maisons, sans quoi ils subiront le même sort, a révélé le maire de Tunceli, qui doit faire face à un afflux de réfugiés. Les troupes d'Ankara affirment incendier les maisons pour « éviter que les partisans du PKK puissent s'y cacher ou s'y ravitailler ».

De l'IUT au Kurdistan irakien

L'association Solidarité Enfance kurde » vient d'être créée pour servir un projet humanitaire monté par quatre étudiants

Joindre la pratique à la théorie et, ce faisant, lui donner une dimension humanitaire... C'est le but à atteindre pour Joël Barrère, Ali Duman, Caroline Morand et Guillaume Reye. Tous les quatre sont étudiants en 2^e année à l'Institut universitaire de technologie départementale gestion des entreprises et des administrations d'Orléans. Ils ont un projet de gestion appliquée aux petites et moyennes organisations, dans le cadre de leur formation à l'IUT. Leur but : envoyer près de vingt tonnes de fournitures scolaires au Kurdistan irakien. De quoi satisfaire les besoins de 10.000 éco-

liers sur une année scolaire. L'échéance est fixée au 24 mars 1995. Déjà, la fondation « France Liberté » et l'Institut kurde de Paris leur ont donné leur appui. Le transport sera effectué sous l'égide de l'ONU, la distribution du matériel assurée par le ministère de l'Éducation nationale du gouvernement autonome kurde.

L'action portera sur Zakho une ville de 20.000 à 30.000 habitants. « On l'a choisie car elle est située dans une région frontalière à la Turquie », expliquent Joël, Ali, Caroline et Guillaume qui viennent de créer l'association Solidarité Enfance kurde » (loi

1901) dont le siège social se trouve à Saint-Jean-de-la-Ruelle. Mme Fabre, professeur et chef de département GEA ; MM. Miraull, Billy et Yessad, professeurs, en font partie.

Pour réussir

« L'objectif financier se porte à 50.000 F pour les frais d'organisation et de transport. La contrepartie principale étant le coût du transport. » Recherche de subventions auprès des collectivités locales, auprès des mutuelles étudiantes, candidature au Défi Jeune de la direction départementale de la Jeunesse et des Sports, démarches auprès des fabricants de matériel scolaire pour obtenir des dons détaxés, collecte de matériel auprès d'écoliers et collègues, élaboration d'un document audiovisuel de sensibilisation et organisation d'une soirée culturelle. L'action programmée pour réussir est variée.

« Il nous faut de l'argent et du matériel scolaire. Il nous faut aussi un point de stockage. Nous cherchons une salle [capable d'accueillir 300-400 personnes] pour la manifestation culturelle que nous organiserons pendant une soirée, l'un des deux premiers week-ends de février. »

La course contre le temps a commencé.

Association Solidarité Enfance kurde, 2, rue des Émeurdes, 45140 Saint-Jean-de-la-Ruelle, tél. 38.66.84.31.

QUESTIONS A...

Joël, Ali, Caroline et Guillaume



De gauche à droite : Ali Duman, Caroline Morand, Guillaume Reye, Joël Barrère.

R.C. — Pourquoi le Kurdistan irakien ?

JACG. — Le Kurdistan irakien est soumis à un double embargo : national et international. International dans la mesure où l'ONU a décrété un embargo contre l'Irak, et national, car Saddam Hussein refuse l'idée de fédéralisme. D'autre part, le Kurdistan irakien est l'une des seules nations musulmanes à avoir un régime démocratique.

R.C. — Comment envisagez-vous un éventuel échec ?

JACG. — Nous sommes tributaires des décisions des or-

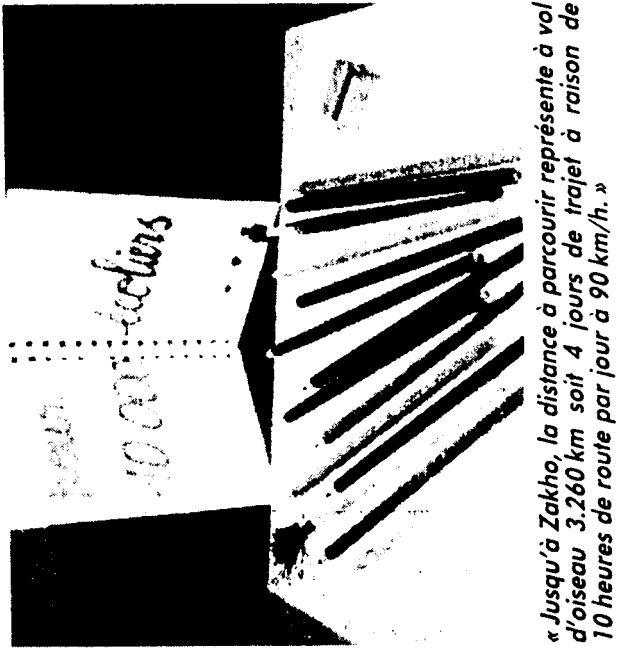
ganismes offrant des subventions. Aussi, si la somme apportée est insuffisante, nous ferons don, comme il était prévu au départ, de la somme collectée à « France Liberté ». Si tel était le cas, nous nous assurions par contrat que ce matériel sera effectivement distribué à l'endroit prévu. Mais même s'il y a « échec », tout ce qu'on a fait depuis le début est positif. Nous avons appris à créer une association, à démarcher des collectivités locales, etc.

R.C. — Que répondez-vous à ceux qui vous reprocheraient le caractère pon-

tuel de votre projet ?

JACG. — Comme c'est un projet mené à l'IUT, les premières de cette année pourraient reprendre le projet l'année prochaine. C'est ce que nous espérons. C'est une bonne expérience. Peut-être moins globale pour nos successeurs qui disposeront des bases et seront déjà « sur des rails » mais... intéressant. Et puis, c'est un trait d'union entre écoliers français et kurdes que nous espérons tracer avec la collecte de matériel menée ici auprès des écoliers...

Propos recueillis par P.A.



« Jusqu'à Zakho, la distance à parcourir représentée à vol d'oiseau 3.260 km soit 4 jours de trajet à raison de 10 heures de route par jour à 90 km/h. »

FRA0270 4 I 0278 TUR /AFP-GH12

Turquie-Kurdes

Près de 40 rebelles kurdes tués dans la région de Sivas

ANKARA, 7 oct (AFP) - Une quarantaine de rebelles kurdes de Turquie ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires dans la province de Sivas (centre-est) contre "l'organisation séparatiste" (le PKK), a annoncé vendredi le gouverneur par intérim de cette province, M. Sahin Tutuncu, cité par l'agence turque Anatolie.

Les opérations de l'armée et combats entre forces de sécurité turques et maquisards du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) se sont déroulés dans les zones de Divrigi, Zara, Imranli, Hafik et Kangal, a ajouté M. Tutuncu, sans en préciser la date exacte.

"Les terroristes ont été encerclés et nous nous attendons à tout moment à un accrochage d'envergure", a-t-il dit.

Les autorités estiment que la rébellion kurde a déplacé ces derniers temps ses activités vers l'ouest, le PKK ayant été placé sur la défensive sur son terrain classique du sud-est anatolien, à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak, et l'Iran.

L'armée turque a pour sa part renforcé ses opérations contre le PKK dans les régions de Sivas et de Tunceli (est), où six enseignants avaient été tués par des rebelles kurdes le mois dernier à la veille de la rentrée scolaire.

Lors d'opérations dans la région de Tunceli, l'armée est accusée d'avoir incendié 17 villages pour empêcher tout soutien logistique au PKK, dont l'un des chefs les plus recherchés, Semdin Sakik, se serait caché dans le secteur.

Le ministre de l'Intérieur Nahit Mentese a démenti pour sa part tout lien entre l'armée et l'incendie de ces villages, en rejetant la responsabilité sur les militants du PKK.

CE/hc/jmc

AFP /JO0245/071352

OCT 94

LA LIBRE BELGIQUE - 7 OCTOBRE 1994

■ Turquie

La démocratie progresse

La démocratie et le respect des Droits de l'homme font petit à petit des progrès en Turquie. C'est ainsi qu'on a appris, de source officielle, que les treize anciens députés du Dep (Parti de la démocratie, dissous le 16 juin 1994 par la Cour constitutionnelle) qui sont poursuivis devant la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat pour « séparation » et « atteinte à l'intégrité de l'Etat » pourront se présenter aux élections législatives partielles qui doivent avoir lieu le 4 décembre. Sept de ces treize députés sont actuellement en prison; les six autres se sont réfugiés à l'étranger.

Dans la foulée, le Hadep

(Parti démocratique populaire du travail), qui a succédé au Dep qui avait lui-même pris le relais de trois formations dissoutes à tour de rôle, sera autorisée à se présenter à ces élections. Toutes ces formations étaient, comme le Hadep, ouvertement pro-kurde, revendiquant à la Grande assemblée nationale, le Parlement monocaméral turc, davantage de libertés pour la minorité kurde et, en particulier, le respect de son « identité » (enseignement dans la langue kurde, télévision en kurde, etc).

Les nationalistes turcs ont accusé ces partis d'être des officines du PKK, le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan d'obédience marxiste-léniniste, qui s'est lancé dans la lutte armée en 1984 et revendique au moins une très large autonomie pour le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

La participation du Hadep et des ex-députés du Dep aux par-

tielles de décembre a été autorisée par la commission des Affaires constitutionnelles du Parlement. Il faut maintenant que la mesure soit approuvée par la Grande assemblée nationale en séance plénière. Il est vraisemblable qu'elle le sera également à ce niveau puisque la proposition est patronnée par le Dyp (Parti de la juste voie) du Premier ministre Tansu Ciller, une formation dont l'aile droite est en principe moins attachée à la démocratisation du régime alors qu'il s'agit, par contre, d'une des principales revendications du SHP (Parti populiste social-démocrate), l'allié de la coalition gouvernementale.

Si un ex-député du Dep devait être élu, il bénéficierait automatiquement de l'immunité parlementaire et les poursuites judiciaires devraient être « gelées » pour toute la durée de son nouveau mandat.

LIBERTE D'EXPRESSION

La Grande Assemblée nationale va par ailleurs se pencher prochainement sur une série de propositions visant à amender les lois sur la liberté de discours et d'expression, y compris la loi dite « anti-terroriste ». Ces propositions ont été concoctées, à la demande du ministre de la Justice, par une commission composée de journalistes, d'avocats et d'universitaires. Si ces propositions devaient être acceptées, elles entraîneraient la libération des journalistes et écrivains actuellement en prison.

Enfin, le ministre d'Etat chargé des droits de l'homme, M. Azimet Koyluoglu, a créé le 27 septembre deux conseils consultatifs permanents et indépendants qui devront, dans les mois qui viennent, lui faire rapport sur la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie.

M.O.

Turkish Probe October 7, 1994

9

Separatism: Attention shifts to Tunceli

Turkey's ongoing battle against separatist Kurdish militants in southeastern Anatolia shifted to the eastern province of Tunceli in the past few weeks, creating deep concern among parliamentarians as well as government officials.

There had been rumors for quite some time that the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has suffered serious blows in southeastern Turkey, is moving its operations to other parts of the country. Tunceli, Sivas, Gümüşhane and Tokat provinces were reportedly the prime targets of the PKK.

These concerns proved to be right when the PKK launched a series of raids killing teachers and intimidating villagers in the region. Authorities estimate that about 3,000 PKK militants are in the mountains of the Tunceli province preparing to wreak havoc in the area.

Nearly 40,000 troops have been moved to the region to wipe out the terrorists. At first, a contingency of 20,000 soldiers were brought in but then the authorities decided this was not enough to comb the whole area and doubled the figure.

Tunceli is one of the provinces the Kurdish extremists claim is a part of their so-called northern zone.

The 42,000 square-kilometer area around Tunceli is viewed as a major portion of the area the PKK claims is "Kurdish." Various extremist left-wing groups have been operating in Tunceli for the past two decades but now the Kurdish extremists have the upper hand and are said to be driving out the other left-wing militants.

The massive operation against the PKK started in Tunceli two weeks ago.

"This is turning into the biggest military operation of the (Kurdish insurgency) and perhaps, of modern Turkish history," a senior government official told the Turkish Probe last week. He said the aim is to deal a new blow to the PKK in the northern areas and prevent it from spreading its activities outside southeastern Turkey. A similar operation, on a smaller scale, was started in the province of Sivas last week. The PKK intensified its bloody campaign in the area with the arrival in the region of PKK militant Şemdin Sakık — known as "fingerless Zeki" after he blew off his thumb while firing a rocket in north Iraq, where the PKK also operates.

He appeared last month to take command of all PKK operations in a wide swathe of the provinces of eastern Turkey. The most intense fighting is concentrated on the Munzur mountain range, where more soldiers have been flown in to join 6,000 men fighting against some 2,000 militants.

Fighting has spread from the Munzur mountains to the borders of Erzincan province, where a senior military official said troops were closing in on a 400-strong PKK contingent. The army was also pushing against a smaller group in neighboring Sivas

province.

Forces have set ablaze a large area of woodland in the region in their bid to flush out the PKK.

On Sept. 30, Turkish security forces said they had killed two senior PKK militants in the current campaign and said they were closing in on Sakık.

An official who asked not to be quoted by name, said Celal Barak, identified as a PKK leader in the remote province, and his second-in-command, Abdulhadi Bilgiç, were both killed. "Barak, code-named Zeynel, was positively identified among the (guerrillas) killed in clashes near Kutuderesi ravine," the official said. Bilgiç, known as Felat or Gorsî, was also found dead.

However, the prize catch, Sakık, continued to elude the army. According to field reports, troops were closing in on him.

Are Villages Being Torched?: Reuters announced on Sept. 28 that Turkish troops had destroyed a village and eight people were missing.

The respected wire service quoted villagers in Tunceli as saying that government troops destroyed a village in eastern Turkey, burning houses and slaughtering animals.

Reuters said eight villagers, including four children, were missing after the raid on Gökçek in Tunceli.

The village had been totally destroyed, said residents who went back there to search for the missing villagers. Most of the 200 people from Gökçek and its six hamlets were forced to leave after troops ordered the village evacuated on Sept. 23.

"Even the animals are dead. There is not even a live chicken left in the village," a man who did not want to be quoted by name, told Reuters.

"They say we have helped the guerrillas. Our homes were burned, all our food stores were destroyed. They even shot out the bottoms of teapots so they couldn't be used (by guerrillas)."

But that was not the end of the story. On Oct. 5, Reuters reported from Tunceli that Turkish security forces torched 17 villages during the intense military offensive there against Kurdish militants. Reuters said it based its story on local politicians and witnesses.

"The people whose houses were burned are in the town center ...and they urgently need tents and food," Musa Yerlikaya, mayor of Ovacik township, to which the villages are linked, told Reuters.

He said troops had given residents of several other villages three days to get out or risk the same fate.

Leaders from nine villages and Tunceli sent a telegram to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, her deputy Murat Karayalçın and President Süleyman Demirel, asking for an end to the operation that has left them homeless on the brink of winter. "They [the soldiers] told us all to get outside and then burned the place

to the ground — whole families are stranded", said the telegram, a copy of which was made available to Reuters.

"We are devastated," said the villagers, who have taken refuge with friends and relations in Ovacık, a Tunceli town. Reuters said the villages were torched on Oct. 3 and 4. "Let those who love Tunceli cry for Tunceli," said Mehmet Ali Türkel, provincial head of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) — the junior partner in Turkey's ruling coalition. The military says it must empty villages and group people in large settlements to deny refuge and supplies to the PKK. Meanwhile, Tunceli Deputy Kamer Genç, the deputy speaker of the Parliament, made an urgent appeal to President Demirel and Prime Minister Çiller to intervene in the village evacuations in his electoral district. Genç also met with Interior Minister Nahit Mentese and Chief of Staff General İsmail Hakkı Karadayı. According to reports, Demirel promised to investigate the claims in Tunceli and ordered authorities to "look into the case."

Genç is reportedly under pressure from his voters in Tunceli "to do something" or quit his Parliament seat.

Meanwhile, there were similar claims of village evacuations in Iran. In Paris, a group representing Iranian Kurds charged on Oct. 5 that Tehran intended to level 17 Kurdish villages in western Iran and appealed to the world to protest.

"The international community's silence and indifference can only encourage Iran to persevere in its criminal actions," the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) said in a statement issued by its Paris office.

The group sent news agencies what it said was a translation of a confidential government communique dated Aug. 22, in which the governor of the Sardasht region ordered the villages evacuated and razed and the residents compensated.

No independent confirmation of the KDP report was available. The party is one of several Kurdish groups fighting Tehran's Islamic government.

Teachers Targeted by the PKK: Fearing for their lives, more than 20 percent of teachers have failed to take up postings in the troubled southeastern provinces, where Kurdish terrorists have killed 10 teachers in the past two weeks.

"About 4,000 to 5,000 teachers of the 20,000 posted will not go," Education Ministry spokesman Murat Eskinat told Reuters. "Virtually all country schools (in the region) are shut," he said. He was contradicting both Çiller and Education Minister Nevzat Ayaz, who had said that all village schools in the region were operating normally. Çiller earlier had claimed that, for the first time in three years, the schools were operating normally in the region "because the security forces had wiped out the PKK in the area."

Local officials said many teachers were refusing to leave the relative safety of the towns for the vulnerable countryside. "Many teachers posted to smaller country schools are just waiting in the towns — they will come this far, but they refuse to go any further," said a local politician in Bingöl province. The PKK targets teachers to cripple education in the area. On Sept. 12, terrorists shot dead six teachers of a village primary school in Tunceli hours

before they were to begin classes on the first day of the new school year.

They killed another on a military bus on Sept. 17, and two others in Batman province five days later. And security sources said one more was gunned down on Sept. 29 outside his house in Agri province.

Reuters quoted a former teacher as saying: "If you express any kind of political opinion there (in southeast Turkey) you become a target. Like others who spoke to Reuters, he refused to be identified.

The Ministry of Education said about 2,000 schools were shut last year in the southeast due to the violence there. Locals say attractive salary benefits for jobs in the 10-province emergency-rule area had been drastically trimmed by the government's April austerity program.

"Most teachers here come from poor families with many children. They used to come for the hefty salaries, but now the extras have been reduced and, with the latest incidents, I believe fewer will turn up," said a teacher from Tunceli town. Teachers under emergency rule receive about TL 2.8 million above the national monthly average salary of TL 6 million. "In my time it was some TL 15 million in today's money," said a private teacher, who endured 11 months' unemployment and months of work as a street porter after refusing in 1992 to return to his post in Şırnak due to the violence.

"I had a small child," he said. "I could not risk it." Most teachers sent to the southeast are new recruits, including many young women — easy targets. A 24-year-old and her father were among a score of teachers killed last year.

Some pupils, children of hardened villagers used to violence, constitute further danger.

"My pupils were 18-20 years old," said the private teacher, a burly man. "Twenty-three out of 40 carried guns and the rest knives. I had a female colleague who gave someone a bad mark and he just drew a gun and informed her she could not do that." In August, newly-appointed teachers created an open market for job swaps, some offering more than TL 100 million (\$2,900) and new cars for anyone willing to give them a "safe" job in exchange for postings in Batman or Şırnak.

"Many who do come leave straight after their two years," the teacher from Tunceli said. "This is no way to ensure good education here."

"Education is crippled," said one Bingöl resident. "Children grow up ignorant. In the past two years, they have been unable to begin school until 10 years old."

This, coupled with the recent shootings, have raised questions about protection of teachers in the southeast, where more than 200,000 troops are stationed to combat the PKK.

Officials deny that teachers are to be issued guns, which many worry could make them even more likely to be targeted. "People are very much afraid," the private teacher said. "We had very, very thick walls, and each door had 3-4 locks. We strengthened these with stones against the door. We worked on the floor because it was safer. We hid in our rooms before dark," he said of his tenure as a state teacher. ■

Diplomatic Briefcase

Turkey Seeks Karataş' Extradition

Turkey last week asked France to extradite Dursun Karataş, the fugitive leader of Dev-Sol — a leftist underground group — who was arrested earlier this month by the French police while trying to slip across the French-Italian border with false travel documents. Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman told reporters that the file on Karataş sent to the French authorities covered common crime accusations rather than accusations based on "military, political or tax-related crimes." He said: "None of the crimes we have cited are punishable by the death sentence." This appeared an attempt to circumvent objections to extradition by France on the grounds that if sent to Turkey Karataş would face the death penalty. "Karataş is facing charges in France. Germany and the Netherlands also want him. It is possible that France may want to try him on several charges," Ataman said. A French judge has already charged Karataş with illegal association, using false documents and receiving stolen documents in connection with a terrorist enterprise. Karataş was sentenced to life in absentia after he escaped from an Istanbul prison in 1989. He is believed to have fled the country in 1991.

Martinez Says Turkey Needs Europe's Support

The Council of Europe's rapporteur on Turkey, Miguel Angel Martinez, said last Thursday that any threat to Turkey's territorial integrity would have "an adverse effect on the Europe we are trying to build." Talking to the Anatolia news agency in Madrid, Martinez said he believed Turkish officials were "aware of certain problems (in the human rights area) and wanted improvement." Martinez visited Ankara last month for a fact-finding mission on Turkey's human rights record. "What we should do, as the Council of Europe, is to adopt a serious, determined and careful attitude and ask Turkey to abide by European norms," Martinez said. "As for constitutional barriers to democratization, the Turks are acutely aware of them all," he added. "The problem is the absence of a stable atmosphere that would accelerate reform... I will tell the (Council of Europe's Parliamentary) Assembly that democracy in Turkey is not on a par with the European norms. But I will add that certain circles in Turkey are determined to make improvements and those circles should be supported," he said. He also condemned the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in strong language. "The PKK is a terrorist group and each and every one of its activities is a violation of human rights."

Saddam Sends Textbooks to Kurds

Iraqi President Saddam Hussein has supplied textbooks and stationery to northern Iraqi Kurds for the first time since he broke ties with them almost three years ago, Reuters quoted a U.N. source as saying on Sunday. "We have started transporting about two million textbooks to Kurdish students in the north," the UNICEF official in Baghdad said. "The Iraqi government finally agreed to our request to ferry the materials to the Kurds with the start of schools this year," the source added. The government newspaper al-Jumhuriya said the books and other school requirements cost the Iraqi government more than \$150 million. The paper said the books were being sent despite severe shortages in paper and stationery caused by the continuing U.N. trade sanctions imposed as punishment for the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. UNICEF said the books would cover the needs of about 600,000 Kurdish students in the provinces of Irbil, Sulaimaniya and Dahouk.

Kinkel Pays Tribute to Turks

In a weekend message on the occasion of the fourth anniversary of German unification, Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel thanked Turkey and the Turks in Germany for supporting the unification. Stressing Ankara's essential role in European integration, Kinkel said that Turkey occupied an important position in terms of four major German foreign policy objectives: The strengthening of European integration and enlargement of the European Union; commitment to the Atlantic Alliance; promotion and strengthening of multinationalism through the platforms of the United Nations and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE); and boosting Germany's ties with its allies, despite the burden imposed on it due to carrying out the reconstruction of the former Eastern Germany. "In each of these points, the role played by our ally and friend Turkey, is very important," Kinkel said in his message. But Kinkel also commented on the issue of human rights as well: "The obligation to work for universal values, such as respect of human rights, the obligation to fight against terrorism and development, ties us together," he said. Kinkel also referred to the contribution of Turkish guest workers in Germany. "Turkey is not only an important country for our foreign policy. About two million Turks live in Germany, as our countrymen and under the protection of our laws, making an important contribution to the economies of both sides," he said. "We will never forget the joy the Turks displayed at the unification."

Human Rights Diary

Inmate killed in prison riot- An inmate of Kurdish origin was killed and more than 50 other prisoners were injured during a riot in a high-security prison in southeastern Turkey, a human rights official said on Oct. 5. Akın Birdal, president of the independent Human Rights Association, said four of the injured were in serious condition following the melee on Oct. 4 in the Diyarbakır prison.

The semiofficial Anatolia news agency said the inmate died of suffocation. The inmates battled with soldiers in an attempt to block the interrogation of a prisoner. Soldiers captured him after entering the wards by firing into the air and using tear gas against inmates who fought back by throwing pieces of broken glass and other objects.

Birdal said a large number of the inmates were transferred to another prison in the southeastern city of Gaziantep. The inmates are suspected members of a Kurdish terrorist group. (*The Associated Press, October 5*)

Turkish army evacuates 17 villages- Turkish security forces torched 17 villages in an intense two-week military offensive against rebel Kurds in the remote eastern province of Tunceli, local politicians and witnesses said on Oct. 5, Reuters reported. "The people whose houses were burned are in the town centre ...and they urgently need tents and food," said Musa Yerlikaya, mayor of Ovacık township, to which the villages are linked. He said troops, in one of the biggest offensives in modern Turkish military history, had given residents of several other villages three days to get out or risk the same fate. Headmen from nine villages and Tunceli councilors sent a telegram to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, her deputy Murat Karayalçın and President Süleyman Demirel, asking for an end to the operation that left them homeless on the brink of winter. "They (soldiers) told us all to get outside and then burned the place to the ground — whole families are stranded", said the telegram, a copy of which was made available to Reuters. "We are devastated," said the villagers, who have taken refuge with friends and relations in Ovacık and Tunceli town. The villages were torched on October 3 and 4. Eight people, including four children are still missing from the village of Gökçek, which the army evacuated and destroyed on September 28. "Let those who love Tunceli cry for Tunceli," said Mehmet Ali Türkel, provincial head of the Social Democrat Populist Party (SHP) — junior partner in Turkey's ruling coalition. The military says it must empty villages and group people in large settlements in order to deny refuge and supplies to the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which is strong in the region. (*Reuters, October 5*)

Shepherd claims he was shot by village guards — Çetin Demez, a shepherd from the village of Konalga in Van's Çatak district, filed a complaint at the prosecutor's office alleging he was shot at by Konalga village guards.

The 16-year-old shepherd claimed that on July 14, he was tending his sheep one kilometer from Konalga when the village guards spotted him and started shooting. The attack left him seriously wounded.

Termez Demez, the young shepherd's father, helped his son to file a complaint. He said: "The village guards brought my son to the village on the back of a horse after he had been wounded. The soldiers serving at the gendarmerie headquarters were furious at the village guards when they saw what state my son was in."

The shepherd's father also indicated that his son had been taken to Van State Hospital by car and after 13 days had been transferred to Diyarbakır. He added that the family had approached the Human Rights Association (IHD) in Ankara because they lacked the financial resources necessary to continue with Çetin's treatment. The father said that the IHD sent Çetin to Numune hospital, then to the rehabilitation center at Kastamonu. The young shepherd had left there Sept. 23, but is still said to be greatly disturbed by the whole incident. (September 30, Turkish Daily News)

Çınar's plea rejected - The European Human Rights Commission has rejected İlkay Erhan Çınar's personal application against Turkey, diplomatic sources in Ankara said. Çınar, a member of the outlawed Workers' and Peasants' Liberation Army of Turkey (TIKKO), was sentenced to death in 1987. He then applied to the Commission, on the grounds that he was suffering from "death sentence syndrome." The Commission, however, refused to overturn the constitutional order because of Çınar's use of excessive force in murdering three people. The Commission, in reaching its decision on Sept. 5, 1994, relied on two reasons. First, that Turkey had not carried out executions since Oct. 1984. Second, that enforcement of the Anti-terrorism Law rarely resulted in death sentences. The Commission came to the conclusion that the political will in Turkey was against the enforcement of the death penalty. (*October 3, Turkish Daily News*)

turkish daily news

Saturday, October 8, 1994

Fehmi Işıklar: SHP should not run to replace ousted DEP deputies

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Fehmi Işıklar, an executive board member of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) who lost his parliamentary membership following the Constitutional Court's closure of the People's Labor Party (HEP), urged the SHP not to run in the by-elections for the posts vacated by him and by the former deputies of the now-defunct Democracy Party (DEP).

Speaking at the SHP Party Assembly and central executive board, Işıklar said he still regarded himself as a parliamentarian. Recalling that he had applied to the European Human Rights Commission concerning the decision against him, Işıklar said, "The action taken against me may not

be accepted. How can a candidate be nominated for my post?" Pointing out that DEP deputies had also lost their parliamentary memberships as a result of the Constitutional Court's action, Işıklar said that the SHP would be wrong to nominate candidates for the Dec. 4 by-elections to replace the ousted DEP deputies. By-elections will be held in 13 provinces to fill 22 parliamentary seats, of which 14 have been vacated by Işıklar and the DEP deputies.

While SHP Chairman Murat Karayalçın said the issue is open for discussion, Rıza Yılmaz, another member of the central executive board, agreed with Işıklar that the SHP should not run for the posts vacated by Işıklar and former DEP deputies.

"As a matter of fact, we had voted

against the removal of the DEP deputies' legislative immunity. We had announced that what was done was wrong. For this reason, it would not be correct if we participate in the elections in place of them," Yılmaz said. On the other hand, it has been pointed out that if the SHP runs in the districts where the parliamentary seats have become vacant due to the reasons of resignation or death, it can attain the 10 percent nationwide threshold. If the SHP does not run in those districts, even if SHP candidates in other districts attain the provincial thresholds, it would fail to attain the 10 percent nationwide threshold and would not be able to enter Parliament.

While there is a sum of 2,739,000 voters in Turkey's eastern and southeastern

Anatolia regions, the total number of voters in other districts is 1,563,000.

Whether Karayalçın will run in the by-elections will affect the SHP's decision. While it is argued that Ankara will be Karayalçın's election district, since he has served as metropolitan area mayor there, it has been said that his chance of winning from the district of Keçiören is weak. Istanbul and Adiyaman do not seem guaranteed in terms of the SHP if Karayalçın runs from those provinces. Party members say that if the SHP runs in the by-elections, Karayalçın will have to become a candidate. They add that if SHP finds itself in a risky position vis-a-vis the elections, the issue of his not participating may become important.

New Washington think-tank will push for Kurdish independence

'Kurds were promised self-determination by President Wilson'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A new think-tank is formed in Washington to help the self-determination efforts of scores of ethnic groups, among them the Kurds and Quebeckers.

The Think-Tank for National Self Determination's director Walt Landry said "national self determination was considered to be a liberal cause from the time of the Battle of Nations in 1813, in which Napoleon was defeated retreating from Moscow, until the rise of Hitler. After Hitler nationalism came to be

viewed as bad concept and few were willing to distinguish between national chauvinism as bad and national self-determination as good."

Although some groups in time have given up on their aspirations to be fully independent some have not. Kurds are one of them, Landry said. "The Kurds never ceased to remind the West that they were the only people promised national self-determination by President Wilson and then denied statehood by separate treaties between the French, British and Turks," he added.

DGM continues DEP trial hearings

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Ankara State Security Court No. 1 continued Friday to hear the treason lawsuit filed against five former Democracy Party (DEP) deputies and independent Deputy Mahmut Alınak. Haip Dicle, the former DEP chairman and ex-Diyarbakır deputy; former Mardin DEP deputy Ahmet Türk; ex-Diyarbakır deputy Leyla Zana; former Mus deputy Sırrı Sakık; ex-Şırnak deputy Othman Doğan; and Şırnak independent deputy Mahmut Alınak were arrested in March after Parliament lifted their immunities. They are charged with treason in accordance with article 125 of the Turkish Criminal Code, which carries the death

sentence. No executions have been carried out in Turkey for a decade. Muammer Unsoy, presiding judge of the court, noted that five of the 22 dossiers containing evidence were read during the previous hearing and the remaining dossiers are now being addressed. Dicle said he would disregard all evidence submitted against him except speeches by him. Two other DEP MPs were arrested later and are defendants in another court case. Six more refuse to return from Europe, where they fled after losing their DEP seats. Doğan said their ejection from Parliament was a ploy by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to boost her popularity before municipal polls on March 27.

A pessimistic view of exile

by Sumi Sastri

THE "Kurdish problem" may have slipped out of the news. Playwright, Claire Bayley, has made the anguish of Kurdish refugees a central issue in her new play, *Northern Lights*. It is directed by British-Iranian, Shabnam Shabazi, to be premiered in London, later this month.

Parmir (Mozzafar Shafeie), is a refugee seeking asylum in Britain. He goes to Laura (Lehla Eldridge), a young solicitor for advice. Laura, whose career revolves around "helping" people, is in dire need of help herself. She feels emotionally isolated. Ironically, it is Parmir, who helps Laura and the two, inevitably fall in love.

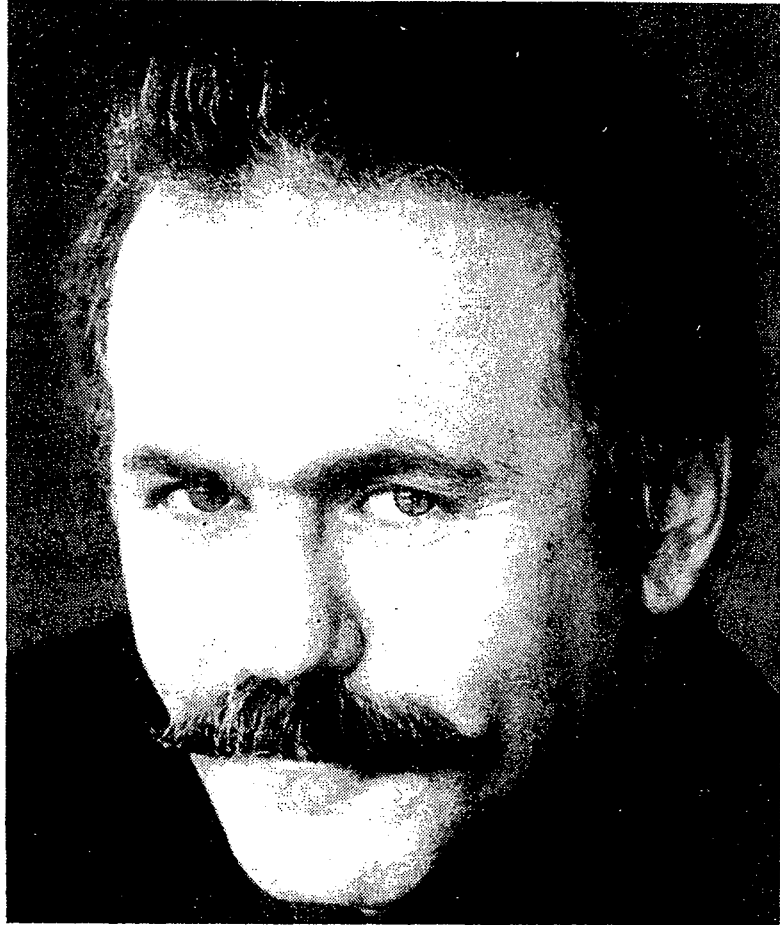
When Parmir's appeal is heard at the Home Office, the Immigration Officer (Mark Markham) cold bloodedly tells him he does not have sufficient grounds for the appeal. Parmir is deported. Laura knows he faces no uncertain death. Unable to cope, she throws herself off Archway Bridge.

She falls on a truck on its way to Glasgow. Laura who has always dreamt of the *Northern Lights*, a symbol to her of hope, achieves in death, what she could not in life.

Laura's sister, Susie (Jacqueline Britt), inconsolable after her sister's death, goes out to find the trucker, Robbie (Alexander John) to relive her sister's last journey. A relationship develops between the Scottish trucker and Susie.

"The four characters are linked together by Laura's suicide," says Bailey. "I started with this image of a woman falling from Archway bridge and worked backwards."

Shabazi's personal history drew her to the the themes of



Mozzafar Shafeie the exiled Kurdish refugee who faces the Home Office's "death sentence" Photo: Lorna Yabsley

isolation, exile and the ability or non-ability of people to cope with life's often macabre twists and turns.

Born in Iran, Shabazi came to Britain in 1979, to escape the Revolution. Shabazi's interest in the theatre led to writing and directing *There's no place like Tehran* commissioned by the Rostam School for Iranian children in exile. She has directed several plays including *Kiss of the Spider Woman*, *Clockwork Orange* and *Equus*. She is currently the Assistant Director at

Paines Plough and is interested in new writing. "The play is like a jigsaw with so many strands interwoven, the audience finds clues to the larger picture as they go along. The play makes you realise that each of us is an exile, even in our own country, in our own homes and amongst our own family."

Northern Lights will be performed at the New Grove Theatre as part of the festival of new writing *Love me Tender Love me True* from October 11 to November 5. Box Office 071-383 0925.

U.S. Forces May Not Wait For Iraq to Invade Kuwait

Saddam's Aim: Gain Leverage On Sanctions

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — In creating his latest confrontation with the United States, President Saddam Hussein of Iraq appears to have calculated that Washington has neither the ability nor the will to mobilize the huge military force it once did against him and that he can emerge from the crisis with bargaining leverage to ease United Nations sanctions against his country.

Iraqi and American analysts offering this assessment say that by pointedly deploying troops on Iraq's border with Ku-

NEWS ANALYSIS

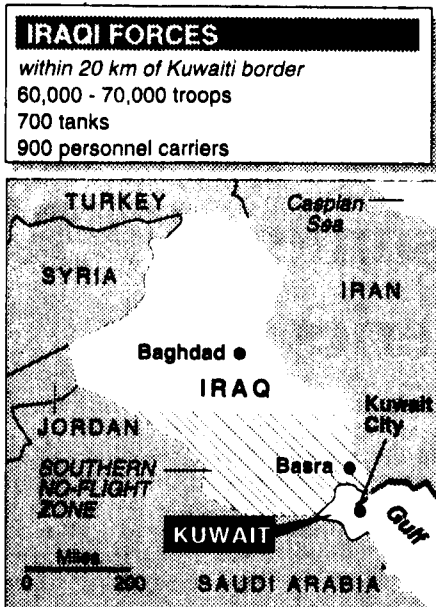
wait, Mr. Saddam has achieved his aim of putting Iraq back on the international agenda after months of being ignored and that he does not need to invade the emirate again.

Mr. Saddam and his associates believe that if they create an escalation of tensions, the United States and its allies will not be able to mobilize as they did in the Gulf War of 1991, an exiled Iraqi active in the opposition said.

They also believe, he added, that "it is not necessary to strike Kuwait" but that by creating a threat at the border, they will be taking the initiative. Mr. Saddam "will watch now to see what is the reaction of the United States and its allies," he said.

The Iraqi troops' mere presence so close to the border poses a threat that President Bill Clinton will have to deal with. At the very least, it forces Washington into an unanticipated military buildup. "It's expensive to America, and it distracts Clinton," a U.S. analyst said.

However, some exiled Iraqis who maintain clandestine contacts with critics of Mr. Saddam in Baghdad say the Iraqi leader is so desperate with the economic tailspin into which his country has fallen that he appears ready to risk the consequences of an attack on Kuwait if the United States does not respond with negotiations.



IRAQI FORCES
within 20 km of Kuwaiti border
60,000 - 70,000 troops
700 tanks
900 personnel carriers

ALLIED FORCES
2,000 U.S. troops in the Gulf
18,000 Kuwaiti troops
44 tanks
USS Leyte Gulf cruiser carrying 122 cruise missiles
USS Hewitt destroyer carrying 73 cruise missiles
USS Tripoli amphibious assault group
48 U.S. F-15 fighters in the Gulf and Turkey
6 British Tornado fighters
9 French Mirage 2000 fighters

Sources: AP, Jane's Fighting Ships

withdrew his military forces from hostile fire in Somalia and gave easy terms of departure to Haitian dictators may seek a negotiated settlement with the Iraqi leader, this is a major miscalculation, the U.S. analyst said.

As he goes into midterm elections, "it's going to be impossible for Clinton to appear soft on Saddam," the analyst said.

Indeed, most observers agree that Mr. Saddam's latest provocation stems mainly from desperation with Iraq's increasingly dire economic situation caused by four years of United Nations trade sanctions.

They say the new crisis is an attempt by Mr. Saddam to distract his people from their deteriorating conditions by appealing to their nationalist pride.

"Saddam is quite desperate," said an Iraqi opposition figure reached by phone in Kurdistan, in northern Iraq. "In Baghdad itself food prices have skyrocketed, and people are in a great state of anxiety."

Mr. Saddam may be hoping that a renewed sense of conflict and danger will take people's minds off what was one of the government's most dangerous steps in recent months: the decision to reduce by half some items in the monthly food rations given to Iraqis. But for these state rations, many Iraqis would be forced into starvation because food prices are so high.

At the same time, this latest move is risky gambit for Mr. Saddam, because he has set in motion an adventure that could have unpredictable and uncontrollable domestic consequences if the confrontation becomes long and drawn out or if unfolding events cause him to look weak before his own people.

Worst-case scenarios involve massive defections from the army or popular uprisings. A U.S. analyst said that Mr. Saddam must be very worried about disintegration of his armed forces and society in general.

"What can he do to feed these troops?" asked an Iraqi in Kurdistan. "Do you think they are going to stay massed in the desert waiting for an air strike?"

If his past performance in the 1990-91 Gulf crisis is a gauge, Mr. Saddam can be expected soon to offer a face-saving package deal to extricate himself, perhaps offering to trade Iraqi recognition of Kuwait's borders and sovereignty for an easing of the sanctions regime.

He thinks he can start from a new negotiating position, said the Iraqi in Kurdistan, because of the military threat he has placed on Kuwait's borders.

"This time he is very serious," said Baha Shabeeb, an Iraqi who says he has been briefed by informants from Baghdad. "He's rushing forces from all over Iraq to the Basra theater."

Mr. Saddam's closest advisers, drawn mainly from his Tikriti clan, "are counting 80 percent that Clinton will blink and come to the negotiating table," he said.

But "if this fails, they can attack Kuwait and kill as many Americans as possible," he said, adding: "They missed their chance last time. There was no confrontation on the ground."

Although Mr. Saddam may have gained the impression that a U.S. president who

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, OCTOBER 10, 1994

Thousands 'Volunteer' in Iraq

'Saddam Commandos' Back Anti-Sanctions Campaign

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BAGHDAD — Iraqi officials said Sunday that thousands of volunteers were rushing to join "Saddam commando" units, vowing to fight to the death if the United Nations refuses to ease sanctions against Iraq.

About 4,000 of them gathered in a stadium in Baghdad. Still wearing civilian clothes, they shouted slogans in praise of President Saddam Hussein and his demand that UN sanctions be eased.

A woman named Salima Abbas said she wanted to avenge her sons, who she said were killed when U.S. planes bombed Baghdad during the 1991 Gulf War.

Officials said recruiting centers were open throughout the country and that volunteers were reporting in the thousands for a force to be called "Saddam commandos." There was no indication when they would be trained or armed.

The Baghdad government has set a deadline of Monday for action on the sanctions. This is when Rolf Ekeus, the UN official in charge of monitoring Iraq's arsenal under Gulf War cease-fire terms, is due to report back to the Security Council.

Baghdad last week warned of unspecified consequences if the UN decided to maintain its embargo. More than 60,000 Iraqi soldiers are now stationed near the border with Kuwait.

Iraq also threatened to prevent UN arms inspectors from checking on weapons and military industries in Iraq. But a UN spokesman said on Sunday that the inspectors were working normally.

Life appeared calm in Baghdad on Sunday although residents said many basic food stuffs were scarce and prices high. There were also long lines for gasoline.

Many people doubted that another war was imminent.

"We are no longer afraid of bombs," a taxi

driver said. "It would never be like when Bush attacked us."

Residents complained of the hardship brought on by the sanctions.

"If we cannot eat, we will starve," a street-sweeper said. "Better to fight and die in action like brave men than die of hunger like cowards."

The newspaper Qadissiya said in an editorial: "We have made the decision to confront the unjust embargo with all determination and courage. We totally reject the starving of Iraqis in such a vicious and barbaric manner."

Meanwhile, armed UN observers stepped up patrols Sunday on the Iraq-Kuwait border. The observers monitored several hundred unarmed people who have erected tents on the Iraqi side of the frontier, apparently to hold an anti-Kuwaiti rally.

Sheikh Zufairi, founder of a rights group in Iraq, said the camp was a "peaceful protest movement which aims to draw world attention to the situation of these Kuwaitis deprived of their nationality and civil rights."

Speaking in his Baghdad office, provided by the Iraqi authorities, Sheikh Zufairi said: "We are civilians. We have no weapons. We chose this area to camp in order to attract world attention."

Many stateless Arabs left Kuwait during or soon after the 1990-91 Gulf crisis. Almost none of them has been allowed back.

The border demilitarized zone, a strip 15 kilometers (9 miles) wide, remained quiet.

But a spokesman for the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission said: "The number of armed patrols has increased, and we are keeping our vigilance."

The UN set up the DMZ and deployed the mission along it in 1991. Its job is to ensure that no unauthorized military personnel enter the zone. Iraqi and Kuwaiti police are allowed in.

(Reuters, AFP)

Turkish Troops Burn Kurd Villages

TUNCELI, Turkey (Reuters) — Security forces have burned down 17 more villages in eastern Turkey as they push through mountain terrain in their three-week offensive against Kurdish guerrillas, villagers said on Sunday.

U.S.-made Sikorsky and Super Cobra helicopters flew over Tunceli town all morning, ferrying in troops and launching rocket attacks against rebel positions to the northwest. They reported killing 11 guerrillas.

At least 200 families fled to the town of Hozat, in Tunceli Province, after they were driven from their homes on Saturday by security forces. The Interior Ministry says Kurdistan Workers Party guerrillas are mounting a propaganda campaign over the burning of villages to discredit the armed forces.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, OCTOBER 8-9, 1994

Failed Iran Uprising Sheds a Defiant Light

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Service

QAZVIN, Iran — Residents had posted a white welcome sign. They baked sweets and melted a ton of sugar with crushed wild berries to make *sherbat*, a festive fruit drink. Everything was ready to celebrate the birth of a new Iranian province, with Qazvin as its capital.

Glued to their radios in anticipation of the announcement that would have brought pride, glory and state funds to this once historic city of flower-lined avenues, the people of Qazvin were startled, then enraged, when the news from Tehran hit like a thunderbolt. Their day of joy turned into disappointment, defiance and death.

On Aug. 3, Parliament shattered promises by President Hashemi Rafsanjani and Interi-

or Minister Ali Mohammed Be-sharati to separate this Persian-speaking region, with its 1.4 million people, from the less populous Turkish-speaking province of Zanzan. The motion to form a new province was defeated, 105 to 103.

As word spread, a mob began smashing windows and overturning cars as it headed toward the bazaar. The revolt was led by local religious leaders, supporters of the Tehran government.

"They have given our rights to Zanzanis!" they bellowed through the streets, ordering shops to close.

A pharmacist who watched from his shop as mayhem engulfed the city center said the mob leaders "headed for the bazaar, and when they came back there were 5,000."

For 24 hours, orders to subdue the uprising were issued to nearby army garrisons, but they went unheeded. The next day, members of Parliament who came to appease the residents

were beaten and chased out of town, and the riotous crowds swelled in numbers and rage.

Eventually, the National Security Council ordered a special anti-riot force of 10,000 men from Tehran into Qazvin as the disturbances continued; it also dispatched units of the popular militia, the *Basij*, to close off all the roads leading here.

By the time calm was restored, at least 50 residents were dead and more than 100 wounded, hospital sources said.

The turmoil in Qazvin, 160 kilometers (100 miles) northwest of Tehran, was seen by many observers as a watershed event, not because it threatened the regime, but because it proved that defiance by government supporters was possible and that the armed forces were reluctant to be drawn into a showdown with the populace.

After the rioting, several military commanders warned the country's leadership against using the army as a tool of oppression, according to diplomats in Tehran and Iranian dissidents

abroad who cited letters from several commanders to Iran's supreme spiritual leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei.

Now there is quiet gratitude on the streets of Qazvin and the country in general for the army's sensitivity to the mood of its people. As during the days of the shah, when the army hesitated to shoot at anti-government demonstrators, this was seen as an ominous signal that having the instruments of power is not a guarantee of popularity or acceptance.

"When the regime cannot face the people, they will bring mercenaries to shoot at them," a shopkeeper said of the special unit that came to suppress the uprising. He said they had mounted rocket launchers on jeeps "and shot in the air to scare us."

"The army never participated," he added. "We all love the army very much, because they did not collaborate, and the people here like the local police because they did not interfere or turn against us."

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse

FRA0427 4 I 0279 CHY /AFP-NR50
Irak-Kurdes

Mouvements de troupes irakiennes également dans le nord, selon les Kurdes

ERBIL (Irak), 8 oct (AFP) - Des mouvements de troupes irakiennes ont été observés dans le nord de l'Irak, face au Kurdistan irakien qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad, ont affirmé samedi des opposants kurdes irakiens.

"Nous avons des informations sur des mouvements de troupes irakiennes en direction de Zakho", une ville kurde dans l'extrême nord de l'Irak, a déclaré à l'AFP Rosh Nouri Shaways, un responsable du "gouvernement" kurde irakien mis en place à la suite de l'insurrection du Kurdistan qui a éclaté au lendemain de la guerre du Golfe (janvier-février 1991).

La tension est vive depuis vendredi dans la région du Golfe après les informations sur l'arrivée d'unités irakiennes à proximité de la frontière du Koweït, dans le sud de l'Irak.

Selon M. Shaways, les autorités kurdes irakiennes craignent une attaque sur Zakho. Ces développements ont été samedi au centre d'une réunion à Erbil, capitale du Kurdistan irakien, qui a regroupé des représentants des principales formations kurdes irakiennes contrôlant la région, notamment le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani) et l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de M. Jalal Talabani), ainsi que du Congrès national irakien (CNI), coalition regroupant plusieurs formations kurdes et arabes de l'opposition irakienne.

M. Talabani lui-même était présent à la réunion, selon un participant.

M. Shaways a indiqué que la réunion a été convoquée pour "discuter des dernières initiatives (du président irakien) Saddam Hussein et pour prendre les mesures de précaution nécessaires".

ta-elf/lba/mmr

AFP /JO0245/082110

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse

FRA0245 3 I 0637 /AFP-MI43

Irak-Koweït prev

Saddam Hussein, l'homme qui croise le fer avec Washington (PHOTO)
par Habib TRABELSI

DUBAI, 8 oct (AFP) - Quatre ans après la crise du Golfe, le président irakien Saddam Hussein revient sur le devant de la scène comme la bête noire des Etats-Unis, qui l'accusent de masser des troupes à la frontière koweïtienne.

Le cheveu noir, la moustache drue et la démarche lente, Saddam Hussein a réussi, au prix d'une impitoyable répression interne, à survivre politiquement aux conséquences de son aventure en 1990 au Koweït.

Malgré l'écrasement de son armée pendant la guerre du Golfe, il a toujours les moyens, que ses mouvements de troupes soient réellement exceptionnels ou non, d'impressionner les monarchies du Golfe et surtout le Koweït.

Sur la scène intérieure, le fait d'apparaître comme un adversaire dangereux de la superpuissance mondiale ne devrait pas le desservir, au moment où les Irakiens souffrent de plus en plus des répercussions de l'embargo international.

Dans son obstination à ne pas quitter le pouvoir, le président irakien ne s'est jamais embarrassé de scrupules, durant plus de quinze ans de règne absolu.

Né le 28 avril 1937 à Owja, près de Takrit (150 km au nord de Bagdad) dans une famille paysanne sunnite, Saddam Hussein, orphelin de père, est élevé par son oncle qui l'envoie faire des études à Bagdad.

Nationaliste de la première heure, il adhère en 1957 au parti Baas, le parti socialiste de la révolution arabe, et participe en 1959 à un attentat contre l'ex-premier ministre Abdel Karim Kassem. Blessé à la jambe, condamné à mort par contumace, il réussit à fuir en Syrie, puis en Egypte.

De retour en Irak en 1963, il est à nouveau arrêté et emprisonné en octobre 1964. Deux ans plus tard, il s'évade et reprend ses activités clandestines, pour participer en juillet 1968 au coup d'Etat qui marque l'arrivée au pouvoir du Baas.

Dès lors, Saddam devient l'homme fort du régime à l'ombre du président Ahmed Hassan El-Bakr. Secrétaire général adjoint du parti, il est nommé vice-président du Conseil de Commandement de la Révolution (CCR, plus haute instance dirigeante) en novembre 1969.

Par une politique d'élimination systématique des opposants, notamment les séparatistes kurdes et les communistes, il affirme son autorité, tandis que décline le pouvoir du général Bakr qui démissionne, officiellement pour raison de santé.

Le 16 juillet 1979, Saddam Hussein le remplace à la tête de l'Etat, du parti Baas et du CCR. En septembre 1980, à la veille de la guerre de huit ans contre l'Iran, le rais irakien, qui se veut "le champion de la cause arabe", détient toutes les rênes du pouvoir.

Il veut faire de l'Irak la grande puissance militaire du Moyen-Orient, dirige son pays d'une main de fer et développe à l'extrême le culte de sa personnalité. En 1988, il n'hésite pas à faire usage d'armes chimiques contre les Kurdes, notamment dans le village de Halabja (nord).

Le 2 août 1990, Saddam Hussein envahit le Koweït, entraînant le déclenchement par les forces internationales, conduites par les Etats-Unis, de l'opération "Tempête du désert", qui aboutit au retrait de ses troupes de l'émirat pétrolier.

L'aventure du Koweït coûtera à l'Irak l'affaiblissement de son armée, alors qualifiée de quatrième du monde, l'épuisement de son économie,

dûrement affectée par quatre ans d'embargo, et la quasi-partition du pays, avec le développement dans le nord d'une zone kurde autonome qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad. Les programmes d'armements irakiens ont été mis en coupe réglée par l'ONU.

Mais Saddam est toujours au pouvoir et sa position, sur le plan intérieur, n'est guère menacée. A tous ses titres, il a ajouté récemment celui de Premier ministre, afin de prendre en main directement les rênes du gouvernement.

ht/lba/bd

AFP /J00245/081535 OCT 94

~~AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse — AFP — Agence France Presse~~

FRA0127 3 I 0625 /AFP-PN77

Irak-doc prév

L'Irak (Fiche technique)

BAGDAD, 9 oct (AFP) -

SITUATION GEOGRAPHIQUE ET SUPERFICIE : l'Irak a ses frontières délimitées au nord par la Turquie, à l'est par l'Iran, au sud par le Koweït et le Golfe, au sud-ouest par l'Arabie saoudite et la Jordanie et au nord-ouest par la Syrie.

D'une superficie de 438.317 km², l'Irak partage une zone neutre à sa frontière sud-ouest avec l'Arabie saoudite et le Koweït. L'Irak n'a jamais reconnu officiellement une délimitation de sa frontière avec le Koweït, notamment le dernier tracé fixé par l'ONU en 1992.

Une guerre meurtrière a opposé l'Irak à l'Iran pendant huit ans (1980-88). Le tracé de la frontière avec ce pays n'est pas définitivement délimité, avec un conflit sur le partage des eaux du Chatt al-Arab (confluent du Tigre et de l'Euphrate qui se jette dans le Golfe).

Le 2 août 1990, les troupes irakiennes ont envahi le Koweït et l'Irak a annexé l'émirat, avant d'en être chassées en février 1991 par une coalition internationale conduite par les Etats-Unis. L'Irak a annulé son annexion.

Les Etats-Unis, la France et la Grande-Bretagne ont interdit à l'aviation irakienne depuis la guerre du Golfe de survoler deux zones du pays, au sud du 32ème parallèle (habitée notamment par des chiites) et au nord du 36ème parallèle (à peuplement essentiellement kurde).

Les opposants kurdes ont proclamé en 1992 un "gouvernement" autonome dans les provinces du nord (Dohouk, Erbil et Souleimanieh) qui échappent au contrôle des autorités de Bagdad.

POPULATION : estimée à 18,5 millions d'habitants en 1993, dont plus de trois millions de Kurdes, qui vivent notamment dans le nord.

CAPITALE : Bagdad, 4 millions d'habitants environ.

RELIGION : l'Islam est religion d'Etat. Les chiites sont majoritaires (environ 55%) mais le pouvoir est sunnite. L'importante communauté chrétienne est estimée à un million de personnes.

HISTOIRE : Sous mandat britannique après la disparition de l'Empire ottoman, l'Irak devient indépendant en 1932. La monarchie est abolie en 1958 par un coup d'Etat militaire et la république est instaurée.

INSTITUTIONS POLITIQUES : Le pays est régi depuis 1968, date de prise du pouvoir par le parti Baas, par une constitution proclamant que le peuple

irakien est composé de deux nationalités, arabe et kurde, et que l'orientation économique de l'Irak est socialiste. La plus haute autorité est le Conseil de commandement de la révolution, composé principalement de dirigeants du parti Baas et présidé par Saddam Hussein.

Conseil National (Parlement) de 250 membres élus au suffrage universel.

ECONOMIE-RESSOURCES : l'Irak est soumis depuis son invasion du Koweït à un embargo international qui a sévèrement miné son économie, en lui interdisant notamment de vendre son pétrole, sa principale ressource. L'Irak est membre de l'OPEP, et ses réserves, estimées à 100 milliards de barils, sont les deuxième du monde derrière l'Arabie saoudite. Avant la guerre du Golfe, l'Irak avait une capacité de production de 3,25 millions de barils de brut par jour.

DETTE : selon des sources occidentales, la dette militaire de l'Irak s'élève à plus de 100 milliards de dollars. Il faut y ajouter quelque 150 milliards de dollars que pourrait réclamer le fond de compensation de l'ONU pour les victimes de l'attaque irakienne contre le Koweït. L'Iran exige de son côté des dédommagements de quelque 100 milliards de dollars.

FORCES ARMEES : Première puissance armée du monde arabe avant la guerre du Golfe. L'armée compte actuellement quelque 350.000 hommes, des dizaines de milliers de soldats ayant été rendus à la vie civile.

PAYS MEMBRE: de la ligue Arabe et de l'Organisation de la Conférence islamique (OCI).

sam-bc/ms

AFP /J00245/091257 OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

FRA0294 4 I 0204 IRA /AFP-VC87

Iran-Irak

Des armes chimiques près de la frontière koweïtienne, selon l'opposition chiite

TEHERAN 10 oct (AFP) - L'armée irakienne a acheminé des "armes chimiques" à proximité de la frontière koweïtienne, où elle procède depuis plusieurs jours à un important déploiement de forces, a affirmé lundi un des principaux mouvements d'opposition chiite au régime de Bagdad.

Dans un communiqué transmis à l'AFP, l'Assemblée suprême de la révolution islamique (ASRII) a indiqué que ces armes, dont elle n'a pas précisé la nature, avaient été transportées par des unités spéciales des services de renseignements militaires dans les provinces de Bassorah et de Nassirya.

L'ASRII, dirigée par l'ayatollah Mohamad Bagher Hakim, a également affirmé que des mouvements de troupes et d'artillerie en direction de la frontière koweïtienne se sont poursuivis au cours des dernières heures, le long des routes venant de Bagdad et du centre de l'Irak dont plusieurs auraient été fermées au trafic civil.

L'ASRII a enfin affirmé que "des dizaines de milliers" de soldats irakiens avaient déserté et cherché refuge dans le nord de l'Irak sous contrôle kurde ou dans les marais du sud où s'abrite une petite rébellion chiite.

lma/szb/mfo

AFP /J00245/101500 OCT 94

PROCHE-ORIENT

IRAK

L'opposition fait état de mouvements de troupes vers la frontière koweïtienne

L'opposition irakienne basée dans le Kurdistan a annoncé, jeudi 6 octobre, dans un communiqué, que des divisions de la Garde républicaine font mouvement vers la frontière koweïtienne. A l'en croire, « des divisions de la Garde républicaine, déployées autour des villes de Mossoul et de Kirkouk, font maintenant rapidement mouvement vers les villes de Basorah et d'Amara, près des frontières sud du pays ».

Un porte-parole du gouvernement koweïtien a dénoncé, jeudi, les « menaces » de l'Irak contre les pays de la région et « la poursuite des tentatives du régime irakien de contourner les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU ». D'autre part, des unités spéciales des armées koweïtienne et américaine participeront, à partir du lundi 10 octobre et jusqu'au 20 décembre, à des manœuvres conjointes, a annoncé, jeudi, l'ambassade américaine à Koweït. Celles-ci sont destinées à « démontrer la poursuite de l'engagement américain à assurer la sécurité et la stabilité dans la région du golfe Arabe ».

D'autre part, Rolf Ekeus, chef de la commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée du désarmement irakien (UNSCOM), qui doit soumettre, le 10 octobre, un rapport écrit au Conseil de sécurité, a déclaré, jeudi 6 octobre, à Bagdad : « Nous sommes en train de tester le mécanisme et, dans deux jours, nous allons annoncer le démarrage du système de contrôle à long terme des armements. »

La mise en route de ce mécanisme a lieu au terme d'un long processus d'élimination des armes de destruction massive, mené durant plus de deux ans par l'UNSCOM, en vertu des résolutions de l'ONU. Ce mécanisme concerne les programmes militaires dans les domaines nucléaire, chimique, biologique et balistique. Plus de cinquante caméras ont ainsi été installées sur plu-



sieurs sites militaires. Après la mise en route de ce mécanisme, Bagdad espère obtenir un assouplissement de l'embargo. Le paragraphe 22 de la résolution 687 prévoit une levée de l'embargo pétrolier contre l'Irak, une fois que ce pays se sera pleinement conformé à ses obligations en matière de désarmement.

« Sortir le peuple de son épreuve »

Plusieurs pays, dont trois des cinq membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité – France, Russie et Chine, – sont maintenant favorables à une levée partielle de l'embargo après une période probatoire de six mois. Mais les Etats-Unis – le secrétaire au Trésor, Lloyd Bentsen, l'a répété, jeudi, à Djedda – et la Grande-Bretagne, ainsi que l'Arabie saoudite, réclament, en revanche, le maintien des sanctions contre l'Irak tant que ce pays n'appliquera pas « toutes » les résolutions de l'ONU, notamment celle relative à la reconnaissance de sa nouvelle frontière avec le Koweït.

Le ministre irakien des affaires étrangères, Mohamed El Sahaf, a affirmé, jeudi, que son pays s'en tenait à « une période probatoire de six mois ». Selon lui, Bagdad a demandé à M. Ekeus d'inclure dans son rapport que « l'Irak s'est pleinement conformé aux exigences de la résolution 687 » de l'ONU en matière de désarmement. « Nous allons attendre le texte du rapport pour définir notre position », a-t-il ajouté, jugeant que, face « à la partialité de M. Ekeus, il est du droit de l'Irak de chercher d'autres moyens pour se défendre ».

Selon l'agence de presse INA, le président Saddam Hussein s'est dit, jeudi, « mécontent » des résultats des entretiens que M. Ekeus a eus à Bagdad. « La direction irakienne s'apprête à examiner une nouvelle position pour faire régner le droit et sortir le peuple irakien de son épreuve », a affirmé un porte-parole à l'issue d'une réunion conjointe du Conseil de commandement de la révolution (CCR) et de la direction nationale du parti Baas. – (AFP, Reuter.)

Neue Fronten im Kampf Ankara gegen die PKK

Während in der türkischen Hauptstadt das Verfahren gegen sechs des «Landesverrats» angeklagte kurdische Parlamentarier fortgesetzt wurde, verstärken sich im Osten Kämpfe zwischen Armee und PKK.

Istanbul. Nicht zum ersten Mal ist die ostanatolische Stadt Tunceli Schauplatz blutiger Zusammenstöße zwischen der kurdischen Alewiten-Bevölkerung, einer schiitischen Glaubensgemeinschaft, und den sunnitischen Provinzbehörden. 1936 wehrten sich die Bewohner der unwirtlichen Gebirgsregion auf halbem Weg zwischen Ankara und der iranischen Grenze gegen die nationale Wehrpflicht und gleichzeitig gegen ungerechtfertigte Steuerforderungen. Im Tiefflug zerstörte die türkische Luftwaffe damals ganze Siedlungen und zwang die Bewohner zur Flucht. Bis heute herrscht in Tunceli Misstrauen.

Die Kurdenguerilla PKK («Arbeiterpartei Kurdistans») nutzte diese regierungsfeindliche Stimmung und erklärte die Dörfer der Provinzen Tunceli, dem nördlich angrenzenden Erzincan und selbst der Alewiten-Hochburg Sivas zu Zentren ihrer «Nordfront». In der Folge versuchte das türkische Oberkommando, die sunnitische Minderheitenbevölkerung für sich zu gewinnen und rüstete regimetreue «Dorfwächter» mit Waffen aus. Die PKK, deren Bewegungsfreiheit im Südosten des Landes durch die Übermacht der Armee immer stärker eingeschränkt wird, verlegte ihrerseits mehrere tausend Milizen in die Täler des Munzur-Gebirges nördlich von Tunceli, in das Bergtal Ovacik.

Um der Ausweitung der neuen Front Richtung Westtürkei zuvorzukommen, sandte die türkische Armee Ende August Bodentruppen, Artillerie und auch Luftwaffeneinheiten, 20 000 Mann, in das Kampfgebiet. Auf der Suche nach den kurdischen «Terroristen» werden zudem seit zwei Wochen ganze Siedlungen niedergebrannt, eine Taktik, die Ankaras Generalstab in Südostanatolien seit über zwei Jahren praktiziert. Und nicht anders als im südlichen Grenzgebiet sollen laut Augenzeugenberichten auch in der Region Tunceli bereits Hunderte von Dorfbewohnern ihr gesamtes Hab und Gut, Nahrungsmittelvorräte und Viehherden, durch die militärischen «Säuberungsaktionen» verloren haben. «Nicht ein einziges Huhn haben sie am Leben gelassen», berichtete ein Dorfbewohner aus Gökcek unweit von Ovacik.

Diese «Taktik der verbrannten Erde» wurde von Kurden-Politikern seit langem als menschenrechtswidrig angeprangert, da sie vor allem die Zivilbevölkerung trifft. Sie fanden kein Gehör, sondern wurden wie die sechs Parlamentarier der verbotenen kurdischen «Demokratie-Partei» (DEP), die in Ankara vor Gericht stehen, als «PKK-Sympathisanten» hingestellt. Erst nach den jüngsten Vorstößen von Abgeordneten aus Tunceli hat der türki-

sche Staatspräsident Süleyman Demirel am Donnerstag eine Untersuchung über die angebliche Zerstörung von mindestens 17 Siedlungen im Bergtal von Ovacik angeordnet. Es ist das erste Mal, das die oberste Staatsbehörde die Art der Kriegsführung gegen die PKK-Separatisten in Zweifel zieht und damit auf ausländische Forderungen, die Zivilbevölkerung aus dem Kampf gegen die kurdischen Autonomisten herauszuhalten, eingeht. *Martin Peter*

Basler Zeitung

Samstag, 8. Oktober 1994
Nr. 235

LA LIBERTÉ - 9 OCTOBRE 1994

TURQUIE

Le procès des députés kurdes jugés séparatistes reprend

**La Cour refuse la remise en liberté et ajourne les débats.
Ils sont passibles de la peine de mort selon le Code pénal.**

Le procès de six députés turcs d'origine kurde, passibles de la peine de mort pour «séparatisme», a repris hier. La Cour de sûreté de l'Etat a cependant aussitôt ajourné les débats, mais refusé la mise en liberté des accusés.

La Cour a décidé de la «poursuite de l'état d'arrestation» des six députés du Parti prokurde de la démocratie (DEP), dissous en juin. En vertu de l'article 125 du Code pénal turc, ils sont accusés d'«avoir constitué l'aile politique» du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) au sein du Parlement et passibles de la peine de mort. Il leur est reproché «d'avoir collaboré avec le PKK pour créer un

Kurdistan indépendant. Parmi les preuves figurent des déclarations des députés parues dans la presse, des textes d'interventions prononcées lors de différentes réunions publiques en Turquie et à l'étranger. L'accusation a également produit des enregistrements de conversations téléphoniques avec le chef du PKK et un document sur les rapports entre le PKK et le DEP.

Les six députés sont MM. Hatip Dicle, président du DEP, Ahmet Turk, Orhan Dogan et Sirri Sakik, ainsi que Mme Leyla Zana, tous membres du DEP, dissous le 16 juin. Parmi eux figure aussi le député indépendant M. Alinak, démissionnaire du DEP.

ATS

turkish daily news

Monday, October 10, 1994

CSCCE co-chairman Hoyer wants to attach conditions to defense assistance to Turkey as well

'Turks wage war on their own citizens during the fighting against the PKK'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON DC- Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland, co-chairman of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), said that, "despite our mutual strategic and economic interests, we should express serious reservations about continuing to provide the weapons Turkey uses on its own citizens."

The action taken by this Congress to condition 10 percent of Turkey's foreign assistance on human rights performance indicates growing concern, yet affects only a small amount of favorable loans. Turkey also receives billions of dollars of excess defense equipment and other assistance, and perhaps it is time that we consider conditioning this."

In a speech he delivered on the floor of the U.S. House of Representatives, Hoyer said he was again rising "to protest actions by the Turkish government which raise serious commitments about professed human rights commitments." Hoyer was referring to the fact that Jonathan Sugden, Amnesty International's leading

researcher in Turkey, has been declared persona non grata in Turkey. "He is now barred from entering Turkey to look further into the deteriorating human rights situation of Turkey's Kurdish population."

'Again seriously miscalculated'?

The CSCE co-chairman claimed that "over the years, the government of Turkey has understandably resented Amnesty's attention to widespread torture, political prisoners, and the brutality used to suppress Kurds. Yet though Turkey's leadership denounced Amnesty's findings as being politically motivated, and often refused to meet with Amnesty officials, they nevertheless allowed Amnesty researchers access to the country. If leaders of Turkey now believe that by barring human rights investigators they will escape embarrassing scrutiny, they have again seriously miscalculated."

Such action will only draw increased interest and attention to the very practices the government seeks to keep out of view."

Hoyer warned that "this issue will surely be raised at the upcoming CSCE Budapest Review Meeting and will likely contribute to calls by a number of states to invoke the Moscow Human Rights Mechanism to mandate a CSCE monitoring mission to Turkey." The offer of such an CSCE mission by German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel was recently rejected by his Turkish counterpart, Mümtaz Soysal.

Hoyer claimed that the forceful military response to PKK "has generated more recruits for the PKK than the PKK could have ever enlisted itself."

"For years, the Turkish Government tried to crush the PKK militarily. And while this objective is understandable, in the process of combatting the PKK, the government has waged war upon its own citizens — razing Kurdish villages, destroying livestock and crops, and forcing over a million Kurds to become refugees in their own country." Then Hoyer went on to suggest that defense assistance to Turkey might also be have conditions attached to "indicate (our) growing concern."

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—A.F.P. — Agence France Presse—

ECF0211 4 F 0512 TUR /AFP-UN28

Eco.

La nouvelle crise dans le Golfe est un coup dur pour la Turquie
par Hervé COUTURIER

ANKARA, 10 oct (AFP) - La nouvelle tension à la frontière irako-koweïtienne est un coup dur pour la Turquie, membre de la coalition anti-irakienne de 1990, qui souffre de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak et s'efforçait de convaincre ses alliés de le lever.

La Turquie "est inquiète de la situation actuelle", cette nouvelle crise "porte un coup aux efforts de normalisation, aux efforts pour améliorer la situation de l'Irak", a-t-on déclaré lundi de source gouvernementale turque.

Selon les observateurs unanimes à Ankara, la première conséquence de la crise actuelle sera la prolongation de l'embargo décrété par l'ONU contre le régime de Saddam Hussein.

Or depuis des mois Ankara travaillait à limiter les dégâts pour son économie de cet embargo, qui lui a coûté, selon des chiffres avancés par les plus hautes autorités de l'Etat, quelque 20 milliards de dollars depuis son imposition en 1990 après l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak.

Ce manque à gagner correspond aux droits de transit du pétrole irakien par l'oléoduc irako-turc Kirkouk-Yumurtalik, fermé depuis l'embargo, et à la disparition quasi totale d'un important commerce frontalier.

La disparition de ce commerce a achevé de dévaster l'économie du Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, où des rebelles séparatistes mènent depuis dix ans une lutte armée contre le gouvernement d'Ankara.

L'action diplomatique turque visait dans un premier temps à sauvegarder l'oléoduc, menacé de corrosion par les quelque 12 millions de barils de pétrole qui s'y trouvent bloqués depuis sa fermeture, en le vidangeant.

De longs efforts en ce sens, menés principalement par le numéro deux de la diplomatie turque, M. Ozdem Sanberk, et qui semblaient cet été sur le point d'aboutir, sont de nouveau au point mort à la suite d'un raidissement de l'attitude irakienne.

Au-delà du problème de l'oléoduc, Ankara s'efforçait de convaincre ses partenaires de la coalition anti-irakienne de la vanité de la poursuite de l'embargo. Cette position a été affirmée avec netteté par le nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, M. Mumtaz Soysal.

"En résistant aux sanctions, Saddam Hussein est devenu un héros aux yeux de son peuple, déclarait M. Soysal le 26 septembre. L'embargo a eu un effet inverse à celui qui était recherché. Nous le disons franchement à nos alliés: votre politique est erronée, il faut en changer".

M. Soysal avait également mis en place une nouvelle politique concernant les entrées dans le nord de l'Irak à partir de la Turquie, imposant à la plupart des étrangers d'obtenir un visa irakien pour pouvoir passer. Selon nombre d'observateurs, cette décision revenait à restituer à Bagdad une parcelle d'autorité dans cette région sous contrôle des Kurdes d'Irak depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe.

Ankara avait également rouvert son poste frontalier de Habur à un commerce de petite échelle, essentiellement des livraisons de nourriture par des camions qui revenaient chargés de gazole.

HC/dfg/pa

AFP /JO0245/101341

OCT 94

EDITORIAL

L'Irak sort ses chars*Par Antoine Maurice*

Quatre ans après la guerre du Golfe qui avait vu la plus formidable coalition militaire de l'Histoire intervenir contre l'agresseur irakien du Koweït, l'Irak masse à nouveau ses troupes non loin de la frontière koweïtienne. L'acte est conçu comme un défi aux Nations Unies qui gèrent les sanctions en vigueur contre l'Irak. Les diplomates irakiens dans le monde ne cachent pas le caractère menaçant de la manœuvre militaire à l'égard du Koweït.

Il y a quatre ans c'était la guerre du Golfe, exemple sans précédent d'une intervention mondiale de rétablissement de l'ordre entre deux Etats en conflit de frontières. Depuis lors, l'Irak est devenu un Etat paria. Démembré au Nord où le Kurdistan irakien est soustrait à l'autorité de Bagdad, il l'est également au Sud chiite par une zone d'exclusion de l'armée irakienne. Au fil d'une opiniâtre pression les Nations Unies ont réussi à priver le régime de ses armes de destruction massive et de la capacité d'en reconstruire. Mais surtout, l'Irak est soumis au plus strict embargo commercial, les Etats voisins veillant scrupuleusement à ce que rien n'entre ni ne sorte du pays sauf des médicaments.

L'exportation du pétrole qui fit l'essentiel de la richesse irakienne est stoppée. Les conditions occidentales, que Saddam Hussein refuse, prévoient qu'en cas de reprise les revenus du pétrole seraient d'abord destinés à payer d'immenses dommages de guerre causés au Koweït. Le résultat est une situation économique intérieure dévastée par le renchérissement incalculable des biens de première nécessité. Le rationnement ne permet pas à la population de survivre. On ne sait s'il faut jusqu'ici s'étonner le plus de la gravité de cette situation ou de la capacité de l'Etat à maintenir le couvercle sur un mé-

contentement populaire monumental. Le régime tient donc contre toute attente. Il tient parce qu'il a déployé une dureté sans équivalent dans le contrôle et la répression de la population; l'arsenal pénal donne la nausée. Mais il emprunte aussi à sa situation de réprouvé international sa seule parcelle de légitimité. En ce sens, l'équilibre systémique par lequel Etats-Unis et Irak se confortent depuis 1989 de leur hostilité mutuelle a survécu à la présidence Bush.

Foncièrement, si les Etats-Unis n'ont pas poussé l'opération Tempête du désert jusqu'à la chute de Saddam, c'est parce qu'ils sont convaincus que le régime successeur (islamiste?) risquerait d'être plus nuisible encore. Au demeurant, sur le marché international du pétrole l'absence de l'Irak est devenue pour les producteurs du Golfe un fait accompli fructueux auquel il leur est très difficile de renoncer. D'où la poursuite d'un harcèlement qui rend l'Irak inviable et néanmoins solidement contenu dans ses frontières.

On est donc de retour à la vieille question du Golfe: que veut Saddam? La réponse reste toujours aussi irréductible en termes de stratégie et de psychologie occidentales, ce qui fait d'ailleurs sa valeur de surprise. Ayant reconstitué un morceau de son armée de terre, Saddam Hussein tente de rompre l'encerclement. Plusieurs Etats, y compris au Conseil de sécurité, sont d'avis que la punition de l'embargo a assez duré. En poussant ses troupes au Koweït Saddam fait pression sur eux, en même temps qu'il cherche sans doute une soupape d'évacuation pour la colère de son peuple. Dans cette nouvelle négociation au bord de la transgression tout est possible, y compris des incursions armées irakiennes au Koweït. ■

**Quatre ans après,
Saddam Hussein
n'a rien perdu
de ses mauvaises
manières
internationales**

Security forces kill over 100 terrorists in past two weeks

Monday, October 10, 1994

turkish daily news

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Over 100 separatist militants and members of various terrorist organizations have been killed during operations over the past two weeks in Turkey, mostly in the south-east, according to official sources.

A total of 116 such people have been killed in various clashes while 127 militants of various illegal organizations were taken into custody according to these sources.

Thirty-two militants of the illegal separatist organization "Rizgari" were taken into custody during operations organized by the Izmir Police which acted on information gathered after an armed robbery of an IS-Bank branch in the Aliaga region of Izmir.

The suspects were said to have used police uniforms during the raid. The robbery was carried out by "Yekiti Rizgari Nevata Kurdistan" (YRNK), the armed wing of "Rizgari." Three people were killed and two wounded during the robbery of TL 9 billion from the bank's safe.

The "Rizgari" suspects reportedly confessed that they had started to reorganize their group in 1990 and had opened the "Komal Publications Bureau," as well as the "Arya Cultural Center," both in Izmir, in order to create a public platform and win partisans for their movement.

In their statements, they reportedly indicated that they had traveled to Greece on the invitation of the "Kurdish-Greek Cultural Association."

They were said to have pointed out that they met with organization members in Greece and conducted meetings to form strategies.

The Rizgari suspects were sent to the Izmir State Security Court (DGM) after their statements were taken.

Meanwhile, twenty-eight suspected militants of the illegal Islamic fundamentalist organization "Hezbollah" were taken into custody after an operation by the special anti-terror task forces in Diyarbakir.

According to Police reports, the "Ilmçiler" fraction of the Hezbollah has been involved in 42 murders, 37 attacks resulting in injuries, several bombings and kidnappings. Twenty-six of the militants were arraigned by the Diyarbakir State Security Court (DGM).

Specially constructed secret hide-outs were discovered in three different houses. Here were found one Kalashnikov long-range gun, two MP-5 automatic machine guns, 25 guns of various brands and calibers, three gas guns, five hand grenades,

four electric fuses, three silencers, two bars of TNT, as well as a large store of time-bombs, military clothing and propaganda material. In addition, thirty-four militants of the illegal leftist organization "DEV-SOL" (Revolutionary-Left) were taken into custody in Istanbul, Sivas, Mersin and Bursa in various operations.

A total of 30 separatist partisans were taken into custody in Agri's Doğubayazit district. This large group was identified following information given by three militants who had been seized previously in the area.

Three LAV machines, 45 dynamite barrels, 80 Kalashnikov magazines, two LPG tubes, eight sacks of rice and other provisions were confiscated during the search.

The large group of partisans, who provided the militants with logistical support, was handed over to the authorities in Agri. In another big operation conducted in Sivas' Zara, İmralı, Hafik, Kangal and Divriği regions, 150 PKK militants were reported to have been surrounded and 40 killed. One junior officer and three government soldiers slightly wounded. Ten other separatists were killed in Bitlis and Siirt during the ongoing operations in the region.

Seven militants were killed in clashes in Hakkari, Tunceli and Batman, according to police officials, and 11 other armed men were arrested in the Lice and Kup districts of Diyarbakir. A total of 64 unsolved cases, involving 133 cases of murder, were cleared up as a result.

Meanwhile, four terrorists in possession of a large quantity of high explosive were taken into custody in Antalya. This small band of terrorists had been planning a series of attacks on social and touristic locations. Explosive devices and a considerable amount of TNT were found, along with various illegal publications. The terrorists will be handed over to the Izmir DGM after they have been questioned.

In the operations continuing in Diyarbakir, 19 PKK militants were killed and four were taken into custody according to an announcement from the Emergency rule governor's office.

Civilian targets

Last week, militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), continued their attacks on civilian targets. A total of 30 people were killed, and 13 were kidnapped, in various parts of Turkey.

The militants massacred eight villagers in the village of Gumuskanat in Bitlis during a raid. The victims were mainly women and children from this small village. Six other villagers were wounded and taken by helicopter to the nearby state hospital.

In another incident in the same region, militants blocked the Bitlis-Baykan highway, where they wounded four people and kidnapped a further eight.

In Hakkari's Yüksekova district, the corpses of three village guards and one Imam were found. The victims had been kidnapped ten days ago. Two other village guards managed to escape the terrorists.

The "People's Democracy Party" (HADEP) Yüreğdir district chairman, Rebih Çabuk, and board member Sefer Car were killed by unknown suspects who opened fire on them in the Mutlu district. The nephew of the former State Minister Mehmet Karahan, Salim Karahan (20), was found dead near the district of Silvan. The victim had been kidnapped by unknown suspects twenty days ago. Widespread searches for the murderers continue.

One police officer lost his life after he was shot by two people at a road block in Istanbul-Üsküdar. The two suspects had opened fire after they had handed their ID's to the police officers. Another officer was wounded and was taken to hospital immediately.

PKK militants executed three bus-passengers after stopping a bus on the Bingöl-Muş highway. Before killing the passengers, the militants made propaganda speeches. They are now being sought by security forces.

In Van, PKK militants killed 6 soldiers and wounded 9 during a raid on the Suveren Gendarmerie station in the district of Başkale. Four shepherds were also kidnapped in Gürpınar. The condition of the nine wounded soldiers was said to be improving. Meanwhile, two children, one in Erzurum and one in Kars, were killed after hand-grenades they were playing with exploded in their hands.

In Europe, an estimated 200 separatists occupied a river bridge on the frontier between Germany and France. The move came after French authorities had denied permission for a demonstration in front of the European Council building. The 200 separatists came from the German town of Mannheim.

Monday, October 10, 1994

NEWS ANALYSIS

Saddam's move a setback for Turkish policy

Ankara remains mute on Iraqi troop buildup on Kuwaiti border

By Semih D. Idiz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's decision to raise the stakes in the Persian Gulf again by amassing troops on the Kuwaiti border, in what appears to be an act of defiance, has also made short shrift of Ankara's Iraq policy, diplomatic sources said on Sunday.

The prediction is that Ankara's efforts to get Baghdad to comply with U.N. conditions that would enable the

Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline, running between the two countries, to be flushed, will be put on the back burner in earnest this time.

In addition to this, the development has also made it more difficult for Turkey to maintain some of the arguments it has been putting forward vis-a-vis Northern Iraq, these sources add.

Diplomatic sources also predict that arguments supporting the maintenance of Operation Provide Comfort, the allied initiative deployed in Southeast Anatolia to protect the Northern Iraqi Kurds, will have gained added support now, regardless of how unpopular this operations is in Turkey.

Reflecting its uncertainty over these developments, Ankara remained relatively mute over the weekend in its official response to Saddam's move to amass his forces along the Kuwaiti border.

A short statement issued from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs late Saturday said that Iraq's ambassador to Ankara, Rafi Daham Mijwal El Tikriti, had been summoned to the Ministry by Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk.

The statement said El Tikriti was asked to provide information on talks in Baghdad held by the chairman of the U.N.'s Special Commission on Iraq, Rolf Ekeus, as well as "on developments after these contacts."

The statement, which did not spell out what these "developments" were, added that El Tikriti had been informed of the importance Turkey attached to "the need to refrain from the creation of an environment of tension in the region."

"It was indicated, in particular, that an environment of tension, just before Ekeus submitted a report on the point reached in

the positive dialogue between Iraq and the Special Commission to the U.N. Security Council, would affect Iraq's expectations for a lifting of the oil embargo negatively," the statement said.

While the statement concluded by indicating Turkey's view "that utmost caution should be exercised" to prevent an escalation of tension in the region, it was nevertheless noteworthy that there was no direct reference to the situation along the Iraqi-Kuwaiti border.

Displeased with the economic losses it has been incurring as a result of the U.N. embargo on Iraq, Ankara, almost from the day that Prime Minister Çiller came to power in June 1993, has been trying to come up with means of circumventing the U.N. sanctions to cover some of its losses.

One argument of Ankara's has been that the catastrophic economic effects of the sanctions on Southeast Anatolia in particular have contributed to destabilizing further a part of Turkey where the armed forces are fighting separatist militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

In addition to this Ankara has also been working for a one-off flushing of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline.

The pipeline has remained dormant since 1990 with millions of barrels of oil stuck in it and Turkey has wanted to flush it in order to prevent corrosion to what is, after all, a multibillion-dollar asset.

This issue has been the subject of an open dialogue between Ankara and Baghdad, which has entailed high-level visits both ways that were frowned upon mainly in Washington.

Although Turkey braved criticism from the West in order to maintain this line of dialogue with Iraq, it appears that a recent snub by Baghdad has been instrumental in making officials in Ankara think twice now about the merits of a such dialogue.

The snub was said to have occurred in a meeting between Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz and Turkish Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal in New York recently during the U.N. General Assembly.

At that meeting Aziz is said to have indicated that there would be no flushing of the pipeline under a separate agreement and that if this was done at all it would be done within the context of the full lifting of the embargo on Iraq.

Soysal's subsequent remarks to the effect that "negotiations on the subject would be continuing" were taken as attempted "face saving."

Officials in Ankara said later that Iraq's dialogue in the past months with Turkey appeared, in the light of this latest position, to have been only for "propaganda purposes."

Turkey has furthermore been trying, through its discussions with Baghdad, to prevent any inclination by the Iraqi Kurds to move toward any form of enhanced autonomy which would have independence as its next step.

Most notable among Ankara's argument vis-a-vis northern Iraq has been that the Iraqi Kurdish leaders should engage in dialogue with Baghdad to patch up their differences with Saddam.

This was based on an assumption that Saddam, having been chastised by the world community, had little choice but to cooperate with the Kurds in an accommodating manner even if he was loath to do so.

Ankara's position was that such a dialogue would put an end to any chance of an independent Kurdistan being established as it would by implication confirm the Kurds' commitment to Iraq's territorial integrity and an addressing of their grievances within the context of a unified Iraq.

But, by showing now the extent to which he is able to continue to defy the U.N. Security Council, Saddam has also eliminated any hope that he could be a reasonable and understanding interlocutor for the Kurds.

The general expectation now is that the "re-demonizing" of Saddam will lend general credence to the basic argument of the Kurds that the Iraqi leadership is not open to honest dialogue and that Saddam Hussein continues to represent a mortal threat for the Kurds if left unchecked.

The fact that Saddam has opted for brinkmanship again will also, it is thought, serve to merely strengthen the argument by the Iraqi Kurds for a broadly based autonomy short of total independence from Baghdad.

Iraqi Kurdish sources contacted by the Turkish Daily News acknowledged that these expectations are in line with the thinking of various Kurdish leaders in northern Iraq who ironically see more opportunity for themselves in the first instance in Saddam's latest move than an immediate threat.

The determination of the northern Iraqi Kurds to avail themselves of the opening provided them by Saddam is expected to translate into the adoption in Paris soon of a document which Turkey has called "an apparent constitution for a proposed independent Kurdistan."

The first meeting in Paris under the auspices of the French authorities had angered Ankara, which was not aware such a gathering had been planned.

While recent reports said Ankara had been successful in preventing a planned second meeting in Paris, it appears now that the northern Iraqi Kurds are intending to hold this meeting in the coming days in defiance of Turkey.

A source close to the Northern Iraqi Kurdish leadership said Sunday that while the desire of the Iraqi Kurds was to work with Turkey they were prepared to go it alone if Ankara snubbed them.

Analysts say all of this will push Ankara — which has now been embarrassed by Saddam and has been put in a difficult position vis-a-vis northern Iraq — to rapidly work out a coherent policy on Iraq as a whole, and on relations with the Iraqi Kurds, in particular.

turkish daily news

Turkey cautious on reports of troop movements in Northern Iraq

Ankara summons Iraqi ambassador and tells Baghdad not to heighten the tension in the region

TDN with wire dispatches

ANKARA- Officials in Ankara are remaining "cautious" in the face of reports of large scale movements by Iraqi troops in Northern Iraq.

One well placed official told the Turkish Daily News on Sunday that the movements monitored by Ankara in the past few days have been away from the region and towards the south rather than other way around.

The official, who wished to remain anonymous, showed the movement of the "Mosul Detachment" as an example of this and said Ankara had monitored its movement southwards some days ago. The Reuters news agency quoting "sources with good contacts in the north of Iraq," said on Sunday that Iraqi troops had moved towards Kurdish-held territory in the north of the country in the past few days. "We have to look on this as a serious development," a source quoted by Reuters said.

An Iraqi engineering battalion began moving on secondary roads towards areas held by Kurdish guerrillas north of the city of Mosul in the middle of last week, this source added. The troops had reached the fringe of Kurdish-held territory some 70

km (45 miles) northwest of Mosul on Saturday he said. The official contacted by the TDN said news to this effect had not reached Ankara and indicated they would view these reports "with great caution."

There were also suggestions in Ankara on Sunday that Northern Iraqi sources were spreading reports of Iraqi troop movements to draw international attention to Northern Iraq, and to use this for enhancing the West's protection of the region.

The source informing the TDN said that in order for there to be major troop movements towards northern Iraq this would have to come from the "Baghdad Detachments," because the Mosul detachments had been moved south.

He said that as yet there appeared to be no movement from Baghdad towards Mosul.

The Iraqi Kurds have been complaining some time of getting diminishing attention from the world community although they remain exposed and vulnerable.

Despite remaining cautious Ankara was not discounting any reports either aware of the brinkmanship that Saddam Hussein

appears bent on playing.

Clearly concerned over where Baghdad's apparent provocations may lead, Turkey warned Iraq on Saturday "not to raise the tension in the region."

The foreign ministry said in a statement that Undersecretary Ozdem Sanberk had summoned Iraqi Ambassador Rafi Daham Mijwal El Tikriti to the ministry on Saturday evening to be given this message.

Meanwhile the Anatolian news agency reported on Sunday that Eight F-16 warplanes and a cargo aircraft had left the joint U.S.-Turkish air base at Incirlik in southern Turkey in the morning.

"We are carrying out normal operations," a U.S. military public affairs officer at Incirlik said.

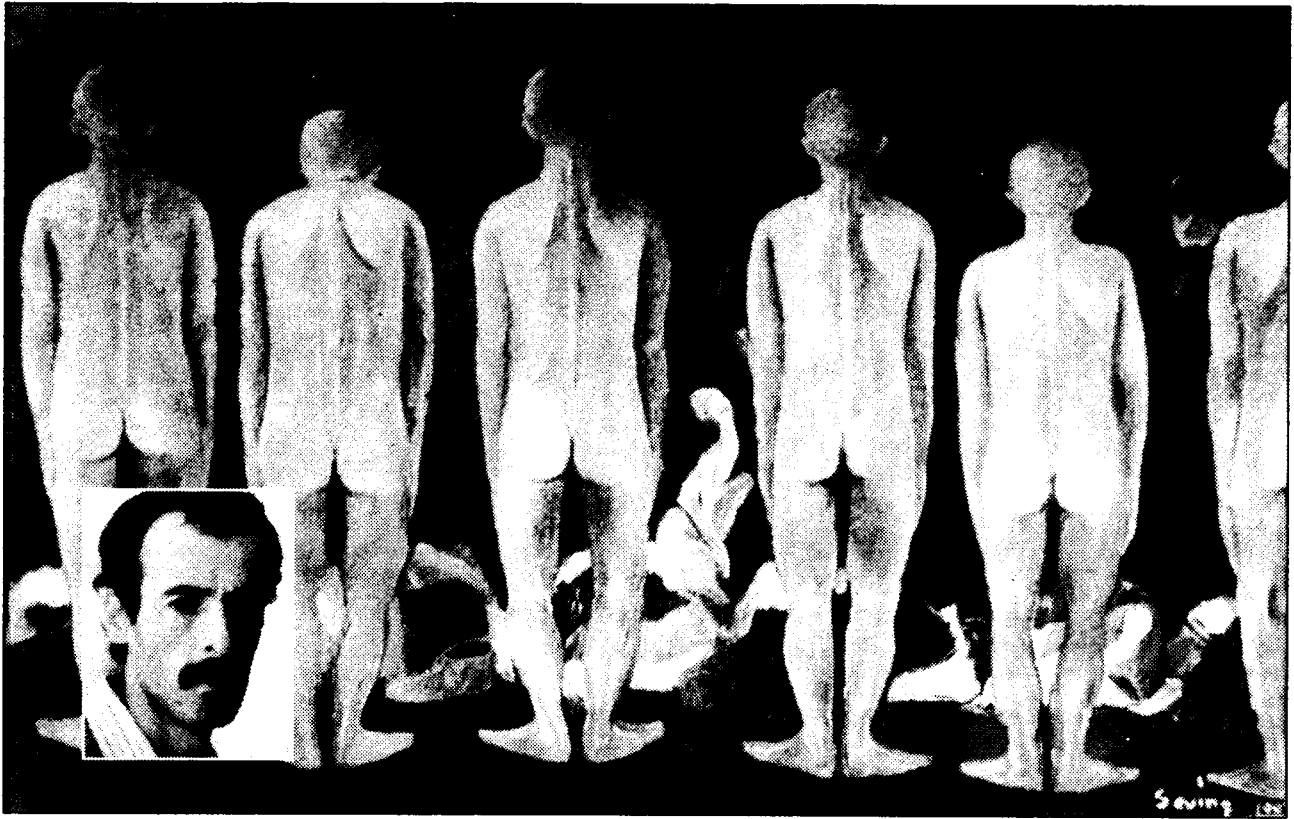
The allied forces use the base to patrol the U.N. imposed no-fly zone over northern Iraq.

The allied force comprising U.S., British and French warplanes, has been patrolling the skies north of the 36th parallel in Iraq since spring 1991 to deter forces loyal to Saddam Hussein from attacking the Iraqi Kurds and other minorities in the region.

turkish daily news

Monday, October 10, 1994

Ένα συγκλονιστικό **BIBLIO** περιγράφει με σκίτσα την μαρτυρική ζωή των **ΚΟΥΡΔΩΝ** αγωνιστών στις φυλακές του Ντιγιαρμπακίρ



Σωματική έρευνα. Στη μικρή φωτογραφία ο κρατούμενος ζωγράφος Αρίφ Σεβίνκ.

Το εξπρές του μεσονυκτίου

Η δίκη των κουρδών βουλευτών, που επαναλαμβάνεται στην Αγκυρα αυτές τις μέρες, ξαναφέρει δραματικά στην επικαιρότητα το κουρδικό πρόβλημα. Ο συγγραφέας των «Κεκαρμένων» και του «Εγώ ειμι Κύριος ο Θεός σου» Νίκος Κασδαγλής, με το καινούριο του διβλίο «Το Αραράτ αστράφτει» ζει θήμα προς θήμα το κουρδικό δράμα, αναπλαθοντας την εκτενή διηγησή του κούρδου αγωνιστή που σήμερα ζει και δρα στην Ελλάδα.

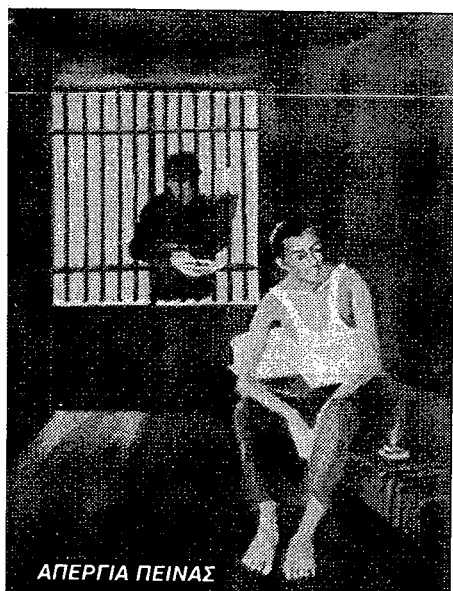
Η «Κυριακάτικη Ε.» δημοσιεύει σήμερα απόσπασμα του βιβλίου που αναφέρεται στα βασανιστήρια των Κούρδων μέσα στις τουρκικές φυλακές. Οι ζωγραφιές που συνοδεύουν το κείμενο είναι του Κούρδου Arif Sevinc, εμπνευσμένες από τη θη-

τεία του στις φυλακές του Ντιγιαρμπακίρ. Πρόκειται για ένα «Εξπρές του μεσονυκτίου», ειδικό από κουρδική σκοπιά. Αλλά και η ομοιότητα των περιγραφών με τους «Ανθρωποφύλακες» του Περικλή Κοροβέση, γραμμένο για τα βασανιστήρια στις φυλακές της χούντας, είναι αξιοσημείωτη.

Το βιβλίο θα κυκλοφορήσει στα τέλη Οκτωβρίου από τις εκδόσεις «Κέδρος».

«Εμείνα πενήντα δύο μέρες στην ασφάλεια, στην Κωνσταντινούπολη. Μπαίνοντας στην ασφάλεια μου 'δεσαν τα μάτια μ' ένα μαύρο μαντίλι, ανεβήκαμε, κατεβήκαμε, δεν ξέρω πού με πήγανε.

Τις πρώτες εννιά μέρες με κραμάσανε στο ταβάνι ολόγυμνο, μόνο με το σώβρακο. Πέρασαν ένα ξύλο κάτω από τους ώμους



ΑΠΕΡΓΙΑ ΠΕΙΝΑΣ

μου, μ' απλωμένα τα χέρια και μ' έδεσαν. Κάτω από τα πόδια μου είχανε βάλει μια καρέκλα - μόλις μπορούσα να σταθώ στα δάχτυλα των ποδιών. Μου έκαναν ηλεκτροσόκ στα γεννητικά όργανα, κι όταν μου έδιναν ρεύμα κλοτσούσα την καρέκλα, με τους σπασμούς. Ο πόνος στους ώμους ήταν φριχτός και λιποθυμούσα.

Μου άνοιξαν από μία πληγή στο κάθε πόδι, στην κλείδωση του ταρσού και φυτέψανε μέσα καλώδια γυμνά. Δες το σημάδι από την πληγή. Το ίδιο έχω και στο

δεξί πόδι. Όλα τα νύχια είχαν πέσει από τα δάχτυλα των ποδιών.

Όταν μου δίνανε ρεύμα σπαρταρούσα από το φοβερό πόνο, κλειδώναν τα δόντια μου, έτρεμα, ήθελα να φωνάξω, αλλά μήτε κι εγώ δεν ξέρω τι λογής μπορεί να 'ταν οι φωνές μου. Το κορμί ιδρώνει ολόκληρο κι ύστερα από ένα δυο ηλεκτροσόκ δεν νιώθεις τίποτα πια.

Στην αρχή δίνουνε λίγο ρεύμα, σταματάνε, κι αρχίζουν την ανάκριση.

Όταν αντέξεις και δεν μαρτυράς δυναμώνουν το ρεύμα και λιποθυμάς.

Το δεύτερο χειρότερο βασανιστήριο είναι το νερό με μεγάλη

πίεση, από μακριά. Ρωτά για το νερό. Βέβαια και μπορεί να σε σκοτώσει, αν σε χτυπήσει στην κοιλιά.

Ο βασανιστής ρυθμίζει την πίεση. Παίζει μαζί σου σαν τη γάτα με τον ποντικό. Αν πας να φυλαχτείς με τα χέρια ακουμπιμένα στον απέναντι τοίχο, στέλνει το νερό στη γωνιά, και κείνο στρέφει πίσω και σ' αναποδογυρίζει.

Στην ανάκριση είχα πάντα δεμένα τα μάτια μου, ακόμα και στο νερό. Δεν ήταν μόνο η πίεση του νερού που νόμιζα πως θα μ' έκοβε σαν μαχαιριά, όταν με χτυπούσε, ήταν κι ο βασανιστής που έπαιζε με το νερό.

Όταν γυρίζα την πλάτη για να βαστάξω το χτύπημα του νερού, έτρεπε να φυλάξω και το κεφάλι μου για να μη μου το τσακίσει στον τοίχο.

Όταν στερέωνα τα χέρια μου στον τοίχο γύριζε στα πόδια μου τη λόγχη του νερού, γλιστρούσα, κι έπεφτα καταγής. Προσπαθούσαν να σηκωθώ, δεν άφηνε να βάλω δύναμη στα χέρια. Με παρακούσε με το νερό δεξιά κι αριστερά. Κυλιόμουνα μέσα στο νερό, κι ήταν παιχνίδι του να μη μ' αφήσει να ξεποστάσω στιγμή.

Βαστούσε ώρες, αυτό το παιχνίδι της γάτας με τον ποντικό, και τους άκουγα να γελάνε με την απελτισμένη προσπάθειά μου.

Ένας βαστούσε το νερό, μα πρέπει να 'χε κι άλλους, που βλέπανε. Δεν ξέρω αν αλλάζανε - τα μάτια μου δεμένα.

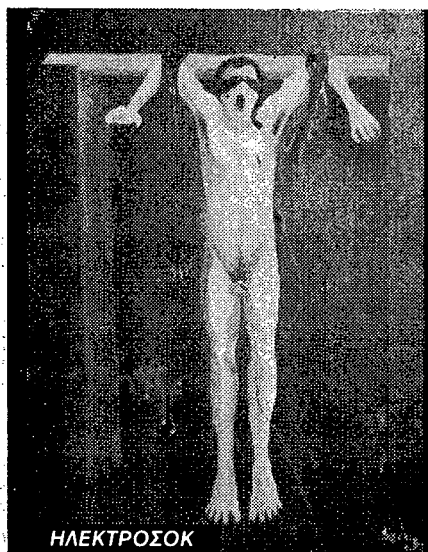
Εξαντλημένος σε λίγο, καταντούσα σαν πατσαβούρα που την παρακούσε το νερό, και δεν απόμεινε πια μήτε η δύναμη, μήτε η θέληση για να φυλαχτώ.

Δεν είναι αυτό μονάχα. Όπως σε παρακλύανε δεν μπορεί να βαστηχτείς, λερώσαι. Σε παρακλύανε μέσα στις ίδιες σου τις μαγαρισιές.

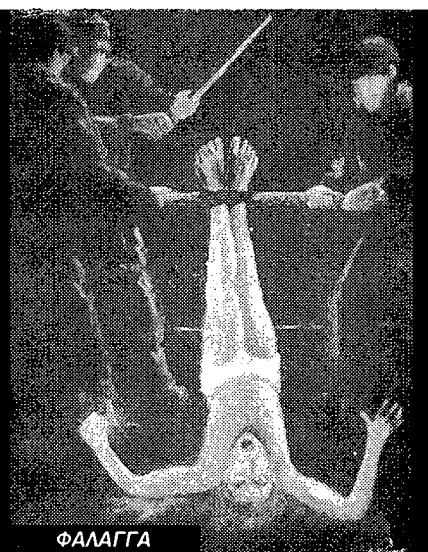
Πάντα λερώνεσαι όταν σε βασανίζουν, προπάντων ηλεκτροσόκ. Όμως, μόνο με το νερό κυλιέσαι μέσα στη μαγαρισιά σου.

Άλλες φορές με κρεμούσαν ανάποδα, τα πόδια μου ψηλά, κι όταν καταλάβαιναν πως δεν άντεχα άλλο με κατεβάζανε και μου 'καναν φάλαγγα. Στο φάλαγγα σε χτυπάνε στις πατούσες έτσι που πληγιάζουν, και προήζεται όλο το πόδι.

Ένας μπάτσος μετρούσε, ένα... δύο... τρία... τέσσερα... πενήντα... εξήντα... εκατό. Ως το είκοσι πονούσα φοβερά. Υστερα



ΗΛΕΚΤΡΟΣΟΚ



ΦΑΛΑΓΓΑ



ΑΠΟΜΟΝΩΣΗ

τον άκουγα μόνο που μετρούσε, ήταν σαν να μη χτυπούσαν εμένα, δεν καταλάβαινα τίποτα, δεν υπήρχε πόνος. Τότε αφήναν το φάλαγγα και με σηκώνανε με το ζόρι, μου φορτώνανε στην πλάτη έναν μπάτσο, και λέγανε να περπατήσω πάνω σε αλάτι και νερό που το 'χανε σκορπίσει χάμω.

Το αλάτι εισχωρούσε μέσα στις πληγιασμένες μου πατούσες, κι ο βασανιστής στην πλάτη μου με χτυπούσε σάμπως γαϊδούρι, για να περπατάω πάνω στ' αλάτι. Το τσουξίμο κι ο πόνος δεν λέγονται.

Εννιά μέρες με βασάνιζαν έτσι, για να τους πω πού είναι το σπίτι μου. Δεν μαρτυρούσα. Τη δέκατη με κρέμασαν, αυτό που λένε «σταυρό της Παλαιστίνης». Είχα τα χέρια μου δεμένα στην πλάτη με χειροπέδες, δέσαν και τα πόδια μου, και μ' άλλο σκοινί δέσαν τα χέρια και τα πόδια μου μαζί, κι ενώνονταν πίσω από την πλάτη. Με σηκώσανε ψηλά, από το ταβάνι, από το σκοινί που ένωνε τα χέρια και τα πόδια μου. Το κορμί μου τεντώθηκε αφύσικα, μου 'βαλαν καλώδιο στα γεννητικά όργανα, και δώσανε ρεύμα.

Αποθύμησα και συνέφερα στο νοσοκομείο με τα χέρια δεμένα πάνω από το κεφάλι μου, στο κρεβάτι. Εβλεπα θολά, η γλώσσα μου είχε προηστεί και δεν μπορούσα να μιλήσω.

Ολόγυμνος πάνω στο κρεβάτι, και τα σεντόνια είχανε λερωθεί μ' αίμα. Εβλεπα δύο μεγάλους λεκέδες αίμα δίπλα στα γεννητικά μου όργανα.

Καθώς περπάταγα οι πατούσες μου αφήνανε ματωμένα χνάρια, όπως αφήνεις αχνάρια όταν βγαίνεις από το μπάνιο.

Σταμάτησα μπροστά στο γιατρό και με ρωτάει το όνομα και τα στοιχεία μου, καθώς στεκόμουνα μπροστά του γυμνός και βαστούσα τα ρούχα μου.

Εγραψε, και μου λέει:

- Εντάξει, φύγε.

Εγώ δεν έφευγα. Μου ξαναλέει:

- Δεν άκουσες; φύγε!

Αντι να γύρω έκατσα πάνω στο κρεβάτι για τις εξετάσεις. Εκεί που έκατσα γέμισε αμέσως αίμα, έτρεγε από τον κόλω μου. Δεν σου έχω πει όλα όσα μου κάνανε. Δεν θέλω να σου τα πω.

Ο γιατρός μου λέει:

- Τι περιμένεις ακόμα;

- Τα 'γραψες αυτά;

- Κοίταξε, ακόμα είσαι ζωντανός. Φύγε!

N. K.

The Hope for Iraqis Is Saddam Hussein's Overthrow

WASHINGTON — The first foreign policy blunder made by Bill Clinton, soon after his election, was about Saddam Hussein. The president-elect told Tom Friedman of The New York Times that as a good Baptist he believed in conversion, and that perhaps the dictator could be dealt with if he acceded to United Nations arms-destruction and human rights requirements.

Some of us turned purple. That was contrary to the hard-line American position to use sanctions to force the tyrant from power. President George Bush had sent an unambiguous message to Baghdad: get rid of Saddam or forget about pumping oil. President Clinton's remark offered Saddam room to maneuver.

Mr. Clinton found a way out of that gaffe by professing to foresee no way that Saddam could obey the UN resolution's requirements and remain in power. Then he exhibited toughness in putting a missile into the window of Saddam's spy chief as retaliation for the plot to assassinate former President Bush.

The hard-line policy has evidently been working. Two weeks ago, cash-strapped Saddam had to stop subsidizing food

prices, which then doubled, causing internal unrest. If he cannot show some promise of ending sanctions, he will be deposed. That is why the dictator has been appearing to comply with the UN inspectors searching for mass-destruction weapons factories. This week, inspector Rolf Ekeus will tell the United Nations that a monitoring system is finally in operation, and Iraq's Tariq Aziz will demand that the United Nations stop starving Iraqi babies (although the Republican Guard is well fed).

Saddam will have support in the Security Council. Russian intelligence chief Yevgeny Primakov is Saddam's longtime ally; Russia will support the lifting of sanctions, if only to make possible the repayment of \$6 billion owed Moscow by Iraq. Foreign Minister Alain Juppé is salivating at the prospect of France resuming business with its best oil source.

France or Russia care little that Saddam continues to try to strangle Iraq's Kurdish minority and starve its Shites, or will surely circumvent arms inspec-

tions at the first opportunity. What does cause them to hesitate is Saddam's continued claim of ownership of Kuwait.

Now we come to Saddam's reason for the well-publicized movement of troops — including the Hammurabi division of the Republican Guard spared by the shortsighted men in the Oval Office on March 26, 1991 — to the Kuwaiti border.

The reason may be that Saddam has observed Mr. Clinton in Bosnia, Haiti and North Korea and thinks it may be possible to snatch a couple of islands and make a face-saving deal with a State Department feeling the pressure to out-Carter Jimmy Carter. That is a misreading of geopolitics, but Saddam has been wrong before.

The more likely reason is to create a favorable basis for negotiation of an end to sanctions. He has the world's attention. Here is his stick-and-carrot strategy.

The stick: If sanctions are not lifted now, he will threaten to throw out the UN inspectors and begin rearming. He thinks the world will not make war on him for that; indeed, many U.S. editorialists will agree with Moscow and Paris that Saddam was the poor victim of demonizing American hard-liners.

The carrot: If sanctions are lifted to allow his oil to flow, then not only will he allow the inspectors to stay, but he will refrain from once again taking over Iraq's 19th province, which calls itself Kuwait.

Not so stupid. By creating a threat, Saddam makes possible his grand concession: If we will let by-gones be by-gones, he will not make war. Paris may even extract "recognition" of Kuwait and claim a diplomatic triumph, deserving of instant trade relations.

Here is what President Clinton's response should be: If Saddam moves on Kuwait, that will trigger a fight to the finish — destruction of his forces, a parade in Baghdad, establishment of Kurdistan, war crimes trials, free elections.

If he refrains from invasion but throws out inspectors, not only will sanctions be tightened but the United States and its allies will "inspect" by national means and will regularly bomb suspected nuclear, germ and chemical sites.

Hope for Iraqis: If Saddam is overthrown, sanctions will be lifted. Sometimes the only conversion possible is in a baptism of fire.

The New York Times

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1994

Saddam Has to Withdraw

Saddam Hussein has thrown down the glove again, and there can be no fuzziness in the response. Iraq's dictator moved a large armored force to the border of Kuwait because he thought he could rattle the world into dropping the sanctions it imposed on him after his 1990 invasion of that same country. He has to be told that sanctions will not be dropped at gunpoint; that nobody will even think about how they might eventually be dropped until those tanks are back where they belong; and that if he does not pull the tanks back, he could find himself at the losing end of another war.

Some voices have been saying that it is better to abandon the sanctions than to face a new fight. After all, Saddam seems to have complied with most of the rules the world imposed on his military. Why fuss about details? The answer is that what is at issue is far more than details.

The world has yet to see whether the monitoring system designed to check Saddam's compliance with those military limitations will in fact work properly. He has still not recognized Kuwait's right to exist within its present borders, or explained what happened to the Kuwaitis his secret policemen rounded up in 1990 — both things that the United Nations has called for under pain of continuing sanctions. He has done nothing to ease the barbarity of his rule inside Iraq, another UN demand.

Worse, to drop sanctions now would make the Middle East a much more dangerous place. Saddam Hussein would have been proved right in his calculation that he could face Bill Clinton down. That would put Kuwait politically under his thumb, whether his troops crossed the border or not. That in turn would send a tremor through Saudi Arabia and the Gulf's other oil producers. His success would send the worst sort of message to the radical Islamists seeking power in Algeria, Egypt and elsewhere.

A cool eye can see this, and the governments of the West have to go on coolly saying it. It will not be easy, if a claim late on Monday that the Iraqi force was being withdrawn is trickery. Gamblers like Saddam, if their first bet does not pay off, are liable to raise the stakes. It needs to be made plain that he cannot keep his tanks where they are indefinitely. That risks a gradual erosion of the will to stand up to him, as people in America and Europe grow nervous about keeping troops in harm's way and Arab governments start to worry about the effect on their own people of his siren call for "Arab unity."

That is how he might win without a shot being fired. Lest it happen, Saddam has to be told that he has nothing to hope for, and much to fear, until he expunges this latest provocation from the record.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE.

Saddam's Troops A 'Hollow Force,' U.S. Analysts Say

By Paul F. Horvitz

International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The Iraq that re-emerged last week as a potential security threat is a shadow of its former self, in both economic and military terms, according to American experts.

Signs of severe economic straits and the regime's frustration over its inability to sell oil and comfortably feed its people mounted in the weeks before President Saddam Hussein sent troops toward Kuwait, these experts say.

On the military side, although Mr. Saddam has maintained several well-equipped tank divisions — notably the Republican Guard — morale is not considered high, Iraqi air power remains severely limited and ground forces are largely using equipment that has not been upgraded or well-maintained since the Gulf War of 1991, analysts say.

These factors are likely playing a critical role in the decision-making of the Iraqi regime as it ponders its next moves on the political and military maps of the Gulf.

"In some ways, the Iraqi Army is a hollow force," said Anthony H. Cordesman, who teaches national security studies at Georgetown University in Washington and recently completed a book, "Iran-Iraq: The Threat from the Northern Gulf." Mr. Cordesman estimates that "substantially less than 100,000" Iraqi troops could be rated today as effective. Overall, the army has about 400,000 soldiers, down from the Gulf War level of 900,000, he said.

Iraq's ground forces are at about 60 percent of the strength they had before the Gulf War, he said, adding that training has not been extensive, that the air force would remain impotent against American air power, that air defenses have not been substantially upgraded and that the army would have a hard time sustaining the flow of equipment, ammunition and essential supplies if fighting broke out.

However, Mr. Cordesman said that 40 percent of the Iraqi Army was held out of the Gulf War battles. Iraq's five Republican Guard divisions, each equipped with 180 to 300 T-72 tanks, are "effective" fighting units, he said, and if allowed to cross the border into Kuwait, they could roll over the meager Kuwaiti units standing guard there.

Moreover, he cautioned that Iraq may retain some chemical weapons capability and "probably" has the boosters and assemblies necessary to produce 70 or more Scud missiles.

Eliot A. Cohen, who teaches strategic studies at Johns Hopkins University and conducted the U.S. Air Force's Gulf War Air Power Survey, said today's Iraqi Army "probably would be fine against the Kurds, but I doubt they could be in a position to give us any trouble."

The elite nature of the Republican Guard, he said, suggests that Mr. Saddam "will be very averse to losing them" because they provide the might to keep him in power.

The Iraqi economy, meantime, is probably facing its most severe crisis since the start of the Iran-Iraq war in 1980, according to Phebe Marr, an Iraq expert at the U.S. government's National Defense University.

"The sanctions are truly biting," she said in an interview, referring to United Nations strictures imposed at the end of the Gulf War. "Of course they are biting the people more than Saddam."

The evidence of economic hardship has mounted in recent months. Inflation is rampant. Iraq's currency, the dinar, officially bought \$3 during the 1980s, but now it can take 500 to 800 dinar to buy \$1, according to Ms. Marr.

Earlier this year, in an indication of his frustration over economic progress and recurring shortages, Mr. Saddam took direct control of the economy as he took over the role of prime minister. With his credibility on the line, the government published a long list of goods that could no longer be imported, presumably because foreign exchange to pay for

them was running low.

In recent weeks, Ms. Marr added, food rations for staples like bread, rice, tea and sugar were cut in half.

"The ration cut was a very clear indication that he was not able to manage the economy," she said. "He has got to get the sanctions off."

Although Iraqis are not starving, shortages are significant, she said, and the vise is being felt by Iraq's middle class. The country does not produce enough food to feed its population and has had to rely on wheat and rice imports for years.

Another indirect sign of hardship, she said, is evidence that purges are occurring within Mr. Saddam's regime, that elements of the military are disaffected and that criminals are being subjected to traditional Islamic punishment, such as having a hand cut off. A recent government report said army deserters would risk having an ear removed. Thefts and other crimes are "rampant" in Baghdad, Ms. Marr said.

Arab Nations Steer Clear Of Iraq's Saber Rattling

By Barry James

International Herald Tribune

As President Saddam Hussein of Iraq appeared to march to the brink of war and then back again Monday, Arab countries made it clear he could expect little else but polite sympathy from them.

Jordan, which enraged Western allies by sympathizing with Baghdad during the 1990-91 crisis, advised Mr. Saddam to avoid repeating his earlier mistake.

Only a radical Palestinian group, the Damascus-based Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, expressed wholehearted support for Mr. Saddam.

It said in a statement that it "sees the American military escalation as a method to be denounced and condemned." It accused the United States and other coalition members of being vengeful and imposing starvation on the Iraqi people.

Most countries — including Russia, which had recently been supporting Iraq's call for a lifting of United Nations sanctions — urged Baghdad to show restraint and negotiate.

In a more hawkish mood, Prime Minister Paul Keating of Australia regretted that the allies had not "finished him off," when they had Mr. Saddam beaten in 1991. "That's what I think," he said. "But I was in a minority in those days."

Even Iraq's longtime enemy, Iran, counseled prudence and urged that the sanctions against Baghdad be lifted. The Foreign Ministry said rising tension between Iraq and Kuwait served the interests of the enemies of Islam. A spokesman said that the rifts among the Arabs over Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait had enabled Israel's drive for peace in the region.

In an interview with a Kuwaiti newspaper, King Hussein of Jordan was quoted as saying: "We have advised Iraq not to repeat the mistakes of 1990. We will oppose and stand against the Arab who uses force against another Arab."

In Washington, a U.S. official said that King Fahd of Saudi Arabia agreed with President Bill Clinton's assessment of the seriousness of the situation "and the need to move quickly to deter Iraqi aggression."

Britain, which provided the second-larg-

est allied contingent in the 1991 Gulf War, said it was preparing for any eventuality but saw "no sign of crisis" immediately, according to a Foreign Office spokesman.

But diplomatic sources in Washington and Europe said that with the exception of Britain, it might prove difficult to regroup the earlier coalition because of Mr. Clinton's weakness at home and his perceived lack of foreign policy leadership.

The biggest crack in support for U.S. actions came from a senior German foreign policy-maker.

Hans Stercken, head of Parliament's foreign policy committee and a member of the ruling party, said many people believed that the United States had more commercial than political reasons to insist on maintaining the sanctions imposed after the 1991 war.

Mr. Stercken said it was very difficult to see why Washington refused to lift the sanctions, which he said had had a "terrible" effect on Iraq.

"The assumption that the Iraqi people will blame this on Saddam Hussein and turn against him is wrong," he said. "My French friends, the Turks, the King of Jordan and many others I have spoken with cannot see any political sense in the sanctions any more."

But Klaus Kinkel, the foreign minister, said Bonn saw no reason to lift the sanctions in view of the "unpredictable" nature of Mr. Saddam.

France has argued for lifting the sanctions, saying that they allow Iran to gain strength in the region. But it sent a frigate to the Gulf in support of the United States.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1994

Where Bush Dallied in '90, Clinton Leaps Into Breach

By Douglas Jehl
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — With bellicose threats and a rapid mustering of military might, President Bill Clinton and his advisers are intent on sending Saddam Hussein the clear warning that President George Bush did not: An Iraqi invasion of Kuwait will prompt an overwhelming U.S. response.

When Iraqi troops last massed on the Kuwaiti border four years ago, the signals sent by Mr. Bush and his ambassador, April Glaspie, were irresolute. The only show of U.S. force was two KC-135 refueling planes that were sent to the United Arab Emirates. The Iraqis poured into Kuwait all but unopposed, and it was seven months before they were dislodged in the Gulf War.

In sending tens of thousands of American troops to Kuwait, Mr. Clinton is determined not to be similarly misunderstood, senior administration officials said.

In August 1990, Mr. Bush drew his line in the sand only after Iraqi troops rolled through Kuwait and stood poised to continue into Saudi Arabia. On Sunday, with its stark threats and high-speed military buildup, the Clinton administration drew its line in advance, seeking to avoid a war by throwing its energy into deterrence.

If war should come again, administration officials said, there is growing support

NEWS ANALYSIS

in the White House for an aggressive battle plan intended to finish off the job that Mr. Bush left undone: making sure that Iraq no longer poses a threat to its neighbors.

As they sought to avoid a replay of what drew the United States into its biggest conflict since the Vietnam War, Mr. Clinton's advisers have been careful not to criticize their predecessors. They said their task in presenting a firm front against Mr. Saddam had been made incalculably easier by the fact — due in no small part to Mr. Bush — that the Iraqi leader is recognized now even in the Arab world as a source of peril.

But they left no doubt that their muscle-

flexing strategy reflected an inherited lesson about U.S. miscalculation.

"We cannot afford to assume that this is just a bluff," Defense Secretary William J. Perry said.

That Iraqi forces remain able to menace Kuwait at all reflects another inheritance, one left to Mr. Clinton after Mr. Bush and his advisers halted the ground war after 100 hours.

That abrupt end to hostilities kept U.S. ground troops from fulfilling their mission of destroying Iraq's Republican Guard, half of which escaped intact.

On Sunday, as the first elements of the U.S. Army's 24th Mechanized Division from Fort Stewart, Georgia, headed for Kuwait as part of a rapidly growing American force in the region, some administration officials observed with some bitterness that the unit's main mission would be to forestall an advance by Iraq's Hammurabi Division. That is the same Iraqi force the 24th Mechanized Division had been poised to obliterate 44 months ago when Mr. Bush ordered the cease-fire.

A refrain heard throughout the Gulf War from American soldiers and commanders alike was that their months in the desert would be worth it if only their sons would not have to come back to deal with Mr. Saddam again.

That U.S. troops are now returning so quickly provides a reminder of just how much that war left undone, and it could taint the political prospects of such figures as Colin L. Powell, Dick Cheney and James A. Baker 3d. As Mr. Bush's principal national security advisers, all three played central roles in

the decision to call a quick end to an American-led onslaught that was seen as a brutal mismatch.

Administration officials refused to say whether the United States would seek to topple Mr. Saddam or destroy his army in any renewed war. But they made it plain that they believed it a mistake that Mr. Bush and his advisers had not done so.

"It is fair to say that it is on the minds of decision-makers that we can't be placed in a situation where we've got to go back there every few years," a senior administration official said.

"We are not going to allow the mistakes of the past to be repeated," Leon E. Panetta, the White House chief of staff, said in a television interview. While Mr. Perry was announcing that dozens of American warplanes were heading to the region, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher was warning from Jerusalem that Iraq would be made to pay "a tremendous price" if it dared launch another invasion.

Those statements were crafted to be as different as possible from the conciliatory messages that Miss Glaspie and Mr. Bush sent to Iraq in the last days of July 1990.

Miss Glaspie, who met with Mr. Saddam on July 25 of that year as Iraqi forces were massing on the Kuwaiti frontier, urged afterward that Washington "ease off on public criticism" until a dispute between Iraq and Kuwait was settled.

In a secret cable that he sent to Mr. Saddam in response, Mr. Bush told the Iraqi leader that the United States believed "differences are best resolved by peaceful means" and added that his administration "continues to desire better relations with Iraq."

Mr. Clinton's hand also has been strengthened by the cache of military equipment that the Bush administration arranged to leave in Kuwait after the Gulf War. Its presence has allowed him to send an army brigade that will be far more heavily armed than the airborne forces Mr. Bush had to send to Saudi Arabia as a trip wire.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1994

Clinton Doubles Gulf Air Power Despite Iraq's Claim of Pullback

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

UNITED NATIONS, New York — President Bill Clinton is ordering B-52 bombers and other top-of-the-line fighter jets into the Gulf in a continuing massive military buildup, U.S. officials said Monday, even as Iraq said that it was pulling back its troops from the area near Kuwait.

U.S. officials said that they had no confirmation of an Iraqi withdrawal.

The surprise Iraqi announcement came as combat-ready U.S. forces flew into Kuwait, and U.S. and British ships cruised within striking distance of Iraq. Mr. Clinton, in a televised address Monday night, was expected to announce a commitment of aircraft that would more than double the number there to 350.

Iraq set up the crisis last week by sending tens of thousands of soldiers toward Kuwait, which it overran in 1990. But Nizar Hamdoon, Iraq's chief delegate at the United Nations, said that the Iraqi troops were being deployed to an undisclosed site north of Basra.

"The instructions have already been issued and the troops are already on the move," he said in New York.

The U.S. delegate at the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, said that she was not able to confirm or deny this and that Washington was investigating.

"I haven't seen anything like that, no," said General John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Other U.S. officials described Iraq's announced decision as a "good sign," but said they were waiting to see what happened on the ground.

"We trust deeds, not words," another official said. "We're watching very carefully to see what happens on the ground. Our deployment is continuing at this time while we watch to see what they are doing."

President Clinton canceled a political trip to New Jersey to deal with the developments, including making phone calls to world leaders. Mr. Clinton called President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt, and the British prime minister, John Major, who promised

to send another warship and bombers to the Gulf.

Earlier, a U.S. official was asked how Mr. Clinton reacted to reports that President Saddam Hussein was moving troops away from the border. He replied: "He said, 'This is very interesting.' He was cautious."

Even if the present crisis is defused, the major problems remain for U.S. policymakers: Mr. Saddam has the military might to threaten his neighbors when it suits his needs, and he still refuses to acknowledge Kuwait's sovereignty.

"We will not be pinned down in that area indefinitely," Secretary of Defense William J. Perry said. "We will want to resolve this crisis quickly."

Meanwhile, 300 American infantrymen, in green combat fatigues and carrying backpacks and automatic rifles, landed in Kuwait City in a Lockheed 1011.

They are the first elements of a 4,000-member contingent from the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division, based in Georgia, and will quickly move north to reinforce the Kuwaiti defense line.

Overall, the United States is amassing a force of nearly 70,000 in the Gulf region — 54,000 already assigned and 15,000 on standby.

Kuwait moved the bulk of its 18,000-member army to its northern border Sunday.

The arrival of the carrier *George Washington* and its battle group forms a vise around Iraq, doubling U.S. air and missile firepower in the region. U.S. naval forces are now deployed on both sides of the Arabian Peninsula.

The carrier, which can carry 60 combat planes and could launch cruise missiles against targets in Iraq, reinforces U.S., British and French aircraft based in Saudi Arabia and Turkey since the Gulf War.

At the UN, Mr. Hamdoon said he had informed Security Council officials that "the Iraqi government has decided to

move these troops from the Basra area to another area."

He said, "We reserve the right to move them any time in the future to wherever we want within Iraqi territory. But given the concerns we have seen in the Security Council, we have decided to take that move."

Basra, about 65 kilometers (40 miles) north of the Kuwaiti border, is the closest major Iraqi city to Kuwait.

Iraq's foreign minister, Mohammed Said Sahhaf, told the Iraqi press agency, INA, that some troops had been in the area for training, and added that, "in response to pleas by a number of friends," it had been decided to transfer units to "other sites in the rear to complete their training."

Mr. Sahhaf did not say whether Iraq, in return for the withdrawal, was given any pledges of a favorable review of the UN embargo that has devastated its economy.

The Iraqi maneuvers were related to demands for the easing of the sanctions, in effect since August 1990, which have prevented the export of Iraqi oil.

"We hope it ends the crisis if there was any," Mr. Hamdoon said. "We want to get the attention focused on the lifting of the sanctions that have been biting on the Iraqi people for quite some time."

Baghdad had set an Oct. 10 deadline for action by the Security Council on the sanctions, but the Council did not even have the issue on its agenda.

The Council will not review the sanctions until mid-November. (Reuters, AP)

Ankara urges integrity of Iraq, Kuwait

**Gölhan: Use of Incirlik base difficult
Iraq: We are satisfied with Ankara**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Seeking to maintain a careful policy on the developments in Iraq, Turkish officials signalled that Ankara's policy on the issue was based on the "maintenance of territorial integrity of all regional states."

Turkish officials have stressed to the TDN that Ankara, which has firmly supported the territorial integrity of Iraq, would show the same sensitivity towards the territorial integrity of Kuwait.

On Monday, Turkish Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan signalled that it would be difficult to allow allies to use Incirlik Air Base if war broke out.

Speaking to Turkish journalists at Gebze High Technology Institute, Gölhan highlighted Turkey's dilemma by saying that should there be war, it was impossible for Turkey to "leave the UN alone."

"(But) it would be difficult for us to allow use of Incirlik (airbase). We will have to think about it," Gölhan was quoted by the Anatolian news agency as saying. "But I really don't think that things would get that far."

"We continue our recommendations to Iraq to abide fully and completely by the U.N. Security Council resolutions," Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman said.

"We maintain close ties with Iraq and continue to make certain recommendations," Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal said. "We should also remain cooled on these developments." Soysal, quoted by the Anatolia news agency, pointed out that the U.N. Security Council would take up the issue Monday and that "both sides were trying to influence the voting." Asked about allegations that Iraq had moved up to 70,000 troops to its border with Kuwait, Soysal replied: "Just how do you know that? Have you gone there and counted them?" Meanwhile, Iraqi Ambassador Raffi Mejwel al-Tikriti said that Baghdad was "satisfied" with Turkey's stance toward the latest developments.

"We do not consider Turkey as a member of the coalition which is involved in enmity against Iraq. The Turkish approach toward the problems (in the region) is rational and in line with good neighborly ties... We are satisfied with the Turkish policy," Ambassador al-Tikriti told the semi-official Anatolia news agency.

As Ankara remained cautious about reports of Iraqi troop movements in Northern Iraq, the Iraqi ambas-

sador said his country was involved in "routine military manoeuvres" near the 36th parallel.

"Our troops never crossed the 36th parallel," he said. North of the 36th parallel is a no-fly zone protected by allied forces.

Northern Iraqi Kurdish spokesmen have said that an Iraqi engineering battalion began moving on secondary roads towards areas held by Kurdish guerrillas north of the city of Mosul in the middle of last week.

Iraqi Kurds say the army often holds manoeuvres in the area to provoke them.

KDP spokesman Safeen Dezayee had signalled that the northern Iraqi Kurds were concerned that large-scale troop movements by Iraq may cause the Kurds in the fringe areas to mobilize.

Pipeline talks not abandoned

Al-Tikriti also denied that relations between Turkey and Iraq were breached and that the flushing of the Turco-Iraqi pipeline was "in danger."

"The warm winds of our friendly ties are continuing in all their beauty," he said.

"We are hoping that a technical delegation will come to Turkey as soon as possible. There are certain technical problems (regarding the flushing) but these can be solved through good-will and cooperation. We have discussed these fully with Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk," he told Anatolia.

Eyes on Incirlik

As the developments in Iraq brought onto the agenda the importance of Incirlik Air Base, Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal denied that there was any activity in the Incirlik Base. The General staff press and information office said that reports of an increase in forces in Incirlik was false. Spokesman Doğu Silahçıoğlu said in a written statement that reports news that the number of U.S. aircraft had increased were not true. "The allied force, which is in Incirlik within the framework of Operation Provide Comfort, consists of 48 fighter planes and 22 supplementary planes. As of Oct 10, there are 32 U.S., five French and eight British fighters. There are also 14 U.S., one French and eight British supplementary planes," the statement said. "Other than those planes, thirty five planes from various NATO countries have arrived in Balıkesir, Bandırma and Dalaman within the framework of Dynamic Guard-94 maneuvers," he said. Voicing the general attitude of many Turkish deputies toward new forces at the Incirlik Air Base, Democrat Party Chairman Aydın Menderes said the Turkish government should link use of Incirlik to the condition that efforts for establishment of a Kurdish state in northern Iraq should not be supported. "Iraqi policy in the Gulf and in Kuwait has made the Incirlik base very important... the United States, by cutting one tenth of its aid to Turkey, has given Turkey reason to limit U.S. activities in this base. It is now time to make use of these opportunities," Menderes said.

"It is very difficult for us to allow the use of Incirlik base if there is a war," Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan said on Monday.

Saying he did not believe that the present conflict would result in a confrontation, Gölhan denied that Iraq had mobilized forces at the Turkish border.

Village evacuations: Change of mentality needed

Tuesday, October 11, 1994



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

The tragic incidents in the past two weeks in the eastern province of Tunceli once again highlighted the fact that our authorities have to do some serious soul searching concerning their policies, especially regarding the question of village evacuations.

The Western press says "Troops have torched villages in Tunceli," while we in the Turkish Daily News try to be more polite, saying, "Security forces have evacuated villages in Tunceli province..."

What it boils down to really is that security forces, led by military units numbering as many as 40,000 troops, have launched a massive operation against the separatist Kurdish terrorists in the Tunceli area, and have forcefully evacuated and destroyed at least 17 villages and several hamlets in the process. The issue has been brought to the attention of world public opinion by Reuters dispatches from the area, while Tunceli deputies have tried to call the attention of Parliament to this tragedy. In the end, Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın was forced to visit Tunceli on a fact-finding mission, accompanied by Emergency Rule Governor Ünal Erkan and some other officials. Karayalçın went to the Ovacık township of Tunceli, where he met the villagers who lost their homes in the security operations... Karayalçın promised (as he had several times in the past) that the state would "heal the wounds of the villagers." We remember well how Karayalçın and the prime minister had made similar statements during a tour of the southeastern provinces only a few months ago, after it became apparent that village "evacuations" had become widespread and that many innocent people had lost their homes with no compensation from the state...

Governor Erkan was outspoken. He lamented that the issue was ripe for "exploitation" and feared the separatists would use the village evacuations against Turkey in international forums. What is sad is that Erkan went further, saying, "Such things could happen during

security operations..."

We would like to disagree with our authorities if they think that they can evacuate villages and then destroy them at short notice without paying any compensation to the villagers, "as part of a security operation against separatists."

Here, the authorities have to be very open and specific. At least President Süleyman Demirel has to force them to act more responsibly...

Are we treating the villagers in Tunceli as the collaborators of the PKK separatist terrorists, or are these innocent victims of a bloody anti-terrorist operation?

We don't agree, but we can still understand why the villages in southeastern Turkey are being evacuated: to cut off supply routes to the separatists. But we cannot understand why villages in the eastern province of Tunceli are being subjected to such treatment. These people are definitely not terrorist sympathizers or collaborators.

If village evacuations were really necessary, the authorities should have made this public beforehand and they should have announced which villages would be affected. The state should also have set compensation figures for the villagers who would lose their homes. The state should then be obliged to provide alternative housing for these villagers. None of this was done. This does not befit a state which talks about justice and about caring for its citizens. Some villages were given 20 minutes to be evacuated, some three days... The villagers were thrown out of their homes and left to their fate. Shame on the authorities. Governor Erkan has to remember that if a state acts responsibly, there would be no room for exploitation. Yet the way our authorities have acted gives every opportunity for the separatists to exploit our mistakes to the full. Does Turkey deserve this?

If this kind of attitude continues any further, our authorities will be forced to evacuate and destroy many more villages and turn tens of thousands of villagers into homeless citizens in eastern Turkey in the name of wiping out separatist terrorists. We would like to warn our authorities that this policy will not rid the country of separatism but will recruit new supporters for it, because our citizens who lose their homes and who are simply left to their own fate will decide they are no longer first class citizens of the Turkish Republic...

turkish daily news



MARDI 11 OCTOBRE 1994

N° 4166

La politique de la « terre brûlée » de l'armée turque contre les Kurdes

Istanbul, correspondance

Plus de 20 villages et hameaux auraient été détruits et brûlés par les forces de l'ordre depuis le 17 septembre dans la région de Tunceli (centre-est de l'Anatolie).

De telles exactions des forces de l'ordre dans leur lutte contre les rebelles du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) sont régulièrement dénoncées par les organisations de défense des droits de l'homme. Cette fois-ci l'affaire a pris une dimension politique inhabituelle. Des paysans se sont réunis vendredi dernier devant la municipalité du district d'Ovacik pour protester contre le

gouvernement lors de la visite du vice-Premier ministre Murat Karayalcin, président du Parti populiste social-démocrate, qui a été hué pendant plus de trente minutes. *«L'Etat et le gouvernement feront tout le nécessaire afin d'aider la population délocalisée de force»*, a finalement lancé le vice-Premier ministre, reconnaissant que les forces de sécurité *«ont, soit par accident soit par obligation, détruit certaines habitations»*. Il a publiquement contredit la vérité officielle qui accuse toujours *«des militants du PKK portant des uniformes de l'armée turque»*.

Ce district de l'Anatolie où le PKK est très actif depuis trois mois est l'un des principaux fiefs électoraux

des sociaux-démocrates, l'un des deux partis de la coalition gouvernementale. Ils bénéficient traditionnellement des voix des *alévis*, des chiïtes, majoritaires parmi les Kurdes de la région. Les « bavures » des forces de l'ordre à Tunceli ont ainsi été dénoncées aussi par le vice-président de la Grande Assemblée nationale, Kamer Genç, et par les députés socialistes locaux.

La destruction des villages pour isoler les rebelles du PKK est devenue systématique depuis deux ans. Plus de 1600 villages et hameaux ont été détruits et brûlés depuis mars 1992, selon les chiffres de la Fondation des droits de l'homme de Turquie qui précise qu'environ 2 mil-

lions de Kurdes auraient dû quitter leurs villages de naissance et venir s'installer dans les grandes villes de l'Est ou de l'Ouest. La stratégie de lutte anti-guérilla de l'armée vise à forcer les villageois à collaborer contre le PKK et à les encadrer dans les milices des « protecteurs de village ». La plupart du temps, les paysans refusent de prendre les armes contre le PKK, aussi bien par peur de devenir cible des rebelles que par refus de devoir tirer sur des proches ou des membres de clans amis qui ont rejoint le PKK. Mais les villages rétifs sont alors considérés comme « terroristes » par les militaires et traités comme tels. **Musa AKDEMIR**

Prosecutor does not file case against DEP MPs

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Bekir Selçuk, chief prosecutor at the Diyarbakır State Security Court, said on Monday that his office had decided not to file a separate lawsuit against five former Democracy Party (DEP) deputies on the grounds that they had been charged with the same offenses in the case being heard at the Ankara State Security Court.

Selçuk said that this decision had been made after the indictment prepared by the chief prosecutor of the Ankara State Security Court was read out in court. Selçuk said that legally a person could not be charged twice for the same offenses. Selçuk listed the names of the five former DEP deputies as follows: Hatip Dicle, the former DEP chairman and ex-Diyarbakır deputy; former Mardin DEP deputy Ahmet Türk; ex-Diyarbakır deputy Leyla Zana; former Şırnak deputy Selim Sadak, former Batman deputy Nizamettin Togoç and former Siirt Deputy Zübeyir Aydar. They are charged with treason in accordance with article 125 of the Turkish Criminal Code, which carries the death penalty. No executions have been carried out in Turkey for a decade.

Tuesday, October 11, 1994

turkish daily news

Alors que les Etats-Unis mobilisent 36 000 soldats dans le Golfe

La France prend « très au sérieux » la crise provoquée par l'Irak

La Mission d'observation de l'ONU pour l'Irak et le Koweït (MONUIK) s'est refusée, lundi 10 octobre, à confirmer la progression des forces irakiennes vers la frontière du Koweït. « Nous n'avons qu'une capacité limitée pour surveiller la situation en dehors de la zone démilitarisée » (profonde de 10 kilomètres en territoire irakien), a indiqué son porte-parole. La veille, un responsable koweïtien avait fait état de la présence de 83 000 soldats irakiens à « 12 kilomètres » de la frontière.

Le calme continue de régner dans la zone démilitarisée de 15 kilomètres de large (10 kilomètres en Irak et 5 au Koweït) qui sépare les deux pays. Mais les mouvements de forces irakiennes ne semblent pas limités au sud du pays. On signalait, dimanche, de source kurde en Turquie, que des troupes de Bagdad avaient fait route en direction du nord du pays, vers les régions tenues par les rebelles kurdes au nord de Mossoul.

Des milliers d'apatrides, réfugiés en Irak au moment de la guerre du Golfe, après être partis du Koweït ou, pour certains, en avoir été expulsés, se sont massés, dimanche, à moins de 1 kilomètre de la frontière koweïtienne. Ils ont assuré qu'ils n'avaient pas l'intention de la franchir. Les autorités de l'Emirat les ont accusés d'être des « soldats irakiens habillés en civil ». En tournée au Proche-Orient, le secrétaire d'Etat américain, Warren Christopher, a annoncé qu'il ferait étape au Koweït pour exprimer la solidarité de Washington avec l'Emirat.

Le chef de la diplomatie irakienne, Mohamed El Sahaf, a fait état, dimanche, de discussions avec la Russie, la France et la Chine sur des « idées précises » comportant à la fois la levée de l'embargo et une « position claire » de Bagdad au sujet du Koweït. C'est la première fois que l'Irak fait état de ces discussions avec les trois membres permanents du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU qui ont souhaité, contrairement aux Etats-Unis et à la Grande-Bretagne, que soient formellement reconnus les progrès accomplis par Bagdad dans le domaine du désarmement.

M. El Sahaf a ajouté que l'Irak attendait les résultats de la réunion du Conseil de sécurité après la présentation du rapport de Rolf Ekeus, chef de la commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée du désarmement de l'Irak

(UNSCOM). « Le fait de dire que l'Irak a coopéré avec l'UNSCOM ou qu'il s'est conformé aux résolutions liées [au désarmement] ne nous suffit pas. Nous voulons une décision claire qui rassure l'Irak sur une levée de l'embargo », a-t-il déclaré.

De son côté, la presse irakienne a diffusé, dimanche, les appels de l'Union générale de la jeunesse irakienne à la mobilisation de « volontaires », « en vue de leur enrôlement dans la résistance pour exécuter les missions que commande la conjoncture actuelle et défendre l'Irak ».

Le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU avait exprimé, samedi, sa « grave préoccupation » devant les informations faisant état du redéploiement de troupes irakiennes vers la frontière koweïtienne. Dans une déclaration adoptée par consensus et à la demande des Etats-Unis, il a demandé à la MONUIK de « redoubler de vigilance » et de rendre compte « immédiatement » de « toute action potentiellement hostile ».

Alain Juppé, qui s'exprimait dimanche ans l'émission « Le Grand Jury RTL/le Monde », a déclaré que Paris prenait « très au sérieux ce qui se passe » dans le sud de l'Irak, affirmant qu'il fallait faire preuve de

« vigilance » et de « solidarité » avec les pays de la région. Le chef de la diplomatie a rappelé que la France, qui a dépêché sur place une frégate, disposait dans la région d'« une présence militaire non négligeable » et que « toutes les précautions ont été prises pour que notre dispositif soit opérationnel ».

Interrogé sur sa rencontre, en septembre, à New-York, avec le vice-premier ministre irakien, Tarek Aziz, lorsqu'il avait déclaré qu'il fallait « tenir compte » des progrès de l'Irak, M. Juppé a noté qu'il avait aussi précisé que Bagdad devait « accepter toutes les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité », que ce soit sur ses frontières, sur le contrôle des armements ou les droits des minorités.

Dans une déclaration de son ministère des affaires étrangères, la Russie a, samedi, accusé Bagdad de « prendre des mesures politiques visant à faire pression sur le Conseil de sécurité pour la levée des sanctions ». Quant au ministre britannique de la défense, Malcolm Rifkind, il a menacé le régime de irakien d'une « réponse appropriée très rapide » de la communauté internationale, en cas d'acte de belligérance contre le Koweït.

Dans un communiqué, un porte-parole du gouvernement jordanien qui a avait soutenu l'Irak pendant la guerre du Golfe a affirmé que « les armes n'auraient pas dû être brandies contre un pays arabe et ne doivent pas l'être », et promis que le royaume hachémite « se dressera, sans hésitation, contre tout pays arabe qui violerait ce principe ».



PANCHO

Un peuple dans la terreur et le dénuement

NICOSIE

de notre correspondante
au Proche-Orient

« La situation est déjà tellement dramatique que je ne vois pas ce qu'il peut nous arriver de plus. » Pour ce médecin irakien, qui vient d'arriver à Amman en provenance de Bagdad, la nouvelle démonstration de force du président Saddam Hussein n'est pas vraiment une surprise. « Depuis plusieurs mois, dit-il, des critiques s'élevaient dans la presse pour souligner que l'Irak avait tout fait pour l'ONU, sans rien en retour, et qu'il fallait cesser. La frustration des gens du parti Baas [au pouvoir] était visible et Saddam se devait de faire quelque chose pour montrer qu'il avait encore des dents. »

Cette dérisoire tentative qui risque de remettre en cause l'allègement plus ou moins rapide de l'embargo ne saurait en tout cas masquer la profonde détérioration de la situation du pays. Le seul sujet de préoccupation de la population est de survivre. Avec un dollar qui vaut 800 dinars au marché noir, 500 dans les banques et 0,30 au taux officiel, la monnaie ne représente plus rien et l'augmentation régulière des salaires est loin de couvrir l'inflation. La réduction drastique, début octobre, de certains produits rationnés comme le riz, le sucre ou l'huile s'est certes accompagnée d'un relèvement à 2000 dinars des salaires des fonctionnaires, mais que faire quand un carton de 30 œufs vaut 1000 dinars, 1 kilo de viande 850 ou un poulet environ 1 250 ?

« Ami du président »

Cette nouvelle escalade militaire inquiète toutefois les Irakiens, dans la mesure où, disent beaucoup, « s'il y a le moindre bombardement sur une installation vitale comme une centrale électrique ou une usine de traitement des eaux, c'est fini ». Cette fois, il n'y aura plus de pièces de rechange : tout ce qui pouvait l'être a été cannibalisé. « Dès que vous sortez de Bagdad, affirme d'Amman un professeur, les coupures d'électricité et d'eau sont constantes et plus rien ne fonctionne. »

La situation économique s'est tellement détériorée que les vols et les crimes se multiplient malgré les peines infligées, affirme un autre témoin. « Les voitures gouvernementales, cibles privilégiées des voleurs, n'ont plus le droit de circuler de nuit et, en dehors de Bagdad, se font escorter par des gardes armés », raconte-t-il. Il est vrai qu'une nouvelle loi oblige les fonctionnaires à rembourser deux

fois le coût de la voiture si elle est volée. Pour limiter les incidents, le gouvernement envisagerait de banaliser ces voitures qui disposent de plaques spéciales. « Chaque soir, j'enlève les quatre roues de mon véhicule, assure ce témoin, pour les mettre à l'abri dans la maison, et la plupart de mes voisins font la même chose. »

En raison du manque d'argent, « 45 % des enfants des écoles primaires ne vont plus à l'école », affirme un autre professeur, qui souligne que nombre d'instituteurs pour la même raison ne font plus leurs cours, n'ayant même pas les moyens de se rendre sur leur lieu de travail. Quelque 25 % des professeurs d'université sont maintenant en Jordanie, où certains enseignent.

« L'effondrement du système éducatif se mesure aussi, dit-il, à l'université, où la plupart des étudiants passent cinq ou six ans, au lieu de quatre, pour repousser la date du service militaire. Le système du mérite dans le choix des facultés a d'autre part été aboli cette année, des points supplémentaires étant attribués d'office aux fils des détenteurs d'une médaille intitulée « ami du président », c'est-à-dire ancien combattant, médaillé de la guerre contre l'Irak ou de celle contre le Koweït.

Tout pour Bagdad

Les fils des membres importants du parti Baas bénéficient aussi de points supplémentaires pour leur admission. La progéniture des membres du Conseil de commandement de la révolution, la plus haute instance du pouvoir, peut choisir librement ses lieux d'enseignement. « De quoi décourager, affirme ce professeur, les rares étudiants qui veulent encore croire au futur et qui travaillent. »

De l'avis de tous les témoins contactés à Amman, cette situation n'engendre pas une forte opposition au régime, qui a resserré l'état de ses services de sécurité, désormais supervisés par le deuxième fils du président, Kouzaï. « Environ 5 000 jeunes gens pris en possession de quelques dollars avec lesquels ils tentaient de gagner leur vie ont été arrêtés à la mi-juillet, affirme un témoin, et nul depuis ne sait ce qu'ils sont devenus. Seul l'un d'eux, fils d'un grand marchand de Bagdad, a été condamné à vingt ans de prison mais les familles ignorent tout du sort des autres. » « Il y a aujourd'hui peu de prisonniers politiques en Irak, assure un autre observateur, il est plus facile de les tuer. »

Des signes d'opposition sont apparus récemment à Mossoul, où des portraits de Saddam Hussein ont été peinturlurés de telle façon que le président n'avait plus ni mains ni oreilles, évocation des punitions qu'il a décrétées pour les voleurs et les déserteurs. Depuis, confie un homme, récemment arrivé de cette grande ville du Nord, Mossoul est étroitement surveillée et a été privée d'eau et d'électricité pendant plusieurs jours.

Le décret sur l'obligation de couper les oreilles aux déserteurs a soulevé nombre de protestations de la part des médecins, qui sont maintenant menacés de subir le même sort s'ils refusent de se livrer à l'opération. « Quelques médecins ont été arrêtés », affirme l'un d'eux, qui souligne que les malheureux soumis à ce traitement doivent payer leur anesthésie s'ils ne veulent pas être opérés à vif. Si les cas de désertion se sont multipliés dans l'armée, ils concernent surtout les appelés et la cause en serait essentiellement économique. En effet, selon des témoignages dignes de foi, les appelés doivent dorénavant subvenir à tous leurs besoins : transport dans leurs unités où ils n'ont pas le droit de passer la nuit, nourriture et même uniforme, ce qui est impossible pour nombre d'entre eux qui préfèrent donc désertir. « A part les unités d'élite il n'y a quasiment plus d'armée irakienne », affirme un observateur, qui souligne qu'il n'est pas rare de croiser des camions militaires roulant sur leurs jantes à défaut de pneus.

L'envoi de la garde républicaine au Sud, estime un observateur, pourrait être de la part de Saddam Hussein une tentative pour reprendre le contrôle de la situation, dans la mesure où le faible déploiement militaire dans cette région permettait aux opposants chiites, venus de l'Irak voisin, d'opérer des coups de main à l'intérieur même des villes. Récemment, le gouvernement a fait savoir aux familles de membres de l'opposition, réfugiés à l'extérieur du pays, qu'elles feraient bien de prévenir ceux-ci de s'abstenir de toute action car il pourrait détruire tous leurs biens et faire disparaître tous leurs parents. Les propriétés de 200 opposants ont été confisquées.

La situation catastrophique n'empêche pas Saddam Hussein de construire à Bagdad deux palais que jouxtent plusieurs maisons pour ses cinq enfants. « Saddam fait tout pour Bagdad », affirme un témoin. Un nouveau décret oblige dorénavant les

familles venues dans la capitale après l'invasion du Koweït à en partir. « Ils donnent deux jours aux gens pour retourner de là où ils étaient venus, ajoute-t-il, sinon ils les expulsent par camions. »

Une loi empêche les habitants du gouvernorat de Bagdad qui n'y résidaient pas en 1957 d'acheter un appartement dans la ville. « A cette époque, confie ce témoin, Tikrit, ville natale du président, et Samara faisaient partie de Bagdad. Ces gens-là, considérés sans doute comme plus loyaux, peuvent acheter. Les autres, et en particulier les nombreux chiïtes pauvres venus dans la capitale au temps du boom pétrolier, ne

peuvent rien faire. Tout est fait pour protéger Bagdad dans un rayon de 200 kilomètres à l'intérieur duquel tout armement est soigneusement contrôlé. »

Pour tous ces témoins, Saddam Hussein n'est pas véritablement menacé tant la population est plus désespérée que combative. « Le vrai problème, avoue l'un d'eux, est que les Etats-Unis ne veulent pas admettre l'échec des sanctions pour faire partir Saddam Hussein, tant qu'ils n'ont pas d'autre solution. Mais jusqu'à quand vont-ils pouvoir maintenir 18 millions de gens dans une décrépitude totale et sans aucun espoir ? »

FRANÇOISE CHIPAUX

La lente asphyxie de l'économie irakienne

Les armes ou l'embargo ? Réticents à employer la force pour venir à bout des Irakiens, au lendemain de l'invasion du Koweït, nombre de hauts responsables américains penchaient en faveur de l'embargo. Imposé par la communauté internationale dès le 6 août 1990, il allait, pensaient certains, contraindre les Irakiens à faire machine arrière. Ce n'était qu'une question de mois...

Quatre ans après, l'embargo est toujours en place. Mais l'Irak, contrairement à l'attente générale, ne s'est pas effondré. A Bagdad, reliée à la Jordanie voisine par une autoroute en excellent état, longue de plusieurs centaines de kilomètres, le régime s'est ingénié à tout faire pour gommer les effets de la guerre. Bâtiments officiels, ponts sur le Tigre, centres de télécommunications : tout a été reconstruit à l'identique voire en plus grand. Dans les ministères, les fonctionnaires sont à leur poste. Et la Bourse de Bagdad, de création récente, fonctionne toujours à raison de deux séances hebdomadaires.

Les apparences sont donc sauves mais elles masquent mal la lente hémorragie qui vide l'Irak de sa substance. Mis au ban des nations, replié sur lui-même, le pays puise dans ses stocks (et ce qu'il a pu récupérer au Koweït) pour faire tourner une économie dont le délabrement s'accroît. Fleuron du pays, et principale source de devises avant l'invasion du Koweït, le pétrole symbolise bien cette situation. La production actuelle de pétrole - 500 000 barils/jour, soit moins de 20 % de son niveau d'avant guerre - est suffisante pour alimenter le parc automobile ira-

kien. Mais si le régime a pu se vanter d'avoir remis en service l'une des principales raffineries du pays, implantée dans la banlieue de la capitale, à l'échelle du territoire, les installations pétrolières « sont au bout du rouleau ».

Dans le courant de l'été, une mission de l'ONU a pu constater que les pièces de rechange, en dépit des stocks de précaution qui avaient été constitués, commencent à manquer. « Ils essaient de s'en sortir en cannibalisant les autres unités industrielles. On prend les pièces d'une raffinerie pour assurer la poursuite de l'exploitation d'une autre. Mais du coup, la capacité globale de raffinage diminue peu à peu », explique un expert.

La gestion de la pénurie

L'arrêt des importations de certains additifs indispensables pour les carburants se fait aussi sentir. Les voitures irakiennes brûlent une essence de mauvaise qualité. Les conséquences sont bien visibles dans le centre de Bagdad. La légère pente des ponts qui enjambent le Tigre est fatale à nombre de véhicules - certains font partie du butin emporté du Koweït - qui les empruntent.

Au début de l'automne, une autre mission d'inspection de l'ONU a pu constater que les usines d'engrais pâtissaient des mêmes maux que les installations pétrolières. « Les pièces détachées manquent et les problèmes de sécurité sont limites. Il ne faudrait pas grand-chose pour que certaines cuves de stockage de GPL [gas de pétrole liquéfiés] explosent et pro-

duisent une catastrophe », selon un spécialiste. La situation des chemins de fer irakiens résume bien la situation générale. A la veille du conflit, l'Irak disposait de 269 locomotives. Aujourd'hui, à peine 137 sont en service. « Le trafic quotidien n'est plus que de 40 à 45 trains pour l'ensemble du pays », raconte un industriel de retour de Bagdad. « Dans un pays où disposer d'une voiture en état de marche est un privilège, le manque de trains est une vraie catastrophe pour la population », souligne-t-il. Si l'économie ne s'est pas effondrée, la poigne de fer du régime n'y est pas étrangère. La « cannibalisation » des usines ou des moyens de transport lourds a été menée avec efficacité. « Avec le matériel ferroviaire, poursuit l'industriel, tout a été répertorié dans les règles. On sait ce qui a été pris ici et ce qui a été mis là. Tout s'est fait selon les règles. »

Il n'empêche que cette gestion de la pénurie, aussi bien menée soit-elle, semble toucher ses limites. Témoin l'agriculture. Les importations d'engrais et de pesticides interdites, les usines irakiennes tournant au ralenti, les récoltes déclinent. Et, avec elles, la quantité de nourriture disponible pour la population. La situation est alarmante, de l'avis des organisations internationales présentes dans la capitale irakienne, et a conduit, la semaine dernière, Thawra, le quotidien du Baas, le parti au pouvoir, à lancer un cri d'alarme inattendu. Il est vrai que tout récemment les rations de nourriture - déjà chiches - ont été réduites de moitié dans le pays.

JEAN-PIERRE TUQUOI

Turkey's 'Kurdish summit' woes are being rekindled

Soysal to visit France to discuss a number of issues, from N. Iraq to Turkish integration with Europe

Turkish Daily News

LONDON/ANKARA - As the rumors of a revival of a Kurdish summit in Paris resurfaced, Turkish officials, once more alerted, launched a series of diplomatic initiatives to prevent any such move.

It was rumored that the two Kurdish leaders, Massoud Barzani and Jalal Talabani, relaunched efforts to visit Paris to seal an accord which Ankara calls the embryo of an independent Kurdish state. Press reports, mainly attributed to Iranian sources, prompted Ankara to launch an initiative vis-a-vis Kurdistan Democrat Party Chairman Massoud Barzani, who enjoys closer ties with Ankara than PUK leader Jalal Talabani.

The "Paris summit" story, which has been a persistent item on the agenda since July, is also expected to be taken up by Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal who visits Paris this week for the signing of an additional protocol on Galatasaray University, Turkish sources said.

According to Turkish sources, Turkish officials met with the KDP leader in Salahadin last Friday, just before he departed for Iran. But the aim of this meeting also appears as vague as the speculations that surround the so-called Paris summit. While some Turkish and Kurdish officials have told the Turkish Daily News that the aim was to "nip in the bud" any new initiative for a Kurdish summit, others noted that Ankara tried to prevent Barzani from visiting Iran.

Sources in London told the Turkish Daily News that Ankara was taken by surprise over Barzani's sudden decision to visit Tehran. But Turkish officials in Ankara have said that the visit was hardly a surprise for Turkey as they had been "acutely aware" of Barzani's ties with Iran, and the Kurdish leadership, alarmed by the rapprochement between Tehran and Baghdad, would seek a meeting with high-level Iranian officials.

"There is no surprise nor displeasure in Turkey regarding Barzani's visit to Iran. The visit has long been on the agenda and it is natural that we want to establish good ties with the people of the

region," Saffeen Dezayee, the spokesman for the KDP in Ankara, told the TDN.

But sources close to the Kurdish leadership told the Turkish Daily News in London that despite Ankara's protests, the "Paris meeting" could still take place and that Barzani would decide, after his contacts in Tehran, whether he would put into action his plans to travel to Europe.

In Ankara, however, spokesmen for both Kurdish leaders denied that France had issued an invitation so far. Turkish and French officials have also denied any information about French President Francois Mitterrand extending an invitation to the Kurdish leaders to come together for a summit.

Sources close to the Kurdish leadership told the TDN that despite Ankara's intervention, the two leaders were still aiming to come together in Paris to sign what Turkey considers the first step towards creating a Kurdish state in the region. "Although President Mitterrand has agreed not to chair the ceremony under Turkish pressure," a source who asked not to be named told the TDN in London, "neither Barzani's KDP nor Talabani's PUK have received any formal message from France that the Paris meeting has not been cancelled."

Turkish sources, who declared earlier that the French government had no part in organizing the meeting, maintain that they have had guarantees from France that the country had nothing to do with any initiative that threatens Iraqi territorial integrity.

However, well-placed Turkish sources have not ruled out an invitation from France Liberte and the Kurdish Institute to the Kurdish leaders.

"If an invitation from French President Francois Mitterrand is made, we cannot refuse," KDP spokesman Saffeen Dizayee said. "But the Talabani-Barzani meeting is to take place when there is normalization in the region, and this has not yet taken place." Asked whether the two leaders would still want to go to Paris if the "summit" is hosted by a private organization, like the Kurdish Institute or France Liberte, Dezayee replied: "This would have to be taken up and assessed at the time. But, I repeat, there is no normalization in the region."

"Turkey would never approve such a meeting,

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 12, 1994

given such a draft, whether it was hosted officially or privately," a spokesman for the Turkish Foreign Ministry said.

Schedule problem with Juppe

Soysal and his French counterpart Alain Juppe, who will meet for a second time in less than a month, are expected to take up "all issues of interest, from the situation in Northern Iraq to Turkey's integration with the European Union," diplomatic sources said.

The Paris summit had been on the agenda of their first meeting in New York, after which Juppe had declared that the "Paris conference" had been abandoned after "the motives" of the Kurdish leaders were "understood."

But diplomatic sources told the TDN that the situation in Northern Iraq and the whole developments in the region would be on the agenda of this meeting as well.

France has said the oil embargo should be lifted after Iraq complies with disarmament demands and recognizes Kuwait, a view shared by Ankara.

Juppe has told the U.N. General Assembly that the council should set three conditions whenever it imposed sanctions. They were: that all other diplomatic avenues have been explored without success, that the council resolution "states explicitly what actions the targeted state should take for sanctions to be lifted" and that the maintenance of sanctions "should be re-examined on a regular basis and in good faith."

Soysal will also have a working lunch with Alain Lamassoure, the French minister responsible for EU relations, who is expected to travel to Ankara on Oct. 28.

The meeting will give Ankara the opportunity to hold consultations before a tripartite meeting between Greece, France and Germany in mid-November on the EU ties with Albania, Macedonia and Turkey.

But despite the heavy agenda, Soysal was on the point on cancelling the visit because the French side initially scheduled a ten-minute meeting between Soysal and Juppe.

"If that is the case, I have told the French side that I will not go to Paris to sign the protocol," Mümtaz Soysal told journalists Monday night.

But the issue was solved when a one-hour-long meeting was scheduled, diplomatic sources said.

Les Echos - 11 OCTOBRE 1994

Le maintien de l'embargo irakien porterait un coup dur à l'économie turque

Tous les efforts d'Ankara pour obtenir la levée de l'embargo contre l'Irak ou en limiter les effets sur l'économie turque semblent remis en cause par l'expédition militaire irakienne aux frontières du Koweït. Car, menace ou bluff, sa première conséquence sera sans doute une prolongation de l'embargo.

◆ La tension à la frontière irako-koweïtienne, qui s'atténuait hier soir, est un coup dur pour la Turquie, membre de la coalition anti-irakienne de 1990, qui souffre de l'embargo imposé à l'Irak et s'efforçait de convaincre ses alliés de le lever. Même si Saddam Hussein n'avait qu'une simple gesticulation en tête, cette nouvelle crise « porte un coup aux efforts de normalisation avec l'Irak », a-t-on déclaré lundi de source gouvernementale turque. Car les observateurs à

Ankara sont unanimes : la première conséquence de cette menace irakienne contre le Koweït sera la prolongation de l'embargo décrété par l'ONU contre le régime de Saddam Hussein.

Or, depuis des mois, Ankara travaillait à limiter les dégâts provoqués par cet embargo sur son économie, qui lui ont coûté, selon des chiffres avancés par les autorités turques, quelque 20 milliards de dollars depuis l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak. Ce manque à gagner correspond aux droits de transit du pétrole irakien par l'oléoduc irako-turc Kirkouk-Yumurtalik, fermé depuis l'embargo, et à la disparition quasi totale d'un important commerce frontalier. Ce qui a achevé de dévaster l'économie du Sud-Est anatolien à majorité kurde, où des rebelles séparatistes mènent depuis dix ans une lutte armée contre Ankara.

L'action diplomatique turque visait dans un premier temps à sauvegarder l'oléoduc, menacé de corrosion par les quelque 12 millions de barils de pétrole qui s'y trouvent bloqués depuis sa fermeture, en le vidangeant. Des efforts en ce sens, menés principalement par le numéro deux de la diplomatie turque, Ozdem Sanberk, et qui semblaient cet été sur le point d'aboutir, sont de nouveau au point mort.

Ankara s'efforçait aussi de convaincre ses partenaires de la coalition anti-irakienne de la vanité de poursuivre l'embargo. Le nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, Mumtaz Soysal, l'avait affirmé le 26 septembre : « En résistant aux sanctions, Saddam Hussein est devenu un héros aux yeux de son peuple. L'embargo a eu un effet inverse à celui qui était recherché. Nous le disons franchement à nos alliés : votre politique est

erronée, il faut en changer. » Mumtaz Soysal avait également mis en place une nouvelle politique concernant les entrées dans le nord de l'Irak à partir de la Turquie, imposant à la plupart des étrangers d'obtenir un visa irakien pour pouvoir passer. Selon nombre d'observateurs, cette décision revenait à restituer à Bagdad une parcelle d'autorité dans cette région sous contrôle des Kurdes d'Irak depuis la guerre du Golfe.

Ankara avait également rouvert son poste frontalier de Habur à un commerce de petite échelle, essentiellement des livraisons de nourriture par des camions qui revenaient chargés de gazole. Autant d'efforts qui risquent d'être remis en cause par les gesticulations irakiennes. Elles fournissent en effet un prétexte rêvé à ceux qui, comme les Américains, ne souhaitent pas lever l'embargo tant que Saddam Hussein reste au pouvoir à Bagdad.

Wednesday, October 12, 1994

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

U.S. Wants Weapons Ban For Zone in Southern Iraq

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Sensing an Iraqi retreat, the United States argued Tuesday for a demilitarized zone inside southern Iraq to prevent Baghdad from threatening its neighbors and pinning down U.S. troops in a costly, indefinite deployment.

American officials, meantime, escalated their threats against the government of President Saddam Hussein, repeating publicly that the United States was considering a preemptive strike to destroy or damage Iraq's military force near its border with Kuwait.

Baghdad said Monday that it was pulling back its troops near Kuwait. At midday Tuesday — dusk in Iraq — the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, General John M. Shalikashvili, said the latest U.S. intelligence showed that Iraqi troops were breaking camp but had not yet turned north, away from Kuwait.

"I am not at all prepared to say yet that the crisis is over in any way," the general said at a briefing. The American buildup will continue, he added.

Iraqi officials had insisted in Baghdad, New York and Washington that their deployment near Kuwait had ended and that nearly all those forces — estimated by the

Pentagon at approaching 80,000 — had withdrawn by early Tuesday.

In addition, the news agency Reuters said one of its reporters had seen large numbers of top-grade Iraqi armor moving northward Tuesday. While some T-72 tanks were moving southward, Reuters said, the majority were headed away from the Kuwaiti border.

President Bill Clinton, on a trip to Michigan, said that he was "hopeful" that Iraqi troops were withdrawing but that it was too soon to reach a final conclusion.

An Iraqi official said Russian and Chinese military attachés had been escorted to the southern city of Basra to confirm the withdrawal. The Russian president, Boris N. Yeltsin, sent a diplomatic team to Iraq and Kuwait.

General Shalikashvili said that 19,000 U.S. troops were in the Gulf, that 44,500 more were on their way and that 156,000 others were on alert. He said 12 U.S. warships and five allied warships were in the region and that 21 others were on the way. In addition, he said, 200 U.S. warplanes and 52 allied warplanes were in the Gulf, 467 more were being deployed and 196 others were on alert.

In a further sign of U.S. pressure, the chief U.S. delegate at the United Nations,

Madeleine K. Albright, said that Mr. Saddam had "absolutely" killed any possibility that the United Nations would ease sanctions on Iraq while he remained in power. "The sanctions resolutions are based on verifying credibility," she said, "and when somebody lies, it is very hard to make that point."

The removal of sanctions, and UN approval to sell oil, has been Iraq's most critical diplomatic goal since the end of the Gulf War. Nizar Hamdoon, Iraq's delegate at the UN, said Tuesday that Iraq would continue to "fight diplomatically" to show that the Iraqis were starving because of the sanctions.

From all appearances, U.S. policymakers have decided that the crisis provides an opportunity to tighten the economic and military noose around the Iraqi regime in the hope of achieving a long-held U.S. goal, the overthrow of Mr. Saddam.

The U.S. diplomatic effort to create a new demilitarized zone was to be pursued later Tuesday at a meeting of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council in New York.

"It's obviously one of the big issues to be discussed," a U.S. aide said, while caution-

ing that American officials were eager to hear other ideas from the Security Council members.

"We are looking at ways to kind of move them back and make sure that they stay behind a certain area so that we are not faced with this kind of thing again," a senior U.S. official said.

Defense Secretary William J. Perry called a weapons exclusion zone "a viable option" and said it could be patrolled from the air "for some number of years, depending on the situation."

Mr. Perry said late Monday that the United States could not accept and would not accept the possibility of being "pinned

down" in the Gulf.

After Mr. Clinton's order Monday night sending B-52 bombers, F-117 Stealth fighters and scores of other military aircraft to the Gulf, American officials appeared on television Tuesday to reiterate that the Pentagon and White House were considering a military strike.

"Definitely, we are talking about a preemptive strike," Mrs. Albright said. She said the United States, under existing UN resolutions, had the authority to act alone but could turn to the Security Council for "additional support."

Pressure for the creation of a broader exclusion zone in

southern Iraq resulted from Washington's urgent desire to avoid situations in which Mr. Saddam could repeatedly provoke an expensive and risky U.S. deployment to the Gulf. Mr. Clinton declared in a brief televised speech Monday night that Mr. Saddam could not be trusted and that "actions, not words" would guide U.S. decision making.

"We will not allow Iraq to threaten its neighbors or to intimidate the United Nations," Mr. Clinton said.

According to U.S. cabinet officials, the exclusion zone could ban tanks, artillery and other armored weapons.

Since the end of the Gulf

War, an exclusion zone has existed prohibiting Iraqi aircraft below the 32d parallel, roughly the southern third of Iraq. A similar no-flight zone exists in northern Iraq.

Aircraft from the Gulf War coalition, primarily from the United States, Britain and France, have been patrolling those exclusion zones for years and could be given orders to destroy any heavy ground weapons in the zone, U.S. officials indicated Tuesday.

General Shalikashvili said that a heavy-weapons exclusion zone in the Iraqi desert would be easier to police than a similar UN exclusion zone around the mountainous Bosnian capital, Sarajevo.

Gamble by a Desperate Saddam

Sanctions Viewed as Forcing Dramatic Action

By Elaine Sciolino

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — President Saddam Hussein's latest confrontation with the United States illustrates both the success and the failure of Washington's handling of the Iraqi leader.

The success is that two successive administrations have managed to maintain crippling sanctions on Iraq that have cre-

NEWS ANALYSIS

ated an economic crisis so desperate that Mr. Saddam felt cornered. But instead of recognizing the sovereignty and the borders of Kuwait, a condition set by the United Nations for easing the sanctions, he moved 70,000 troops toward the country that his troops invaded in 1990.

That troop mobilization highlights the policy failure: Three years after the end of the Gulf War, Mr. Saddam remains firmly entrenched in power.

The result is that even if Iraq is pulling its troops away from Kuwait, Mr. Saddam will have proved once again that he can force the United States to send tens of thousands of troops to confront him; if he is not removed from power, he will prove he is a political survivor as well.

In his 15 years as president, Mr. Saddam has ruled by ruthlessly suppressing all opposition. But his government does not rule by terror alone. It has

survived because it has always been supple enough to respond to the basic physical needs of the people. The philosophy of governing is best expressed in two Arabic words: *tarhib* (terror) and *targhib* (enticement).

But in the past year, that delicate structure has crumbled.

"There was only terrorizing," said Amatzia Baram, chairman of the Department of Middle East History at Haifa University. "There was no longer enticement."

Mr. Saddam was forced by the sanctions to allow the United Nations to scrap his weapons of mass destruction, set up an elaborate and humiliating monitoring system of his arms industry, and take increasingly tough economic measures. That hurt the Iraqi people, fueled discontent and brought him to what some Iraqi scholars say was an inevitable decision to take dramatic action.

After retail prices soared last year, Mr. Saddam decided to accept Security Council Resolution 715, which set up the weapons-inspection system; as a result of his compliance, he promised his people, sanctions would "dissipate."

Instead, the sanctions remained in place, and prices soared again. Even Mr. Saddam's son Uday used his newspaper, Babil, to criticize officials who promoted compliance with the UN demands, although he never attacked his father by name.

After the Iraqi dinar lost half its value in May, Uday Hussein criticized Iraq's prime minister and finance minister for their inability to control inflation.

So Mr. Saddam added the portfolio of prime minister to his responsibilities as president, commander-in-chief and head of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party. He also turned the ruling Revolutionary Command Council into an economic body that made decisions on such issues as how much sugar should cost.

The economic crisis worsened last month, when the Security Council again decided not to lift the sanctions. On Sept. 25, Mr. Saddam halved monthly food rations, and food prices doubled in one day.

The economic pressure coincided with mounting political pressure. In September of last year, there were reports that a bomb had exploded in front of Mr. Saddam's motorcade in Baghdad; last May, a car bomb exploded at a place where his motorcade was expected to pass.

Purges and executions followed each incident, and during recent months, Mr. Saddam has even purged officials from the Duri clan, a center of his support, and the clan of Izzat Ibrahim, officially his second in command.

He has answered each setback with more stringent proclamations: He has imposed

strict Islamic punishments of amputations of a hand or a foot for thievery and has announced that deserters from the armed forces risk losing one or both ears. A repeat deserter may have an "X" branded on his forehead.

"Iraq has been a sleeper," said Phebe Marr, a senior fellow at the National Defense University and a historian who has written extensively on Iraq. "He was running out of time and patience and had to do something to convince his people he was in charge and taking action to get the sanctions lifted. Sooner or later something like this was going to happen."

Mr. Saddam was apparently convinced that even if he complied with the UN resolutions, the United States would not allow the Security Council to ease sanctions. He ignored repeated advice from France, Turkey and Russia that they would support the lifting of some sanctions if he would fulfill Security Council resolutions and recognize Kuwait and its borders.

Instead, he has always said that Iraq's isolation from the sea was a cruel accident of colonial history.

So it is not surprising that he found it particularly galling after the Gulf War when the United Nations formally redrew the Kuwaiti border to give part of Iraq's only port, at Umm Qasr, to Kuwait.

"Had Saddam come up with a satisfactory statement on Kuwait, the coalition would have softened further and compelled the United States to confront the sanctions issue," said Ms. Marr. "But he didn't, and my interpretation is that he wasn't close to it yet."

President Clinton calls Prime Minister Çiller to consult on Iraq

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON/ANKARA- U.S. President Bill Clinton Tuesday telephoned Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Çiller concerning the recent allied troop deployments to Kuwait, officials in Ankara and Washington said.

In their conversation, Çiller stressed the "importance Turkey placed on the protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kuwait and Iraq," a statement from the Prime Minister's Press Office said.

The statement also expressed Turkey's support of the UN resolutions on Iraq and that Turkey wanted Iraq to comply fully to those resolutions.

"The prime minister told Clinton that we have made our point known to Iraq," the statement said.

Clinton's call was among several calls he placed to allied leaders, such as Francois Mitterrand of France and Hosni Mubarek of Egypt.

While the prime minister's press statement stressed that Clinton made no request from Ankara, diplomatic observers said that it was evident the two leaders talked about the use of Incirlik Air Force Base near Adana in case of Iraq crossing into Kuwait, thus triggering another Gulf War, or U.S. troops — not wanted to be tied

down indefinitely in Kuwait — launching a pre-emptive strike against Iraqi troops.

U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry has confirmed that such a pre-emptive strike is indeed considered an option by the U.S. military.

"The move has led the world to doubt the good will of the Baghdad regime," Çiller said, saying the crisis proved to be a setback for various initiatives taken by Ankara.

In a related development, Turkish Representative to the United Nations Inal Batu said the crisis would not have occurred if Iraq had "agreed to cooperate with Turkey on the flushing of a Turco-Iraqi oil pipeline."

"If the two countries had agreed to flush the pipeline within the parameters set by the United Nations, the atmosphere in the region would be calmer and the crisis would not have occurred," Batu said.

Perry on Turkey

Appearing on the U.S. television program Nightline, Perry commented on what he termed the "provocative and hostile" deployment of the Iraqi troops along the Kuwaiti border and the possible American response to it.

When asked if he thought the Turks would this time allow the coalition forces —like they did

during the Gulf War— to use the Incirlik Air Force Base in Adana for sorties into Iraq, Perry said he expected Turks to support the allied effort once again.

"I would expect the Turks to be with us if we take action against Iraq. [But] I do not have first-hand knowledge. I have not talked to the Turkish Defense Minister as of this point." Turkish Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan has said that "it would be difficult" for Turkey to allow the use of the base, but should a hot war occur, "Turkey could not leave the UN alone." "We are working with the coalition at this time. The coalition is working under the broad mandate of the UN. The UN has resolutions that called on Iraq not to commit provocative and hostile actions. We consider this clearly a provocative and hostile action." Perry said.

As to the coalition's solidarity as far as the objections of French and Russians are concerned, Perry said that he talked with French Defense Minister Francois Leotard yesterday morning and said the "French, in particular will support" the coalition. "I will talk with the Russian Defense Minister tomorrow morning. So I don't have the same first-hand knowledge on [Russian intentions]," he said.

Turkish jets strike PKK base in Northern Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish jets raided a suspected terrorist camp in northern Iraq on Sunday afternoon, military sources revealed on Monday.

Militants of the illegal Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), are known to use bases in northern Iraq to launch hit-and-run attacks inside Turkey. The military statement said 21 jets struck at the camp in the Bote valley at 2:30 p.m. Sunday. All returned safely to base. The statement said the ammunition depot, gun

emplacements and training areas at the camp were destroyed in the raid but it gave no account of casualties. Turkey's state television played footage taken from the air shortly after the raid, showing smoke coming from barely visible installations in a mountain valley.

PKK militants regrouped 30 kilometers northwest of the Zeli training camp after it had been bombed by Turkish jets during a previous raid. The militants had been preparing for the coming winter in the new camp.

Foreign debt payments approach \$5 billion

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey's foreign debt payments amounted to \$4.987 billion in the first eight months of the current year, Central Bank statistics revealed on Tuesday. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller claimed recently that Turkey's foreign debt stock had fallen from \$67 billion at the end of 1993 to \$60 billion by the end of July this year, but experts said the July figure was closer to \$64 billion when exchange rate differentials

were included. About 62 percent of foreign debt payments are attributable to the public sector.

In the past seven months, the public sector has made principal payments of \$1.617 billion and interest payments of \$1.481 billion. In the same period, the private sector, commercial banks and State Economic Enterprises (SEEs) have made principal payments of \$1.286 and interest payments of \$603 million.

turkish daily news Wednesday, October 12, 1994

Le Monde — 12 octobre 1994

Logique de force en Irak

Tandis que Bagdad et Washington demeurent sur le pied de guerre, les Européens sont condamnés à « coller » aux Etats-Unis

L'incapacité dans laquelle la France se trouve de pouvoir vérifier, voire contester, les informations de source américaine sur la situation militaire à la frontière irako-koweïtienne a contraint les responsables français à prendre pour argent comptant les renseignements recueillis par les satellites et les avions espions de Washington. L'absence de moyens nationaux, sinon européens, d'observation permanente de la région fait dépendre les Français de sources américaines et de leur exploitation – éventuellement intéressée et peut-être exagérée – que Bill Clinton peut présenter pour tenter de mieux asseoir encore la crédibilité de son administration à mi-mandat présidentiel. Pour autant, les états-majors français continuent de se demander quelle mouche a piqué Saddam Hussein, dont ils ne se dissimulent ni la personnalité fantasque ni les fougades.

Avec seulement une quinzaine d'officiers dans la mission « onusienne » de contrôle sur place, qui, de surcroît, ne sont pas équipés pour voir et entendre au loin, les Français sont quasiment aveugles et sourds, faute de moyens à eux. Ce qu'on avait déploré en son temps, lors de la guerre du Golfe en 1990-1991, à savoir le manque d'une gamme opérationnelle et complète d'outils de renseignements à longue distance susceptibles de rassembler des informations en temps réel et à grande échelle, se vérifie une nouvelle fois aujourd'hui.

Les programmes de satellite de reconnaissance optique par tous temps Hélios 2 ou d'espionnage radar Osiris, que la France propose à ses partenaires européens, ne seront pas prêts avant la fin de ce siècle, si jamais ils devaient l'être à cause des réticences apparues en Allemagne ou en Espagne.

Comme les Britanniques, les Français sont donc condamnés à « coller » aux Etats-Unis – ils ont envoyé, chacun pour soi, une frégate dans la zone – après avoir, dès les premières heures des événements, manifesté une certaine prudence. Depuis, on en est réduit, dans les états-majors, à craindre que la situation puisse effectivement « déraiper » par la faute des Irakiens comme des Américains, même si la garde républicaine devait revenir sur ses positions antérieures. On tente de comprendre la psychologie de Saddam Hussein pour expliquer son attitude à un moment qui devait en principe lui être favorable puisqu'il avait réussi à diviser l'ex-coalition de 1990 sur la levée des sanctions par l'ONU.

A l'instar du conseiller de Bill Clinton pour les questions de sécurité, qui se demandait à la fin de la semaine dernière si le président irakien, *si l'on veut la guerre, s'il menace ou, si se contente de « gesticuler », les militaires français s'interrogent sur la logique stratégique de Saddam Hussein.* Ils considèrent que le chef de l'Etat irakien, isolé, décidant sans concertation, se tenant constamment à l'écart du monde, l'ignorant même superbement, mais persuadé d'être le seul à devoir résister à l'impérialisme américain, est resté quoi qu'il advienne dans « une logique permanente de force » qui, depuis le début des années 90, le conduit à une « appréciation erronée » de l'environnement et de ses capacités militaires.

Épuration dans les rangs de l'armée

C'est la raison pour laquelle nul n'exclut la perspective d'un incident qui dégénère en affrontement

aux frontières. Les deux camps demeurent en effet sur le pied de guerre et ils ne sont pas à l'abri d'un faux pas. L'armée irakienne pourrait vouloir tâter sur le terrain la réaction des Etats-Unis, en lançant quelques incursions pour juger ensuite de la nature de la « frappe » américaine et mettre en avant la disproportion entre l'incident et cette riposte. Mais, de leur côté, les Américains pourraient être amenés à choisir de forcer l'allure avec des attaques préventives, tant Saddam Hussein cultive avec constance l'art de les irriter.

Pourquoi une telle « gesticulation » a-t-elle eu lieu ? Les états-majors penchent pour une volonté de Saddam Hussein de donner des gages à son armée, par la même occasion. Le chef de l'Etat irakien est, en effet, dans la situation complexe où il a dû ordonner une forte épuration dans les rangs d'une armée qui est le plus sûr soutien du régime, avec la police, et où, dans le même temps, il a dû consentir – malgré l'opposition d'une grande part de ses cadres militaires – à des amputations radicales de son système de défense sous le contrôle de l'ONU. Pour la hiérarchie militaire irakienne, la situation confine à l'humiliation. Elle est aussi inconfortable pour un président habitué – la preuve en a été administrée avec l'invasion du Koweït en août 1990 – à sortir d'une crise en recourant à la provocation délibérée et à la force au besoin.

Du même coup, Bagdad fait indirectement un cadeau à Washington. En déployant au Koweït et dans des pays voisins des troupes susceptibles de s'opposer à une agression irakienne, les Etats-Unis apportent la démonstration que la sécurité de leurs alliés dans le Golfe dépend des armées américaines. La leçon ne sera pas oubliée au Koweït et en Arabie saoudite.

Une nouvelle stratégie américaine

Ce qu'on appelle la « projection » de ses forces par une grande puissance tend de plus en plus à devenir une politique d'influence. Depuis la campagne « Tempête du désert », deux officiers généraux américains, le général Loh, qui commande l'aviation de combat dans l'armée de l'air américaine, et l'amiral Larson, le « patron » de la marine américaine dans le Pacifique, ont tout récemment explicité ce principe baptisé « *strategy of cooperative engagement* ». En multipliant les exercices conjoints sur place, en échangeant des personnels militaires, en proposant des matériels parmi les plus modernes, en laissant sur la zone des instructeurs ou des conseillers, les Etats-Unis réussissent à tisser un réseau fiable et opérationnel de contacts avec des armées alliées. Ils sont chez eux, en prenant ces pays sous leur protection. De ce point de vue, les ventes ou la cession – à titre gratuit grâce aux procédures dites des « *foreign military sales* » – de matériels permettent de stocker des armes là où les forces américaines en auraient spécialement besoin pour, le cas échéant, se porter au secours de leurs partenaires menacés.

John Loh ne le cache pas, qui reconnaît que c'est cette présence militaire-là qui engendre la confiance et la sécurité le jour où des crises surprennent les alliés des Etats-Unis.

En jouant à déplacer ses soldats dans le désert, tel un général qu'il n'est pas d'origine, Saddam Hussein a sans doute sous-évalué la capacité de Washington à organiser sa réplique. Il a probablement cru que le grave échec américain en Somalie, l'impuissance des Etats-Unis à s'imposer dans l'ex-Yougoslavie et l'engagement américain en Haïti mobilisaient l'attention de Bill Clinton, permettant, en revanche, aux Irakiens de jouer les trublions dans le Golfe et leur restituant de fait une liberté d'initiative qu'ils avaient perdue après la débâcle de 1991.

JACQUES ISNARD

Malgré l'annonce du recul des forces de Bagdad massées près de la frontière koweïtienne

L'ONU n'envisage plus d'alléger les sanctions contre l'Irak

Au cours d'une intervention télévisée, lundi 10 octobre, le président Bill Clinton a fait part de sa détermination à obtenir de l'Irak le retrait de ses troupes de la zone frontalière avec le Koweït et à défendre la « stabilité de la région ». L'Irak, de son côté, a annoncé le recul de ses forces, mais cette annonce a été mise en doute à Washington. Aussi, le renforcement du potentiel militaire américain dans la zone du Golfe continuait mardi.

■ **EMBARGO.** Au siège des Nations unies, à New-York, la question de la levée partielle des sanctions contre le régime du président Saddam Hussein, à laquelle les Etats-Unis étaient fermement opposés, semble définitivement écartée. A présent, au Conseil de sécurité, qui devait se réunir mardi, on évoque un dispositif plus contraignant pour l'Irak.

■ **INFLUENCE.** Les alliés des Etats-Unis - dont la France - qui étaient favorables à l'assouplissement de l'embargo n'ont pas

les moyens techniques de vérifier les mouvements de troupes en Irak et sont obligés de s'en remettre aux informations de Washington. Ainsi Saddam Hussein fournit-il aux Américains l'occasion d'étendre leur influence dans le Golfe.

NEW-YORK et WASHINGTON

de nos correspondants

Les Etats-Unis ne sont plus disposés à accorder la moindre confiance au président Saddam Hussein. « Par ses actes d'agression et ses armes de destruction massive », il a montré au monde « qu'il ne peut être cru », a souligné, lundi 10 octobre, le président Clinton, en annonçant, à la télévision, un important renfort du dispositif militaire américain dans la région du Golfe.

Au cours de son allocution, le président américain est apparu très déterminé, comme s'il voulait préparer l'Amérique à une prochaine confrontation de son armée avec celle de l'Irak. Il répondait ainsi indirectement aux affirmations du chef de la diplomatie ira-



PANCULO

kienne qui avait annoncé un recul des troupes de Bagdad, massées à proximité de la frontière koweïtienne, vers « des positions à l'arrière ».

Trois ans et demi après l'opération « Tempête du désert » destinée à chasser les troupes irakiennes du Koweït, les Etats-Unis et la communauté internationale demeurent « déterminés à défendre l'intégrité de cette nation et à protéger la stabilité de la région du Golfe », a souligné le président américain. En raison de ce qui s'est passé en 1990, la « provocation » irakienne requiert une « forte réponse » : « Nous ne permettrons pas à Saddam Hussein de défer la volonté des Etats-Unis (...), de menacer ses voisins ou d'intimider les Nations unies », a-t-il insisté. Evoquant l'annonce d'un retrait des troupes irakiennes de la zone frontalière, il s'est dit « intéressé par des faits, pas par des promesses, par des actes, non des mots ».

« Je n'ai rien vu de tel »

Les propos présidentiels confirment le scepticisme qui semblait prévaloir, lundi dans la soirée, au Pentagone, où l'on assurait qu'aucune information ne permet de confirmer le moindre mouvement de recul des troupes irakiennes : « Je n'ai rien vu de tel », a souligné le général John Shalikashvili, chef d'état-major interarmes. Selon certains responsables militaires, les Irakiens continueraient même d'acheminer des renforts dans la région frontalière.

Echaudés par l'expérience - en 1990, l'Irak avait annoncé, à plu-

Les Etats-Unis doutent du retrait irakien

Malgré l'annonce par Bagdad d'un « déplacement vers l'arrière » des unités irakiennes dont la présence à proximité de la frontière koweïtienne a déclenché une nouvelle crise dans le Golfe, Washington a décidé de poursuivre le déploiement de forces capables de faire face à toute éventualité. Huit cents soldats américains, sur un total de quelque 30 000 prévus pour être envoyés protéger la frontière koweïtienne, sont arrivés, lundi 10 octobre, au Koweït.

De leur côté, les autorités koweïtiennes - qui ont fait part de leur scepticisme devant les déclarations irakiennes - ont décidé d'élargir à près de la moitié de la superficie de l'émirat la zone militaire interdite à tout civil, qui s'étend désormais de la frontière irakienne à El Mutlaa, une localité située à 30 kilomètres au nord de la capitale. Côté irakien, selon le secrétaire américain à la défense, William Perry, trois divisions placées en état d'alerte dans le sud de l'Irak ont été rejointes par une division de la garde républicaine -

l'unité d'élite de l'armée - et une deuxième devait y arriver, ce qui porterait le total des troupes irakiennes proches de la frontière koweïtienne à près de 80 000 hommes. Cependant, au nord de la frontière koweïtienne, des « bidoun », apatrides originaires du Koweït, continuent à affluer dans des camps de toile installés à moins de 1 kilomètre de la zone démilitarisée séparant l'émirat de l'Irak.

C'est lundi en fin d'après-midi que le ministre irakien des affaires étrangères, Mohamed Saïd El Sahaf, a annoncé qu'il avait été « décidé de déplacer les unités concernées vers des positions à l'arrière, afin qu'elles achèvent les manœuvres programmées ». M. Sahaf a précisé que Bagdad agissait ainsi « en réponse aux appels de certains amis et nonobstant le droit de l'Irak à la souveraineté et à sa liberté de mouvement à l'intérieur de ses frontières nationales ». L'ambassadeur d'Irak à l'ONU, Nizar Hamdoun, avait auparavant informé le Conseil de sécurité de la décision de Bagdad.

Par ailleurs, le président Clinton a eu un contact téléphonique, lundi soir, avec Boris Eltsine, pour discuter de la situation dans le Golfe, a annoncé la présidence russe. Selon celle-ci, M. Eltsine a souligné que Moscou avait « entrepris des démarches diplomatiques pour détendre la situation à la frontière entre l'Irak et le Koweït ». Le président russe a assuré que « les moyens politiques de règlement de la crise étaient loin d'être épuisés ». François Mitterrand a également été contacté par Bill Clinton, tandis que, dans un entretien publié par le quotidien saoudien *el Charq el Awsat*, François Léotard a assuré que la France était disposée à participer, « si nécessaire », à une opération contre l'Irak décidée par l'ONU. « S'il y a une résolution du Conseil de sécurité, la France assumera ses responsabilités comme elle l'a toujours fait », a-t-il dit. Le Quai d'Orsay avait annoncé dimanche soir que la France avait décidé de faire appareiller la frégate *Georges-Leygues* vers les côtes du Koweït. - (AFP, Reuter.)

sieurs reprises, un recueil de ses unités, qui ne s'était jamais concrétisé —, les Etats-Unis ont décidé de ne pas tenir compte des affirmations irakiennes, du moins tant que les satellites et avions de reconnaissance américains n'auront pas confirmé un mouvement de retrait. En même temps, Washington continue de renforcer son potentiel militaire dans la région, comme si celui-ci allait bientôt devoir être mis à contribution. Le président Clinton a annoncé l'envoi de 350 avions supplémentaires, ce qui devrait porter le nombre total d'appareils américains (hélicoptères compris) à plus de 530. Parmi lesquels des chasseurs bombardiers F-117 dits « furtifs » et des bombardiers B-52, qui avaient infligé, en 1991, de lourdes pertes aux forces irakiennes.

Lundi, plusieurs responsables de l'administration américaine se sont livrés à des déclarations de plus en plus « martiales », qui laissaient envisager une action préventive des Etats-Unis. Le secrétaire d'Etat à la défense, William Perry, n'a pas voulu « exclure ou confirmer » cette possibilité, tout en soulignant que les Etats-Unis ne souhaitent pas maintenir une importante force militaire dans la région pendant une longue période. Cette précision signifie, estime-t-on à Was-

hington, que le président Saddam Hussein ne peut espérer des Etats-Unis et de la communauté internationale qu'ils attendent indéfiniment le bon vouloir de Bagdad, avant que soit définitivement levée la menace que les troupes irakiennes font peser sur le Koweït.

A New-York, la plupart des membres du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU ont manifesté une même détermination. Le rapport de la commission spéciale chargée du désarmement irakien (UNSCOM), présidée par le Suédois Rolf Ekeus, devait être examiné, mardi, par le Conseil mais il apparaît déjà que ses conclusions — pourtant très favorables à l'Irak (le Monde du 11 octobre) —, ne permettront pas d'assouplir les sanctions contre Bagdad.

Washington a réussi à faire atténuer les conclusions de ce rapport, notamment s'agissant de la mise en place d'un système de contrôle à long terme des programmes d'armement irakiens. Il est, en effet, précisé que ce système n'est que « provisoirement opérationnel », cette mention ayant été rajoutée dans la version finale, comme l'a confirmé le porte-parole de la commission. Les pays qui étaient jusqu'alors partisans d'assouplir les sanctions imposées à l'Irak avaient souhaité que, compte tenu des conclusions favo-

rables de la commission, il soit précisé qu'à l'issue d'une période probatoire de six mois, la question de la levée de l'embargo pétrolier qui est imposé à Bagdad depuis l'invasion du Koweït (août 1990) soit envisagée.

Des zones d'exclusion de manœuvres militaires

Résistant aux pressions irakiennes, M. Ekeus a refusé de mentionner une quelconque période probatoire. L'Irak a multiplié les démarches, ces derniers jours, pour obtenir un soutien des pays qui, précédemment, ont manifesté le plus de compréhension à son égard, la Russie, la Chine et la France ainsi que la Turquie. Il est fort probable que si la situation n'avait pas pris cette tournure, les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne — hostiles à une levée des sanctions —, auraient dû s'incliner devant les preuves de la « bonne volonté » de Bagdad.

Ce débat a aujourd'hui tourné court. Le Conseil de sécurité envisage maintenant d'étudier des mesures plus rigoureuses pour limiter davantage la liberté de mouvement de l'armée irakienne. Les Etats-Unis proposent ainsi (pour l'instant officieusement), que des mesures destinées à « faire face aux menaces militaires conventionnelles et immédies » de l'Irak, soient adoptées,

comme la création de « zones d'exclusion de manœuvres militaires » à l'intérieur du territoire irakien.

La Grande-Bretagne, pour sa part, suggère d'envisager une sorte de « notification préalable » de ces manœuvres aux Nations unies. Ces dispositions, qui constitueraient un sérieux précédent s'agissant de la souveraineté d'un Etat membre de l'ONU, doivent cependant être étudiées en détail et une résolution du Conseil de sécurité sur ce point paraît encore lointaine.

A Washington, comme à New-York, les diplomates ont du mal à croire que le président irakien ait pu imaginer qu'en menaçant implicitement les Nations unies (Bagdad avait indiqué que si l'embargo pétrolier n'était pas levé à terme, l'Irak cesserait sa coopération avec l'ONU), et surtout en se livrant à une provocation militaire à la frontière koweïtienne, il aurait pu obtenir gain de cause. Sir David Hannay, représentant de la Grande-Bretagne et président en exercice du Conseil de sécurité, a souligné que personne, au sein du Conseil, n'était prêt à discuter de la levée des sanctions « sous la menace, même si cette menace est ensuite retirée ».

AFSANÉ BASSIR POUR et
LAURENT ZECCHINI

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1994

U.S. Offers New Plan For Reining In Iraq

As Saddam's Forces Pull Back, Talks At UN Seek to Curb His Elite Troops

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The United States gained support in the United Nations Security Council on Wednesday for a demand that Baghdad keep its most elite force, the Republican Guard, away from Kuwait, a U.S. official said Wednesday.

The emerging consensus on how to prevent the government of President Saddam Hussein from threatening its neighbors appeared to reflect a coolness among some U.S. allies, particularly Britain and France, toward Washington's desire for a broader demilitarized zone throughout southern Iraq.

"What you're almost looking at is a Republican Guard exclusion zone," a U.S. official familiar with latest discussions at the United Nations said in an interview. "The Republican Guards are the key ones."

It was unclear whether a formal Security Council resolution had been drafted or whether the size of an exclusion zone had been delineated. The talks were continuing.

The diplomatic development came as the White House and Pentagon reported evidence of a broad retreat by up to half of Iraq's 70,000 forces from near the Kuwaiti border. But U.S. officials saw enough ambiguity in the Iraqi moves to declare that Baghdad's forces remained a threat.

Washington is now willing to allow Iraq to retain up to 30,000 of its less-well-trained regular army troops around the southern city of Basra, Reuters reported.

It is believed that these or similar regular army troops have occasionally undertaken maneuvers in the Basra area since the 1991 Gulf War. When U.S. intelligence noted

the appearance near Kuwait of the better-equipped Republican Guard divisions earlier this month, the White House decided to deploy U.S. forces.

The Republican Guards are believed to be Mr. Saddam's most loyal, best paid, best trained and best equipped forces.

Pentagon officials, meantime, made no move to curtail the flow of U.S. troops, warplanes and ships to the Gulf despite the Iraqi pullback. The total number of U.S. forces in the region grew to 20,000, the Pentagon said. As expected, 18,000 Marines received firm orders to ship out to the Gulf.

As diplomatic efforts cast a widening shadow over military activities, the White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, said that although many Iraqi forces appeared to be pulling back, others remained in place.

"We've seen some evidence that troops are withdrawing from the southern area, from the Basra region of Iraq," she said at a briefing. "There have been some indications that that is broad based."

Tanks were being loaded onto trains, she said, and there were other indications that "they are in fact pulling out." But "some units do appear to be in place, so we're continuing to monitor it closely, and there's been absolutely no change in our deployment at this point," she added.

In New York, the five permanent members of the Security Council — China, Russia, France, Britain and the United

States — met to discuss how to keep Iraq "from threatening its neighbors and the UN," the U.S. official said. This official, speaking on the condition that he not be identified, said the aim was to take Iraq back "to the status quo ante."

Those at the talks were "generally supportive" of the idea of excluding Iraq's elite forces from the Kuwait area, this official said. He specifically cited support from Britain and France.

"Let's say we're not running into any serious opposition," he added.

The official said he did not know whether any agreement had been reached on how to enforce such a demand on Iraq. The talks were set to continue Wednesday evening.

The United States, Britain and France are already combining to enforce a air exclusion zone south of the 32d parallel, banning Iraqi aircraft, and U.S. officials said Wednesday that they would have no trouble spotting and destroying Iraqi ground forces in that zone.

Earlier in the day, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said during a visit to Kuwait that Iraqi forces remained "an unmistakable threat" to the emirate. "This particular crisis, this episode, is not over," the secretary said.

From a command post in the Gulf, Major General Everett H. Pratt Jr. of the U.S. Air Force said in a briefing that Iraq still had enough troops and weaponry near Kuwait to cause trouble.

But France publicly opposed the idea of a full demilitarized zone and said Iraq had done nothing illegal in its military maneuvers. Britain refrained from endorsing the idea and said other options were open.

American officials had apparently been trying to carefully gauge international support for such a demilitarized zone, to decide how restrictive it might be and to determine whether UN authorization would be required.

The delicate task of rebuilding the allied coalition that carried out the 1991 Gulf War was well under way, and Mr. Christo-

pher reportedly gained assurances from the Gulf emirates and Saudi Arabia that the costs of the new U.S. deployment would be shared by Arab allies.

Mr. Christopher also raised the possibility that the United Nations would require Iraq to sell some oil and use the foreign exchange to buy food for a populace that Baghdad officials say is on the brink of starvation. Sanctions imposed by the United Nations after the Gulf War prevent Iraq from freely selling oil to gain hard currency.

"We are very concerned about the misery of the people of Iraq," Mr. Christopher said in a TV interview. "Our quarrel is with the government and particularly with Saddam."

Iraqi officials welcomed the imminent arrival of the Russian foreign minister, Andrei V. Kozyrev, who was expected in Baghdad on Thursday and who has argued against a closing of the Western vise around the embattled Saddam government.

LA CROIX L'ÉVÈNEMENT

Turquie

TRANSFERTS DE POPULATION CHEZ LES KURDES

Dix-sept villages brûlés au Sud-Est

ANKARA

DE NOTRE CORRESPONDANT

Il est désormais difficile pour les politiciens turcs de se voiler la face : 17 villages brûlés en dix jours dans la région de Tunceli dans le Sud-Est anatolien l'ont été par les forces armées turques et en plein jour. Leurs élus (muhtars) sont venus jusqu'à Ankara pour livrer leurs témoignages aux parlementaires et associations de droits de l'homme. Venu témoigner de sa solidarité aux populations sinistrées mais incapable de désigner clairement l'armée comme responsable, M. Karayalçin, président du Parti social-populiste-démocrate et numéro deux de la coalition gouvernementale, a été hué par les villageois qui demandaient sa démission.



L'armée turque pilonne les bases du PKK. Les hostilités ont repris de plus belle entre les forces gouvernementales et les ressortissants kurdes. (Photo ABC Ajansi/Gamma.)

Selon les informations recueillies par le Parti républicain du peuple (CHP, social-démocrate) 1284 villages ont été vidés en deux ans, depuis qu'a été lancée par l'armée la politique de la terre brûlée destinée à couper les guérilleros du PKK, le mouvement autonomiste

kurde, de ses points d'appui et de ravitaillement. Les villageois se réfugient dans les villes ou fuient plus loin vers les métropoles de l'Ouest. Logés dans des tentes, ils sont confrontés à des problèmes de malnutrition. Un nouveau plan gouvernemental pour le Sud-Est prévoit leur re-

groupement dans des villages construits en des lieux sûrs sur des terrains appartenant à l'État. Une politique de transferts de population.

Par ailleurs, les affrontements entre les forces gouvernementales et le PKK qui semblaient avoir perdu de leur vigueur cet été ont repris dès la rentrée. Les premières cibles ont été huit instituteurs, tués en septembre au cours de deux opérations de la guérilla dans les régions de Tunceli et Batman. Abdullah Ocalan, le chef du PKK, contraint après des pressions diplomatiques turques d'annuler une conférence de presse au Liban, dans laquelle il s'appretait apparemment à proposer un cessez-le-feu, a promis un regain de violence. Le ministère de la défense a annoncé cette semaine un gel des libérations des appelés et la suppression des permissions pour un mois pour les militaires de la région.

Claude ORTACQ

Rencontre

Ibrahim Selman a fait un film sur la question kurde

PRESENTE en compétition à Rimini, « A Silent a Traveller » raconte l'histoire d'un village du Kurdistan dont les habitants ont décidé de lutter pour leur indépendance. Une histoire où la pitié n'a pas de place, comme lorsque la guerre pousse les familles à s'entre-tuer, lorsque la haine devient la raison du plus fort et que certains décident de fuir. Mais partir d'où et pour où ? Le réalisateur, Ibrahim Selman, nous parle de son film.

« Il y a peu de films kurdes pour montrer au monde leur vie quotidienne depuis que la guerre a commencé. « A Silent a Traveller » raconte l'histoire de ceux qui ont été contraints à l'exil. J'ai conçu ce film au Kurdistan et l'ai réalisé en Grèce, car les producteurs avaient refusé pour des raisons de sécurité de tourner au Kurdistan. Et puis cela coûtait aussi moins cher. Les acteurs, non professionnels, comme moi sont partis, ils ont d'abord émigré en Irak, où ils étaient parqués dans des camps pour réfugiés. Ils vivaient dans des conditions abominables, alors ils ont décidé de fuir en Grèce. Nous avons eu des problèmes, car la plupart d'entre eux sont analphabètes et on ne pouvait pas faire de lecture de groupe. J'ai dû raconter à chacun l'histoire du voyageur. Par ailleurs, comme le titre l'indique, il y a de longs silences tout au long du film. Il était donc important d'avoir des acteurs non professionnels connaissant parfaitement la situation kurde. C'était une façon pour eux de se raconter.

« Je commençais à contacter des producteurs en 1988. J'ai eu l'impression que personne n'était vraiment intéressé par le problème kurde. A la fin, j'ai trouvé un producteur qui a accepté de tourner à la seule condition que j'écrive le scénario. Il me reprochait le manque de dialogues. A son avis, les Européens n'auraient pas pu comprendre mon histoire.

« J'ai quitté le Kurdistan en 1961 et je suis resté à Bagdad jusqu'en 1981, quand j'ai dû m'enfuir. C'était horrible pour moi de voir des centaines de Kurdes déportés. J'ai dû faire un choix. Ou vivre en accord total avec le gouvernement irakien ou prendre position. J'ai réalisé un film contre le gouvernement et j'ai dû m'enfuir, par peur d'être arrêté et déporté.

« En 1991, des centaines de Kurdes, femmes, enfants, vieillards, se sont enfuis. Un exode de masse. Nombre d'entre eux sont morts en traversant les montagnes. Certains survivants ont décidé de créer un camp sur les hauteurs. Ma famille était

avec eux. La dernière fois que je suis allé au Kurdistan c'était en 1992, en compagnie de mon producteur. Je voulais le convaincre de tourner le film là-bas. Il ne voulait pas car il disait que j'étais trop connu et que le gouvernement de Saddam Hussein n'aurait jamais accepté qu'un tel film puisse être réalisé.

« Il est très difficile d'expliquer ce que je ressens. D'un point de vue politique, il faut être conscient de ce qu'ont fait les Etats-Unis et l'Europe — indirectement — au Koweït, je parle de l'intervention militaire. Les Kurdes ont dû s'enfuir sans recevoir aucune

aide du reste du monde. Le Kurdistan est l'un des rares pays au monde à ne pas être indépendant. Il y a actuellement plus de 15 millions de Kurdes en Turquie et 4 millions en Irak qui se sentent apatrides. Le gouvernement irakien pourrait décider très prochainement d'occuper militairement le Kurdistan, ce qui serait un désastre pour la population. L'économie s'effondre, les gens vivent dans des conditions épouvantables. Le pire est que le monde ne veut pas prendre conscience du drame kurde. L'ambassadeur du Koweït à Ankara a signé un accord avec le gouvernement turc disant qu'il n'aurait jamais reconnu l'indépendance de la partie du Kurdistan qui se trouve en Irak. »

Propos recueillis par
ARIEL F.-DUMONT

TURQUIE

Un ministre accuse l'armée de l'incendie de villages kurdes

Plus de mille localités ont été évacuées et deux millions de personnes sont sans abri dans le sud-est anatolien.

Le ministre d'Etat turc chargé des droits de l'homme a accusé l'armée d'avoir fait évacuer et incendié des dizaines de villages dans l'est du pays. Ces exactions ont eu lieu lors d'opérations contre les maquisards kurdes, a-t-il précisé dans une déclaration publiée hier par le quotidien «Cumhuriyet». «La région de Tunceli est devenue un centre du terrorisme. Le terrorisme y est commis par l'Etat et dans d'autres régions par le PKK» (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste), a dit M. Azimet Koyluoglu. Ce dernier est d'origine kurde.

«Nous avons déterminé que 218 habitations où vivaient 1234 personnes ont été incendiées (par l'armée) dans la région d'Ovacik. C'est le fait de l'Etat», a ajouté le ministre.

«Les opérations déclenchées par l'armée (il y a une quinzaine de jours contre le PKK) dans les zones de Nazimiye, Pulumur et Ovacik se poursuivent toujours. Le PKK, qui n'a pas pu obtenir le soutien qu'il espérait trouver dans le sud-est (à majorité kurde)

tente de s'installer dans les régions de Sivas, Erzincan, Gumushane et de Tunceli» (plus à l'ouest et au nord).

PRATIQUE FRÉQUENTE

Les opérations militaires sont menées pour «empêcher le PKK» de se fixer dans ces régions et d'aller plus loin jusqu'aux forêts de la région de la mer Noire, selon le ministre. Au total, 1390 localités ont été évacuées. Deux millions de personnes sont actuellement sans abri dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière avec le Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, a affirmé M. Koyluoglu.

L'évacuation de localités dont les habitants sont soupçonnés officiellement d'aider les maquisards, est une pratique fréquente dans le sud-est anatolien dans le but d'empêcher tout soutien logistique à la rébellion.

La semaine dernière, le ministre turc de l'Intérieur Nahit Mentese avait rejeté la responsabilité sur les maquisards du PKK, qui, «vêtus en gendarmes», auraient, selon lui, brûlé des villages.

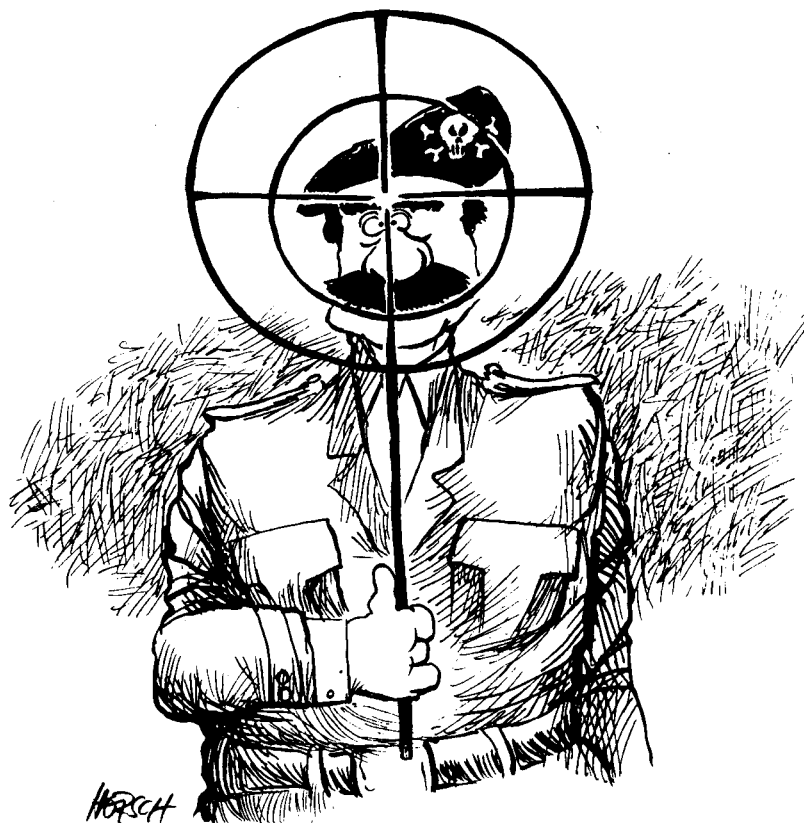
ATS

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1994

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

Saddam's Problem

Is That He Himself Is the Problem



By Abdul-Karim Abou-Nasr

PARIS — The truth about the current crisis with Iraq and the reason the United States has deployed so much force is that the Clinton administration is determined to reach what has become a clear — of course, publicly unavowable — U.S. goal: use Saddam Hussein's mistakes to escalate the pressure on his regime until he is overthrown.

In U.S. eyes, sanctions have gained an unspoken new requirement: they should not be lifted until Saddam is ousted.

Saddam's problem is that his limited notion of realism blinds him to geopolitical facts. Baghdad complains that vindictiveness motivates U.S. opposition to any easing of sanctions, without grasping the full dimensions of policy in Washington. Mistakenly assuming that he can force people to make a deal, Saddam, by his own miscalculations, constantly creates new opportunities for the U.S.-led determination to get rid of him.

In provoking this crisis, his design was to heighten military tensions, hoping to arouse fears of a desperate but destructive Iraqi suicide raid into Kuwait — without actually doing it, of course. His idea was to show that he is not paralyzed.

He brought thousands of stateless Bedouin civilians to the border to mount

protest demonstrations against Kuwait, hoping that could create a clamor in the Arab world. It was a miscalculation about his isolation. In fact, most Arab regimes were probably in a mood of "make my day," spoiling for an occasion to see his remaining forces smashed.

He also miscalculated U.S. policy. In his wishful thinking, Saddam wanted to see Jimmy Carter arrive in Baghdad to negotiate with him, perhaps a deal in which sanctions were eased and then he recognized Kuwait.

This obsession with forcing the Americans to make a deal had already backfired once when Saddam tried it with President George Bush, hoping to get American attention by invading Kuwait. Instead he got force in 1990. This time again he gets force instead of recognition.

President Bill Clinton, whatever his behavior in other foreign crises, views the Iraqi regime as a dangerous direct threat to the oil-rich Gulf and to the overall stabilizing climate in the Middle East. So Washington has firmly adopted a policy of hermetically isolating Iraq, a strategy similar to the policy of containment toward the Soviet Union in the Cold War. The object is to weaken Saddam's regime and show other leaders that he is a pariah who can be ignored.

Already before this crisis, U.S. officials had let it be known that Washington

was determined to maintain the United Nations embargo against Iraqi oil sales until further world economic growth stimulated the oil market so that fresh supplies would not harm exporting countries that have resisted Iraq.

Nor was Washington ready to see the Iraqi embargo lifted until a peace accord had been reached between Israel and Syria — as a sign of which countries are rewarded, which punished. As part of this policy of quarantine, Washington even frowned on political feelers put out by Israel toward Iraq.

The fact is that the Clinton administration does not want anyone to make any deal with Saddam or even negotiate with him over sanctions. Any contact could start his rehabilitation.

Why is Washington so hostile to Saddam now after choosing to leave him in power after the Gulf War? His survival in 1991 stemmed partly from an agreement, which Arab leaders have disclosed, that the coalition would not enter Baghdad. But instead of seizing that opportunity for a "conversion" in his thinking — as Mr. Clinton once said he was hoping to see — Saddam has sunk deeper into his old reflex of bullying.

This crude tactic is Saddam's idea of "realism" — a phony toughness that used to be shared by many leaders in the Middle East, including Israelis. Now, in contrast, all these leaders — both Israelis and men like the PLO's Yasser Arafat and Syria's Hafez Assad — have adopted a new definition of political realism, involving compromises after hard work to gauge the balance of forces and limits of each side's vital interests, including one's own self-interest.

Even Libya's Moammar Gadhafi has observed enough of this change to learn to keep quiet. Only Saddam doesn't get it — that by scorning political realism as capitulation and loss of face, he is completely out of phase with what is happening around him.

What did his tough-guy "realism" dictate this time? Saddam knew that the UN special commission on Iraqi disarmament, in a report delivered on Oct. 10, was not going to call explicitly for an end to sanctions. He was convinced that efforts by other countries, mainly France, Russia and Turkey, would fail even to ease sanctions against the opposition of the United States, Britain and the Gulf states. Ignoring the advice of his French and Russian friends — that good behavior might gradually win clemency — he resorted to a show of force.

That is fast turning out to display not his strength but his weakness. Saddam, used to getting his way by creating crises, fails to grasp the new rules of the game. By creating a crisis, he loses.

What will happen now? To overthrow the regime, U.S. forces would have to

occupy Iraq long enough for a new government to emerge. That would require a commitment of ground forces that seems out of the question. The Iraqi opposition has not yet been able to lay the groundwork for a popular revolution.

The alternative is to increase the heat until it ultimately produces a military coup in Baghdad. The most likely first step is an international agreement to im-

pose a demilitarized zone on southern Iraq to box Saddam in more tightly. If he is foolish enough to defy it, U.S.-led coalition forces will issue an ultimatum, then fly air strikes to destroy any military target they can find — not just heavy weapons, but communications facilities, command bunkers, headquarters.

Saddam Hussein is not mad, but he is a textbook case of denial. He refuses to

see that the Gulf War sealed a deal between the United States and its Arab allies: there would be only one policy toward Iraq, a policy of "no deal" — and continued punishing isolation until Iraq disorges Saddam.

The writer, a prominent Arab political commentator, contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

Amid the Bluster, Threats to Transfer Saddam's War Abroad

WASHINGTON — Bill Clinton has responded with splendid resolve to Iraq's military thrusts toward Kuwait. But President Clinton and his generals should not simply prepare to refight the last war again. Saddam Hussein won't.

Saddam is not likely to wage the war he has in mind for Mr. Clinton only in the deserts of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti frontier. The Iraqi dictator has openly warned this commander to yield to his demands or face terror attacks on the United States and its allies.

It is not true that Saddam is completely irrational or unpredictable, as many in the West assume. He manipulates the politics of brute force better than most leaders. And as he did in the spring and summer of 1990, before he invaded Kuwait, he is again broadcasting the steps he intends to take if his threats go unheeded.

On Sept. 27, Saddam promised in a speech to his followers that he would not stand by and allow Iraqis "to die of hunger" because of United Nations sanctions. The speech was immediately analyzed by Baghdad newspapers under his direct control. They asked if the United States really failed to understand "the meaning of every Iraqi becoming a missile that can cross to countries and cities." Saddam's scribes went on to warn the world community in these terms in the following days: "When peoples reach the verge of collective death they will be able to spread death to all." And: "The patience of the Arabs and Muslims is about to reach its end and people have now started to prepare for hot confrontations in more than one country and continent."

Empty Iraqi rhetoric intended to influence the UN debate on lifting sanctions? Or real threats that Saddam Hussein will try to execute? America's only answer can be to hope for the former

and prepare for the latter — especially as sketchy evidence suggests that the Iraqis may have already put in motion terrorist networks in America.

But that evidence and the threats coming out of Baghdad had not engaged the Clinton administration, preoccupied at home, in Haiti and elsewhere, before last weekend. My guess is that Saddam moved his Republican Guard units through the desert to focus Mr. Clinton's attention on the dangers that Iraq still poses and on the deal that would avoid them.

Do not be surprised, or deceived, if Saddam now indicates that he will lower the tensions he has created and recognize Kuwait's frontier, the major remaining hurdle he has to clear to get sanctions lifted. In his mind recognizing Kuwait would be a meaningless commitment that he could reverse when the circumstances change. He has over the years signed and torn up treaties fixing Iraq's border with Iran in the Shatt al Arab waterway as his needs dictate.

For Saddam, frontiers are etched in blood shed in battle,

not in ink scrawled on treaties. That is why he will be a threat to his neighbors as long as he and his Baghdad party survive in power.

George Bush and his generals, Colin Powell and Norman Schwarzkopf, continued to underestimate Saddam when they derided the political decision to let him recover key Republican Guard divisions from the Kuwait theater and stay in power at the end of Operation Desert Storm. The Clinton administration was also taking for granted Saddam's greatly weakened state until this new wake-up call.

At the Justice Department there has been no aggressive pursuit of the many loose ends created by Iraqi penetration and manipulation of U.S. banks in the Bush years.

More surprisingly, Justice has dragged its feet in pursuing Abdul Rahman Yasin, an American citizen of Iraqi origin who fled to Baghdad after being questioned about his role in the bombing of New York's World Trade Center 19 months ago.

The Yasin case and Iraq's potential involvement in the World Trade Center blast have been pursued more diligently by Laurie Mylroie, a perceptive analyst

and writer on Iraq, than by the U.S. government. Ms. Mylroie has concluded that the New York attack may have been part of a broad revenge campaign by Saddam that included the plot to assassinate President Bush in Kuwait in April 1993.

That is why she picked up on the recent rush of threatening statements in the Baghdad media much more quickly than did government counterterrorist agencies, which have not assigned a high priority to countering Saddam's operatives in America. The Iraqis were unable to mount terror operations during Desert Storm, the government agencies recall. Why would they try now?

There can be no excuse for misreading Saddam again. The counterterrorist agencies need to make Iraq their top priority.

Iraq's coercive diplomacy cannot be rewarded with a deal on sanctions. President Clinton, who ordered a one-shot retaliatory raid on Baghdad for the Bush plot, needs to emphasize consistently to all government departments, not just the Pentagon, that Saddam's survival is a continuing threat to American interests at home and abroad.

The Washington Post.

Thursday, October 13, 1994

Debate on village burnings rages on

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Azimet Köylüoğlu, the state minister responsible for human rights, denied on Wednesday that he had accused the Turkish Armed Forces of burning down villages in Tunceli province's Ovacik district.

In his statement, Köylüoğlu pointed out that he had been told by the village alderman and mayor of Ovacik that the burnings had been carried out by the security forces.

Meanwhile, Motherland Party (ANAP) Istanbul Deputy Orhan Erguder indicated that Köylüoğlu had held the Armed Forces responsible for burning the villages and added: "Our military does not burn down villages, it is a legal force. The minister who says this should resign."

After being constantly criticized by ANAP deputies during his speech, Köylüoğlu said: "You can learn the truth if you form a delegation and visit the area. As a human rights minister, I cannot cover up the violations."

The Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) state minister also likened the struggle with terrorism to a one-way street. He said terrorism should not be

tolerated, but added that the burning down of villages was no solution.

Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe said the government would not burn down villages under any circumstances, adding that fires might result from the very nature of the fighting underway. Meanwhile, ANAP deputy group spokesman Hasan Korkmazcan indicated Wednesday that his party would be presenting a motion calling for the launch of a parliamentary investigation into the evacuation and burning of villages.

At a press conference he organized in Parliament, Korkmazcan claimed that the terrorists had increased their level of violence and their geographical sphere of influence.

Korkmazcan furthermore claimed that government announcements of anti-terrorism team successes and an end being brought to terrorism were "untrue."

The ANAP spokesman stated that some government officials had started telling the truth. Korkmazcan said that under the circumstances, having such a government was the worst thing possible today.

The Republican People's Party (CHP) deputy general secretary, Mehmet Sevigen, said at a press conference organized at his party headquarters:

"The deputy prime minister is unable to enter villages which are burned down in the middle of the Turkish Republic. There is no sign of democracy in the East and Southeast of Turkey."

During the conference, Sevigen claimed that the locals were left with two options. He claimed the security forces told villagers they could either become village guards or evacuate the village.

The CHP deputy general secretary furthermore claimed that for many citizens there was no official office where they could go to request help.

Another press conference was organized at the SHP headquarters by SHP Mardin Deputy Muzaffer Arkan. "The village guards have become a political and financial power in the region," he said, adding that the pressure applied by the village guards on the villagers as well as acts of terrorism would prevent "safe" by-elections on Dec. 4.

turkish daily news

Arrested deputy seeks permission to address Parliament on Tunceli

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Mahmut Alnak, the independent deputy from Turkey's Southeastern Şırnak province who is currently under arrest, appealed to the Parliament speakership Wednesday for permission to address the plenary session on the latest political developments regarding the burning of villages in Tunceli. Alnak said that in Pakistan, Asif Ali Zerdari, the husband of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, had been granted the right to attend the legislative activities of the Parliament during his time in prison.

He said that the Pakistani Parliamentary chairmanship board justified this procedure by saying that "the national will cannot be

locked up together in a prison with the individual."

The Şırnak deputy said: "I am not able to use my right to speak, which is limited to five minutes in the Parliament of which I am a member, while deputy Asif Ali Zerdari was able to attend his Parliament's legislative session during his period in prison."

Alnak claimed that with the existing regulations, Turkey fell behind Pakistan since his rights, responsibilities and authorities as a Parliamentarian still existed according to the Constitution and the Parliamentary regulations. "The people's will has been locked up in the prison together with me," he said.

Armée turque dénoncée

Une stratégie de la terre brûlée.

Le ministre d'Etat turc chargé des Droits de l'homme, Azimet Köylüoğlu, a accusé hier l'armée d'Ankara d'avoir fait évacuer et incendié des dizaines de villages dans la région de Tunceli (est) lors d'opérations récentes contre les maquisards kurdes. Au total, a-t-il assuré, 1390 localités ont été évacuées et deux millions de personnes sont actuellement sans abri dans le Sud-Est anatolien.

La semaine dernière, le ministre turc de l'Intérieur, Nahit Menteşe, avait rejeté sur des maquisards du PKK «vêtus en gendarmes» la responsabilité de tels méfaits.

Quatre enseignants de village ont été tués lundi soir dans la province d'Erzurum (est) par des «terroristes séparatistes» (désignation officielle des rebelles kurdes), a rapporté hier l'agence turque Anatolie.

AFP

Reuters: refugees fleeing security sweep in Tunceli

By Jonathan Lyons

Reuters

ANKARA- Refugees made homeless by big security operations in Turkey's eastern Tunceli province huddled on Wednesday in disaster shelters as officials raced to house them ahead of winter.

Musa Yerlikaya, mayor of Ovacık township, said about 2,000 villagers from the predominantly-Kurdish area had taken refuge in the town centre after security forces drove them from their homes.

At least 30 villages and hamlets in Tunceli province have been torched in the security forces' three-week offensive against Kurdish rebels — described as the biggest operation in modern Turkish history.

Human Rights Minister Azimet Köylüoğlu has denounced the sweep as "state terrorism," adding that two million people had been displaced by 10 years of unrest in eastern Turkey. "One hundred families are living in disaster shelters," Mayor Yelikaya said by telephone from Ovacık. Others were now housed in an old high school, in government buildings or staying with local families.

He said Turkish authorities pledged to com-

plete 200 new housing units within one month. However, similar promises of aid in the past have largely gone unfulfilled.

The influx into the remote town has strained limited resources to breaking point. "Right now there isn't any aid for the villagers," the mayor said.

Officials said Tunceli's already battered economy had been further damaged by the security sweep. Some 250 workers building a dam in the area have been forced from their jobs. Local authorities said many residents in those villages so far untouched have piled their goods outside in anticipation of orders to leave.

More than 30 settlements have now been set alight to deny the rebels access to food and shelter in the 3,000-metre (9,800-foot) Munzur Mountains.

The interior ministry has blamed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) but there are increasing signs senior Turkish officials are concerned the security forces are out of control. At the weekend, Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın led a fact-finding mission to Ovacık. A planned visit to the burned-out villages was blocked by the military.

On Tuesday, Köylüoğlu told Cumhuriyet daily:

"In Tunceli it is the state that is evacuating, burning villages...Acts of terrorism in other regions are done by the PKK. In Tunceli it is state terrorism."

He said two million people from the southeast were made homeless. Rights groups said on Tuesday they had no hard figures, but they noted cities such as Diyarbakır and Adana have been flooded by hundreds of thousands of refugees, many jammed into shanty towns.

Government spokesmen had no comment on the minister's accusations, the most serious to date by a senior official. In Hakkari province, on the Iranian border, three state-paid village guards were killed in an ambush, presumably by PKK forces, local officials told Anatolian news agency. Two guards and seven soldiers were wounded.

Two PKK militants were killed in Yüksekova village, also in Hakkari, as they prepared to attack a government building.

More than 13,000 people have died in Turkey since 1984 when the PKK launched its fight for a separate state in the region.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1994

Paris Questions U.S. Motive

By William Drozdiak

Washington Post Service

PARIS — France publicly challenged the motives behind U.S. policy toward Iraq on Wednesday, suggesting that the rapid deployment of U.S. troops to protect Kuwait may have been triggered by domestic political considerations rather than the actual military threat.

France's skepticism reflected the discordance of international opinion in contrast to the strong consensus aligned against Baghdad in the 1991 Gulf War. While Arab states appear more determined than ever to block Saddam Hussein, France, Turkey and Russia are eager to secure new commercial deals with Iraq and generally oppose further punitive action that could lead to its dismemberment.

Defense Minister Francois Léotard, speaking after a weekly cabinet meeting, said he believed the massive build-up of U.S. forces in the Gulf after the dispatch of elite Iraqi divisions toward the southern frontier with Kuwait "was not unconnected to domestic politics."

France does not have its own satellite intelligence and must rely on proof supplied by the

United States to verify Iraqi troop movements. Mr. Léotard indicated that on the basis of what France has seen so far the U.S. threat to send as many as 200,000 American troops to the Gulf was rooted more in November's congressional elections — in which the Democrats are expected to take a pounding — than in the real danger posed by the recent diversion of Iraqi forces.

Mr. Léotard also said that Iraq did not appear to have violated international law.

"There is nothing illegal in the movement of Iraqi forces inside Iraq," he said. "There is nothing that violates United Nations resolutions."

Foreign Minister Alain Juppé stressed earlier that France believed that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq had committed "a very serious, incomprehensible error" through his recent decision to engage in ominous troop maneuvers just when France, Russia and Turkey were escalating pressure to lift sanctions against Iraq.

France was one of Iraq's biggest trading partners before the war, selling billions of dollars worth of high-technology weaponry, including Exocet missiles and Mirage fighter jets, in exchange for Iraqi oil shipments and debts estimated at close to \$5 billion.

Threat of Malnutrition in Iraq

Baghdad Cut Rations by One-Third, UN Says

By Alan Cowell
New York Times Service

ROME — With its ability to finance food imports dwindling after four years of sanctions, Iraq has reduced rations to its people by more than one-third, raising the likelihood of greater malnutrition among women and children, United Nations officials said Wednesday.

The development coincides with an increasing desire among donors to channel food aid away from parts of central and southern Iraq under government control and toward the Kurdish-run north, UN World Food Program officials said.

The officials, including the executive director of the World Food Program, Catherine Bertini, were speaking as the newest Iraqi crisis once more focused attention on what some analysts depict as Saddam Hussein's increasingly frantic efforts to escape UN sanctions.

The sanctions, in force since the 1990-91 Gulf conflict, do not prevent Iraq from importing food and medicine, but they freeze its overseas assets and prevent it from exporting oil to pay for the food it does import.

Since that time, Ms. Bertini said at a news conference, Iraq has been spending an average \$100 million a month on food for distribution among its people. UN officials said they had no idea where Iraq found that money. The cost of the food handouts is 98 percent subsidized by the government so that it is "virtually free," UN officials said.

Starting on Oct. 1, Ms. Bertini said, the government has announced it would "reduce the food basket by an average 36 percent," cutting back on some provisions so that the nutrition-

al value of the handouts could be halved.

Mona Hammam, a senior World Food Program official, said: "We think that the government cannot sustain that level of expenditure."

Ms. Hammam said at the news conference that the im-

Gulf War Illness Remains Mystery

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department is sending monitors with the U.S. forces going to the Gulf to watch for symptoms of an unexplained illness that afflicted thousands of troops after the war in 1991.

The military medical specialists will monitor for toxins, investigate suspicious incidents,

and document all medical treatment of soldiers, a Pentagon spokesman said.

Since the Gulf War ended, about 20,000 of the troops that had been sent there have complained to the Veterans Department of symptoms including fatigue, rashes, muscle and joint pains, headaches, memory loss, shortness of breath, and respiratory problems.

Since August 1993, she said, food prices had increased by 600 percent in central and southern Iraq and by 84 percent in the north. "The monthly salary of a civil servant is barely

enough to buy one kilogram of meat," she said. "People are selling assets and land just to make ends meet."

The World Food Program, the principle UN agency responsible for procuring and delivering large amounts of food to crisis areas, is spending over \$60 million a year to feed 1.3 million Iraqis regarded as destitute — 750,000 in the north and 550,000 in the center and south — Ms. Bertini said.

But, she said, there was an "increasing trend" for donors, including the United States and the European Union, to insist that food aid be sent to northern Iraq, under the protection of the Gulf War coalition, instead of to government-controlled areas.

Thus, of the \$33 million dollars needed to finance World Food Program aid operations in Iraq from October through March, 1995, donors had not so far pledged the \$11.4 million earmarked for sending food to people in central and southern Iraq, Ms. Bertini said.

Schwarzkopf Detects a 'Carter Factor'

Saddam Is Looking for a Better Deal, Ex-General Says

New York Times Service

BIRMINGHAM, Alabama — H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the allied commander during the Gulf War, says that he thinks the most likely explanation for President Saddam Hussein's tactics in recent days is the hope that a crisis could bring in former President Jimmy Carter as a mediator and that Iraq could probably get a better deal from him than it has from the Bush and Clinton administrations.

Asked about his old enemy after a speaking appearance Tuesday night, Mr. Schwarzkopf, who is now retired from the military, said the Iraqi troop movements that have raised tensions in southern Iraq might be nothing more than routine military exercises.

But he added that there were more troops than normal for a basic maneuver.

"Then there's the question of the sanctions being held against Iraq," Mr. Schwarzkopf continued to say.

"Saddam, perhaps because he is such a megalomaniac, is trying to intimidate the United Nations into lifting those sanctions."

"The most plausible reason, however, is the Jimmy Carter factor," he said.

"Probably, Saddam Hussein has watched compromises that are being made in North Korea and in Haiti. To him, if you compromise with him, then you lose.

"So he sends his troops down, then pulls them back and

says, 'Look how nice I've been. Now send Jimmy Carter in to fix it.'"

Mr. Schwarzkopf defended President George Bush's decision three years ago to cease offensive operations against Iraq after 100 hours of the U.S.-led ground offensive into Kuwait and Iraq.

The decision left the Iraqi Army battered but not broken and Mr. Saddam still in charge of the country.

"There are plenty of people now with 20-20 hindsight that say we should not have left him in power," the former general said. But he added that the goal was to get Iraq out of Kuwait, "and everyone understood that, from the generals on down to the buck privates."

LE MONDE - 13 OCTOBRE 1994

Washington cherche un mécanisme international pour empêcher toute nouvelle menace de Bagdad

Les Etats-Unis ont confirmé en partie, mardi 11 octobre, les affirmations du gouvernement de Bagdad s'agissant des mouvements de retrait des troupes irakiennes concentrées près de la frontière koweïtienne. Washington attend que ce processus soit achevé avant de déclarer la fin de cette nouvelle crise avec l'Irak. Les Américains et leurs alliés cherchent, d'autre part, à mettre au point des mesures visant à empêcher toute nouvelle menace irakienne contre le Koweït.

NEW-YORK et WASHINGTON

de nos correspondants

La crise est-elle terminée ? Le général John Shalikashvili, chef d'état-major interarmes, a reconnu, mardi, lors d'une conférence de presse, que la période la plus critique de cette nouvelle tension avec Bagdad pourrait être passée. Les responsables militaires américains soulignent qu'un certain délai est nécessaire pour confirmer le départ de toutes les unités irakiennes qui étaient groupées dans la région de Bassorah. Les informations transmises par les avions de reconnaissance américains semblent ne laisser aucun doute : des « mouvements relativement importants » d'unités irakiennes ont eu lieu, mardi, comme l'a indiqué le général Shalikashvili, et ceux-ci semblent confirmer le retrait annoncé par Bagdad.

Une certaine confusion a régné au cours de la journée, les différents porte-parole du gouvernement américain ne disposant apparemment pas des mêmes informations en même temps. Dans la matinée, au moment où le ministre irakien des affaires étrangères, Mohammed Saïd El Shahaf, affirmait que le retrait était « achevé », le président Bill Clinton indiquait qu'« aucun change-

ment » n'avait été constaté sur le terrain. Madeleine Albright, ambassadeur des Etats-Unis aux Nations unies, affirmait même que les Irakiens continuaient « à amener des renforts du nord vers le sud »...

Ce n'est qu'en milieu de journée que les responsables américains ont changé de discours. Dans la soirée, le secrétaire d'Etat à la défense indiquait qu'une seule brigade irakienne était encore dans la zone critique, et le président Clinton estimait qu'il était « un peu trop tôt pour parvenir à une conclusion finale ».

Renforcement du dispositif

Les Etats-Unis ont donc continué à renforcer leur dispositif militaire sur place : les troupes terrestres devraient ainsi passer de 28 000 à 39 800 hommes. Le Pentagone a précisé qu'au total près de 156 000 soldats américains ont été mis en état d'alerte. Parallèlement à ces dispositions, Washington a souligné, devant le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, que, « légalement », une nouvelle résolution de l'ONU ne serait pas nécessaire pour engager des opérations militaires contre l'Irak puisque, en violant les résolutions 686 et 687 relatives au cessez-le-feu, Bagdad s'est exposé à une réplique militaire de la part des pays de l'ancienne coalition anti-irakienne.

Bien qu'une option purement militaire ne soit pas complètement abandonnée, l'administration Clinton se concentre sur une nouvelle étape, plus diplomatique celle-là : comment empêcher Bagdad de créer périodiquement les conditions d'un même scénario de crise, qui oblige les Etats-Unis à dépêcher à plusieurs milliers de

kilomètres de leur territoire – et à un coût très élevé – des forces aussi nombreuses ? Comment faire en sorte que l'« homme fort » de Bagdad ne représente plus une menace pour le Koweït et pour la région du Golfe ?

Hostilité

à une présence permanente

Les conseillers du président Clinton, qui ne perdent pas de vue les échéances de politique intérieure, soulignent que le « job » consistant à mettre hors d'état de nuire le président Saddam Hussein n'a pas été mené à son terme par le gouvernement républicain du président George Bush, et qu'il appartient à son successeur de « réparer » cette erreur.

Contrairement aux espoirs de l'administration précédente, la population irakienne ne s'est pas « débarrassée » du président Saddam Hussein, malgré son échec lors de la guerre du Golfe. Le Pentagone, d'autre part, est *a priori* hostile à la solution qui consisterait à concentrer, de façon permanente, des forces américaines dans la région. Washington a donc demandé aux autres membres du Conseil de « réfléchir » à d'autres solutions.

Parmi celles-ci figure notamment la création d'une « zone d'exclusion terrestre » au sud du 32° parallèle, sur le modèle de la zone d'exclusion aérienne qui est en vigueur dans cette même région, ainsi qu'au nord du 36° parallèle, dans le nord de l'Irak. Dans ce périmètre, les mouvements de l'armée irakienne seraient interdits : les chars qui s'y aventureraient pourraient être détruits. Si cette solution était adoptée, Bagdad mettrait probablement à exécution sa menace d'interrompre toute « coopéra-

tion » avec les Nations unies, ce qui augmenterait les risques d'affrontement militaire.

Mais les chances de dégager une majorité au sein du Conseil de sécurité en faveur d'une telle option semblent minces : s'agissant de l'attitude que la communauté internationale doit adopter à l'égard de l'Irak, la Russie, la Chine et la France notamment ne partagent pas la position intransigeante des Etats-Unis et de la Grande-Bretagne. Les responsables américains soulignent qu'il s'agit là d'une idée parmi d'autres, l'essentiel étant, pour la communauté internationale, de mettre sur pied un mécanisme qui réponde à quatre objectifs : empêcher tout nouveau risque d'invasion du Koweït ; s'assurer que l'Irak ne soit plus en mesure d'intimider ses voisins ; veiller à ce que Bagdad respecte toutes les résolutions de l'ONU, notamment celle relative au respect des droits des minorités (kurdes au nord et chiites au sud) ; faire en sorte que le gouvernement de Bagdad coopère pleinement avec les observateurs internationaux de la commission spéciale chargée du désarmement irakien (UNSCOM).

Un durcissement de l'attitude de l'ONU à l'égard de l'Irak paraît inévitable. Le président Saddam Hussein a joué avec le feu en pensant qu'il pourrait bafouer la volonté des Nations unies. D'autant qu'il était peut-être à la veille d'obtenir gain de cause sans faire monter les enchères : Rolf Ekeus, le président de l'UNSCOM, a déclaré que sans cette nouvelle crise l'Irak avait d'« excellentes chances » d'obtenir, à terme, la levée de l'embargo pétrolier.

AFSANÉ BASSIR POUR
et LAURENT ZECCHINI

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

AFP

MOA0090 4 I 0365 RFA /AFP-BZ74

Turquie-Kurdes

Un ministre turc accuse l'armée d'avoir incendié des villages dans l'est

ANKARA, 11 oct (AFP) - Le ministre d'Etat turc chargé des Droits de l'Homme, Azimet Koyluoglu, a accusé l'armée turque d'avoir fait évacuer et incendié des dizaines de villages dans la région de Tunceli (est) lors d'opérations contre les maquisards kurdes, dans une déclaration publiée mardi par le quotidien Cumhuriyet.

"La région de Tunceli est devenue un centre du terrorisme. Le terrorisme y est commis par l'Etat et dans d'autres régions par le PKK" (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste), a dit M. Koyluoglu, qui est d'origine kurde.

"Nous avons déterminé que 218 habitations ont été incendiées (par l'armée), où vivaient 1.234 personnes, dans la région d'Ovacik dans la province de Tunceli. C'est l'Etat qui a fait évacuer les habitants et incendié les maisons", a ajouté le ministre.

"Les opérations déclenchées par l'armée (il y a une quinzaine de jours contre le PKK) dans les zones de Nazimiye, Pulumur et Ovacik se poursuivent toujours. Le PKK, qui n'a pas pu obtenir le soutien qu'il espérait trouver dans le Sud-Est (à majorité kurde) tente de s'installer dans les régions de Sivas, Erzincan, Gumushane et de Tunceli" (plus à l'ouest et au nord), a poursuivi M. Koyluoglu.

Les opérations militaires sont menées pour "empêcher le PKK" de se fixer dans ces régions et d'aller plus loin jusqu'aux forêts de la région de la mer Noire, selon le ministre.

Au total, 1.390 localités ont été évacuées et deux millions de personnes sont actuellement sans abri dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière avec le Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran, a affirmé M. Koyluoglu.

L'évacuation de localités dont les habitants sont soupçonnés officiellement d'aider les maquisards, est une pratique fréquente dans le sud-est anatolien dans le but d'empêcher tout soutien logistique à la rébellion.

La semaine dernière, le ministre turc de l'Intérieur Nahit Mentese avait rejeté la responsabilité sur les maquisards du PKK, qui, "vêtus en gardarmes", avaient selon lui brûlé des villages pour que la "population se soulève contre les forces de l'ordre".

CE/hc/pmg/

o

AFP /AA1234/111037 UTC OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

TURQUIE

Un membre du gouvernement qualifie les opérations menées contre les Kurdes de « terrorisme d'Etat »

ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

L'offensive militaire menée depuis un mois contre les séparatistes kurdes du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) soulève, pour la première fois, une vive polémique à l'intérieur de la Turquie. La condamnation la plus cinglante est venue du ministre des droits de l'homme, Azimet Koyluoglu, qui, dans un entretien publié, mardi 11 octobre, par le quotidien *Cumhuriyet*, a qualifié de « terrorisme d'Etat » les opérations militaires en cours dans la province de Tunceli. « A Tunceli, c'est l'Etat qui brûle les villages », a-t-il déclaré au journal de centre gauche, ajoutant que dans cette région de l'est du pays, « le terrorisme est commis par l'Etat et dans d'autres régions par le PKK ».

De son côté, le président Suleyman Demirel, répondant à l'appel de parlementaires locaux, a ordonné à l'armée d'enquêter sur l'évacuation forcée de milliers de

villageois. Quant au premier ministre, Murat Karayalçin, hué par une foule de sans-abri lors de sa visite dans la province de Tunceli, samedi 8 octobre, il leur a promis l'assistance des autorités. Malgré les témoignages contraires de dizaines de civils et de responsables locaux, le gouvernement maintient toutefois que le PKK est responsable de la destruction des villages.

La politique officielle des militaires, visant à pousser la population locale vers les centres urbains pour priver les combattants kurdes de leur soutien logistique, n'est pas nouvelle, mais elle était jusqu'à présent limitée aux zones du Sud-Est, où le PKK est implanté depuis longtemps. L'offensive en cours dans la province de Tunceli a été lancée pour répondre à une recrudescence des activités des séparatistes, qui semble coïncider avec l'arrivée dans la région de Semdin Sakik, un commandant local du PKK, mieux connu sous le nom de

« Zeki sans doigt ». Les séparatistes se sont apparemment alliés à des groupes d'extrême gauche déjà installés dans la zone, notamment l'Armée de libération des travailleurs et des paysans (TIKKO) et le mouvement Dev-Sol, dont le dirigeant, Dursun Karatas, est actuellement détenu en France.

En dépit des critiques du ministre des droits de l'homme, le principe de la lutte armée contre le PKK n'est pas pour autant remis en question en Turquie. L'opinion publique a été particulièrement choquée par les récentes attaques lancées par le PKK contre le personnel enseignant, qui privent également des milliers d'enfants kurdes de toute éducation. Quatorze instituteurs, envoyés d'office dans cette région hostile pour un salaire de misère – dont quatre, victimes d'une attaque lundi 10 octobre dans la province d'Erzurum – ont récemment été abattus par le PKK.

NICOLE POPE

13 octobre 1994

Le Monde

LE FIGARO

13 octobre 1994

KURDES

Ankara reconnaît des « bavures »

De hauts responsables turcs ont reconnu pour la première fois que les opérations de l'armée contre la rébellion kurde dans l'Est anatolien s'accompagnent d'exactions, notamment la destruction de villages. Le ministre chargé des droits de l'homme, Azimet Koyluoglu, a admis l'existence générale de « bavures » et indiqué « 218 maisons où habitaient 1 234 personnes ont été incendiées par l'Etat » turc. De son côté, l'ancien premier ministre Bulent Ecevit a reproché à l'Etat de considérer la population de cette région comme des « monstres ». Selon des observateurs indépendants, plus de 10 000 villages ont été évacués et la majorité incendiés par les forces turques en Anatolie. Plus de deux millions de personnes ont abandonné ou ont été obligées de quitter leur résidence. (AFP)

l'Humanité

13 octobre 1994

Un ministre turc et le « terrorisme d'Etat » d'Ankara

Le ministre turc des Droits de l'homme a accusé mardi son propre gouvernement de pratiquer un « terrorisme d'Etat » au Kurdistan. Dans une interview au journal « Cumhuriyet », Azimet Koyluoglu affirme que deux millions de personnes sont sans abri dans le sud-est du pays en raison de la politique de la terre brûlée de l'armée. « A Tunceli, c'est l'Etat qui évacue et brûle des villages. Dans d'autres régions, des actes de terrorisme sont commis par le PKK (le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan). A Tunceli, c'est du terrorisme d'Etat. »

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 14, 1994

Saddam: Contain His Desperate Efforts to Intimidate

PARIS — Western analysts are admittedly stumped trying to figure out why Saddam Hussein trumped his own ace with threatening military maneuvers just when the UN Security Council faced an open split on lifting sanctions.

This time he apparently has beat a quick retreat, withdrawing troop reinforcements confronting Kuwait when

A demilitarized zone would also curb Saddam's abuses of his own suffering people.

President Bill Clinton ordered in U.S. forces to demonstrate Saddam's miscalculation. The Security Council is not even considering removing sanctions now.

But Saddam will keep pushing. His country is desperate. The surprising threat showed that he is, too.

When he invaded Kuwait in 1990, the then Iraqi ambassador in Paris explained the move privately with a long account of his country's financial problems given the low price of oil, concluding, "He had no choice, his head was on the block."

For at least a month before the disclosure by the United States of the latest mass deployment of Iraqi elite divisions toward Kuwait, the exiled Iraqi opposition had been reporting the arrival of important military forces in the south,

especially around Basra and 'Amara. They presumed it was to escalate the campaign against the "marsh Arabs" being driven out of their watery homes alongside the Euphrates and to put down increasing attacks from the resistance, which opposition sources claim has mounted open battles as well as successful ambushes.

For considerably longer, they have been reporting dramatic rates of desertion from the ordinary army, up to 60 percent in some units, cruelly countered with the order to cut off an ear and tattoo Doctors who refuse the operation are said to have been executed.

Now, U.S. military experts confirm the assessment that Saddam's army, nearly a million strong at the start of the Gulf War, is now a "hollow force." Less than 100,000, essentially in the five Republican Guard divisions, are rated as effective — although that would be plenty to overrun Kuwait without determined American support of the Kuwaitis.

It is true that the economy is in shambles as a result of sanctions, although all signs of war damage have been removed from Baghdad. The main victims, of course, are the bulk of the people whom Saddam, a firm believer in the utility of intimidation, has at once terror-

ized and awed with nationalist fervor. He thought he could intimidate the United Nations into a deal to end sanctions, which he could then claim as a great victory, showing his concern for the people's welfare. But he has adamantly refused to accept the UN offer that would allow him to sell oil for food and medical imports.

He has good reason to feel that his own life as well as his regime's are now at stake. Even the Arabs who supported or sympathized with him in the Gulf conflict, including Jordan and the Palestinians, refuse to back him this time.

Still, Saddam has a certain subtle international support. For legal and diplomatic reasons, no government calls for his ouster. Some, including Security Council veto members Russia and France, are eager to do business with him.

The opposition, which represents all major sectors of the population, is a fractious coalition gradually gaining allies within the regime. The only way to measure this is by Saddam's high-level purges, which are becoming broader and more frequent.

Therefore, the proposal from William Perry, the U.S. defense secretary, that the UN enforce a deep demilitarized zone across from Kuwait to match its flight-exclusion zone can bring many benefits.

Mr. Perry's reason is to prevent Saddam's on-again off-again threats from pinning down a substantial U.S. force or

obliging it to return. But it would also dramatically reduce Saddam's ability to persecute the suffering people in the south. Without his army's support, his police and party apparatus would be unable to sustain the level of repression. The opposition could organize in the area and greatly enhance the chances of overthrowing him from within.

There is one obstacle, and it seems to repeat the reason for the unsatisfactory end to the 1991 war. There is good cause to believe that Saudi Arabia leaned on President George Bush then not to press for the collapse of Saddam's regime. It doesn't like popular upheavals. Now the Saudi rulers are under greater internal pressure than ever, and King Fahd is reportedly too ill to rule effectively and too stubborn to abdicate.

But the United States cannot preserve the Saudis from their own mistakes forever, no more than it could preserve the shah's power in Iran. Forcing Saddam's army out of southern Iraq would no doubt take some military action (it should have been done in 1991), but it would not only protect Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, it would advance Saddam's demise.

The United States should convince the Saudis that they have much more to gain this way, and that they should counter their fears that the despot's fall might encourage their internal opposition by liberalizing their own regime.

© Flora Lewis.

turkish daily news

Friday, October 14, 1994

A well-deserved medal for Gen. Güreş



Ilnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

Retired general Doğan Güreş, the former chief of staff, was honored by the Americans on Wednesday. The medal presented to Güreş is the highest American military honor presented outside the United States, which adds importance to the gesture of Washington.

We feel the Americans need to be praised for their choice. General Güreş is one of the leading persons in Turkey who has contributed to the improvement of Turkey's human rights image as the mastermind of the drive against separatism in Turkey. If people have been driven out of their villages, if writers have been prosecuted for airing their views, it has been all because of orders given by General Güreş. Thus terrorism has been completely beaten in Turkey and we can no longer talk about PKK killings.

We believe the Americans should have given Gen. Güreş even higher honors. Or at least they could have nominated him for the Nobel Peace Prize.

At last Washington has seen sense. The medal given to Gen. Güreş is a tacit approval by the United States

of Turkey's policies, of its current democratic status and of its human rights record.

Now we will no longer believe the sincerity of the actions against our country in the American Congress or even the friendly warnings from the U.S. State Department about our alleged failures, especially in the field of human rights. So why did they ever link American military aid to Turkey to human rights and Cyprus? Why are they so critical about our human rights situation in their annual World Human Rights Report? Who will believe the U.S. State Department's report on Turkey's human rights record for 1994?

We feel the time has come for the American administration to explain the merits of the honor given to Gen. Güreş to the American congressional officials so that they too see the light and tone down their unjust criticisms about Turkey. Or are they playing a double game with Turkey? After leading the Western criticism about Turkey, are the Americans trying to court the Turkish Armed Forces and conquer the castle from within?

From now on when we hear an American official talk ill about the policies of the Turkish military, especially on southeastern Turkey, or about our country's human rights record in general, we will disregard this as back-biting.

DOMESTIC SCENE

Ataman confirms meeting with Barzani: Foreign Ministry spokesman Ferhat Ataman confirmed earlier speculations by indicating that a meeting had taken place between Turkish officials and northern Iraqi Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani. Ataman said that two senior FM officials, Cenk Duatepe and Turkekul Kurttekin, had flown to Salahudin last Friday to meet with Barzani. "They have discussed the situation in northern Iraq, the fighting between the Kurds and the aid Turkey gave to the region," Ataman said, adding that the question of the so-called Paris summit, where the Kurdish leaders are to sign an accord in the presence of French President Francois Mitterrand, had also been raised. "Barzani told the Turkish side that the KDP (Kurdistan Democratic Party) supported the territorial integrity of Iraq and would not be involved in any initiative that was contrary to that,"

Ataman said. "We have also reaffirmed (to him) our well-known stance against such a meeting."

Ataman on Clark proposals: Turkey has not been informed of the proposals made by the U.N. secretary-general's special envoy Joe Clark on the Cyprus question, FM spokesman Ferhat Ataman said Wednesday. Clark was quoted by news agencies as suggesting a non-aggression pact between the two communities on the island. "We have no official information on such a suggestion. However, as far as we are concerned, it is the U.N.-sponsored confidence-building measures (CBMs) which are on the agenda," Ataman said. He indicated that certain obstacles had been created as far as the measures were concerned and said, "We are waiting for those to be corrected. That is our expectation and position." Ataman was referring to a EU court decision banning Northern Cyprus exports as an obstacle to the CBMs.

Readers of Çürükkaya's 'Verses of Apo' attacked in several European towns

TDN with Wire Dispatches

ANKARA- The "Verses of Apo" written by Selim Çürükkaya, a former outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK) leadership member, is a controversial book about current PKK leader Abdullah (Apo) Öcalan that has resulted in readers in various European cities being attacked by Kurdish militants. In Germany, prosecutors stated that several people are under investigation in Bremen and Hamburg for attempted murder of Kurds who had "renounced" their membership in the PKK. One of the victims is still in a coma. A

statement released by the German prosecutor's office claims that "witnesses say the PKK leadership has ordered those who read or distribute the book to be disciplined and punished." The prosecutor's office added that "There is a suspicion that the PKK has assumed a quasi-governmental right to exercise justice over Kurds in Germany and is ordering liquidations." In his book, Çürükkaya portrays Apo as a "murderer" and a "dictator." Çürükkaya's book also calls for the establishment of a new Kurdish party. It is specu-

lated, therefore, that the attacks on the readers of the book is a result of internal strife in the PKK. "Verses of Apo" publisher, July 14 Publications, printed the book in August and began distributing the book in several European countries. The publisher stated that "Apo supporters have promised that readers of the book will be murdered and burned." The publisher also stated that Çürükkaya refers to Apo as "being the biggest betrayer of the already betrayed Kurdish revolution."

Turkey pledges to ease misery of displaced villagers

By Ayşe Sarıoğlu

Reuters

ANKARA - Turkey is taking urgent steps to settle several thousand displaced residents of eastern Tunceli province, where a three-week fight between security forces and Kurdish rebels is raging, a Cabinet minister said on Thursday. State Minister for Human Rights Azimet Köylüoğlu said 139 homes had been allocated by the state to families who have fled Tunceli's provincial center and the town of Ovacık. "Right now ground is being selected in Tunceli to build 400 prefab homes to be finished and settled in two months at the most," he said in an interview with Reuters.

Earlier this week, Köylüoğlu blamed "state terrorism" after reports that more than a score of villages were torched by soldiers to deny food and shelter to the rebels of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

But he took a softer tone on Thursday. "There is definitely no directive from security authorities in the center (Ankara) to burn homes but there is fierce fighting going on and these things happen."

Köylüoğlu said that while villagers accused the troops, authorities blamed the PKK for the destruction.

"Residents of 30 more villages have recently left of their own accord because they fear getting caught in the clashes. Some have moved to surrounding villages and some have come to Ovacık," Tunceli MP Sinan Yerlikaya said by telephone from Ovacık.

All in all, at least 5,000 people are estimated to have been displaced in three weeks of fighting across the rugged province. Köylüoğlu listed 29 villages in the township of Ovacık alone which now stood abandoned, some destroyed.

"The villagers say they won't go back unless they are assured of security. They say soldiers told them to go or they would burn their homes down," Yerlikaya said.

He said each home built earlier in the region was now crammed with up to four families.

Köylüoğlu said evacuations were permitted by law but under no circumstances should homes be burned.

"Forcibly evacuated people should be given housing comparable to their former dwellings and if homes have been burned to deny use to terrorists, the owners should be compensated.

All this should be disciplined under law."

In the latest reports, troops killed 14 rebels in a clash in Sırnak province on the Iraqi border, officials of the regional emergency rule said in Diyarbakir city. In Sivas province west of Tunceli, troops killed five PKK rebels, Anatolian news agency quoted provincial governor Aydın Güçlü as saying. Tunceli and Sivas have become the latest flashpoints of the war with the rebels, mostly driven northwards from the southeast by a months-long military drive, security officials say. The Tunceli operation, called one of the biggest in modern Turkish history, is meant to stop thousands of the rebels from advancing into the densely forested regions of the Black Sea coast, an area so far untroubled by the PKK.

"The hottest clashes now are in Tunceli and Sivas," Köylüoğlu said. The fighting has sparked an increasing migration from rural areas to town centers and larger settlements since 1984, when the PKK began fighting for a separate state. More than 13,000 people have been killed in the insurgency.

Human Rights report calls for action

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- According to the monthly report of the Human Rights Association (IHD), with every day that passes Turkey is falling into a deeper crisis regarding human rights and democratization. The general-secretary of the IHD, Akın Birdal, says Turkey cannot hide its human rights violations. The flames of the burning villages are spreading to all parts of Turkey. The policies applied by the prison administrators regarding living conditions in the prisons in Diyarbakır, Konya, and Çankırı has come to the public eye, and the problem has now reached Ankara. General-secretary Birdal criticized the new proposals for the Anti-Terrorism Law (TMK), with respect to laws against freedom of expression and association.

Articles 125-172 of the Turkish Criminal Code already punished the instigation of and incitement to, criminal acts, he pointed out, and therefore the new proposals were unnecessary.

Birdal stated that if the proposed articles were to be approved, "In a very short time, the prisons could be filled with people who express their ideas or opinions." For example, with respect to the press, the proposed articles provide that an editor in chief of a monthly magazine that sells a minimum of 2,000 copies can be fined between 500 million and 1 billion TL. In his report, Birdal noted that villages in east and south-eastern Turkey were being systemati-

cally burned and evacuated. He stated that up to the end of last year 874 villages had been evacuated and burned and that today, this figure may have reached 1,334.

For example, Birdal noted that in the past week in Tunceli 17 villages had been evacuated and burned; that the villagers were having difficulty resettling; and that innocent civilians were looking to Ankara for help. To date, 2 million people have migrated from villages.

Birdal called for action on the part of the Turkish Parliament. He said "We must immediately stop this inhumane treatment," and added, "The Turkish Parliament's Investigation and Examination Commission should go to the region and find a way out of this savagery."

According to the IHD press release, in the month of September, 27 people were "extra-judicially" killed or died as a result of torture; 17 other people have been tortured; there have been 17 unsolved murder cases; and 34 people have gone missing after being taken into custody. In actions on civilian targets, 54 people have died and 30 people have been wounded. The report also states that 22 publications have been seized by court order, and that 103 deputies, intellectuals, journalists and writers have been jailed.

Birdal claims that IHD offices have also been targeted by the Interior Ministry since 1993.

Velayeti: No settlement in N. Iraq without Iran, Syria and Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-Iran's foreign minister Ali Akbar Velayeti has told the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), Massoud Barzani, that no political settlement in northern Iraq can hope to be lasting without the support of Iran, Syria and Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported on Thursday.

Quoting the Iranian news agency (IRNA), Anatolia said that Velayeti had met Barzani in Tehran on Wednesday and had informed the KDP leader that there were advantages to the "preservation of current borders and sovereignties" in the region.

The Iranian foreign minister was also quoted as accusing the United States of using Iraqi troop movements to interfere in the domestic affairs of the countries of the region and as adding that this was not at all to the benefit of the countries concerned.

Anatolia further reported that Barzani had said that his organization also agreed on the advantages of preserving the territorial integrity of Iraq.

Çiller strongly backs modernization of the armed forces

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-Prime Minister Tansu Çiller emphasized Turkey's determination to modernize its armed forces to conform to international standards in an interview in "Defense News," published in the United States.

In the interview, Çiller referred to Turkey's strategically important location and emphasized the need for Turkey to be a strong military power, given the rapid changes in the region. The prime minister said that armed

forces arms procurement plans changed every two years to keep up with the latest standards: "We have cancelled some of our plans and changed our preferences, choosing the newest weapons on the market." Çiller also evaluated the potential threats Turkey faces: "Turkey is in the center of a warm spot in the world, located in the midst of politically unbalanced countries."

Saying that Turkey has eight neighbors and an eight-thousand kilome-

ter coastline, Çiller said Turkey's need to have a strong military is apparent:

"We planned on putting \$2 billion each year into the modernization of the armed forces for the next ten years. Just this year we bought equipment worth \$10 million."

The prime minister also pointed to the confusion caused by the breakup of the Soviet Union and growing nationalism in the region as a threat to Turkey.

Human Rights Diary

PKK militants continue to attack civilian targets:

Last week, militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) continued their attacks on civilian targets. A total of 30 people were killed and 13 were kidnapped in various parts of Turkey. During one raid on the village of Gümüskanat in Bitlis the militants massacred eight villagers. The victims were mainly women and children. Six other villagers were wounded and taken by helicopter to the nearby state hospital. In another incident in the same region, militants blocked the Bitlis-Baykan highway, wounded four people there and kidnapped a further eight. In Hakkari's Yüksekova district, the corpses of three village guards and one imam were found. The victims had been kidnapped 10 days before. Two other village guards managed to escape from the terrorists. The People's Democracy Party (HADEP) Yuregdir district chairman, Rebih Çabuk, and board member Sefer Car were killed by unknown assailants who opened fire on them in the district of Mutlu. The nephew of the former State Minister Mehmet Karahan, Salim Karahan (20), was found dead near the district of Silvan. The victim had been kidnapped 20 days before. Widespread searches are continuing for the killers. PKK militants executed three bus-passengers after stopping a bus on the Bingol-Mus highway. Before killing the passengers, the militants made propaganda speeches. They are now being sought by security forces. (TDN, Oct. 9)

PKK militants target teachers in Southeast: Attacks by outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists on civilian targets continued on Monday when four elementary school teachers were reported to have been killed in Erzurum. The terrorists raided the Erzurum villages of Taskesenli and Katranlı near Tekman at 8.30 p.m. on Monday evening and executed a total of four newly-posted elementary school teachers. In the raid on Taşkesenli, Ali Bulut, Ersoy Yorulmaz, Nurullah Saraç and Yılmaz Çankara were taken from their houses to the outskirts of the village by a group of PKK militants. Releasing one of the teachers, Yılmaz Çankara, the separatists tied the hands and feet of the remaining three and used machine guns to execute them. The terrorists then raided Kataranlı village and killed another elementary school teacher, Ragip Köse, after abducting him from his house. They later escaped. The PKK have killed 13 school teachers since the opening of the new school year and 40 teachers have been killed altogether since last year in a campaign aimed at disrupting the state educational system in Turkey's southeastern provinces. Officials indicated that wide-scale operations had been started to capture the militants. (TDN, Oct. 11)

Arrested deputy seeks permission to address Parliament: Mahmut Alınak, the independent deputy from Turkey's southeastern Şırnak province, who is currently under arrest, appealed to the Parliament speakership Wednesday for permission to address the plenary session on the latest political developments regarding the burning of villages in Tunceli. Alınak said that in Pakistan, Asif Ali Zardari, the husband of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, had been granted the right to attend the legislative activities of the Parliament during his time in prison. He said that the Pakistani Parliamentary chairmanship board justified this procedure by saying that "the national will cannot be locked up together in a prison with the individual." The Şırnak deputy said: "I am not able to use my right to speak, which is limited to five minutes in the Parliament of which I am a member, while deputy Asif Ali Zardari was able to attend his Parliament's legislative session during his period in prison." Alınak claimed that under existing regulations, Turkey fell behind Pakistan since his rights, responsibilities and authorities as a parliamentarian still existed according to the Constitution and parliamentary regulations. "The people's will has been locked up in the prison together with me," he said. (TDN, Oct. 12)

HADEP chairman Bozlak talks in Van: The chairman of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), Murat Bozlak, said in Van on Wednesday that his party might participate in the coming by-elections. Bozlak, who arrived in Van Tuesday to conduct investigations in the region, said his party might participate in the by-elections if the necessary democratic conditions were created. In his press conference Wednesday, Bozlak also referred to the wide criticism of the closing of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) by Constitutional Court decision. He added that this decision created big difficulties for Turkey in the international community and said, "The decision of the European Parliament to freeze its relations with Turkey is probably the heaviest sanction a country could face in its international diplomacy." Bozlak claimed that this mistake could have been corrected with the changing of Article 84 of the Constitution, but pointed out that the government had instead decided to hold the by-elections to prolong the life of the government. Bozlak also stated that the coming by-elections could be evaluated as an opportunity for democratization and said: "We want the creation of an democratic environment and we can enter the by-elections if these conditions are met." The HADEP chairman said that it was out of the question for their party to give support to another party in the by-elections. (TDN, Oct. 12)

76

VENDREDI
14 OCTOBRE 1994

24 HEURES

La Turquie malade du Kurdistan

Les Kurdes nient la doctrine
de l'homogénéité ethnique
prônée par Ankara.

La montée de l'intégrisme islamique met en cause la laïcité de l'Etat.
La population, elle, manifeste sa lassitude face à cet interminable conflit.



De nombreux villages kurdes ont été détruits par des tribus rivales ou occupés par l'armée turque. La population est lasse de cet interminable conflit.

«**E**n Turquie, tout citoyen est Turc. il n'y a donc ni races, ni ethnies, ni croyances, ni religions différentes.» Cette déclaration a été entendue lors du débat de l'Assemblée nationale sur la levée de l'immunité parlementaire des députés kurdes. Arrêtés en plein Parlement, ces six députés du DEP (Parti de la démocratie) sont aujourd'hui en prison. Théoriquement, ils risquent la peine de mort. Leur procès a été interrompu à plusieurs reprises. Pendant ce temps, la guerre continue.

«L'autonomie linguistique pour les Kurdes? Ridicule! Cette langue est tout juste bonne à la conversation courante des paysans. J'occupe des Kurdes sur mon domaine, je parle donc en connaissance de cause», affirme un propriétaire foncier turc.

«Nous aussi, nous voulons des pommes rouges»

Ce n'est pas l'avis d'un activiste kurde qui se souvient de sa première année d'école: «Je suis né dans un petit village perdu du Kurdistan turc. Jusqu'à ma scolarité, je ne parlais qu'en kurde. A l'école, on ne parlait qu'en turc. Je ne comprenais évidemment rien. Dans les leçons d'alphabétisation, l'institutrice dessinait un pommier où chaque élève était représenté par un fruit. Ensuite, elle coloriait la pomme en rouge quand l'élève obtenait une bonne note. Les arbres des enfants kurdes restaient incolores. J'ai compris alors que je devais apprendre le turc. Maintenant, je me bats pour que les enfants kurdes aient aussi la chance de recevoir des pommes



La présence de l'armée turque est perceptible partout au Kurdistan. Mais par dizaines de milliers, les jeunes désertent ou font de l'objection de conscience.

” Mon cousin est soldat, rattaché à une unité spéciale. Il me parle des combats. Personnellement, je n'ai aucune envie de suivre une formation de Rambo. “

Un étudiant de Diyarbakir

L'économie, victime de la guerre

La crise de l'industrie du tourisme tarit une des sources majeures de devises et contribue à l'augmentation du chômage. Pays exportateur de blé, la Turquie devra en importer cette année. Depuis janvier dernier, la livre turque a subi deux dévaluations. L'inflation, estimée de 100 à 200% par les experts gouvernementaux et indépendants, ronge le revenu des salariés. La dette extérieure du pays a atteint 67 milliards de dollars.

Le ministre turc de l'Intérieur fait lui aussi son calcul: les opérations militaires contre les Kurdes ont coûté 25 milliards de dollars en 10 ans, à savoir l'équivalent de deux ans d'exportations. Pour 1994, les dépenses militaires se chiffreront à 6 milliards. L'embargo

contre l'Irak, en vigueur depuis la guerre du Golfe, a fait perdre à la Turquie son principal partenaire commercial dans la région et l'a coupée de l'approvisionnement direct en pétrole à bon marché.

La coalition gouvernementale et l'armée poursuivent leur politique intransigeante contre les Kurdes, alors que l'Association turque des entrepreneurs et industriels favorise une solution démocratique. Les syndicats et de larges groupes de la population souhaitent la fin de la guerre. Même le PKK, Parti des travailleurs kurdes qui mène la lutte armée, préconise une issue fédéraliste au conflit.

P. B. et M.-F. M. □

rouges s'ils les méritent.»

Diyarbakir, capitale du Kurdistan. En quatre ans, le nombre de ses habitants est monté en flèche: de 500 000 à 1,5 million. Ces chiffres, non officiels, sont donnés par des journalistes, des syndicalistes et le porte-parole de la section locale de l'Organisation des droits de l'homme (IHD). Des réfugiés kurdes y affluent, espérant y trouver un abri, leurs villages ayant été détruits ou occupés — avec l'aide de l'armée — par des prétendus «gardes», en général des membres d'une tribu kurde ennemie.

Des mouchards partout

Diyarbakir est une ville morne, qui se vide dès la tombée de la nuit. Négligée depuis des années, l'infrastructure s'effrite sous l'assaut des réfugiés. Le typhus et le choléra sont endémiques, le paludisme et la tuberculose souvent fatals aux réfugiés sous-alimentés. Cette main-d'œuvre non qualifiée n'a aucune chance d'obtenir un des rares emplois en ville. Les plus démunis ont à peine de quoi se nourrir. Ils sentent sur eux les regards attentifs des soldats, des gendarmes et des «gardes», armés de mitraillettes et de talkies-walkies. Mais ils craignent surtout les nombreux mouchards: «Trente pour cent des gens pourraient être des mouchards, avance le porte-parole de l'IHD. Croyez-moi, je n'exagère pas!» De même, tout contact avec un étranger est suspect.

Pratiquement chaque nuit, des gens sont arrêtés. On trouve de temps en temps des corps de disparus avec des traces de torture. L'IHD, qui enregistre les cas, est débordée.

Diyarbakir est devenu un cul-de-sac. Le trafic international des marchandises, à l'exception de la contrebande des cigarettes et des drogues, est interrompu. La frontière irako-turque a été fermée à la suite de l'embargo imposé par les Nations Unies. Néanmoins, tout le Kurdistan a une valeur stratégique importante compte tenu de sa position entre le Caucase, la péninsule arabe et la région irano-pakistanaise. C'est aussi cette valeur stratégique qui explique l'entêtement de la Turquie, poussée par l'armée, à refuser une autonomie quelconque à la région. Le gouvernement, déjà confronté à l'opposition fondamentaliste islamiste, doit en plus composer avec l'armée, qui semble viser une solution strictement militaire au Kurdistan.

200 000 réfractaires à l'armée

La population, elle, est lassée de cet interminable conflit. Surtout les jeunes: «Mon cousin est soldat, rattaché à une unité spéciale. Il me parle des combats. Personnellement, je n'ai aucune envie de suivre une formation de Rambo.» C'est ce que nous a expliqué l'un d'eux, qui prépare son examen d'entrée à l'université.

On compte environ 200 000 déserteurs et objecteurs de conscience en Turquie. Ce sont les chiffres avancés par l'Union des ennemis de la guerre, interdite par l'Etat, et confirmés par le porte-parole de la section d'Istanbul de l'IHD, qui parle même de mutineries. «La moitié de l'armée est stationnée au Kurdistan», assure un journaliste du quotidien prokurde *Ozgür Uelke*. Le relèvement de la durée du service obligatoire de

15 à 19 mois est également très mal accueilli. Enfin, il y a le problème des prisonniers de guerre qui, pour les deux camps, semble ne pas exister.

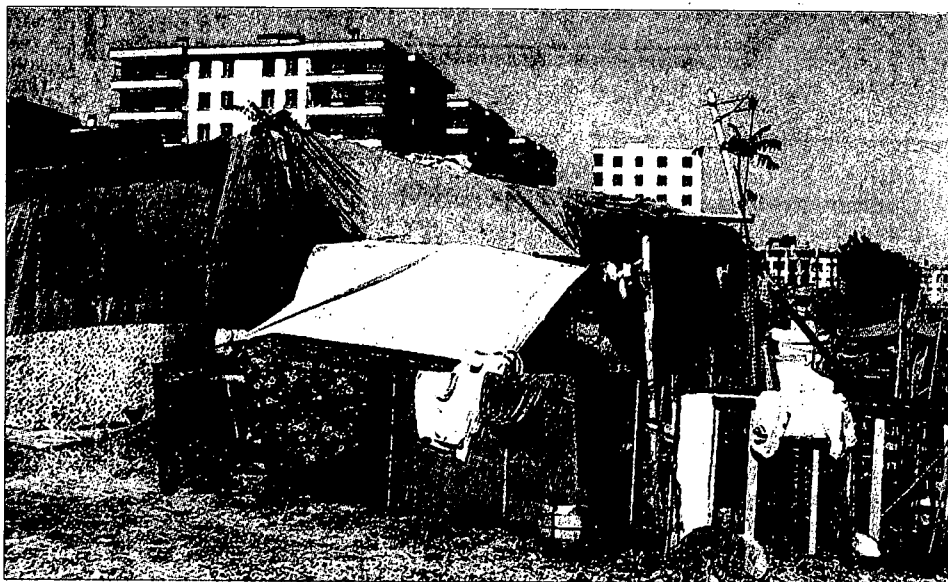
Les promesses des islamistes

Une guerre sans issue, une crise économique, des institutions peu convaincantes, voilà la soupe dans laquelle se multiplient les germes de l'intégrisme islamiste, regroupé autour du Refah (Parti du bien-être) de M. Erbakan. C'est lui qui fut le réel vainqueur des dernières élections communales, en promettant aux chômeurs et aux salariés démunis par l'inflation une justice et une économie basées sur le Coran. Ce dernier réclame une «théocratie républicaine ou monarchique», tout en brandissant l'épouvantail d'un Occident matérialiste et athée. Le danger islamiste aggrave ainsi l'isolement de la Turquie, qui pâtit déjà d'une mauvaise image à cause des violations des Droits de l'homme.

«Mon opinion personnelle, c'est que nous serons heureux chaque fois que les Musulmans remportent un succès», a déclaré le président iranien Rafsanjani lors d'une interview accordée en juillet dernier au quotidien *Turkish Daily News*.

Est-ce de ce soutien dont la Turquie a besoin?

Paul Bokor
et Marie-Françoise Macchi □



Gonflé par les réfugiés fuyant les campagnes, le nombre des habitants de Diyarbakir a passé de 500 000 à 1,5 million. La plupart sont logés dans des conditions très précaires.

Paul Bokor

IRAK

Washington affirme que la crise avec Bagdad « n'est pas terminée »

L'Irak a affirmé, mercredi 12 octobre, par la voix de son ministre des affaires étrangères, la fin du retrait de ses forces vers des positions éloignées de la frontière du Koweït. De leur côté, les Etats-Unis ont confirmé, mercredi, le retrait en cours d'une « majorité » des troupes irakiennes déployées dans le sud du pays. « Des éléments de toutes les brigades (irakiennes), sauf une, ont bougé, a indiqué un responsable du Pentagone. Nous pouvons dire que la majorité des troupes qui avaient été amenées dans le sud sont maintenant en train de se diriger vers le nord ».

Les Etats-Unis n'en continuent pas moins de dépêcher leurs troupes dans la région du Golfe. Le secrétaire à la défense, William Perry, a signé, mercredi, l'ordre de déploiement de 19 000 « marines » de Camp-Pendleton (Californie) et de 17 000 hommes de la 24^e division d'infanterie de Fort-Stewart (Georgie). Au cours d'une brève visite au Koweït, le secrétaire d'Etat, Warren Christopher, a souligné, mercredi, devant les soldats américains déployés sur place, que ce dispositif militaire « témoigne de notre détermination à empêcher Saddam Hussein de mettre ses menaces à exécution ». « Vous représentez le genre de détermination qui lui fait faire machine arrière », a-t-il lancé.

Les réserves de Paris

« La crise n'est pas terminée », a déclaré M. Christopher à l'issue de discussions qu'il a eues, en compagnie du secrétaire britannique au Foreign Office, Douglas Hurd, avec les chefs de la diplomatie des six monarchies pétrolières du Conseil de coopération du Golfe (CCG). « Nous devons maintenir un niveau élevé d'alerte », a-t-il ajouté.

Pour 74 %, les Américains approuvent la décision du président Bill Clinton d'envoyer davantage de troupes américaines dans le Golfe pour faire face aux menaces irakiennes, selon un sondage CNN-USA Today, rendu public mercredi ; 72 % des personnes interrogées souhaitent, d'autre part, que Saddam Hussein soit contraint de quitter le pouvoir et 74 % estiment que cela aurait dû être fait, en 1991, pendant la guerre du Golfe.

Washington souhaite une résolution du Conseil de sécurité de

l'ONU pour obtenir le retour de l'Irak au « statu quo ante », ce qui implique « l'exclusion » de troupes et d'armes lourdes déployées, la semaine dernière, dans la zone proche du Koweït, a annoncé, mercredi, un diplomate américain aux Nations unies. Celui-ci n'a pas précisé les limites géographiques de cette zone, évoquant seulement la région de Basorah, dans le sud du pays.

De son côté, l'ambassadeur des Etats-Unis à l'ONU, Madeleine Albright, a indiqué que sa délégation continuait ses consultations avec d'autres membres du Conseil de sécurité « sur la manière de s'assurer que Saddam Hussein ne menace pas ses voisins », parlant de la recherche de « concepts », plutôt que d'« idées concrètes ». La formule du retour au statu quo proposée par les Etats-Unis « est une très bonne formule, nous sommes prêts à partager cette position et à la soutenir », a déclaré le représentant de la France à l'ONU, Jean-Bernard Mérimée.

Les ministres français des affaires étrangères et de la défense avaient laissé entendre, mercredi, que la France n'apportait qu'un soutien critique au déploiement américain dans le Golfe. A l'issue d'un conseil des ministres restreint, François Léotard a déclaré que la France avait pour « constante » de « faire respecter les résolutions de l'ONU » mais que le déploiement américain n'était pas « sans relation avec la politique intérieure » des Etats-Unis et qu'« il n'y a pas quelque chose d'illégal dans le mouvement à l'intérieur de l'Irak des forces irakiennes, rien qui soit contraire aux résolutions de l'ONU ». De son côté, Alain Juppé a déclaré que les participants au conseil restreint ne s'étaient pas montrés « favorables » à la proposition américaine d'instaurer une zone d'exclusion terrestre dans le sud de l'Irak. Plus tard, devant l'Assemblée nationale, il a affirmé qu'« il ne faut pas surréagir » face à la situation dans le Golfe, « laisser entendre que la guerre va éclater à nouveau. Il faut réagir avec sang-froid et modération ».

L'Irak a aussitôt rendu hommage aux déclarations de ces ministres. Le chef de la diplomatie, Mohammed Saïd El Sahaf, cité par l'agence INA, a affirmé que Bagdad « apprécie la position équitable de la France ». — (AFP, Reuter.)

Perry Warns Iraq to Remove Armor

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Service

KUWAIT CITY — Defense Secretary William J. Perry warned Friday that the United States might take military action against Iraq if it failed to remove all of its heavy armored units from the southern part of the country near Kuwait.

Arriving here from Saudi Arabia, Mr. Perry said Iraq had yet to honor its pledge to withdraw its forces to a safe distance. He cited evidence that up to 10,000 members of the elite Republican Guards were digging in less than 160 kilometers (100 miles) north of the Kuwaiti border.

Mr. Perry said, moreover, that if Iraq did not complete the withdrawal it began earlier this week, the United States would continue to send ships, planes and ground forces to the region and might increase their numbers beyond current plans, which call for the deployment of up to 30,000 ground troops.

"We will not bring our combat troops home as long as Iraq continues to threaten peace and stability in the Gulf," Mr. Perry said at an airport news conference. "Indeed, if heavy Iraqi units remain in the south, we will expand our current deployment and will consult with our allies about the additional application of force as an appropriate response to the threat posed by Iraq."

Notwithstanding Mr. Perry's firm warning, the sense of crisis has receded noticeably in Kuwait following the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from the immediate border zone.

Nevertheless, Clinton administration officials are eager to keep the pressure on President Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

The United States is seeking a United Nations Security Council resolution that

would demand the return of Iraqi forces to their positions before the latest advance on Kuwait. That would mean removal of Republican Guard divisions to points north of the 32d parallel, or no closer than 240 kilometers to Kuwait. Aircraft from the United States, France and Britain already are enforcing a ban on flights by Iraqi aircraft below the 32d parallel.

U.S. officials have also put proposals to force the removal of all Iraqi forces from southern Iraq, fearing that Mr. Saddam might then lose control of the region's restive Shiite Muslim population. That, in turn, could lead to the breakup of the country, providing an opening for neighboring Iran, whose Muslim fundamentalist regime maintains close ties to the Shiites and is hostile to the West.

Clinton administration officials had all but declared victory earlier this week when Iraqi forces began their withdrawal. The renewed threat Friday of military action follows reports Thursday that some Iraqi armored units had stopped moving. During his flight to Kuwait, Mr. Perry told reporters traveling with him that a Republican Guard division of about 10,000 troops, tanks and armored vehicles was digging in near An Nasiriyah, less than 160 kilometers from Kuwait, according to The Associated Press.

An armored division can move at speeds of up to 30 kilometers an hour, which potentially would put the Republican Guards within five hours driving time of the tiny, oil-producing emirate to the south.

"If they're digging in, we still have problems ahead of us," Mr. Perry said on the plane. Asked what kind of action the United States might take in response, he said, "We're talking about military action, but I

won't go beyond that to describe what form of military action."

U.S. forces in the region include Tomahawk cruise missiles on navy ships and hundreds of air force and navy planes, including many armed with laser-guided bombs.

Mr. Perry traveled to Kuwait from Saudi Arabia, where he met with King Fahd and visited American troops at a Saudi Air Force base in Dhahran. He said at a news conference in Dhahran that the United States would bolster its troop deployment even higher than planned if Iraq balks at pulling back.

"We cannot accept that deployment, which we consider threatening and destabilizing," Mr. Perry said in remarks quoted by the AP. "Indeed, if those forces stay in the south, we will expand our current deployment plans and take appropriate action to deal with this threat."

Mr. Perry said upon arriving in Kuwait, "Only if they move those forces north, only if they truly remove the threat in Kuwait, will we terminate our deployment, and only when that happens will we consider a phased drawdown of our deployments."

Mr. Perry subsequently met with a company of support troops at Camp Doha, north of Kuwait City.

Russian Says Iraqis Yield On Sovereignty of Kuwait

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

KUWAIT — Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev of Russia said Friday that Iraq had apparently accepted the UN-mandated borders and sovereignty of Kuwait without conditions.

"I have brought good news for the people of Kuwait," he said Friday as he arrived in Kuwait from Baghdad. "This day the independence of Kuwait is reinforced."

But Iraq and Russia faced an uphill battle for any action to ease the United Nations sanctions against President Saddam Hussein's government, as the United States bluntly rejected the idea.

"One week after Saddam again plunged the world into crisis, any consideration of sanctions relief is dangerously misguided," Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said in a statement issued in Germany on his way back to the United States from a

Middle East tour. "It would signal Saddam Hussein that the international community has learned as little as he has from his own colossal misadventures."

The White House press secretary, Dee Dee Myers, added: "We're not going to reward them for a belligerent posture."

Fears of a fresh confrontation in the Gulf flared earlier this month when Iraq sent up to 80,000 troops close to the Kuwait border, triggering a swift U.S. military buildup in the region.

Iraq's recognition of Kuwait is one of several UN conditions for the lifting of sanctions imposed against Baghdad for its 1990 invasion of the emirate. Iraq's recent buildup was widely seen as a tactic to put pressure on the United Nations to lift the sanctions.

Mr. Kozyrev, asked earlier whether Iraq's readiness to recognize Kuwait's bor-

ders had conditions attached, responded: "I do not think so."

"The northern neighbor of Kuwait — Iraq — has declared that he recognizes the territorial border and sovereignty of Kuwait in accordance with Security Council resolutions on this subject," he said.

Asked what was needed for the United Nations to accept Iraq's declaration, he said experts on the Iraqi Constitution would have to decide what was necessary.

Kuwait wants recognition to be in the form of a statement by Mr. Saddam or his Revolutionary Command Council that is submitted to the Security Council and lodged with the United Nations as an official UN document.

The United States is pushing for a vote Saturday by the Security Council on the movement of Iraq's forces toward Kuwait.

Russia has not yet agreed, however, and its envoy, caught in a growing confrontation between Washington and Moscow, said Friday that he preferred to wait until Mr. Kozyrev arrived in New York on Sunday.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, OCTOBER 15-16, 1994

The UN envoy, Vasili Sidorov, did not say if Russia would cast a veto if the United States called a formal meeting for Saturday.

The text of the resolution, expected to be co-sponsored by Britain and France, was not to be introduced until later Friday, and a 24-hour wait is a normal courtesy.

The resolution demands that Iraq pull back its troops to positions they held before they moved toward the Kuwaiti border.

The chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, said she was pushing for an early vote because "we believe it is very important for us to get on the table the way we feel about the most recent action of the Iraqis."

In answer to questions, Mrs. Albright said the resolution had "nothing to do with sanctions but with the provocative actions the Iraqis took in moving their troops."

She denied that Washington was in a head-on clash with

Moscow, saying: "I don't think we are on a collision course. We are having discussions."

The draft resolution requires Mr. Saddam to withdraw permanently his elite Republican Guard but allows about 30,000 regular army troops to remain in the area.

Specifically, the document demands the following:

- That Iraq withdraw all military units recently deployed to southern Iraq to their original positions.

- That Baghdad not deploy

such units to the south in the future and take no action to "enhance its military capacity in southern Iraq."

- That Iraq cooperate fully with the UN Special Commission in charge of destroying its deadly weapons.

The use of force is implicit rather than explicit in the resolution, which threatens "serious consequences" in the preamble rather than the operative part of the resolution.

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

turkish daily news

Saturday, October 15, 1994 /

Turkey's 'counterattack' in Council of Europe

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey is preparing a draft proposal regarding the struggle against racism which will be presented to the Council of Europe, the Anatolia news agency reported on Friday.

Turkey, which is under pressure because of allegations of human rights abuses, will voice its concern over the escalating incidents of racism and

enmity towards foreigners in Europe. The draft agreement will be presented to the Human Rights Commission of the Council of Europe which was set up to struggle against racism and intolerance.

The draft defines racist action as follows: "All insults, violations, discriminatory acts or demonstrations towards a person or group for having or not having a certain ethnic identity,

nationality, race or religion."

The proposal foresees the setting up of an expert committee as part of the necessary control mechanisms.

The draft also calls on Council of Europe members to prevent racist actions, close down racist organizations and abolish laws and regulations which could be a source of discrimination.

Turkey - biggest tank importer for the second year running

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Turkey is the world's biggest importer of tanks for the second year running, according to the U.N. Arms Register published on Thursday. Greece was the second largest importer on the list.

Reuters reported that the United States had registered the export of 932 battle tanks to Turkey in 1993 and 671 to Greece, while Germany reported the export of 85 tanks to Turkey and 54 to Greece. According to the statistics, the total number of tanks imported by Turkey was 1,017 in 1993 and Greece imported 725.

However, during this period Turkey reported importing only 454 tanks. Similarly, Greece said it had only imported 450 tanks. According to the British American Security Information Council (BASIC), the United States remained the

world's largest arms merchant with 2,393 tanks, 832 armored combat vehicles, 296 large caliber artillery systems, 96 combat aircraft, 75 attack helicopters, and 2,899 missiles or missile launchers exported in 1993.

Between 1987 and 1991, the United States sold arms worth \$3.7 billion to Turkey, followed by (West) Germany (\$825 million) and Britain (\$250 million), according to data from the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency data.

During the same period, Greece imported arms worth \$1.8 billion from the United States, \$1 billion from France and \$180 million from (West) Germany.

Between 1981 and 1991, arms imports constituted between 3.8 percent (in 1991)

to 7.6 percent (in 1989) of all Turkish imports.

For Greece, arms imports were 12.4 percent of all imports in 1989, but with the exception of that one year, the percentage of arms imports within total Greek imports between 1981-1991 varied between 0.6 percent (1990 and 1991) to 5.2 percent (1981).

Turkey's military expenditure, in constant 1991 dollars, increased from \$3.2 billion in 1981 to \$5.6 billion in 1991, despite the fact that the number of soldiers per 1,000 people dropped from 16.0 in 1981 to 13.8 in 1991.

In Greece, total military expenditure, in constant 1991 dollars, dropped from \$4.1 billion in 1981 to \$3.8 billion in 1991. The number of troops per 1,000 of the Greek population slightly increased from 19.3 in 1981 to 20.4 in 1991.

Human Rights Diary

Secularist writer escapes bomb attack- A prominent Turkish political scientist known for his secular writings, escaped an assassination attempt when a bomb planted by Islamic fundamentalists failed to go off. Police defused the bomb, found under a table in an Istanbul bookshop where Toktamis Ates, a professor and columnist for the left-wing daily Cumhuriyet, was signing books for a crowd of about 100 people. A fundamentalist group that calls themselves the Islamic Avengers' Front of the Great East (IBDA-C), claimed responsibility for the attempt. The group publishes two magazines in which it often severely attacks secular writers, journalists and artists. Secular writers have become frequent targets of fundamentalist groups in Turkey — a secular state that is 99-percent Moslem. Uğur Mumcu, also a leading Cumhuriyet writer and a stern critic of Islam, was killed by Islamists in 1993. Two other prominent Turkish writers, an academic and a lawyer, have also been murdered for their anti-Islamic writings. (*Newspapers, September 8*)

TV producer Birand faces military court- A military court in Ankara began to hear the case filed against Mehmet Ali Birand on Sept. 9. Birand is the producer of the TV news program "32 Gun" (32nd Day). The charges regard director Deniz Cemal Arman and camera man Halim Abanoz's questioning of soldiers about their opinion of the Cabinet decision to extend military service and subsequent broadcast of the opinions to the public. The prosecutor is demanding the maximum three-year prison term for each of the defendants. Two of the interviewed soldiers also face a court trial. (*Turkish Daily News, September 10*)

Court orders seizure of Cumhuriyet- A court ordered the seizure of Sept. 10 editions of the respected Cumhuriyet newspaper for publishing interviews with leaders of a Muslim fundamentalist terrorist group. The leftist Cumhuriyet carried comments from two senior figures of the outlawed Islamic Raiders' Front of the Great East. Cumhuriyet had recently accused security forces of acting leniently towards Muslim fundamentalists, who have waged increasingly violent protests against Turkey's secular government. Upon an appeal by the newspaper's lawyers the court lifted the seizure orders on Sept. 11. (*Newspapers, September 11*)

PKK terrorists kill six village teachers- Only hours before children throughout Turkey were to return to school, militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) killed six primary school teachers in the village of Darikent, near the town of Mazgirt in Tunceli. Around 50 PKK militants raided the village on the night of Sept. 11 and ordered the six teachers, Vedat Inan, Ali İhsan Çetinkaya, Metin Kaynar, Müminhan Temizkan, Rüstem Şen and Mustafa Kaynarcan, out of their quarters. They forced the teachers and the people of the village to gather in the square to listen to separatist propaganda. Before the "execution" of the six teachers, who were gunned down in cold blood, witnesses claimed that the militants had said: "This is Kurdistan. You cannot teach here without obtaining permission from us. Let Tansu Çiller come and protect you." The PKK militants abducted three health workers and three villagers as they fled the scene. (*Turkish Daily News, September 13*)

Ex-DEP mayors to be jailed- The former mayors of the defunct pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) were sentenced by the State Security Court to 20 months imprisonment each, and were fined TL 210 million for making "separatist" statements to the former pro-Kurdish daily Özgür Gündem. The former mayors: Şükrü Çallı, from the city of Hakkari; Halit Nazmi Balkas, from the township of Lice; and Abdullah Kaya from the Kozluk township, reportedly reacted to the assassination of former DEP deputy Mehmet Sincar by telling Özgür Gündem "we will not remain indifferent" to the "ongoing war." The court ruled that these were separatist statements. (*Turkish Daily News, September 15*)

Court orders compensation for villager- A court in the southeastern provincial capital of Diyarbakır awarded TL 71 million in compensation to a villager identified as Cuneyt Alphan. The money was for his destroyed home burnt down during clashes between security forces and militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the village of Sabe, near Silvan township. The court ordered the Interior Ministry to pay the compensation without any delay. The ministry appealed against the judgement saying, "the administration has nothing to do with damage inflicted during the struggle carried out by security forces against terrorists." Alphan said the appeal was rejected, but the Interior Ministry still refused to pay the compensation. Thus, he is now seeking ways of seizing assets of the ministry by way of a court order. The house was completely destroyed when fire bombs were hurled at it during clashes between security forces and PKK militants in Sabe in 1991. (*Turkish Daily News, September 15*)

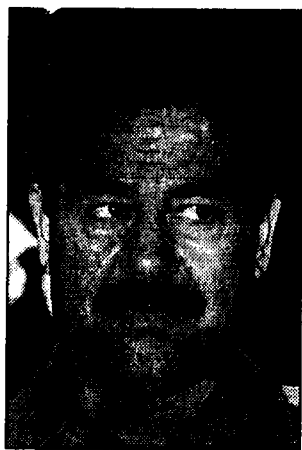
Bagdad serait prêt à reconnaître le Koweït

Irak : les amis retrouvés

Saddam Hussein compte sur Paris et Moscou pour convaincre les Américains de sa sincérité.

Une course contre la montre s'est engagée hier entre Américains et Russes. Devant le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, Washington est déterminé à obtenir dès aujourd'hui le vote d'une résolution qui condamne les mouvements de troupes irakiens au Sud du pays et qui somme Bagdad de ne plus jamais déployer de forces dans la zone frontalière du Koweït. Toutefois, Moscou refuse de se prononcer sur ce texte avant la venue, dimanche à New York, de son ministre des Affaires étrangères, Andreï Kozyrev, qui doit s'adresser au Conseil de sécurité. Le vice-premier ministre irakien, Tarek Aziz, y sera également présent. De leur côté, les Français, qui, depuis plusieurs jours, négocient sur le projet de résolution avec leurs partenaires américains et britanniques, ne réclament pas que le vote ait lieu avant l'arrivée d'Andreï Kozyrev. Mais, précisent les diplomates français, si les États-Unis soumettent au vote un texte agréé, la France n'aura pas d'autre choix que de l'approuver. Par ailleurs, le Koweït a rejeté hier le plan russe. (AFP, Reuter.)

BAGDAD :
de notre envoyé spécial
Claude LORIEUX



Il ne restait à Saddam qu'une seule carte : la reconnaissance du Koweït. (Photo Reuter.)

Les Irakiens retrouvent leurs amis. Les puissances, qui avaient aidé Bagdad pendant la guerre Irak-Iran, sont rentrées en grâce auprès de Saddam Hussein.

Depuis trois jours, l'URSS et la France n'ont droit qu'à des compliments. Le gouvernement compte sur Moscou, qui avait fourni l'essentiel de l'armement terrestre, et sur Paris, qui équipa l'aviation de Mirage et d'Exocet, pour forcer le blocus imposé, clame-t-on ici, par « l'intraitable Amérique ». Pékin est aussi jugé comme un allié potentiel.

Dans la rue ou dans les ascenseurs, les Irakiens font part de leur satisfaction aux Français de passage. « Léotard, très bien ! » s'exclame un fonctionnaire. Le ministre de la Défense a eu droit, jeudi, à sa photo sur la « chaîne de télévision de la jeunesse », dont le directeur est Oudai, le fils du président.

Commentant il y a quelques jours, la rencontre officielle d'Alain Juppé et de Tarek Aziz, fin septembre à New York, une personnalité reconnaissait : « Ce fut un pas en avant. » Mais il avait aussitôt ajouté : « Les Français disent qu'ils ne sont pas d'accord avec les Américains. Et puis quand, tous

les six mois, il faut voter la prolongation des sanctions, ils s'alignent sur les États-Unis. Les bonnes paroles ne suffisent pas. »

L'offensive franco-russe, contre le projet américain d'une zone qui aurait été interdite à l'armée de terre, a étonné les Irakiens. Ils n'en espèrent pas tant. Le journal gouvernemental *Al Thawra* (la révolution) titrait hier : « *Merci la France ! Encore un effort !* » Saad Kassem Hamoudi, éditorialiste du Baas, le parti unique, écrivait : « *Nous remercions la France d'avoir pris position contre l'escalade. Nous lui demandons maintenant d'arrêter de participer aux deux zones*

d'interdiction aérienne. » Celles-ci ont été instituées après la guerre du Golfe pour protéger les Kurdes du Nord et les chiïtes du Sud.

Le rôle de Kozyrev

La Russie, qui, comme la France veut récupérer une partie des milliards que lui doit l'Irak, s'est bien plus engagée. Andreï Kozyrev est venu en Irak pour « vendre » à Saddam Hussein un « compromis à tiroirs » que, lundi, il devra convaincre le Conseil de sécurité d'accepter.

Le communiqué, publié jeudi soir à l'issue de la rencontre entre le ministre russe des Affaires étrangères et Saddam Hussein, précise : « *L'Irak confirme qu'il est disposé à régler positivement la question de la reconnaissance du Koweït et de sa frontière.* »

Une fois que Bagdad aura formellement reconnu le Koweït et sa frontière, Moscou demandera au Conseil de sécurité de mettre en place le mécanisme de surveillance des armements stratégiques qui a été imaginé par les experts de l'ONU. Après une période probatoire de six mois, Kozyrev reviendra plaider pour la levée des sanctions qui avaient été imposées après la défaite de 1991.

Alors qu'il s'apprêtait à partir pour le Koweït, le ministre russe a confirmé la percée diplomatique. A un journaliste qui lui demandait s'il annoncerait aux Koweïtiens que Bagdad reconnaissait leur souveraineté, il a répondu : « *Je pense que c'est absolument évident à la lecture du communiqué. Les Irakiens ont pris une décision et Saddam Hussein, lui même, dit qu'il veut résoudre ce problème de façon positive. Je pense que c'est un excellent signal.* » Le président irakien, a ajouté Kozyrev, « *n'a pas posé de conditions* » à cette reconnaissance.

En ce qui concerne la levée des sanctions, M. Kozyrev a seulement souligné : « *Le Conseil de sécurité n'impose pas des sanctions pour se venger ou pour étrangler un pays.* »

Rien ne dit que le ministre russe réussira à transformer

LE FIGARO

SAMEDI 15 - DIMANCHE 16 OCTOBRE 1994

l'essai marqué à Bagdad. La première réaction américaine a été fraîche. Depuis Washington, un porte-parole officiel a estimé insuffisant l'engagement contenu dans le communiqué de Bagdad. Il a insisté : « *La reconnaissance n'est qu'un élément sur une liste.* »

De passage en Arabie-Saoudite, un haut fonctionnaire du Pentagone est allé plus loin. Il a relancé l'idée, que l'on croyait abandonnée, de la zone d'interdiction terrestre au sud de l'Irak. Sous couvert de l'anonymat, cette personnalité a ajouté : « *Je ne sais pas si vous voulez parler de décret, de directive ou d'ultimatum. En tout cas, nous n'allons pas en discuter avec Saddam Hussein.* » Un de ses adjoints a ajouté que les États-Unis apprécieraient le soutien de l'ONU dans cette entreprise, mais qu'ils pourraient s'en passer.

Une semaine après le début de cette crise politico-militaro-médiatique, les Irakiens ont confié leur dossier à la Russie et quelques « pays amis ». Si, malgré ces interventions diplomatiques, l'embargo n'était pas levé, Saddam Hussein pourrait évidemment provoquer un nouveau coup de théâtre. Mais à quel coût pour son pays et pour le très maigre capital de confiance dont il dispose encore ? S'il renvoyait la Garde républicaine en manœuvres dans le Sud, il trahirait la confiance des Russes, des Français, des Chinois et de quelques autres. Mais pour quel profit ?

Le président irakien n'avait plus qu'une carte en main : la reconnaissance du Koweït. Maintenant qu'il a lâché l'essentiel de cette dernière concession par ses promesses à Kozyrev, son « atout » est bien dévalué. En fait, pour être libéré de l'embargo, les Irakiens dépendent plus que jamais de la bonne volonté de l'Amérique. Mais, comme l'ont montré les initiatives de la France – un peu – et celles de la Russie – beaucoup – les choses changent depuis quelques jours. Washington est moins docilement suivi.

C. L.

LA DÉPÊCHE

du Midi

16 octobre 1994

Malgré les conflits

Les Assyriens

gardent l'espoir

d'un Kurdistan libre

Quel est aujourd'hui le sort du Kurdistan ? Comment cohabitent les Kurdes musulmans et les Assyriens chrétiens ? Isabelle Morel, une universitaire spécialisée dans les Droits de l'Homme, s'est rendue récemment dans ces montagnes du nord de l'Irak en compagnie d'une délégation d'Assyriens vivants en France. Voici son témoignage.

Actuellement, le Kurdistan n'a pas d'existence officielle, non reconnu par la communauté internationale. Il s'est cependant doté, depuis les élections de 1992, d'un gouvernement et d'un Parlement qui tentent, sans l'appui de l'aide internationale, avec la présence sur place de quelques ONG de faire exister, cet « Etat Kurde », peuplé à la fois de Kurdes musulmans et de chrétiens, les Assyriens originaires de l'ancienne Mésopotamie.

C'est là qu'apparaît une des grandes difficultés que rencontre cet Etat : la cohabitation des chrétiens et de kurdes musulmans sur le même sol. Les Assyriens en effet plutôt pacifiques, par rapport à la personnalité « guerrière » des kurdes, semblent doublement pénalisés : victimes d'une part, des massacres de l'armée irakienne, ils ont dû dans leur fuite, abandonner leurs terres et la majorité des villages furent complètement détruits (1). Mais à leur retour sur les terres qu'ils considéraient comme les leurs, ils ont trouvé celles-ci occupées par les Kurdes déniaient la plupart du temps toute présence assyrienne antérieure.

Il est d'autre part difficile au gouvernement actuel (composé de Kurdes et d'Assyriens) d'intervenir équitablement

dans ce conflit, devant lui-même faire face aux déchirements opposant les deux principaux partis politiques kurdes, le PDK et l'UDK (2).

Nous nous sommes entretenus de la fragilité de la situation politique du Kurdistan et principalement du Kurdistan Nord-Irakien où se trouvent Erbil siège du gouvernement actuel où les conflits sont les plus importants avec M Barzani leader du PDK. Celui-ci ne nous a pas caché sa désolation devant les oppositions PDK et UPK, mais aussi face aux conflits entre Assyriens et Kurdes, son profond respect pour ce peuple chrétien, qu'il considère jouer un rôle de paix très important sur la scène politique kurde.

Interrogé sur l'idée d'une fédération du Kurdistan à l'Irak, M Barzani semble trouver là une solution tout à fait acceptable, bénéfique, à la reconnaissance du Kurdistan sur la scène internationale.

Même point de vue pour Ninos Petyo, Secrétaire Général du MDA (3). Nous apprendrons aussi que le MDA est le seul parti politique assyrien du Kurdistan, existant depuis 15 ans, né au sein du milieu universitaire. Il est représenté également à l'extérieur du Kurdistan (Europe, USA...). Son principe est de travailler sur

place avec les autres partis, dont les partis d'opposition irakiens (le MDA est membre de l'INC, le Conseil d'opposition irakien).

Des droits nouveaux

Le constat de la situation actuelle du MDA reste pourtant amer : faiblesse du mouvement ;

, représentation difficile à l'extérieur. Les relations les plus importantes ont été créées avec les USA et les Pays-Bas. Elles sont en cours avec le France.

Ninos Petyo ne cache pas son espoir, que la France se tourne plus clairement vers le peuple Assyrien, qu'elle le reconnaisse enfin comme un peuple à part entière, porteur d'une culture et d'une religion propres et d'une civilisation comptant parmi les plus anciennes du monde. (4)

N'oublions pas, que les Assyriens ardents, francophiles, ont combattu aux côtés des troupes de l'armée française pendant les deux guerres mondiales.

« Reconnaissez les Assyriens maintenant et vivants, plutôt que trop tard et dans un musée ».

Le Secrétaire Général du MDA évoque l'importance du mouvement dans ses possibilités de lien entre nos deux peuples, comme symbole de christianité entre Orient et Occident. Signalons qu'un très grand nombre d'églises et de couvents assyriens, construits depuis plus de 1800 ans, ont été détruits par l'Irak.

Actuellement entre 50000 et 100000 Assyriens vivaient au Kurdistan Nord-Irakien, 600 ou 700000 en Irak, sous le joug de Saddam. Les fidèles tentent au-



Ninos Petyo, Secrétaire Général du Mouvement Démocratique Assyrien : M. D. A

aujourd'hui de reconstruire et leurs églises et leurs villages. En attendant, faute de moyens, le plus souvent, ils vivent dans des cabanes de fortune, des grottes sommairement aménagées leur servant de lieu du culte et de prières.

Un des rôles du MDA est de visiter régulièrement les villages et leurs habitants, de parler et de les encourager à la reconstruction en les aidant financièrement malgré la petitesse de leurs moyens, de les convaincre de la nécessité de ne pas émigrer à l'étranger mais d'essayer de participer à la reconstruction du pays.

Malgré ces conditions de vie souvent très dures, les Assyriens ont acquis depuis la création du nouveau gouvernement des droits, qui jusqu'alors ne leur étaient pas reconnus., comme celui par exemple de pouvoir pratiquer et enseigner la langue assyrienne à l'école comme langue à part entière.

Désastre

En dépit du manque de moyens financiers, une station de radio en langue assyrienne fonctionne régulièrement à Arbil et plusieurs centres culturels ont pu voir le jour dans la région Nord-Irak. Ils ont pour charge de divulguer la langue, la culture, la création de bibliothèques et l'édition de revues à l'intérieur du pays, comme à l'étranger. Une tentative est en cours également pour sauvegarder les découvertes archéologiques en différents points de la région nord-irakienne.

Au terme de ce séjour de plusieurs semaines au Nord-Irak, force m'a été de constater l'ampleur du désastre : géographique d'abord, caractérisé par l'anéantissement de tous ces villages qui ne sont plus que ruines, où tentent cependant de survivre les assyriens de retour sur leur terre. Humain ensuite, devant les conditions de vies précaires de ses habitants, conditions accentuées par les difficultés de cohabitation entre Kurdes et Assyriens.

Mais face à une telle destruction, on est bien heureusement frappés dans le même temps par l'espoir qui habite ce peuple, de voir bientôt la paix revenir, et de pouvoir sauvegarder leur culture et leur civilisation, suscitant par là, devant tant de force morale, de volonté pacifique et d'énergie, une grande admiration et un profond respect., à la citoyenneté française dont je suis.

Dans ce sens, il nous semblerait sou-



Tenue Assyrienne typique, portée par les femmes lors des cérémonies de mariage et de fêtes religieuses.

haitable que ce peuple puisse se voir accorder le statut réservé aux minorités par l'ONU, leur reconnaissant par là, les droits fondamentaux qui leur sont réservés.

Souhaitons avec eux, que les divisions politiques au sein du peuple kurde cessent, qu'Assyriens et Kurdes parviennent rapidement à cohabiter dans cette même région, dans le respect mutuel de leur culture, de leur religion. Ce n'est qu'à ce prix minimum que ces peuples pourront voir le Kurdistan reconnu comme leur Etat, et prendre une place sur la scène internationale.

Isabelle MOREL

(1) Selon un bilan établi par les organisations kurdes, sur les 5086 villages du Kurdistan irakien, 3479 auraient été détruits.
 (2) Union patriotique du Kurdistan et Parti démocratique du Kurdistan
 (3) Le Mouvement démocratique Assyrien
 (4) La civilisation assyrienne daterait d'il y a 6000 ans environ.

Le Monde • Dimanche 16 - Lundi 17 octobre 1994 •

INTERNATIONAL

PROCHE-ORIENT

Moscou souhaitant lier la reconnaissance par Bagdad de la souveraineté du Koweït à la levée des sanctions

Les Etats-Unis s'efforcent de faire adopter par l'ONU une résolution très contraignante pour l'Irak

Le ministre russe des affaires étrangères a affirmé, vendredi 14 octobre, à Koweït, que « la reconnaissance de l'émirat par la direction irakienne est claire et sincère ». Les Etats-Unis, par la voix du secrétaire d'Etat Warren Christopher, ont, eux, indiqué qu'ils « n'acceptent pas » la proposition d'atténuation des sanctions contenue dans le communiqué russo-irakien prévoyant une reconnaissance de la souveraineté du Koweït par Bagdad.

Washington a, par ailleurs, annoncé vendredi que le déploiement des forces américaines dans la région du Golfe continuera aussi longtemps que les troupes irakiennes n'auront pas achevé leur retrait de la zone proche du Koweït. Les Etats-Unis s'efforcent, en outre, de faire voter par le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU une résolution prévoyant des mesures très contraignantes pour le régime de Bagdad.

WASHINGTON

de notre correspondant

La course de vitesse qui s'est engagée devant le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU entre les Etats-Unis et la Russie a pour enjeu l'adoption d'une résolution sur l'Irak et, à terme, sans doute la paix dans la région du Golfe. Washington semblait avoir pris un net avantage, vendredi 14 octobre, en obtenant le soutien de plusieurs pays sur un texte qui prévoit des dispositions très contraignantes pour le régime du président Saddam Hussein. Les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne ont multiplié les

pressions auprès des treize autres membres du Conseil pour que ce projet soit adopté dès ce samedi.

La Russie souhaitait qu'aucune décision ne soit prise avant l'arrivée dimanche à New-York de M. Kozyrev. Moscou, qui vient d'obtenir de Bagdad un engagement de principe en faveur d'une reconnaissance de la souveraineté du Koweït et de ses frontières, était opposé à la position américaine consistant à demander au Conseil de se prononcer rapidement sur un projet de résolution. Et cela d'autant qu'un tel texte reviendrait à interdire au régime de Bagdad le moindre mouvement de ses troupes au sud du 32^e parallèle sans une autorisation préalable de fait du Conseil de sécurité.

Le projet de résolution américain insiste notamment sur la nécessité d'empêcher l'Irak d'avoir de nouveau recours « aux menaces et à l'intimidation de ses voisins et des Nations unies ». Il déplore le fait que Bagdad « ne se soit pas engagée sans équivoque à respecter la souveraineté, l'intégrité territoriale et les frontières du Koweït ». Ce texte, qui a fait l'objet de longues consultations, exige de l'Irak qu'il n'entreprene pas « d'autres actions pour renforcer son potentiel militaire » dans le sud du pays ; et que « tout mouvement (dans cette région) des forces non exclues par cette résolution (les unités de l'armée régulière) soit notifié par écrit, deux semaines à l'avance » au secrétaire général de l'ONU.

Ce projet de résolution est la traduction de ce que Washington appelait, il y a quelques jours, un retour de l'Irak au *statu quo ante*

pour ce qui concerne le stationnement de ses troupes dans la partie sud de son territoire. Cela signifie que le régime de Saddam Hussein pourrait maintenir au sud du 32^e parallèle les unités de son armée qui y ont toujours été stationnées, soit environ trois divisions. En revanche, il ne serait plus autorisé à déployer dans cette région la moindre unité d'élite de la Garde républicaine.

« Intérêts vitaux »

Juridiquement, il ne s'agit pas du projet de « zone d'exclusion terrestre » d'abord imaginé par Washington, mais d'une sorte de « gel » militaire de la région. Sur les plans pratique et politique, la différence est mince. D'autant que ce texte relève, selon le projet américain, du chapitre 7 de la Charte des Nations unies, lequel prévoit le recours éventuel à la force.

En demandant à l'ONU d'avaliser ces dispositions, les Etats-Unis donnent donc à l'Organisation – en réalité à eux-mêmes, puisque c'est manifestement l'armée américaine qui devra assumer pour l'essentiel ce rôle de « gendarme du Golfe » – une liberté de manœuvre considérable pour utiliser la force à l'encontre de Bagdad. A se référer au texte, il suffirait en effet que l'armée irakienne ait omis de prévenir le secrétaire général du déplacement de quelques chars d'une garnison à une autre pour s'attirer des représailles.

Le projet de « zone d'exclusion terrestre » a finalement été abandonné parce que la Russie et la France y étaient opposées, mais

surtout parce qu'il aurait entraîné une situation dont personne ne veut : une partition *de facto* du sud du pays, transformé en zone d'instabilité permanente. Faut d'être réprimés à intervalles réguliers par les troupes de Bagdad, les mouvements chiites auraient eu toute liberté de se renforcer. Une telle évolution inquiéterait au premier chef l'Arabie saoudite. Elle serait évidemment, en revanche, appréciée par l'opposition irakienne basée en Iran, et par le régime de Téhéran lui-même.

Plusieurs diplomates occidentaux ont émis des réserves sur le caractère « excessivement contraignant » de ce projet de résolution, craignant qu'il n'aboutisse à pousser à bout le régime irakien. D'autres ont fait remarquer que tel était peut-être le but recherché, les Etats-Unis ayant ainsi un prétexte – et un blanc-seing de l'ONU – pour intervenir à tout moment contre le régime de Bagdad.

Alors que Moscou souhaite lier la question de la reconnaissance de la souveraineté du Koweït par l'Irak à celle de la levée des sanctions contre Bagdad, Washington souhaite exactement l'inverse. Le projet de résolution, a souligné Madeleine Albright, ambassadrice des Etats-Unis aux Nations unies, « n'a rien à voir avec les sanctions et tout à voir avec les actions menaçantes de l'Irak ». Reste l'hypothèse d'un veto russe. Quelle pourrait être, alors, la réaction américaine ? Cette nouvelle crise met en jeu nos « intérêts vitaux », a commenté un diplomate américain. Ce qui signifie que Washington pourrait se réserver le droit d'agir unilatéralement.

L. Z.

U.S. Message to Iraq: Move Troops or Else

Christopher Sees Sanctions in Place As Long as Saddam Stays in Power

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Maintaining a hard line against Iraq, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said Sunday that international sanctions against Baghdad probably would not be lifted while Saddam Hussein remains in power.

Another senior U.S. official declared that Iraq had only a matter of days to withdraw its elite forces from southern Iraq.

President Bill Clinton, reacting to a new Security Council resolution voted late Saturday, restated a message he has delivered daily for the past week: "Iraq must complete its withdrawal. It must not threaten its neighbors in the future. It must comply with all relevant Security Council resolutions."

The rhetorical pressure came shortly after the Security Council unanimously demanded that Iraqi forces recently deployed near the Kuwaiti border return to their original positions and stay out of southern Iraq. It also demanded that Iraq not use its military in a hostile or provocative manner and warned of "serious consequences" if Iraq did not comply.

The U.S. representative to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, bluntly warned Iraq following the Security Council action, saying that despite reservations expressed by France and Russia, the United States intended to vigorously enforce the latest demand, by military means if necessary.

But she also declared herself "mildly optimistic" that Iraq would complete its troop pullback. Mr. Clinton ordered a huge American buildup in the Gulf after U.S. intelligence found that roughly 70,000 Iraqi troops, including some of Baghdad's finest tank divisions, had moved close to Kuwait.

The primary effect of the UN resolution is to bar from southern Iraq some of Mr. Saddam's best-trained and best-equipped troops, the Republican Guard, while permitting the regime to keep regular army forces garrisoned in the south. Two elite guard brigades remain in the south, near Nasariyah, but appear to be preparing to move north to their barracks, U.S. officials said Sunday.

Originally, U.S. officials supported a plan to bar all Iraqi troops from below the 32d parallel, but they relented after France withheld support. A later effort to require Iraq to give two weeks' notice of any troop movements was dropped after France, Russia and China objected.

Although some Security Council members, notably Russia, openly questioned on Saturday whether the United States had the legal authority to strike inside Iraq, U.S. officials maintain that such authority is embodied in UN resolutions passed after the Gulf War.

Mr. Christopher gave his most explicit assessment to date of the possibility that Mr. Saddam could win a lifting of the UN-imposed ban on oil sales. Iraq is

desperate to resume oil sales to pump life into its moribund economy.

"Our goal is to have him comply with all UN resolutions — all of them," Mr. Christopher said in a televised interview.

U.S. officials, quoting UN resolutions, have repeatedly said that Baghdad must cease hostile acts; allow UN inspections of its arms industry; permit the destruction of its capacity to produce nuclear, biological and chemical weapons; compensate Kuwait for its 1990 invasion; account for missing and imprisoned Kuwaitis; halt repression against Shiites and Kurds, and formally recognize Kuwait.

"We don't see any occasion for easing up on sanctions," the secretary of state added. "Indeed, just the opposite."

Mrs. Albright said on television on Sunday that no deadline had been set for the removal of the Republican Guard from southern Iraq. But when asked whether Washington would tolerate a delay of a few weeks or a few days, she responded: "days." She added:

"We recognize this area as vital to U.S. national interests and we will behave with others multilaterally when we can and unilaterally when we must."

Before the Security Council vote, near midnight Saturday, Russia appeared determined to block any vote until after Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozirev could report to the council on his diplomatic efforts in the Gulf. Compromise language in the resolution welcoming the Russian initiative apparently satisfied Moscow.

Mrs. Albright said Sunday that she was not satisfied with the vagueness of the Iraqi assertions on Kuwait. To fully recognize Kuwait, she said, Mr. Saddam must sign a declaration, Iraq's Revolutionary Council must endorse it, Iraq's Parliament must approve it and it must be published in the government's official gazette.

Iraq Notes UN Warning Without Reply

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

BAGHDAD — Iraq acknowledged a United Nations resolution Sunday warning it against future "hostile" actions toward Kuwait without much official commentary, but there were indications in the officially controlled press that Baghdad was willing to go along with the resolution.

The articles of the resolution, which was approved by all 15 members of the Security Council on Saturday, were read over radio and television, a move whose frankness startled foreign diplomats and ordinary people. Iraqi media are normally heavily censored.

The Iraqi government had, in the previous few days, repeatedly taken the position that its armed forces were on a "routine"

military exercise, which the United States had decided to dub a plan to attack Kuwait. Baghdad said Washington was thus trying to prevent friendly members of the Security Council — particularly Russia and France — from exerting efforts to lift sanctions imposed since Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

Confirming this notion of Baghdad's nonaggressive attitude, Iraq's minister of culture and information, Hamad Youssef Hammadi, told the nation's official press agency, INA, Sunday that the "military force whose presence in the south was the subject of the big storm raised by the Americans has moved to rear position after completing its training operation according to orders that have been issued."

Mr. Hammadi said the return of the Republican Guard units to their original positions further north "will be completed in a few days."

In reports on the UN resolution, Baghdad did note that Russia succeeded in preventing the council from adopting a clause that would have obligated Iraq to inform the council of any troop movements toward the country's southern region 15 days in advance.

Government propaganda organs have portrayed the whole crisis as an attempt by President Bill Clinton to shore up his domestic position.

"The storm was stirred for reasons related to boosting his shaky popularity in

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1994

American public opinion," an editorial in *Ath Thawra*, a daily that reflects the views of President Saddam Hussein's ruling Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party said Sunday, reflecting a view that is widespread among ordinary Iraqis interviewed at random.

There were few restraints, however, about what Iraqi officials portrayed as the defection of several Arab governments from supporting Baghdad during the crisis, as they had done in 1990 and 1991. During that time, Jordan, Yemen, Algeria, Tunisia and the Palestine Liberation Organization openly sided with Iraq in its con-

frontation with the United States and its allies in the Gulf War.

King Hussein of Jordan was a major target of this criticism. In an article headlined "Et Tu Brutus," *Al Jumhuriya*, another daily that expresses Ba'ath views, castigated the king for his condemnation last week of Iraq's troop movements.

Nonetheless, the article reproduced the full text of King Hussein's comments, which were in several segments heavily critical of Baghdad's actions and in which the king vowed to stand against any new aggression by Iraq against Kuwait.

Iraq and Haiti Bolster Clinton Poll Shows Growing Foreign Policy Support

By Daniel Williams
and Ann Devroy

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — With its use of military muscle to restore Haiti's elected president and to protect Kuwait, the Clinton administration has demonstrated its commitment to a two-pronged doctrine on the use of force abroad, an issue that has bedeviled it since taking office.

Administration policymakers argue that in a chaotic world without a Soviet threat, power

NEWS ANALYSIS

must be used not only to protect traditional "vital" security interests but also to advance "important" national goals.

As the White House celebrated the success over the weekend of its policy to remove Haiti's military leaders and grappled with the showdown with President Saddam Hussein of Iraq, the president and his senior foreign-policy advisers made the case that however messy the application of the theory may be at times, it had now produced practical results.

In Kuwait, where oil and by extension the health of the U.S. economy are at stake, President Bill Clinton is performing the traditional presidential role of protector of "vital" U.S. interests, his advisers said. In Haiti, he is doing something markedly different. There, he is trying to reform and stabilize an economically unimportant country that has little impact on U.S. security but where he believes a principle is at stake: the defense of democracy.

The president has labeled Haiti an "important" American interest, raising the largely altruistic project to a relatively high foreign-policy position, certainly in comparison with his Republican predecessors.

Mr. Clinton, in an interview Friday, said his administration had "learned an immense amount" from the experience of ejecting Haiti's military leaders but that the application of protecting "important interests" would still be "different from place to place" and hard to define for Americans.

"I think that while a lot of these situations may not be perfectly parallel, I think that we have learned a lot about how the combination of American diplomacy and American force,

working through the world community, can achieve a desired result and also develop public support within the United States for doing it," Mr. Clinton said.

In a stroke, Mr. Clinton's performance in the Gulf and in Haiti seemed to have calmed public concern about his foreign-affairs abilities. Doubts about going into Haiti have been eased considerably.

A new CNN-Time Magazine poll confirmed the entrenched public support for a strong stand against Mr. Saddam, with 61 percent agreeing that Mr. Clinton had done a good job handling the situation.

For the first time, a majority, 54 percent, approve of Mr. Clinton's handling of the Haiti situation, a number even the White House agrees could decline swiftly if the situation does not remain peaceful.

For the moment, the twin situations have alleviated some of the national skepticism about Mr. Clinton's foreign-policy expertise. Forty-eight percent of those surveyed approved of his handling of foreign policy, with 44 percent disapproving. It was not a hearty endorsement, but a far higher approval rating than Mr. Clinton had been receiving.

"The last six to 10 days have treated President Clinton very kindly," said Richard Wirthlin, a Republican pollster who also discerned a rise in Mr. Clinton's overall ratings as a result of the way the two foreign episodes have proceeded.

Members of Mr. Clinton's battered foreign-policy team, looking for respite from criticism, suggested that they had put up the long-awaited "points on the board" that will erase doubts about their competence.

"I would certainly be happy if it is perceived that way," Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said.

Mr. Christopher has been the subject of reports that he will be forced from office by year's end. During a return trip from the Middle East on Friday, he listed his foreign-policy accomplishments, an unusual performance he described as "somewhat of a commercial."

He listed as signs of success progress toward peace in Northern Ireland, China's agreement to stop selling missiles abroad, and suggestions of progress in nuclear negotiations with North Korea.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, OCTOBER 17, 1994

HİKMET ULUĞBAY

Fables of Aunt Çiller

The 1995 Consolidated Budget draft is based on the fairy tales of Aunt Çiller. The for 1995 are: the consolidated budget deficit will be TL 198 trillions (which represents a deficit ratio of 4.6 percent to GNP), the wholesale price index (WPI) over the December 1994 - December 1995 period will be 20 percent, the Gross National Product (GNP) implicit deflator (which means the inflation target based on yearly averages) will be 41.5 percent, the depreciation of the TL will match WPI and GNP deflator changes (in other words no devaluation) and the economic growth rate will be 4.4 percent. Now let us discuss how true these fables are!

Programmed and actual consolidated budget deficits (in billion TL)

Years	Program deficit	Actual deficit 7,502	Deviation %	Actual deficit to GNP ratio
1989	4,477	11,954	67.6	4.4
1990	10,540	33,516	13.4	4.2
1991	17,135	47,434	95.6	7.4
1992	32,000	132,436	48.2	6.1
1993	53,214	140,000	148.9	9.6
1994	191,840	*	-27.0	4.8
1995	198,000	?	?	4.4 (target)

* This figure was spelled out by the Prime minister as a revised estimate. But current expectations are running around TL 170,000 billions.

Source: Calculated from Monthly Economic Indicators of Treasury.

First the consolidated budget deficit. In order to understand how realistic this target is, we'd better quickly glance at the past performances of our governments in this respect.

As this table clearly demonstrates there has always been a sizable deviation from the programmed deficit targets of consolidated budgets. According to the table, in 1994, for the first time in recent decades, the actual budget deficit will be less than the target. However, this is a false impression. As we all know, during the early months of the 1994 budget, the government was obliged to announce an austerity program. On April 5, the prime minister stated that, as a result of those adopted measures, the deficit for the 1994 consolidated budget would be TL 96 trillions. Now we have to base our calculation of the deviation coefficient on this figure. According to recent statements made by Mrs. Çiller, the revised deficit figure is TL 140 trillions so the deviation from the April 5 target is 45.8 percent, which fits nicely with historical trends. The reasons behind this increase from TL 140 to TL 170 trillions are: firstly, the previous calculations included TL 15 trillions from privatization,

which is very remote possibility right now. Secondly, there was an expectation of obtaining TL 15.6 trillion worth of additional revenue from Tekel Administration, which proved difficult to realize. Thirdly, the interest on the domestic debt is expected to be somewhat higher than previous estimates. When the deficit reaches TL 170 trillions then the deficit/GNP ratio hits 5.9 percent even under such a strict austerity program on expenditures and when additional tax revenues are coming in.

This brief look at recent history proves that our government love to hide the true deficit figures of the budgets from Parliament when they submit their drafts.

So Aunt Çiller's 1995 consolidated budget deficit is not an exception to the tradition. Now let me explain why the predicted 1995 deficit is so low.

1. The tax revenue expectation for the 1995 budget is somewhat optimistic.

The growth in tax revenues during recent years are shown in table 2 below. As we observe, the tax revenue increases have always been greater than WPI changes. The key reasons for this were economic growth rates and some changes in tax laws.

Trends of tax revenues in recent years

Years	Tax revenues (in billion TL)	Increase %	WPI	Economic Growth
1989	25,550	-	-	1.9
1990	45,399	77.69	52.3	9.2
1991	78,647	73.24	55.2	0.5
1992	264,203	80.05	52.1	5.9
1993	141,602	86.58	58.4	6.8
1994	594,700	125.09	100.0	-3.8
1995	(expected) 846,000 (program)	42.26	(Sept.) 41.5	4.4

Source: Based on Treasury Monthly Economic Indicators and SPO Main Economic Indicators.

2. By the end of 1994, the anticipated tax revenue increase is around 125.1 percent. But equally WPI will be running at about 100 percent. Additionally, the introduction of "new and one time taxes" and the very high economic growth rate of 1993 jointly and positively affected this very high increase in 1994 tax revenues.

3. A real increase in tax revenue for 1995 over and above this exceptional year is optimistic, for the following reasons: a) The economy has had a negative growth rate during 1994. Therefore there is a possibility that many firms may file loss statements to the tax administration next year. This possibility is strengthened by the number of unpaid bills, which by August had increased by 156.5 percent over the previous year. Recessions shrink the tax base.

b) There is no strong evidence to suggest that the recession will not spill over to the early months of 1995.

c) One time tax revenues will be gone. This means minimum TL 70 trillion fall in revenues.

d) Decline in the real income of salary and wage earners will also adversely effect income tax and value added tax (VAT) collections. According to the SIS press release (Oct. 13, 1994), peasants' incomes are also lagging behind the WPI. During periods when real incomes are eroded, people tend to buy goods with low VAT rates and to avoid VAT payments.

4) The revised non-tax revenue for 1994 is TL 59 trillions, which includes TL 15.6 trillions from Tekel which are less likely to be paid because of Tekel's liquidity problems. It also

includes TL 15 trillions from privatization revenue, which is now just a dream. So a reasonable estimate of non-tax revenue for 1994 under these circumstances is around TL 35-40 trillions. The present non-tax revenue figure is a highly inflated one, unless it is hiding revenue from a new tax worth TL 25 trillion, which is what was reported on page 2 of *Dunya* on Oct. 12.

5. There was no serious preparation in the government for improving the efficiency of tax administration or for penetrating the transactions of underground economy.

These factors underline the fact that there will be some pressure from the revenue side to increase the 1995 budget deficit. Now let us discuss the factors which will put pressure on the 1995 budget from the expenditure side.

1. The appropriation for public sector wages 1995 is TL 400 trillion. This figure is based on two premises, first the salaries of civil servants will be adjusted as much as the GNP deflator, and second there will be no wage adjustment. This second assumption is a very weak one because 1995 is the renewal year for many collective bargaining agreements. There is a strong desire for closing down the wage-salary gap. But it is very difficult to eliminate that gap in a one-shot operation during a collective bargaining year. So there is a possibility of some upward adjustments in wages as well, and this contingency must be allowed for. Furthermore, there is a rumor that the temporary workers at the consolidated budget agencies will be transferred to full time. If this happens, there will be a need for more funds for wages and salaries.

2. Appropriations for interest payments are based on low inflation rate projections and a rapid decline in borrowing rates. The Treasury borrowing rates showed a rapid decline during recent months. However, the continuation of this trend is unlikely for the following reasons:

a) The real increase that was observed in total savings deposits in TL during the early summer months has been reversed since August. The growth of TL deposits as of Sept. 30 is 16 percent behind the WPI.

b) During recent months, the total values of foreign exchange deposits have once again surpassed the TL deposits. This development signals two things: the yield expected from foreign exchange is on the rise again, and there has been a reaction to the downward pressures on the interest rates of short term TL deposits.

c) The tendencies in WPI and CPI do not justify the fall in the short term interest rates. But the big banks have taken the lead in this direction due to the fact that the growth rate of credits has only been 44.6 percent since December 1993, while total deposits have increased by 84.7 percent during the same period. Additionally, the Treasury has been able to use the Central Bank short term advances as a leverage for urging the banks to offer lower interests in the Treasury paper auctions during recent months.

Furthermore, the Treasury has been effectively using the offers to the general public as a negotiation strategy against banks. So banks have been obliged to reduce the interest rates, at least on short term deposits. But this scenario has been seen in this country at least three times during recent years, and each time has ended with a minor or major crisis in foreign exchange markets.

In my judgment, they are close to the end of the "interest rope." The intervention of the Central Bank in foreign exchange markets last week supports this view. This cyclical event can only be prevented by a firm and continuous fall in inflation.

Additionally, the 1995 interest appropriations do not contain any provision for servicing the guaranteed and unguaranteed foreign debts serviced by the Treasury in 1994. There is no sign that the Public Participation Fund (PPF) or other related agencies will be in better shape to service their own debts during 1995.

The deficit target of the PPF alone is TL 97 trillion. And this figure is not included in the budget deficit figure.

Needless to say, if the foreign exchange target rates are exceeded because of higher inflation rates, interest funds earmarked for this purpose will also be inadequate.

So, the 1995 budget draft is short of funds for interest payments from the beginning.

As a result of the above mentioned weaknesses and manipulations in the 1995 draft budget, the deficit target of TL 198 is far from what we will observe at the end of the year.

Now we may focus on another tale: the December to December value of WPI. The target of 20 percent is mere wishful thinking when we consider certain factors that have an impact on WPI.

The first factor that I would like to discuss is the size of the Treasury's domestic debt stock, which is expected to reach TL 735.7 trillion by the end of 1994, of which TL 513.0 trillion are in the form of Treasury bills and bonds. This stock will be rolled over in the financial markets during 1995 and a minimum TL 142 trillion of new paper will be offered to the markets by the Treasury. The total of TL 665 trillions will definitely crowd out the markets and prevent the fall of the interest rates. Interest rate is an important element of price structure. Therefore on the interest side we cannot expect a sign of relief.

The second factor is the funding requirement of State Economic Enterprises (SEEs). The 1995 budget foresees TL 21.0 trillions worth of transfers to SEEs. It was TL 36.5 trillions in the 1994 budget.

This by definition means a very sharp decline in real terms. That will definitely put more pressure on SEEs either to increase their prices faster, or increase their arrears, or a combination of both. In any event, the price rises involved may not help in achieving the WPI target.

The third factor militating against the WPI target is the 4.4 percent growth rate foreseen for 1995. It is reported that the expected rate for 1994 is minus 3.8 percent. Moving from there to a positive figure of 4.4 percent is a major event in its own right. But there is no evidence that this growth will be financed through non-inflationary means.

The other fable that I would like to focus on is the economic growth rate itself.

The income policies that have been followed since April 5 caused a very sharp decline in domestic demand. There is no convincing sign that this trend is being reversed. On the contrary, the 1995 budget draft does not foresee any real improvement in salaries and pensions and intends to reduce real wages. Additionally, the real growth rate of budgetary outlays will not create strong public demand. So we cannot expect domestic demand to revive the economy.

The possibility of export-led growth during 1995 is also very slim due to the lack of export financing. Declared zero depreciation policy alone cannot cause an export surge.

Effects of various factors on manufacturing industry's less than full capacity operations

Factors	In October 93	In October 94
Lack of domestic demand	38.7%	55.0%
Lack of external demand	17.3	15.3
Financial difficulties	4.1	8.6
Lack of domestic raw materials	3.4	3.1
Labor problems	3.0	3.4
Lack of imported raw materials	1.5	1.7

Source: SIS press release of Oct. 11, 1994.

The combined effect of the lack of domestic and external demand on capacity use was 56 percent in 1994, and has now climbed to the 70.3 percent level.

The government has not yet produced the necessary measures which may alter this picture.

The intended low interest rate policy cannot induce an increase in voluntary savings. The possibility of a sharp increase in the flow of foreign funds during 1995 is very slight. This lack of funds is a handicap for export and investment-led economic growth.

I claimed earlier in this column (Sept. 9, 1994, Critical months of legislature), that the government has been trying to

postpone the economic crisis to 1995. I will be very happy to be proven wrong in my prediction. But, the very structure of the 1995 draft consolidated budget, the unconvincing nature of macro economic targets and, furthermore, the lack of confidence building medium and long term measures for the stabilization of the economy are not reassuring.

The government and the Parliament can still take the necessary measures for making the 1995 a successful year if they both devote the required time and energy for formulating the right policies.

Öcalan delivers strong rebuke to militants

'You don't show the enemy one tenth of the anger you show to one another'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- PKK leader Apo Öcalan is incensed at what has been happening with the PKK in the Southeast. Not only has his organization been neutralized by the operations of the security forces, but some militants have been turning themselves over to the authorities.

"Are you cows? Are you donkeys?" Öcalan scolded his commanders in the region.

It has been observed that Öcalan's radio contacts with his commanders have become a great deal more frequent in the last three weeks, and that he frequently rebukes them for their failures. He has also been complaining loudly about their attitude in general.

"I am astonished at your lack of leadership and military skill. Looking at your characters, I know what pitiable means," Öcalan said.

"What is important for you is your own personality, your egoism, your passions, your cigarettes. What does this have to do with being an army? Despite your promises, you fail in basic objectives. You seem more sensitive than I am, but you are of no value," Öcalan was heard to say.

He also complained of all kinds of misbehavior, of idleness and shirking, of corruption and immorality. When he saw such things, he said, he wanted to "hit out and smash people's brains".

Those who did not obey the rules, he said, had to be dealt with accordingly, whether they were commanders or in the ranks. Otherwise the war would be lost.

"Who are you anyway?" he wanted to know. "The tragic thing is that you are pitiable. You wet your pants when you are threatened. If you took half an hour to think things out, you could win victories. Instead you get your units destroyed by taking time to sleep... Are you cows? Are you donkeys? If not, how do you get yourselves in these situations?"

Retaliation, he said, should be directed against the enemy and not spent in interecine squabbling over matters of performance and routine activities.

"We are living through a very critical and sensitive process and people are behaving in a dangerous fashion," the PKK leader declared.

He accused militants of being lured by "capitalist colonialism". "You don't obey regulations and you don't understand tactics. You are simply a nuisance. You have no sense of responsibility. I know that even the best of you just wants to save his skin. But you cannot even do that... You don't show the enemy one tenth of the anger you show to one another. Many of you spend time squabbling and gossiping about each other instead of fighting the enemy... Look at yourselves! A warrior should not take his eyes off the enemy for an instant and yet our people are sleeping.

The enemy is besieging them and they are dazed by sleep. These are not guerrillas. I am astonished at your lack of leadership and military skill. You pain me. Looking at your characters, I know what pitiable means."

Öcalan accused his men of having become like bandits, hiding out in the mountains, firing off here and there, indulging their individual tendencies — the discipline of the organization had melted away, he said.

"You pay less attention to the most important aspects of leadership than you do to a cigarette. You are more interested in sleeping than in waging war. How can we see to it that you survive. There is no order, even. You are weak people. You forget the enemy and allow the weaknesses of your own personalities to take over. In the end you surrender. This is just 'wetting your pants'."

l'Humanité

lundi 17 octobre 1994

Kurdes tués en Turquie

Dix-huit militants armés du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) ont été tués par les militaires turcs lors d'opérations menées pendant le week-end dans le Kurdistan, notamment dans les régions de Tunceli (Est), Batman (Sud-Est, près de la frontière avec la Syrie) et de Sîrnak (Sud-Est, près de la frontière avec l'Irak et la Syrie). Au moins 15.800 personnes ont été tuées au Kurdistan depuis août 1984.

Human Rights Diary

Court sentences Beşikçi and Öztürk for insulting Atatürk: İsmail Beşikçi, pro-Kurdish sociologist and writer, and his publisher Unsal Öztürk were each sentenced to one year, six month jail terms by Ankara Number 2 criminal court. Beşikçi, author of a book entitled "One intellectual, one organization and the Kurdish problem," was convicted of insulting the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Beşikçi and publisher Öztürk received a one-year sentence for violating Article 1/1 of Law 5816 which regulates "crimes committed against Atatürk," and an additional six months for contravening Article 2/1 of the same law. Unsal Öztürk is owner of the Yurt Publishing company which previously published "September 12 Fascism and the PKK Resistance" by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan and "A nation discovers itself, the Kurds" by İsmail Beşikçi. In the past writers and publishers have also been prosecuted for breaches of Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law which allows proceedings against individuals on the following charges: disseminating written and verbal propaganda against the indivisible integrity of the state within its territory and nation and holding meetings, protests and marches. Under the same law owners and editors of newspapers, magazines, publishing and printing houses can also be tried if the publications under their control are judged to contain divisive material. Publishers, who were held to be comparable to newspaper chief editors in a judgement of the 9th criminal court, can be tried at State Security Courts and printers can also be tried if their companies have the same name as the publishing company. Individuals found guilty of contravening this article of the Anti-Terrorism Law can face a prison sentence of between two and five years as well as a fine of TL 50 million. The DGM draws attention to the judgement of the 9th criminal panel that "publishers can be classified as newspapers chief editor and therefore can be punished." (Nov. 11, TDN)

Anti-Terrorism Law alleged to target thought: At a conference entitled, "Freedom of Thought and Expression," held at the TÜYAB İstanbul Exhibition Palace, claims were made that the Anti-Terrorism Law targets freedom of thought instead of terrorist crimes. The meeting was chaired by lawyer Zeynel Öztürk, one of the founding members of the Social Democracy Foundation (SODEV). Professor Çetin Özek from İstanbul University and Oral Çalışlar, Cumhuriyet staff writer, also attended the conference. (Nov. 16, Cumhuriyet)

Sociologist and writer Beşikçi found guilty: Sociologist and writer İsmail Beşikçi was found guilty by the Ankara State Security Court on charges of separatism on Tuesday, the Anatolia news agency reported. Beşikçi was arrested under Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law for a speech he gave in 1992 at a ceremony marking the opening of Özgür University. Prosecutors alleged the speech contained separatist ideas. Article 8 of the Anti-terrorism Law states that a person can be convicted for disseminating written and verbal propaganda against the indivisible territorial and national integrity of the state. The court sentenced Beşikçi to two years in prison and fined him TL 100 million. Speaking at the end of the trial, the writer said: "As we enter the 21st century, we must eliminate crimes of conscience." In another case, Beşikçi and Edip Polat were tried by the Ankara State Security Court for their book "The Language of Kurds and Kurdistan from a Scientific Perspective." However, both were acquitted on the grounds that criminal criteria had not been met. The 9th Penal Department of the High Court of Appeals reversed the acquittal but the trial court reinstated its decision. It is now up to the High Court of Appeals General Penal Board to make the final decision. Beşikçi has previously been found guilty, under the Anti-Terrorism Law, on charges relating to such books as "A Nation that discovers itself, the Kurds." So far, 54 cases have been opened against 37 of the writer's books. (Nov. 16, Cumhuriyet)

IHD Kırşehir branch re-elects Dönmez: Turkey's Human Rights Association (IHD), at its extraordinary congress on Sunday, re-elected Ali Dönmez as its branch chairman. Kırşehir deputies Coşkun Gökbalp, from the Republican People's Party's (CHP), and Hilmi Yükselen, from the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) were also present at the meeting where human rights violations and extra-judicial executions came in for criticism. (Nov. 16, Cumhuriyet)

Bosnians honored with human rights award: İzmir's Karşıyaka district municipality gave its human rights award to the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina this year. President Aliya İzetbegović received the award in the name of the Bosnians, according to an announcement from the press office of the municipality. The decision was approved by all the major Turkish political parties. (Nov. 16, TDN)

PKK intensifies campaign in the former Eastern Bloc countries

ERNK representative holds talks with Serbian officials, new Kurdish meeting in Moscow may take place this month

By Ismet G. Imset
Turkish Daily News

LONDON- Delegates of Turkey's outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) are expected to meet in Moscow with other former East Bloc Kurdish groups at the end of this month at a conference aiming to unite and strengthen the Kurdish movement within the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) framework, Kurdish sources in Europe said on Monday.

The sources noted that the Moscow meeting is scheduled to coincide with the PKK's new campaign to gain support among Kurds of the former East Bloc countries and those specifically in divided Yugoslavia.

According to information received by the TDN, a representative of the PKK's Kurdistan National Liberation Front (ERNK) recently held talks with Serbian officials in Bosnia with the aim of assuring them that it would do everything within its power to curb Kurdish support for the Muslims there.

A report which recently appeared in the Serbian daily *Burka* newspaper said the ERNK was expected to visit the city of Kinin in the near future for further talks.

In meetings with Serbian officials inside Bosnia, ERNK representative Kemal Shlik reportedly appealed for all Kurds in that part of the country or in other parts not to go to Croatia or join the Bosnian army as they have been asked to do. The PKK, to gain active support among the Kurds who are based in Bosnia, is currently suggesting that many Kurds were deceived by the Muslims and Croats in 1991 who said they were "victims of Serbian aggression" and that they should not fight against the Serbs.

The delegation which is to visit Kinin at a so-far undefined date is now expected to try and convince the Kurds there to move to other parts of Serbia and withstand requests to join the Muslims and Croats. Although it is not clear whether the Serbs sought PKK support to divide opinion among the Kurds, sources say until now they fought alongside their natural allies, the Muslims and Croats.

According to European Kurdish sources, the upcoming Moscow meeting, to be held under the auspices of the ERNK, is aiming to bring together Kurdish representatives from various former East Bloc countries and will constitute an important step in uniting expatriate Kurds if it takes place.

Observers say such a meeting could once again raise tension between Ankara and Moscow owing to Turkey's sensitivity over such issues. Last February, after the TDN revealed a similar meeting taking place in Moscow, Turkey sent a special envoy to conduct talks with Russian officials and voiced its dissatisfaction. The said meeting was held with the assistance of the Russian Ministry of Nationalities.

Turkish officials suspect the Russian administration may aim to use the "Kurdish trump card" against Ankara's regional policies and as deterrent against any role Turkey may plan to play with regard to former Soviet countries.

Interpol sources in Ankara have noted, meanwhile, that the PKK's drive towards the CIS countries has coincided with movement of the international drug traffic towards Russia and could indicate an organized relationship. There is suspicion that as the former Afghan route shifts to Russia, organizations such as the PKK could be used for transportation of drugs. The Moscow meeting, on the other hand, is seen as part of a wider plan to increase PKK influence in the former East Bloc and in the Balkans.

During a meeting it held in September, the PKK had decided and put underway a major plan involving former East Bloc countries in order to get their support for the movement and organizing Kurdish workers and Turkish extremists there.

The plan has gone into effect as of the last week of last month, reportedly with the approval of chairman Abdullah Öcalan who lives in Syria.

Turkey, for its part, in early October succeeded in preventing Öcalan from holding a press conference in Lebanon or Syria through diplomatic pressure on both countries but failed to prevent a major Kurdish conference from taking place in Sofia. Although Ankara is aware that in the context of good relations with Bulgaria officials there did not formally host the said conference, diplomatic efforts in view of a strong pro-Kurdish lobby in the Bulgarian government and opposition failed to yield any results.

According to Kurdish sources, the PKK's "front" ERNK held an important conference in Moscow on September 24, bringing together some 85 representatives claiming to represent 10,000 Kurds in the former East Bloc countries. During this conference the PKK disclosed that it will provide "all available support to the Kurds of the CIS."

In accordance with these decisions, ERNK representatives are currently holding meetings in all CIS countries and have expanded into Georgia, where in Tiflis they held a conference — and to the local conferences in the Russian cities of Krasnodarsk, Saratov, Sverlovsk and Perm as well as in Alma-Ata, Khazakstan.

PKK publications indicate CIS Kurdish leaders Rustem Broyef and Yuri Nabieyv who claim to represent Kurds in former Soviet Kurdistan alias "The Red Kurdistan," are possible contacts for the organization also linking it to Armenia and other regional groups which oppose Turkey.

The PKK has increased its influence in a number of countries over the past months, including Bulgaria and Romania. Western intelligence circles believe the organization is expanding in the former East Bloc owing mainly to the flexible laws and possibilities for underground activities. In Romania, the Kurdish "Mafia" is involved in many dealings with issuing false passports and visas coming high on the list. The PKK boasts to have some 3,000 sympathizers in that country alone. Turkish officials believe that through increased

organizational efforts and the Moscow meetings, the Turkish Kurds aim to establish a sphere of influence along in Athens-Bucharest-Constanza-Sofia line.

Oil Revenue: 20 Million Iraqis Are Trapped Between the Battle Lines

NICOSIA — Who really benefits if Iraq and its suffering people are made to continue paying the costs of the embargo on oil exports, and if a threat of U.S. military action is left hanging over their already badly damaged oil industry?

The embargo that followed Saddam Hussein's insane invasion of Kuwait created a huge bonanza for Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and big oil in general, as Fadhil Chalaby, executive director of the London-based Center for Global Energy Studies, noted in a clairvoyant lecture in July.

The embargo forbids Iraq to export more than a small amount of oil (Jordan gets some legally; more leaks out through Turkey and Iran on trucks or barges plying the Gulf, where traders buy it surreptitiously at Dubai).

The chief benefactors of the embargo have been the Saudis. Before the 1990 war, Saudi Arabia made shrewd investments to increase its production capacity, as it has done at opportune moments before. This enabled it to replace more than 75 percent of

the embargoed Iraqi oil sales. OPEC raised the Saudi export quota from 5.4 million barrels per day to 8.4 million, settling finally at around 8 million, for a 50 percent gain.

Mr. Chalaby calculates a cumulative gain for Saudi Arabia, as a result of the Iraqi embargo, of \$72 billion (its average yearly income from 1990 to 1993 was \$44 billion). Yet, Saudi Arabia has been experiencing serious financial difficulties. So the Saudis, as well as the Kuwaitis and other Gulf emirates, are desperately anxious to keep Iraq's oil exports off the market as long as possible.

Starting before the Iraqi embargo, the Saudi kingdom steadily drew down its external financial assets. It then turned to heavy borrowing from banks and financial institutions to finance growing budget deficits. So Saudi Arabia sees an early return of Iraqi oil to the world market as a threat not only to its finances but to its national security.

The same is true, though to a

lesser extent, of Kuwait, Iran and Venezuela, oil experts say. All three benefited from the embargo by raising their market shares, at Iraq's expense.

Mr. Chalaby's London think tank puts cumulative Iraqi losses of oil income since Saddam's occupation of Kuwait in 1990 at \$70 billion or more — the value of Iraq's prewar oil exports at the prevailing market price.

In 1980, before its war with Iran, Iraq was producing nearly 4 million barrels per day. Then, with large-scale destruction of its export terminals, closing of export pipelines and damage to other installations, Iraqi output dropped to 1 million barrels. Its production level had climbed back to 3.5 million just before the disastrous Kuwait adventure. The shutdown that came with the embargo in 1991 has not only cut output; it has trimmed Iraq's capacity to make a comeback.

Saddam Hussein and those still loyal to him must have felt the breath of doom when Dick Che-

ney, the former U.S. defense secretary, remarked almost casually on U.S. television recently that Iraq's oil installations could be easily hit again.

The world's biggest oil companies and some governments have been gambling against an American air and missile strike that could paralyze Iraq's oil-dependent economy for years. Hoping for an end to the embargo, French, Italian, Japanese and even American oilmen beat a path to the Oil Ministry in Baghdad, seeking new concessions.

A detailed report by the Middle East Economic Survey, an authoritative Cyprus-based journal, outlined deals concluded in early September between Baghdad and Moscow that ensure a leading role for Russia in Iraq's oil industry, whenever that industry gets back on its feet. A long-term agreement is worth about \$10 billion.

Projects include development of Iraq's giant West Qurna oil field, construction of a power station at Yusufiyah and the laying of a 350-kilometer (210-mile) gas pipeline between Nasiriyah in

Iraq's south and Baghdad. At Iraq's request, there will also be new oil export and storage facilities, an upgrading of war-battered refineries, and construction of an iron and steel plant.

If Russian engineers are not frightened off by the prospect of U.S. bombs, they are ready to begin inspecting and assessing war-damaged oil projects.

Iraq, meantime, will continue pressing its traditional customers — American, French, Italian, Japanese — to help it lobby the United Nations Security Council to lift the embargo.

Decision-makers in the Middle East should ponder who would profit from a new conflict, fought certainly in part over oil interests. Is a strike against an obnoxious dictator worth further injury to a society of 20 million people, even if it ensures short-term bonanzas for that dictator's foes?

The writer, an ABC News correspondent and author based in Cyprus, specializes in Middle Eastern affairs. He contributed this comment to the Herald Tribune.

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

FRA0568 4 I 0244 IRK /AFP-VJ16

Irak-Kurdes

Près de 10 000 Kurdes prêts à combattre Saddam Hussein, selon l'opposition

SOULEIMANIE (Irak), 18 oct (AFP) - Dix mille miliciens kurdes ont été mobilisés dans le Kurdistan irakien, qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad, pour faire face à une attaque éventuelle de l'armée irakienne, a affirmé mardi, le chef de l'une des principales organisations kurde d'opposition.

Dans un entretien avec l'AFP, le dirigeant de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) M. Jalal Talabani, a affirmé que "près de 10 000 miliciens sont en position sur le front allant de Khankine (sud-est du Kurdistan) jusqu'à Taq-Taq dans le centre du nord irakien".

"Si Saddam Hussein (le président irakien) veut nous attaquer, il le fera à Zakho (extrême-nord) pour prendre le contrôle de l'oléoduc. S'il attaque sur ce front, nous riposterons à l'est, notamment à Kirkouk", la zone des principaux champs pétrolifères irakiens, a ajouté M. Talabani, qui est responsable des forces kurdes dans le gouvernorat de Souleimanié, à l'est.

Les Kurdes irakiens, depuis leur insurrection survenue au lendemain de la guerre du Golfe (Janvier-février 1991), contrôlent une bande territoriale dans le Kurdistan irakien allant de la frontière nord avec la Turquie jusqu'à Khankine (sud-est) en passant par Chemchemal, proche de Kirkouk.

L'armée de Saddam Hussein, contrôle la partie située à l'ouest de cette ligne, notamment les villes de Kirkouk et de Mossoul, dans le nord.

ta-ag/szb/phb

AFP /JO0245/181955

OCT 94

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

FRA0185 4 I 0254 IRK /AFP-NI50

Irak-Kurdes

Aide alimentaire du CICR aux Kurdes irakiens

BAGDAD, 17 oct (AFP) - Une cargaison d'aide alimentaire sera acheminée mardi de Bagdad vers le Kurdistan irakien, a annoncé lundi le président du Croissant rouge irakien (CRI) Saâdoun Khalifa.

Cette aide, en provenance d'Amman, a été décidée par le Comité international de la Croix-rouge (CICR) à la suite d'un appel lancé en mars par le CRI, a précisé à l'AFP M. Khalifa.

Selon lui, d'autres cargaisons seront acheminées dans les prochains jours dans cette région qui n'est plus contrôlée par les autorités de Bagdad.

L'aide, dont le volume n'a pas été précisé, est composée notamment d'huile, de riz et de lentilles. Elle "sera distribuée à quelque 250.000 personnes, par les bureaux du CRI dans les provinces du nord", sous la supervision d'un délégué du CICR, a ajouté M. Khalifa.

Le secrétaire général du CRI, Fakhri Taleb, cité par le quotidien Al-Qadissiyah a par ailleurs indiqué que son organisation allait apporter une aide médicale, composée notamment de vaccins et d'équipements hospitaliers, ainsi que des couvertures aux habitants du Kurdistan.

C'est la deuxième fois en deux semaines que Bagdad annonce l'envoi d'une aide dans le Kurdistan, depuis le retrait des officiels irakiens des provinces du nord, après le soulèvement kurde consécutif à la guerre du Golfe en 1991.

Le 2 octobre, l'ONU avait annoncé la livraison de 1,8 million de manuels scolaires en langue kurde, de Bagdad vers les provinces du nord.

fch-tm/hj/cc

AFP /JO0245/171249

OCT 94

Oust-France - 18 octobre 1994

Réunion du collectif de soutien au peuple kurde samedi dernier

« Donner aux kurdes le droit d'exister »

Le collectif de soutien au peuple kurde tenait une réunion samedi dernier au centre social du Plateau à Saint-Brieuc. L'occasion pour ce comité qui regroupe des associations, des partis politiques et des syndicats des Côtes d'Armor de dénoncer certains agissements de l'Etat turc.

Le comité de soutien au peuple kurde est une association costarmoricaine créée à la fin de la guerre du Golfe. Une vingtaine de familles kurdes expatriées dans le

département en font partie. Son principal objectif est d'épauler le peuple kurde, en proie à des difficultés majeures en Turquie. « L'Etat turc refuse d'admettre l'identité, la culture et finalement le droit d'exister au peuple kurde, explique Jacques Galaup, l'un des membres du collectif. Un parallèle peut être fait avec la politique menée par les nazis envers les juifs. »

L'association souhaite surtout rendre publique une situation qui reste encore méconnue. « Nous sommes indignés, alertés, informés, mais nous restons un petit cercle, explique Edward Renard,

autre membre du comité costarmoricain. Notre objectif est donc également d'agrandir le cercle d'informations. » Le collectif regrette notamment le silence de la presse. « Le 24 septembre dernier, il y a eu une manifestation de près de 200 000 kurdes à Maastricht, raconte Jacques Galaup. Il y eut très peu d'échos de la part des agences de presse. Ce n'est pas normal. »

La réunion de samedi, qui a réuni une soixantaine de participants, a donc été l'occasion de faire le point sur plusieurs dossiers. « En premier lieu, il faut réagir à deux scandales, continue

Jacques Galaup. L'arrestation de six parlementaires kurdes, dont une femme et la politique de terres brûlées menée par l'armée turque dans le Kurdistan. » Le Collectif a déjà envoyé des lettres de soutien aux parlementaires kurdes incarcérés. Il a également décidé d'intervenir auprès des responsables politiques en envoyant une lettre au parlement européen. « Le plus triste, c'est que la Turquie est signataire de la Charte des droits de l'homme. »

Xavier LE ROUX.

turkish daily news

Wednesday, October 19, 1994

US journalists complain to Çiller about Anti-Terrorism law

Approve new definition, 'resorting to force, violence or threat' constitutes terror.

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), an organization whose members are some of the U.S. media's best known names, today faxed a letter in Turkish to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller drawing her attention to the shortcomings of the new Anti-Terrorism Law.

The letter, dated Oct. 18, 1994 and signed by CPJ Director William A. Orme, Jr., said "we are concerned about the slow pace at which work concerning the modification of the Anti-Terrorism Law has been progressing." The CPJ noted that it was due to this law that "hundreds of journalists and writers were sentenced in the past."

The CPJ considered the change in the definition of "terror" as a "remarkable improvement." In the new definition, "resorting to force, violence or threat" constitutes "terror." However, the CPJ was not satisfied with the change suggested to Article 8 of the law by the commission working on the draft bill. "The draft considers propaganda aimed at 'supporting the terror organizations in a way to create open and proximate danger.'

This definition, since it is not concrete and is open to wide-ranging interpretations, can still be used to punish the journalists reporting news about terror organizations," the letter said.

The CPJ went on to call on Çiller

to complete at once the work on the law draft and present it to the Turkish Parliament. Orme further asked Çiller to bring a clarification to Article 8 and add a sentence to the effect that news in the press, on radio and on television would not be included within the scope of "propaganda."

"We thank you and wait for your response," the letter concluded.

Copies of the letter were sent to a long list of dignitaries and international organizations including Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın; Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe; Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal; Justice Minister Mehmet Mogultay; State Minister Yıldırım Aktuna; State Minister Azimet

Köylüoğlu; Turkish Parliament's Human Rights Commission President Sabri Yavuz; Ambassador to Washington Nuzhet Kandemir; U.S. Ambassador to Ankara Richard C. Barkey; U.S. State Department Desk Officer for Turkey; Amnesty International; Article 19 (United Kingdom and Netherlands); Freedom House; Human Rights Watch; Index on Censorship; International Association of Broadcasting; International PEN; International Journalism Institute; International Press Institute; Canadian Committee to Support Writers and Journalists; World Press Freedom Committee; Reporters Sans Frontieres; etc.

Iraqi refugees on hunger strike threaten self-immolation

'Now they are pressuring us but this will not deter us from our goal. We will not return no matter what.'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraqi refugees in southeastern Turkey, who went on hunger strike after the United Nations stopped their relief supplies in an attempt to force them to return to northern Iraq, have threatened to step up their protest action.

The refugees, who have been on hunger strike for 21 days, are threatening to set themselves on fire if the United Nations insists on repatriating them to now Kurdish-held northern Iraq. The 1,300 refugees, who are in a camp near the town

of Silopi in Şırnak province, fled from Iraq to escape persecution by the Saddam Hussein regime prior to the Gulf War.

One of the hunger strikers, a woman named as Halime Ahmad Mustafa, has died, whereas the condition of seven protestors is critical and a further 70 have been hospitalized, according to spokesmen for the refugees.

"We have been living here in tents for the past six years waiting to go to a European country. Uncertainty continues in northern Iraq. We would

have returned long ago if we wanted to," a refugee told the Anatolia news agency.

The refugees struck a defiant note in attacking the cessation of U.N. relief. "Now they are pressuring us but this will not deter us from our goal. We will not return no matter what," the Anatolia quoted one refugee as saying.

The refugees said following a request from the governor of Şırnak, a U.N. representative had come from Ankara, but had left without seeing them.

FRA0443 4 I 0371 EXT /AFP-KA89
Europe-Turquie

Kurdes: premières plaintes contre la Turquie déclarées recevables par la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme

STRASBOURG, 20 oct (AFP) - La Commission européenne des droits de l'homme a pour la première fois cette semaine déclaré recevables trois plaintes contre Ankara émanant de citoyens turcs d'origine kurde, alléguant des violations des droits de l'homme commises dans le cadre du conflit entre les forces gouvernementales et les nationalistes kurdes, a-t-on appris jeudi auprès du Conseil de l'Europe.

Plusieurs centaines de recours de citoyens turcs contre leur gouvernement sont actuellement en souffrance devant la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, a-t-on indiqué de même source.

Dans le premier dossier examiné cette semaine, M. Huseyin Akduvar et sept autres personnes, accusent des militaires d'avoir attaqué leur village le 10 novembre 1992, de les avoir expulsés de leurs maisons avant de les incendier, tuant une partie de leur cheptel.

Selon le gouvernement turc, une opération militaire menée ce jour-là s'est déroulée sans violence, la destruction du village étant, selon les autorités, le fait de séparatistes kurdes du PKK (Parti des travailleurs kurdes) lors d'un coup de main le 6 avril 1993.

Par ailleurs, le recours de M. Zeki Aksoy --décédé depuis-- affirme qu'il a été torturé et n'a pas été présenté dans un délai rapide devant un juge. Pour le gouvernement turc, il n'y a aucune raison de penser que le plaignant a été victime de tortures ou d'autres mauvais traitements contraires à la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme.

Enfin, la maison de M. Ramazan Cagirge à Cirze a été frappée le 6 novembre 1992 par un obus d'artillerie qui a tué plusieurs membres de sa famille. Selon lui, l'obus a été tiré par les forces gouvernementales, tandis que les autorités affirment qu'il s'agit d'un tir provenant des rangs séparatistes kurdes.

La Commission européenne des droits de l'homme a déclaré recevable ces trois plaintes, sans toutefois se prononcer sur le fond. Si aucun règlement à l'amiable ne peut être obtenu, les trois dossiers seront transmis à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, qui statuera en dernière instance.

dro/luc/bw

AFP /J00245/201815

OCT 94

Libération - 20 octobre 1994

« Libération » parraine un journaliste kurde emprisonné en Turquie

DEPUIS maintenant un an, Gunay Aslan, journaliste kurde d'Istanbul, croupit en prison à Mugla, dans le sud-ouest de la Turquie. Un petit livre, *les 33 Balles, histoire d'un deuil*, racontant le massacre, en 1943, d'un groupe de paysans kurdes soupçonnés de vols de chevaux par un général turc, lui a valu à la fois

le prix Yunus Nadi, équivalent turc du prix Albert Londres, et une condamnation (confirmée en appel le 22 septembre 1993) à deux ans de prison par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat, au titre de l'article 8 de la loi antiterroriste.

Le gouvernement de Tan-su Ciller et l'état-major de l'armée, convaincus de pou-

voir éradiquer par la force la rébellion « séparatiste » du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan), ont depuis deux ans durci la répression contre tous ceux qui sont accusés d'être les « complices intellectuels des terroristes ». Journaliste au quotidien kurde (en langue turque) *Ozgur Gundem*, mais aussi chroniqueur dans les grands journaux du pays et collaborateur régulier

de la télévision allemande, Gunay Aslan a été jugé et condamné pour délit d'opinion. Dans le cadre de la journée « Ecrire pour la liberté », organisée le 20 octobre par Reporters sans frontières, *Libération* parraine Gunay Aslan. RSF appelle à faire pression pour la relâche d'Aslan en écrivant à l'ambassade de Turquie (1). **M.S.**

(1) Ambassade de Turquie, 16, avenue de Lamballe, 75116 Paris.

Menteşe: No Kurdish problem in Turkey

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe said on Wednesday that Turkey had geographical and economic problems but that it had no ethnic problem.

"There is no Kurdish problem in Turkey. Every one has equal rights and they all form the Turkish nation," Menteşe said. Menteşe was speaking during the debate on the

Southeast report which has been prepared by a parliamentary commission. He opposed the views of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) and the Welfare Party (RP) deputies who argued that the Kurdish identity should be recognized and that they should be granted certain rights.

Pointing out that demanding a political identity and a political solution would be divisive for Turkey, Menteşe said he had always opposed such demands. He said that talking of a Kurdish problem in Turkey would mean bringing the country to the same position that the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were working towards.

"The PKK's aim is not a question of identities. Its aim is to divide and destroy Turkey. The PKK seeks autonomy first, then federation and later the division of Turkey," Menteşe said. Asked if there was any problem on the question of identities in Turkey, Menteşe continued that every one had the right to choose the profession they wanted no matter to which ethnic group they belonged to. He said every one can become a parliamentarian, minister, prime minister and president.

Menteşe said that struggle against terrorism had not ended, however, he said Turkey was in a better position today than it had been for some time.

"We don't want innocent citizens to suffer any harm," Menteşe said. He continued that since 1984, 10,010 incidents had taken place and that 2,676 civilians had lost their lives. He put the number of injured at 3,359. He said 1,888 soldiers, 1,113 policemen and 618 temporary village guards had been killed. A total of 6,555 terrorists had been killed in those incidents. He said while 274 terrorists had been arrested during clashes, 19,056 others had been caught on charges of involvement in terrorist activities and also for providing assistance.

Menteşe said that with its current actions the PKK had been trying to draw the attention of public opinion and that, having failed, it would soon admit defeat.

Kurdish identity

SHP Deputy Mustafa Kul said that the Kurdish question should be solved by means of a solution on which all parties had agreed. Noting that the fund allocated for antiterrorism in the 1994 fiscal year budget was five percent of the gross national income, Kul said that amount was five times



Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe

more than the amount spent for the southeast Anatolia project (GAP). He said that the problem had not been solved by just security and economic measures.

Expressing his opinion that the PKK wanted to destroy Turkey, Kul continued, "the state should not approach the matter in that way. Our citizens who live there should not be forced to make a choice between the two forces. Our citizens should be able to express their identity openly. Kurdish broadcasting on TV and radios should be allowed and that should be annexed to a legal guarantee."

Fetullah Erbaş, RP deputy from Van said that the Kurdish identity should be recognized. Erbaş said that the fact that the issue had been a taboo subject had caused the problems in the region to reach their current stage. Pointing out that Kurds were a part of the Islamic world, Erbaş said any solution to the problem in the region cannot be projected without taking the Islam factor into consideration. He said that the experience which Turkey had lived through showed that the problem in the region cannot be solved with violence, terrorism or forced assimilation policies.

Pointing out that Kurds should be able to speak in their own language, use media and to be educated, Erbaş said that the nationalist, materialist and racist policies which had been followed within the past 70 years had further increased the problem. He said neither federation nor founding a separate state would be beneficial to anyone. He stressed that the PKK was a terrorist organization and that it was trying to influence the people in the region but he said the PKK did not have the support of a majority of the people.

Who burned the villages?

Motherland Party (ANAP) Konya Deputy Mehmet Keçeciler criticized Menteşe and State Minister Azimet Köylüoğlu, who is responsible for human rights, for having made contradictory statements about the villages burned in Tunceli.

Keçeciler said, "If what the Interior Minister has stated is right, a government still cannot say, 'I can't do anything for you if the terrorist has come and burned your village.'" Keçeciler said that while DYP Chairwoman and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller stated that terrorism had been eradicated, the issue of village-burning had nonetheless come on the agenda. "If what the Interior Minister has said is right and that the PKK can burn 14 or 17 houses instantly, then terrorism in such a country cannot be regarded as to have come to an end," Keçeciler said.

RP Bingöl Deputy Hüsamettin Korkutata said many houses had been burned in the region and that the people living in the region were suffering through a very big crisis. Korkutata said the villages may have been vacated and burned because their remote and hard to get to locations are favorable to the PKK. Menteşe said it was out of the question for the state to burn houses or forest. He said that the state was going to the region to help the residents and that prefabricated houses had been built for those who had suffered losses due to the PKK's burning their houses.

Parliament Deputy Speaker and SHP Tunceli Deputy Kamer Genç said that Parliament should send a delegation to the region to determine who had burned the villages.

"No matter who has burned the villages, isn't the duty of the state is to protect the life, property and security of the people living there? This is neither a political question nor a problem of a party or government. This is a state matter," Genç said.

State Minister Azimet Köylüoğlu said he would bring up the subject of village burning to the Cabinet. He said that while governors and other officials were saying that it was the PKK who had burned the villages, villagers claimed that the soldiers had burned them. He stressed that neither the Office of the Chief of General Staff nor the National Security Council had given such an order.

When some deputies urged Köylüoğlu to resign, Köylüoğlu said he would but that his resignation would not be a solution to the matter.

Meanwhile, RP Deputy Kazım Ataoğlu claimed that the houses in Bingöl had been burned by soldiers and that he had documents in that respect. Menteşe denied Ataoğlu's claims.

SHP Chairman and Deputy Prime Minister Murat Karayalçın said he and his colleagues would soon discuss the housing problems of the people in Tunceli.

SEMIH D. İDİZ/ PUBLIC EYE

Have the northern Iraqi Kurds played it wrong?

Little news is filtering through on the political activities of the northern Iraqi Kurds these days. This may be because they have, in a sense, gone back to the drawing board to chart a new strategy for determining their future as a people. It is a known fact that to date they have been unable to "kick-start" a viable political entity of their own even though history has once more laid an opportunity of sorts in their path.

This inability is mainly due to the obstructions of the prevailing powers in the region. But the northern Iraqi Kurds have served themselves ill also because of their occasionally fratricidal rivalries that have a history stretching back decades.

The prevailing powers in the region are of course Turkey, Iran and Syria. Knowing full well that they are in effect the power brokers in this part of the world, the three countries have pooled their resources to ensure that a political entity unacceptable to them is not imposed on the region by the West.

All three countries at the present time find an independent Kurdish political entity that is separated from Iraq to be undesirable and they have made this known on every occasion that has presented itself.

Just in case the message has not sunk in, they get together once every six months in Ankara, Damascus or Tehran to impress again upon the world that they want to see Iraq intact and that they do not want an independent Kurdistan in their midst.

It does not take a political genius to realize that all three countries are worried about the effect of such an independent entity on their own restive Kurdish populations.

In July northern Iraqi Kurdish representatives representing rival groups met in the French capital under the auspices of Danielle Mitterrand's "France Liberte" organization and Kendal Nezan's "Kurdish Institute" which is based in Paris.

It was interesting that France, Britain, and the United States also attended the meeting as "nonparticipant observers" in order to follow the proceedings.

News of the results of this meeting, which Turkey had not been informed about by its "allies", indicated to Ankara that some sort of an effort to lay the legislative basis of an independent Kurdish entity was afoot.

Ankara made its displeasure known and moved diplomatically to prevent the convening of a "Paris Summit" between Jalal Talabani, of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), and Massoud Barzani, of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), during which a draft worked out during the Paris meeting of technicians would be signed.

The general expectation was that Talabani and Barzani would sign a document the draft of which appeared to Turkish officials to be a "charter for an independent Kurdistan."

Judging by the feedback through the "diplomatic grapevine" it seems Ankara's efforts have hit the mark, despite some suggestions of defiance on the part of the Kurds to go through with this summit anyway.

France has officially disassociated itself from these efforts of the northern Iraq Kurds, if we are to go by what senior officials in Ankara and Paris are suggesting.

Officials in Ankara say that Paris could still turn a blind eye to such a meeting by throwing the blame somewhere else such as France Liberte or the Kurdish Institute if the summit is convened in spite of Ankara.

But the fact is that seasoned diplomats at the Quai d'Orsay know full well that without the blessing of Turkey, Iran and Syria nothing can be expected to work ultimately for the northern Iraqi Kurds.

Much the same realization exists in Washington and London, despite the large number of seasoned Kurdophiles at the State Department and the Foreign Office.

History shows that regardless of Kurdophiles, Turcophiles, or Arabophiles there are realities in this part of the world that defy neat moulds and grand designs cooked up in London, Paris or Washington.

An excellent reminder of this is David Fromkin's masterful rendition of events in the region leading up to the First World War and its aftermath in his seminal work, "A Peace to End All Peace," which is highly recommended reading.

Basically the message there is that the "Great Powers," whatever they may have promised various ethnic groups have just as easily broken these promises to the dire disadvantage of these groups and usually because of the rivalries among themselves.

Unfortunately the Kurds know this all too well.

Given the realities on the ground, one can not help but wonder whether the northern Iraqi Kurds did not commit a historical mistake again by trying to override the regional powers and to try and set up their own political entity — if that is indeed what they tried to do in Paris.

The end result now has been that they have alienated Turkey whose support they need for practical reasons if for nothing else.

Barzani's current visit to Iran also indicates that the KDP — which is more prone to play the local "power politics" game than Talabani (who relies too much on the West) — has realized that going against the "regional grain" is not "facilitating" but "debilitating."

It was noteworthy that one of the messages to come out of the meeting Barzani held with the Iranian foreign minister Ali Akbar Velayati was that both sides agreed on the need for the preservation of the territorial integrity of Iraq.

Mr. Barzani now apparently has the task of bridging the political gap that has been opened with Turkey in order to arrive once more at the mode of dialogue and cooperation that had already been arrived at.

We refer to Mr. Barzani because it is no secret in official circles in Turkey that Mr. Talabani is out of favor with Ankara given his ambiguous stance on the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

This circuitous circumstance the northern Iraqi Kurds have ended up in vis-a-vis Ankara has meant valuable time has been wasted when they are faced with material problems that need urgent addressing, whatever their political ambitions may be.

The indications are that Turkey will still work to meet these material needs although perhaps with less enthusiasm than might otherwise have been the case.

The bottom line in all this is that the northern Iraq Kurds and Turkey have ultimately to live together regardless of how the problem of Iraq is settled in the long run.

Stepping on each others sensitive nerves is hardly the way to go about establishing the inevitable "modus vivendi" that is required in the face of such a glaring fact.

Hasan Cemal: Center in Turkish politics is disintegrating rapidly 'Kurdish issue is obstacle to continued modernization and democratization'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Hasan Cemal, senior columnist for the Turkish daily Sabah, addressed an invited group at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington concerning the past, present and future of Turkish politics.

Cemal is the second Sabah columnist, after Cengiz Çandar, invited to participate in this lecture series hosted by Bülent Ali Rıza, Director of Turkish Studies at CSIS.

The next guest from Turkey will be a diplomat from Turkish Foreign Ministry who will give an address on Nov. 8.

Hasan Cemal, in his long and comprehensive presentation focused on the main fault and tension lines that characterized the political panorama in Turkey.

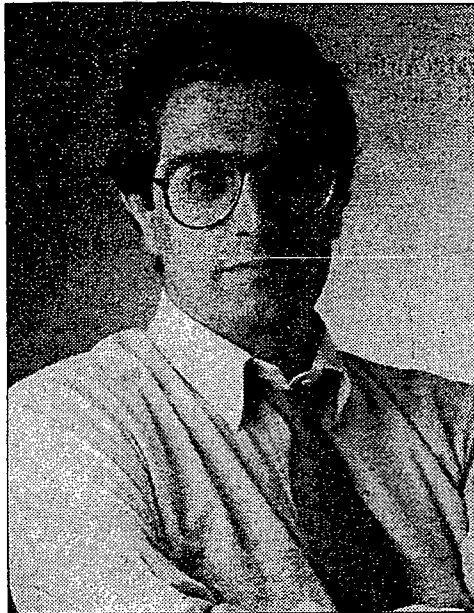
The copious survey data he presented to support his generalizations were listened to with interest. Among those invited were officials from U.S. State department, National Intelligence Council, Turkish and American journalists posted in Washington, academicians, members of think-tanks, public relations firms and other private corporations. Cemal said that "the four bans" in Turkish history became "obstacles to continued modernization and democratization:

1) The ban on Kurdish nationalism led to the rejection of the cultural identity of the Kurds.

2) The ban on religious fundamentalism led to the polarization of society between the secularists and the devout.

3) The ban on communism led to the prohibition of all shades of socialism.

4) The ban on liberals led to political and economic etatism." As regards the "Kurdish problem," Cemal said that "the Kurdish issue is at the center of all current problems facing Turkey" for the following reasons: "It is, first of all the main source of political instability. It stands in the way of improving democracy and human rights in Turkey. It is helping the military preserve its influence and is limiting the authority of the elected government... It is limiting the space for maneuver for Turkish foreign policy due to continued pressure from Europe and the United States. And it greatly harms the economy... Tourism revenues, direct foreign investments,



Hasan Cemal

and foreign credits are all affected negatively."

Another central theme in Cemal's presentation was the Turkish people's frustration with and lack of trust in the politicians, a reaction current in the U.S. as well.

He noted that, according to a Gallup study, 31 percent voted for the Welfare Party "to teach a lesson to the other parties."

"The votes cast for the RP were a protest vote," he pointed out. He said the coalition government in power had not delivered what was promised and is not in a position to answer the urgent questions of the day.

Due to such lack of trust "the center in Turkish politics is disintegrating rapidly," he said.

Growing pessimism about the future was another indicator of such disintegration. A PIAR-Gallup poll found out that 60 percent of the people said "things will be worse in the future" versus only 21.5 percent who said "things will be better."

"If we further simplify, we can argue that the basic division in contemporary Turkish politics that cuts across both the center right and the center left is the division between the supporters of

market economy and democracy on Western standards on the one hand and those who oppose it on the other," he said. Cemal summarized "three failures" of the two coalition governments since 191 as follows:

1) The military campaign against the PKK has been a relative success. PKK has lost considerable ground but the separatist rebellion in far from crushed.

2) Promises on democratic reform have not been fulfilled.

3) The inflation rate is now over 100 percent for the first time in 14 years. No structural reforms have been conducted." The following four main factors deadlocked the Turkish political system, according to Cemal:

1) PKK violence in the Southeastern provinces and the Kurdish problem.

2) Democratic reforms and human rights.

3) Restructuring the economy.

4) Restructuring and streamlining the State.

"I do not believe that the DYP-ANAP cooperation would be able to help to solve the first two problems fully," he said. "Although both leaders and some decision makers in these parties do have a flexible and liberal approach, I believe that rising 'Turkish nationalism' confronting 'Kurdish nationalism' and the conservative pockets within these parties will help prevent the attempt to institute democratic reform, especially concerning the Kurdish problem."

Surveying various future coalition and minority government options, Cemal confessed that it would not be easy to resolve the deadlock. but with proper leadership he said it was not an impossible project at all.

"In the 1920's Turkey underwent a secular republican reform. In the 1940's she underwent democratic reform. In the 1980's it instituted a liberal reform in its economy. Unfortunately, there is now a stalemate... If it can clean up its kitchen first... if it can take a leap to modernize and democratize its state structure... it will become a much more prosperous, powerful and influential power in its region as well as beyond. Is this a utopia? No! A very feasible project. But a project still awaiting a determined and bolder political leadership."

Villagers who lost homes seek refuge in Ankara

Who will help the 437 desperate villagers evacuated from Yılıkıran village in Kars?

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A group of villagers evacuated from their homes in eastern Turkey have sought refuge in Ankara and are calling for help from the authorities.

A group of 437 villagers who were evacuated from the village of Yılıkıran and the hamlet of Kavalık, near the town of Kağızman in the province of Kars, have made their way to Ankara and have sought refuge in the suburban Yenidoğan district. The villagers at first camped in the garden of a primary school for ten days but were then evicted by police. Some are now living with relatives in the Yenidoğan district, while 35 others have rented a shanty house for 1.5 million liras and are living there.

The villagers told the Turkish Daily News that for a month they tried to live in the Kağızman township after they were forced out of their homes. When they found they couldn't survive there, they decided to move to the capital and

draw attention to their plight.

Fatma Çelik, 70, who speaks Kurdish, told the TDN through an interpreter that she and her family are farmers and that they lost their homes when they were ordered to move out of their village "by the state." She says that she does not know Turkish.

Çelik said security forces had launched two anti-terrorist operations against the village in the past. "In the end they came and told us to leave the village in three days. The village was bombarded twice. We left our homes. Later we learnt some houses were destroyed. Now our village is deserted." Turkish security officials say they have to evacuate some villages because they fear separatist Kurdish terrorists may try to use the villages as bases or for logistic supplies, especially during the winter months when security forces cannot reach the villages due to bad weather conditions.

The villagers say they are desperate.

The house they rented in Yenidoğan is slated for demolition. The authorities have already put up signs that there is a safety hazard in the building which houses the 35 villagers. The TDN interviewed only the women, because their husbands and children, they said, were out trying to find jobs in central Ankara.

The villagers say the state authorities in Kars never asked them to become village guards and fight against the PKK. "They just came and asked us to leave our village," Çelik says. The TDN was told that the men of the village presented several petitions to the presidency and to the prime minister's office, as well as to the Ankara governor's office, but had received no reply up to now. The local village headman in Yenidoğan, however, came to ask for their applications to register as Yenidoğan dwellers. They say they have to find proper shelter before the winter cold sets in.

The villagers complain that 500 other villagers were evacuated from a nearby village called Bahçecik and were settled in houses built for earthquake victims in Kağızman.

Authorities estimate that around 2 million people have lost their homes in village evacuations. Most of these people face the prospect of hunger and can find no jobs, which adds to their misery.

Experts say the plight of these people may create a potentially explosive situation around cities where the villagers have sought refuge.

The elderly, and now homeless, Fatma Çelik asked the Turkish Daily News to convey her message to the authorities: "The state threw me out of my home. Why doesn't it give me another one? We did not help the PKK in our village. As a matter of fact we never even saw the PKK there, but we still lost our homes. Now who will help us? Will the state simply abandon us?"



Fatma Çelik asks the state to help her and other villagers who lost their homes when security forces ordered them out of their village.

Friday, October 21, 1994

turkish daily news

Turkish Probe October 21, 1994

5

Parliament Debates "Kurdish Issue"

Parliament completed a debate on a detailed report prepared by a special parliamentary commission on Oct. 19, which showed the struggle against separatist Kurdish terrorists in southeastern Turkey has caused much suffering among innocent people caught in a conflict "which needs more sensitive handling by security forces and alternatives to emergency rule."

Despite the sad findings of the report, Nahit Menteşe, interior minister told Parliament that Turkey had geographical and economic problems, but that it had no ethnic problem. "There is no Kurdish problem in Turkey. Every one has equal rights and they all form the Turkish nation," Menteşe said. Menteşe strongly opposed the views of the Social Democrat People's Party (SHP) and the Welfare Party (RP) deputies who argued that Kurdish identity should be recognized and that they should be granted certain rights. The SHP is the junior coalition partner of Menteşe's True Path Party (DYP). Pointing out that allowing a political identity and a political solution would be divisive for Turkey, Menteşe said he had always opposed such demands. He said that talking of a Kurdish problem in Turkey would mean bringing the country to the same position that the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) were working towards.

"The PKK's aim is not a question of identities. Its aim is to divide and destroy Turkey. The PKK seeks autonomy first, then federation and later the division of Turkey," Menteşe said. He seemed to reflect the official line that any "rights" given to Kurds would be "concessions" and the militants would demand more and more rights until they managed to create a real division.

Asked if there was any problem on the question of identities in Turkey, Menteşe said that every one had the right to choose the profession they wanted no matter which ethnic group they belonged to. He said anyone can become a parliamentarian, minister, prime minister and president.

Menteşe said that the struggle against terrorism had not ended, however, Turkey was in a better position today than it had been for some time.

"We don't want innocent citizens to suffer any harm," Menteşe said. He reported that since 1984, 10,010 incidents had taken place and 2,676 civilians had lost their lives. He put the number of injured at 3,359 and said 1,888 soldiers, 1,113 policemen and 618 temporary village guards had been killed. A total of 6,555 terrorists had been killed in those incidents. Two hundred and seventy four terrorists had been arrested during clashes and 19,056 others had been caught on charges of involvement in terrorist activities and for providing assistance.

Menteşe said that with its current actions, the

PKK had been trying to attract public opinion and that, having failed, it would soon admit defeat. Sources close to Menteşe told the Turkish Probe the minister was referring to the current PKK campaign in the eastern province of Tunceli.

THE REPORT- "Terror in east and southeast Turkey constitutes one of the most important problems facing the country," states the report, completed by the all-party commission in March but debated in Parliament on Oct. 18.

The study said the money spent on combating the insurgency in 1994 equalled five percent of Gross National Product — worth about \$6.55 billion.

The 24-page study, drawn up by a parliamentary commission over seven months, says innocent villagers are caught up too often in clashes and seen as suspected guerrillas.

Residents cannot prepare for the harsh winters because excess food and fuel is confiscated to keep it out of the hands of the guerrillas. The whole pattern of local life — the daily calls to prayer, grazing livestock — has been disrupted. It recommends that the security forces adopt a more sensitive approach, cutting periods of detention and carefully distinguishing between Kurdish militants and locals. It notes that money spent combating the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) takes a growing portion of the budget in a country already plagued by economic problems.

The report is the most detailed to reach Parliament since the PKK launched its separatist campaign 10 years ago.

One recommendation says the state should speed up and increase compensation for the thousands of people whose villages have been evacuated and property damaged. Residents say troops recently evacuated and set ablaze several villages and hamlets in Tunceli province.

The interior ministry blames this on the PKK. The report also calls for a review of the system of village guards, in which the state arms locals to combat the PKK. Many people accept, for the pay, but their families are endangered as the PKK targets their villages in return.

The document says the emergency rule declared for 10 provinces may have served its purpose and should give way to alternatives. "Both parties in the present government were opposed to emergency rule before the last general elections," Serif Bedirhanoglu, Motherland Party (ANAP) deputy for Van said. "But three years later it still stands."

The study calls for the state to double incentives for investment in the region. Better qualified and dedicated state staff should be sent there, especially to schools where new graduates now have to fill

undesirable posts.

Thousands of schools have closed in the region as teachers are shot or quit out of fear.

The report says compensation for those left homeless should be speeded up and increased.

KURDISH IDENTITY- During the debate, SHP Deputy Mustafa Kul said that the Kurdish question should be resolved by finding a solution which all parties had agreed. Noting that the fund allocated for anti-terrorism in the 1994 fiscal year budget was five percent of the gross national income, Kul said that amount was five times more than the amount spent for the Southeast Anatolia Project (GAP). He said that the problem had not been solved by just security and economic measures.

Expressing his opinion that the PKK wanted to destroy Turkey, Kul continued, "the state should not approach the matter in that way. Our citizens who live there should not be forced to make a choice between the two forces. Our citizens should be able to express their identity openly. Kurdish broadcasting on TV and radio should be allowed and that should be linked to a legal guarantee."

Fetullah Erbaş, RP deputy from Van said that Kurdish identity should be recognized. Erbaş said that because the issue had been a taboo subject, it had caused the problems in the region to reach their current stage. Pointing out that Kurds were a part of the Islamic world, Erbaş said any solution to the problem in the region could not be put forward without taking the Islamic factor into consideration. He said that the experience which Turkey had lived through showed that the problem in the region could not be solved with violence, terrorism or forced assimilation policies.

Pointing out that Kurds should be able to speak in their own language, use the media and to be educated, Erbaş said that the nationalist, materialist and racist policies which had been followed within the past 70 years had further increased the problem. He said neither federation nor founding a separate state would be beneficial to anyone. He stressed that the PKK was a terrorist organization and that it was trying to influence the people in the region but it did not have the support of a majority of the people.

VILLAGE BURNINGS- Mehmet Keçeciler, the Motherland Party (ANAP) Konya deputy criticized Menteşe and Azimet Köylüoğlu, state minister responsible for human rights, for having made contradictory statements about the villages evacuated and burned in Tunceli.

Menteşe claimed the villages were either burnt by the PKK or by the villagers themselves to obtain compensation. He also said village houses may have been burnt during the clashes when they were caught between the cross fire of the military units and the PKK militants.

State Minister Köylüoğlu, SHP deputy in charge of human rights, at first declared the villages were being burnt down by security forces and called this "state terrorism." Later he toned down his criticisms and also said the PKK may have been responsible for some of the village burnings.

Keçeciler said, "If what the interior minister has stated is right, the government still cannot say, 'I

can't do anything for you if the terrorist has come and burned your village." He said that while DYP Chairwoman and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had stated that terrorism had been eradicated, the issue of village burnings had nonetheless come on the agenda. "If what the interior minister has said is right and the PKK can burn 14 or 17 houses at the same time, then terrorism in such a country cannot be regarded as to have come to an end," Keçeciler said.

Hüsamettin Korkutata, RP Bingöl deputy said many houses had been burned in the region and people living there were suffering a very serious crisis. Korkutata said the villages may have been evacuated and destroyed because they are located in remote areas which the PKK can use as hideouts.

Menteşe said it was out of the question for the state to burn houses or forests. He said that the state was going to the region to help the residents and that prefabricated houses had been built for those who had suffered losses due to the PKK's burning their homes.

Kamer Genç, Parliament deputy speaker and SHP Tunceli deputy said that Parliament should send a delegation to the region to determine who had burned the villages.

"No matter who has burned the villages, isn't the duty of the state to protect the life, property and security of the people living there? This is neither a political question nor a problem of party or government. This is a state matter," Genç said. Azimet Köylüoğlu, state minister said he would bring up the subject of village burning in Cabinet. He said that while governors and other officials were saying that it was the PKK who had burned the villages, villagers had claimed that the soldiers had burned them. He stressed that neither the Office of the Chief of General Staff nor the National Security Council had given such an order.

When some deputies urged Köylüoğlu to resign, he said he would but that his resignation would not be a solution to the matter. Meanwhile, Kazım Ataoğlu, RP deputy for Bingöl claimed that houses in Bingöl had been burned by soldiers and he had documents to back this up. Menteşe denied Ataoğlu's claims. Murat Karayalçın, SHP chairman and deputy prime minister said he and his colleagues would discuss the housing problems of the people in Tunceli soon.

After the debate, deputies were pessimistic. They said it was inconclusive.

"This could be an opportunity for serious public debate — which is absolutely necessary for a solution," said deputy Kul. "But although (the report) has been ready since March, it has not been prominently discussed in the media and no one suggested the debate was broadcast on television."

Deputies said the report managed to open up to discussion subjects hitherto considered taboo, but that it may now be simply set aside.

"It will probably just be put on the dusty shelves of parliament," said Muzaffer Demir, deputy for Mus.

"It's not such a great report," he said. "But we discussed the possibility of troops having torched villages, the lifting of emergency rule and abolishing the village-guard system. We used to be branded as PKK supporters for (discussing) this before." ■

Human Rights Diary

HADEP chairman arrives in Diyarbakır: Chairman of the People's Democracy Party (HADEP), Murat Bozlak, indicated that his party might participate in the coming by-elections. Bozlak, who arrived in Diyarbakır on Friday after visits to Mardin, Van and Batman, said his party might participate in the by-elections if the necessary democratic conditions were created. In a press conference held at the party's Diyarbakır headquarters on Friday, Bozlak stated that 16 deputies would be elected from the emergency rule governed areas and 1.5 million voters would go to the polls during the by-election on Dec. 4. Bozlak said that six other deputies would be elected in Adana, Bursa, Isparta and Istanbul where a further 3 million people would cast their vote. Reminding people that the by-elections would be held in centers where 800 unsolved murders had taken place and that 2.5 million people had had to leave their homes, Bozlak said that "armed guards should not be standing in front of the polling stations." The HADEP chairman said that his party would only pass the voting hurdle if democratic election conditions were established in the election areas. He said: "The people support us and said that the by-election rules could be changed in one day if the government wants." Bozlak also stated that the coming by-elections could be seen as an opportunity for democratization and said: "We want the creation of a democratic environment and we can enter the by-elections if these conditions are met." (TDN, Oct. 14)

Iraqi refugees threaten self-immolation: Iraqi refugees in southeastern Turkey, who went on hunger strike after the United Nations stopped their relief supplies in an attempt to force them to return to northern Iraq, have threatened to step up their protest action. The refugees, who have been on hunger strike for 21 days, are threatening to set themselves on fire if the United Nations insists on repatriating them to now Kurdish-held northern Iraq. The 1,300 refugees, who are in a camp near the town of Silopi in Şırnak province, fled from Iraq to escape persecution by the Saddam Hussein regime prior to the Gulf War. One of the hunger strikers, a woman named as Halime Ahmad Mustafa, has died, whereas the condition of seven protestors is critical and a further 70 have been hospitalized, according to spokesmen for the refugees. "We have been living here in tents for the past six years waiting to go to a European country. Uncertainty continues in northern Iraq. We would have returned long ago if we wanted to," a refugee told the Anatolia news agency. The refugees struck a defiant note in attacking the cessation of U.N. relief. "Now they are pressuring us but this will not deter us from our goal. We will not return no matter what," the Anatolia quoted one refugee as saying. The refugees said following a request from the governor of Şırnak, a U.N. representative had come from Ankara, but had left without seeing them. (TDN, Oct. 18)

Human rights representatives visit Ankara police: Council of Europe Human Rights Commission (ECHR) members were surprised at the modern conditions at the Ankara Police Department when they visited there on Tuesday. Anti-terrorism department officers briefed the five-member commission on the interrogation methods used on the suspects in custody. The commission also visited the room which is known as the "mirror room" where the former deputies of the closed pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) were interrogated. The room is fitted with high-tech microphones and visual transfer and recording devices. Officials said that the foreign human rights commission would also visit other departments and be given information to enable them to prepare their report. (TDN, Oct. 18)

Turkey monitored closely on human rights: European and U.S. human rights commissions have decided to monitor Turkey closely. The Council of Europe's Human Rights Commission inspected the interrogation rooms of the Ankara Police Department on Tuesday. Meanwhile, the U.S. Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs John Shattuck is expected to arrive in Ankara today (Oct. 20) within the framework of his planned visit to Turkey, including southeast Anatolia. Police officials, who gave information to Cumhuriyet, indicated that the delegation had asked about the cells and the mass detention rooms located in the 5th and 6th floors of the police department which they had claimed existed during the September 12 era. The officials stated that those sections had been demolished and new modern interrogation rooms had been built instead. It was indicated that Turkish officials were made aware of the seriousness of the approach taken by the commission when one of the delegation members asked about a "Pontiac" model car which they had seen two years ago during another visit. One official was quoted as saying "Did you come for a touristic visit?" Shattuck will visit southeastern Anatolia after staying in Ankara for two days. The visiting assistant secretary will collect information for a report on human rights in connection with the suspension of a 10 percent share of U.S. military aid. (Cumhuriyet, Oct. 20)

REVIEW

THEATRE

NORTHERN LIGHTS New Grove

PLAYWRIGHT Clare Bayley can rest safe in the knowledge that nobody is going to accuse her of creating a "feel-good" experience as she makes her debut with a jolly little tale of suicide, depression and human suffering at the hands of bureaucracy.

Uptight tearful loner Laura (Lehla Eldridge, whose performance veers between some uncomfortable Mia Farrow-at-her-neurotic-worst impressions and some strong, genuinely moving scenes) despairs of her wild-child sister Susie (Jacqueline Britt, again swinging between over-the-top snarling and warm humour) and her romantically-challenged boss Karen (Anna Ziman), both of whom allow their hearts to rule their heads.

Prim little Laura, all sensible skirts and ballet cardigans, works as a solicitor's clerk dealing with immigration cases, and in her spare time proves to herself how well she is managing her life by helping London's underclass of teenage mothers, drug addicts and drop-outs. She avoids emotional upheaval by avoiding human contact.

All that changes when she falls in love with Pamir (Mozaffar Shafeie, dignified, excellent), a Kurdish refugee seeking asylum in England and working in a burger bar in Archway.

Jump forward in time and Susie is haunting service stations on the M1 to Greenock, following irascible long-distance lorry driver Robbie (Alexander John) as he heads north towards the eponymous Northern Lights.

She has hunted him down because he has unwittingly become involved her life; she is retracing the steps of her sister.

Despite a slow start, Northern Lights fairly bowls along under Shabnam Shabazi's direction, switching back and forth in time as the two interlinked plots wind along to their inevitably tragic conclusion

Ruth Bloomfield

Memories may be made of this



● Loner: Lehla Eldridge as Laura in Northern Lights, at the New Grove Theatre.

Deux Belges reviennent de la frontière turco-irakienne

Kurdistan irakien : évolution turque

Que se passe-t-il à la frontière irako-turque ? Depuis quelques semaines, les autorités turques ont mis fin à leur attitude conciliante vis-à-vis des Kurdes irakiens, dans le droit fil d'une révision globale de leur politique irakienne dans un sens favorable à Bagdad, et cela pour des raisons économiques.

Plus que toute autre, cette région subit les affres des conflits locaux : la lutte des maquisards kurdes turcs du PKK contre l'État central et celle des Kurdes irakiens qui jouissent d'une autonomie de facto par rapport au régime de Saddam Hussein depuis leur révolte appuyée par Washington au printemps 91. Les Turcs, membres de l'Otan et partenaires de la coalition anti-irakienne, avaient jusqu'il y a peu soutenu du bout des lèvres l'expérience du Kurdistan irakien autonome à la requête des alliés. Deux fois par an, le Parlement turc est consulté pour la reconduction de l'opération « Provide Comfort » par laquelle l'ONU et les alliés assurent une certaine aide aux Kurdes irakiens ainsi qu'une couverture aérienne prévue par l'interdiction de survol imposée à l'aviation de Saddam Hussein par des escadrilles alliées basées à Incirlik, en Turquie.

Deux Belges ont été récemment les témoins directs de la situation locale. Sophie Grandprez et Thibaut Van Raemdonck rentrent en effet d'une mission effectuée dans le Kurdistan irakien, via le Kurdistan turc, pour le compte de deux ONG belges qui mettent en œuvre des projets soutenus par la très officiel AGCD en vue de réhabiliter des villages kurdes naguère détruits par la soldatesque irakienne. En vertu de la nouvelle politique turque, ces Belges ont été bloqués à la frontière turco-irakienne sous prétexte qu'ils ne possédaient pas de visas irakiens, alors qu'ils se rendaient dans le Kurdistan « autonome ».

La plupart des cas semblables au nôtre se terminent désormais par un retour à Ankara, constatent-ils. Nous avons eu plus de chance, peut-être parce que nous avons insisté, même après avoir passé plusieurs jours dans une caserne de l'armée turque déployée en force

tre le PKK. La région est vraiment sur pied de guerre mais l'on reste très loin de l'insurrection totale des Kurdes turcs que les chaînes nationales de télévision décrivent chaque jour non sans manipulation aberrante d'images qui font passer tous les Kurdes pour des terroristes.

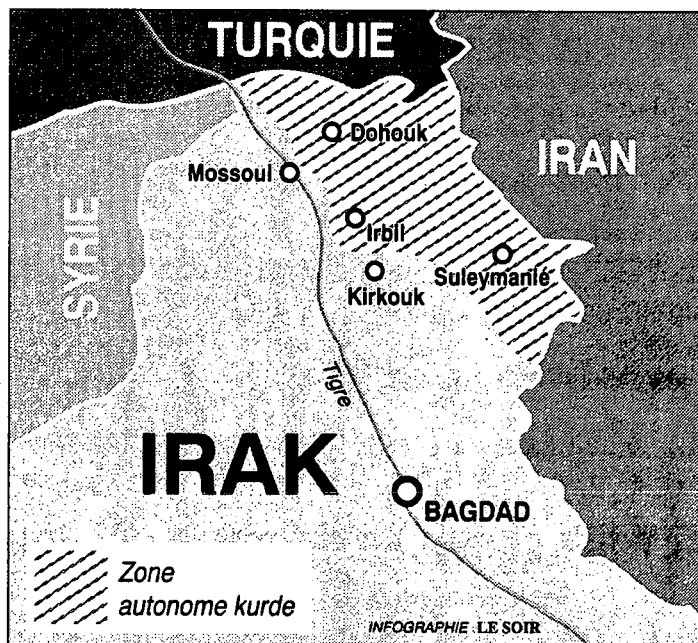
Cette « sale guerre » que se livre l'armée et maquisards dans le Sud-Est anatolien a depuis longtemps débordé les frontières, comme les autorités turques le reconnaissent d'ailleurs. Nous avons assisté à des bombardements au napalm de l'armée turque à environ 15 km à l'intérieur du territoire irakien. Il semble qu'un hélicoptère turc y avait été abattu par des partisans du PKK réfugiés en Irak, ce qui a déchainé l'aviation turque.

Ankara ne cache plus que l'embargo économique qui afflige l'Irak depuis août 1990 lui coûte vraiment cher (50 milliards de dollars, a précisé le ministre turc de l'Industrie et du Commerce, Mehmet Donen, le 11 septembre). La récente nomination d'un nouveau ministre des Affaires étrangères, Mumtaz Soysal, que son aversion pour les initiatives occidentales a rendu célèbre, est venue confirmer la tendance, ainsi que ses propos du 26 septembre le montraient : Les sanctions ont fait de Saddam un héros aux yeux

de son peuple. (...) Je dis à nos alliés : votre politique est erronée. Ou encore : Je ne peux pas sacrifier les intérêts de mon pays pour ceux des États-Unis...

Les Turcs, en fait, ont déjà repris à un rythme encore peu soutenu mais déjà significatif les rapports commerciaux avec les Irakiens. Ainsi nos témoins belges rapportent-ils des souvenirs d'incessants trafics de camions — « des centaines de camions », mais il y en avait quelque 10.000 par jour avant la guerre du Golfe — entre les deux pays, à travers donc une région contrôlée par les « peshmergas » kurdes irakiens qui prélèvent au passage une dime figurant parmi leurs rares revenus. Mais les nouvelles orientations turques à l'égard de l'Irak entravent donc le travail des ONG, capital pour la survie de l'expérience kurde irakienne. Tous les Kurdes irakiens que nous avons rencontrés espèrent que l'Occident ne va pas les laisser tomber, disent encore nos deux témoins. Les pressions sur Ankara, déjà sollicité par l'Europe en raison des droits de l'homme bafoués par l'armée turque, devront sans encore être exercées... si tant est que l'expérience kurde irakienne dépassera à l'avenir la simple volonté de nuire à Saddam.

B. L.



European Human Rights Commission to investigate violations in Southeast

Turkish authorities submit over 2,000 documents, including TDN articles

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- The Strasbourg based European Commission of Human Rights has agreed to investigate a series of alleged human rights violations in cases brought by Kurds against Turkey following hearings held on Oct. 18 and 19, sources said on Friday.

Sources in London said this would be the first time that the commission will openly investigate claims alleging that Turkish security forces are "guilty of indiscriminate killings, murder, disappearances and torture."

In the four cases brought before the commission, victims claimed the Turkish government was "pursuing a policy of death and destruction directed against Kurdish areas, including the burning of villages and the expulsion of their inhabitants." One case involv-

ing complaints of torture, killings and disappearances was adjourned pending the outcome of a prosecution of senior gendarmerie officials in Turkey but the three others will proceed.

Kurdish sources in London said Friday that the Turkish government had denied the claims, producing over 2,000 pages of documentation, including extensive excerpts from articles published on PKK activities in the Turkish Daily News. The commission agreed to hear the cases and is now scheduled to hold further hearings to investigate the allegations and to determine whether the incidents actually do involve violations of the European Convention on Human Rights.

Turkish sources said most of the cases brought before the commission were handled by a London-based orga-

nization called the Kurdistan Human Rights Project (KHRP) and that it had assisted at least 150 individual applicants to bring their complaints before the commission up to now.

Most of the applications against Turkey, KHRP executive director Kerim Yıldız told the TDN, involve allegations of arbitrary executions, indiscriminate killings, destruction and evacuation of villages, torture, rape, disappearances and the persecution of lawyers and MPs.

"The commission's decision to investigate the cases represents a significant step in the campaign of these human rights organizations to stem gross violations of the rights of the Kurdish minority and to promote accountability, democracy and the rule of law in Turkey," Yıldız said.

turkish daily news

Saturday, October 22, 1994

So what is the real picture in the Southeast?



İlnur Çevik

EDITORIAL

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller is either completely unaware of the actual situation in southeastern and eastern Turkey or she is pretending that she does not know what the real picture in the area is.

It is about time she received a proper briefing about the state of the struggle against Kurdish separatist terrorists... On Sept. 12, 1994, the schools were opened throughout Turkey for the new educational year. The prime minister at the time bragged that it was her administration that had created the conditions allowing the schools to be reopened in eastern and southeastern Turkey, regions in which terrorists had paralyzed education for the past three years.

However, we have looked into reports from the region and we have come to the conclusion that the prime minister is completely unaware of the fact that many schools are unable to operate because of the security situation. So what has happened to all the prime minister's propaganda that she had overcome PKK intimidations and had guaranteed safe education in southeastern Turkey?

Beyond this, the battle against the PKK terrorists is continuing to claim lives from all sides on a daily basis. The terrorists are being killed in their dozens. Yet, our boys in the Turkish Armed Forces are also falling victim to terrorist bullets. While the military is involved in an all-out struggle against the terrorists, the government cannot even provide it with the moral support of an effective counter to PKK propaganda.

Villages are being evacuated and people are being left to their own fate. The government, which should be tending to the problems of the

villagers who have lost their homes during the anti-terrorism campaign, is as insensitive to the plight of these people as it is to the other pressing problems of the country.

During a campaign to show the military as the villain because of "village burnings", the government could not even dispatch its interior minister to the region to make the necessary studies and refute the propaganda disseminated by the PKK. The time has come for the prime minister to wake up to the realities of the country and start producing some solutions at the government level to the Kurdish issue. She should not just put everything on the shoulders of the military and sit on the sidelines claiming victory. The military has done its job and we believe it will continue doing its job to the best of its ability. But now it is time for the prime minister to perform her task and supplement the military effort with her own solutions or at least her own parallel measures.

US official starts human rights probe in Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish government officials, bracing themselves on Thursday for stronger-than-usual "friendly advice" concerning a human rights face-lift, looked relieved at seeing John Shattuck, the assistant U.S. secretary of state, arrive on his second visit in three months, more to gather impressions than to make them.

Shattuck's visit takes place against a background of mounting domestic and international criticism over a series of village burnings in Turkey's Kurdish-dominated Southeast.

Government and military officials, at first denying charges that the villages had been deliberately torched by troops to deny sanctuary to the Kurdish guerrillas waging a separatist war in the area, later promised a "thorough investigation" after the media focused on the accounts of the villagers and local politicians who blamed the government forces.

But the government officials looked relieved with the low profile the U.S. official adopted — belying his outspokenness during his first visit in July — although his schedule includes a weekend visit to the Southeast.

Shattuck struck a conciliatory note in talking to reporters after his meeting with Mümtaz Soysal, the foreign minister, focusing on their similar backgrounds as officials of the human rights group Amnesty International and professors of constitutional law.

Soysal who described the meeting as "productive," nevertheless contributed the expected measure of chill when asked if he had requested anything from the visitor. "No, I don't interfere in their domestic affairs," was the curt

answer

Earlier, senior Foreign Ministry sources told the Turkish Daily News that Shattuck had brought no message from the U.S. administration. One highly-placed official said the visit appeared targeted at mollifying the human rights lobby at home on the eve of the congressional elections.

Shattuck's program also included talks with the officials of the militant Turkish Human Rights Association before his trip to the east.

The excesses committed by the security forces in their 10-year war against the Kurdish separatists in the Southeast frequently prompt strong attacks from Western legislatures and human rights organizations.

But the governments refrain from anything further than "friendly advice" for moderation in the anti-guerrilla combat and dialogue with the country's 12 million Kurds, mindful of their dependence on Turkey for propping up the Iraqi Kurds against Saddam Hussein in Iraq.

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

ECF0051 4 F 0331 TUR /AFP-TW33

Eco.-Tourisme

Turquie: plus de 5,2 millions de touristes étrangers en 9 mois

ANKARA, 22 oct (AFP) - La Turquie a accueilli 5.242.289 touristes étrangers au cours des 9 premiers mois de 1994, soit une progression de 2,62% par rapport à la même période de l'année dernière, a annoncé samedi le ministre du Tourisme Sahin Ulusoy.

Le nombre de visiteurs étrangers s'élève à près de 776.000 au mois de septembre, en hausse de 12,7% par rapport à septembre 1993, a indiqué M. Ulusoy lors d'une réunion sur le tourisme dans la station balnéaire de Cesme, dans la province d'Izmir, sur le littoral de la mer Egée (ouest).

"Il semble possible d'atteindre les objectifs prédéfinis pour 1994, de 7 millions de touristes étrangers et 4 milliards de dollars de recettes", a-t-il ajouté.

Le tourisme turc a fait l'objet de 6 attentats à la bombe depuis mars, dont un revendiqué par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) qui mène une rébellion armée depuis 1984 contre Ankara pour créer un Etat kurde indépendant dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde.

Une Tunisienne, un Espagnol et une Britannique ont été tués et 39 autres personnes blessées dont 22 étrangers, dans 4 attentats à la bombe à Istanbul et 2 autres dans les stations balnéaires de Fethiye et de Marmaris sur la Méditerranée (sud-ouest).

Tous ces actes de terrorisme ont été attribués par les autorités au PKK dont le chef, Abdullah Ocalan, alias "Apo", avait menacé à plusieurs reprises depuis juin 1993 de frapper les intérêts touristiques de la Turquie. Selon la rébellion kurde, les revenus touristiques du pays "servent à financer la sale guerre contre les Kurdes de Turquie (ndlr: les opérations de représailles de l'armée turque contre le PKK)".

Après une période de ralentissement due à ces attaques, le tourisme a pris un nouvel essor à partir de juillet, à la suite de campagnes de promotion du ministère et des agences de voyage turques, selon les milieux spécialisés.

CE/gv

AFP /JO0245/221514

OCT 94

Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, OCTOBER 22-23, 1994

U.S. and Britain Warn Iraq *32d Parallel Is Line Drawn in Sand by 2 Allies*

By Julia Preston
Washington Post Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — The United States and Britain have told Iraq that they will use military force to stop any new buildup of Iraqi troops south of the 32d parallel, according to American and British diplomats.

In separate but nearly identical diplomatic notes, the two allies drew the geographic line to define the northern edge of a 150-mile-deep zone in southern Iraq in which they will not tolerate reinforcements, warning they will "respond appropriately and decisively" to any new influx.

American officials said the chief U.S. delegate to the United Nations, Madeleine K. Albright, had told her Iraqi counterpart, Nizar Hamdoon, that the messages mean Iraq should expect major military action against any additional troops dispatched into the area, which lies just north of Kuwait.

In setting a geographic boundary and making explicit the threat of military action, the United States and Britain appeared to take the confrontation with Iraq significantly beyond the UN Security Council resolution passed Saturday in response to Iraqi troop movements in southern Iraq that appeared to threaten Kuwait.

That resolution warned Iraq against any strengthening of its military might near the border but drew no geographic line and contained only a general warning of "serious consequences" if Iraqi troops were reinforced.

The vague language was a concession by the United States to France and Russia, which

feared that the council might be going too far in infringing on President Saddam Hussein's ability to deploy his armed forces within his own country.

The two governments sent the message on Thursday to ensure that Baghdad has "no misunderstanding" about Saturday's resolution, an American official said.

"We have made it clear we would not wait to use very strong military force," he added.

The two Iraqi Republican Guard divisions whose rapid movement southward drew thousands of U.S. troops to the

A second brigade of the 24th Mechanized Infantry Division from Fort Stewart, Georgia, already heading for Kuwait, will go ahead, General Estes said, but additional Marine units, Air Force B-52 bomber squadrons and a second Navy aircraft carrier battle group that had been alerted to head for the Gulf will not go.

Pentagon officials said the total U.S. troop commitment in or around Kuwait would level off at about 36,000, including 12,000 ground troops. Planners at the military's Central Command in Tampa are discussing how long the troops will have to stay, Pentagon officials said.

France was conspicuously absent from Thursday's warnings. This was taken as a sign that important differences persist among the key allies from the 1991 Gulf War.

In negotiations in recent days, American and British diplomats were not able to agree with France on a common message to Baghdad. But French officials said their UN delegate, Jean-Bernard Merimée, met Tuesday with Deputy Prime Minister Tarik Aziz or Iraq in New York to reaffirm that France supports the terms of the Security Council resolution in general.

The 32d parallel is already the northern border of a "no-fly zone" in southern Iraq, over which the allies have banned Iraqi warplanes. The zone is jointly patrolled by the United States, Britain and France, which has 12 Mirage and Jaguar fighter jets stationed in the region for the operation. But it appeared that France will not join in patrols targeted against movements of ground troops.

'We have made it clear we would not wait to use very strong military force.'

An American official.

Gulf region two weeks ago are now north of Baghdad, senior Pentagon officials said. The six Iraqi Army divisions remaining south of the 32d parallel are "not currently in a threatening posture," a senior officer said at a Pentagon briefing, but Iraq remains capable of assembling a force that would be a potential danger to Kuwait "absent a credible deterrent."

With "the threat ameliorated somewhat," the Pentagon canceled further deployments of U.S. troops to the region, said Lieutenant General Howell M. Estes 3d of the U.S. Air Force, operations director for the joint staff.

Le PKK veut négocier une solution politique après dix ans de guerre

Il demande à la Belgique et aux Etats européens d'exercer des pressions sur Ankara

L'important, c'est de voir que cette guerre continue et s'amplifie. Le secrétaire général du PKK a proposé un cessez-le-feu unilatéral, sans condition, en mars 1993. En mars dernier, il a donné « carte blanche » à la Conférence internationale sur le Kurdistan qui se réunissait à Bruxelles en disant aux participants : « *Inscrivez les résolutions que vous adopterez et moi je me soumetts à ces résolutions* ». Cela montre clairement que la partie kurde est pour la paix.

Depuis 70 ans, le peuple kurde est renié. Sa langue a été interdite...

— On peut parler kurde en Turquie. Il y a des publications en langue kurde, des journaux, des hebdomadaires...

— Un journal kurde a été fermé. Tous les autres ont fait l'objet de poursuites judiciaires ou de mesures d'intimidation d'emprisonnement. A « Ozgur Gundem », dix-huit journales ont été assassinés en dix-neuf mois. Peut-on parler de liberté d'expression, de tolérance de la langue kurde ? Les députés du Dep (1), élus par le peuple kurde, sont inculpés, en prison et sont passibles de la peine de mort. Pour quel motif ? Soit-disant pour trahison envers l'Etat. On voit très bien

CARTE BLANCHE

— C'est surtout du côté du PKK qu'il y a des morts...

— Peu importent les chiffres.



Abdullah Öcalan : négociateur... (Photo EPA)

la manipulation puisque ces ex-députés sont maintenant « invités » à se représenter (lors d'élections partielles qui auront lieu le 4 décembre, NdJR). Ce procès ne tient pas debout et ne répond à aucune norme juridique.

Voyez : le problème palestinien est en phase d'être résolu; le problème de l'ANC l'est et Mandela est président; l'IRA et l'Angleterre sont en train de négocier. Ce que nous demandons à la Belgique et aux gouvernements européens, c'est que des mesures concrètes, économiques, politiques, soient prises à l'encontre de la Turquie.

— Economique, cela veut dire un embargo, par exemple ?

— Absolument. Un embargo militaire, sur les livraisons d'armes essentiellement. L'Allemagne l'a fait périodique-

ment, mais c'est reparti. Nous voudrions que la Belgique, ou le Benelux, fasse un premier pas dans ce sens. Qu'il y ait des mesures concrètes et aussi des pressions politiques et diplomatiques...

— Pour que le gouvernement d'Ankara négocie ?

— Qu'il négocie. Il faut que les discussions débutent. Peu importe les conditions pour discuter mais il faut qu'il y ait des discussions.

— A Ankara, y compris auprès d'une majorité de députés, on dit qu'on ne peut pas négocier avec des « terroristes », des « assassins » et qu'il faut d'abord qu'ils déposent les armes.

— Le leader du PKK, M. Abdullah Öcalan, s'est prononcé la-dessus en mars 1993: les armes se sont tuées et il n'y a pas eu d'affrontement pendant 83 jours. La Turquie n'a fait aucun pas, elle n'a pas arrêté ses opérations. Des guérilleros ont été assassinés, des civils.

— Si des pressions diplomatiques s'exerçaient sur le gouvernement turc pour qu'il négocie, le PKK se-rait-il directement prêt à négocier ?

— Absolument. Les Kurdes ne sont pas pour la guerre. Nous sommes ouverts à toute négociation. Qu'il y ait des négociations, c'est ce que nous attendons. Cette guerre nous est imposée.

— Avant, le PKK voulait l'indépendance. Maintenant, quelles seraient vos exigences concrètes ?

— Concrètement, elles sont formulées dans les résolutions de la Conférence sur le Kurdistan à Bruxelles, que nous avons acceptées à l'avance. Il faut qu'on respecte nos droits élémentaires. La réalité aujourd'hui, c'est qu'une femme kurde ne peut donner un nom kurde à son fils. Les noms des villes kurdes ont été turquifiés. Les Kurdes ne peuvent pas parler kurde. Même s'il y a une tolérance, le Kurde ne peut pas avoir son représentant à l'Assemblée nationale. Nous sommes 18 millions de Kurdes en Turquie. Il y a une telle discrimination...

— Au Parlement turc, on dit que, en-dehors du petit noyau du Dep, une centaine de députés sont d'origine kurde ou ont de la famille kurde...

— Ces cent députés qui se disent d'origine kurde n'ont jamais parlé au nom du peuple kurde, n'ont jamais dit qu'il y avait une injustice ou une discrimination, qu'elle soit sociale, politique ou autre, au Kurdistan. Si je suis kurde, je peux entrer dans l'Assemblée nationale de Turquie mais je dois parler au nom des Kurdes. Si je défends les droits des Kurdes, je ne peux pas y entrer. Soixante-quatorze membres du Dep, dont un député, ont été assassinés.

— Si vous négociez, vous accepteriez d'être représentés à la Grande Assemblée nationale ?

— Nous avons vécu mille ans ensemble. Nous pouvons encore vivre mille ans ensemble.

POLITIQUE

— Votre conclusion est qu'il ne peut y avoir de solution au problème kurde sans solution politique ?

— Absolument. La guerre est en train de se généraliser dans toutes les régions. Le même scénario se répète. Lorsque les députés du Dep ont été arrêtés et que leur parti a été dissous, il y a eu des réactions d'un peu partout, notamment de la part de certains Etats, dont la France. La Turquie a aussitôt vu le danger, a vite pris conscience qu'elle avait fait une erreur et qu'il fallait réparer. D'où le scénario pour les élections partielles. D'où l'importance des pressions. Depuis la création de la République, la Turquie a joué son existence sur ses relations internationales. Nous sommes convaincus que les pressions de l'Occident sont déterminantes sur les réactions de la Turquie.

Entretien :
Marc OPSOMER

(1) Dep (Parti de la démocratie) : six députés inculpés en mars dernier se sont réfugiés à l'étranger, dont un a demandé l'asile politique en Belgique. Sept autres, plus un indé- pendant, sont en prison en Turquie.



HUMAN RIGHTS GET-TOGETHER: Minister for State in charge of human rights, Azimet Köylüoğlu (R), who is increasing becoming the butt of jokes in Turkey, is seen here with U.S. Assistant Secretary for State responsible for human rights John Shattuck during their meeting on Friday. At the meeting Köylüoğlu embarked on a long discourse on how Turkish culture predates America and recited poems from mystical Islamic Turkish poets and thinkers. TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

Human rights to be among the most important issues in coming days says ranking US official

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Assistant U.S. Secretary of State in charge of human rights, John Shattuck, has said that he expects the issue of democracy and human right to be among the most important of international issues in the coming days and weeks.

Shattuck, who was speaking late Friday afternoon during a meeting with Turkey's Minister for State in charge of human rights, Azimet Köylüoğlu, added Washington and Ankara were cooperating on these issues within the context of the Vienna Conference on human rights.

Shattuck said that one of the results to come out of this conference is that there is the need to protect human rights more and to establish more democracy globally.

Without naming Turkey he said that the most important points pertaining to region were the questions of the freedom of expression, the right to express oneself in ones own culture, and for people not to be subjected to torture.

Addressing reporters before Shattuck Köylüoğlu acknowledged that there were problems in Turkey, especially in the area of

the freedom of expression, and said that these problems were being pronounced more vocally by people in this country now. He said a decision had been taken by the Council of Ministers that very day concerning the Law on Combatting Terrorism.

He said the government had prepared amendments to this law that expand the scope of the right to self expression in Turkey, provided this right is not used in conjunction with violent activities that are in breach of the law.

"In the event that the bill becomes law,

(non governmental) organizations will find a better environment to operate in. But we are doing this, not because Europe wants it but because Turkey deserves this" he said.

Köylüoğlu added that Turkey was also faced with the problem of terrorism and said: "Great Britain did not use the Bible in fighting the IRA or Spain did not give out carnations to terrorists in its Basque region."

Embarking on what appeared to be a long discourse, Köylüoğlu went on to remark at great length on Turks and Turkish culture and on how old and great this culture was.

He pointed out in this context that Turkish culture predated

Sunday, October 23, 1994

turkish daily news

the discovery of America and said that America was inhabited only by the red Indians when the Turks first appeared on the scene.

Köylüoğlu, who is increasingly becoming the butt of jokes and derisive comments in Turkey for his unorthodox remarks and actions, many of which have little to do with his human rights portfolio, went on to recite verses from Turkish Islamic mystical poets and religion thinkers such as Haji Bektas. Following his prolonged meeting with Köylüoğlu, Shattuck visited the independent Human Rights Association's headquarters in Ankara.

Met there by the associations head, Akin Birdal, he was told that individuals in Turkey did not have legislative guarantees. Birdal also maintained that the changes to the Law on Combatting Terrorism by the government did not expand the scope of the freedom of expression, as claimed, but mere redefined the concept of "thought crime."

Shattuck is due to hold contacts in the Southeast before returning to Ankara on Tuesday.

Housing material, food supplied to displaced persons in southeast

Turkish Daily News

TUNCELI- Housing materials and food for hundreds of refugees from fighting between security forces and Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) militants started arriving in Turkey's eastern Tunceli province on Friday.

A dozen trucks carrying prefabricated shelters, and two others packed with food, arrived in Tunceli from neighboring Erzincan province the Reuters news agency reporting from the region said. The shipments, and a dozen or so expected over the weekend, are scheduled to proceed to Ovacik township, home to at least 15 villages that were forcibly evacuated and set ablaze allegedly by security forces.

Despite the shipments there was no sign of an immediate end to the forced evacuation and burning of remote mountain hamlets,

despite a planned visit to the region by a government human rights team Reuters said.

Villagers in the largely-Kurdish district blame the security forces, but the interior minister says PKK guerrillas dressed in Turkish army fatigues were behind the terror campaign. Musa Yerlikaya, mayor of Ovacik township, was quoted by Reuters as saying the plight of the refugees was desperate. "The winter is coming. What will we do with these people?" he asked. "Every night they are on TV saying the PKK is burning the houses. They are lying," Yerlikaya said.

"Everybody knows the security forces are evacuating and burning the villages."

Newly-arrived refugees said the village of Çayüstü, also in Ovacik township, was set ablaze — but only after soldiers reversed earlier evacuation orders and directed residents to return their possessions to their homes.

Everything was lost in the fires, the refugees said. The events in Tunceli were discussed at Friday's cabinet meeting but no decisions were taken, government spokesman Yıldırım Aktuna said.

"The main thing is to finish the terrorist organization," he said.

Press reports on Saturday said Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had "reprimanded"

State Minister Azimet Köylüoğlu during the cabinet meeting for his public remarks that the security forces in southeastern Anatolia were burning villages.

She is said to have told Köylüoğlu that his remarks were out of keeping with his status as a government minister.

On Thursday, a parliamentary commission ordered an investigation into persistent reports that the security forces were evacuating and burning villages in eastern and southeastern Turkey to deny food and shelter to the guerrillas.

The decision was seen by local MPs as a big step on an issue they say is generally ignored at the highest levels. For the past month security forces have been carrying out one of modern Turkey's biggest offensives, sweeping through Tunceli in a bid to crush the PKK and capture Şemdin Sakık, alias "Fingerless Zeki", the rebels' area commander.

More than 13,000 people have been killed in Turkey in the PKK's 10-year-old war for a separate state.

A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse — A.F.P. — Agence France Presse —

FRA0555 4 I 0251 TUR /AFP-NC19

Turquie-USA-Droitshomme

Un diplomate américain décrit un "cycle croissant de violence" dans le sud-est de la Turquie

ANKARA, 25 oct (AFP) - Le secrétaire d'Etat adjoint américain chargé des Droits de l'Homme et des affaires humanitaires, M. John Shattuck, a déclaré mardi que le sud-est de la Turquie vivait dans un "cycle croissant de violence" et appelé Ankara à "ne pas abandonner ou restreindre les droits de l'Homme dans sa lutte contre le terrorisme".

Dans une conférence de presse à Ankara à l'issue d'une visite de six jours en Turquie lors de laquelle il s'est notamment rendu dans le sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde, M. Shattuck a déclaré repartir "avec une préoccupation grandement accrue devant le cycle croissant de violence" dans cette région.

Il a fait état de "rapports détaillés sur des activités criminelles et terroristes de la part du PKK" (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste), dont "le dernier exemple est l'assassinat de sang-froid d'enseignants". "Les Etats-Unis soutiennent les efforts appropriés pour faire cesser les actes de terrorisme", a-t-il ajouté.

"Mais, a-t-il ajouté, les droits de l'Homme fondamentaux ne doivent pas être abandonnés ou restreints sous prétexte de lutte contre le terrorisme". "Car j'ai aussi entendu de nombreux témoignages sur l'utilisation de la torture dans des cas politiques, (...), de violations des droits de l'Homme lors d'évacuations de villages lors desquelles certains ont été détruits et brûlés".

La solution fédéraliste

Après avoir vainement lutté pour leur indépendance, les Kurdes se résignent à une cohabitation qui respecterait leur identité.

Ils sont de 25 à 30 millions. Ils habitent un pays grand comme la France, connu depuis l'an 1150 sous le nom de Kurdistan. Ils possèdent une identité, une culture, une civilisation qui leur sont propres et dont les origines remontent aux Mèdes de l'Antiquité. Leur langue, qu'ils ont réussi à conserver et qu'ils pratiquent encore dans leur grande majorité, est au turc

PAR KENDAL NEZAN (*)

ce que le français est au hongrois. Elle diffère aussi de l'arabe sémite et n'a de liens de parenté qu'avec le persan, qui descend du même rameau « iranien » de la famille indo-européenne. La série impressionnante des insurrections - 29 rien qu'en Turquie - qui jalonnent leur histoire depuis un siècle ne laisse guère de doute sur la force de leur sentiment d'appartenance à un peuple distinct et leur volonté collective de devenir maîtres de leur destin.

Le président américain Woodrow Wilson, qui souhaitait rendre justice aux peuples éprouvés par la longue nuit de la domination ottomane, fut le premier homme d'État occidental à reconnaître la légitimité des aspirations kurdes et à préconiser, dans sa fameuse Déclaration de 1918, la création d'un Kurdistan indépendant. Le Traité de Sèvres (août 1920) consacra le droit du peuple kurde à un État indépendant. Cependant, ce texte ne fut jamais appliqué. Il fut remplacé par le traité de Lausanne de 1923 qui entraîna le partage du Kurdistan entre quatre États de la région (Turquie, Iran, Irak et Syrie).

Depuis, les Kurdes sont devenus les parias de la communauté internationale. Après avoir vainement tenté, dans les années 1920-1930, d'obtenir par la lutte armée leur indépendance et à la suite de l'échec de l'éphémère République kurde de 1946, dite de Mahabad, les mouvements kurdes ont fini par adopter des stratégies autonomistes, plus réalistes.

Cette stratégie, mise en œuvre d'abord par le général Barzani en Irak, puis par le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan d'Iran du Dr Ghassemlou, évolue progressivement vers une revendication de type fédéra-

liste. En particulier, depuis octobre 1992, où le Parlement du Kurdistan irakien s'est prononcé en faveur du fédéralisme. Même le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), en lutte armée contre Ankara, et à ses débuts indépendantistes, préconise désormais une fédération kurdo-turque ne mettant pas en cause l'intégrité territoriale de la Turquie.

L'idée de base est que, dans une région hautement stratégique, placée entre la Russie et les gisements pétroliers du Golfe, les frontières étatiques existantes, aussi injustes soient-elles, sont intangibles. Il faudrait dès lors trouver une solution permettant la cohabitation, dans le respect de l'identité et de la dignité de chacun, des Kurdes et de leurs voisins. Dans cette conception, les Kurdes devraient, sur les territoires où ils sont majoritaires, avoir un Parlement et un gouvernement régionaux. Leur langue serait enseignée dans les écoles et ils participeraient également, au prorata de leur population, au gouvernement central.

Démocratisation

Le fédéralisme présuppose évidemment la démocratisation des structures des États concernés. Or ni l'Iran des aya-tollahs, ni l'Irak de Saddam Hussein, ni la Syrie d'Hafez el-Assad, ni même la Turquie ne sont précisément des exemples de démocratie. Chacun de ces États est régi par une idéologie officielle intolérante, de nature intégriste, religieuse ou nationaliste. Le plus « ouvert » et occidentalisé de ces pays, la Turquie, refuse de reconnaître l'existence même de ses 15 millions de citoyens kurdes, encore moins celle d'un problème kurde. En guerre contre « le terrorisme », elle a, à ce jour, rasé plus de 1 500 villages kurdes, chassé des millions de Kurdes de leur terre, conduit au bord de la ruine son économie, au nom de la défense de ses mythes nationalistes d'un autre âge, et prétend imperturbablement qu'il n'y a que des Turcs en Turquie.

En 1526, le sultan turc Soliman le Magnifique, dans une lettre adressée à François I^{er},

se vantait d'être le souverain du Kurdistan. En 1994, un autre Soliman (Demirel) tente de convaincre « son » François (Mitterrand) que la Turquie est dans son droit en embastillant et en voulant condamner à mort une jeune femme député, Leyla Zana, coupable d'avoir dit à la tribune de l'Assemblée quelques mots en kurde sur « la fraternité des peuples turc et kurde ».

L'histoire avancerait-elle à reculons dans cette partie du monde ? Les Kurdes, qui vécurent 48 des 71 ans de la République turque sous la loi martiale, n'ont pas fini leur martyre dans un pays où l'on proclame encore officiellement qu'« un Turc vaut tout l'Univers ! » Si la Turquie « démocratique », alliée de l'Occident, réserve un tel sort à sa population kurde, on peut imaginer la condition des Kurdes en Irak et en Iran.

En fait, partout, le « choix » laissé aux Kurdes est implacable : accepter de disparaître en tant que peuple ou régler leur problème au sein des États autoritaires existants. Les princes qui nous gouvernent devraient se rendre à l'évidence : le problème kurde est la principale cause de l'instabilité dans la région. Il a déjà conduit au conflit Irak-Iran et indirectement à la guerre du Golfe, ainsi qu'à la plus grave crise économique, sociale et politique de l'histoire turque. Son pourrissement est porteur des pires dérives extrémistes et intégristes.

Maintenant que la paix entre Israël et ses voisins est en bonne voie, que la guerre froide est enterrée, il faudrait enfin réunir sous l'égide de l'ONU une conférence internationale pour définir, dans le respect des frontières d'État et de la démocratie, un statut acceptable pour le peuple kurde, victime de l'une des plus grandes injustices du XX^e siècle.

K. N.

(*) Président de l'Institut kurde de Paris

Un problème insoluble pour Ankara, Bagdad et Téhéran

Trois Etats face à un peuple éclaté

Ces pays jeunes et fragiles réagissent brutalement aux revendications d'une minorité importante et dynamique.

La commission européenne des droits de l'homme vient, pour la première fois, de déclarer recevables les plaintes de citoyens turcs d'origine kurde contre le gouvernement d'Ankara. Huit plaignants accusent l'armée turque d'avoir attaqué leur village, incendié leurs maisons et de les avoir expulsés. Il y a quinze jours, pour la première fois également, un ministre turc avait accusé l'armée de pratiquer le « terrorisme d'Etat » et de brûler des villages.

Les Kurdes sont nombreux, « mal placés » et remuants. C'est, en forçant le trait, l'opinion qui prévaut en Iran, en Irak, en Turquie et peut-être aussi en Syrie, les quatre pays où ils sont installés.

L'Iran excepté, ces États sont nés des décombres de l'Empire ottoman. Les puissances occidentales victo-

rieuses leur ont découpé des territoires sans trop se soucier des ethnies minoritaires. Les Kurdes, par exemple.

PAR CLAUDE LORIEUX

Soixante-dix ans après, ces États ne sont pas encore vraiment consolidés. Ce sont des

mosaïques de peuples et, parfois aussi, de religions. La démographie aidant, les Perses sont, ou seront bientôt, moins de la moitié de la population de l'Iran : les Azéris, les Kurdes, les Arabes et les Baloutches font trop d'enfants ! Les Arabes de confession sunnite qui régissent l'Irak sont une minorité face aux Arabes chiites, aux Kurdes, sans parler des chré-

tiens. Les Turcs sont, et de loin, majoritaires sur le plateau anatolien. Mais ils n'ont pas oublié la Première Guerre mondiale, quand les alliés s'arrachaient

des lambeaux d'Empire ottoman.

A l'exception de la Turquie – une démocratie orageuse ponctuée d'interventions militaires –, ces pays ont à leur tête des régimes autoritaires. Les rituels électoraux qu'ils s'imposent camouflent mal leur manque d'assise populaire. « Leurs » polices contrôlent donc « leurs » populations, l'ethnie dominante et, bien sûr, les autres. A commencer par les Kurdes. Pour deux raisons essentielles : ils sont très nombreux (25 millions peut-être sur une population totale d'environ 140 millions pour



A Shaklawa, au Kurdistan irakien, des pechmergas (littéralement : « Ceux qui affrontent la mort ») posent devant le portrait du général Moustapha Barzani, figure emblématique des Kurdes d'Irak. (Photo C. Kutschera.)

les quatre pays). Ils vivent dans des régions doublement stratégiques parce que frontalières et parfois riches en hydrocarbures.

Une partie inégale

Constituée en 1946 avec l'appui de Staline, la République de Mahabad (une ville iranienne de 15 000 habitants) fut écrasée dix mois plus tard par l'armée du chah. Les ministres des Affaires étrangères iraniens, syriens et turcs gardent cet épisode en mémoire lors de leurs rencontres régulières sur l'avenir de l'Irak. Il y est surtout question de la région autonome kurde du nord. Elle fut créée après le grand exode du printemps 1991 et végète depuis sous la protection d'avions américains, britanniques et français basés en Turquie.

Entre les nationalistes kurdes et les armées des « pays hôtes », la partie fut toujours inégale. Les « pechmergas » (littéralement : « ceux qui affrontent la mort ») furent parmi les premiers combattants au monde à subir des raids aériens : Sabiha Geokçen, héroïne de l'aviation turque, participa en 1925 à la répression d'une révolte kurde. A la même époque, en Irak, la Royal Air Force en matait une autre...

Les Kurdes ont dû manœuvrer. Ils ont joué une puissance régionale contre l'autre... jusqu'à ce qu'ils tombent victimes de leurs propres contradictions. Piégé par l'URSS dans l'affaire de la république de Mahabad, mollah Moustapha Barzani se refit abuser par les deux « supermen » régionaux : le chah Reza Pahlavi et Saddam Hussein. Le premier l'utilisa contre le second, jusqu'à la réconciliation irako-iranienne scellée à Alger en 1975. Il le laissa alors tomber...

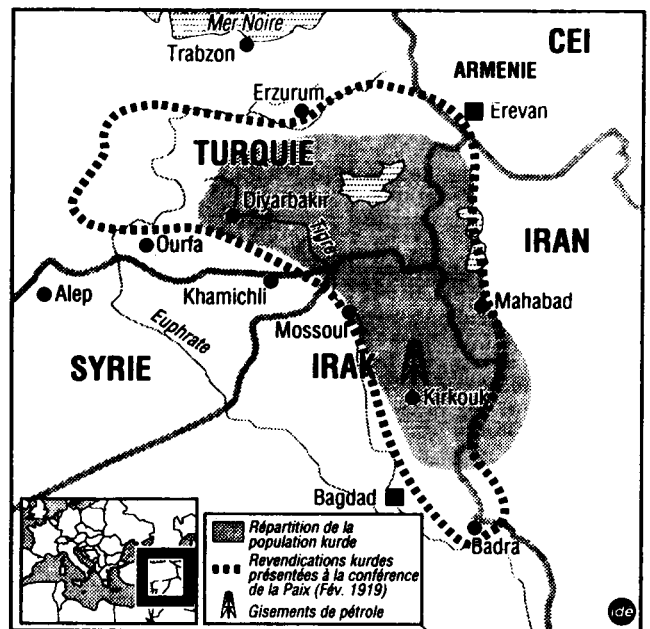
La République islamique fondée par Khomeyni s'essaya aux mêmes stratagèmes tout au long des huit ans de guerre contre l'Irak. Les pechmergas servirent parfois de guides, voire d'avant-garde, aux Gardiens de la révolution, fournissant du même coup au dictateur de Bagdad la « justification » de représailles souvent atroces. Pour interdire les infiltrations, l'armée irakienne dynamita toutes les agglomérations kurdes sur une bande de 30 km le long des frontières iraniennes

et turques. Toutes, y compris Qala Diza, une ville de 70 000 habitants. Cette catastrophe – l'Anfal, dans la mémoire collective kurde – n'eut d'égal que le grand exode vers les montagnes turques, qui suivit l'arrêt imprévisible de la guerre du Golfe, au printemps 1991.

Esprit clanique

Le travail des agents des puissances locales est d'autant plus facile que les Kurdes sont naturellement divisés. Entre 1976 et 1983, une guerre des chefs, particulièrement vicieuse, opposa les partisans de Massoud Barzani et de Jalal Talabani au Kurdistan d'Irak. Et ce n'est qu'en 1988 que les deux hommes firent taire leurs rivalités et formèrent un Front uni... qui s'est fissuré puis pratiquement effondré ce printemps et cet été 1994. Mustapha Hedjiri, chef du PDKI, le principal parti kurde d'Irak, déplore ces combats fratricides. « Les fautes commises par les organisations kurdes d'Irak, nous disait-il en juin dernier, menacent davantage l'ensemble des Kurdes que l'action combinée des pays limitrophes, Turquie, Irak et Iran. » L'esprit national n'a jamais été le fort des Kurdes. Leur réalité est le clan ou la tribu. Ainsi s'explique le gâchis d'Irak du Nord, où une expérience d'unité et de démocratie orientale se perd, en dépit d'une mobilisation exceptionnelle des États occidentaux.

Au Proche-Orient aussi, les frontières héritées de la colonisation sont un tabou. Aucun État ne veut y toucher. C. L.



Sources : Atlas du monde arabe de Rafic Boustani et Philippe Fargues, Bordas, et Atlas des peuples d'Orient de Jean-André Sellier, Éditions La Découverte.

Assimilation, punition, élimination

- Chaque « pays-hôte » a sa méthode face aux Kurdes :
- **Les héritiers de Mustapha Kémal** ont choisi l'assimilation. Les citoyens d'origine kurde peuvent accéder aux plus hautes fonctions (ministre, voire président) à condition de jouer le jeu... Pas question de les laisser gérer leur région. La langue kurde, qui était pratiquement hors la loi, est tolérée.
 - Entre deux punitions, **Saddam Hussein** a joué le jeu du fédéralisme. En 1970, il accordait aux Kurdes la possibilité assez formelle d'élire une assemblée régionale, où les débats se déroulaient en kurde.
 - En Iran, dès 1979, l'**ayatollah Khomeyni** lance les Pasdaran contre les Kurdes de Abdel Rahman Ghassemlou qui réclamaient l'autonomie. Ghassemlou et son successeur Sadegh Sharafkandi seront assassinés en Europe, en 1989 et 1992. C. L.

En 1915...

Aujourd'hui souvent victimes, les Kurdes participèrent en 1915 au génocide arménien décidé par les « Jeunes Turcs »...

« Les massacres des déportés étaient l'œuvre commune des troupes régulières (turques), de bandes de Tcherkesses spécialement enrôlées, de Kurdes et de hordes de malfaiteurs », écrit Johannes Lepsius, théologien protestant allemand, fondateur de la « Deutsche Orient Mission » dans ses Archives du génocide des arméniens (1), tirées des archives d'État allemandes.

« Les Arméniens chassés de la plaine d'Erzeroum ont été attaqués sur la route par des Kurdes et autres bandes de même espèce. La plupart des hommes et des enfants ont été tués, les femmes enlevées », selon un télégramme envoyé le 18 juin 1915 par le Consulat impérial (allemand) d'Erzeroum (Anatolie orientale).

Le 27 juillet de la même année, le consulat impérial d'Alep (aujourd'hui en Syrie) estime que « volontairement ou non, le gouvernement (des Jeunes Turcs, NDLR) laisse dégénérer la situation en massacres des Ar-

méniens par les Tcherkesses et les Kurdes ».

La responsabilité de certaines tribus kurdes dans le plan d'extermination déclenché par le gouvernement « Jeune Turc » est confirmée par Laurent Chabry (prince Hamid Al-Shawi) dans *Politique et minorités au Proche-Orient* (2). « Assurés officiellement de l'impunité, soldats et gendarmes turcs, tribus kurdes et circassiennes, brigands de toute espèce, se ruèrent sur les Arméniens, exterminant dans un premier temps de préférence les hommes jeunes. »

Toutefois des familles kurdes ont aidé des Arméniens persécutés. Des témoignages existent. Dans son *Histoire d'un génocide*, Yves Ternon raconte que des villageois des environs d'Erzeroum « parvinrent à s'enfuir chez les Kurdes et les Kizilnaches qui les accueillirent et les protégèrent ».

C. L.

Monday, October 24, 1994

turkish daily news

US Congressional report: Nationalism will impede US-Turkish relations

Report speculates on 'how much harm' Soysal will cause

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The Congressional Research Service (CRS), an arm of the Library of Congress that provides members of the U.S. Congress with analyses of countries, has raised questions about the future of US-Turkish relations in a recent report entitled "Turkey: Political and Economic Change and Implications for the United States."

The report written by Carol Migdalovitz, CRS specialist in the Middle Eastern affairs, foreign affairs and national defense division, was given a rather chilly reception within Turkish government and Foreign Ministry circles. The fact that Migdalovitz criticized certain senior Turkish officials by name in her report was considered an unwarranted breach of etiquette in Ankara, as well as in Washington.

In particular, Migdalovitz's comments about Turkish Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal and former ambassador Volkan Vural were criticized.

Migdalovitz said that "Çiller reportedly wants her chief foreign policy adviser, ambassador Volkan Vural, in the deputy's post [at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs]. Vural is a former ambassador to the Soviet Union/Russia and critics suggest that his knowledge of the West and of the United States is far less keen than Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk's. This deficiency might complement Soysal's preference for policy independence, to the detriment of bilateral relations. Vural's roots in the Foreign Ministry, on the other hand, might hearten its careerists."

A source close to both the U.S. Congress and the Turkish Foreign Ministry told TDN that Migdalovitz' assertions were surprising, given the fact that "she doesn't know Volkan Vural in person. I'm not even sure if she knows Turkish. So I don't know where she's getting her information from."

Referring to Soysal, Migdalovitz implied that the question was not if Soysal would harm US-Turkish relations but "how much harm he would do."

"If Soysal is given his head, it could signal a new era in Turkey's international relations," Migdalovitz wrote. "It remains uncertain how much independence Ciller and the Turkish General Staff will grant Soysal or if office-holding will moderate his views during the expected short duration of the coalition. This, in turn, will affect how much harm he can do."

While talking about the former foreign minister, Hikmet Çetin, on the other hand, Migdalovitz said "Karayalçın ineptly forced out the very competent Foreign Minister Hikmet Çetin."

Dangers of nationalism

Migdalovitz, at several places in her report, draws attention to the negative implications of rising Turkish nationalism for the future of US-Turkish relations. "Except for Cyprus, foreign policy issues heretofore have not been a subject of U.S.-Turkish discord," she wrote. "In the near term, however, nationalism, evidenced by the rising voices of Refah, MHP, Soysal, and others, is likely to impede bilateral and multilateral concord." She said American "policy makers may be faced with a hard choice between upholding ideals and accommodating Turkish sensitivities for strategic objectives. And, even if principle is compromised, they may still find that Turkish nationalism will cool bilateral ties."

Within this context, the CRS report mentions the results of a poll commissioned by the United States Information Agency (USIA) which was conducted in October/November 1993. The poll revealed that "The Turkish public is anti-American....[there is] a clear belief that Washington sides with Turkey's enemy Greece and that American troops on Turkish soil are bad for the country and should be withdrawn. The poll found that Turks are turning eastward rather than westward."

The report, which presents a well-informed panorama of the recent economic and political developments in Turkey, touches upon many crucial issues that confront Turkey today, like the "Kurdish Factor," State Security Courts, the rise of political Islam, Turkey's recent economic crisis, and the ups-and-downs of the DYP-SHP coalition government.

Migdalovitz concludes by saying that "Refah, right-wing extremists, and others call for a more independent foreign policy at the same time as many in the West and the United States question Turkey's continuing strategic importance and criticize its democracy and human rights record. On both sides of the bilateral relationship, therefore, a dynamic is at work that may attenuate ties, but not sever them.... To survive, bilateral ties will have to be nurtured by both sides."

Lack of basic courtesy puts Ankara in bad light for West

By Semih D. Idiz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-The rude welcome accorded to Assistant U.S. Secretary of State John Shattuck by cabinet ministers and senior politicians alike, during his current visit to Turkey, has demonstrated perhaps more than ever before, Ankara's inability to develop an appropriate response to what is becoming a priority issue in its dealings with the West.

NEWS ANALYSIS

The "verbal beatings" Shattuck received on Friday from Azimet Köylüoğlu, minister for state in charge of human rights and on Saturday from Kamer Genç, deputy Parliamentary speaker were in the estimation of senior foreign ministry officials "totally unnecessary" and "extremely counterproductive." While not independently corroborated, Shattuck was quoted by the privately owned Show-TV on Saturday night as saying confidentially, after his meeting with Köylüoğlu, words to the effect that "if this is their minister for human rights then the quality of Turkey's human rights should come as no surprise." The treatment meted out to Shattuck, a soft-spoken professor of law by profession, was also in complete contrast with what official sources reported was his "conciliatory tone" during his talks in Ankara, especially with foreign minister Mümtaz Soysal. Somewhat surprised senior foreign ministry sources had told the Turkish Daily News on Friday that, contrary to the general expectations surrounding his visit, the Assistant Secretary for State responsible for human rights had brought no messages or requests from the U.S. administration.

They said he seemed to be here more to listen to Turkish officials, and to gauge at first hand the government's self professed plans for human rights improvements, rather than to appear as if he was visiting to "dictate" Washington's demands. On his arrival in Ankara, Shattuck was keen to state that his visit was taking place in response to invitations he had received from the Turkish side, thus trying at the outset to dispel notions that he was on an "inspection tour." Stretching his meeting with Shattuck far beyond its planned limit, Köylüoğlu had embarked on a long and boring discourse on Turkish culture and how this predated America itself. "When there was no one but the Red Indians in America, my people were at the gates of Vienna" Köylüoğlu said, his remarks leading to embarrassment all around, even among the reporters following the event.

In an apparent attempt to "turn the table" on Shattuck, Deputy Parliamentary speaker Kamer Genç on Saturday

said in reference to the U.S. official's visit that "it was normal for countries in the same camp to seek information on each other." He said that his meeting with Shattuck should not therefore be considered as an "accounting" by Turkey for transgressions. "For example, I personally would like to ask the Assistant Secretary of State why the U.S. invaded Haiti" Genç said. Friday's meeting with Soysal was held within the bounds of "diplomatic parameters" in terms of basic manners — judging by the accounts of officials close to the talks.

It still appeared later that the foreign minister was also not exempt from a self-defensive and somewhat angry tone concerning Shattuck's visit.

Asked by reporters after meeting Shattuck about the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State's other contacts in Turkey, Soysal retorted that "he would meet only with people and go only to places, he has been allowed to meet with and go to by Ankara." Analysts say that publicly pronouncing in this tone what is obvious anyway, presumably for the sake of domestic political consumption, has merely added to the tension surrounding the senior US official's visit to Turkey.

They also point out the irony that both Köylüoğlu and Genç have been most vocal recently in accusing the security forces in the southeast of evicting villagers and burning down their houses during operations against militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

Köylüoğlu, in fact, has been so vocal on this that he was said to have been severely reprimanded by Prime Minister Tansu Çiller during Friday's cabinet meeting, when he was reportedly told by Çiller, in effect, to "shut up." Genç's outspokenness on the question of village burnings was based on the fact that most of the reported incidents of burnings were in Tunceli, his own province from where he was elected deputy for the Social Democratic People's Party (SHP). Their defensive, and in fact offensive, attitudes when meeting Shattuck, despite their self-professed interest in these and other alleged violations of human rights, appears to have highlighted the inability in Ankara to come up with a viable response to Western critics of Turkey's human rights record. Diplomatic analysts are predicting that this attitude of Ankara's — ultimately based on the notion that the West basically has one agenda item which is to dismantle Turkey using the Kurdish issue as an excuse — is set to put Turkey increasingly in a position of direct confrontation with Europe and the United States.

Officials in the Southeast brief high ranking US State Department envoy

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Visiting U.S. Assistant Secretary of State responsible for human rights, John Shattuck, continued his series of contacts with Turkish officials and private organizations in Diyarbakır on Sunday.

Holding separate meetings with the city's governor, mayor, and the chief of security, as well as emergency region governor Ünal Erkan, Shattuck was told of the plans to revitalize the regions depressed economy and of its continuing needs in this respect.

He was also informed of the point reached in the fight against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which is waging a bloody separatist war in southeast Anatolia.

The Anatolian news agency reporting from Diyarbakır said on Sunday that on receiving Shattuck, Governor Doğan Hatipoğlu referred to the city's history and its problems and said the government was implementing special programs to revive the regional economy.

Hatipoğlu said that Diyarbakır and its surroundings were earmarked as "priority regions for development" and added that they were trying to overcome the economic deprivation which has accompanied the spread of PKK terrorism.

Responding to questions by Shattuck, Hatipoğlu denied reports that there were people living in tents in Diyarbakır. He acknowledged however that the city's population had increased because of migration as a result of terrorism, and added that this had brought along serious problems, especially in the area of educational needs.

Hatipoğlu said that a priority issue for them now was to erect new building that could be used for meeting these mounting educational requirements.

Asked by Shattuck how those migrating from the rural parts of the region would be able to use their votes in the upcoming by-elections, Hatipoğlu said these people would cast their ballots by getting a "residence document" from their district prefect verifying their status as residents regardless of whether they were new arrivals or not.

Following his meeting with Hatipoğlu, Shattuck met with Diyarbakır's chief of security, Rıdvan Güler.

Güler said that great strides had been taken in the fight against terrorism to the relief of the city. He said that they would continue to work to the same end in the coming period.

Asked about whether those detained by the police could meet with their lawyers, Güler said that those detained as suspects in ordinary cases could.

He added that lawyers of those detained under the Law on Combatting Terrorism, however, had to first get permission from the prosecutors office.

Responding to a question about the abuse of their powers by the police, Güler said that the necessary steps were taken immediately in such cases.

He said there were three officers who were currently in prison because of this.

In response to a question about the educational level of the police, Güler said they were trying to improve this. He added that human rights and public relations had started to be taught in police academies and various police courses.

Güler also said that the European Commission on Human Rights was constantly conducting probes in the region, and indicated that they had taken steps to improve conditions in prisons that were said to fall short of set human rights standards.

Still no education in the Southeast as 1,400 new teachers stay away

To date 117 teachers have been killed in the region

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Statistics issued by the Education Ministry clearly show that terrorism in Turkey's Southeast has seriously disrupted education in the region and has deprived locals of security in their everyday lives.

To date 117 teachers have been killed in the Southeast and of the newly appointed teachers to the region 1,400 have not taken up their posts. Furthermore, 591 schools have been closed down because of staff shortages, while 4,000 schools have remained closed due to lack of security.

Information received from officials at the Education Ministry indicates that although the new 1994-95 academic year began two months ago, an estimated total of 5,000 schools have been unable to provide educational services. This figure includes schools located in evacuated villages.

"The regional authorities requested that these schools stop providing educational services, not us. As a result, the ministry is in no way responsible for this," Education Ministry officials said.

On the other hand, 1,400 of the 10,000 teachers appointed to the schools located in the Southeast did not report for work and refused to work, giving lack of security as the reason. Ministry officials indicated that 8,650 teachers did go to the region and started the new school year. They added that the posts left vacant by teachers who had refused to go to the Southeast, would be filled.

Officials stated that approximately 136,000 students were receiving elementary and high-school education in the region. Pointing out that the Defense and Education Ministries had come to an agreement on how to solve existing educational problems in the

Southeast, the officials said:

"A majority of the young men who graduate from teacher training institutions want to serve as reserve officers during their entire military service. Those for whom there is no officer's post serve as privates."

Officials indicated that after completing their basic training, 950 of these privates would be sent to the region as teachers and would be appointed to posts in schools in the region, adding "This procedure will be adjusted according to needs in the future."

Officials also said that the Education Ministry did not look with favor on teachers arming themselves in southeastern Turkey but added that if a teacher serving in the region was to request permission to carry a gun, he could receive one by applying to the necessary authorities like any other citizen.

Recalling that members of educational institutions and teachers were being targeted and that 117 teachers had been killed by militants of the separatist organization so far, officials said that despite these dangers, "our teachers are aware of their responsibilities because our citizens living in those regions are also in need of training and education."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1994

Oil Tanker Is Held for Violating Iraq Ban

Reuters

KUWAIT — An oil tanker captain whose vessel was intercepted in the Gulf on suspicion of violating United Nations sanctions admitted Monday that he had loaded diesel fuel in Iraq for export in violation of the embargo.

Izzat Abdulhadi Khalifa, master of the Al Mahrousa, said he had loaded 3,162 tons of diesel oil in the Iraqi port of Zubayr and then sailed south, away from Iraq, into international waters.

Asked if he knew that he had broken the embargo, Mr. Izzat, an Egyptian, replied in English: "I knew all that, but what could I do at that time? All the people knew," he said, meaning that the crew was aware of the operation.

But he insisted that when he left Dubai on Oct. 11 at the beginning of the voyage he did not know that he would be ordered to go to Iraq. He said he was told by his charterer that he

would be heading to the Iranian port of Abadan.

But when he anchored in international waters in the northern Gulf on Oct. 14, he received new instructions from an Iraqi agent of his charterer.

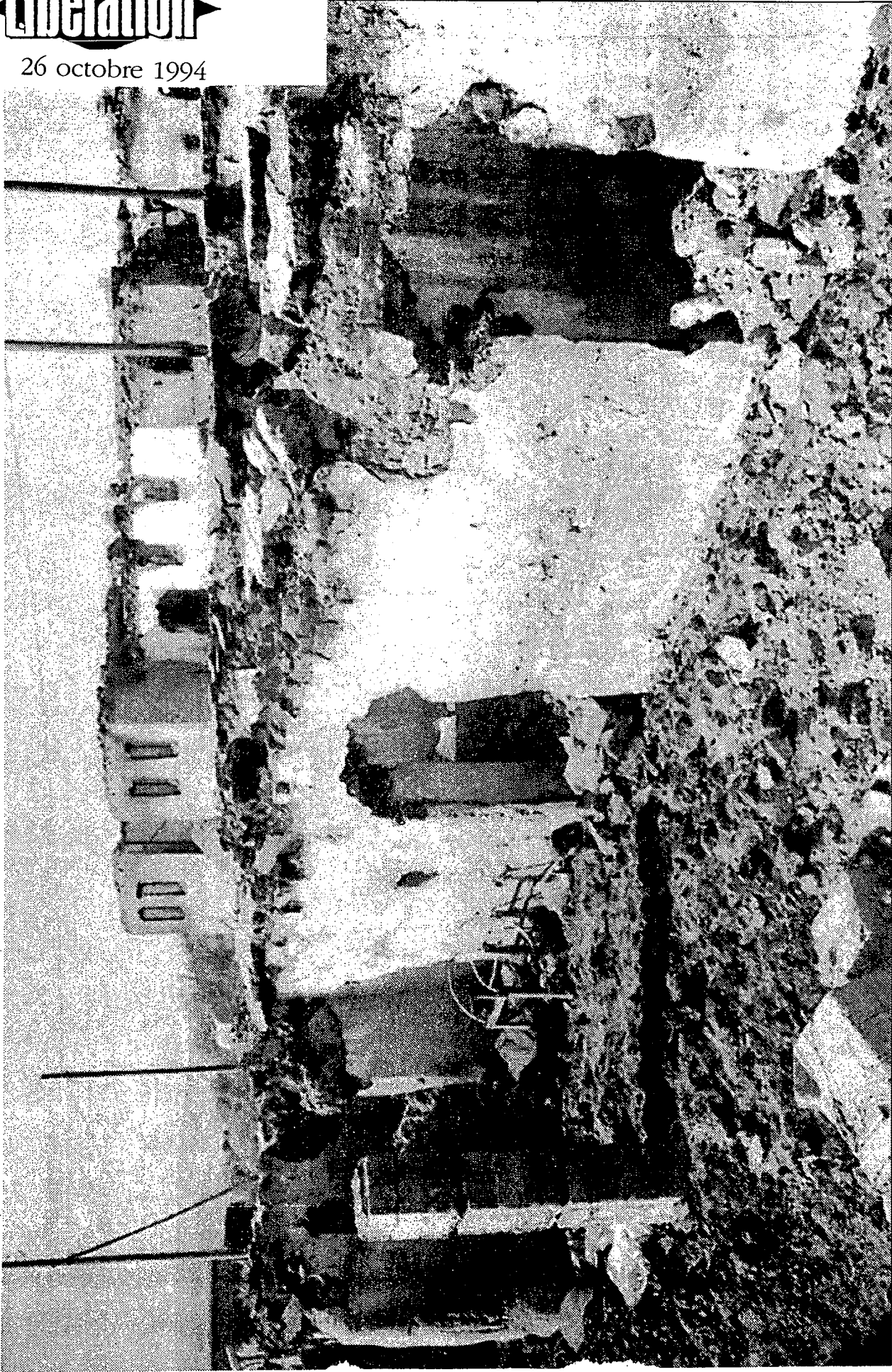
He said the agent arrived at his vessel in a tug to deliver the orders.

Some crew members said the spot they anchored in the Gulf indicated a prior intention to go to Iraq.

A U.S. warship, part of a four-year-old ship monitoring operation, stopped the Honduran-flagged tanker in international waters in the northern Gulf on Saturday.

Liberation

26 octobre 1994



Des centaines de hameaux kurdes rasés en Turquie

Les ruines du village d'Agarti Koyu, dans la région de Tunceli, où l'armée turque mène depuis un mois une vaste offensive contre les « rebelles séparatistes » du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan).

Dans les treize départements du sud-est de la Turquie peuplés en majorité de Kurdes et placés sous le régime de l'état d'urgence, plusieurs centaines de hameaux ont été ainsi évacués puis rasés ces

derniers mois par l'armée turque qui applique la politique de la terre brûlée, regroupant par la force dans les centres urbains les populations des villages suspects afin d'isoler la guérilla kurde.

Des centaines de réfugiés chassés par les combats errent dans les montagnes. Quelques 14 000 personnes, dont de nombreux civils, ont trouvé la mort depuis dix ans dans cette guerre.

Frau Cillers rosiger Haushalt

Vorbote vorgezogener Allgemeinwahlen in der Türkei?

Wirtschaftsexperten in der Türkei stimmen weitgehend darin überein, dass das Budget der Regierung für 1995 eine Ansammlung von zwar rosigen, aber kaum realisierbaren Zielen darstellt. Sie nennen deshalb den vor einer Woche präsentierten Haushalt einen «politischen Haushalt» und vermuten, dass er Vorbote von vorgezogenen Neuwahlen sein dürfte. Internationale Finanzorganisationen sind über die jüngste Entwicklung besorgt.

it. Istanbul, 24. Oktober

Die Zahlen, die der türkische Finanzminister *Ismet Atilla* Mitte Oktober in seinem Staatshaushalt als Planwerte für 1995 präsentierte, lösten unter Experten vorerst Verwirrung aus. Wie der Finanzminister erklärte, werde der Etat für 1995 in der Höhe von 1 Quadrillion 331 Trillionen t£ (38 Mrd. \$) ein Defizit von 198 Trillionen t£ (5,6 Mrd. \$) vorweisen, was lediglich 4,6% des erwarteten Bruttoinlandproduktes (BIP) entspricht. Die Ausgaben sollen gegenüber 1994 um 50% auf 909 Trillionen t£ (26 Mrd. \$) steigen; davon entfallen 43% auf Transfers inklusive Schuldendiensten und 46% auf die Löhne des Staatspersonals. Laut dem Finanzminister werden dabei 77% der Gesamtausgaben durch die Steuereinnahmen gedeckt. Die Steuern sollen dem Staat umgerechnet also 25 Mrd. \$ einbringen. Die Exporte würden sich auf 19,5 Mrd. \$ und die Importe auf 27 Mrd. \$ belaufen. Die Jahresinflation werde schliesslich von der gegenwärtigen Rate von über 110% auf 22,5% reduziert werden, ohne die geplante Wachstumsrate von 4,4% zu beeinflussen. Das türkische Pfund soll im kommenden Jahr gar nicht abgewertet werden. «Rosig und wirklichkeitsfremd» sei das Budget der Regierungschefin und Wirtschaftsprofessorin *Ciller*, kommentierten einstimmig die Experten. Die Presse zeigte erstaunlicherweise bisher wenig Interesse an den Wirtschaftsplänen der Regierung. Wie viele Nullen hat eine Quadrillion, wollte nach Verkündung des Staatshaushalts die Tageszeitung «*Milliyet*» von den Kabinettsmitgliedern lediglich wissen. Von den Ministern wussten nur zwei, dass eine Quadrillion 15 Nullen hat.

Vertrauensmangel als Krisensymptom

Nach der ersten Überraschung gingen die Wirtschaftsexperten in die Offensive. In der Türkei habe die Präsentation von Budgets, die über keinerlei wirtschaftlichen Wert verfügen, dafür aber politisch besonders gefärbt seien, Tradition, schrieb etwa *Burak Bekdil* in der englischsprachigen «*Daily News*». Laut *Bekdil* hatten die Experten der Regierung im ihrem anfänglichen Staatshaushaltentwurf ein Defizit von 400 Trillionen t£ vorgesehen, bevor die Politiker intervenierten und die Experten dazu überredeten, ihre Prognosen zu «zensurieren». Das Ziel der Regierung, Steuereinnahmen in der Höhe von 25 Mrd. \$ zu verzeichnen, hält auch *Hikmet Ulugbay* für sehr optimistisch. Laut seinen Argumenten könnten mit der sich abzeichnenden Einnahmenschumpfung in diesem Jahr höhere Steuereinnahmen für 1995 kaum erwartet werden. Ein Austerity-Programm, das die Regierung letzten April verkündet hatte, sieht darüber hinaus reale Lohninbussen um 15% vor. Dies werde sich bei den Steuereinnahmen bemerkbar machen. *Hikmet Ulugbay* bezeichnete den Staatshaushalt für 1995 deshalb ein «Märchen der Tante Ciller».

Märchenhaft mutet tatsächlich das Ziel an, die gegenwärtige Inflationsrate von über 110% plötz-

lich auf 22,5% um das fünffache hinunterzudrücken. Ein solches Ziel wäre denkbar nur, wenn die Regierung den unersättlichen öffentlichen Sektor einer eisernen Disziplin unterstellen könnte, kommentierte die Tageszeitung «*Milliyet*». Die Koalitionsregierung, in ideologischen Differenzen zerstritten und in einen persönlichen Machtkampf verstrickt, stünde aber am Rande des Zusammenbruchs. «*Milliyet*» bezichtigte die Politiker der Koalition, durch ihr Verhalten das Budget für 1995 zu einem «wenig glaubwürdigen, kaum angesehenen Dokument» verkommen zu lassen. Wohlgesinnt, aber kaum optimistisch waren auch die Kommentare der Tageszeitung «*Sabah*». Der Löwenanteil des Staatshaushalts gehe an den Schuldendienst und an die Löhne der Armee, der Polizei und der Staatsangestellten, schrieb der Wirtschaftsexperte der «*Sabah*», *Ali Riza Kardüz*. Ziehe man diese Summen vom Staatshaushalt ab, bleibe für Investitionen oder Dienstleistungen nichts Wesentliches übrig.

Der Entwurf des Staatshaushalts und der offenbar ungebrochene Optimismus Frau Cillers haben unter der türkischen Unternehmerschicht Besorgnis ausgelöst. Sie glauben, dass der kaum realisierbare Etat ein klarer Vorbote für vorgezogene Allgemeinwahlen sei, was aber eine Fortsetzung der politischen Instabilität und die erneute Aufschubung der dringend gebotenen Korrekturmassnahmen und Reformen in der Wirtschaft als Folge hätte. Nach dem Austerity-Programm vom letzten April wurden über 500 000 Arbeitnehmer in unbezahlten Urlaub geschickt. Als Folge wird davon das Bruttosozialprodukt dieses Jahr einen Rückgang um 3,8% verzeichnen und das Pro-Kopf-Einkommen von 2930 \$ auf 2200 \$ zurückgehen. Diese Opfer drohen aber resultatlos zu bleiben, falls die versprochenen strukturellen Reformen – wie beispielsweise die Privatisierung der maroden Staatsbetriebe – für nach den Neuwahlen aufgeschoben werden. Laut dem Vorsitzenden der Industriekammer in Ankara, *Sözer Özel*, waren die Signale in der Wirtschaft nach dem Austerity-Programm für kurze Zeit optimistisch, obwohl die Inflation mit rund 115% die höchste in der Geschichte der Republik Türkei seit deren Gründung im Jahre 1923 war. Den Staatshaushalt bezeichnete auch er als absolut unrealistisch.

Bedenken beim IMF

Beamte internationaler Finanzinstitutionen äussern indessen immer öfters auch öffentlich ihre Besorgnis über die jüngste Entwicklung der türkischen Wirtschaft. Laut einem Beamten des Internationalen Währungsfonds (IMF), der in der «*Daily News*» zitiert wird, sind vor allem die in diesem Jahr beachtlich gewachsenen Kosten des Schuldendienstes besorgniserregend. Die Türkei muss für ihre mittel- und langfristigen Schulden Tilgungs- und Zinszahlungen von 11,1 Mrd. \$ leisten. Laut dem IMF-Beamten gibt es keine Zwei-

fel, dass die Türkei ihre Schulden zurückzahlen wird. Doch der Schuldendienst wird deshalb möglich, weil die Regierung im In- und Ausland neue Kredite aufnehme. Damit zahle sie die alten Schulden; die Türkei muss aber immer höhere Zinsen für die neue Schulden bezahlen.

Die politische Ungewissheit und das grosse Vertrauensdefizit dieser Regierung dürften im Moment die wirtschaftliche Krise weiter anhei-

zen. Die Vertrauenskrise, die Anfang des Jahres die türkische Finanzwelt faktisch gelähmt hatte, dürfte sich indessen auch in ausländischen Finanzorganisationen breitgemacht haben. Ausgelöst wurde dies auf Grund der notwendigen Privatisierung der Staatsbetriebe, welche die Regierung trotz allen Versprechungen bisher nicht fähig war, effektiv voranzutreiben.

Le Courrier - 27 octobre 1994

SOLIDARITÉ

Des parlementaires lancent un appel au Gouvernement turc

Des conseillers nationaux suisses estiment que la question kurde devrait pouvoir être résolue grâce au dialogue et non par les armes.

Une quarantaine de conseillers nationaux ont signé une lettre ouverte pour réclamer la libération immédiate de leurs huit collègues kurdes, membres du Parlement turc et détenus depuis plus de sept mois en Turquie pour délit d'opinion.

«L'idée que des parlementaires d'un pays, se disant démocratique, soient incarcérés pour leurs opinions politiques est pour nous insupportable», relèvent les signataires. Ils lancent donc un appel urgent au Gouvernement turc afin qu'il rétablisse l'immunité des députés incarcérés.

«La question kurde, qui provoque en Turquie des luttes sanglantes, doit pouvoir être résolue grâce au dialogue politique et non par les armes», estiment les parlementaires suisses.

Une manière comme une autre, pour eux, de rappeler l'actualité d'une question qui ne fait pas la «une» des médias occidentaux. «Ces emprisonnements auront peut-être pour effet positif de faire bouger les choses», déclare Mme Angéline Frankhauser (s), coauteur de la lettre.

UN PROBLÈME QUI DATE

Le «problème kurde» est aussi vieux que l'histoire de la Turquie moderne. En 1923, lors de la fondation de la République turque par Atatürk, l'entité née des décombres de l'empire ottoman prévoyait en effet de s'appeler «République turque et kurde», avant que la formule ne soit subrepticement érodée lors des ratifications protocolaires de Lausanne.

A partir de là, l'histoire kurde en Turquie est rythmée par un cycle des

répressions et des révoltes. En 1938, la langue kurde est officiellement interdite. Par le truchement des écoles, une campagne d'assimilation est lancée, visant à rayer toutes les références kurdes de l'héritage culturel de ces populations. Il faudra attendre 1958 pour que la première université ouvre ses portes au Kurdistan turc. Une lacune qui pousse à l'exil de nombreux intellectuels kurdes.

Sur le plan politique, les autorités d'Ankara ont longtemps su se jouer habilement des rivalités communautaires et religieuses existant au sein de la population kurde. Toutefois, dans les années soixante et septante apparaissent les premières véritables organisations politiques, sous l'inspiration des mouvements de libération alors actifs dans les pays du tiers-monde. En 1979, le PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) est fondé et en 1985 le ERNK (Front de libération patriotique du Kurdistan). Ces deux mouvements ont peu à peu élargi leur audience jusqu'à regrouper aujourd'hui les principales tendances de la mouvance politique kurde.

Depuis le début des années nonante, un phénomène nouveau est apparu au Kurdistan turc: le glissement du conflit vers une véritable révolte populaire, donnant naissance à une «Intifada kurde».

UNE SITUATION EXPLOSIVE

Au vu de ces récents développements, Mme Frankhauser réclame une approche plus lucide de la question kurde. «L'image du militant du PKK, stalinien et poseur de bombes, sert de prétexte à l'immobilisme des Gouver-

nements démocratiques. Derrière cette caricature, il y a les souffrances de quelque vingt millions de Kurdes», estime-t-elle.

L'attitude du Conseil fédéral sur cette question? Interrogée à ce sujet, la parlementaire regrette le manque de disponibilité des conseillers fédéraux.

Mais elle reconnaît que «la Suisse se trouve dans une position délicate depuis la fermeture de l'ambassade turque à Berne et le rappel de l'ambassadeur suisse à Ankara». Une détérioration des relations diplomatiques intervenue en août 1993, à la suite de la fusillade devant l'ambassade de Turquie à Berne qui avait provoqué la mort d'un manifestant kurde. Dès lors, toute action entreprise de manière non officielle pour faire pression sur le Gouvernement turc est considérée comme criminelle de la part des autorités d'Ankara.

Pour Mme Frankhauser, il serait donc préférable de rétablir le contact avec Ankara. «en évitant toutefois de faire comme si rien ne s'était passé. Il faudra trouver une formule qui ménage la chèvre et le chou. Dans tous les cas, poursuit-elle, il est urgent d'œuvrer à l'instauration d'un dialogue entre les autorités turques et les dirigeants kurdes. Il y a urgence parce que la désintégration économique et sociale au Kurdistan aboutit à une situation explosive».

Un message également exprimé par les représentants des associations kurdes à Genève. «Les dirigeants kurdes appellent de tous leurs vœux à une solution pacifique», concluent-ils.

JACQUES ERARD

TURQUIE Comment s'étonner, clame cet editorialiste d'Istanbul, que l'Occident récuse la démocratie à la turque ? Et comment s'étonner que l'Union européenne gèle l'activité de la Commission parlementaire européen-turque ?

Commençons par respecter la démocratie

L'adhésion turque à l'UE et la question kurde

CUMHURİYET - ISTANBUL

Lors d'un récent entretien à New York, le ministre des Affaires étrangères turc, Mümtaz Soysal, a rejeté la proposition de son homologue allemand, Klaus Kinkel, qui suggérait que la CSCE envoie dans le sud-est de l'Anatolie une délégation d'observateurs.

Pour repousser cette proposition, M. Soysal a expliqué qu'une telle initiative serait très mal interprétée par l'opinion publique turque, qui la verrait comme une "inspection" étrangère. Il a, en revanche, rappelé à M. Kinkel les agressions qui surviennent contre les Turcs en Allemagne...

Telles sont les informations transmises par les agences. Mais celles-ci ne parlent pas uniquement de ce qui s'est passé en Amérique. Le Parlement européen, lui aussi, a récemment pris une décision négative envers la Turquie : il a gelé ses relations avec la Commission parlementaire mixte européen-turque. Notre ministère des Affaires étrangères et les représentants des partis politiques ont fortement réagi contre cette résolution, motivée par la mise hors la loi du DEP (Parti

Il est très difficile de justifier en Occident la dissolution d'un parti légal, l'arrestation de ses députés

démocratique du travail, fondé par des nationalistes kurdes) et les pro-



Çiller : "Je refuse, on n'a pas dû consommer tant d'électricité que ça..."
AGIK = CSCE (conseil pour la sécurité et la coopération européennes) - Facture des droits de l'homme. Dessin de Musa Kart paru dans Cumhuriyet - TURQUIE

cès actuellement en cours à l'encontre de ses députés emprisonnés.

On peut comprendre les réactions d'Ankara contre cette résolution, mais plutôt que critiquer l'attitude du Parlement européen, il vaudrait mieux voir ce qui se passe en Turquie sur le fond.

Aussi bien à l'Assemblée nationale que dans l'opinion publique, certains s'opposent à la levée de l'immunité des députés du DEP [mesure qui a permis de leur intentier un procès pour les opinions qu'ils ont professées]. Des milieux démocrates se sont élevés pour critiquer leur arrestation, la façon dont cette arrestation a été menée et le fait que les députés soient gardés en détention pendant la durée des procès. Mais on n'a pas voulu écouter ces voix, on a essayé d'exclure ceux qui expriment ce qui n'est que le bon sens, ceux qui qualifient d'erreur l'action menée par le Pre-

mier ministre, Tansu Çiller, qui lançait : "Nous allons expulser le PKK de l'Assemblée nationale." [M^{me} Çiller assimile le DEP à une émanation du parti kurde utilisant la terreur au Kurdistan turc.]

A l'heure actuelle, la situation est devenue impossible. La décision de procéder à des élections partielles dans le Sud-Est l'a compliquée davantage. Et la résolution du Parlement européen vient s'y ajouter. Il est raisonnable que M. Soysal ait refusé la proposition de M. Kinkel, bien qu'en revanche le ministre allemand ait rappelé que lui-même était personnellement intervenu dans l'interdiction d'activité du PKK en Allemagne, en partant du fait qu'il s'agit d'une organisation terroriste.

Il est très difficile en Occident, voire impossible, d'expliquer un phénomène tel que la dissolution d'un parti politique [légal] avec arrestation de députés et réquisition

27 octobre 1994

Courrier

de la peine de mort à leur rencontre. En Turquie, de telles choses peuvent être considérées comme normales, mais ça n'a alors pas d'autre sens que de démontrer la différence entre l'Europe et la Turquie dans leur perception de la démocratie. La Turquie se trouve dans une drôle

de situation : d'un côté, on se prépare à entrer dans l'Union douanière européenne en 1995 (certains s'en inquiètent comme si c'était la fin du monde, au vu des éventuels obstacles qui pourraient rendre cette adhésion impossible) ; mais, de l'autre, nous réagissons mal à la

résolution du Parlement européen, nous persistons à ignorer les critères communs de la démocratie.

Il est normal que, dans ce climat de contradictions, l'étonnement règne. Ne faut-il pas que la Turquie sorte, d'abord, de sa propre confusion ?

Turquie : un élément de la stabilité européenne

Si la Turquie se montre capable d'absorber démocratiquement la vague islamiste, la nouvelle architecture de l'Europe balkanique se construira sous les meilleurs auspices.

A l'heure où chacun s'interroge sur la construction européenne et sur le phénomène islamiste, il importe de prendre la mesure du rôle actuel et potentiel de la Turquie pour l'avenir de notre continent.

guère probable. La Turquie n'en est pas moins devenue un élément important du « grand jeu » qui s'esquisse, peut-être moins romantique que celui auquel Rudyard Kipling faisait rêver, mais tout aussi fascinant. Au siècle der-

PAR THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL*

Avec la chute de l'empire soviétique, la marge de manœuvre d'Ankara s'est considérablement élargie. La Turquie a retrouvé un rôle important, sinon majeur, vers l'Ouest dans les Balkans, vers l'Est en Transcaucasie et en Asie centrale. Ses possibilités au Nord, du côté de la Russie, comme au Sud, vers le Moyen-Orient, sont désormais plus diverses.

La Turquie a réglé son contentieux avec la Bulgarie, où le régime communiste avait maltraité la communauté turque (environ 10 % de la population). Ankara a jeté les bases d'un véritable axe Est-Ouest reliant la mer Noire à l'Adriatique, à travers la Bulgarie, la Macédoine et l'Albanie, que devrait matérialiser la réalisation d'une liaison ferroviaire. La Turquie a signé avec l'Albanie un pacte de coopération militaire en juillet 1992. Au-delà, elle s'intéresse activement à la Bosnie musulmane et au Kosovo. Ainsi, est-elle à nouveau un acteur majeur dans une région où subsistent d'innombrables traces de sa gloire passée.

Les routes de l'énergie

En Transcaucasie et en Asie centrale, l'hypothèse de la reconstitution d'une zone pan-turque ne semble plus

nier, les Britanniques craignaient que les Russes n'étendissent leurs ambitions territoriales jusqu'à l'Inde. Les « puissances » d'aujourd'hui s'intéressent au pétrole et au gaz dont l'Azerbaïdjan, le Kazakhstan, et le Turkménistan regorgent. Dans ces pays, les réserves estimées ont triplé depuis l'indépendance. Leur importance pour la géoéconomie et donc pour la géopolitique des prochaines décennies pourrait être aussi grande que celle de la péninsule arabique au XX^e siècle.

Dans l'immédiat, les questions de base sont les suivantes : quelles seront les routes de l'énergie ? Qui les contrôlera ? Les Russes voudraient faire du port de Novorossisk, sur la mer Noire, la plaque tournante du pétrole en provenance de la mer Caspienne. Les Turcs entendent contrarier ce plan en réduisant le trafic des tankers dans les détroits. L'Azerbaïdjan a un projet d'oléoduc vers la Turquie, via la Géorgie, en évitant la Russie. Le Turkménistan envisage un gazoduc qui relierait son pays à la Turquie via l'Iran, etc. Les enjeux sont évidemment immenses, et les grandes compagnies internationales sont entrées dans l'action.

Avec la Russie, les sources de tension ne manquent pas, en Transcaucasie (conflit du Nagorny-Kara-

bakh), en Bosnie (soutien russe aux Serbes, turc aux musulmans bosniaques), ou encore à propos des Kurdes (soutien russe aux activités politiques des militants kurdes dans la fédération de Russie) et naturellement des rivalités pétrolières. Mais on ne doit pas sous-estimer les plages de compromis possibles sur toutes ces questions. En particulier, en Asie centrale, Russes et Turcs ont un intérêt commun à évincer d'autres parties prenantes plus turbulentes, comme l'Iran voire le Pakistan. Et le contentieux entre les deux pays n'empêche pas la Turquie, membre de l'Otan, d'acheter à la Russie des systèmes d'armes sophistiqués.

Au Moyen-Orient, il faut rappeler que la Turquie a reconnu Israël dès 1948, et qu'elle a été le premier pays non arabe à soutenir la proclamation par l'OLP d'un Etat palestinien en 1988. Notamment, du fait de ses ressources hydrauliques, elle est vouée à exercer un rôle majeur dans la région, une fois la paix établie. En rivalité avec l'Iran, elle n'en partage pas moins un intérêt commun majeur avec ce pays, comme avec l'Irak, à propos des Kurdes, répartis sur leurs trois territoires.

Le courant islamiste

Jusqu'ici, la Turquie a mené sa nouvelle politique étrangère avec une extrême retenue. Elle ne remet pas en question son choix fondamental, qui est occidental depuis la fin du XVIII^e siècle et surtout depuis Moustapha Kémal ; un choix considérable-

ment renforcé au début de la guerre froide. Le courant islamiste qui s'y développe actuellement annonce-t-il un renversement dont les conséquences pourraient être dévastatrices pour notre continent ? La perspective d'une victoire du parti islamique Refah (Parti de la prospérité), aux élections législatives de 1996, est aujourd'hui possible.

Comme ailleurs, le mouvement islamiste comble un vide politique que les formations classiques n'ont pas su remplir. Il joue en particulier la carte d'un retour aux valeurs traditionnelles qui ne s'apparente pas nécessairement à l'obscurantisme. Le phénomène islamiste, en Turquie, est hautement diversifié et les groupes extrémistes, revendiquant par exemple l'application de la charia, apparaissent tout à fait minoritaires. Le Refah semble accepter le jeu démocratique et laïc, tel qu'il s'est progressivement affirmé depuis les années 80.

Il est également vraisemblable que, s'il s'approche du pouvoir, il sera amené à recentrer ses positions en matière de politique étrangère, c'est-à-dire qu'alors il ne mettra pas sérieusement en cause l'orientation occidentale et moderniste du pays.

Toute analogie avec le FIS algérien est aussi superficielle que la comparaison entre un grand pays souverain depuis plus de cinq siècles et une ancienne colonie dépourvue d'histoire nationale. De plus, les classes moyennes qui contribuent à la solidité de la Turquie font défaut à l'Algérie. La crise d'identité dont souffre la première ne se situe pas à la même échelle que dans la seconde, où les mythes forgés

27 octobre 1994

LE FIGARO

par le FLN ont volé en éclats, ne laissant place qu'au néant.

Pour l'avenir de l'Europe dans son ensemble, la question de la stabilité des institutions et de la société civile en Turquie est capitale. Si ce pays se montre capable d'absorber démocratiquement la

vague islamiste, comme on peut l'espérer, la nouvelle architecture de l'Europe balkanique se construira sous les meilleurs auspices.

Il restera bien des problèmes à régler, la question de Chypre et celle de la mer Egée, et surtout, à l'intérieur,

le lancinant problème kurde. Mais en tout cas, la Turquie sera en bonne place pour jouer ce rôle de pont entre l'Occident et l'Orient auquel la géographie l'a destinée.

T. M.

*Membre de l'Institut.

turkish daily news

Friday, October 28, 1994

Helsinki Watch asks US to cut all aid to Turkey

Diyarbakir Emergency Rule governor does not allow HRW to investigate PKK violence in the area

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Human Rights Watch/Helsinki (HRW) has recommended that the U.S. administration "end all military and security aid to Turkey until such time as Turkey no longer manifests a consistent pattern of gross human rights violations." In a new report titled "Forced Displacement of Ethnic Kurds from Southeastern Turkey," HRW also asked the U.S.

administration to "state clearly, as required by section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, what extraordinary circumstances warrant provision of military and security assistance to Turkey in light of its consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights," if Washington chose to continue with the aid. The report, written by research associate Christopher Panico and edited by Jeri Laber, HRW executive director, summarizes the results of a two-week trip to Turkey in August and September 1994. The document, based on the interviews HRW conducted in the Southeast, examines village evacuations carried out by the Turkish security forces for refusal to join the village guard system, as a result of military action, and as a retaliation for PKK attacks. A last section is reserved for "overview of PKK abuses."

'Unhindered access'

turned down by Unal Erkan

HRW alleges that the Diyarbakir Emergency Rule Governor's Office "for unexplained reasons" did not allow the HRW members "to investigate such PKK violence through direct interviews with the victims." HRW "asked the Turkish government to allow unhindered access" to the "victims" but their request was turned down. "Until such a mission takes place, our information on PKK abuses must therefore be incomplete and rely on secondary sources," the HRW report notes. "Human Rights

Watch/Helsinki remains committed to reporting on PKK violations first hand and has restated its request to the Turkish government," the report adds.

Village evacuations

The report relates half a dozen case studies of village evacuations and burnings carried out by the Turkish security forces and "special teams." These case studies are based on the interviews conducted by the survivors of such events, all of whom talked on the conditions of anonymity. As many as 1,300 villages and hamlets have reportedly been evacuated. "More than half of these (evacuations) occurred since the beginning of 1993," the report says. "Torture and arbitrary detention often accompany such evictions."

In all cases the villagers are said to be forced to make a decision either to join the Turkish state's "village guard" system and face the PKK's retaliation, or refuse to join the guards and then have their villages burned down by the Turkish troops. Staying neutral in the war between the Turkish troops and PKK guerrillas has not proved to be possible for most villagers in the Southeast, the HRW report says.

The result has been migration to the closest urban centers. That's how Adana's population has jumped from 900,000 to 1.5 million, and that of Mersin has gone from 550,000 to one million. Turkish Daily News and Turkish Probe stories written by İsmet G. İmset and Sinan Yılmaz were among the main references used by HRW throughout the report.

The case studies of such villages as Nurettin (in Muş), Ormankaya (in Diyarbakır), Çiftlibahçe (in Diyarbakır), Umutlu (in Mardin), Yaydere (in Bingöl), Akçayurt (in Bingöl), Licka and Alaca (in Diyarbakır) are replete with allegations of Turkish "special teams" and troops of Bolu Mountain Commandos

under the command of Lt. Col. Malkoc beating the villagers suspected of aiding and abetting the PKK, threatening to burn their homes and asking them to join the village guard system. In Akçayurt, the HRW report says the commandos marched 750 people down to a small stream and tortured some of them. "We couldn't take watching the torture," a villager named "İbrahim" told HRW. "People started to scream and shout and throw stones at the soldiers. We started to walk towards the soldiers, but they fired in front of us and ordered us to lie on the ground. The lieutenant colonel shouted, 'I'll kill anyone who moves.'" When they got back to the village "everything had been burned. Some soldiers stole some of our belongings; loaded them up on donkeys, and carted them off."

In Çelik, soldiers retaliated when a PKK attack on a gendarme station located near the village left 25 soldiers dead. Troops executed seven villagers. The next day "they came back to the village and ordered everyone to leave. They burned all the houses and tractors and shot some of the animals."

In the village of Nurettin, the HRW report alleges that the special team members forced the villagers to beat one another. Lela, a villager, told HRW that "we beat each other, which amused the "Özel Tim" (special forces) members... The soldiers also swore at us and cursed us. They grabbed us and put our heads in the snow, as if they were going to execute us." In Ormankaya, the village guard told the others "we are the officials, we are the state. This is state policy." The guards allegedly threatened and forced others who didn't agree with them to leave the village, sometimes not allowing them to take their belongings with them. Some village guard chiefs confiscated the harvest of those who left.

PKK violence

The report also mentions the indis-

criminate murders committed by the PKK. The section titled "Overview of PKK Abuses" says "the PKK routinely commits such abuses as summary executions, hostage-taking, indiscriminate fires, and destruction of civilian property, in an attempt to force the civilian population to comply with its wishes.

From Sept. 12, 1994 to Oct. 12, 1994, for example, the PKK murdered 14 teachers in southeastern Turkey."

In the Southeast, "the PKK targets village guards and their families, representatives of the state, especially teachers, and so-called confessors or denouncers, ex-PKK members who collaborate with the state."

The HRW report gives a list of attacks on villages unleashed by the PKK with firearms and rocket launchers. Among the dead are many women and small children. Some examples:

"In October 1993, nine people, including seven children, were burned to death in a village guard's house. PKK fighters killed 33 people in the courtyard of a mosque in a village in Siirt province. The PKK claimed that all those killed were village guards, which is clearly not true."

"On Jan. 22, 1994, during a raid against Akyürek and Ormancık villages of Saver district, Mardin, the PKK killed four village guards, six children, and nine women. The ages of those killed range from seven to 70. According to witnesses, 'the militants shot and killed two village guards and fired rockets at the house of one of them. Inside were only women and children who dashed out of the house when it went ablaze and hid in a neighboring building. When the flames caught up with them... those inside suffocated from the smoke. Those who came out were shot on the spot..."

"On June 19, 1994, PKK fighters raided the house of a "denouncer," Halil Taşkıran, in Yeniköprü village, Kurtalan district, Mardin, and killed his mother Zahide (38), sisters Filiz (7), Ayşe (12), and brothers Ali (4) Süleyman (6), and Ekrem (13)."

Recommendations

Among other recommendations to the Turkish government mentioned in the HRW report are the following:

- Abolish the village guard system:

- Disband Special Teams (Özel Tim);

- Pay indemnity to all those displaced;

- Punish members of the security forces responsible for the killing, abuse, and humiliation of civilians;

- Allow internationally recognized human rights groups, including Human rights Watch/Helsinki, free access to "OHAL" (Special Emergency Rule) provinces to investigate reports of abuse by all sides.

The following are recommendations to the PKK:

- End abuse against civilians;
- Cease punitive attacks against village guard families and relatives;
- Cease all summary executions;
- Cease immediately the killing of teachers.

HRW was careful to note that such recommendations "in no way give any status to the PKK."

The HRW asked the German government to "continue to verify that German weapons and security equipment... are not used to commit human rights abuses in southeastern Turkey."

Turquie : la liberté de la presse bafouée

Un tribunal d'Istanbul a condamné mercredi un journaliste turc à deux ans de prison pour des articles consacrés à la question kurde. Oral Callisar, du quotidien « Cumhuriyet », a été jugé coupable de propagande portant atteinte à l'unité turque. Le tribunal a fait objection à ses entretiens avec Abdullah Ocalan, leader du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, interdit), et Kemal Burkay, chef d'un mouvement séparatiste.

LA CROIX - 27 octobre 1994

TURQUIE Avertissement américain

● À l'issue d'un voyage en Turquie, le secrétaire d'État américain aux Droits de l'homme, John Shattuck, a appelé Ankara à « ne pas abandonner ou restreindre les droits de l'homme dans sa lutte contre le terrorisme ». C'est le premier signe de Washington contre les méthodes utilisées par Ankara contre le PKK kurde.

Human Rights Diary

Turkish human rights delegation to visit

Tunceli: A Turkish human rights team is to visit villages said by local people to have been forcibly evacuated and set ablaze by troops battling Kurdish militants in east and southeast Turkey. The decision to investigate — seen by local members of Parliament as a big step forward on an issue they say is being generally ignored at high level — was taken on Thursday by a parliamentary rights commission. Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk ordered an inquiry by the 21-member Human Rights Investigation Commission after receiving petitions from village leaders and representatives. "The villagers are saying that security forces emptied and torched their villages," Sabri Yavuz, head of the commission told the members. "They say 15 villages were burned and 30 evacuated," during operations conducted between October 3-6, he said. "We have agreed to send a subcommittee to conduct an on-the-spot investigation, in line with the speaker's request." Senior military and security officials answered questions on the allegations, although not all the members of the commission were present. The meeting was adjourned to later next week due to the absence of Azimet Köylüoğlu, state minister responsible for human rights. "It is a big step forward for the subject to come to Parliament and for the commission to be talking," said Sinan Yerlikaya, Tunceli MP. On Tuesday, Parliament discussed a detailed report on the plight of the people in southeast Turkey, which included recommendations that the security forces should act more sensitively. For the past month, security forces have been carrying out one of modern Turkey's biggest offensives, sweeping the mountains of Tunceli in a bid to crush Kurdish separatists and capture Şemdin Sakık, alias "Fingerless Zeki," the area commander of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Tunceli residents say security forces emptied and burned the villages to deny shelter and food to Kurdish militants. "Our houses, our possessions, our haylofts and even our stables were burned," said Mustafa Kaçar, of Yarımkaşa village, in a handwritten letter to Cindoruk. Yerlikaya said he had met Gen. İsmail Hakkı Karadayı, chief of staff, this week and told him PKK militants had not burned the villages, as the Interior Ministry maintains. "He said he would follow this up and order punishment if any of his men are found to be guilty," Yerlikaya said. "This will be a deterrent for the future even if no-one is nailed now." Up to 200 prefabricated houses to provide shelter for families left homeless are expected to arrive in Tunceli on Monday, coinciding with a visit by the ministers of justice and housing. Meanwhile, John Shattuck, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State responsible for human rights and humanitarian affairs, is due to visit southeast Turkey this weekend after spending two days in Ankara. His program has not been made public. (Oct. 20, TDN)

Turkey before Human Rights Court: The Human Rights Court is today expected to hear the case filed against Turkey by Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin, former leaders of the Turkish Communist Party (TKP) which was banned by the Constitutional Court, the Anatolia news agency reported on Monday. Kutlu and Sargin had initially applied to the Human Rights Commission claiming that Turkey had violated Articles 5 and 6 of the Human Rights Declaration. The former TKP leaders argued that their period of arrest and trial had been extraordinarily long. The Commission decided to pass the case on to the Human Rights Court, saying Turkey was guilty of human rights violations. Reportedly, Turkey is to object to the Commission's decision, saying it recognizes the Court's authority after 1990 but that the TKP leaders' application was made prior to that date. Kutlu and Sargin had also filed another case against Turkey claiming that they suffered ill-treatment while in custody. In that matter, the Human Rights Commission also decided that Turkey had violated human rights. The sides reached agreement at ministerial committee level and Turkey paid compensation of TL 2.8 billion to Kutlu and Sargin. (Oct. 24, TDN)

CSCE Human rights delegation in Diyarbakır: Seven delegates sent by the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to investigate the human rights conditions which arrived in Diyarbakır began its contacts. The delegation members first visited the Diyarbakır branch building of the Turkish Human Rights Association and later the Diyarbakır Bar Association officials and received information regarding the matter. Answering the questions from the press, delegate Mary Sue Hafner, deputy chairwoman of the Helsinki Watch Committee, said they were continuing their contacts under the chairmanship of Senator Dennis DeConcini, chairman of the Senate Intelligence Committee and co-chairman of the CSCE committee. Hafner said they had prepared a report on human rights in Turkey and said "It is of great interest to us to receive the views of nongovernmental organizations regarding the application of the Helsinki Agreement." She also indicated that the request of U.S. Senator De Concini to meet with President Süleyman Demirel, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal had been turned down. Hafner also expressed De Concini's concern over the situation in Turkey during the talks. (October 26, Günaydın)

Çiller Defends Turkey's Human Rights Record

The following is the full text of a letter from Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to Senator Dennis DeConcini and Congressman Steny Hoyer, from the U.S. Congress' Commission on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It was sent on Oct. 17 and responds to a letter she received on Oct. 4.

Dear Senator DeConcini and Congressman Hoyer,

Thank you for your letter of October 4th and for the interest and concern which you and your co-signatories express in the functioning of democracy and free expression in Turkey. I want to assure you that I am every bit as much attached to these principles as you are.

Throughout this summer, my government has been working hard at ensuring that Turkey's Constitution and its legal system become more explicitly libertarian and that individual rights are safeguarded. This is not an easy task because a great many laws introduced by the military government of Turkey in the early 1980's will have to be either replaced or amended. My government does not at present have a sufficiently large majority to be able to approve constitutional amendments by itself. We have to get the approval of opposition parties and this inevitably takes time. However we are making progress. An independent commission, made up of journalists, lawyers, and university teachers, is currently drafting amendments to laws affecting freedom of expression. Once these draft amendments are completed, we hope to present them to the Grand National Assembly as soon as possible for its approval.

I would respectfully point out that your letter is very wide of the mark when it claims that there is a 'Kurdish Crisis' and that Turkey's ethnic Kurdish citizens are denied a voice in the political process. There are people in all walks of life in Turkey, including my Cabinet, who have an ethnic Kurdish background. There have always been Turkish Kurdish politicians, diplomats, businessmen, and academics. There is no distinction between people of different ethnic backgrounds in our country and certainly no political discrimination. There is no 'Kurdish crisis' in Turkey. One only exists in the minds of certain separatist groups and their international sympathizers, who, with very limited popular support inside Turkey, are trying to detach a portion of our country from the rest of it.

You refer to the six former deputies in the Grand National Assembly who are facing trial. This is essentially a legal and judicial matter, not a political

one. The charges against them center on their alleged involvement and direct connections with an outlawed terrorist movement. The courts are strictly independent of the executive in Turkey and I can not comment on the proceedings, beyond saying that freedom of speech is not an issue in this trial. Terrorism is the issue.

My Government has taken two steps in the political arena which are intended to show very clearly that we do not want issues of freedom of expression and democratic rights to be in any way linked with this trial.

A special law on by-elections has been enacted which allows the six former deputies and seven of their colleagues now outside the country to run on 4 December. The decision on whether or not they stand as candidates is, of course, entirely their own. If however they are re-elected, they would regain their parliamentary immunity from prosecution and all judicial proceedings against them will be frozen.

The law also allows HADEP - the successor of the DEP - to stand in the by-elections. Public opinion is now watching to see whether it will take this chance to test its popularity. You will no doubt recall that neither DEP, nor its predecessor HEP, has ever contested elections by itself. In the 1991 general election, the HEP - including the deputies now facing legal proceedings, ran on a joint ticket with the Social Democracy People's Party. They refused to participate in Turkey's local elections on March 27 this year. This background should be borne in mind when it is claimed that the DEP former deputies represent a large segment of opinion.

I naturally fully share your aspirations for an end to violence and brutality. As someone who has seen at first hand victims of terrorism, this is a matter which I feel very strongly about. The Government of Turkey puts the welfare and liberty of all its people first. We are confronted however by a terrorist movement that regularly murders non-combatants including teachers, health workers, and men of religion, as well as women and children. Its brutal revolutionary aims are self-evident. When there were uncompromising terrorist movements in your country, such as Weathermen, no fair-minded person recommended a policy of conciliation and dialogue with them. I believe that on this issue our country is faced by a problem in which the only way forward is determined opposition to terrorism.

Sincerely,
TANSU ÇILLER
Prime Minister of Turkey

Both the State and private Turkish citizens violate human rights

A lot of pertinent information in the 1990-92 report from the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey

By
Henrik Døcker, Journalist

Turkey belongs to the group of strange countries of this world where torture is widespread – and medical doctors are free to treat the victims at open rehabilitation centres. Turkey is also a country where both government and private organizations use torture.

Despite many problems, the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey is doing a great job. In 1992, 343 applied for treatment in the three centres – Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir. As many as 300 medical doctors and psychiatrists cared for them.

Fifty different torture methods

Since 1980 over a million people have been subjected to torture in Turkey. It is well known that the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) uses brutal measures in its fight for Kurdish self determination, and that the government has often declared a state of emergency in several provinces for that reason – facts which, however, must not influence the obligation of doctors to combat torture whoever use it.

The HRTF report enumerates about 50 different torture methods. 60% of the detainees were exposed to 4 types of torture, 36% to more than 4 types. Two-thirds indicated that the torture took place at a police station. The applicants for treatment complained mostly of psychological problems (63%); both physical and psychological complaints were made by 26%, compared with 10.9% of a total of psychological complaints. Torture was used in prisons to a lesser extent.

The commonest physical complaints were orthopaedic, due to long periods of torture. Gastrointestinal diseases due to psychosomatic disorders were the second commonest. Memory impairment, anxiety, and sleeping disorders were also frequent.

Few completed rehabilitation

Only 11.8% completed their rehabilitation. The Turkish centres consider this situation alarming. Several reasons prevented the victims from completing what was prepared for them: accommodation problems caused by the various kinds of obligation to the spouse, the job, and the army.

42% of the applicants who were in prison for more than a year had psychological and physical complaints, compared with 29% when the period was less than a year. Worries of being abandoned by their parents were often heard.

Since this HRTF report was published, the UN Committee Against Torture went public with the message that Turkey, despite numerous promises to abolish torture, still practices it systematically. The Turkish government has informed the UN that it is currently carrying out investigations regarding 457 people suspected of having used torture and mistreatment against prisoners in the period from 1 January to 30 August 1992. 450 people were duly charged.

Fear, intimidation, threats

The UN Committee emphasized that it should not be possible for an administrative body to abolish a judgment against a torturer passed by a court of justice. The Committee further stressed that the prohibition against torture is absolute.

Neither the UN Committee nor the Council of Europe Torture Prevention Committee, nor the HRTF for that matter, wants to gloss over the tremendous problems which face the Turkish government vis-à-vis the PKK. The HRTF regrets, however, that it has still not been possible to establish a centre for torture victims in the east Turkish town of Diyarbakir, centre of the Kurdish population.

Why? Because of the omnipresent atmosphere of fear, intimidation and threats to individuals, and the repression of any kind of associations, democratic civil organizations, vocational training institutions, labour unions, and political parties. The situation is tense; some people in Turkey even fear a virtual civil war.

As it must be acknowledged that torture is endemic, there is unfortunately little hope as yet for an eradication of this evil. Still, the fight for the victims continues, based on the goodwill and heavy work of numerous HRTF volunteers. The international society keeps an eye open on Turkey, trusting that the many reports of torture may some day have an effect.

Selected list of publications

received in the IRCT
International Documentation
Centre

State of war : political violence and counterinsurgency in Colombia / Human Rights Watch/Americas. – New York : Human Rights Watch, 1993:1200. – 149 p. : app.

Børn i torturramte familier / Montgomery, Edith. – In: Psykologisk pædagogisk rådgivning ; vol. 31, no. 2, 1994:300. – p. 110-119.

Cameroon : the situation of torture survivors and their relatives in Cameroon: history and culture, politics and economy of Cameroon / Sama-Kwende, Gilles. [1994:0000]. – p. 2-5.

Incidence and prevalence of torture condition for torture rehabilitation work in Cameroon / Buma-Fodje, Jonas. [1994:0000]. – p. 6-9

Compensation suits as an instrument in the rehabilitation of tortured persons / Gordon, Neve ; Association of Israeli-Palestinian Physicians for Human Rights. [1994:0000]. – 14 p.

TÜRKEI



AMNESTY MAGAZIN 10/94

Armee macht Politik

Die Türkei steht in der Hitparade der Sünder wider die Menschenrechte in der Kopfgruppe. Seit einiger Zeit häufen sich Meldungen über die Evakuierung ganzer Dörfer im Krisengebiet Südostanatolien. Bewohner von Orten, in denen Guerillas operieren, sollen von der türkischen Armee abgeführt, in regelrechte Konzentrationsgebiete zusammengepfercht, gefoltert und bedrängt werden. Das gewaltsame Vorgehen der Militärs steht im krassen Gegensatz zum Versprechen der Regierung Ciller, den Kurdenkonflikt politisch lösen zu wollen.

«Eine politische Lösung braucht nicht als Strategie ausgelegt zu werden, welche die Einheit des Landes sprengt». Das sind Worte, die in der Türkei – besonders aus dem Mund der türkischen Premierministerin Tansu Ciller – politische Brisanz haben. Eher beiläufig und vermutlich an westliche und liberale Ohren gerichtet, fiel zudem anlässlich einer Reise Cillers durch den Südosten der Türkei am 17. August 1994 die Forderung nach «kulturellen Rechten für die Minderheiten, Zulassung privater Schulen und Fernsehprogramme, einer Neudefinition der Türkei».

Für das offizielle Ankara, zumindest für die Armeeleitung, blieb eine militärische Lösung bisher die einzige Antwort auf die Kurdenfrage. Die Militärs haben in der Vergangenheit keine Neudefinition der türkischen Identität akzeptiert, schon gar nicht eine neue Annäherung an die Kurdenpolitik. Noch immer steht die türkische Armee im Einsatz und bekämpft die marxistisch-leninistische PKK, die illegale kurdische Arbeiterpartei, ohne Gnade. Viele kurdische Gruppierungen, denen es vornehmlich um kulturelle Autonomie in der Türkei geht, werden als Helfershelfer der PKK bekämpft und geraten oft zwischen zwei Feuer. Die prokurdische Zeitung «Ozgür Ulke» spricht von 14 Dörfern, die von Sicherheitskräften niedergebrannt wurden. Mehr als 4000 Dorfbewohner sind über Gebirgspfade in den Nordirak geflüchtet. Menschenrechtsorganisationen berichten, dass täglich 20 Familien, durch türkische Sicherheitskräfte oder durch Bombardierungen vertrieben, in Nordirak ankommen. Die türkischen Behörden ihrerseits machen für den Exodus der kurdischen Bauern dem Vorgehen die PKK verantwortlich. Türkische Menschenrechtler, die sich für die Unglücklichen einsetzen und beim Gouverneur von Hakkari vorstellig wurden, wies man harsch ab. Den Deportierten wurden die Identitätspapiere abgenommen. Wenn sie versuchen, sich frei zu bewegen, laufen sie Gefahr, gefoltert oder umgebracht zu werden.

Folter in der Türkei

Als Präsident Süleiman Demirel mit seiner Partei des «Rechten Weges» im Oktober 1991 um eine neue Amtsperiode kämpfte, versprach er «eine neue Türkei – die Wände aller Polizeistationen werden aus Glas sein». Obwohl die Regierung noch weitere ernsthafte Massnahmen gegen die Folter ankündigte, Menschenrechtsabkommen ratifizierte und einen Minister für Menschenrechte ernannte, wird in der Türkei – auch und besonders in Polizeistationen – weiterhin gefoltert. In den ersten neun Monaten der neuen Regierung ereigneten sich mindestens acht Todesfälle in Polizeihaft. Der türkische Menschenrechtsverein berichtete von Methoden, die auch gegen Frauen und Kinder angewandt werden, wie Prügel, Schlagen auf die Fusssohlen, Abspritzen mit eiskaltem Wasser, Aufhängen an auf dem Rücken zusammengebundenen Handgelenken, Vergewaltigungen, sexuelle Belästigung, Einführen eines Knüppels in den After und anderer Gegenstände in die Vagina. Folteropfer oder deren Angehörige müssen mit Drohungen und Repressalien rechnen, wenn sie rechtlich gegen die Folterer vorgehen wollen.

TÜRKEI

Verhaftung und Inhaftierung erfolgen praktisch immer ohne Anklage und Prozess. Wird ein Gefangener ausnahmsweise einmal freigelassen, sind auch darüber keine Dokumente zu finden.

Keine Gedankenfreiheit

In einem Interview mit der «Zeit» vom 5. März 1992 fielen erfreuliche Äusserungen des Staatsministers Süleiman Demirel. «Die staatlichen Institutionen arbeiten – sie könnten noch besser arbeiten. Aber mein Parlament ist frei, meine Presse ist frei... das Gesetz regiert in allen Teilen des Landes, auch wo Terror herrscht.» So weit so gut, aber Artikel 8 des Antiterrorgesetzes sieht zwei bis fünf Jahre Gefängnis vor für Personen, die gewaltlos ihre politische Meinung äussern.

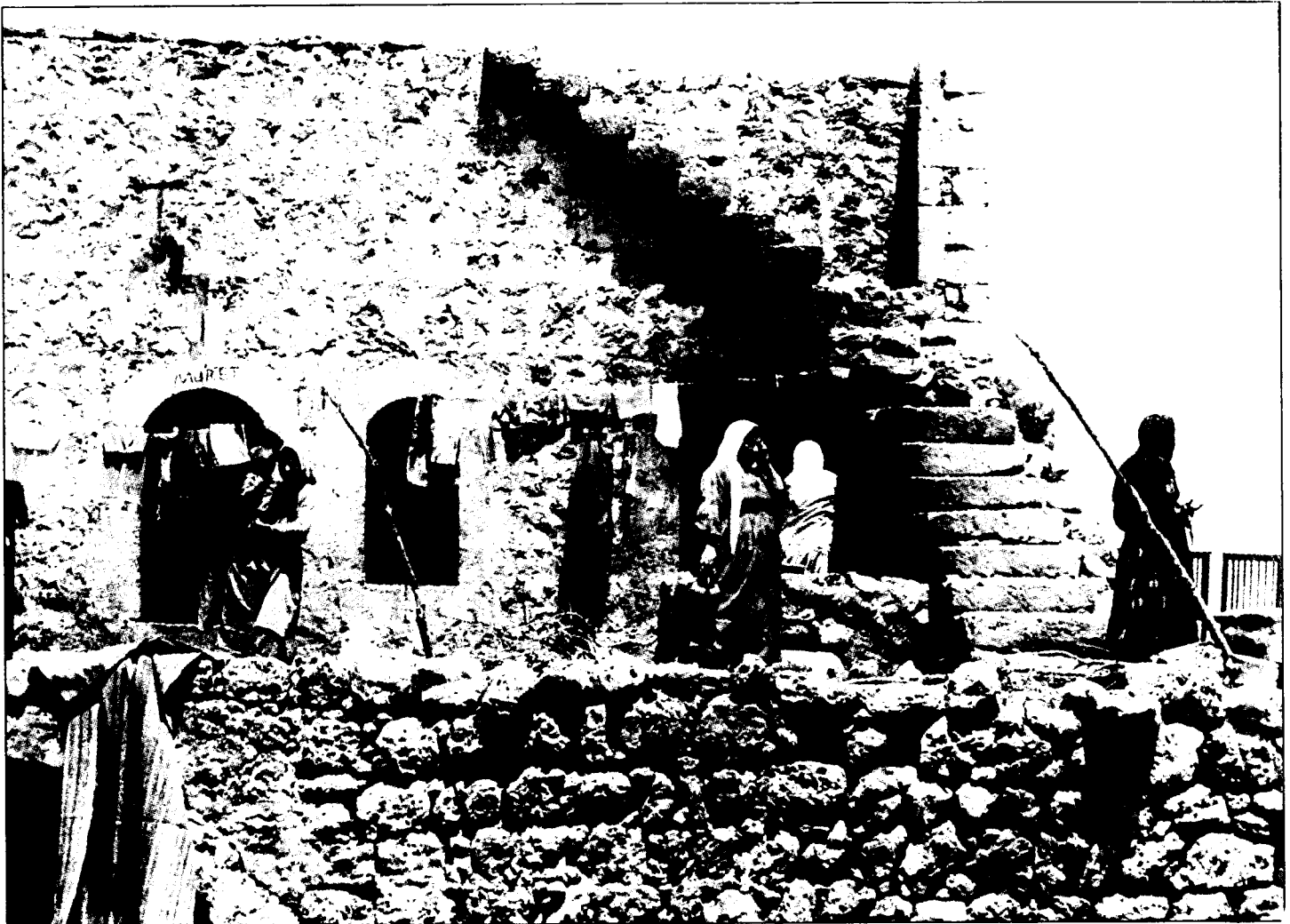
Zielscheibe dieser Regelung sind Journalisten, Politiker, Autoren, Gewerkschafter – kurz jeder, der sich zur Kurdenproblematik in einer Weise äussert, die den Behörden nicht in den Kram passt. So wurde der Journalist Günay Aslan zu 18 Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt, weil er in seinem Buch «Bullets/History in Mourning» (Kugeln – Die Geschichte trägt Trauer) die Geschichte der aussergerichtlichen Hinrichtung von 33 kurdischen Dorfbewohnern erzählt. Der Vorfall ereignete sich 1943, aber Aslan nimmt sich heraus, eine Parallele zum gegenwärtigen Konflikt zu ziehen!

Der Kurde und frühere Bürgermeister von Diyarbarir, Mehdi Zana, wurde 1991 nach zehn Jahren hinter Gittern freigelassen und im Mai 1994 erneut wegen «Separatistenpropaganda» zu vier Jahren Gefängnis verurteilt. Er hatte vor dem Unterausschuss für Menschenrechte des Europaparlaments in Brüssel ausgesagt. Der Journalist Oemer Agin sass von 1981 bis 1985 wegen gewaltloser politischer Aktivität im Gefängnis. Nun trug ihm eine falsche Auslegung des Ausdrucks «Pressefreiheit» weitere 20 Monate ein. Sein Vergehen: Er bezeichnete während einer Diskussion im Jahre 1991 einen Teil der Türkei als «Kurdistan».

Todesstrafe angedroht

«Separatismuspropaganda» und angebliche Mitgliedschaft in der PKK sind auch sechs kurdischen Parlamentariern zum Verhängnis geworden. Allerdings stützt sich die Anklage nicht auf neutrale Zeugenaussagen. Sogenannt Geständige, denen Haftverschonung zugesagt wurde, wenn sie zur Ergreifung von «Terroristen» beitragen, erinnerten sich plötzlich an Kontakte, die sie vor Jahren mit den Angeklagten unterhalten haben wollten. Die Verteidigung konnte darlegen, dass Redner verwechselt, Versammlungsorte falsch bezeichnet und Inhalte verzerrt wiedergegeben wurden. Der

Kurdische Frauen in der Türkei (Bild: Weltwoche)



Prozess begann Anfang August. Einer der Angeklagten, der Kurde Sedat Yuretas, legte in einer Parlamentsrede kurz vor seiner Verhaftung den Finger auf den wunden Punkt. Die Verfassung von 1982 sei «ein Relikt der Militärjunta und eine Zwangsjacke, die im krassen Gegensatz zu unserer heutigen gesellschaftlichen, politischen und

Atatürk und die Folgen

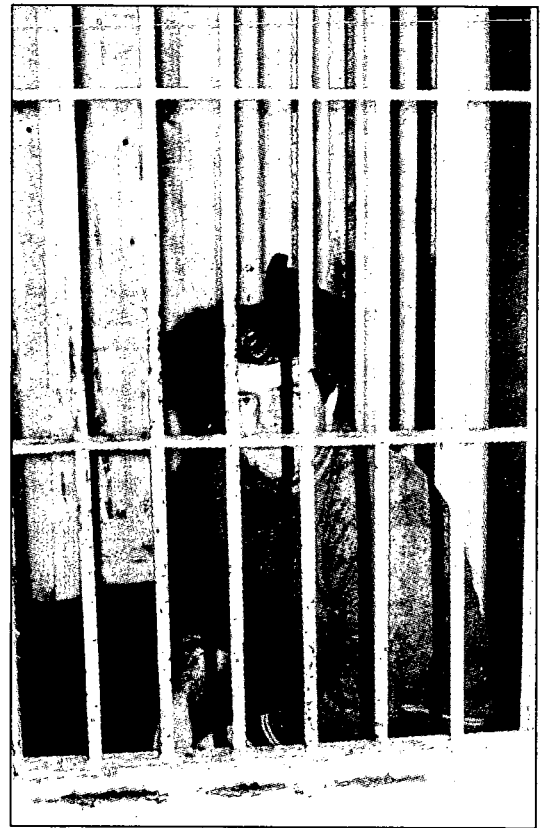
Woher der für westliche Begriffe eklatante Widerspruch zwischen den politischen Stellungnahmen Cillers und Demirels und der brutalen Wirklichkeit?

Im osmanischen Reich, einem Vielvölkerstaat, hatten die nicht-islamischen Gemeinschaften, die «Dhimmis», einen Anspruch auf Schutz und begrenzte Autonomie. Diese waren im islamischen Recht verankert, wurden gegen Tributzahlungen gewährt und waren in diesem Sinne eben gerade nicht Vorläufer der modernen Menschenrechte. Als sich Territorien und Einfluss der Westmächte immer mehr vergrößerten und das Osmanenreich vom Westrand her abbröckelte, versuchte man, diesem Prozess durch eifriges Kopieren erfolgreicher westlicher Ideen und Strategien Gegensteuer zu geben. Die Reformbewegung setzte Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts ein und gewann immer mehr an Schwung. Zuletzt fegten Kemal Atatürk und seine Jungtürken mit eisernem Besen alles hinweg, was nach Meinung der Reformisten zum Niedergang des Reichs geführt hatte. Eine der neuen Ideologien Atatürks war der Etatismus, ein vom Islam gereinigter Nationalismus, der sich am Türkentum orientierte. Alle Bewohner der Republik Türkei wurden zu Türken erklärt. Diesem Reinigungsprozess fielen unter anderem auch die Autonomieansprüche der Kurden zum Opfer.

Die Weiterführung des Kemalismus/Pantürkismus in der heutigen Türkei gipfelt in den Gesetzen zum Schutz des Einheitsstaats, fassbar beispielsweise in Artikel 8 des Antiterrorgesetzes vom 12. April 1991:

«Schriftliche und mündliche Propaganda, Versammlungen und Demonstrationen, welche die unteilbare Integrität des türkischen Staates, der Nation und ihrer Territorien gefährden, sind ungeachtet ihrer Methoden, ihrer Absicht und der ihnen zugrundeliegenden Ideen verboten. Wer dieses Verbot missachtet, wird mit zwei bis fünf Jahren Gefängnis bestraft.»

Der erwähnte Prozess gegen die kurdischen Parlamentarier, die Evakuierung ganzer Dörfer in Anatolien, die staatlich sanktionierten oder zumindest vertuschten Morde finden letzten Endes ihre Erklärung in solcher Gesetzgebung. Die moderateren Töne der neuesten Zeit sind wohl der Tatsache zuzuschreiben, dass die Türkei ihre aussenpolitischen, sprich wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen nicht zu stark belasten will.



Der Journalist Gunay Aslan wurde wegen freier Meinungsäußerung zu 18 Monaten Gefängnis verurteilt

sozialen Situation steht.» Dies genügte, ihn vor Gericht zu bringen.

Armee regiert

Die Idee einer politischen Lösung des Kurdenproblems, wie sie Frau Ciller kürzlich antönte, wurde bis vor kurzem auch in Regierungskreisen diskutiert. Dabei spielen vor allem wirtschaftliche Erwägungen eine Rolle. In den Vereinigten Staaten hat das Repräsentantenhaus vorgeschlagen, die Militärhilfe an die Türkei um 25% zu senken, solange keine soliden Beweise für eine Besserung der Menschenrechtslage zu sehen sind. Auch der Europarat befasste sich im Juni ausführlich mit Menschenrechtsverletzungen in der Türkei, dies auch aufgrund einer detaillierten Dokumentation von Amnesty International.

Trotz alledem sieht es auch weiterhin so aus, als würden die Regierungsverantwortlichen in der Kurdenfrage das Steuer der Armee überlassen.

Helen Toepfer