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LE PRÉSIDENT TURC AGITE LE SPECTRE D'UNE CONSPIRATION OCCIDENTALE CONTRE LA TURQUIE

L'ACTUALITÉ en Turquie de ces deux mois a été dominée par les interventions fracassantes de Süleyman Demirel. Le président turc, qui a évoqué la question kurde, n'a pas hésité à parler d'une « *conspiration occidentale* » contre la Turquie. Il a également lancé une mise en garde tous-azimuts dans le *Turkish Daily News* du 3 mai, visant à la fois les Etats-Unis, la Russie et l'Europe : « *Ne jouez pas avec la carte kurde, restons amis* » a lancé le Président turc affirmant l'existence d'un complot mondial visant à déstabiliser son pays.

Habitué aux sorties médiatiques du Président, la presse n'a pas prêté beaucoup d'attention à cette première déclaration. Mais Demirel est revenu à deux reprises à la charge, et ce, avec seulement quelques jours d'intervalle. Il a présenté à l'opinion la demande européenne d'amélioration des droits de l'homme en Turquie comme une « *conspiration* ». Il s'agirait selon lui « *des efforts délibérés pour empêcher la Turquie d'entrer dans l'union douanière* », sinon, d'une réactualisation pure et simple du Traité de Sévres qui, en 1920, prévoyait la création d'un État kurde. Dans un troisième entretien accordé au même journal, il a

expliqué que « *cette année* » le PKK serait écrasé militairement. « *Ne vous sentez pas coupables vis-à-vis de l'Europe* » a-t-il ajouté, « *c'est l'Europe qui est coupable de n'avoir pas soutenu notre lutte contre le terrorisme* ». « *N'envisagez pas un dialogue ou une solution politique avec les séparatistes, sinon, vous allez avoir une réaction du nationalisme turc et le pays deviendrait ingérable* » a-t-il averti, probablement à l'intention du gouvernement. Finalement, en s'adressant à l'Europe, le président a expliqué que la Turquie ne pourrait se contenter d'un strapontin: « *les Turcs ne peuvent accepter d'être poussés à cette limite, s'ils le devenaient, les dégâts seraient très difficile à réparer* » (cf. les p.14-17, 60 et 80 de notre Bulletin)

Probablement encouragé par ces déclarations surprenantes du Président de

la République, l'un des ministres turcs, M. Gökdemir, affilié à l'extrême-droite et connu dans les années 70 sous le sobriquet d'«Ayvaz le Commando», s'est senti libre de qualifier les trois députées européennes, Mmes. Claudia Roth, Catherine Lalumière et Pauline Green, en mission officielle en Turquie, de «prostituées». Cette remarque, qui a scandalisé les parlementaires européens dans leur ensemble (et une partie de la presse turque), a suscité l'extrême-droite en Turquie, mais a comblée et embarrassé le gouvernement turc, dirigé par une femme ! Les excuses officielles du Premier ministre Çiller ont quelque peu apaisé les réactions, mais le ministre en question n'a accepté à présenter des excuses qu'à demi-mot et sans exprimer le moindre regret : « si cela peut les soulager, je leur présente mes excuses pour ce malentendu ».

Sans renoncer aux poursuites judiciaires éventuelles, les députés européens ont regretté, par la voix de Mme. Pauline Green, l'absence de sanction contre ce ministre qui, à la faveur d'un remaniement gouvernemental a même gagné du galon Alliée de fait avec l'extrême droite, Mme. Çiller a dû se contenter de l'explication scandaleuse que lui a donnée son ministre. Selon cette explication citée par le quotidien *Cumhuriyet*, le ministre aurait déclaré : « je n'ai pas dit 'prostituée' mais 'putain' et le public turc m'approuve ».

D'autres dignitaires turcs ont soutenu explicitement ou implicitement ce politicien malotru. Hüsamet Cindoruk, président de l'Assemblée turque, réputé plus sérieux, s'est déclaré solidaire de Gökdemir. Les parlementaires européens auraient, selon lui, « provoqué des réactions justifiées du côté turc ». Enfin, le président Demirel, a fait preuve d'égards particuliers envers ce ministre, en l'incluant dans sa délégation officielle en visite au Kazakhstan.

LA COMMISSION EUROPÉENNE DES DROITS DE L'HOMME DÉCLARE RECEVABLES LES REQUÊTES DES DÉPUTÉS KURDES EMPRISONNÉS

LE Parlement européen a adopté, le 15 juin 1995, une résolution réaffirmant « son opposition à l'Union douanière avec la Turquie tant que les députés kurdes restent en prison et que les droits du peuple kurde ne sont pas reconnus ». De son côté, la Commission européenne des droits de l'Homme a considéré que les requêtes présentées en juin 1994 par des députés kurdes contre l'État turc étaient recevables, à la lumière de l'article 6 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'Homme. En ce qui concerne la violation d'autres dispositions de la Convention par les autorités turques, la Commission réserve son jugement à l'épuisement des recours internes, notamment au verdict de la Cour de cassation turque, saisie par les députés. Avant de déférer cette affaire devant la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme, dont la Turquie reconnaît la compétence, la Commission propose aux deux parties de chercher « un règlement à l'amiable » qui, dans le contexte turc actuel, paraît improbable.

En attendant, un autre organe du Conseil de l'Europe, son Assemblée parlementaire, a de nouveau « exigé la libération des

députés emprisonnés pour délit d'opinion ». Mais les autorités turques se réfugient derrière « l'indépendance de la justice » de leur pays pour opposer une fin de non recevoir à ces « appels » et « exigences » d'autant que les gouvernements occidentaux ne semblent guère leur en tenir rigueur.

Pendant le sort des députés kurdes emprisonnés continue d'émouvoir l'opinion publique. En janvier des députés norvégiens issus de tous les partis politiques représentés au Parlement avaient proposé la candidature de Leyla Zana pour le prochain Prix Nobel de la Paix. Pour soutenir cette initiative Mme. Danielle Mitterrand s'est rendue, début mai, à Oslo où elle a rencontré de nombreuses personnalités. Au cours d'une conférence de presse donnée au Parlement norvégien elle a déclaré que : « le choix de Mme. Zana constituerait, pour le Prix Nobel, une grande ouverture vers le monde musulman, Leyla Zana étant à la fois femme, musulmane mais laïque et élue du peuple ». Elle a également ajouté que trois lauréats du prix Nobel de la paix, Oscar Arias Sanchez (1987), Adolfo Perez Esquivel (1980) et Betty Williams (1976) soutenaient cette demande.

LES ÉTATS-UNIS APPELLENT LEURS ALLIÉS A UN BOYCOTT COMMERCIAL DE L'IRAN

INTERVENANT devant le Congrès Juif Mondial à New York, le président Clinton a annoncé le 30 avril une interdiction totale d'échanges commerciaux des États-Unis avec l'Iran et d'investissements américains dans ce pays. Le lendemain, au cours d'une conférence de presse donnée à Washington, le Secrétaire d'État américain a déclaré à l'intention de ses alliés ainsi que de la Russie et de la Chine qu'il n'y avait plus d'excuses pour maintenir des relations commerciales avec le régime islamiste de Téhéran. Le Secrétaire d'État a appelé les nations alliées à «arrêter tous leurs crédits qui permettent à l'Iran de divertir les maigres ressources du pays vers des programmes militaires et de soutenir le terrorisme».

Selon M. Christopher «l'Iran constitue une menace majeure aux intérêts américains et à la sécurité internationale». Il a estimé que «malgré une crise économique intérieure, l'Iran dépense chaque année plusieurs centaines de millions de dollars pour fournir en armes des équipements, de l'entraînement et de l'aide financière aux groupes radicaux». Il a affirmé que «Téhéran cherchait tout spécialement à se procurer la technologie de centrifugation gazeuse utilisée pour l'enrichissement du combustible nucléaire à usage militaire et qu'en 1992 il avait envoyé des agents au Kazakhstan pour acquérir de l'uranium enrichi. Nous sommes déterminés à arrêter les Iraniens et pour que les autres nations ne se servent pas comme excuse de notre commerce avec l'Iran pour accorder à ce pays des crédits ou d'autres facilités susceptibles de le renforcer, nous cessons tous nos échanges commerciaux avec l'Iran», a conclu M. Christopher.

Cette prise de position radicale de Washington est intervenue une semaine

avant la visite de M. Clinton à Moscou où il a demandé à nouveau au président Eltsine de revenir sur la vente de l'Iran de deux réacteurs nucléaires de conception russe.

Le commerce américain avec l'Iran reste assez modeste. En 1994 les ventes américaines à Téhéran étaient estimées à \$ 326 millions. Seules les compagnies pétrolières américaines qui directement ou par le biais de leurs filières achètent environ 20% de l'or noir iranien, pour un montant de \$3,5 milliards par an, seront affectées par cette interdiction.

Le gouvernement iranien a réagi avec véhémence à cette décision américaine en affirmant que «la politique américaine au Moyen Orient est plus en fonction du soutien au régime sioniste que des considérations des intérêts nationaux américains». Entretien un commerce prospère avec l'Allemagne, le Japon, la Russie et la Chine notamment, Téhéran ne semble pas s'inquiéter outre mesure du boycott américain. Celui-ci ne pourra avoir un impact sérieux sans le soutien au moins des pays de G7. Or ces derniers, à commencer l'Allemagne, dont les exportations vers l'Iran s'élèvent à \$ 6 milliards par an, ne sont pas très chauds à l'idée d'un tel boycott. Bonn, Londres et

Paris ont d'ailleurs dès le 2 mai déclaré par la voix de leurs ministres des Affaires étrangères que «l'embargo commercial n'est pas l'instrument approprié pour influencer l'opinion en Iran et susciter des changements favorables». Le meilleur moyen d'y parvenir, selon le ministre allemand d'économie, M. Günter Rexrodt, est de «poursuivre le dialogue politique avec l'Iran qui seul peut conduire l'Iran à se comporter d'une façon responsable». Tandis que le Japon, second partenaire commercial de l'Iran après l'Allemagne, se réfugie dans un «wait-and-see» prudent.

On se souvient que malgré l'assassinat sur son territoire de plusieurs opposants démocrates iraniens, dont 4 dirigeants kurdes, Bonn avait poussé son «dialogue critique avec Téhéran» jusqu'au point de dérouler le tapis rouge pour le ministre iranien du renseignement Falahian pourtant accusé par la justice allemande d'être le principal organisateur de ce terrorisme d'État pratiquant en plein cœur de l'Europe une véritable chasse à l'homme, en toute impunité. On sait aussi que deux autres agents iraniens réclamés par la justice suisse pour leur implication dans l'assassinat d'une personnalité iranienne ont été, à une veille de Noël, expulsés vers l'Iran par le gouvernement de M. Balladur, «dans l'intérêt supérieur de la France».

Téhéran n'a donc rien à craindre d'un «dialogue critique» avec ses principaux partenaires commerciaux. Du moins tant qu'il est en mesure de payer ses achats.

LA TURQUIE SIGNE UN CONTRAT DE GAZ DE 20 MILLIARDS DE DOLLARS AVEC L'IRAN

FIDELE parmi les alliés supposés les plus fidèles de Washington, la Turquie, malgré l'appel américain au boycott des relations commerciales avec la République islamique, a signé le 5 mai à Ankara un accord commercial qualifié de

«historique» avec l'Iran. Intervenant après des années d'âpres négociations, cet accord prévoit la fourniture par l'Iran du gaz naturel à la Turquie pour une période de 23 ans pour un coût total de 20 milliards de dollars. Pour ce faire, les deux pays vont construire ensemble un

oléoduc Tabriz-Ankara qui permettra de fournir dès 1998 deux milliards de mètres cubes de gaz. Ce volume sera porté à 8 milliards en 2001 avant d'atteindre en 2202 le rythme de croisière de 10 milliards de mètres cubes par an.

Les États-Unis n'ont pas réagi publiquement à la signature de ce contrat dont la date, choisie par Téhéran, ne semble pas constituer un succès pour la diplomatie américaine engagée désormais dans une politique de «containment» du régime islamique iranien.

Constatant que, selon les sources d'AFP, «la guerre au Kurdistan dans laquelle sont engagés 300.000 soldats, gendarmes et policiers turcs, est actuellement l'un des conflits les plus meurtriers du monde», les organisations des droits de l'Homme ont demandé au gouvernement français de «conditionner toute aide financière ou politique à Ankara au progrès réalisés par la Turquie dans la voie de la démocratie, de la libération des prisonniers d'opinion et du dialogue en vue de règlement pacifique du problème kurde».

MME. ÇILLER EN VISITE OFFICIELLE EN FRANCE

LE Premier ministre turc, Mme. Tansu Çiller qui avait salué l'élection de M. Jacques Chirac à la présidence de la République française, a été l'un des premiers dirigeants du monde à lui rendre visite, le 19 juin.

Expliquant l'attachement de son pays à l'Europe et à l'Union douanière, réitérant ses promesses de démocratisation et du renforcement des «droits individuels», le premier ministre turc s'est surtout efforcé de justifier la condamnation des députés kurdes et sa politique «anti-terroriste». Elle a également regretté que «la Turquie ne dispose pas, à l'instar d'un pays comme l'Espagne avec la France, d'un voisin lui permettant de lutter contre le terrorisme, ce qui l'oblige à composer avec un voisinage difficile».

A l'occasion de la visite à Paris du premier ministre turc, dix organisations humanitaires dont France-Libertés, la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, l'Union des Femmes Françaises, le CIMADE, la Maison du Monde, Agir Ensemble et Agir Ici ont demandé au gouvernement français de revoir sa politique d'aide militaire à ce pays, car cette aide renforce «contre les Kurdes de Turquie une répression aussi féroce que celle que pratique le régime de Saddam Hussein à l'encontre des Kurdes de l'Irak». Critiquant les soucis mercantilistes à la base d'un contrat

portant sur la livraison de 20 hélicoptères Cougar à Ankara, ces associations ont invité Paris à «suivre l'exemple de l'Allemagne, l'Afrique du Sud, l'Autriche, la Norvège, le Danemark, la Suède et les Pays-Bas en suspendant toute livraison d'armes et toute assistance militaire à la Turquie».

Il est encore tôt pour savoir si cet appel a quelques chances d'être entendu par Paris. Au demeurant, le baisemain du Président français a fait la gloire de Mme. Çiller qui n'a pas hésité à assurer une large diffusion de cette photo-souvenir dans les médias turcs afin d'améliorer son image de marque bien ternie en Turquie.

FIN DE L'OPÉRATION MILITAIRE TURQUE AU KURDISTAN D'IRAK

L'OPÉRATION turque au Kurdistan irakien qui avait suscité de vives réactions en Europe et aux États-Unis (cf. les n° 120 et 121 de notre Bulletin) s'est achevée, aux premiers jours du mai, par le retrait total des forces turques et par la création d'une zone «tamponne» à la frontière. «Bilan mitigé au plan politique, négatif au plan diplomatique» titrait alors une dépêche de l'Agence France Presse pour évaluer cette opération coûteuse. En effet, selon les sources turques citées par l'Agence, 555 militants du PKK (sur de 2400 à 2800 combattants) auraient été tués et 13 arrêtés. Les sources kurdes irakiennes, bien informées sur cette question, évaluent à moins d'une vingtaine de morts les pertes du PKK. Aucun bilan n'a été donné concernant les pertes de l'armée.

En tout cas, cette opération en préparation depuis des semaines, ne semble pas avoir été une surprise pour le PKK qui avait largement pris les devants.

Sur le plan diplomatique, la Turquie qui venait de signer l'accord sur l'Union douanière avec l'Union européenne, est parvenue à constituer un bloc contre elle, mettant mal à l'aise ses alliés les plus fidèles, y compris les États-Unis qui ont dans un premier temps soutenu l'opération mais durci le ton ensuite.

L'image de marque de la Turquie à l'extérieur ne s'est toutefois pas améliorée avec le retrait des troupes turques. En effet, dès le lendemain de la fin de l'opération, le Président turc a réactualisé un thème récurrent depuis plusieurs années pour évoquer la nécessité de

remettre en cause la frontière turco-irakienne. Il a même précisé que l'ancienne province ottomane de Mossoul (couvrant le Kurdistan irakien de nos jours) « appartenait encore à la Turquie ». Cette déclaration venant du sommet de l'État a suscité de nombreuses réactions hostiles, dont celles de Bagdad et de Washington. Elle a été quelque peu rectifiée le 5 mai par le quotidien d'Istanbul *Turkish Daily News*, qui ajoute qu'une phrase du président n'avait pas été citée : « un tel rajustement n'était pas d'actualité dans l'immédiat ».

Au vu du bilan coûteux de l'opération militaire, cette déclaration présidentielle mérite réflexion. Elle est en tout cas susceptible d'expliquer la motivation cachée de la politique que la Turquie mène au Kurdistan d'Irak depuis plusieurs années. Cette politique semble être potentiellement irrédentiste. Reste à savoir si après l'aventure chypriote de 1974, qui constitue un problème épineux dans la Méditerranée orientale, la Turquie se lancera ou non dans l'avenir dans une deuxième aventure de conquête territoriale, au risque d'étendre la guerre kurde dans toute la région.

Hacaloglu a expliqué, au cours d'une visite à l'Institut de médecine légale le 23 mai, que « 295 personnes non identifiées avaient trouvé la mort pour des causes non naturelles ». Commentant le cas de Hasan Ocak, opposant politique dont le corps a été identifié par sa famille, le ministre n'a pas exclu que la plupart des autres personnes soient également victimes des assassinats politiques perpétrés par des escadrons de la mort ou dans des centres de torture de la police.

Le prédécesseur de M. Hacaloglu, qui avait dénoncé « le terrorisme d'État » avait été démissionné à la première occasion. La durée de vie ministérielle de l'actuel ministre s'annonce également précaire.

UN MINISTRE TURC DÉNOMBRE « 295 MORTS POUR DES CAUSES NON NATURELLES À LA MORGUE DE L'INSTITUT MÉDICO-LÉGAL »

LES mois de mai et de juin 1995 ont été marqués par une recrudescence des affrontements entre l'armée turque et les combattants du PKK. Selon les agences de presse qui, d'une manière irrégulière en font état, ces affrontements se seraient soldés par « des centaines de morts ». En raison du *black-out* officiel sur « les événements du Sud-Est » on ne sait combien d'entre eux ont été exécutés sommairement par telle ou telle unité militaire et combien achevés sous la torture par la police. Pour les sources officielles turques tous ces morts sont « des terroristes du PKK », et l'armée est sur le point d'éradiquer définitivement cette organisation. Toutefois, on constate que loin de disparaître, le PKK semble parvenir à étendre son champ d'actions, élargi désormais à la région de Dersim, à plusieurs centaines de kilomètres de distance des « zones frontalières passives », si souvent dénoncées par Ankara pour justifier les opérations militaires dans le Kurdistan irakien.

Prenant apparemment au sérieux ses fonctions, le nouveau ministre d'État turc chargé des droits de l'Homme, Algan

Enfin la répression contre les intellectuels se poursuit également. Ainsi, le journaliste Ahmet Altan, auteur d'un texte satirique intitulé « *Atakürt* », qui lui avait valu son licenciement du journal *Milliyet*, a été traduit devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul. L'auteur, dont nous avons publié le texte dans l'une de nos précédentes livraisons, risque deux ans de prison.

SELON FREEDOM HOUSE, LA TURQUIE N'A PAS DE PRESSE LIBRE

DANS son étude annuelle sur l'état de la liberté de presse à travers le monde, rendue publique le 4 mai à Washington, l'organisation spécialisée américaine *Freedom House* classe la Turquie dans la catégorie des pays n'ayant pas de presse libre. Selon cette étude intitulée « *The Presse : Pressed and Opressed* » les lois et réglementations turques influencent gravement le contenu des médias de ce pays, qui subissent également de lourdes pressions politiques. Sur le pan des actions répressives (assassinat de journalistes, auto-censure, harcèlement, expulsion, violence contre les journalistes

et les locaux des journaux) la presse écrite turque obtient la note de 20 sur 20, 20 étant la pire des notes, les radio-télévisions contrôlées par l'État ou par de grands groupes inféodés à l'État s'en tirent, elles, avec un 11 sur 20. Dans le classement général, la Turquie arrive en 73^{ème} position, loin derrière les pays d'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, 17^{ème}; Argentine, 29^{ème}), d'Europe orientale (Bulgarie, 39^{ème}; Grèce, 26^{ème}; Croatie, 56^{ème}) et même de nombreux pays africains (Uganda, 38^{ème}; Burkina Faso, 37^{ème}; Madagascar, 44^{ème}; Zimbabwe, 59^{ème}), Haïti (51^{ème}), l'Arménie (57^{ème}), l'Azerbaïdjan (69^{ème}), le Kuwait (70^{ème}) et le Tchad (72^{ème}) ont

selon l'étude de Freedom House, une presse plus libre que la Turquie qui peut se consoler de devancer les pays comme l'Iran, la Libye, le Turkménistan, la Chine

et l'Irak! Piètre consolation pour un pays membre du Conseil de l'Europe et de l'OTAN et candidate à l'Union européenne.

CHRONIQUE DE LA GUERRE AU KURDISTAN DE TURQUIE

3 mai

A Pasinler un enfant de neuf ans, Ercan Gökme, est mort à la suite de l'explosion d'une grenade trouvée près d'un baraquement militaire.

5 mai

Vehbi Deniz est assassiné à Diyarbakir par des tueurs non identifiés.

9 mai

Hasan Ezer est assassiné à Diyarbakir par des tueurs non identifiés.

11 mai

A Bingöl, un enfant de huit ans, E. Bingöllü, est tué à la suite de l'explosion d'une mine.

14 mai

Haci Semsettin est tué à Mardin par des tueurs non identifiés.

15 mai

Abdülkerim Kaya, 60 ans, enlevé le 13 mai, est retrouvé mort près du village Isikdere.

16 mai

A Dargeçit, Yusuf Çelik, conducteur de tracteur, est tué par l'explosion d'une mine.

28 mai

Süleyman Kaplan, arrêté deux jours auparavant par des inconnus, a été retrouvé mort.

29 mai

Fikret Acar et Hakki Akbalik sont assassinés par des tueurs non identifiés à Diyarbakir. Le même jour, Süleyman Yalçın, enlevé dans le village de Bakacak par des inconnus, est retrouvé mort.

1er juin

A Siirt, des gendarmes tirent sur un bus et blessent le chauffeur Metin Çelik. celui-ci perd le contrôle du bus qui se renverse causant la mort de trois femmes.

5 juin

A Mersin, Abdullah Önen est abattu par des tireurs non identifiés.

7 juin

A Kozluk, le fermier Hadi Baran, enlevé par des inconnus, est retrouvé mort.

11 juin

Le berger Haci Ali Kemik est assassiné par des tueurs non identifiés à Siverek.

11 juin

Les affrontements entre le PKK et les militaires s'intensifient. Selon des sources du ministère turc de l'Intérieur, citées par l'Agence France-Presse, au cours des dix premiers jours du mois, 141 combattants du PKK ont trouvé la mort lors des affrontements avec l'armée turque. Selon la même agence, 28 autres combattants et cinq militaires auraient été tués les jours suivants.

13 juin

A Siirt, Mme. Meclise Tegen trouve la mort à la suite de l'explosion d'une mine.

17 juin

A Batman Mahmut Yildiz et Hasan Ilter sont assassinés par des tueurs non identifiés. Le même jour, Enver Özcan trouve la mort à la suite de l'explosion d'une bombe.

LA REVUE DE PRESSE, EN BREF

YACHAR KEMAL : « MAIS MÊME PAS UNE SEULE VOIX NE SE FIT ENTENDRE DANS LA PRESSE OCCIDENTALE ». (*Svenska Dagensbladet*, 13 avril 1995), p. 1-3.

ÉTATS-UNIS : « Le PKK EST IMPLIQUÉ DANS LE TRAFIC DE DROGUE ». (*Turkish Daily News*, 1er avril 1995), p. 4.

« VISITE DE LA 'TROÏKA' EUROPÉENNE À ANKARA ET INTERVENTION TURQUE DANS LE NORD DE L'IRAK ».

(*Journal officiel des Communautés européennes*, 6 avril 1995), p. 5-7.

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”Byar sticks i brand, mordoffren för okända gärningsmän – antalet är redan närmare två tusen – påträffas i bergen och på flodstränder alltmedan Turkiet och världspresen på apans vis täckt sina ögon, öron och läppar”.

Så skriver Yaşar Kemal i sitt svar till SvD:s Bitte Hammargren, som träffade honom i Istanbul. I dagarna har också Yaşar Kemal blivit inbjuden till höstens bokmessa i Göteborg, som hedersgäst.

”Men inte ett ljud hördes från västerländsk press”

Den åtalade författaren Yaşar Kemal skriver direkt för SvD

● Er artikel i Der Spiegel, med titeln Lögrens fälttåg, har rönt stor uppmärksamhet i och utanför Turkiet. Inom kort kommer ni att ställas inför rätta i Istanbul. Kan ni i korthet berätta om hur situationen har utvecklats?

Jag trodde aldrig att min artikel i Der Spiegel skulle få så kraftigt gensvar. Kriget i östra Anatolien har pågått i tio år, med mänskligheten och Turkiets demokrater, ja, alla, som åskådare, alltmedan östra Anatoliens kurder utsatts för hårda övergrepp och grym behandling. Under årens lopp har kriget trappats upp. Tortyren och grymheterna mot folket har ökat. Även om inte all grymhet, all tortyr, varje övergrepp, dödsskjutning och mord som begås av okända gärningsmän, har blivit omnämnda, har åtminstone världspresen återgett en del av det som hänt.

Republiken Turkiet har idogt verkat för att, med alla tänkbara medel, skyla över de grova brott som begås. En ofattbar censur har bedrivits, både visavi världspresen och turkisk press. Pressen och de intellektuella har blivit föremål för så effektiva påtryckningar att ingen höjt sin röst. Tidskrifter och tidningar (i Turkiet) som ändå yttrat sig, om så bara lite grand, har omgående förbjudits på mer eller mindre lagliga grunder.

Böcker har beslagtogs och författare dömts till otroliga straff. Sammanlagt har de författare som sitter i fängelse just nu, däribland universitetsläraren Ismail Beşikçi, dömts till hundra, tvåhundra, kanske trehundra års fängelse, och dessutom till böter på flera miljoner dollar. Inom loppet av ett år dödades över tjugo medarbetare för tidningen Özgür Gündem (Fri dagordning), som åtminstone i viss mån försökt beskriva händelserna i östra Anatolien. Inte en enda gärningsman har gripits.

Så gott som varannan dag utfärdades order om att denna tidning skulle konfiskeras, i en del provinser tilläts den överhuvudtaget inte. Där förbuden trotsades och tidningen smugglades in blev tidningsbuden fängslade och torterade, så att de fick bestående men. Eller också har man fått hämta deras lik på polisstationerna. Tills en dag, då polisen kom och grep alla som arbetade på Özgür Gündem – 120 personer – för att därmed kunna förbjuda tidningen. Städare, kökspersonal,

springsjasar – polisen grep alla som befann sig i tidningens lokaler.

En del hölls kvar i ett par dagar, en del nästan ett år. Men trots alla övergrepp såg journalister från andra tidningar till att Özgür Gündem gavs ut. Jag höll en presskonferens utanför tidningen den dagen. Ett övergrepp som detta har aldrig förr förekommit på vår jord, inte under någon diktatur, sa jag, och den gången talade jag länge. Men inte ett ljud hördes från västerländsk press.



Mehmet Uzun, kurdisk-svensk författare och styrelseledamot av Sveriges författarförbund, överlämnar en inbjudan till Yaşar Kemal att komma som hedersgäst till höstens bokmessa i Göteborg. ”Det glädjer mig att återse det land där jag kunde skriva med sådan lätthet. Jag saknar Sverige”, säger Kemal. Förutsättningen för hans deltagande är naturligtvis att han inte döms till fängelse.

"Vad gör man? Jag kan ju inte dra mig tillbaka i min lya och skriva på min roman medan andra människor lider, mördas, utsätts för tortyr och drypper av blod."

"I Sverige var jag mycket lycklig. I hela mitt liv har jag förmodligen arbetat bäst i just det landet. Där, i ett så kallt land, är människorna precis tvärtom, de varmaste jag mött."

Jag begrep inte varför. Jag är gammal journalist. Detta obegripliga övergrepp borde ha varit nyhetsstoff, till och med för de mest primitiva tidningar. Men av någon anledning förstod inte tidningarna i väst denna händelses nyhetsvärde. Eller också betraktades det hela som en tredje klassens notis, inte värd att uppmärksammas.

Byar sticks i brand, mordoffer för okända gärningsmän – antalet döda är redan närmare två tusen – påträffas i bergen och på flodstränder, alltmedan Turkiet och världspressen på apans vistäck sina ögon, öron och läppar. Ändå var det vårt århundrades största och bittraste mänskliga tragedi som utspelade sig därborta. Jag tänker inte lämna utförliga beskrivningar av de olika scenerna. Världen har i varje fall ett hum om vad som pågår i Turkiet.

När Özgür Gündem förbjöds uppstod tidningen Özgür Ülke (Fritt land). Den blev föremål för utspel, det ena märkligare än det andra. Varje morgon, precis när tidningen skulle gå i tryck och några få exemplar kommit ut ur tryckpressen, kom polis och åklagare dit och förbjöd ett antal artiklar och notiser. Dessa ställen i tidningen gapade tomma. Sådana exemplar av tidningen, till hälften blanka och till hälften fyllda med text, såldes även i Europa och fick symbolisera demokratins seger i ett demokratiskt Europa. Till slut satte statens säkerhetsdomstol stopp för den här komedin genom att totalförbjuda tidningen. Som skäl uppgav man att den var en förlängning av Özgür Gündem.

Därmed slapp ett av Europarådets medlemsländer hålla på med en så tarvlig praxis som denna. Vem vet, Europarådet kanske inte ens kände till denna tidning som liknade en brokig ko. Europarådets samvete och makt var inte stora nog för att ta itu med sina medlemsländer. Det är möjligt att Europarådet känner mer för sina medlemmar än för sina demokratiska principer. Innan tidningen förbjöds utsattes Özgür Ülkes byggnad en natt för ett bombattentat och jämnades med marken. Bomben krävde ett människoliv.

Av någon anledning bad sedan en ansedd tidskrift i väst mig att skriva en artikel om kurdfrågan. Jag skrev. Jag skrev en så lång artikel att de tog bort ett antal partier. Som jag nyss sa är jag gammal journalist. Jag vet mycket väl hur många ord som önskas, när en tidskrift eller tidning beställer en artikel. Men ämnet var av sådan natur att jag kände mig tvungen att i möjligaste mån skriva ned hela sanningen. Och till och med den hälft av artikeln som trycktes ledde till en internationell uppståndelse, vilket jag aldrig

hade väntat mig. Jag var överväldigad av alla de telefonsamtal och faxmeddelanden jag fick. Från USA, Frankrike, Italien, England, Sverige ... i hela Skandinavien skrev tidningar om kurdfrågan. Journalister från hela världen bad att få intervju mig – det skulle ha krävt flera veckor av mig att tala med dem allihop. Artikeln (i Der Spiegel) översattes från tyska och publicerades på olika språk i många tidningar. Jag är fortfarande förvånad över hur en artikel kan framkalla så stort gensvar.

Vi har fått höra att rättegången mot er inleddes den 5 maj. Vad kan ni vänta er för utgång av den?

Hur rättegången kommer att sluta vet jag inte. Min artikel innehåller ingenting som skulle kunna betraktas som lagvidrigt ens enligt gällande lagar. Jag vet att saken inte handlar om huruvida brott föreligger eller inte. Åklagaren har åtalat mig för separatism och rasism. Och domaren beslutade att inleda process. Advokaterna som har läst artikeln i Der Spiegel kunde inte finna någonting som på sannolika skäl skulle kunna leda till åtal. De var mycket förvånade. Därför har jag ingen aning om hur rättegången kommer att sluta.

Om mitt liv är i fara? Det vet jag faktiskt inte, men så torde vara fallet. Vem kan känna sig riktigt trygg i ett land där omkring 1 800 människor fallit offer för mord begångna av okända gärningsmän?

De blodiga pennorna i Turkiet som hyllar kriget – journalister på tidningar med stora upplagor – inledde en kampanj utan like mot mig.

I flera dagar utgjorde jag huvudämnet för de här tidningarna. Jag undkom varken anklagelser för fosterlandsförräderi eller för att ha vanhedrat Turkiet. I Turkiet har man skapat en sådan atmosfär att ingen människa med vett i skallen går ut. En av förgrundsfigurerna, som för övrigt dömts för rasistisk verksamhet, utfärdade i TV en fatwa mot mig. Och jag vet vad ni kommer att fråga härnäst. Varför stannar jag under dessa omständigheter kvar i Turkiet, undrar ni. Jo, då säger jag så här: Vilka är de som har mördat 1 800 människor – däribland författare, journalister och universitetsprofessorer? Det vet hela världen. Europarådet också. Och jag vet ungefär lika mycket som de.

Hur minns ni er tid i Sverige?

Jag var mycket lycklig där. På tre och ett halvt år skrev jag fyra romaner. I hela

mitt liv har jag förmodligen arbetat bäst just i det landet. Där, i ett så kallt land, är människorna precis tvärtom, de varmaste jag mött. Jag saknar Sverige. Om jag hädanefter skulle bli tvungen att bo utanför Turkiet, väljer jag tveklöst Sverige. Men det lär ha blivit mycket dyrare där. ... Hur som helst, som jag nyss sa, arbetar jag allra bäst i Sverige. Människorna där är så försynta och skulle aldrig störa en. Man har kommit långt på mognadets väg i Sverige. Folk må säga vad de vill, för mig är Sverige ett lyckorike. Men under mina år där kände jag leda, trots människornas finkänslighet. Jag saknade mitt hemland. Nu leds jag här och saknar tiden i Sverige. Jag har många uppslag till romaner i bakhuvudet. Att hinna skriva färdigt dem innan jag dör är bara möjligt i ett land som Sverige där det råder lugn och ro. Det är femton år sedan jag flyttade från Sverige, är det sig likt männtro? För i dessa tider förändras ju länder och städer så snabbt...

I Alain Bosquets intervjubok med er beskriver ni hur ni som barn kunde iakttä naturfenomen i timal. En raphöna, en fågels flykt, en växt i bergen. I era romaner finns dofterna av er barndoms Anatolien starkt bevarade. Hur bär man sig egentligen åt för att behålla dessa minnen intakta, när man lever i en sådan storstadsmiljö som Istanbul?

Jag hade många olika jobb som ung. Jag kontrollerade vattennivån på risfälten, jag körde traktor.

Min barndomstid förflöt i byn Hemite, där jag föddes. Byn är omgiven av en blånande slätt som sträcker sig från bergen i norr och öster ända till Medelhavet i söder och väster. Taurusbergen är otroligt vackra. Träden, blömmorna, örterna, bina, vattnet, jorden, klipporna – allting där doftade gott.

När jag var vattenvaktare, vandrade jag två gånger i veckan längs en fem mil lång å, från dess mynning till den plats i Taurusbergen där den rinner upp. Den här ån, Savrun, lärde mig naturens detaljrikedom. I naturen är varje detalj unik. Jag blev så nyfiken. När jag betraktade ett granatäppleträd i blom, fann jag att inte en enda blomma och inte ett blad på trädet var de andra lika. Jag letade i årtal, men fann att ingenting i naturen var identiskt med något annat. I vårt land säger de om mig att jag förhärligar naturen och människorna. De har rätt. För själva är de inte ens medvetna om vilket underverk naturen är, så fylld av oändlig rikedom. De har inte blivit varse dess skaparkraft som varje dag, varje ögonblick är verksam. De förnimmer ej heller naturens mystiska dimension. Jag uttrycker bara det som varje hjälteedik som mänskligheten skapat handlar om – jag upplever dödsångesten starkare än till och med Homeros. Liksom han vill jag också tala om att av alla varelser på vår jord är det människan som lider mest, därför att endast hon är medveten om döden. Men samtidigt har jag, om så bara lite grand, nuddat vid tanken "Så bra att vi föddes till denna jord och fick se dess skönhet!" Alltså livets tjusning. Gudskelov, säger jag, vi kom hit, vi har levt här, vi har sett den här

"Mina vedermödor för att av folkets språk skapa ett romanspråk har påverkat själva kärnan i min romankonst, lagt grunden för den."

världen. Att få smaka på livsglädje är en obeskrivlig lycka, för de flesta av oss en oppnåelig skönhetsupplevelse.

Att uppleva naturen och människorna är berikande. När en människa mottar all denna rikedom tilltar även hennes skaparkraft. Hennes fantasi och föreställningsförmåga växer. Det finns ingen anledning att överdriva naturen. Att låta sig berikas av den och människorna räcker.

Jag kommer från en trakt där jorden svetsade samman människor av ett strävsamt slag. I Çukurova, antikens Cilicien, där jag är född och uppvuxen, är jorden så bördig och naturen så livskraftig att folk i byn sa: Om man står en dag på denna jord, får fötterna rötter och skott börjar skjuta på ens huvud. Jag har levt i en trakt rik på dofter, färger, ljus – och folkslag.

De centralasiatiska turkmenerna har också ett elaborerat språk, många episka verk, poesi och musik. Deras stora diktare intar en plats bland de stora namnen i Turkiet och världen. Det är folkspråket, av vilket jag försökt skapa ett nytt romanspråk, som har givit mina romaner deras form och innehåll. Som ett annat exempel på hur ett nytt rikt språk har uppstått har vi den ryska litteraturen med Pusjkin. Där har det det ryska folkets jungfruliga och ymniga episka språk, sago- och dikt-språk, präglat Gogols romankonst och Pusjkins diktning till form och innehåll.

Med Nazim Hikmet i spetsen har min generations mödor bestått av att ur det outtömliga folkspråket skapa ett nytt poetiskt språk och en ny poetisk form. Romanens och poesins innehåll och form präglas av språkets särart. Mina vedermödor för att av folkets språk skapa ett romanspråk har påverkat själva kärnan i min romankonst, lagt grunden för den. Om man med det ryska språkets särart som utgångspunkt kunde skapa ett ännu oupptäckt romanspråk med tillhörande form och innehåll, så bär det turkiska språkets särart på samma möjlighet, tänkte jag. De särdrag som den mark man lever på äger, liksom dess människor, sätter sina spår i prosans och poesins struktur.

Det finns författare som anser att de mer välmående länderna i Europa blivit alltför trötta och dästa litterära miljöer. Delar ni denna uppfattning?

Jag kan inget europeiskt språk, bara kurdiska och turkiska. På båda språken finns

en betydelsefull episk berättarkonst, de har sina stora diktare och episka författare. Den anatoliska marken i sig är en enda stor kulturskatt. Jag tror att mina romaner bär spår av all denna kulturrikedom.

Det vi gör är att av ett orört, jungfruligt språk ta fram ett nytt språk för prosa och poesi, tror jag. Vi begagnar oss av väst, västerländsk konst, nästan lika mycket som västerlänningarna själva.

Den västerländska kulturen berikar oss i lika hög grad som vår egen. Kanske just den möjligheten gör oss intressanta. Jag tror inte alls på att västerlandets skaparkraft skulle ha sinat, minskat eller stannat upp. Väst vet att värna sin ställning som litterärt intressant och nyskapande. Vi lever i en brytningstid som berör hela världen. Ett sådant skede är alltid omvälvande. Det är så mycket som går in i vartannat, och det kan förefalla som om en del länder skulle förlora något på kuppen.

Vad gäller Turkiet i dag råder djupt vankelemod på alla plan. Alla landets värden håller på att gå förlorade. Förtryckarregeringar är alltid besvärliga. De gör att människornas strävanden urartar, de berövar människorna deras skaparförmåga. Vi upplever just nu ett krig, världens smutsigaste, mänsklighetens blodigaste krig. Det kommer att bli svårt för oss att rätta på ryggen framöver. Men om vi i en nära framtid kan införa demokrati, skulle vi

"I vårt land säger de om mig att jag förhärligar naturen och människorna. De har rätt. För själva är de inte ens medvetna om vilket underverk naturen är."

kanske med det samlade kulturarv som denna mark äger kunna återfå vår skaparkraft. Det finns andra exempel på detta: Efter första världskriget blev mänskligheten aldrig densamma. Efter krigstidens människor har urartat, de har mist mycket av sin skaparkraft och fjärmats från sina forna värden. Man kunde drastiskt säga att det kalla kriget och skräcken för atombomben i det närmaste berövade oss våra mänskliga drag. Men naturen och människan har så stora inneboende skaparresurser att de alltid förmår återskapa sig själva.

Kan ni berätta om ert senaste romanprojekt?

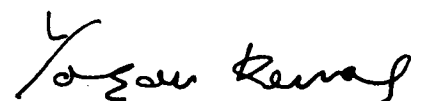
Min senaste roman handlar om tiden efter första världskriget, en krigsslutsroman med andra ord. Kriget förintar två stora värden samtidigt, människan och naturen. Den 23 juli år 1923 stiftades la-

gen om utväxling. Enligt den skulle grekerna i Anatolien, det vill säga Turkiet, skickas till Grekland och turkarna i Grekland till Turkiet. I min familj upplevde man flyttandets våndor. Under första världskriget kom de från trakten av Ararat och Vansjön i östra Anatolien till Çukurova vid Medelhavskusten, hundra mil därifrån. Jag vet hur förskräckligt smärtsamt det är att lämna sin fosterjord. Det är som att slita hjärtat ur en människa. I min roman lämnar grekerna en ö som där efter befolkas av mesopotamier av alla de slag från de forna ottomanska områdena, kurder och aleviter, kaukasier och laser, det vill säga Svartahavsbor. Ön blir ett Babels torn mitt i havet. Till slut finns ingen växtlighet kvar på hela ön och havets fiskar dör ut. Av den en gång paradisiskt grönskande ön blir bara karga klippor kvar och då tar öns invånare, rättare sagt några av öborna, itu med att återskapa ön ... Jag är klar med första delen, den andra och tredje delen blir klara till nyår. Om inte det här med rättegång hade kommit emellan, kunde jag vid det här laget ha haft andra delen färdig och hälften av tredje delen. Men vad gör man? Jag kan ju inte dra mig tillbaka i min lya och skriva på min roman medan andra människor lider, mördas, utsätts för tortyr och dryper av blod.

Jag kan inte tänka mig att en kallhamrad författare, berövad sin förmåga till empati och kärlek, är att betrakta som en naturlig mänsklig varelse. Jag vill inte ens föreställa mig en människa som är kapabel att blunda för det lidande som hennes bröder och landsmän utsätts för. I all synnerhet inte att en författare skulle vara okänslig för andra människors lidande. Jag betvivlar att en sådan skribent vore en författare värd namnet. I alla romaner som jag tänker skriva framöver kommer jag att ta ställning mot förstörelse av naturen, krig och mänskligt lidande, för harmoni och fred. Jag vill att de som läser mina romaner skall älska naturen, människan, lyckan och ljuset. Jag vill att vi, mitt i det mörker som omger oss, till slut ska få se ljuset bryta fram och skingra mörkret.

Kommer vi att få se er på bokmässan i Göteborg i höst?

Jag blev väldigt glad när de bjöd in mig till bokmässan i Göteborg. Det gläder mig att få återse det land där jag levde lycklig och kunde skriva med så stor lätthet.



YAŞAR KEMAL

Översättning från turkiskan: Claire B. Kaustell

© Yaşar Kemal och SvD

United States : PKK is involved in drug traffic in Europe

State Department report says
hundreds of thousands of PKK
sympathizers in Turkey and Europe

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The top U.S. administration official responsible for monitoring terrorist groups around the world, has confirmed that the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) is involved in the narcotics trade in Europe. Phil Wilcox, U.S. State Department's counter-terrorism coordinator said "I know of no narcotics activities by the PKK in the United States," but stated that the PKK has been involved "in narcotics trafficking in Western Europe and elsewhere."

In the State Department's report on "Patterns of Global Terrorism, 1994," the PKK has been identified as an international terrorist group which "presents a potentially serious threat to U.S. interests." The report detailed the bomb attacks by the PKK on the tourist industry in Turkey last year, where several tourists died and more were injured. The PKK also kidnapped two Finnish tourists who were later released.

The report also acknowledged the support PKK received from some European countries. "The PKK opened offices of its political wing (ERNK) in Italy and Greece," it said. The terrorist organization's "expanding activities" in Germany were also mentioned.

5,000-6,000 PKK guerrillas in Turkey
The State Department estimates PKK strength as

"approximately 10,000 to 15,000 full-time guerrillas, 5,000 to 6,000 of whom are in Turkey; 60,000 to 75,000 part-time guerrillas and hundreds of thousands of sympathizers in Turkey and Europe."

The report also said that the PKK "receives safe-haven and modest aid from Syria, Iraq and Iran." The aid and comfort Syria is giving to the PKK was raised with President Assad during Assistant Secretary of State, Dennis Ross' latest visit to Damascus. UPI reported that the PKK leader, Abdullah "Apo" Öcalan, had escaped to Syria 24 hours before Turkey launched Operation Steel in northern Iraq on March 20.

The second Turkish terrorist organization covered by the report is Dev-Sol (Revolutionary Left) whose leader Dursun Karataş was arrested by the French authorities last September.

Dev-Sol members in Austria, Belgium and Netherlands "sprang into action" to have Karataş released. The State Department describes Dev-Sol as a Marxist group which is "intensely xenophobic and virulently anti-U.S. and anti-NATO." Its strength is described as "several hundred members and several dozen armed militants." It is noted that the organization "conducts fundraising operations in Western Europe."

"Dev-Sol operatives in Turkey assassinated former Justice Minister Mehmet Topaç on Sept. 29, 1994 in Ankara and also killed a policeman in Istanbul," the reports says.

The "loosely organized Turkish Islamic extremists" are the third Turkish terrorist group covered by the report. "They have claimed responsibility for attacks under a variety of names, such as Islamic Jihad, the Islamic Movement Organization and the Islamic Great Eastern Raiders Front."

Despite the fact that it is not of paramount significance in Turkey, the U.S. State Department report mentions that "there was an upsurge of attacks by Islamic extremist groups in 1994, including many aimed at undermining the Middle East peace process."

Wilcox noted a trend of "a decline in attacks by secular terrorist groups in recent years and an increase in terrorist activities by radical Islamic groups." In the introduction to the report, Wilcox stated that "terrorism in Islamic guise is a problem for established governments in the Middle East."

PROCÈS-VERBAL DE LA SÉANCE DU JEUDI 6 AVRIL 1995

(95/C 109/04)

PRÉSIDENTE DE GIL-ROBLES GIL-DELGADO

Vice-président

2. Visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et intervention turque dans le Nord de l'Irak (déclarations avec débat)

M. Lamassoure, Président en exercice du Conseil, et M. Van den Broek, membre de la Commission font des déclarations sur la visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et sur l'intervention de l'armée turque au Kurdistan irakien.

Interviennent: M^{me} Green, au nom du groupe PSE, MM. Langen, au nom du groupe PPE, Bertens, au nom du groupe ELDR, M^{me} González Álvarez, au nom du groupe GUE/NGL, MM. Caligaris, au nom du groupe FE, Kaklamanis, au nom du groupe RDE, M^{me} Roth, au nom du groupe V, MM. Dell'Alba, au nom du groupe ARE, Van der Waal, au nom du groupe EDN, Le Gallou, non-inscrit, Sakellariou, Lambrias et M^{me} Pailler.

M. le Président annonce avoir reçu des députés suivants les propositions de résolution suivantes, déposées sur la base de l'article 37, paragraphe 2, du règlement:

- Goerens, André-Léonard et Bertens, au nom du groupe ELDR, sur les opérations militaires turques dans le Nord de l'Irak (B4-0636/95);
- Lalumière, au nom du groupe ARE, sur l'incursion militaire turque contre les Kurdes au Nord de l'Irak (B4-0644/95);
- Sakellariou, Hoff, Roubatis, Colajanni, Kranidiotis, Wiersma, Pons Grau, Mendiluce Pereiro, Newens et Desama, au nom du groupe PSE, sur l'incursion des troupes turques en territoire irakien (B4-0684/95);
- Papayannakis, Ephremidis, Pailler, Ribeiro, Pettinari, Hurtig et Puerta, au nom du groupe GUE/NGL sur l'invasion turque en Irak du Nord et la visite de la Troïka à Ankara (B4-0716/95);
- Roth, Aelvoet et Kreissl-Dörfler, au nom du groupe V, sur l'invasion turque en Irak du Nord (B4-0723/95);
- Pasty, Daskalaki, Gerard Collins et Monteiro, au nom du groupe RDE, sur l'intervention turque en Irak (B4-0726/95);
- Lambrias, Langen, Brok, Christodoulou, Fabra Valés et Oomen-Ruijten, au nom du groupe PPE, sur la visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et l'intervention militaire de la Turquie dans le Nord de l'Irak (B4-0727/95).

M. le Président déclare clos le débat.

vote: partie I, point 4.

Intervient M. Le Gallou pour un fait personnel.

4. Visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et intervention turque dans le Nord de l'Irak (vote)

Propositions de résolution B4-0636, 0644, 0684, 0716, 0723, 0726 et 0727/95

Interviennent:

- M^{me} Green, au nom du groupe PSE, qui déplore que le groupe V, qui a déposé 4 amendements à la proposition de résolution commune, n'en ait pas informé, comme la coutume le veut, les autres groupes politiques signataires de cette proposition;
- M^{me} Roth, au nom du groupe V, sur cette intervention et les amendements déposés par son groupe;
- M. Balfe sur la disponibilité des propositions de résolution et des amendements sur la Turquie et le Burundi (M^{me} le Président indique que les documents en question ont été distribués).

PROPOSITIONS DE RÉOLUTION B4-0636, 0644, 0684, 0716, 0723, 0726 et 0727/95:

- proposition de résolution commune déposée par les députés suivants:
Green, Hoff, Sakellariou, Lambraki, au nom du groupe PSE,
Lenz, au nom du groupe PPE,
Goerens, André-Léonard, Bertens, au nom du groupe ELDR,
Alavanos, Carnero González, Pailler, Vinci, Ribeiro, Ephremidis, González Álvarez, au nom du groupe GUE/NGL,
Caligaris, Ligabue, au nom du groupe FE,
Pasty, Daskalaki, Kaklamanis, au nom du groupe RDE,
Roth, au nom du groupe V,
Fouque, Lalumière, au nom du groupe ARE,
tendant à remplacer ces propositions de résolution par un nouveau texte:

Amendements rejetés: 3; 1; 2; 4

Les différentes parties du texte ont été adoptées successivement.

Par AN (PSE) le Parlement adopte la résolution

votants:	417
pour:	411
contre:	0
abstentions:	6

(partie II, point 1).

PARTIE II

Textes adoptés par le Parlement européen

1. Visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et intervention turque dans le Nord de l'Irak

B4-0636, 0644, 0684, 0716, 0723, 0726, 0727/95

Résolution sur la visite de la «Troïka» à Ankara et l'intervention militaire de la Turquie dans le nord de l'Irak*Le Parlement européen,*

- vu ses résolutions antérieures sur les violations des droits de l'homme en Turquie, et sur la condamnation des attentats terroristes commis par le PKK,
 - vu sa résolution du 16 février 1995 sur le projet d'accord sur la conclusion d'une Union douanière entre l'UE et la Turquie ⁽¹⁾,
- A. vivement préoccupé par l'extension du conflit entre l'État turc et les terroristes du PKK vers le nord de l'Irak,
- B. soulignant que le nord de l'Irak a été déclaré zone de protection des Nations unies,
- C. horrifié par le caractère démesuré d'une intervention au cours de laquelle trente-cinq mille soldats turcs, appuyés par des avions de combat, des chars et de l'artillerie lourde, ont lancé contre des villages kurdes une offensive qui s'est soldée par plusieurs centaines de morts, auxquels il faut ajouter de nombreux blessés et prisonniers parmi des civils innocents,
- D. considérant que le caractère massif et l'absence de délai assigné à cette opération lui donnent un caractère qui va au-delà d'un simple exercice du droit de poursuite,
- E. craignant pour la sécurité des milliers de réfugiés kurdes qui cherchent à se protéger soit de l'impitoyable répression menée par Saddam Hussein soit des combats acharnés dans le sud-est de la Turquie, et pour la sécurité de tous les habitants de la région,
- F. apprenant que les journalistes de la presse écrite et de la télévision indépendantes, dont la présence aurait permis d'informer librement et complètement l'opinion publique internationale, se sont vu interdire l'accès de la région,
- G. sachant que l'opération a été conduite, en partie, à l'aide d'armes lourdes provenant d'États membres de l'Union européenne,
- H. appuyant les mises en garde adressées par la présidence française au gouvernement turc ainsi que la décision du gouvernement allemand de suspendre toute aide financière en faveur de la Turquie pour l'achat de navires de guerre et la fourniture à ce pays de nouvelles armes,
- I. considérant que la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie est trop grave pour que l'Union douanière envisagée puisse être mise en œuvre actuellement,
- J. considérant que le problème kurde ne peut être résolu militairement;
1. condamne énergiquement l'intervention militaire turque dans le nord de l'Irak et les violations du droit international et des droits de l'homme qu'elle a entraînées;
 2. condamne une fois encore les actes terroristes du PKK et avertit le gouvernement turc que la poursuite de sa politique de répression à l'encontre des aspirations raisonnables des Kurdes en Turquie ne manquera pas de renforcer l'audience du PKK, quel que soit le succès des opérations militaires turques;

(1) PV de cette date, partie II, point 4.

3. demande fermement à la Turquie de retirer immédiatement ses troupes du nord de l'Irak et de se mettre en quête d'une solution politique propre à apaiser, dans le droit fil des règles du droit international, la tension qui règne dans ses provinces orientales;
4. demande à l'Union européenne et à ses États membres d'aider financièrement et techniquement le Haut Comité des Nations unies pour les réfugiés dans ses efforts afin de secourir les populations menacées par les récentes explosions de violence;
5. invite instamment les États membres à ne procéder à l'extradition d'aucun réfugié kurde aussi longtemps qu'Ankara affichera un tel comportement à l'encontre de ce peuple, à l'exception des responsables des mouvements terroristes;
6. prie les États membres de subordonner, à l'exemple de l'Allemagne, la fourniture de nouveaux équipements militaires à la Turquie au retrait de ses troupes;
7. presse le Conseil et la Commission d'établir une stricte réglementation des exportations de matériels militaires, de manière à éviter que des armes provenant d'États membres ne soient utilisées contre les Kurdes ou dans des conflits similaires;
8. demande que les délégués de la Croix-Rouge soient autorisés à se rendre dans le Nord de l'Irak pour venir en aide aux populations civiles, notamment aux personnes blessées ou détenues;
9. renvoie à sa résolution précitée du 16 février 1995;
10. charge son Président de transmettre la présente résolution à la Commission, au Conseil, au Conseil de l'Europe, à l'OSCE, au Secrétaire général des Nations unies, au Haut Comité des Nations unies pour les réfugiés, au Comité international de la Croix-Rouge ainsi qu'aux gouvernements de la Turquie et de l'Irak.

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1995

Lawyers for Democracy Party file appeal of convictions

Petition: Advocates argue that Constitutional Court's decision was 'a political decision, not a juridical one'; claim they were not shown evidence against their clients

By Aytül Gürtaş
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Lawyers for the banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) presented last Wednesday a detailed 106-page appeal to the Appeals Court.

According to the DEP appeal, the trial process of DEP deputies Ahmet Türk, Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana, Orhan Doğan, Selim Sadak, Sırrı Sakık and independent Mahmut Alınak, was unjust and the imprisoned deputies should be released.

DEP was closed down by the Constitutional Court in June 1994 and the deputies' membership in the Turkish Parliament was revoked. Seven DEP deputies were then imprisoned, but six others fled to Europe to avoid prosecution. Pro-Kurdish but independent deputy Mahmut Alınak's parliamentary immunity was also lifted at the demand of the state prosecutor and he was tried with the DEP deputies. The DEP members and Alınak were sentenced to between three and 15 years of imprisonment.

In their appeal, DEP lawyers Yusuf Alataş, Hasip Kaplan, Aydın Erdoğan, Selahattin Esmer, Nuri Özmen, speaking for a committee of 300 lawyers in support of

DEP, claimed that "justice in Turkey was not independent of the administration" by recalling Prime Minister Çiller's statement on the DEP case while the trial process was going on.

In a statement on March 16, 1994, Prime Minister Çiller said, "I talked to the judges. Maybe I shouldn't have, but I needed to talk and I told them, 'finish the job immediately.'" The DEP appeal said Prime Minister Çiller's statement proved that justice in Turkey was dependent upon the administration and argued that the Constitutional Court's decision was "a political decision, not a juridical one."

The DEP appeal also claimed that affidavits on which the trial was based were not given to the defense, effectively preventing DEP lawyers from seeing or challenging the state's evidence. "Our demands to expand the investigation and to hear the witnesses in the courtroom were rejected by the Court. This is another sign of the unjust process of the trial," the appeal said.

The lawyers said all the demands of the defense lawyers were turned down by the Court. They also said that the principle of individuality of the crime was also violated and the deputies were punished collectively.

Turkish Daily News

OSCE delegation wants DEP MPs to be released

Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1995

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Will Wimmer, leader of a delegation from the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), on Monday requested that the jailed former deputies of the now defunct Democracy Party (DEP) be set free.

The delegation is on a one week visit to Turkey at the invitation of Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk.

Cindoruk's reply to Wimmer's request was, "I cannot relay your request to the chief judge of the High Appeals Court. However the press will ensure that your statement is brought to the judge's attention. I don't know whether your words will influence him or not but I cannot intervene in the judiciary." The visiting OSCE delegation also met with the under-secretary of the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), Democratic Left Party (DSP) Chairman Bülent Ecevit, Necmettin Erbakan of the pro-Islamic Welfare Party (RP) and main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) Chairman Meşut Yılmaz. They later visited the Kurdish deputies in prison.

The OSCE delegation will today meet with the Turkish parliamentarians who are OSCE members and later with Hikmet Çetin, deputy prime minister and chairman of the junior coalition partner Republican People's Party (CHP), Yekta Güngör Özden of the Constitutional Court, Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü, State Minister Algan Hacaloğlu, responsible for human rights, and finally with Prime Minister Tansu Çiller.

On May 3, the delegation members will go to Diyarbakır and meet with the emergency rule regional governor, Diyarbakır mayor and the chamber of industry and commerce. On May 5, they will return to Ankara and meet with Yavuz Önen, the head of the Human Rights Foundation and former Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal. After meeting with New Democracy Movement (YDH) leader Cem Boyner and Doğu Perinçek of the Labor Party (İP) in Istanbul, the OSCE delegation will leave Turkey on May 7.

During their visit to Cindoruk, Wimmer said he and his colleagues were pleased with the content of the itinerary prepared for them. Wimmer, who is also the deputy president of the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly started by requesting a meeting closed to the press, noting that he had some special remarks to make. Cindoruk replied, "We have nothing secret from the press. You can say what you like in front of them." Wimmer drew attention to the press comments that he and his colleagues were on "a critical mission."

Wimmer said, "The purpose of our visit is linked with three issues which caused the Parliamentarians' Assembly to focus its attention on Turkey. The first is the critical situation in some regions of Turkey. The second is to emphasize the utmost importance the Assembly attaches to Turkey's integrity and protection of its borders. The third is linked with the case of the imprisoned former deputies."

Wimmer said it was not only he and his colleagues who had concerns about the jailed deputies but that some Turkish parliamentarians had the same concerns. He said he and his colleagues did not have any hidden agenda against Turkey in their respective countries. He quoted a minister of the Turkish government as saying that the "state should be tolerant." Wimmer repeated that he and his colleagues were ready to give political support for the protection of Turkey's borders and its integrity.

Wimmer continued that this required not only military measures but also economic, social and political measures.

Wimmer said that the sentences given to former

parliamentarians in the Turkish courts, which he described as being the most active member of OSCE, exceeded the decisions of the courts in the OSCE member countries.

"We request that the jailed parliamentarians be set free. Certainly it will be you who makes the decision and, as friends, we hereby express our wish that you will take this decision," Wimmer said.

Cindoruk said Turkey is a democratic country, that it is an open regime and that there is no censorship in the country. Cindoruk said, "The members of the press have also heard your request. There are 17 private TV stations which broadcast nationally.

The rating of the state TV has dropped to 10 percent. There are more than 2000 radio stations. Citizens inquire why the OSCE delegation has come to Turkey. Now the press will relay this to them. You have requested that former DEP deputies be released. The judiciary is independent in Turkey. I could not have relayed your request to the chief judge of the High Appeals Court. Your call will be aired on TVs. The chief judge of the High Appeals Court will also listen. I wonder if your words will have any effect or not but I can have no influence on the independent judiciary in this regard." Cindoruk said Greece had put the mufti of Xanthi in Western Thrace in jail however since he believed in the independence of the judiciary he could not intervene in Greece for the correction of the relevant court ruling.

DSP Chairman Bülent Ecevit, who met with the OSCE delegation, stressed that the National Security Council (MGK) did not put any pressure on the government. Ecevit said he had worked with MGK when he was in office as prime minister and that except for the military eras there was no pressure involved. He said there were similar organizations in other countries and that the organization of such nature was in the most respectable position in the United States.

The OSCE members later visited Şevket Kazan, deputy chairman of the RP parliamentary group. In reply to a question, Kazan said, "At present, the south-east Anatolia region is not represented in Parliament.

Sixteen of the 22 vacant seats in Parliament are in that region. For the past eight months, we have been proposing to hold an election however our proposals are not taken into consideration. No reaction has come from Europe in this regard because OSCE does not perform its duty."

KURDISTAN



Mujeres del Partido de los Trabajadores Kurdos (sentadas) detenidas por soldados turcos durante la última ofensiva de Ankara en Irak.

KURDOS La Prisión Turca

Zana es un kurdo de Turquía que sufre en propia carne la persecución de su pueblo por defender una identidad cultural. «La prisión número 5» es el testimonio de 11 años entre rejas. Hoy sigue en prisión, como su esposa, candidata al Nobel de la Paz

ANA TAGARRO, París

ME LLAMO MEHDI ZANA. SOY KURDO. Kurdo de Turquía. He sido alcalde de Diyarbakir, la ciudad más importante de la región donde viven los kurdos, el Kurdistan de Turquía. Fui encarcelado en 1980 durante diez años y ocho meses, junto con otros kurdos, algunos de los cuales están hoy muertos, en una condiciones difíciles de imaginar en Europa. He sido torturado de tal manera que conservo todavía las secuelas. Y todo eso debido a mi postura en favor de lo que me parece elemental: los derechos de los kurdos. Lo que nosotros demandamos es el poder hablar nuestra lengua, aprenderla en la escuela, disponer de periódicos, radios y televisión en kurdo. Queremos vivir como seres humanos completos, en el respeto a nuestra dignidad, de nuestra personali-

dad, de nuestra identidad y por eso nos encarcelan, nos torturan y nos matan».

Así de sencillo y rotundo comienza Mehdi Zana el libro *La prisión número 5* en el que relata su experiencia durante 11 años en las cárceles turcas. Zana, a sus 55 años, casado y con dos hijos, está hoy de nuevo en la cárcel. En mayo del año pasado fue condenado por un tribunal turco a cuatro años de prisión por defender ante el Parlamento Europeo los derechos de los kurdos.

Como Zana, millones de kurdos carecen de patria —viven diseminados en Turquía, Irak, Irán, Siria y la antigua URSS— y soportan persecuciones. La última ofensiva armada contra ellos la ha protagonizado Turquía. El pasado 20 de marzo las autoridades de Ankara enviaron 35.000 solda-

dos al Norte de Irak donde, según los mandatarios turcos, el Partido de los Trabajadores Kurdos (PKK) tiene sus bases y organiza actividades terroristas.

Como Zana, su esposa, Leyla, de 31 años, también sufre persecución. Ahora Leyla cumple una condena de 15 años de prisión en la cárcel militar de Ankara acusada de «pertenencia y ayuda a una banda armada», es decir, al PKK. Un centenar de periodistas e intelectuales también ha sido encarcelado por delitos de opinión, algunos por defender al matrimonio Zana. Leyla Zana acaba de ser propuesta para el premio Nobel de la Paz a instancias de los diputados noruegos. Las autoridades turcas han reaccionado inmediatamente contra esta candidatura. El Gobierno turco sigue negando la identidad kur-



Zana en 1992.

MAHMUT ESAT BOZKURT, ANTIGUO ministro de Justicia de Turquía, afirmó en 1930: «Vivimos en el país más libre del mundo, que se llama Turquía. El turco es el único señor de este país. Aquellos que no son de puro origen turco no tienen más que un solo derecho en este país: el derecho de ser servidores, el derecho de ser esclavos».

Y así viven los kurdos. Sus penas comenzaron en los años 20 con Mustafá Kemal, llamado Ataturk (padre de los turcos). Su objetivo era la homogeneización cultural del país. En 1919, Kemal prometió crear un «Estado musulmán de kurdos y turcos», pero en 1923 prohíbe toda manifestación de la entidad kurda. Las revueltas kurdas desencadenaron un círculo de represión-revuelta-represión entre 1925 y 1938. Millón y medio de kurdos fue deportado y masacrado. Tras la II Guerra Mundial, las cosas empeoran. El golpe de Estado de 1960 inicia la campaña «Ciudadano habla turco» y se pintan las laderas de las montañas del Kurdistán con letras que dicen: «Un turco vale todo un universo». Pueblos enteros, como Silvan y Batman, son torturados en público.

En 1982 se aprobó una Constitución que consagra los principios de Ataturk. Unos 65.000 kurdos murieron en Diyarbakir tras ser torturados. Entonces nace el PKK, el Partido de los Trabajadores del Kurdistán, que lleva a cabo actos terroristas contra objetivos turcos.

En abril de 1991, el presidente Turgut Ozal decide abolir la ley sobre las lenguas prohibidas y amnistía a 45.000 prisioneros kurdos, entre ellos a Mehdi Zana. El pueblo kurdo abraza grandes esperanzas para las legislativas de octubre de 1991. Pero el PKK lleva a cabo varias acciones sangrientas que sirven de excusa al Ejército para iniciar una nueva ofensiva: 150 civiles kurdos mueren durante la fiesta del nuevo año kurdo el 21 de marzo de 1992 en Cizre. Se inicia entonces una eliminación planificada. En 30 meses más de 2.000 kurdos, entre ellos el escritor Musa Anter y el diputado Mehmet Sincar, son asesinados por «asesinos no identificados».

En marzo de 1993 Ozal intenta detener el baño de sangre. Cuando se prepara para anunciar una serie de medidas relativas al pueblo kurdo, Ozal muere súbitamente debido a un paro cardíaco.

El pasado 20 de marzo Ankara envió 35.000 hombres al Norte de Irak para combatir al PKK allí asentado. La ofensiva turca se realizó precisamente por encima del Paralelo 36, zona de exclusión aérea impuesta a Irak tras la guerra del Golfo para que el líder iraquí, Sadam Husein, no pueda arremeter contra el pueblo kurdo. Curioso. ■

da, pero no quiere que el reconocimiento internacional de la causa de los Zana enturbie su cada vez más cercana unión aduanera con la Unión Europea.

En *La prisión número 5*, Mehdi Zana relata como se ensañaban sus torturadores con él por haber recibido el apoyo explícito del Gobierno francés. Publicado el pasado febrero en Francia por la editorial Arléa, en el libro no hay ningún tipo de proselitismo, ni de llamadas al independentismo del pueblo kurdo, ni de instigaciones a la venganza. Zana se limita, con una sencillez aplastante, a describir las torturas a las que los presos kurdos son sometidos y a dejar clara su intención de seguir luchando por lo que no son más que derechos humanos.

El escritor turco Yadar Kemal, cuyo nombre se ha barajado en varias ocasiones para el Premio Nobel, recomienda la lectura de *La prisión número 5*. Kemal fue juzgado en Turquía en marzo del año pasado, cuando se condenó a seis diputados kurdos, por decir:

—Turquía entrará maldita en el siglo XXI.

Al referirse a Zana, Kemal afirma:

—El no es un hombre que miente.

Porque uno quisiera creer que lo que cuenta en el libro no es verdad, que es una pesadilla. Pero la pesadilla, dice Zana, comienza cuando uno se despierta. La celda de la Academia Militar en la que Zana fue confinado el 24 de septiembre de 1980, 12 días después del golpe de Estado, tenía 1,80 m. de largo por 0,62 de ancho y 1,80

de alto, con una tabla de 40 centímetros de anchura a 30 centímetros del suelo.

El día que llegó fue torturado por una decena de guardias que le advirtieron:

—¡Hace tiempo que esperamos este día, desde que eres alcalde! ¡Ahora ni Dios te podrá salvar!

Entonces también supo, porque ellos se lo dijeron, que esa era sólo «la sesión de bienvenida».

Antes de ser alcalde, Zana ya había estado en la cárcel. Siempre se ha definido como «nacionalista kurdo» y en su juventud se integró en el PKK, el único que no discriminaba a su pueblo y que sería prohibido poco después. Fue encarcelado por sus actividades políticas entre marzo de 1971 y julio de 1974 pero entonces no sufrió malos tratos. En

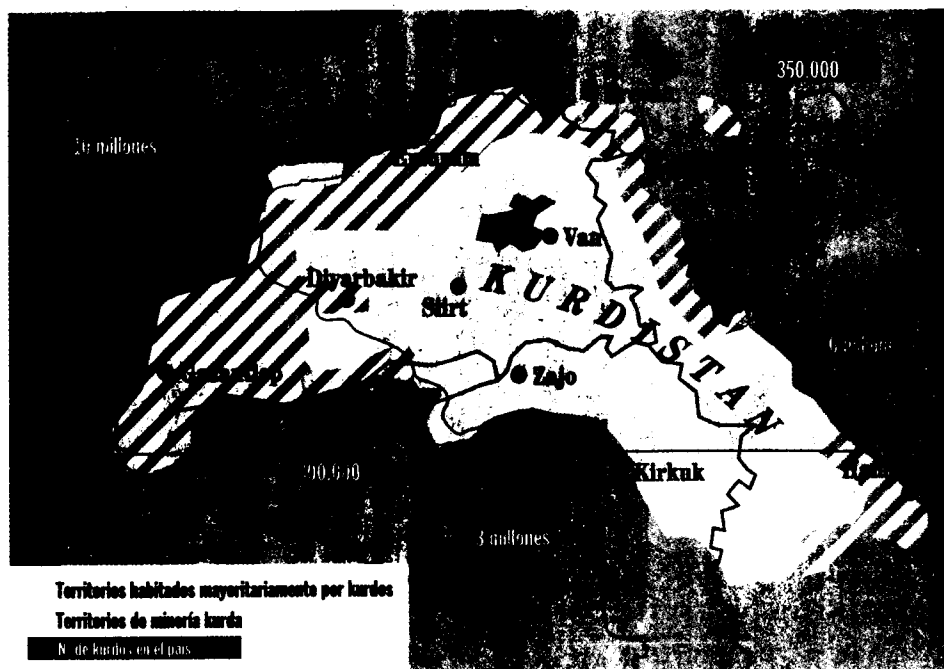
1977 se presentó a las elecciones y fue elegido alcalde de Diyarbakir, cargo que ocupó hasta el golpe militar de 1980.

Durante años Zana y sus compañeros de prisión han sufrido todo tipo de torturas y vejaciones tanto en la Academia Militar como en la prisión número 5 de Diyarbakir. Los guardas que les interrogaban comenzaban con la «falaka», una forma de tortura que consiste en golpear con un bastón o un bate la planta de los pies, y el «avión», llamada así por el temblor del cuerpo cuando se aplica corriente eléctrica sobre los órganos sexuales. Zana fue sometido a estas torturas continuamente durante los primeros 15 días de su detención. Cuando se desma-

Los presos recibían golpes y descargas eléctricas en los testículos



Un grupo de niños kurdos juega bajo la vigilancia de un tanque turco en el norte iraquí.



yaba, esperaban a que recuperase el conocimiento para volver a comenzar.

La presión psicológica es también habitual: les obligaban a dar gracias a Alá por su situación y desear larga vida al Ejército y a la nación turca, saludar al perro del capitán, se les sometía al simulacro de ser ahorcados y recibían amenazas contra sus familias.

—No buscaban matarnos. Dosificaban las torturas para ver el grado de lo que podíamos soportar —afirma Zana.

Su libro describe también el hacinamiento y la falta de higiene en que viven los presos, el sadismo de los carceleros, que a veces ofrecen té a un prisionero y cuando se acerca le vierten el té hirviendo.



Zana en la cárcel (1984). Hoy sigue en prisión.

—Eso les hace reír, sobre todo si la víctima se quema; si no reacciona, la empujan a golpes —explica Zana.

Las torturas son innumerables: tenerles 12 horas de pie sin comer, o dentro de una celda plagada de ratas, o en una bañera llena de excrementos o sobrevivir a los ataques de un pastor alemán adiestrado para morder los testículos de los presos.

Hay torturas más humillantes, si cabe clasificarlas, como la «matraca», que consiste en introducir una porra en el recto mientras cuatro guardas sostienen al prisionero por las manos y pies. Si la porra rompe los órganos, la víctima puede morir desangrada. En ocasiones obligan a un prisionero a sostener la porra contra otro compañero o a autoempalarse sentándose sobre ella. A veces, cuando sacan la porra ensangrentada, obligan a otro detenido a chuparla.

—Tratan de humillarnos en lo más profundo de nosotros mismos —asegura.

Pero en lo más profundo de ellos está el convencimiento de que su lucha es justa y eso les mantiene vivos. Les queda incluso energía para iniciar acciones solidarias e intentar llamar la atención de la comunidad internacional. En 1982 llevaron a cabo una huelga de hambre con el objetivo de poner fin a los malos tratos.

A los 55 días de la huelga, murió el primer detenido. Todavía morirían varios más antes de que la Administración prometiese que no habría torturas. En realidad, las cosas no cambiaron mucho pero, según Zana, las acciones conjuntas reforzaron la moral de los presos kurdos. Finalmente, a partir de 1987, las condiciones mejoraron. Zana fue liberado en 1991. Para entonces ya empezaba a recuperar la memoria que le faltó entre 1983 y 1984, pero tenía dificultades para hablar. Asegura que durante su detención se sintió investido de una gran responsabilidad porque debía ser merecedor de la confianza que los kurdos habían depositado en él al elegirle alcalde.

También comenta la capacidad para el humor en situaciones límite, como cuando un preso que padecía una diarrea por haber ingerido comida en mal estado fue llevado ante el tribunal y pidió permiso para ir al baño. Como no se lo dieron, satisfizo sus necesidades delante del tribunal. Por supuesto fue castigado, pero cuando regresó a la celda disfrutó contándose a sus compañeros.

Cuenta Zana también la anécdota de Vedat Aydin, uno de los líderes kurdos de Diyarbakir. Durante una sesión colectiva de tortura un compañero le pregunta:

—¿Cómo estás?

—¡Tan fuerte como un buey! —respondió Aydin.

—Fue tan inesperada su respuesta —dice Zana— que le miramos como espectadores de nosotros mismos, lejos por un segundo de nuestro dolor y nos echamos a reír.

Vedat Aydin fue asesinado en 1991. ■

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1995

U.S. Calls On Allies To Join Ban on Iran

Oil Prices Rise on News Of Boycott

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

PARIS — The ban on commercial dealing with Iran will trigger disruptions in world oil markets that may raise energy costs worldwide, particularly if the United States pursues its use of oil as a weapon with Libya and Nigeria to extract political concessions or extends its boycott to foreign companies doing business in Iran.

Oil prices rose moderately on Monday. On the New York Mercantile Exchange, crude oil for delivery in June was trading late in the day at \$20.50 a barrel, up 12 cents from Friday, after initially gaining as much as 42 cents to \$20.80 a barrel, the highest level since last August.

In London, North Sea Brent Blend crude for June delivery was quoted in late trading at \$19.17 a barrel on the International Petroleum Exchange, up 11 cents from Friday, after rising as high as \$19.38 a barrel earlier in the day. Brent crude is the benchmark oil from the North Sea.

If Japan joins the boycott of Iranian oil, nearly 40 percent of Iran's oil exports of 2.5 million barrels a day would be blocked out of world markets, energy experts in Europe estimate. A prolonged action would deprive Tehran of about \$4 billion, or about a third of its annual hard-currency revenue.

Japanese oil industry officials said Monday that the United States already had asked the Japanese Foreign Ministry to lobby for a suspension of the daily purchases of 600,000 barrels of Iranian oil.

"It will be more than a thorn in their side," said Peter Gignoux, head of the energy desk at Smith Barney in London.

But experts say the policy would create hardships for American companies as the places they can operate in the Middle East are becoming fewer. American oil companies are now banned from operating in Libya, Iran and Iraq; they are restricted to a small presence in Syria, and are at risk in Algeria. If black American political groups succeed, the companies also will be banned from Nigeria to force the Nigerian military to return to democracy.

The ban on American oil purchases from Libya began in 1986, and, from Iraq, in 1990. Simultaneously, Russian production has dropped steadily, coming down in the past four years from 12 million barrels

a day to half that amount currently. As a result, Russian oil exports have been unstable.

Experts say the embargo comes at a time when the balance between oil supplies and consumption is precarious.

Demand for oil has been increasing, as the newly industrialized economies of India, China and Southeast Asia expand. Since 1990, world oil markets have been deprived of about 3 million barrels a day that Iraq exported before sanctions were imposed by the United Nations. Iran is currently exporting 2.5 million barrels a day, of which about 1 million barrels going to U.S. and Japanese buyers may be suspended.

"There is a limit to how much oil you can keep out of the market without pushing prices up," said John Lichtblau, president of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation in Manhattan. "It's like a 'Catch-22' situation: The more successful U.S. policy is, the price of oil is likely to increase by several dollars."

International oil companies said the overall impact of the American boycott would become clearer after 30 days, when the executive order takes force.

The president of a major oil trading company, based in Monte Carlo, which handles shipping for a substantial amount of Iranian crude oil, said: "If the Americans are very, very firm in their pressure, it will create real difficulties for Iran in dealing with third parties, too. No one wants to defy America today."

Third parties, like indepen-

Appeal Comes After Clinton Cuts Off Trade

By Paul F. Horvitz
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The United States denounced Iran on Monday and sternly declared to its allies and to Russia and China that there were no longer any "excuses" for maintaining commercial ties with Tehran's Islamic regime.

The message was delivered at a news briefing by Secretary of State Warren M

dent oil traders and oil shipping companies, will play a major role as Iran tries to bypass the boycott and resell oil through them back to America and to other markets.

One of the crucial factors to ponder, experts say, is whether the few oil producers with spare capacity and reserves, like Saudi Arabia, would move to make up any shortage by pumping more oil.

The general consensus in Europe is that Saudi Arabia's economic and political sense dictates that it refrain from replacing the Iranian oil.

"I don't think the Saudis will budge on production," said Mr. Gignoux of Smith Barney. "This is a trade embargo designed to send a political message to Tehran, with which Saudi Arabia agrees."

Other experts agreed that Saudi Arabia, which already produces 8 million barrels a day, would opt for higher prices rather than more production to keep prices stable.

Oil industry experts in Europe said the U.S. boycott would require extensive policing, as Iran rushed to find independent traders to market its oil.

Some Europeans have argued that the United States will face renewed pressure from Russia, China and France to end the sanctions imposed by the United Nations that ban Iraq from selling oil in order to ease any supply crisis.

At the moment, most experts believe no crisis is looming. Those interviewed Monday said the embargo remained largely a penalty upon American companies.

"The use of oil as a weapon is costly. It can cut both ways," said a former Algerian oil minister, Nordine Ait-Laoussine. "At the moment it is American oil companies who cannot work in Libya, or Iraq or Iran. Others are, and Iran will discount its oil to sell it."

Christopher one day after President Bill Clinton announced a total ban on U.S. trade and investment with Iran.

The secretary specifically called on other nations to "end all of their concessionary credits, which allow Iran to divert scarce resources to military programs and to sponsoring terrorism."

The president's trade ban comes a week before Mr. Clinton flies to Moscow, where he is expected to renew pressure on President Boris N. Yeltsin to reverse the planned sale of two nuclear reactors to Iran.

In Tehran, state radio and television called Mr. Clinton's sanctions "disgraceful" and suggested that only U.S. companies would pay a price, Reuters reported.

The purchase of Iranian crude oil by U.S.-based companies and their branches overseas had been widely cited as an inconsistency in U.S. policy as it pressed for trade sanctions. Nations in Europe and Asia friendly to the United States generally have resisted Washington's pleas that they halt trade with Iran, and it was unclear whether the president's latest move would bring any results.

On Monday, after Mr. Clinton effectively declared an end to the U.S. purchase of Iranian crude, Mr. Christopher issued his broadest indictment yet of Iran. He called Tehran "a major threat to United States interests and international security," and added: "We're determined to stop them."

He estimated that Iran, despite a domestic economic crisis, "spends several hundred million dollars a year to provide radical groups with weapons, equipment, training, and financial support."

He also said Iran was specifically seeking gas centrifuge technology used to isolate weapons-grade nuclear fuel and in 1992 sent agents to Kazakhstan in an attempt to buy enriched uranium. Tehran has said it is seeking nuclear technology purely for peaceful energy needs.

"Other nations were using our trade with Iran as an excuse for making concessionary credits or taking other actions to strengthen Iran," Mr. Christopher said. "We did not want to give anybody a justification or an excuse or really even an argument against the strong position that we are now taking."

The White House is claiming modest success. Mr. Clinton's spokesman, Michael McCurry, told reporters Monday that some members of the Group of Seven wealthy nations were "reviewing their own economic engagement with Iran."

In addition to Russia and China, Germany and Japan have been particular targets of U.S. pressure.

Under the president's plan, Iran will not be permitted to buy any U.S. goods. Last year, U.S. exports to Iran were valued at \$326 million. In addition, American-controlled oil companies will no longer be allowed to buy Iranian crude and resell it on the world market. Fully independent subsidiaries not controlled by U.S.-based executives will not be affected by the order.

U.S. oil companies and their branches abroad buy about 20 percent of Iranian crude, valued at \$3 billion to \$4 billion. They already are barred from importing Iranian crude directly to the United States.

Another possible aim of Mr. Clinton's action is to derail Republican-sponsored legislation being offered in Congress to create a secondary boycott by barring U.S. commercial ties to any company that trades with Iran.

The officials who drafted the urgent U.S. ban on trade,

which will not take full effect until July, refrained from expressing optimism about how other nations would react.

At the most, they say the U.S. step to ban American companies and their dependent subsidiaries from commercial contacts with Iran will "enhance our credibility" in pressing for restraint by other nations.

The crux of the issue is whether financial and trade benefits, particularly the sale of oil, produces cash and frees other Iranian resources to help finance such opponents of Middle East peace as the Hamas and Hezbollah groups.

Japan has provided some financing for a major hydroelectric dam project in Iran but so far has delayed providing scheduled enhancements. Russia has shown little indication so far that it will reconsider its plan to sell light-water reactors to Tehran, despite heavy U.S. pressure.

Germany envisions commercial contacts with Tehran as well, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl has deflected U.S. pressure, specifically citing the purchase of Iranian oil by U.S.-based companies.



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Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

Trois bataillons turcs se trouvent encore dans le nord de l'Irak, selon Mme Ciller

ANKARA, 2 mai (AFP) - Trois bataillons de l'armée turque, soit près de 12.000 hommes, se trouvent encore dans le nord de l'Irak d'où ils seront retirés quand ils auront accompli leur tâche, a annoncé mardi à Ankara le Premier ministre turc Mme Tansu Ciller.

La Turquie a retiré depuis le 7 avril près de 23.000 hommes sur les 35.000 engagés le 20 mars dans cette opération qui vise à détruire les campements des militants armés de la rébellion kurde dans le nord de l'Irak.

Selon le bilan de l'armée turque, 555 rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués depuis le 20 mars, a indiqué Mme Ciller devant le groupe parlementaire de son Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite).

Selon Mme Ciller, les pertes du PKK s'élèvent à plus de 1.300 hommes d'après les informations parvenues à Ankara et le soutien logistique du PKK a été détruit grâce à cette opération.

"La communauté internationale a reconnu que le PKK est une organisation terroriste. Il ne faut pas tolérer qu'il (PKK) s'organise à l'étranger sous un masque de démocratie et des droits de l'homme", a-t-elle poursuivi.

CE/dfg/mf

AFP /J00245/021342

MAI 95

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1995

Demirel warns Europe, US, Russia: Don't play with Kurdish card -- let's be friends

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel on Tuesday called on Europe, the United States and Russia to avoid causing resentment in the Turkish public by playing with the Kurdish card or human rights issues, and to think of mutual long-term interests.

In an exclusive tour of the foreign-policy horizon with Turkish Daily News editors, Demirel urged Turkey to take energetic steps to enliven regional cooperation schemes, particularly the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization and the Economic Cooperation Organization

(ECO) which together make up an area stretching from the Balkans to Central Asia. The President, depicting Central Asia with its Turkish-speaking republics as a key area in Turkey's foreign strategy, said Ankara should beat Iran in providing a sea link for the export of the vast mineral resources available to them.

He said Turkey, with alternative Black Sea or Mediterranean export terminals, needed to pave an alternative way to the rich basin because Iran was blocking the way. Turkey's success in helping Azerbaijan and Armenia resolve their ethnic conflict would open this vital route for Turkey,

which Demirel said would be a modern-day Silk Road from Asia to Europe.

He said Turkey aspired for a ring of friendly neighbors but needed to warn Syria vocally against harboring terrorists. He also warned Greece — which is trying to double its territorial waters to 12 miles — against a confrontation with Turkey. On Cyprus he called for a radical change of tactics to bring about a peaceful settlement to the two-decade-long conflict and urged secret negotiations away from the public eye.

Messages from Demirel:



1 To the U.S.: We want to keep our special ties. But don't hurt the Turkish public with lectures on human rights or the Kurdish issue.

2 To Russia: Turkey treasures its ties with Russia. It is not trying to govern the Central Asian republics which can govern themselves. Russia, on the other hand, should not engage in policies which it thinks will intimidate Turkey, like using the Kurdish card.

3 To Europe: Do not exclude Turkey from the customs union using human rights or Kurdish issues as pretexts. Keeping out a country with a competitive economy and a secular, democratic system is not in your best interests.

4 To the government: Blow life into the Black Sea Cooperation Organization and the Economic Cooperation Organization, help peace in the Caucasus to pave a vital road to Central Asia blocked by Iran. Win the competition for opening a sea link to the Turkic states.

5 To Syria: Stop harboring terrorists who are causing trouble for Turkey. This is not compatible with friendship.

TDN- Raşgan Tuncer



TDN SPECIAL...TDN SPECIAL...TDN SPECIAL...

Demirel warns Europe, play with Kurdish card

If Turkey cannot enter the Customs Union, this will create a re will help strengthen the PKK, allow it to boast that it can hurt into the hands of those who are against Turkey's entering the

In an exclusive interview with the TDN on the targets and problems of Turkey's foreign policy, President Süleyman Demirel issued messages to the country's traditional allies and new fellow-players in the regional power game, warning them not to cause lasting resentment among the Turkish public by playing the Kurdish card. He called for an energetic foreign policy reaching out in all directions but placed particular emphasis on a strategy that would ensure the opening of a vital route to Central Asia. Demirel's full statement on foreign policy to the TDN follows:

By İlnur Çevik Raşit Gürdilek, Semih D. İdiz, Nazlan Ertan, Burak Bekdil & Hayri Birler

In its foreign relations, Turkey today is a well-respected country. It is a major power which is listed among the 10 big emerging markets. Its economy is proceeding towards becoming a competitive economy. It is a currency earning country. It receives foreign exchange from exports, from tourism, from its workers and contractors abroad and from air and maritime transport, it is earning hard currency. It is a country which is paying its debts and interest to the last penny, not defaulting on them. So, it is natural that Turkey is a respected country.

Regional cooperation and the EU.

Now, I want to say this about the foreign policy issues before Turkey: One is Turkey's participation in regional cooperation organizations. One of them is the European Union (EU) If Turkey can enter the European customs union, it will be the first country to do so without entering the EU first. Can Turkey enter the EU? As it looks today, it is not something that can happen soon. And what will Turkey gain from the customs union membership? Will it have some problems? Yes, it will. But it will also have some advantages.

■ Turkey has suffered heavily from the stance

the Western powers have adopted against Iraq, and it continues to suffer. And it will suffer again if the Western powers enter a confrontation with Iran.

If Turkey cannot enter the customs union, this will create a resentment in Turkey against the West. Furthermore it will help strengthen the PKK (the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party) and allow it to boast that it can hurt Turkey's ties with other countries. It will also play into the hands of those who are against Turkey's entering the EU.

It will not be easy to erase this resentment. This will be the opportunity those who want to sever Turkey from Europe have always been seeking. Our European friends would give us up and opt for whom?

■ It is no longer possible to

...TDN SPECIAL...TDN SPECIAL...

US, Russia: Don't -- let's be friends

resentment in Turkey against the West. Furthermore it Turkey's ties with other countries. It will also play EU. It will not be easy to erase this resentment.

eradicate the legacy of Atatürk in Turkey with its populous ranks of intellectuals imbued with Atatürkism.

Turkey has a strategic location as a bridge which cannot be overlooked. And before that, the country itself is important as a large, democratic, secular country which has adopted the values of Europe. With a republican history of 72 years, the West-oriented reforms introduced by its founder, Kemal Atatürk, are now deep rooted among the masses. Now Turkey has over half a million teachers who are all attached to the legacy of Atatürk. It is no longer possible to eradicate this legacy in Turkey with its populous ranks of intellectuals imbued with Atatürkism. Yes, Turkey is now the gateway to Central Asia, to Caucasus, to the Balkans, to Russia, to the Middle East. Well, don't the people going there know the way? Can't they go by themselves? They surely can. But Turkey is a stepping stone. And the first to see this property of Turkey are the Japanese. If the Japanese invest somewhere and when doing so they don't mind some minor problems, then you know that that place is important. Turkey has also an experienced class of entrepreneurs. And finally, the rule of law prevails here. If you add all these together, you arrive at the eco-strategic location of the country which already has an important geo-strategic location. This eco-strategy is very important as a concept. Turkish entrepreneurs have already dispersed to everywhere in Europe and have even gone beyond. We have come across many Turkish businessmen, contractors even in Latin America.

■ Europe is not a mere geographic definition. Europe is more a

definition of values.

Now, there is no point in excluding Turkey which has embraced these values, is defending them and is trying to carry them elsewhere. Besides the security of (new) Europe is not something that has been established. No one knows for sure the future of NATO.

Now, Europe should not give up a country like this. This would not be in its own interests.

More than half of Turkey's foreign trade is already with Europe. Europe should not allow itself to be swayed by anti-Turkish activities. There is anti-Turkish opposition. Because Turkey has, after all, come from a disbanded empire. There are age-old enmities deriving from history.

Europe is not a mere geographic definition. Europe is more a definition of values. Now, there is no point in excluding a Turkey which has embraced these values, is defending them and is trying to carry them elsewhere. Besides the security of (new) Europe is not something that has been established. No one knows for sure the future of NATO. The reshaping, the restructuring of Europe is not complete yet. In these circumstances a major power like Turkey cannot be easily given up. So, I advise our European friends — as well as their governments to whom it is always easier to explain things —, the European

TUESDAY, MAY 2, 1995.

Turkish Daily News

media, European man-on-the-street, European businessmen and the European parliaments to better recognize Turkey's value. This is my message to Europe. We want to be together with Europe, we don't want to be dragged away. But if they tie the price of our unity with Europe to some conditions that will cause the country's disintegration or dismemberment, Turkey will not accept that.

Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization and Russia

Another regional grouping important for Turkey is the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization. I attach great importance to this. This will turn the Black Sea into a lake of peace. This will reactivate the historical trade routes to Asia. The trade routes now severed for political reasons will regain vitality. Russia is very important for us. We don't want our relations with Russia to come to harm. The Chechnya affair and Turkey's relations with the Central Asian republics should not cause a chill in the relations with Russia. The attempts to settle the Chechnya problem with repression, with force, with bloodshed are utterly wrong. I said this way back on Dec. 17 in a letter I sent to Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

■ **In the Black Sea Economic Cooperation Organization everybody has a stake in 10-11 states staying together and collectively searching opportunities for cooperation. Turkey will continue vanguarding this.**

Russia should not feel concern about Turkey's developing ties with Central Asia. We shall not attempt to govern these states there. Every state will govern itself. But we have historical ties to Central Asia and these should not irritate anyone. We are not instigating anyone in Central Asia to do anything. On the contrary, we advise them to get along well with Russia.

The exploitation of the dormant mineral resources in Central Asia will infuse wealth to the region. And if Turkey can contribute to this in any way, this will mean helping these countries to rise up on their own feet.

In Russia, people should support the friendship between their country and Turkey. In my belief, both Turkey and Russia have a golden opportunity to further develop their ties.

■ **Russia should not attempt to play some cards it thinks will**

intimidate Turkey, like, for instance, getting its hand into the Kurdish issue. This will extremely disturb Turkey.

Turkey can help Russia to improve its economy. But, on the other hand, Russia should not attempt to play some cards it thinks will intimidate Turkey, such as, for instance, getting its hand into the Kurdish issue.

This would disturb Turkey extremely.

And any such attempts to destabilize Turkey will not be in its best interests.

Coming back to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization, three years have passed since the signing of the agreement in June 1992. The preparatory stage is now complete. We start the second phase, with the second summit to be held in Romania.

I attach importance to the summit. Everybody has a stake in 10-11 states staying together and collectively searching opportunities for cooperation.

Turkey will continue in the vanguard of this search.

ECO

There are now 10 member states in the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO). The summit meeting (in Karachi) on March 13 was extremely encouraging. This is a new world with 300 million people. Turkey should lend its weight both to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization and this ECO. ECO is a new and growing project. Seven new states have joined Turkey, Iran and Pakistan, the traditional members. Many of the newcomers are just evolving into states. There are great benefits for them from the cooperation. There is a great potential in the Central Asian countries.

■ **Central Asia should reach the sea. It will have access to the sea either over Pakistan over Iran or over Turkey. The Pakistan route is inevitable. But the opening of the other route (over Iran) might block the Turkish route to the sea or vastly reduce its significance. And Iran is already engaged in a big effort to provide the sea**

link to Central Asia over its own territory.

Central Asia should reach the sea. It will have access to the sea either via Pakistan, Iran or Turkey. The Pakistan route is inevitable.

But the opening of the other route (over Iran) might block the Turkish route to the sea or vastly reduce its significance. And Iran is already engaged in a big effort to provide the sea link to Central Asia over its own territory.

That's why the resolution of the Azerbaijan-Armenia conflict is so important for Turkey. If the conflict is resolved, Turkey can easily reach out from its eastern boundary to Baku, and from there to Krasnovodsk.

And then it will be easier for the Central Asian countries to take their goods to the Black Sea and Mediterranean ports of Turkey rather than taking them to the Indian Ocean through Pakistan or to the Persian Gulf through Iran.

■ **The Chechnya affair and Turkey's relations with the Central Asian republics should not cause a chill in the relations with Russia. The attempts to settle the Chechnya problem with repression, with force, with bloodshed are utterly wrong. In Russia, people should support the friendship between their country and Turkey.**

And, in fact, this Silk Road will reemerge, extending from Peking to London. Turkey should complete the missing stretch of railroad around Lake Van.

But Turkey's policies towards these Central Asian states are not motivated by calculations of material benefits. What it seeks is the ability of these states to stand on their own feet, to develop their economies.

Turkey, Iran and the West.

Turkey has suffered heavily from the stance the Western powers have adopted against Iraq, and it continues to suffer. And it will suffer again if the Western powers enter a confrontation with Iran. So, when adopting a stance towards the countries around us, they should know how far they harm Turkey. And after a certain point, Turkey cannot bear these losses.

Now look, what the Gulf crisis has caused (for Turkey). They cannot praise Turkey enough. We cooperated like this... We cooperated like that..

Very well, but the 100 million tons of oil (flowing through the Kirkuk-Yumurtalık pipeline) is no longer there.

The pipeline is abandoned to rot. It is a great pity. Despite all the efforts, it has not been possible to reactivate the pipeline. There are 26 million barrels of oil trapped inside. If it is flushed, the oil inside will be worth \$500-600 million. What will happen to this money?

I want to say this here: Turkey should help Azerbaijan and Armenia to reach a settlement. After a settlement over Karabakh, Armenia will withdraw from other Azerbaijani territory it has occupied. There will be a softening and a settlement will be definitely reached.

When this comes about, Turkey will take increased amounts of relief supplies to Azerbaijan. Everyone will.

But what is more important is a route from Turkey to Central Asia. I see this as vital for Turkey, vital for them (the Central Asian states).

There is a surprising flow of goods from Turkey to these countries by road.

But the road between (the eastern Turkish city of) Erzurum and Gürbulak (the customs point on the Iranian border) is clogged (because of slow Iranian procedures) and they cannot pass through. And of course, there is this matter of sea access to Central Asia.

This will create a lot of investment opportunities in Central Asia. So, Turkey will continue its interest in getting to this region.

Iran says it does not want to create any obstacles, and is not barring the way. But, on the other hand, the trucks cannot pass through. Still, we cannot afford to hurt Iran. Our strategy calls for good relations with Iran.

■ **As for potential Western pressures on Turkey to join the West in its confrontation with Iran as speculated, Turkey cannot lift such a load.**

As for potential Western pressures on Turkey to join the West in its confrontation with Iran as speculated, Turkey cannot lift such a load. Now, who guarantees that these (Western powers) will not go to Iraq (for reconciliation).

These countries are our neighbors and Turkey should avoid as far as possible any hostility with its neighbor under this influence or that. They provoke you in that direction, and it may so happen that tomorrow you see them becoming friends with your new-won enemy. So, here, Turkey should play its own political game.

In these matters there is an excellent dialogue between myself and the foreign ministry.

And I am particularly interested in Turkey's foreign relations.

Therefore I am saying this with full emphasis: Turkey should take a stronger position in this ECO. And it should come to a stronger position in the Black Sea Economic Cooperation organization. We should be a bit more energetic.

US: Iran supports terrorism in Turkey

President Clinton will ban all trade with Iran

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- President Bill Clinton is expected to sign an executive order this week to ban all trade with Iran, which is already on the State Department's list of seven nations which are declared "state sponsors of terrorism."

All U.S. companies, including their overseas subsidiaries, will be banned from importing anything from Iran. The order also bans all U.S. exports to Iran except food and medicine.

The ban will take effect 30-days after Clinton signs the executive order. Clinton's order is expected to eliminate about \$3.5 billion dollars worth of Iranian oil purchased every year by U.S. companies. U.S. firms also refine 21 percent of Iran's oil production. Sen. Alfonse D' Amato (Republican) has also proposed a similar trade embargo on Iran, proposing to cut off trade relations with any foreign firms that trade with Iran.

Speaking at a State Department press briefing to explain the president's decision, Secretary of State Warren Christopher said "Iran's backing for international terrorism is pervasive.

It has supported violence across the Middle East, in Lebanon, Israel, Egypt, Turkey, Algeria and now in Gaza." In a speech he gave at the World Jewish Congress in New York City on Sunday to 6,000 Holocaust survivors, Clinton said that "Iran has broadened its role as an inspiration to terrorists."

Christopher added that "Iran is the primary patron of terrorists trying to derail the Arab-Israeli peace process." Among the terror organizations that receive "funds, training, and political support from Iran," Christopher cited "Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah and Ahmad

Jibril's Popular Front."

He said the U.S. was also worried that Iran would one day get nuclear weapons. "For years Iran has been trying to purchase heavy water research reactors that are best suited to producing weapons-grade plutonium, not electricity. We know that Iran is devoting resources to various uranium-enrichment technologies, focusing on gas centrifuge."

"A regime with this kind of a record simply cannot be permitted to get its hands on nuclear weapons," he said. "Its agents have scoured the former Soviet Union in search of nuclear materials, technologies and scientists. In 1992, for example, Iran unsuccessfully approached a plant in Kazakhstan for substantial quantities of enriched uranium."

Christopher said the U.S. expects its allies and friends to adopt similar measures against Iran for their own best interests. "I hope that they will take action that is parallel to ours. I hope, at least, that they will not go forward with any concessionary credits that Iran can simply use to fuel the terrorism that they are projecting around the world."

As to the nuclear reactors that Russia and China seem to be willing to sell to Iran, Christopher said "They are both much closer to Iran than we are. I cannot imagine they would like to have a nuclear-capable Iran on or very near their borders."

U.S. companies earned \$326 million from exports to Iran last year. The same figure was \$616 million in 1993 and \$750 million in 1992. Most recently, Exxon and Mobil were the largest buyers of Iranian oil. Mobil, which bought 50,000 barrels a day, has stopped buying oil from Iran.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1995

Çiller signals end to Turkey's N. Iraq drive

Visit: KDP delegation in Ankara to discuss ways to prevent establishment of PKK bases in the future

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on Tuesday signalled an end to Turkey's military campaign against Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) targets in northern Iraq, saying only a few thousand troops remained in the region.

"Only three of our battalions (about 4,000 troops) are still there, and they will be pulled back as soon as they finish their job," Çiller told her True Path Party's parliamentary group. In another indication of an imminent end to the operation in northern Iraq, the Military Press Center, set up in Diyarbakır in southeastern Turkey on March 20 to brief the media on the campaign, was closed on Tuesday.

Military spokesman Colonel Dogu Silahçioğlu told the last session at the Press Center that 555 PKK militants had been confirmed killed in the northern Iraq operation and 13 others had been caught.

He put the Army's death toll at 61, including four officers. 185 soldiers have been wounded in action, Silahçioğlu added.

However, in contrast to official figures, Çiller said she had received information that as many as 1,300 PKK militants may have been killed in the clashes.

Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin said on Tuesday that contrary to expectations by Western countries, no civilians were injured during the Turkish Army's operation in northern Iraq. "I congratulate the armed forces for the care they have showed on this issue," Çetin said at his coalition partner Republican People's Party parliamentary group meeting.

Turkey's operation in northern Iraq started on March 20 when 35,000 troops stormed into the region to fight the PKK. Çiller said Turkey would firmly maintain its right to defend itself against separatist terrorism, adding incursions into northern Iraq could be repeated in the future if needed. "The operation is being successfully finalized with the objectives reached," she said, adding, "As a result the terrorists have totally lost their logistic support from the region."

Çiller said the PKK, waging a separatist war in south-eastern Turkey since 1984, was definitely a terrorist organization and that the world should unite in fighting terrorism.

Silahçioğlu denied press allegations that the military operation in northern Iraq had cost billions of dollars, saying the total cost for the campaign was not more than TL 2.8 trillion (\$65 million).

Several European countries have been harshly criticizing Turkey because of the operation. To soothe Western fears that Turkey would prolong its stay in Iraqi territory, Ankara has been saying that the operation is limited in scope and duration. Çetin, stressing that although the Gulf

War had come to an end stability has not yet been restored to the region, said no other country apart from Iraq has suffered more from the Gulf War than Turkey. He noted that Turkey has suffered an economic loss of \$20 billion.

Çetin said that passage through the Habur border gate with Iraq had been stopped temporarily during the operation, but that the gate was later reopened. He said 1,000 vehicles could pass through the gate per day and that this would bring trade activity to the region.

A statement released on Tuesday by the General Staff listed large quantities of weapons and ammunition seized from the PKK in northern Iraq, including 1,000 rifles, 58 machine guns, 118 rocket launchers, 3,500 RPG-7 rockets and 5,800 anti-tank and anti-personnel mines.

The PKK militants were armed with recoil-less guns, anti-aircraft guns, anti-tank missiles and mortars, as well as sophisticated night-vision equipment, mine detectors and wireless sets.

"Considering that these weapons would have been used to kill innocent citizens, the need for the operation and the benefits derived from it are obvious," the statement said.

KDP delegation in Ankara

A delegation headed by Necirvan Barzani starts talks with Turkish officials today aimed at preventing the future reestablishment of terrorist bases in Northern Iraq. The visit was planned during a meeting of Turkish officials with Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massoud Barzani last month.

Necirvan Barzani, quoted by Agence France Presse, said he would ask Ankara to pay for militia groups and the reconstruction of northern Iraqi villages if it wants help in policing the border region.

Without cash help it will be impossible to guard the border against infiltration by Turkish Kurd separatists, he said. "Nobody can control the Turkish-Iraqi border area 100 percent against the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party)," said Barzani, nephew of KDP leader Massoud Barzani.

"If Turkey finances reconstruction of destroyed villages, improves road access and finances small camps we could deploy along the border and control the area up to 70 percent." The KDP controls a swathe of northwestern Iraq along the border, but Barzani acknowledged it would be difficult to convince Iraqi Kurd civilians living in the region to support Turkish interests after the looting and shelling they had suffered during Ankara's "Operation Steel."

"The Turks made a lot of mistakes. Instead of pulling the Kurds over to their side they made them angry," the KDP official said.

"But still, the people here know that the reason for the shelling and looting is ultimately the PKK."

The Turkish offensive, which the army said it was winding up Tuesday, was a big failure, Barzani added. The KDP had not been informed either when Turkish troops entered or left northern Iraq, he said.

"I really don't understand what the Turkish operation was about. Everybody understands that guerrillas can't be fought like that."

He also said the KDP did not have much choice in helping Turkey fight fellow Kurds.

"We aren't partisans any more. The time when we could cooperate with this country and that country and change relationships from one day to another has passed.

"Nowadays we need steady relationships with our neighboring countries, whether we want it or not," he added.

The visit by the KDP delegations follows increasing allegations in Turkey that Ankara wants to draw a new border with Iraq by "taking geographical realities into consideration." Ankara argues that although there is no political decision on this, such a change would make control in the region easier.

Turkish Daily News

L'Humanité - 3 mai 1995

Asile bafoué**Des Kurdes renvoyés à Istanbul**

De notre correspondant.

Hassan, cultivateur kurde, avait montré à un médecin convoqué au centre de rétention de Nice les stigmates des tortures infligées par la soldatesque turque. Il avait raconté son village bombardé, son bétail décimé, les bastonnades publiques. « Pas de preuves à 100 % », a jugé l'OFPPRA. Hassan a fait partie à la mi-avril de la première vague d'expulsés de France vers Istanbul. La préfecture des Alpes-Maritimes ne communique pas le chiffre des embarqués de force, deux fois par

semaine, dans les avions de la honte. Selon la CIMADE, seule association tolérée au centre de rétention, ils ont été 16 depuis le 15 avril, puis 6 à la veille du 1^{er} mai et 11 hier. Considérés par l'administration française comme des immigrés clandestins turcs, ils se retrouvent Kurdes en Turquie, c'est-à-dire en danger de mort. Certains, traînés menottes aux poignets sur la piste de l'aéroport de Nice, refusent d'ailleurs de monter à bord des avions de la Turkish Airlines.

A un problème politique, la France fait une réponse policière. Les demandes d'asile des réfugiés kurdes sont, pour l'instant, systématiquement rejetées par l'OFPPRA. Le directeur de cet office qui devrait, théoriquement, s'inquiéter du sort des réfugiés et apatrides, n'a pas craint, au cours de sa « mission d'information » à Nice, d'affirmer que son objectif est « d'enrayer le mouve-

ment (d'exode) et de dissuader les Kurdes de venir en France ». Les anciens postes frontières entre la France et l'Italie sont occupés par 130 CRS qui patrouillent de nuit dans la montagne mentonnaise. Cette chasse aux Kurdes se produit alors que la rupture est effective entre le Conseil de l'Europe et la délégation parlementaire turque qui frappe à la porte de la CEE. La France livre ainsi des réfugiés à leurs bourreaux qu'elle condamne par ailleurs!

Côté italien, le problème se pose avec plus d'acuité, mais il semble traité avec davantage d'humanité, l'Italie n'ayant pas intégré l'espace Schengen. Depuis que le campement de toile monté par la mairie de Vintimille avec l'aide de la Croix-Rouge italienne a été fermé, les réfugiés kurdes (qui seraient des milliers à errer dans la Péninsule) trouvent asile dans une église de la

commune, ou se dispersent aux quatre vents de l'exil. La plupart cherchent à rallier l'Allemagne où réside une importante communauté kurde, le passage par la France étant devenu synonyme de guet-apens.

PHILIPPE JEROME

TURQUIE. Le président turc Suleyman Demirel a demandé mardi une modification du tracé de la frontière entre la Turquie et l'Irak. « Il faut modifier ce tracé, a-t-il dit, de façon que la nouvelle ligne descende au bas des montagnes, en territoire irakien, pour empêcher les infiltrations du PKK. » Il a accusé l'Occident de vouloir mettre en application le traité de Sèvres (1920) qui prévoyait la création d'un Etat kurde et estimé injuste que les principaux gisements de pétrole se trouvent en territoire irakien.

Trade Ban On Iran Gets Cold Shoulder From Allies

Europeans Call Move Counterproductive; Tokyo Awaits Details

By Fred Barbash
Washington Post Service

LONDON — President Bill Clinton's proposal for a trade ban on Iran received on Tuesday at best a cold reception — and in some cases outright rejection — from allies who trade with Tehran.

French, German and British officials said that sanctions were the wrong approach, saying they preferred what they called "critical dialogue."

Japan, in the most receptive reaction, said it would study the idea.

And privately, diplomats were even more blunt, saying that that Iran's trading partners in Europe and Asia have no interest, either commercial or political, in broad sanctions and regard them as counterproductive.

Without cooperation, the trade ban announced by the Mr. Clinton on Sunday night is unlikely to have any significant impact.

"The United States is out on a limb alone," said Vahe Petrossian, an expert on Iran with the Middle-East Economic Digest here.

Mr. Clinton, labeling Iran a threat to peace in the Middle East and a major sponsor of terrorism, announced in an address to the World Jewish Congress that the United States would ban all trade with Iran.

The U.S. will press its allies over the next few weeks to review their traditional opposition to sanctions and join the embargo. Reaction on Tuesday suggested that Mr. Clinton would not have to wait that long.

"We do not believe in unilateral embargoes," said the French foreign minister, Alain Juppé, at a news conference in Paris.

The German economics minister, Günter Rexrodt, said in an interview on German radio: "We do not believe that a trade embargo is the appropriate instrument for influencing opinion in Iran and bringing about changes that are in our interests. The right thing to do is to conduct a political dialogue with Iran. Only political dialogue can bring Iran to behave responsibly."

And a spokesman for the British Foreign Office said: "As a trading nation, we have taken the view that trade embargoes are not an instrument of policy that we favor. We're not convinced that they work."

The Japanese government said through a spokesman that it would "have to wait until we see the wording" of the executive order that Mr. Clinton is to issue imposing the sanctions.

Japan may consider delaying further the balance of a \$1.5 billion loan for development projects in Iran it had planned

to announce at the upcoming Group of Seven summit meeting. Only a quarter of the money has been lent so far.

But with its dependence on Iran for 10 percent of its oil supply, and a policy of trying to improve relations with Tehran, analysts said it was highly unlikely Japan would go as far as Mr. Clinton would like.

None of this will come as a surprise to U.S. officials. Iran is far more important commercially to Europe and Japan than it is to the United States. In addition to the oil it exports, it is a major purchaser of construction services and supplies in Europe, especially from Germany.

The European Union nations, including France, Germany and Britain, have committed themselves to what they call a "critical dialogue" with Iran, as opposed to trade sanctions. They have also committed themselves to joint action where trade is concerned.

Also, said Helmut Hubel, a senior research fellow at the German Society for Foreign Affairs, Europe generally is "skeptical in principle as far as economic sanctions are concerned."

Germany in particular, with about \$6 billion annually in trade with Iran, "is one of the big trading nations of the world and does not like to suffer" from embargoes, he said.

Mr. Hubel and German officials pointed out that Germany had, on past occasions, acted sympathetically toward such

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1995

U.S. requests. In fact, the nuclear reactors that Russia plans to sell to Iran were originally to be built by Siemens of Germany. Work was halted after the 1979 Iranian revolution and, because of pressure from the United States, never resumed.

But Mr. Hubel said he doubted if any European nation would follow the sanctions route.

The United States is "wasting its time," said Lindsay Horn, an energy expert with Lehman Brothers in London. Referring

to the Iranians, he added, "All it's going to do is irritate them, which you can do quite easily." He called it "a gesture easily made" that does not achieve anything economically.

Clinton on a Limb: Congressional Pressure Spurred Iran Trade Ban

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton's decision to bar all U.S. trade with Iran put the anti-Iran campaign squarely at the top of the administration's foreign policy agenda, placing at risk such treasured priorities as cooperation with Russia, expansion of markets for American goods, outreach to Islam and extension of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

If the boycott fails to coerce Iran into changing its policies, fails to dissuade Russia from selling nuclear equipment to Iran and fails to persuade U.S. allies to restrict their own commerce with Tehran — all these are distinctly possible — the administration will potentially have undermined its other objectives and penalized U.S. business for no gain other than to show the U.S. Congress that it was prepared to get tough.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher used language Monday that left the administration little room to maneuver or retreat gracefully. He called Iran an "outlaw state" that "simply cannot be permitted to get its hands on nuclear weapons," and said that Iran was responsible for "a trail of carnage from Beit Lid to Buenos Aires," referring to terrorist attacks in Israel and Argentina for which Iranian responsibility has not been established.

Mr. Christopher deliberately used such language because he is personally committed to blocking Iran's effort to acquire nuclear weapons, a State Department official said. "The issue is so important that no one is thinking about how to hedge," the official said.

White House officials have acknowledged, however, that it was not just Iranian behavior that induced Mr. Clinton to embrace the toughest of the Iran policy options developed for him by his advisers. It was also pressure from the chairman of the Senate Banking Committee, Alfonse M. D'Amato, Republican of New York, and other members of Congress.

Mr. D'Amato and others are sponsoring a measure that would go further than the president's forthcoming executive order, announced Sunday. Their bill would close U.S. markets to most foreign corporations doing business with Iran, imposing what administration officials call a "secondary boycott." U.S. allies such as Germany, Japan and

France strongly oppose that measure, which would primarily affect their companies.

Mr. D'Amato responded cautiously. "This is a good first step," he said, "but more needs to be done. Now it's our allies' turn to embargo trade with Iran."

The leader of the majority Republicans in the Senate, Bob Dole of Kansas, praised Mr. Clinton's decision, saying, "The president had to act." But Mr. Dole, too, said that more needed to be done. He suggested that Mr. Clinton "may want to reconsider his trip to Moscow" next week if Russia has not backed off from its nuclear sales agreement with Iran.

Mr. Clinton announced his decision at a meeting of the World Jewish Congress. Israel and its U.S. supporters have been supporting Mr. D'Amato's bill and sounding the alarm about Iran's nuclear ambitions.

An Iranian government statement said, "U.S. Middle East policy is more biased toward supporting the Zionist regime than considering U.S. national interests," according to Reuters.

Iran has other outlets for its oil, the statement said. American oil industry analysts generally agree with that assessment.

Officials acknowledged that without the cooperation of Russia and the allies in the Group of Seven wealthy nations, the administration's policy would have little impact on Iran.

Part of the administration's problem in persuading other countries to follow its lead is that Russia's plan to provide Iran with a two-reactor nuclear plant and train Iranian technicians is technically legal under the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty.

At a conference in New York, the administration is seeking an indefinite extension of the treaty, but some key countries have said that U.S. opposition to Iranian acquisition of nuclear power shows a lack of U.S. commitment to the accord.

Another difficulty lies in the reluctance of the G-7 allies to restrict what they regard as legitimate business activity by their corporate citizens.

Even if they take similar steps, that would still leave Russia, which has agreed to sell Iran not only a nuclear power plant but also centrifuge equipment needed to produce the enriched uranium that Iran would need to make weapons.

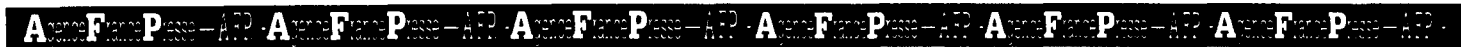
INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, MAY 3, 1995

Libre Belgique - 3 mai 1995

— EN BREF —

■ **TURQUIE.** Le président veut modifier la frontière avec l'Irak. Alors que les Turcs ont retiré la majeure partie de leurs troupes d'Irak, leur président, M. Demirel, demande que la frontière entre son pays et l'Irak, qui passe sur les montagnes, descende « au pied » de celles-ci « en territoire irakien, pour empêcher les infiltrations » de

rebelles kurdes. Ces déclarations ont été publiées mardi par la presse turque. Selon M. Demirel, la frontière actuelle « est la ligne du pétrole; la Turquie commence là où le pétrole finit ». M. Demirel affirme que la province irakienne de Mossoul « n'a pas été laissée à l'Irak » par le traité de Lausanne (1923, reconnaissant l'Etat turc fondé par Ataturk) et que Mossoul « appartient encore à la Turquie ». (AFP)



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Irak-Turquie

L'Irak s'opposera à toute modification de sa frontière avec la Turquie

BAGDAD, 4 mai (AFP) - L'Irak s'opposera par tous les moyens à la modification de sa frontière avec la Turquie, a annoncé jeudi le Conseil de commandement de la révolution (CCR, plus haute instance dirigeante).

"L'Irak fera face à toute action de ce genre, avec tous les moyens légitimes", a affirmé un porte-parole du CCR cité par l'agence officielle INA.

"L'Irak refuse d'examiner cette question et met en garde la Turquie contre toute action unilatérale de nature à modifier la frontière", a ajouté le porte-parole du CCR, instance dirigée par le président Saddam Hussein.

Le président turc Suleyman Demirel avait affirmé mardi qu'il "fallait corriger la frontière de façon à ce que la nouvelle ligne descende au pied des montagnes en territoire irakien pour empêcher les infiltrations" des militants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), une formation séparatiste kurde turque.

M. Demirel avait ajouté que la province riche en pétrole de Mossoul, dans le nord de l'Irak, "appartient encore à la Turquie".

Le porte-parole du CCR a ajouté que la demande turque d'une modification des frontières était un "objectif recherché par la mise en place en 1991 d'une zone d'exclusion aérienne au-dessus du nord de l'Irak" par des avions américains, britanniques et français basés en Turquie.

Il a invité la France "à définir sa position au sujet de la zone d'exclusion et à mettre fin à sa participation symbolique dans la mise en place de cette zone, afin de concrétiser l'attachement qu'elle a toujours exprimé au sujet du respect de la souveraineté de l'Irak et de son intégrité territoriale".

mch/sp

AFP /JO0245/041934

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USA-Turquie-Irak

Washington refuse toute modification de la frontière irako-turque par la force

WASHINGTON, 3 mai (AFP)- Les Etats-Unis sont opposés à "toute tentative pour modifier par la force" les frontières internationales de l'Irak, a souligné mercredi le département d'Etat en réaction à la demande turque d'un nouveau tracé de sa frontière nord avec l'Irak.

Le président turc Suleyman Demirel avait affirmé mardi qu'il "fallait corriger la frontière de façon à ce que la nouvelle ligne descende au pied des montagnes en territoire irakien pour empêcher les infiltrations" du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste). Il avait ajouté que la province pétrolière de Mossoul, dans le nord de l'Irak, "appartient encore à la Turquie".

Depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en mars 1991, les Etats-Unis ont "toujours soutenu et reconnu les frontières internationales de l'Irak", a rappelé le porte-parole du département d'Etat Nicholas Burns.

Il a ajouté que les Etats-Unis n'avaient été informés d'"aucune proposition spécifique, ou même en termes généraux, pour modifier les frontières de l'Irak".

Il a cependant noté que Washington et ses alliés dans la guerre du Golfe avaient, en mettant en place l'opération Provide Comfort dans le nord de l'Irak, "décidé que l'Irak n'était pas capable, et n'est toujours pas capable, d'exercer une autorité sur la partie nord" de son territoire, en particulier vis-à-vis de sa population kurde.

Le ministère irakien des Affaires étrangères a convoqué mercredi le chargé d'affaires turc à Bagdad et lui a demandé des "clarifications officielles" sur les propos de M. Demirel.

Ankara avait lancé le 20 mars une vaste offensive dans le nord de l'Irak contre le PKK. La Turquie a annoncé mardi la fin de la "principale partie" de l'opération et a rapatrié le tiers de ses troupes environ.

avz/rok/frb/mmr

AFP /JO0245/032343 MAI 95

Le Monde- 4 mai 1995

Ankara demande un nouveau tracé de sa frontière avec l'Irak

LE PRÉSIDENT TURC, Suleyman Demirel, a demandé, mardi 2 mai, un nouveau tracé de la frontière turco-irakienne pour empêcher les infiltrations de rebelles kurdes de Turquie depuis le nord de l'Irak. Dans des déclarations publiées par la presse turque, M. Demirel a affirmé que la province de Mossoul appartenait « encore à la Turquie ». Le président turc a par ailleurs accusé l'Occident de vouloir remettre en application le traité de Sèvres de 1920 démembrant l'empire ottoman et qui n'a jamais été reconnu par Ankara.

D'autre part, l'état-major des forces armées turques a annoncé, samedi 29 avril, la création, « pour six mois », d'une zone de sécurité dans la région de Kars pour empêcher les incursions des maquisards du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) qui se seraient réfugiés en Arménie, après le début de l'intervention turque dans le nord de l'Irak, le 20 mars. - (AFP, Itar-Tass.)

Fru Mitterrand vil gi Fredsprisen til kurder

Frankrikes førstedame
i Oslo: - Gi Fredsprisen for i år til kurderen
Leyla Zana.

MARIANN NORDSTRØM
TOR JARILD (foto)

Med sitt sterke engasjement for kurdernes sak besøkte den franske presidentfruen Danielle Mitterrand Oslo i går. Hun hadde med seg solid dokumentasjon om de tyrkiske kurdernes vanskelige situasjon.

- Over 2000 kurdiske landsbyer er nå evakuert, brent ned og utradert fra kartet som følge av den brente jords tak-tikk tyrkerne brukte i den kurdiske provinsen. Over tre millioner mennesker er jaget på flukt. På to år er 3840 kurdiske demokrati-aktivister drept av mystiske dødskvadroneer eller som følge av tortur. Hvordan kan dette stanses? spør hun.

Øverst på listen av en lang rekke møter i Oslo sto besøket i Nobelinstittuttet. Der møtte Danielle Mitterrand direktør Geir Lundestad for å overbringe dokumentasjon

om den kurdiske politikeren Leyla Zanas arbeid for menneskerettigheter og demokratisk sameksistens mellom kurdere og tyrkere.

Zana sitter fengslet i Tyrkiasiden i fjor, dømt til 15 år for å ha talt kurdernes sak. Sammen med henne sitter syv andre kurdiske parlamentarikere, som er dømt for forræderi.

Norsk støtte

Seks norske stortingsrepresentanter har tidligere foreslått Zana som kandidat til Nobels fredspris, og en rekke tidligere prisvinnere stiller seg bak kandidaturet.

Danielle Mitterrand kjenner Leyla Zana personlig. - Hun er kurdernes ypperste symbol på fredelig motstandskamp. Hun er en svært modig kvinne og vil, om hun får prisen, bli den første muslimske kvinne som får denne æren, sa fru Mitterrand til Aftenposten.

Den franske presidentfruen har i mange år vært aktiv menneskerettsaktivist. Hun er president i Den internasjonale komitéen for frigivelsen av fengslede kurdiske parla-

mentariker, som hun startet i Paris nylig sammen med de tidligere fredsprisvinnere Oscar Arias Sanchez, Mairead Corrigan, Dalai Lama, Desmond Tutu, Adolfo Perez Esquivel og Betty Williams. Formålet er å samordne den internasjonale innsatsen for å få de fengslede kurdiske parlamentarikerne satt fri.

Anita Apeltun Sæle (Kr.F) som er leder for Stortingets kurdergruppe, sier til Aftenposten at gruppen støtter Mitterrands arbeid.

Frankrikes førstedame er også leder for den franske menneskerettsorganisasjonen France-Liberté, og kurdernes skjebne har i over et tiår vært blant hennes hjertesaker. Engasjementet ble forøvrig vekket da organisasjonen fikk rapporten om Leyla Zanas mann, Mehdi Zana, som risikerte dødsstraff for å ha snakket kurdisk i sin kurdiske hjemby. Menneskerettsaktivistenes innsats førte til at han fikk 36 års fengsel, senere omgjort til 26.

Danielle Mitterrand erkjenner at posisjonen som presidentfrue har hjulpet henne til å komme i kontakt med «maktens mennesker».



AKTIVIST: Frankrikes førstedame Danielle Mitterrand leverte dokumentasjon til Nobelinstittuttet om sin personlige fredspris-kandidat, kurdiske Leyla Zana.

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France-Kurdes-Nobel

Mme Mitterrand pour l'attribution du prix Nobel de la paix à un député kurde turc

STOCKHOLM, 3 mai (AFP) - L'épouse du président François Mitterrand, Mme Danielle Mitterrand, a plaidé auprès du Comité Nobel norvégien en faveur de la candidature d'un député kurde turc, Mme Leyla Zana, condamnée à 15 ans de prison, au prix Nobel de la paix 1995, a-t-elle annoncé mercredi.

Mme Zana "le mérite, pour elle et la population qu'elle représente, pour son courage et son sacrifice", a estimé Mme Mitterrand, lors d'une visite à Stockholm, au lendemain de son passage en Norvège.

Si la prestigieuse récompense était décernée, en octobre prochain, à ce député, "ce serait pour le prix Nobel une grande ouverture vers le monde musulman, Leyla Zana représentant les musulmans non fondamentalistes", a-t-elle ajouté lors d'une conférence de presse.

"Elle aussi est très représentative de ce genre de femmes qui, à l'instar d'une Aung San Suu Kyi (prix Nobel de la paix 1991, Birmanie) et d'une Rigoberta Menchu (Nobel 1992, Guatemala), se battent pour leurs libertés et leur reconnaissance dans le monde", a poursuivi Mme Mitterrand, qui milite pour la libération du député.

La présidente de la fondation France Libertés a précisé avoir discuté mardi à Oslo de la candidature de Mme Zana avec le secrétaire du Comité Nobel, Geir Lundestad. "Je me suis gardée d'offenser son indépendance, mais je n'ai pas pu m'empêcher de lui apporter des documents et des éléments" en faveur de Mme Zana, a-t-elle souligné.

Selon elle, trois lauréats du prix Nobel de la paix, Oscar Arias Sanchez (1987), Adolfo Perez Esquivel (1980) et Betty Williams (1976), soutiennent également cette candidature, proposée en janvier par six parlementaires norvégiens.

Elle a été condamnée en décembre dernier par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara pour "création et appartenance à bande armée" avec sept autres députés kurdes, accusés d'activités séditionnaires et de liens avec le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), en guerre contre les autorités centrales turques.

Mme Mitterrand s'est rendue en Norvège et en Suède pour oeuvrer à la création dans ces pays de sections nationales du Comité international pour la libération des députés kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie, qu'elle préside.

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Ankara

Visite à une démocrate emprisonnée

Sylvie Jan, présidente de la Fédération internationale démocratique des femmes, et la députée européenne Aline Pailler ont rencontré dans sa prison Leyla Zana, une parlementaire emprisonnée pour s'être prononcée en faveur d'un règlement pacifique du conflit au Kurdistan de Turquie.

SYLVIE JAN, présidente de la Fédération internationale démocratique des femmes et responsable de l'Union des femmes françaises (UFF), vient de se rendre à Ankara en compagnie d'Aline Pailler, députée européenne du groupe de la Gauche unitaire. Les deux personnalités ont rencontré Leyla Zana et les cinq autres parlementaires turcs condamnés par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat à la fin de l'année dernière.

Ces démocrates ont été emprisonnés pour avoir défendu, en tant que députés, les idées pour lesquelles ils avaient été élus régulièrement par la population du Kurdistan de Turquie. Leur



Leyla Zana (au premier plan), face à ses « juges » militaires de la Cour de sûreté d'Ankara.

« crime » consistait à lutter, par la parole, pour un règlement pacifique du conflit qui ensanglantait l'est de la Turquie, et pour le respect de l'identité des douze millions de Kurdes de Turquie dans le cadre de l'Etat turc.

Parmi eux, Leyla Zana, dont l'époux, Mehdi, ancien maire de Diyarbakir, est lui-même détenu.

« Voici le texte que nous ont adressé Sylvie Jan et Aline Pailler :

« Nous venons de rencontrer Leyla Zana dans sa prison à l'occasion de son anniversaire. Elle a, ce 4 mai, trente-cinq ans. Nous avons pu l'embrasser et parler durant une heure trente.

Leyla n'a pas changé depuis le jour du verdict, le 8 décembre

dernier, qui l'a condamnée à quinze ans de prison pour délit d'opinion. Belle, brillante d'énergie et de détermination, elle nous répète : « Je suis la pour les Kurdes comme pour les Turques. » Leyla Zana nous a parlé avec force du rôle des femmes dans l'histoire et la lutte du peuple kurde, des nécessaires solidarités réciproques entre les

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femmes et les peuples à l'échelle internationale. Les milliers de messages qui lui sont parvenus l'aident beaucoup moralement. Son avocat, F. Yazat, se rendra à Paris le 4 juin prochain à l'occasion du 50^e anniversaire de l'UFF pour témoigner, s'il n'est pas à son tour arrêté et emprisonné comme de nombreux autres avocats.

Nous avons aussi rencontré son mari, Mehdi Zana, et les autres parlementaires condamnés. Nos échanges ont beaucoup porté sur l'Europe. Contrairement à ce qu'avait déclaré Bernard Kouchner récemment à la presse, Leyla Zana et Mehdi Zana ont une fois de plus demandé à tous les parlementaires européens « de ne pas céder » concernant les exigences exprimées à l'égard du gouvernement de la Turquie. « Il est nécessaire pour nous que la Turquie entre dans l'Europe mais à la condition qu'elle cesse de violer les droits de l'homme comme elle continue de le faire. Les prises de position du Parlement européen que nous partageons et qui nous donnent espoir tendent aussi la situation. C'est comme un serpeut blessé, il devient très dangereux. Si vous vous arrêtez en chemin, cela représenterait pour nous, pour tous les défenseurs de la démocratie, un terrible recul. Nous insistons, ce n'est surtout pas le moment de céder. »

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GB-Allemagne-Kurdes

Jugement ajourné sur une extradition de Kani Yilmaz vers l'Allemagne

LONDRES, 4 mai (AFP) - La justice britannique a ajourné jeudi jusqu'au 11 mai sa décision sur la demande d'extradition déposée par Bonn contre le représentant en Europe du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), Kani Yilmaz, a-t-on appris auprès du Centre d'information du Kurdistan à Londres.

Des manifestants pour les droits des Kurdes en Europe s'étaient rassemblés dès le début de la journée devant la cour de justice de Thamesmead, dans le sud-est de Londres, et "environ 500" personnes poursuivaient leur manifestation en fin d'après-midi devant le ministère de l'Intérieur, selon un porte-parole.

M. Yilmaz, dont le vrai nom est Faysal Dunlayici, avait été interpellé le 26 octobre dernier à la station de métro Westminster de Londres alors qu'il se rendait à un rendez-vous pour s'adresser à des parlementaires britanniques à l'invitation d'un député travailliste, John Austin Walker.

Les autorités britanniques avaient estimé que sa présence était contraire aux "intérêts de la sécurité nationale" et avaient annoncé leur intention de l'expulser avant que Bonn ne présente sa demande d'extradition.

Le dirigeant kurde a été interné depuis son arrestation dans une prison de Haute sécurité dans le sud-ouest de Londres.

M. Yilmaz a été présenté à plusieurs reprises devant des magistrats britanniques, mais son jugement a été repoussé à chaque fois.

Kani Yilmaz est poursuivi par la justice allemande en tant que membre d'une "organisation terroriste". Le PKK est interdit en Allemagne depuis le 26 novembre 1993. La demande d'extradition précise que M. Yilmaz est recherché pour son implication dans une conspiration d'incendie volontaire.

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Turquie-Irak-Kurdes

L'opération turque en Irak: bilan mitigé au plan militaire, négatif au plan diplomatique

ANKARA, 4 mai (AFP) - La Turquie a annoncé jeudi que la plupart de ses troupes avaient été retirées du nord de l'Irak, mettant fin à une vaste opération contre les rebelles kurdes dont le bilan pour Ankara est jugé mitigé sur le plan militaire et coûteux sur le plan diplomatique.

Le ministre de la Défense Mehmet Golhan a même affirmé que la totalité des troupes avaient été rapatriées. Mais le vice-Premier ministre Hikmet Cetin a indiqué qu'il restait encore "un petit nombre" de troupes turques dans le nord de l'Irak, sans préciser combien.

L'"Opération Acier", lancée le 20 mars avec 35.000 soldats appuyés par les blindés et l'aviation, n'a pas permis d'atteindre le but initialement défini: "tuer" les 2.400 à 2.800 militants armés du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) qui, selon l'état-major turc, utilisaient cette région comme base arrière pour mener des attaques en territoire turc.

Le bilan officiel des pertes infligées au PKK est en effet de 555 morts et 13 prisonniers.

De nombreux analystes ont estimé que l'opération, préparée de longue date, n'avait pas bénéficié de l'effet de surprise et que les hommes du PKK avaient eu le temps de se mettre à l'abri en franchissant les frontières syrienne ou iranienne, voire en repassant en Turquie.

L'état-major turc a néanmoins affirmé que l'opération avait été un plein succès.

Sur le plan diplomatique en revanche, le bilan est beaucoup plus négatif pour Ankara. A l'exception des Etats-Unis qui l'ont soutenu globalement, l'opération lui a valu les critiques, parfois très dures, des pays occidentaux, l'Allemagne étant le plus en pointe.

D'une manière générale, cette opération a renforcé la mauvaise image d'Ankara en matière de respect des droits de l'Homme. Elle a également accentué les critiques contre son approche exclusivement militaire du problème kurde.

En conséquence, la Turquie est plus que jamais sur la sellette, notamment auprès des instances européennes. Le parlement européen l'a mise en demeure de démocratiser ses lois sans quoi il ne ratifiera pas l'accord d'union douanière signé par Ankara avec l'Union européenne.

Et l'assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe lui a donné deux mois pour "entamer la recherche d'une solution pacifique du problème kurde" sous peine d'être suspendue de l'organisation.

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TURQUIE-ARMENIE

L'état major turc établit une "zone de sécurité" dans la province de Kars

Si la Turquie a annoncé la levée du blocus aérien imposé depuis plus de 2 ans à l'Arménie dont les avions pourront survoler prochainement le territoire turc, la levée du blocus terrestre, qui concerne sans doute plus étroitement les populations de part et d'autre de la frontière arméno-turque, est loin d'être à l'ordre du jour. Il n'est ainsi pas fortuit que quelques jours à peine après l'annonce à Washington par le Premier ministre turc Mme Tansu Ciller, de l'ouverture d'un couloir aérien pour les avions se rendant en Arménie, le chef d'État major des forces armées turques a annoncé le verrouillage total de la région frontalière de Kars. Le chef d'état major turc, dont on se demande s'il n'est pas le véritable dirigeant d'une Turquie où la guerre contre les Kurdes a à nouveau déplacé vers l'armée le centre de gravité du pouvoir, a en effet fait part samedi dernier de la création d'une zone de sécurité dans la province de Kars, placée sous un quasi régime de loi martiale pour une durée de six mois. Dans sa déclaration, le responsable militaire turc a justifié cette mesure par la nécessité de prévenir les infiltrations de rebelles du PKK sur le territoire turc depuis l'Arménie.

L'argument de la préven-

tion contre une menace kurde qui serait encouragée par l'Arménie n'est certes pas nouveau; mais alors que le gouvernement turc semble vouloir découpler le blocus imposé à l'Arménie du conflit azéro-arménien, qui avait pourtant suscité le verrouillage des frontières avec l'Arménie par Ankara, solidaire des "frères d'Azerbaïdjan", il passe manifestement aujourd'hui au premier plan, justifiant le maintien du blocus terrestre. Les forces de sécurité turques ont en effet affirmé récemment que des rebelles kurdes s'étaient réfugiés en Iran et en Arménie après la vaste offensive lancée le mois dernier par l'armée turque dans le nord de l'Irak.

Du 1er mai au 30 octobre, seuls les personnes munies d'un laissez-passer dûment fourni par les forces militaires pourront donc circuler dans la province de Kars, où des tracts ont été par ailleurs distribués par les militaires à la population locale, l'appelant à se tenir éloignée des montagnes et à éviter les pâturages de haute montagne, soupçonnés de cacher des repères des Kurdes du PKK. Bien plus, pendant toute cette période, la région sera entièrement livrée aux militaires turcs, déjà présents dans cette région comme dans tout le sud-est anatolien en proie à la guerre totale lancée par les forces

turques contre les rebelles kurdes, et où ils effectueront des manoeuvres d'entraînement militaires. Là encore, au-delà de la guerre contre les Kurdes, on ne peut que souligner la coïncidence avec les exercices militaires conjoints menés récemment par les forces arméniennes et russes sur le territoire de l'Arménie, auxquelles les forces turques apportent ainsi une réponse appropriée qui ne manquera sans doute pas de susciter des commentaires à Moscou.

Cette mesure annoncée par l'état-major turc trahit en tout cas les dispositions réelles de la Turquie à l'égard de l'Arménie dont elle ne semble pas à lever le blocus, malgré les rumeurs, voire les appels en ce sens, qui avaient couru notamment dans la presse turque. Elle vient minimiser l'effet d'annonce produit par un gouvernement turc otage des militaires, favorables au maintien de la pression avec Erévan et insensible aux exigences de la population et des responsables locaux de la province de Kars, relayées par de nombreux analystes politiques et économiques turcs concernant les bénéfices économiques et politiques que pourrait tirer la Turquie d'une ouverture de la frontière avec l'Arménie et des voies de communication reliant Kars à Gumri.

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Turquie-Europe

Ankara convoque ses ambassadeurs en Europe

ANKARA, 4 mai (AFP) - Le ministère turc des affaires étrangères a convoqué ses ambassadeurs dans les capitales européennes pour des consultations vendredi et samedi, alors qu'Ankara est la cible de fortes pressions européennes en faveur du respect des droits de l'homme.

Le ministère turc a annoncé jeudi que les relations de la Turquie avec les institutions et pays européens seraient au centre de ces entretiens.

Les relations entre Ankara et les instances européennes se sont notamment tendues après la décision des Parlementaires du Conseil de l'Europe de recommander au Comité des ministres (organe exécutif) la suspension de la Turquie de l'organisation si Ankara ne faisaient pas de progrès en matière des droits de l'homme et de démocratisation d'ici la fin juin.

Selon les exigences de l'Assemblée, Ankara devra avoir d'ici là "retiré ses forces du nord de l'Irak", entamé "la recherche d'une solution pacifique au problème kurde" et donné "un délai précis dans lequel la Turquie devra rendre sa Constitution et sa législation conformes aux normes du Conseil de l'Europe".

Cette mise en demeure a été repoussée catégoriquement par les parlementaires et le gouvernement turcs qui y voient "une ingérence inacceptable dans les affaires intérieures turques et une atteinte à la souveraineté nationale".

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THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1995

US State Department: Turkey deserves help of NATO allies in fight against PKK

US supports PUK and KDP working out a solution in N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A U.S. State Department official who asked to remain anonymous told a group of Turkish journalists on Tuesday that Turkey deserved the help of other NATO members in its fight against the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Recently the Netherlands — a NATO member — allowed the formation of a Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" in the Hague.

The U.S. State Department described the organization as a "PKK parliament" and said it did not recognize it. "We agree with the prime minister (Çiller)," the official said. "Turkey as a NATO ally deserves the support of all NATO members on the question of PKK terrorism. All NATO partners have a responsibility to help Turkey."

As to the situation in northern Iraq, the official again expressed that the State Department supported the Turkish appeal to the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) to contain the PKK in the area.

"We support any agreements the Kurds of northern Iraq work out to provide more security to the people of northern Iraq. We don't believe in the Turkish govern-

ment's staying for a long term in Iraq. You know our position," the official said.

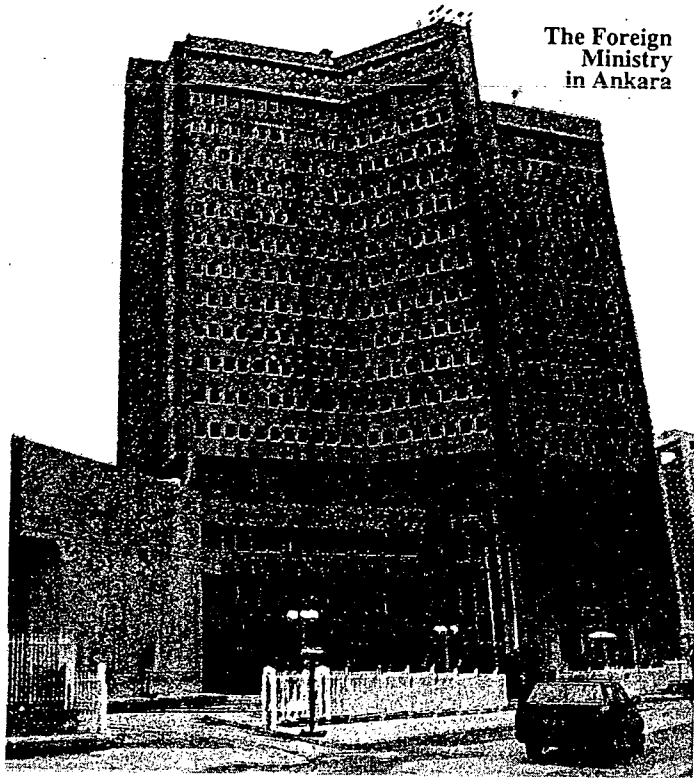
"We at the same time support Turkey's continuing interest in fighting PKK terrorists," the official added. "So if the Iraqi Kurdish factions can finally work out some kind of agreement to deal with that problem, to protect the people of northern Iraq, that's in our interest."

Answering another question, the U.S. State Department official said that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller did not suggest any changes in the Turkish-Iraqi border during her visit to Washington.

U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns reflected a similar viewpoint during the daily press briefing. When asked his views regarding the security arrangement in the area, he said: "We very much agree with the Turkish government that it is in the interest of the two main Kurdish factions in northern Iraq to provide security in northern Iraq so that the problem of PKK terrorism, which emanates from inside Turkey, can be eliminated.

And that concern about PKK terrorism is something that we share very deeply with the Turkish government."

Turkish Daily News



The Foreign Ministry in Ankara

Turkey plotting new policy toward Europe

Consultations: Outraged by criticism from the West and the 'diplomatic' offensive of Kurds, Turkey recalls 17 ambassadors for consultations

By Nazlan Ertan/ *Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Rising voices of criticism from Europe, coupled with the diplomatic offensive of Kurdish activists in European capitals, are prompting Ankara to reassess its own foreign policy toward its Western allies.

Seventeen Turkish ambassadors based in Europe and in Moscow are expected to arrive in Ankara at the end of this week for two-day talks to assess the "Kurdish activists-Europe-Turkey" triangle and what Ankara can do about it.

Some diplomatic sources said that high-level diplomacy to counter the situation could be launched quickly. This may start with Prime Minister Tansu Çiller attending the fifth anniversary of World War II on May 8-9 along with world leaders. This will give Çiller the opportunity to rub elbows with German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and British Prime Minister John Major, among others. Although no decision has been made yet, sources close to Çiller say she wants to go if she can rearrange her schedule.

This meeting with key ambassadors occurs against the background of increasing Kurdish separatist activities in Europe. ERNK, the political wing of the Kurdistan Workers' Party, has opened an office in Copenhagen and plans to export its activities to Helsinki and Oslo. The Kurdish

"parliament-in-exile" has been dubbed a "parliament-on-the-road" because of its desire to

meet at a different European city each time, so as to strain Turkey's ties with that country. In this context, the meeting will serve a two-fold purpose. First, the ambassadors will discuss the attitudes of their host countries, second, they will offer alternate courses of action to the political authority on future policy toward Europe. There are differences of opinion between Foreign Ministry hawks and doves over future policy. A senior diplomat, known for his closeness to political circles, said for Turkey room to maneuver was "limited" since it was unthinkable — and unwise — that Ankara would spoil ties with most of its European allies. "It is unlikely that the talks would go beyond consultations," he said. "What are we to do, put any country that allows an ERNK office on the red list of arms suppliers?"

Last week Turkey did just that: It put the Netherlands on the "red list" — a foreign ministry euphemism for banning arms trade with a country — on the grounds that it allowed the meeting of the so-called Kurdish parliament-in-exile to convene in The Hague.

The concern that nothing will come of the meeting is shared by others, who are unwilling to publicize the meeting, fearing that "any lack of result" would be interpreted as a sign of Turkish weakness.

Still another concern of those who do not advocate tough measures is that spoiling ties with Western allies — or lumping all Western countries together in terms of their treatment of the Kurdish separatists' activities plays into Kurdish hands. However, a majority of Turkish diplomats feel that it is high time Ankara did something about the blows it has received from allies who have allowed the activities of the Kurds saying their laws prevent them from action.

"The attitude they display towards Turkey has long passed being acceptable," a senior diplomat said. "We feel that it is time we made it clear that the ties we have cannot continue this way."

Foreign Ministry hawks indicate that even the issue of customs union could be postponed, since its benefits would never outweigh overlooking threats against Turkish territorial integrity.

"The customs union is a contractual issue, which must be realized on the basis of previous agreements. But if it comes to mean tolerating attempts at Turkish territorial integrity, we will not tolerate it," a diplomat said.

"A strong reaction to those who allow the so-called Kurdish parliament-in-exile in their territory may discourage other states who wonder just how far they can go with Turkey," he added. "In this case, we have to make it clear that Turkey will not tolerate their attitude."

The key diplomats will also debate whether they can mobilize the support of certain allies, like France, who have so far taken a clear stance against terrorism in general and Kurdish separatism in particular.

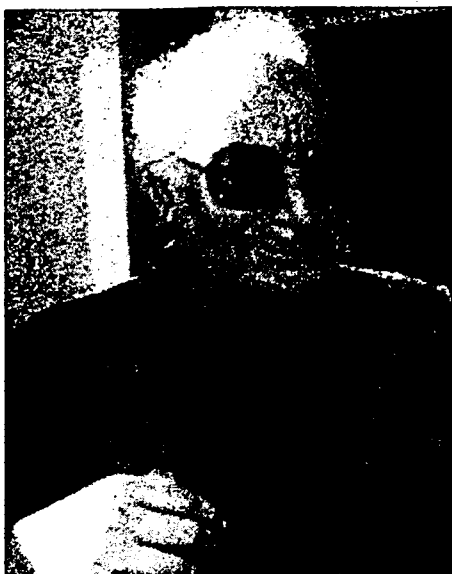
"But as long as the democratization package is kept on hold, it is extremely difficult for us diplomats and our allies to try to mobilize support against the Kurdish activists," a diplomat said. "It is very difficult to counter Kurdish propaganda if we do not do our homework in terms of democratization. On this, there is complete agreement among all diplomats."

THURSDAY, MAY 4, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Turkish Daily News

Thursday May 4, 1995



Yaşar Kemal, still faces jail threat

Minister halts prosecutor's Kemal probe

DGM: State Security Court inquiry on famous author to continue

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Minister for Justice Mehmet Moğultay, in a rare move on Wednesday, by using the powers vested in him, halted a judicial inquiry by the public prosecutor on the famous author Yaşar Kemal over an interview he gave to the German *Der Spiegel* on Turkey's Kurdish problem.

The inquiry opened by the prosecutor of the State Security Court (DGM) against Kemal

will, however, continue and, while there was no clarification of the matter, it is thought this is because the justice minister has no powers over the State Security Court.

The inquiries on Kemal were opened because of allegations that he had promoted separatism with his remarks to *Der Spiegel* when responding to questions concerning Kurds in Turkey.

Moğultay, a deputy from junior coalition partner the Republican People's Party (CHP), which is currently locked in a deep debate with senior coalition partner the True Path Party (DYP) on the issue of freedom of expression, cancelled the permission given by his ministry for the inquiry by the public prosecutor in Istanbul.

As the reason for his decision, Moğultay cited the heavy penalty that will be sought by the Istanbul State Security Court if Kemal is charged under Article 8 of the Anti-

Terrorism Law.

Moğultay said that the penalty that will be sought under Article 159 of the penal code if the public prosecutor decides to charge Kemal is much lighter than what would be sought by the State Security Court.

Thus this is not a situation where the public interest will be served, Moğultay is said to have indicated when issuing his order to close the file on Kemal. Under these circumstances Kemal will not face the prospect of facing charges of "demeaning the state by means of the press" but still faces the prospect of being charged under the currently much talked of Article 8 of the law on combatting terrorism.

In other words, Yaşar Kemal still stands a chance of facing trial for allegedly "disseminating propaganda on behalf of terrorism."

US State Dept. believes Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein will be in power for another year

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A once-classified letter sent by Wendy R. Sherman, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs, to Sen. Arlen Specter (Republican), chairman of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence reveals that the State Department's intelligence analysts do not believe Saddam Hussein is about to fall from power soon — contrary to what has been maintained in public so far by quite a few top officials of the State Department.

An unclassified copy of the March 10, 1995 letter that TDN has obtained says "despite indications that Saddam Hussein is increasingly concerned about the internal situation in Iraq, he is likely to retain power for another year. One of the perverse strengths of Saddam's regime is that he has retained many supporters in his numerous crimes against the Iraqi people. These individuals and groups fear for their lives and

futures if he were to disappear from the scene; they have a strong stake in his survival."

Sherman complained to Sen. Specter that "there is no question that Kurdish infighting undercuts international efforts to maintain a safe haven for the Kurds and other ethnic and religious groups in northern Iraq."

Yet Sherman also pointed out a problem that lies in the way of the autonomy aspirations of the Kurdish factions: "Turkey and Iran will continue to oppose Iraqi Kurd efforts to gain autonomy, preferring that they should accept a return to control from Baghdad."

After noting that "a new regime in Baghdad and the Kurds could reach out to one another in order to reestablish security throughout Iraq," Sherman also remarked that "at the same time, the Kurds have had their differences with every regime in Baghdad since the monarchy was overthrown in 1958."



Türkische Truppen warten auf den Rücktransport aus dem Nordirak. (Bild ap)

Die türkische Operation im Nordirak beendet Offizielle Erklärung des Verteidigungsministers

it. Istanbul, 4. Mai

Der türkische Verteidigungsminister Mehmet Gölhan hat am Donnerstag die türkische Militäroperation im Nordirak offiziell für abgeschlossen erklärt. Laut seinen Erläuterungen waren bis Donnerstag auch die letzten 12 000 im Nordirak noch verbliebenen Soldaten Ankaras auf türkisches Territorium zurückgekehrt. Erstaunlicherweise wurde die Erklärung des Verteidigungsministers bis am späten Donnerstagnachmittag vom Büro des Generalstabschefs nicht bestätigt. Dies liess in Ankara die Vermutung aufkommen, dass zwischen der politischen und der militärischen Führung in bezug auf die Operation Differenzen bestehen.

Deutliche Signale

Den bevorstehenden Abschluss der türkischen Militäroperation im Nordirak hatte die Regierungschefin Ciller bereits am vergangenen Dienstag signalisiert. Während einer Rede vor der Parlamentsfraktion ihrer konservativen Partei des Rechten Weges erklärte sie, die Türkei habe derzeit nur noch drei Bataillone – rund 4000 Mann – im Nordirak stationiert. Es sei vorgesehen, diese sehr bald schon in die Türkei zurückzuverlegen. Als Hinweis auf einen unmittelbaren Truppenabzug galt weiter die Tatsache, dass am Dienstag auch das militärische Pressezentrum geschlossen wurde. Dieses Zentrum war nach dem Einmarsch der türkischen Armee im Nordirak am 20. März in der südostanatolischen Stadt Diyarbakir eröffnet worden. Laut der letzten Erklärung des Pressesprechers sind während der Operation insgesamt 555 kurdische Rebellen getötet und 13 festgenommen worden. Weiter sollen 61 Soldaten

ums Leben gekommen und 185 verletzt worden sein. Bei einem kurzen Besuch in der Grenzregion hatte Frau Ciller am Montag die Operation im Nordirak als besonders erfolgreich bezeichnet. Das Ziel der Operation sei gewesen, die logistische Infrastruktur der Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK) im Nordirak zu zerstören, sagte sie. Diese Vorgabe sei mit der Aktion erreicht worden.

Kritische Bilanz

Ob das Ziel der Operation tatsächlich erreicht worden ist, wird heute aber von den unterschiedlichsten Kreisen in Frage gestellt. Die Presse berichtet seit zwei Tagen davon, dass PKK-Guerillas ihre alten Positionen im Nordirak allmählich wieder beziehen. Eine Delegation der nordirakischen Demokratischen Partei Kurdistans von Masud Barzani, welche am Mittwoch in Ankara zu Gesprächen mit der türkischen Regierung eintraf, hat die Resultate der Militäroperation ebenfalls in Zweifel gezogen. Die einzige Garantie dafür, dass die PKK sich im Grenzgebiet nicht mehr so leicht einnisten könne, sei der Wiederaufbau von 300 Grendörfern im Nordirak, sagte der Vorsitzende der Delegation. Er forderte Ankara dazu auf, den Aufbau der Dörfer finanziell zu unterstützen. Die grössten Zweifel an der zeitlich begrenzten türkischen Militäroperation hat überraschenderweise aber der Präsident Demirel angemeldet. Angesichts des gebirgigen Charakters der Region könne dort Sicherheit kaum gewährleistet werden, erklärte er vor der Presse. Der türkische Präsident forderte eine Korrektur der regionalen Grenzziehung, die laut seinen Worten gemäss den Interessen diverser Ölunternehmen festgelegt worden sei, regionalen Bedürfnissen aber nicht entspreche.

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France-Turquie

Paris se félicite de l'annonce de la fin de l'opération turque en Irak du nord

PARIS, 5 mai (AFP) - La France s'est félicitée vendredi de l'annonce par la Turquie de la fin de son opération dans le nord de l'Irak contre la rébellion kurde.

"Nous nous félicitons d'une décision qui confirme les engagements pris par le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller" devant la Troïka européenne le 23 mars dernier, a indiqué un porte-parole du ministère français des Affaires étrangères.

Conduite par le chef de la diplomatie française Alain Juppé, la troïka de l'Union européenne avait exigé que les forces turques se retirent le plus rapidement possible du nord de l'Irak.

"Après les efforts que nous déployés pour obtenir l'accord politique" sur l'union douanière, signé le 6 mars à Bruxelles entre l'UE et Ankara, "cette mesure permet d'aborder dans de meilleures conditions le prochain débat sur ce texte au Parlement européen dont l'avis conforme est nécessaire pour la mise en vigueur de l'accord", a souligné le porte-parole français.

Le Parlement européen doit se prononcer en septembre prochain sur cet accord.

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AFP /JO0245/051849

MAI 95

Withdrawal From Iraq Completed, Turkey Says

The Associated Press

ANKARA — Turkey has withdrawn its troops from northern Iraq, six weeks after 35,000 soldiers crossed the border to attack Kurdish rebel bases, officials said Thursday.

"We have no soldiers left in northern Iraq," Defense Minister Mehmet Golhan said before a cabinet meeting. "We have withdrawn them all, and we

only have security measures on the border."

Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Cetin said a few troops remained in northern Iraq but did not give details. But Mr. Golhan said later that although some troops were "on the border," essentially the soldiers were all out.

The troops were sent into northern Iraq to wipe out about 20 camps used by 2,800 rebels for hit-and-run attacks in Turkey. The government pulled out 20,000 soldiers last week. Mr. Golhan said that the second big withdrawal occurred Wednesday.

The defense minister said that Turkey had taken military measures along the border. He did not elaborate, but military officials have said they planned to build bases on the frontier to block rebels from crossing.

Turkey also has been negotiating with Iraqi Kurdish leaders to establish authority over the area and prevent Turkish guerrillas from setting up camps.

Turkey has come under intense criticism from its Western allies for the military operation.

Mr. Golhan denied reports that the Kurdish rebels had been redeploying since Turkish troops have begun returning home.

The guerrillas are fighting for autonomy in southeastern Turkey. More than 15,000 people have been killed in the conflict since 1984.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1995

OSCE delegation meets emergency rule governor in Diyarbakır

Erkan: Since 1984, a total of 4,025 people, including 452 women and 450 children, have been killed in massacres by the PKK and 4,471 civilians have been injured

TDM Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- A delegation from the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) on Thursday visited Emergency Rule Regional Governor Unal Erkan at his office in Diyarbakır.

The delegation, which arrived in Turkey last Monday, is paying a one-week visit on the invitation of Parliament Speaker Hüsamettin Cindoruk.

During his meeting with the OSCE delegation led by Willy Wimmer, the deputy president of the OSCE Parliamentarians' Assembly, Erkan said Turkey is determined to fight terrorism and that it would continue the struggle until the problem was solved.

He briefed the delegation about the activities of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the region and the battle against that organization.

Erkan said that since 1984, a total of 4025 people, including 452 women and 450 children, had been killed in massacres carried out by the PKK and 4471 civilians had been injured. There was documented proof that these attacks were the work of the PKK.

Erkan continued that within the past decade, a total of 8,512 separatist terrorists had been killed in the clashes between the security forces and the PKK and that 194 terrorists had been injured and 1787 arrested.

He noted that 1,154 terrorists had turned themselves in to the security forces. He said nearly 3,000 people from the security forces had been killed during the clashes.

In reply to a question, Erkan said that no one in Turkey had ever been put on trial just because of their Kurdish origin.

He stressed that terrorism was being used as a tool by the PKK to divide Turkey.

He said while the PKK argued that it represented the Kurds, it had in fact killed 5,000 people of Kurdish origin. Erkan continued that the people did not support the terrorist organization which he noted contained Syrian, Iraqi, Iranian and Armenian origin militants.

He recalled that the PKK had camps in Syria, that it took shelter in Iran and in northern Iraq, that it had opened bureaus in Greece, that it had founded a so-called "parliament-in-exile" in the Netherlands and that it extorted money from people in Germany.

Erkan said mere statements made by the West were not sufficient and that sanctions should be applied against Syria for allowing the PKK to set up camps and that arms sources should be cut off.

He added that in order to prevent the PKK to make use of the power vacuum in northern Iraq, Iraq's territorial integrity should be respected.

HADEP officials charged and formally arrested

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Leading officials from the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) who were detained a week ago have been formally charged and placed under arrest, sources from the party told the Turkish Daily News on Thursday.

Among those charged are HADEP Deputy Chairmen Şehabettin Özarslan and Hikmet Fidan, Assistant Secretary-General Seyhmuz Cagro and a member of the party's Ankara provincial administrative board, Ferhat Türk.

The charges brought by the State Security Court were not immediately apparent but the lawyers of the HADEP officials were barred from entering the courtroom under the Law on Combating Terrorism.

Observers say this gives an indication of what the HADEP officials have been charged with. HADEP's precursor, the

Democracy Party (DEP), was closed by the constitutional court last year and its deputies were charged and convicted to harsh prison sentences on the grounds that they had links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). The DEP case has been made the litmus test for democratization by the European Parliament, which has announced its intention not to ratify a customs union accord Turkey concluded with the European Union in March until the DEP deputies are released. The charging of the HADEP officials is expected to further complicate Turkey's ties with Europe.

This development comes at a time when the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe has recommended a suspension of Turkey's membership unless significant movement is made in the direction of democratization — with particular reference to the Kurdish problem — by June.

Debate on Article 8 continues, while 166 prisoners still detained for crimes of expression of thought

Coalition partners appear to have agreed on the need to remove Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, but the conservative wing of DYP still 'fiercely' rejects the changes, and CHP says crimes of expression of thought will still exist after amendments

By Sinan Yılmaz
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The coalition partners, the True Path Party (DYP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP), seem to have agreed to remove Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, which concerns crimes of expression of thought. But it appears that neither the conservative deputies of the DYP nor the country's 166 prisoners detained for such crimes are satisfied with this state of affairs.

The conservative wing of the DYP "fiercely" rejects the removal of Article Eight and the addition of a clause to Article 311 of the Criminal Law, which would call for a prison term of between six months and two years for those found guilty of spreading propaganda in line with the purpose and activities of terrorist organizations which threaten the indivisible integrity of the state.

Meanwhile, members of the CHP argue that crimes related to the expression of thought will still most definitely persist after the removal of Article 8. The coalition partners are preparing to promote and focus on the release of

two prisoners detained for crimes of expression of thought, Fikret Başkaya and Haluk Gerger, as symbols of the government's success in "providing for expression of thought." Başkaya and Gerger are currently serving 20-month prison terms. Başkaya started serving his sentence on March 17 last year and will be released on June 14, whereas Gerger was sent to jail on June 27, 1994, so is to be released on Sept. 24. If granted a reprieve, Gerger could be released in June. Those defending human rights claim that İsmail Beşikçi must be taken as the symbol of "freedom of expression" instead of Başkaya and Gerger. Beşikçi has so far been sentenced to 65 years in prison, and is sure to serve 12 years of this. Some provisions of the Execution of Punishments Law may allow Beşikçi to serve only nine years of his sentences.

If Article 8 is amended, authors such as Yaşar Kemal, Orhan Pamuk, Nur Sürer, Orhan Aydın, and Doğu Perinçek could still face jail sentences, since although they will not be tried at the State Security Court (DGM), they could still be tried at criminal courts.

So expression of thought will still be a crime, but it will be out of the DGM's hands.

The problem of preparing a list of those in prison for crimes of expression of thought has been causing a big problem for many years. The list prepared by the Justice Ministry has given names of prisoners who were actually free, while the names of others who were said to be free, have appeared on the list of those in prison, prepared by the Human Rights Association (IHD).

We prepared a list by bringing together the information contained in the documents prepared by the IHD and the Justice Ministry. This leads us to conclude that there are 166 people detained in prison for crimes of expression of thought, although the numbers are continuously changing, so preparing such a list is difficult.

Some of the imprisoned writers and politicians are: Fikret Başkaya, Numan Baktas, İsmail Beşikçi, Mehdi Zana, Haluk Gerger, Şükrü Ayçiçek, Metin Bakıcı, İbrahim Polat, Bülent Abbasoğlu, İlknur Bülbül, Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana, Ahmet Türk, Orhan Doğan, Selim Sadak.

Demirel's misquoted remark causes storm

Furor: President never made claim for the Iraqi province of Mosul or request for redrawing of border

TDN with Wire dispatches

ANKARA- A misquoted general statement by President Süleyman Demirel about a possible future renegotiation of Turkey's border with Iraq that passes over rugged terrain has alarmed Iraq and caused an international stir.

In a special interview with the Turkish Daily News on Monday, Demirel observed that having a border passing over the ridges of 2,800-meter mountains was "wrong" and that Turkey ended up being unable to prevent the infiltration by separatist rebels entrenched on the slopes of Mountains on the Iraqi side. Providing historical background on the demarcation of the border during the partition of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the First World War, he said the border had been drawn up according to the specifications of geologists and "according to the oil [deposits]" — left on the Iraqi side.

He said although the Turkish Republic — which recovered parts of the partitioned domain during the 1919-1922 War of Independence — did not recognize the partitioning and lay a claim to the oil-rich provinces of Kirkuk and Mosul, it could not press its case.

Demirel told the TDN, however, that a border readjustment was "not a question for today."

But some newspapers who interviewed Demirel after the TDN did quoted the president as calling for a border readjustment and as laying a claim to Mosul.

The Turkish Foreign Ministry denied reports that Turkey sought a border readjustment.

But Iraq, wary of Turkey's direct contacts with Iraqi Kurdish rebels, said on Thursday it would use all means at its disposal to fend off any attempt by Ankara for a re-demarcation of the international borders, Reuters reported.

"Iraq declares, with all determination, that it will resist any violation of its national borders and unity of its territory with all legitimate means," the ruling Baath Party newspaper al-Thawra said in a front-page editorial. Al-Thawra said "no obstacle will stand in Iraq's face" to defend its borders if Ankara translated statements on a new demarcation into action.

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1995

Turkish Daily News

ERNK representative Kani Yılmaz goes on trial in London

The sources told the TDN that the visiting delegation informed the British parliamentarians about the establishment of the Kurdish parliament-in-exile and the Kurdish question in general

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The trial of Kani Yılmaz, the European representative of the ERNK, a cover organization for the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), began in London on Thursday under the watchful eyes of various pro-Kurdish organizations, sources informed the Turkish Daily News by telephone.

A delegation of Kurds, including Mahmut Kılınc and Nizamettin Toğuc, former deputies of Turkey's now banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP), and Necdet Buldan, the former mayor of the eastern Turkish town of Yüksekova — who are all members of the newly formed so-called Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" — were all in London to follow the trial of Yılmaz.

Sources close to the delegation say that, while in London, the Turkish Kurds were also holding talks with British deputies, intellectuals' groups and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The sources told the TDN that the visiting delegation informed the British parliamentarians about the establishment of the Kurdish parliament-in-exile and the Kurdish question in general.

The formation of the parliament-in-exile, comprising 65 members, was announced in April in The Hague in the Netherlands, despite Turkish attempts to prevent the meeting. The development has strained relations between Turkey and the Netherlands.

The parliament-in-exile includes five former DEP deputies who fled to Europe to avoid persecution after the DEP was banned, as well as some other Kurdish intellectuals and representatives of the Kurdistan People's Liberation Front (ERNK), the political wing of the PKK.

The parliament has established an executive board, chaired by one of the former DEP deputies, Zübeyir Aydar.

Yılmaz was detained on Oct. 22 of last year in London upon leaving the Houses of Parliament after a meeting with British deputies and was charged with illegal entry into the country despite having been invited to Britain by a Labour Party MP, John Austin Walker.

The British Labour Party later issued a statement saying Walker had invited Yılmaz on his own and disassociated itself from the whole affair.

Following Yılmaz's arrest, Kurds living in Britain launched demonstrations against the British government, including hunger strikes, and called for his release.

The German government has also made an official request, asking the British government to hand over Yılmaz so he can answer accusations of responsibility for Kurdish demonstrations in Germany during the spring of 1994.

The British government received a similar application from Turkey, which wanted Yılmaz returned to face terrorism charges. Turkey's request was not granted.

Yılmaz has made three court appearances since his arrest and Thursday's hearing was his first this year.

The editorial was the harshest of a series of condemnations from Baghdad since Turkey launched a massive cross-border operation with 35,000 troops on March 20 against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers party (PKK) separatists entrenched in northern Iraq.

Turkish officials have announced that all but three battalions have been pulled back since then. The army says the troops killed nearly 600 rebels before the withdrawal.

The PKK has been fighting a separatist war in Turkey's southeastern provinces since 1984 and the fighting has claimed over 15,000 lives so far.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry summoned Turkish charge d'affaires, Saadi Çalışlar, on Wednesday to ask for an explanation of Demirel's statements.

The official Iraqi News Agency (INA) said the ruling Revolutionary Command Council held a meeting on Wednesday chaired by President Saddam Hussein in which a number of "important political issues were discussed."

Baghdad-based diplomats said they doubted Turkey would try to change the geopolitics of a volatile region.

"They have enough problems in their own territory to grapple with," said a Western diplomat.

Reuters quoted another as saying Ankara's aim was to exert pressure on Baghdad to force it to come to terms with its own Kurdish minority and accept U.N. conditions for partial oil sales that would benefit Turkey's southeast region, inhabited mainly by ethnic Kurds.

Meanwhile in Tehran, an Iraqi Shiite opposition group also slammed the remark attributed to Demirel, demanding an apology. "Demirel's statement is contrary to international agreements on which borders of all countries have been drawn," the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution in Iraq (SAIRI) said. "We condemn any threat against Iraq's integrity and sovereignty."

Demirel's remarks also caused raised brows in Washington where U.S. State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said Wednesday that the United States was against any change of borders "by force."

"As of March 1991, the end of the Gulf War, we have always recognized the international borders of Iraq," Burns said.

"We do not support any attempt to change those borders by force. However, in agreeing to set up Operation Provide Comfort back in March of 1991, we also made the decision that Iraq was not capable, and is still not capable, of exercising authority in the northern part of this country and certainly not capable of exercising its authority in a responsible way regarding the Kurdish population in northern Iraq. So we do not support and will not support any efforts to change borders by force."

Reminded by TDN that Demirel's remark implied a possible future readjustment through negotiations, Burns said, "I am not aware of any specific proposal, or any general proposal over the last couple last couple of weeks about changing the Iraqi border."

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 1995

Turkish Daily News

KDP talks border security with Turkey; PUK to curb PKK with 'diplomacy'

TDN with wire dispatches

ANKARA- A delegation of senior envoys from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) closeted with Turkish Foreign Ministry officials here Thursday for the second day running to discuss the terms of its cooperation to make the border secure after Turkey winds up its cross-border operation against the Turkish Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq.

Meanwhile, a rival Iraqi Kurdish group, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), announced that it would not use arms but diplomacy to keep the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) guerrillas from harassing Turkey from Iraq, Agence France Presse said.

After a third round of negotiations between the KDP officials, a KDP source told the TDN that although there had been considerable progress since a meeting last month in Salahuddin, northern Iraq, the details of the projected cooperation had yet to be hammered out. The KDP team is headed by Sami Abdurrahman, a senior member of the party's political bureau, and includes Nechirwan Barzani, the nephew of party leader Massoud Barzani. Turkey has asked the KDP and PUK to bury their feud and cooperate to keep the PKK out of the border area. The projected scheme involves patrolling of

the border by the Iraqi Kurdish peshmergas (fighters).

KDP negotiators have asked, in return, cash support and Ankara's acquiescence to the rebuilding of 300-odd border villages destroyed by Saddam Hussein's forces in the past. They also call on Ankara to recognize the regional government Iraqi Kurds have set up in the north under Western military protection. Ankara has been avoiding any dealings with the Iraqi Kurds in the past, fearing it would fuel the separatism of its own Kurds and harm its precarious ties with Baghdad. While the KDP apparently agreed to border patrols "not to please Turkey but because of its own responsibility to make the borders safe for neighbors," PUK looked averse to any armed confrontation with the PKK it might entail.

PUK leader Jalal Talabani told AFP that "We don't view the PKK as terrorists, but as a political organization. We can't prevent them from using our area for attacks inside Turkey by fighting them, but by convincing them on a diplomatic level." "We won't allow the PKK to use our PUK-controlled area for attacks against Turkey. We have always made that clear," Talabani told AFP. But he urged "Turkey to cooperate with our regional government and to recognize it."

Talabani's remarks caused an angry reaction in the Turkish press which published selected parts and said they bore out Turkey's suspicions about the PUK leader seen in the past as secretly collaborating with the PKK. Talabani has persistently rejected the charges of playing a double game and the sides broke ice last week when a Foreign Ministry delegation met with Talabani in Erbil.

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1995

Turkish-US trade cost Turkey \$9.8 billion over eight years

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Between 1987 and 1994 Turkey imported goods from the United States worth \$9.8 billion more than Turkish exports to the United States, according to the official figures published in "U.S. Global Trade Outlook 1995-2000," a report issued by the U.S. Department of Commerce.

Turkey, nominated by the United States last year as one of the ten "Big Emerging Markets" (BEM), lost \$1.2 billion in 1994 in its bilateral trade with the United States. China, another BEM, had a surplus of \$106.2 billion in the 1987-1994 period in its trade with the United States.

The following BEM countries exported more to

the United States than they imported in 1994: Brazil, China, Taiwan, India, Indonesia and South Korea.

Turkey was ranked 32nd in the list of importers of U.S. goods between 1988-94. In 1994 alone, Turkey imported \$2.75 billion worth of U.S. goods.

The top importer was Canada, with \$114.4 billion worth of goods in 1994, followed by Japan, Mexico, Britain, Germany, South Korea, Taiwan, France, Netherlands and Singapore in the top ten.

Turkey ranked 43rd in the world in terms of exports to the United States between 1988-94. Turkey exported \$1.6 billion worth of goods to the United States in 1994.

Human Rights Diary

Minister halts inquiry on Kemal- The Minister for Justice Mehmet Moğultay, in a rare move on May 3, by using powers vested in him, halted a judicial inquiry by the public prosecutor into the famous author Yaşar Kemal over an interview he gave to the German Der Spiegel on Turkey's Kurdish problem. The inquiry opened by the prosecutor of the State Security Court against Kemal will, however, continue and, while there was no clarification on the matter, it is thought that Moğultay took the action because the justice minister has no powers over the DGM. The inquiries against Kemal were opened on allegations that he had promoted separatism with his remarks to Der Spiegel when responding to questions concerning Kurds in Turkey. Moğultay, a deputy from the junior coalition partner the Republican Peoples Party (CHP), which is currently locked in a deep debate with the senior coalition partner the True Path Party (DYP) on the issue of freedom of expression, cancelled the permission given by his ministry for the inquiry by the public prosecutor in Istanbul. As the reason for his decision, Moğultay cited the steep penalty that will be sought by the Istanbul State Security Court if Kemal is charged under Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law. Moğultay said that the penalty that will be sought under Article 159 of the penal code if the public prosecutor decides to charge Kemal is much less than what would be sought by the State Security Court. But the public prosecutor's penalty would nonetheless be added to a potentially heavy DGM sentence if both inquiries were to continue. Moğultay reportedly indicated that the public interest will not be served under such circumstances and issued his order to halt the inquiry against Kemal. (*Turkish Daily News, May 4*)

Family says missing journalist held by PKK- Ferit Demir, the only local reporter in Tunceli, is thought to have been abducted by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), local sources told the TDN on May 2. Demir had been covering clashes in Tunceli between Turkish security forces and the PKK for a number of news and TV networks as well as for the Reuters agency. He went missing on Sunday and members of his family are claiming that he was abducted by the PKK. Local security officials have disclaimed any knowledge of Demir's disappearance and have also said that they have not detained anyone with that name. The PKK last week released two Turkish journalists, one working for the French AFP and the other for Reuters, after having abducted them some weeks ago in southeast Anatolia shortly after Turkey launched a massive anti-PKK cross-border operation in northern Iraq on March 20. (*Turkish Daily News, May 2*)

Lawyers for DEP file appeal- Lawyers for the banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) presented on April 26 a detailed 106-page appeal to the Appeals Court. According to the DEP appeal, the trial process of DEP deputies Ahmet Türk, Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana, Orhan Doğan, Selim Sadak, Sırrı Sakık and independent Mahmut Alınak, was unjust and the imprisoned deputies should be released. DEP was closed down by the Constitutional Court in June 1994 and the deputies' memberships in the Turkish Parliament were revoked. Seven DEP deputies were then imprisoned, but six others fled to Europe to avoid prosecution. Pro-Kurdish but independent deputy Mahmut Alınak's parliamentary immunity was also lifted at the demand of the state prosecutor and he was tried with the DEP deputies. The DEP members and Alınak were sentenced to between three and 15 years of imprisonment. (*Turkish Daily News, May 1*)

Journalists testify at court- Five journalists out of the 1,080 people who signed and republished the book "Freedom of Thought" which had been confiscated and outlawed by the state testified at the Istanbul State Security Court on April 28 following their self-accusation and surrender, the Anatolia news agency reported. The decision taken was that the 1,080 people may be presented with a lawsuit for "publishing banned books" according to Article 162 of the Turkish Penal Law. The prison terms they might receive vary between two and six years. (*Turkish Daily News, April 29*)

Missing HADEP executive found dead- Hüseyin Koku, HADEP chairman in the Southeastern town of Elbistan, was found dead in the nearby town of Poturge, in Malatya province on April 28. He had been missing since Oct. 20, 1994. The office of the local prosecutor ordered that Koku's body be taken to a local coroner for an autopsy. Sources told the TDN that when the body was found, identification was only possible through an electricity bill bearing Koku's name and address that was found in his pocket. Reports allege that Koku was taken into custody last October while shopping with his wife in Elbistan by two men in civilian clothing who were driving a white Renault car. They were carrying radios and introduced themselves as undercover police officers and requested that he accompany them to give testimony at the police station. Koku told his wife to go home and said he would join her later, but never did. (*April 29, Turkish Daily News*)

Turkish Probe May 5, 1995

9

Turkey, Iraqi Kurds Discuss Post-Incursion Security

Raşit Gürdilek

While winding up its cross-border operation inside northern Iraq, now in its seventh week, Turkey has paced up its efforts to prevent the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) separatists from returning to their mountain camps and hideouts across the border after the withdrawal is complete. For that, Turkey is seeking the cooperation of the Iraqi Kurds who have set up their own regional administration in northern Iraq.

A high-level delegation from the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Massoud Barzani started a second round of talks in Ankara on Tuesday to discuss the terms of cooperation, which, in broad lines, involves increased KDP military presence on the border to bar the re-entrenchment of the PKK in the area, in return for Turkey's assistance for the rebuilding of around 300 Iraqi Kurdish villages.

Last month, a team of Turkish negotiators had an initial meeting with the KDP leadership in Salahuddin, northern Iraq, and later met in Erbil with Jalal Talabani, the leader of KDP's main rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The KDP and PUK have been locked in violent clashes since last May and the fighting has reportedly claimed around 2,000 lives. Turkey has seen the Iraqi Kurds' internal conflict as a chief factor in the PKK's supremacy in the border area, but its efforts to mediate a peaceful settlement between the two sides have been unsuccessful.

Although PUK does not have a military presence along the border strip, both Turkey and the KDP see its participation in the security cooperation scheme as essential.

But Talabani has poured cold water on Turkey's hopes of enthusiastic cooperation by his reported statement that he would not prevent the PKK infiltrations into Turkey by military means, but would try to do it diplomatically. To the further chagrin of Turkish officials, Talabani reportedly told the French news agency AFP that he also does not consider the PKK to be a terrorist organization. The ability of the PKK militants who had surrendered to the Iraqi Kurds after another incursion by the Turkish Army in 1992 to rearm themselves and set up training camps had caused frictions in the relations between Turkey and the PUK leadership.

Following the conclusion of the second round of

talks with the KDP delegation in Ankara, a team of PUK envoys is expected to arrive in the second half of May for similar discussions. But the signs are that the negotiations with the KDP team is also far from being a stroll in the rose garden.

The KDP negotiators, headed by Sami Abdurrahman, a senior member of the KDP political bureau, and including Nechirwan Barzani, the nephew of the KDP leader, beside the party's security officials, had three sessions of meetings with Turkish Foreign Ministry officials also attended by Turkish military and security experts.

A Kurdish source described the talks as being "very frank and open" which, in diplomatic jargon, suggests the exchange of recriminations.

Further distance has been covered since the sides first met in Salahuddin, but the details of the accord still have to be worked out, the source said.

Confirming that the scheme involved the patrolling of the border by the KDP peshmergas (fighters), he said the Iraqi Kurds were undertaking to do this not because Turkey wanted it, but because it was the Kurds' own task to make their border secure for their neighbors.

The Kurdish side was insistent, on the other hand, on official contacts between Turkey and the regional Kurdish administration — which Ankara has been avoiding so far — and more importantly, reconstruction of about 300 Iraqi Kurdish villages on the border.

The KDP says the resettlement of the villages will provide the necessary logistic support to its peshmerga who would be otherwise exposed and isolated on the hostile mountains. It says the resettlement is also important for the Kurdish economy as the returning villagers will be able to till their land and reduce the burden on the cities where unemployment and crime is rampant because of the economic refugees.

The KDP also requests Turkish cash and assistance for the building of roads and bridges to facilitate access to the villages.

The material cost of the package had been tentatively estimated by the Kurdish sources before as being between \$30 million to \$50 million.

The Kurdish negotiators were expected to be received by Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü, due back from a short visit to Azerbaijan, before they return home. ■



Massoud Barzani

6 May 1995, *The New York Times*

Turkey's War of Words

Yasar Kemal, author of 36 books, is Turkey's pre-eminent man of letters and a perennial candidate for the Nobel Prize in Literature. He went on trial yesterday in Istanbul on charges of violating Turkey's antiterrorism laws. The charges stem from an article about the oppression of Turkish Kurds that he wrote for the German magazine *Der Spiegel*. If convicted, he faces up to five years in prison.

This article is adapted from a longer one in the January-February issue of *Index on Censorship*, published in London.

By Yasar Kemal

One of the greatest tragedies in Turkey's history is happening now. Our Kurdish brothers are being slaughtered, and apart from a couple of hesitant voices, no one is standing up and demanding to know what the Government is doing. No one is saying, "You are riding towards doomsday, leaving the earth scorched in your wake." What will come of all this?

Fearing that Kurdish nationalist spirit threatens Turkish sovereignty over its eastern regions, the Government has resolved to drain the pool to catch a few fish. The world is aware of it. Only the people of Turkey have been kept in ignorance; newspapers have apparently been forbidden to write about the drainage. Or maybe there is no need for censorship: maybe our press, with its sense of patriotism and strong nationalist sentiment,

quickly went back on his word, blaming the Kurdish separatists.

The Government has also put an embargo on food in the eastern regions. One must get a certificate from the police station in order to buy food (because some villagers have been feeding the guerrillas).

Intellectuals in the West have begun to debate whether this is a new genocide; the possibility of a human rights court for Turkey's politicians and of an economic boycott against the country are being discussed.

Turkey's leaders have gotten so carried away that intellectual crimes have been regarded as among the most serious; people have rotted away in prisons, been killed and exiled for writing or speaking their minds. Over 200 people are serving sentences for crimes of thought; hundreds more are on trial. Among them are professors, journalists, writers and union leaders.

As if a racist, oppressive regime were not enough, there have been three military coups in our 70 years as a nation. Each coup has made the Turkish people a little more debased. They have rotted from the root — their culture, their humanity, their language. There is no reason at all for this inhuman, purposeless war.

This world is a graveyard of wrecked languages and cultures. How many societies whose names and reputations we have never even heard of have come and gone in this world? As a cultural mosaic, Anatolia has been a source of many modern societies. If Turkey's leaders had not tried to prohibit and destroy other languages and other

cultures than those of the Turkish people, Anatolia would still be a fountainhead of civilization. Instead we are a country half-famished, its creative power draining away.

The sole reason for this war is that cancer of humanity, racism. Otherwise, would it be possible for right-wing, racist magazines and newspapers to declare that "the Turkish race is superior to every other"?

Another popular saying is, "Happy is he who calls himself a Turk." When I first went to eastern Turkey in 1951, this slogan had been written on the mountainsides everywhere in enormous letters visible from five miles away. Even the slopes of Mount Ararat were so embellished. The entire mountain had become happy to be Turkish. Each morning, they made the children declare: "I am a Turk, I am honest, I am hard-working."

Throughout history all cultures have fed one another, been grafted onto one another, and in the process our world has been enriched. The disappearance of a culture is the loss of a color, a different light. Anatolia has always been a mosaic of flowers, filling the world with flowers and light. I want it to be the same today.

If the people of a country choose to live like human beings, choose happiness and beauty, their way lies first through universal human rights and unlimited freedom of thought. The people of countries that have opposed this will enter the 21st century without honor. □

By silencing critics, it hopes to destroy a culture.

tolia to find the guerrillas hiding out in them. Not much that could be called forest is left. Turkey is disappearing in flames along with its forests — anonymous acts of genocide — and 2.5 million people have been exiled from their homes, in desperate poverty, forced to take to the road.

Last fall, the village elders of the eastern town of Ovacik said that soldiers had burned their village; they were found dead in the burned forests nearby a few days later. The Minister for Human Rights, Azimet Koyluoglu, at first admitted that soldiers were burning villages, but

Turkey has no free press, says Freedom House

According to last year's survey, the Turkish press was 'partly free'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON - A Freedom House survey of the press around the world placed Turkey with the category of countries with no free press. Last year's survey classified Turkish press as "partly free."

The detailed report "The Press: Pressed and Oppressed," written by Leonard R. Sussman, said Turkey fell from "partly free" to "not free" along with nine other countries: Albania, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Malaysia, Nigeria, Singapore, Tunisia, Yemen and Zambia.

Laws and regulations that influence media content in Turkey received a score of 7 in broadcasting, and 9 in print, on a scale of 0-10, 10 being the most repressive.

In terms of political pressures and controls over the media content, Turkish broadcasting got an 8, and print media got 7. The worst possible score is 10.

Economic influences over media content was evaluated at 4 for Turkish broadcasting and 7 for print media, with 10 the

worst possible score.

In terms of repressive actions (killings of journalists, self-censorship, harassment, expulsion, violence against journalists or facilities, etc.), Turkish broadcasting was rated 11 and Turkish press a full 20, where 20 was the worst possible score.

Turkey's total score of 73, out of a worst-possible of 100 put in the "not free" category, which comprised those countries with a total score of 61 or worse.

Total "press freedom" scores of some other countries are as follows (the lower the score, more freedom of press): Argentina 29; Armenia 57; Australia 7; Azerbaijan 69; Belgium 7; Bolivia 17; Bulgaria 39; Burkina Faso 37; Burma 99; Burundi 88; Canada 18; Chad 72; China 83; Croatia 56; Cuba 90; Cyprus 24; Denmark 9; Egypt 81; Greece 26; Guyana 28; Haiti 51; Iraq 100; Iran 83; Kuwait 70; Malawi 43; Madagascar 44; Libya 85; Zimbabwe 59; United States 12; Uganda 38; Norway 8; Turkmenistan 84.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1995

The barrel-chested author asserted he was on trial not because of his *Der Spiegel* article, but due to mistranslations published by the newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*.

"The prosecutor did not build his case against my words, but on the so-called summary reporting by *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet*, based on their so-called translations from German," Kemal said. "Sentences are taken out of context. Passages have been removed by tweezers and changed... It would not be a lie to say this is not my writing. This is *Hürriyet's* and *Milliyet's* writing," asserted the tall, six-foot writer.

"A writer stands as a complete whole. A text is also a complete whole. If we can attribute offenses to a writer on the basis of pieces of sentences plucked and distorted out of a writing, then there is no writer in Turkey who will not be found guilty even by the most conscientious judge," said he. He accused the prosecutor of frivolity for bringing totally unfounded charges. "He would have at least the German version translated by a neutral party, or he would have asked me for the Turkish version," Kemal said to the judges.

If found guilty, Kemal could face two to five years in prison. Imprisoned many times for his political views, Kemal is best known for his novels depicting rural life in the southern region of Çukurova. He gained international attention in 1957 with the publication of his novel *Memed, My Hawk*. He has been nominated for the Nobel Prize in Literature several times, and the publicity surrounding his indictment is thought to aid his chances of winning the prestigious award. Kemal also repeated his appeal to the government to end Turkey's war with rebel Kurds in the southeast. He said more than three million people had been displaced by the 11-year campaign against the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK). Nearly 15,000 people have been killed in Turkey since the PKK launched a bloody terrorist insurgency in the southeast in 1984.

"We are obliged to end this dirty and dirtying war," he said. "First, I am calling mothers who lost their sons in the war in the east. This war burns your hearts more than anyone else's. I am calling all, you also esteemed judges, to join those who want to end this war. This country belongs to us all and deserves to live much longer in the history of mankind." Kemal, dressed in a dark suit, appeared calm and confident the charges against him would be dropped.

Smiling and relaxed, he joked with reporters before entering the courtroom.

"President Süleyman Demirel has never learned any lessons from my books. How do I know? Every time I see him, he says he has read all of my works," Kemal said to the assembled journalists, chuckling.

But he called for sweeping changes in the constitution and accused former President Kenan Evren of dictatorial designs for having penned it.

"He (Evren) represents the blackest page in Turkey's history," Kemal said.

Evren, the leader of the 1980 military coup, served as president of Turkey from 1982-1989. Widespread human rights violations were reported and thousands of writers,

intellectuals and workers were imprisoned during the 1980-1983 military regime led by Evren and his fellow generals. Opponents of the 1980 constitution claim it restricts political and civil liberties.

Court adjourns trial of Kemal for two months

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL - The State Security Court on Friday adjourned to July 7 the trial of Turkey's best-known writer, Yasar Kemal, charged with advocating separatism and fanning public unrest with an article published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* last year.

Responding to charges, Kemal told the court that he was against racism and had upheld unity contrary to charges of separatism. Scores of local and foreign reporters and newsmen, with tele-

vision cameras jostled with one another inside the tiny, packed courtroom to film the burly author, often blocking the view of the judges and defense attorneys. More foreign journalists were present than Turks to observe the trial. "I am not a racist. I have never been a Kurdish or a gypsy nationalist. I am a socialist," the 69-year-old Kemal declared. "For the past 50 years, as a writer, I have fought against racism. I have always sought to be a unifier through my writings, not a separatist."

'Kurdish issue' might be discussed by Clinton and Yeltsin

Secretary of State Warren Christopher: The extent to which Russia is welcomed into the institutions of the West such as G-7 I think will depend upon the perceptions of their conduct in matters such as their relationship with Iran as well as their situation in Chechnya

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The "Kurdish issue" might be one of the agenda items at the meeting of U.S. President Bill Clinton and Russian President Boris Yeltsin in Moscow during the 50th anniversary of V-E Day, according to Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The secretary of state said in response to a question that he didn't think Cyprus would be on the agenda of the Clinton-Yeltsin summit.

During a press briefing held Thursday at the White House, Christopher said: "It's entirely possible that the Kurdish issue will be discussed in connection with the Turkish action in Iraq, but I think the mention of those two subjects (i.e., Cyprus and Kurds) is an indication as to how rich the agenda might be, and I want to emphasize that the two presidents only have the second day, and perhaps a small part of the third day, in which they might meet."

Christopher added that the two presidents will

have "a very full plate" with a long list of issues including NATO's expansion, Russia's relations with Iran, nuclear non-proliferation and the conflict in Chechnya. Clinton will visit Ukraine as well.

Christopher said that Russia had to review its policies with regards to Chechnya and the gas centrifuge it is selling to Iran if it wants to be welcomed by the G-7 countries. "The extent to which Russia is welcomed into the institutions of the West such as G-7 I think

will depend upon the perceptions of their conduct in matters such as their relationship with Iran as well as their situation in Chechnya," Christopher said that Clinton "will be reminding President Yeltsin that none of the G-7 countries feel that it's safe to cooperate with Iran on nuclear matters."

Secretary of Treasury Richard Rubin, speaking at the same press briefing, hinted that the reward for Russia's compliance could be generous debt scheduling by the G-7 countries.

Turkey, Iran sign \$20 billion energy accord

Agreement: Turkey will receive natural gas from Iran worth \$20 billion in 23-year period

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey and Iran signed Friday a \$20 billion energy agreement in Ankara under which Iran will provide natural gas to Turkey for 23 years.

Veysel Atasoy, Turkish natural resources and energy minister, and Gulam Reza Agazade, Iranian oil minister, signed the

accord, which comes after nearly 40 years of discussions, in Ankara Esenboga airport's VIP lounge prior to the Iranian delegation's departure.

The accord foresees the building of a pipeline, called the "Tabriz-Ankara" line, which will be financed by both countries, each paying for the portion that is in their territory. Atasoy explained that Turkey would start off buying two billion cubic meters of Iranian gas from 1998 to 2001. "In 2001, we will buy eight billion cubic meters and increase it to 10 billion cubic meters from 2002," he said.

The signing of the agreement came only

days after the United States announcement of a trade and investment embargo against Tehran on grounds of Iran's alleged efforts to have nuclear weapons and its so-called support for international terrorism. Washington has urged its allies to follow suit, but Turkey, one of its close NATO allies, has made it clear it will not join the embargo.

Agazade said that Ankara and Tehran have agreed on the feasibility of the project and on the construction of a pipeline. "The only issue that we are still studying is the pricing (of the gas). It will be finalized in the next six months," he noted.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1995

General Staff declares N. Iraq operation over

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey has officially completed its cross-border operation against the separatist Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq with the return of the last of the troops which took part in the massive push, the Turkish General Staff announced on Thursday.

The announcement said the pullback had been completed on Tuesday — seven weeks after the incursion — but the operations were being continued against the separatists inside Turkey.

On Wednesday, Defence Minister Mehmet Gölhan also noted that the withdrawal had been completed and “not one Turkish soldier remained in Iraq” although Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin later said that some troops might be remaining.

On March 20 Turkey sent 35,000 troops 40 kilometers into Iraq over a 220-kilometer stretch of the border to dislodge the Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) separatists from their mountain bases and hideouts.

The troops have killed at least 555 separatists and captured 13, military officials announced, putting Turkey’s losses at 61 soldiers killed and 178 injured.

The incursion evoked a strong reaction in the West but Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, on announcing a partial withdrawal last month, said Turkey would not hesitate to send the troops back into northern Iraq if the rebels attempted to return to the border area.

To bar the separatists from again entrenching themselves on the border, Turkey has started talks with two rival Iraqi Kurdish groups, Massoud Barzani’s Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani, to elicit their cooperation for the policing of the border.

The announcement of the operation’s end followed the conclusion of a second round of talks between the Turkish Foreign Ministry officials and a ranking KDP team of envoys on the terms of the projected security cooperation.

Sami Abdurrahman, the head of the KDP delegation, told the TDN that he was encouraged after two days of negotiations but further talks were needed before the finalization of the accord. A delegation from the PUK is expected within the second half of this month for similar talks.

ERNK’s European representative causes headache for Britain

At trial, German prosecutor officially requests Kani Yılmaz’s extradition

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Kani Yılmaz, the European representative of the ERNK — a cover organization of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers’ Party (PKK) — who has been under arrest since Oct. 26, 1994, is causing a headache for Britain. The trial against Yılmaz began in a hall in Belmarsh Prison on Thursday. Germany, which holds Yılmaz responsible for various violent acts, officially requested his extradition from Britain during the proceedings.

According to a report by the Cologne-based Kurd-A News Agency, which operates as a PKK mouthpiece, it was the prosecutor from Germany who first took the floor during the six-hour hearing.

He read out the 83-page German indictment against Yılmaz, and, pointing out that Yılmaz had been involved in various violent incidents in Germany, he asked for Yılmaz’s extradition.

After the indictment was read out, Nicholas Black, one of the three attorneys who defended Yılmaz, spoke on behalf of his colleagues and said that the accusations against their client were baseless and therefore there was no need for Yılmaz’s extradition to Germany.

Attorney Brigitte Irving claimed that her client was known as the official representative of the Kurds in Europe and that he had made statements to the media as a Kurdish official. “Yılmaz is a political person. Accusations against him lack any grounds,” Irving said.

German Attorney Eberhard Schulz, who was asked his opinion as an expert, claimed that the dossiers prepared by German prosecutors contained erroneous information and said Yılmaz should not be extradited to Germany.

The case against Yılmaz was adjourned until May 11 for the hearing of other witnesses’ testimony and for defense arguments. Meanwhile, many Kurds staged demonstrations in London and in front of British offices in Vienna, Hamburg, Bonn, Marseilles and Athens. Demonstrators reportedly chanted slogans praising PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan and Kani Yılmaz and criticized the stance of Britain.

SATURDAY, MAY 6, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Former Human Rights Minister Köylüoğlu makes public hidden gov't report on torture

Report claims systematic torture by security forces in Turkey, says Penal Code should term torture a crime against humanity

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The former minister for human rights called a press conference in Parliament on Friday to make public a report prepared by a Prime Ministry advisory committee at the beginning of this year but kept secret due to its claims of systematic torture in Turkey.

Azimet Köylüoğlu said unfortunately the report, prepared by the Human Rights Advisory Committee, had not been released and "since I wanted the Parliament and the public to know about it, I made it public."

The former minister said the document was completed in January and he had presented it to Prime Minister Çiller and her former deputy, Murat Karayalçın, for it to be made public.

Köylüoğlu was the minister responsible for human rights in the Çiller-Karayalçın Cabinet, but lost his post in the reshuffle of March 23 this year. During his time in this post, Köylüoğlu refused again and again to release the report on torture. The advisory committee which prepared the report, entitled

"Individual security and protection against torture and inhuman treatment," comprised 23 members, including scholars and experts in the field.

The report states: "Even some state officials sometimes accept that there is torture in Turkey, but they say that torture is not systematically applied and torturers are punished."

This contradicts the current situation. Even the 51st Cabinet of Turkey has made some small steps toward stopping torture. Some sections of the Interior Ministry have been regularly applying torture."

The Human Rights Advisory Committee based its findings on documents produced by the United Nations and international nongovernmental organizations concerning human rights violations in Turkey.

The committee noted in its report that the fact-finding work in the report was based on the reports of other organizations because our committee "has not been allowed to make its own observations in the field."

According to the report, to prevent tor-

ture, legislative, executive and judicial changes should be made in Turkey. Also, the report proposes the adoption in Turkey of international principles of humanitarian legislation and internal legislative changes.

It says torture should be defined "a crime against humanity" in the Penal Code and torturers should be heavily punished so they do not encourage such practices in the future. According to the report, torture is widely used at police stations, so periods of detention should be reduced and use of blindfolds should be banned.

The report also says torture victims should be taken care of by the government and free medical treatment should be provided for their rehabilitation.

Moreover, security personnel should be educated in human rights, according to the report.

Within the framework of so-called "democratization" in Turkey, the coalition government promised to establish a human rights ministry, but unfortunately, this has not come about.

Instead, one of the state ministries has been appointed to deal with the human rights question in Turkey and the prime minister appointed 23 specialists and scholars to form a human rights advisory committee just before the first meeting on the custom union accord with the European Union last fall.

The committee finally came out with three reports: one on torture; one on the emergency rule region; and one on human rights education in Turkey. Unfortunately none of these reports had been made public, until Friday, when former minister Köylüoğlu released the report on torture.

Speaking at the press conference, Köylüoğlu said that to say torture has not been taking place in Turkey was the worst thing that one could do to the country.

He also demanded that the military commander responsible for the Sept. 12, 1980 coup should be put on trial and punished. According to Turkey's 1982 Constitution, drawn up by the military, the generals involved in the Sept. 12 coup cannot be charged for activities carried out by them during their time in power.

Kampf türkischer Intellektueller gegen den Staat

Prozess gegen den Autor Yasar Kemal

Am Freitag hat im Istanbuler Staatssicherheitsgericht der Prozess gegen den Schriftsteller Yasar Kemal begonnen. Er wird wegen eines in einem deutschen Magazin veröffentlichten Artikels des Separatismus angeklagt. Das Verfahren gegen den Veteranen der türkischen Literatur hat in der Türkei eine enorme Protestbewegung ausgelöst. Hunderte von Intellektuellen beschuldigten sich vor Sondergerichten, separatistische Propaganda zu betreiben.

it. Istanbul, 5. Mai

Der bekannte, wegen seiner bissigen Satire auch gefürchtete türkische Autor Aziz Nesin ist am Mittwoch vor dem Staatssicherheitsgericht in Istanbul erschienen. Dem Staatsanwalt dieses halb militärisch und halb zivil besetzten Sondergerichtes erklärte der greise, zerbrechliche Autor, er habe willentlich «separatistische Propaganda» betrieben. Rund zwanzig teils bekannte, teils weniger bekannte Literaten, die sich am Mittwoch im kleinen Hof des Gerichtes eingefunden hatten, sind dem Beispiel Nesins gefolgt. Der Wortlaut ihrer Selbstdenunziationen war meist karg und in der Aussage ähnlich. Jeder der Selbstankläger bezugte, er habe aus eigenem Willen gegen den Separatismus-Artikel des Antiterrorgesetzes verstossen und sei sich seiner Schuld bewusst. Weitere Aussagen wurden verweigert.

Massenbewegung

Dieser Vorgang spielt sich vor den Staatssicherheitsgerichten von Istanbul und Ankara und anderen türkischen Grossstädten seit Mitte März täglich ab. Dabei werden die Wochentage je nach Berufsgruppen der Selbstankläger aufgeteilt. Mittwoch dieser Woche war Tag der Schriftsteller, Donnerstag galt als der Tag der Schauspieler. Bisher haben sich rund 200 Intellektuelle der Separatismus-Propaganda selbst beschuldigt. Einige Tausend mehr warten darauf, ihre Schuldbekennnisse abzulegen. Die Bewegung der Selbstankläger könnte allein schon wegen ihres Ausmasses den Rahmen der Sondergerichte sprengen.

Die Protestbewegung der türkischen Intellektuellen hat sich laut ihrem Sprecher, Sanar Yurdapan, Ende Januar formiert. Damals wurde Yasar Kemal vom Staatsanwalt wegen eines von ihm verfassten, im deutschen Magazin «Der Spiegel» erschienenen Berichts vorgeladen. Unter dem Titel «Feldzug der Lügen» hatte Kemal über die Verfolgung der Kurden und die missachteten Menschenrechte, über den schmutzigen Krieg und den hohen Blutzoll in Südostanatolien berichtet. «Wir in der Türkei sollten immer daran denken, dass der Weg zu einer echten Demokratie nur über die friedliche Lösung der Kurdenfrage führt», lautete sein Fazit. Die Anklage gegen Kemal hat die von einer oft fast grenzenlosen Gekuld gegenüber Interventionen des Staates gezeichnete Welt türkischer Intellektueller erschüttert.

Das Staatssicherheitsgericht in Istanbul hat am Freitag nach einer Anhörung Kemals den Prozess auf den 12. Juni vertagt, um eine bessere Übersetzung des kritisierten Artikels zu beschaffen. Der 72jährige Kemal prägte mit seinen Romanen und Erzählungen über Anatolien die jüngere Generation der türkischen Literaten. Der Prozess gegen ihn wurde plötzlich zum Symbol des Kampfes für Meinungsfreiheit. Achtzig Intellektuelle teilten im Januar öffentlich mit, wenn Kemals Artikel ein Verbrechen gegen den Staat sei, so seien sie desselben Verbrechens schuldig.

In den folgenden Monaten schlossen sich der Bewegung mehrere hundert Intellektuelle aus dem ganzen Land an. Das führte dazu, dass im

März ein Buch unter dem Titel «Gedankenfreiheit» von den Oppositionellen veröffentlicht wurde. Darin erscheinen Texte von Intellektuellen wie Haluk Gerger, Fikret Baskaya und Ismail Besiki, die wegen wissenschaftlicher Arbeiten oder öffentlicher Ausserungen noch immer in Haft sind. Auch Texte der Journalisten Günay Aslan und Oral Calislar, die wegen ihrer Berichterstattung verurteilt wurden, wurden in dem Buch publiziert. Weil das Gesetz für Verleger «separatistischer Schriften» gleich hohe Strafen für deren Autoren vorsieht, haben sich 1080 Intellektuelle im Buch als Verleger eingetragen. In einer zweiten Auflage haben sich bereits über 15 000 Personen als Verleger eingetragen. Werden nun die Sondergerichte gegen alle diese Intellektuellen Verfahren einleiten?

Umstrittenes Gesetz

Rein formell sollte dies der Fall sein. Artikel 8 des Antiterrorgesetzes schreibt unmissverständlich vor, dass «geschriebene oder verbale Propaganda, welche die unteilbare Einheit des Staates der türkischen Republik zu schädigen trachtet... verboten ist, ungeachtet davon, mit welchen Methoden oder Absichten sie betrieben wurde». Auf Grund dieses Artikels sind bereits über 100 Intellektuelle verurteilt worden. Auch die Verurteilung Kemals gilt als sicher. Sollten die Justizbehörden auf einer konsequenten Linie beharren, müssten sie die 15 000 Intellektuellen verurteilen. Als Ausweg bleibt nur eine Änderung des Antiterrorgesetzes.

Vor zwei Monaten, zu Zeiten der Unterzeichnung des Abkommens über eine Zollunion zwischen der EU und Ankara, hatte die Regierungschefin Ciller ihren europäischen Amtskollegen eine entsprechende Änderung des umstrittenen Gesetzesartikels versprochen. Das Europaparlament sowie der Europarat haben die Verbesserung der Beziehungen mit der Türkei von der Annullierung dieses Gesetzes abhängig gemacht. Frau Ciller scheint mittlerweile von diesem Ziel aber abgekommen zu sein. Zu gross ist der Widerstand in den Kreisen der Armee, in ihrer eigenen Partei und in der Opposition. Gegen eine Abschwächung des Artikels 8 hat sich aber am schärfsten der Präsident Demirel gewendet. In einer feurigen Rede erklärte er, der Westen wünsche keine starke Türkei. Während die westlichen Regierungen von Achtung der Menschenrechte, Demokratisierung in der Türkei und von einer politischen Lösung der Kurdenfrage sprachen, trachteten sie in Wirklichkeit danach, die Türkei zu spalten und einen Kurdenstaat zu gründen. Für die Intellektuellen der Bewegung für Meinungsfreiheit hatte der Präsident lediglich Verachtung übrig. Er nannte sie kurz Vaterlandsverräter.

Samstag/Sonntag, 6./7. Mai 1995 · Nr. 104

Neue Zürcher Zeitung
INTERNATIONALE AUSGABE

US on the pullout from northern Iraq: 'Çiller kept her word'

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. State Department has said that Washington is "very pleased to see that the Turkish government has acted upon its commitment to the United States and the international community to withdraw nearly all, a substantial number of its forces, from northern Iraq."

On Thursday, the Turkish General Staff, as well as Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan said that all Turkish troops have been withdrawn from northern Iraq.

"We did not have a single soldier left there," Gölhan emphasized despite the fact that Deputy Prime

Minister Hikmet Çetin said a limited number of troops were still inside Iraq. The State Department adopted Hikmet's version of the recent withdrawal.

"We are in contact with the Turkish government, and are pleased to note that nearly all the 35,000 troops have departed. There may be — we're not quite sure — a limited number of soldiers on the other side of the border in mopping-up operations." State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns said they were pleased that Çiller kept her word. "When Prime Minister Çiller came here, she assured the president and the secretary that the Turkish government would keep this operation limited in scope and duration, and she has done so ... we're very pleased to note this development."

Attack on Aktuna

When asked what the official U.S. reaction was to the recent attack in Greece on State Minister and government spokesman Yıldırım Aktuna, Burns said:

"We are aware of this particular situation," Burns said. "And we are acutely aware and have been for a long, long time of some of the problems in the Greek-Turkish relations," he added.

"We are a strong ally of both countries, and both are valued members of NATO, and we have every confidence that Greece and Turkey can work out these problems ... They both have strong governments, effective governments, and they ought to be able to work out these problems, and we would call upon them to do so."

No info on PKK involvement

According to press reports, there were many pro-PKK Kurdish activists carrying PKK flags and pictures of PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan among the group of 400 that attacked Turkish government spokesman in Greece. But Burns said he was not aware of any information "that would lead us to think that Greece supports, is actively supporting, the PKK. And I think you know our general position on the PKK. We think it's a notorious terrorist organization which deserves to be acted against. That is what the Turkish government has been doing for a considerable number of weeks ... It is absolutely necessary to protect the Turkish population from terrorist attacks, and also the Kurdish population in northern Iraq and in Turkey from the activities of the PKK."

Turkish Daily News

SUNDAY, MAY 7, 1995

Russia and Iran reach accord in principle on nuclear technology

Agence France Presse

MOSCOW- Russian officials have reached accord in principle to sell Iran controversial technology for enriching uranium, but have not signed the deal, Sergei Medvedev, spokesman for President Boris Yeltsin said Saturday.

Any part of the deal that contravenes the rules of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) watchdog body will be called off, Medvedev told AFP. The sale of the centrifuge, capable of preparing uranium for use in a nuclear bomb, is fiercely opposed by the United States. Yeltsin is aware of the preliminary

accord but is leaving the negotiations to the atomic energy ministry, Medvedev said. The president will examine the accord if it comes to a final agreement and "everything that goes against the demands of the IAEA will be eliminated," Medvedev said.

"If (the accord) really contradicts the demands of IAEA" the centrifuge will not be sold, he said. Earlier Saturday, Russia's top atomic energy inspector blasted the deal, saying that Iran had no need for a centrifuge for enriching uranium 235 in order to provide nuclear fuel for peaceful purposes.

LE MONDE / SAMEDI 6 MAI 1995 / 3

Fin de l'intervention turque dans le nord de l'Irak

LE MINISTRE turc de la défense, Mehmet Gölhan, a déclaré, jeudi 4 mai, que l'ensemble des troupes engagées depuis le 20 mars dernier contre les bases du PKK au nord de l'Irak avaient été rapatriées. Le vice-premier ministre, Hikmet Çetin, a, par la suite, précisé que quelques hommes se trouvaient encore en territoire irakien, mais l'incursion militaire semble sur le point de se terminer. Le bilan officiel des pertes infligées au PKK serait de 555 morts et 13 prisonniers. Le gouvernement cherche maintenant à définir la politique régionale de la Turquie, après son offensive en Irak. Une délégation du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) est en pourparlers avec les autorités turques pour tenter de trouver une formule satisfaisante pour le maintien de la sécurité frontalière contre les incursions du PKK. — (Corresp.)



Sami Abdurrahman, the KDP delegation chief.

TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

KDP: With 20,000 men we can keep border safe

Terms: Villages have to be rebuilt as logistic bases. We do not ask for recognition of the regional government, but we will settle for nothing less than federation

By Raşit Gürdilek / *Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- The chief of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) negotiators, who conferred with Turkish Foreign Ministry officials here last week, said a "serious force" of up to 20,000 Kurdish fighters was needed to prevent the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) separatists returning to the border after Turkey's just-concluded cross-border operation.

In an exclusive interview with the Turkish Daily News, Sami

Abdurrahman, a close aide of the KDP leader Massoud Barzani, also said that the rebuilding of the 350 villages on the Turkish border was a prerequisite for the border security arrangement.

He said the KDP border force, with Turkey's financial assistance, would be capable militarily of keeping the separatists away from the border "because we don't want anybody to harm our fragile entity in northern Iraq."

Although Turkey was hoping to draw the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), the KDP's chief rival and antagonist, into the security arrangement, Abdurrahman left no doubt that despite the current truce between the warring sides, temperatures were still too high to allow a working cooperation.

He accused the PUK leader of mocking the world, by calling for recognition of the Kurdish regional government after destroying it himself by occupying Erbil, the seat for that government. Abdurrahman also said that suggestions for the normalization of relations between Baghdad and the Kurds had also been taken up in the talks with Turkish officials led by Ambassador Gün Gür, who recently held talks in Baghdad with Iraqi officials, but he said they did not think it was the right time for the implementation of U.N. Resolution 688 — calling Baghdad to address the grievances of all of its citizens (including the Iraqi Kurds).

The KDP official said the Iraqi Kurds, if they ever sit down with Baghdad for negotiations, will not settle for anything less than a federation and said "no one should feel nervous about that."

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Ankara drafts working plan for Europe

Cooperation and Confrontation:

Turkey will cooperate with European countries and institutions, but will confront its allies if its vital interests such as territorial integrity and security are threatened.

Obligations of Turkey and Europe:

Turkey must do what it can to democratize further, but Europe should also be careful to carry out its obligation to fight terrorism.

By Nazlan Ertan

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- After a two-day brain-storming session which ended Saturday, key Turkish diplomats have built a working plan which includes a "confrontation and cooperation" strategy toward its European allies.

The "consultations" meeting of the Foreign Ministry took place against a background of decisions by the Council of Europe and European Parliament which were unfavorable to Turkey, the establishment of a Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" and efforts of ERNK, the political wing of Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), to extend its influence in various European countries. Ankara is worried that the European Parliament will not ratify the customs union, which is Turkey's main foreign policy objective.

"Turkey is at its most crucial time ever in terms of its relations with Europe," a senior diplomatic source told the Turkish Daily News, adding that Ankara's aim was to obtain

the ratification of the customs union without delay.

"But it is clear that there are misunderstandings among our Western allies regarding human rights and our fight against terrorism."

"We will cooperate with our European allies in bringing our system up to their standard, provide transparency about what they want to learn, but we will confront them when we feel our vital interests, such as our territorial integrity, security and unitarian state are being threatened," a diplomat said. The working plan, drafted during an around-the-clock meeting on Saturday and as yet unfinished, envisages a number of short, medium and long-term measures that will be submitted to the president and the government.

For example, high-level diplomacy and letter-writing, combined with inviting key Euro-MPs to Turkey and

helping them to talk with whomever they want, is stipulated in the working plan. In this vein, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, in Paris and Moscow on Monday and Tuesday, will speak with global leaders to explain Turkey's commitment to democratization and its Western orientation.

Similarly, Turkish Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü will also travel to various European capitals to explain Turkey's case abroad.

Ankara will also invite various influential Euro-MPs to Turkey, starting with Pauline Greene, the head of the socialist wing in the European Parliament, and former Council of Europe Secretary-General Catherine Lalumière. The visits are expected to take place between May 23-26.

Ankara has also just hosted a parliamentary delegation from the Organization of Conference and Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which had the opportunity to speak to many people, including the former Democracy Party deputies and the prime minister.

The let-them-come-and-see-Turkey attitude adopted by the meeting of diplomats marks a major change from the

close-our-borders-to-observers approach adopted by former Foreign Minister Mümtaz Soysal. The Foreign Ministry now favors a more transparent attitude toward Westerners who want to see Turkey.

"Our long-term policy is to improve our image," a diplomat who attended the talks said. "There is a group of prejudiced people who is beyond our reach. But there is also a larger group who can be persuaded to distinguish between human rights and fight against terrorism."

But despite the acute differences between FM hawks and doves, both sides believe that "persuasion" is only possible if coupled with the swift ratification of democratization package. "We have been saying the same thing to the Europeans for the past three years. Now they want to see results," another ambassador said. Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü, who co-chaired the meeting with Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin, reaffirmed Turkey's desire for further democratization.

"We have supported human rights from the very beginning. But we are surprised the way the principles of human rights, which we have supported from the very beginning, have been turned against us," İnönü said as he opened the conference. While there is consensus on the need to finalize the democratization package, hawks and doves still disagree whether this would be enough to

counter the critics of Turkey. Those ambassadors stationed in European capitals that had allowed ERNK offices stressed an increasing tendency in some European circles to see in Kurdish separatists "a new Palestine Liberation Organization."

Those ambassadors noted that the number of ERNK offices is increasing rapidly. ERNK has just opened one in Copenhagen and plan to open others in Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki soon. They also reported the argument of various "allies" that they could not prevent the meeting of the Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" in their territory so long as it was "non-violent."

"Turkey's unitarian nature is one of our key concepts," a senior diplomat said. "We will continue to stress it, but also reaffirm our government's plan for more human and political

rights."

The difference between hawks and doves about the degree to which Turkey might get "tough" was also an important topic. While one side wanted strong measures against countries that allowed the Kurdish parliament-in-exile, the other side said there was no point in putting all the European countries on the "red-list" thereby increasing Turkey's isolationism — and playing into the hands of Kurdish separatists.

"The nuances of the policies of various states toward Kurdish separatism should be duly noted in our diplomatic contacts. We have made that clear in our working plan," a diplomat said. The draft plan also called for "cooperation" between the Foreign Ministry and others, from human rights groups to business circles, to improve Turkey's image.



President Süleyman Demirel: Under fire for 'faulty border' remark.

Baghdad blasts Demirel over border remarks

Reuter

BAGHDAD- Iraq lashed out at Turkish President Süleyman Demirel on Sunday as relations between the two neighbors soured over border issues and ties with Kurdish rebels.

For the third day state-owned newspapers carried editorials and commentaries lambasting Turkey and stressing that Baghdad would do everything possible to thwart any bid by Ankara to establish a foothold in northern Iraq.

Al-Thawra newspaper of the ruling

Baath party was critical of Demirel, accusing him of attempts to revive Turkish imperial dreams.

Thawra, in the harshest attack on Demirel so far, branded him as "the sick janissary", a reference to the Turkish sultans' guard established in the 14th century.

It said Demirel was trying to play the role of former Turkish sultans, harbouring greedy intentions on Iraq. "Beware...Demirel salivates over... Baghdad... Basra... and...Mosul," it said.

"Beware, the Pasha (Demirel) would like to return to Amadiya, Arbil and Kirkuk...It is an old wound and past vengeance," Thawra added.

The Turks were Iraq's rulers for about four centuries until British forces drove their armies out, leading to establishment of the new Iraqi state in the aftermath of World War One. Iraq has reacted angrily to statements attributed to Demirel demanding a redrawing of their joint border to stop infiltration by rebels of the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

Turkey's foreign ministry last Monday denied the reports, also carried by Turkish newspapers, that Demirel wanted to redraw the border.

Iraq also views a recent rapprochement between Ankara and Iraqi Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq as a violation of Iraq's sovereignty and demands that Ankara halt such contacts. Turkey last week ended a six-week incursion into northern Iraq in pursuit of PKK rebels who use bases there to mount attacks inside Turkey. Turkey is now seeking cooperation of Iraqi Kurds in securing the border.

*Politiques communautaires
(commerce extra-communautaire - Turquie -
union douanière - droits de l'homme)*

25572. - 27 mars 1995. - M. Pierre Pascallon souhaite attirer l'attention de M. le Premier ministre sur l'accord douanier avec la Turquie. Les conditions politiques qui y règnent actuellement, notamment en ce qui concerne les droits de l'homme, et la lutte menée par le pouvoir contre les minorités présentes en Turquie ne sont pas un argument positif pour l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne. La résolution du Parlement européen du 18 juin 1987 a établi que la reconnaissance du génocide des Arméniens par la Turquie constituait un préalable à toute entrée de ce pays dans l'Union européenne. Aujourd'hui encore, quatre-vingts ans après l'extermination d'une grande partie de la communauté arménienne, la Turquie continue de nier le génocide arménien. Comment un accord douanier peut-il remettre en question, et d'une manière aussi radicale, les valeurs de civilisation (démocratie, liberté, droits de l'homme) défendues par l'Europe et par la France en particulier ? C'est pourquoi il lui demande que l'intégration de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne ne soit effective qu'après la reconnaissance officielle par la Turquie du génocide arménien ainsi qu'après qu'elle aura montré une volonté sincère de réformer en profondeur le régime antidémocratique en vigueur. - *Question transmise à M. le ministre des affaires étrangères.*

Réponse. - L'honorable parlementaire a bien voulu appeler l'attention du ministre des affaires étrangères sur les inquiétudes suscitées par la conclusion d'un accord d'union douanière entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne, au regard de la situation des droits de l'homme dans ce pays. Les efforts déployés par la France et les Etats membres de l'Union européenne pour faire aboutir l'accord d'union douanière le 6 mars, lors du conseil d'association à Bruxelles, visaient à favoriser l'ancrage de la Turquie à l'Europe. Ce rapprochement est une condition et un gage de la stabilité de ce pays. C'est aussi un facteur de démocratisation progressive. A cet égard, le Parlement européen ne donnera pas son avis conforme à l'union douanière si des mesures concrètes ne sont pas prises en matière de droits de l'homme et si la Turquie en met pas fin à son opération en Irak du Nord (déclarations de l'Union européenne des 8 et 10 avril 1995). Nous espérons également que, dans ce nouveau cadre, la Turquie, qui occupe une place importante sur la scène régionale, y jouera un rôle modérateur. S'agissant notamment de l'Arménie, depuis quelques mois, des contacts ont eu lieu en vue d'une normalisation des relations avec Erevan. Il est vrai que la Turquie maintient un embargo commercial contre ce pays. La France, pour sa part, n'a jamais cessé d'appeler le gouvernement turc à mettre un terme à ce blocus qui gêne les efforts de la communauté internationale pour ramener la stabilité dans une région particulièrement troublée. Cependant cet embargo n'a jamais été total, comme en témoigne l'afflux de produits d'origine turque sur le marché arménien. La France a accordé, tant à titre bilatéral qu'en liaison avec ses partenaires européens, une aide importante à l'Arménie dans les moments difficiles qu'elle traverse depuis qu'elle a recouvré son indépendance. Les Arméniens ne manquent d'ailleurs pas une occasion pour manifester leur reconnaissance à notre pays.

*Politique extérieure
(Irak - protection des Kurdes -
forces aériennes basées en Turquie -
opération : Provide Comfort - perspectives)*

25741. - 3 avril 1995. - M. Jean-Pierre Chevènement demande à M. le ministre des affaires étrangères s'il n'est pas temps de mettre un terme à l'opération « Provide Comfort » et de ramener en France les forces aériennes basées à Incerlik en Turquie en vue de protéger les Kurdes d'Irak.

Réponse. - Comme le sait l'honorable parlementaire, l'opération « Provide Comfort » a été décidée, en 1991, pour apporter une protection et des secours humanitaires aux populations du nord de l'Irak. Celles-ci avaient alors fui l'avance de l'armée iraquienne dans des conditions particulièrement dramatiques, dont la communauté internationale s'était émue. Le dispositif mis en place à cette occasion a été efficace : il a permis le retour dans leur foyer de presque tous les Kurdes irakiens et a apporté à la région l'aide humanitaire indispensable ; il a également constitué un instrument de dissuasion face aux menaces récurrentes de l'armée iraquienne. La récente intervention militaire en Irak a momentanément empêché la poursuite des survols aériens effectués, au nord du 36° parallèle, par les pays membres de la coalition ; par ailleurs, les rivalités entre mouvements kurdes affectent la réalisation des programmes humanitaires. La présidence française de l'Union européenne a demandé le retrait des forces turques engagées en Irak et espère que les Kurdes irakiens entendront la voix de la raison, afin que le déroulement de l'opération « Provide Comfort » ne soit pas entravé. En effet, la situation humanitaire dans le nord de l'Irak demeure précaire, la région est soumise à un embargo intérieur et les autorités irakiennes n'ont toujours pas précisé les mesures qu'elles envisageaient de prendre, en application de la résolution 688 du Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies, pour garantir les droits civils et politiques des populations concernées. L'opération « Provide Comfort », n'a, certes, pas pour vocation d'être prorogée indéfiniment ; toutefois, dans les conditions actuelles, alors que les besoins de protection des populations civiles restent importants, l'interruption de cette opération et le retrait des avions français basés à Incerlik ne seraient pas opportuns.

AFFAIRES EUROPÉENNES

*Politiques communautaires
(commerce extra-communautaire - Turquie -
union douanière - droits de l'homme)*

25329. - 20 mars 1995. - M. Claude Girard appelle l'attention de M. le ministre délégué aux affaires européennes sur les vives inquiétudes que suscite dans la communauté arménienne de France la prochaine adhésion de la Turquie à l'union douanière. En effet, les violations des droits de l'homme pratiquées par le Gouvernement turc et sa non-reconnaissance du génocide arménien rendent inacceptable pour la communauté arménienne française l'entrée de la Turquie dans l'Europe sans engagement ferme de ce pays sur les deux points cités ci-dessus, la reconnaissance du génocide arménien étant posée comme préalable à toute entrée de ce pays dans l'Union européenne par une résolution du 18 juin 1987 du Parlement européen. Il lui demande de lui préciser quelle position le Gouvernement français entend adopter à ce sujet, alors que la France préside l'Union européenne.

*Politiques communautaires
(commerce extra-communautaire - Turquie -
union douanière - droits de l'homme)*

25499. - 20 mars 1995. - Mme Françoise Hostalier attire l'attention de M. le ministre délégué aux affaires européennes sur les conditions d'admission de la Turquie à l'union douanière européenne. Plus que des conditions économiques, des conditions d'éthique et de respect des droits de l'homme semblent nécessaires à l'adhésion à toute structure de construction européenne. Il ne semble pas, pour le moment, que la Turquie puisse remplir ces conditions élémentaires. En effet, elle continue de nier, contre l'évidence historique, la réalité du génocide de 1915 contre le peuple arménien et mène une politique discriminatoire envers ce

peuple. Mais plus grave, des parlementaires kurdes, élus du peuple, ont été arrêtés et emprisonnés et de nombreuses violations des droits de l'homme sont perpétrées contre les minorités. Il semblerait que seule une attitude ferme et courageuse des pays démocratiques permettrait d'instaurer une réflexion de la part des dirigeants et un questionnement des Turcs eux-mêmes. Aussi elle lui demande d'appuyer cette démarche et de proposer au conseil des ministres européens une résolution dans ce sens.

Réponse. - L'honorable parlementaire a bien voulu appeler l'attention du ministre délégué aux affaires européennes sur les inquiétudes suscitées par la conclusion d'un accord d'union douanière entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne, au regard de la situation des droits de l'homme dans ce pays. Les efforts déployés par la France et les Etats membres de l'Union européenne pour faire aboutir l'accord d'union douanière le 6 mars, lors du Conseil d'association à Bruxelles, visaient à favoriser l'ancrage de la Turquie à l'Europe. Ce rapprochement est une condition et un gage de la stabilité de ce pays. C'est aussi un facteur de démocratisation progressive. A cet égard, le Parlement européen ne donnera pas son avis conforme à l'union douanière si des mesures concrètes ne sont pas prises en matière de droits de l'homme (notamment libération des députés emprisonnés) et si la Turquie ne met pas fin à

son opération en Irak du Nord (déclaration de l'Union européenne des 8 et 10 avril 1995). Nous espérons également que, dans ce nouveau cadre, la Turquie, qui occupe une place importante sur la scène régionale, y jouera un rôle modérateur. S'agissant notamment de l'Arménie, depuis quelques mois, des contacts ont eu lieu en vue d'une normalisation des relations avec Evéran. Il est vrai que la Turquie maintient son embargo commercial contre ce pays. La France, pour sa part, n'a jamais cessé d'appeler le gouvernement turc à mettre un terme à cette situation qui gêne les efforts de la communauté internationale pour ramener la stabilité dans une région particulièrement troublée. Cependant cet embargo n'a jamais été total, comme en témoigne l'afflux de produits d'origine turque sur le marché arménien. La France a accordé, tant à titre libéral qu'en liaison avec ses partenaires européens, une aide importante à l'Arménie dans les moments difficiles qu'elle traverse depuis qu'elle a recouvré son indépendance. Les Arméniens ne manquent d'ailleurs pas une occasion pour manifester leur reconnaissance à notre pays.

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Allemagne-Kurdes

Distinction pour la parlementaire kurde emprisonnée Leyla Zana

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (Allemagne), 8 mai (AFP) - Des associations pacifistes allemandes ont décerné lundi le prix de la Paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle (ouest) à la responsable politique kurde Leyla Zana, condamnée en décembre à 15 ans de prison par la justice turque pour propagande séparatiste, ont annoncé les organisateurs.

Leyla Zana, 34 ans, ancien député du parlement turc, appartenait au parti démocratique kurde interdit en juin 1994.

Le prix a été également attribué au président de l'association allemande des victimes de la justice militaire nazie, M. Ludwig Baumann.

Doté de 2.000 DM, le prix de la Paix d'Aix-la-Chapelle, créé en 1988 par des mouvements pacifistes pour concurrencer le prix international Charlemagne décerné par la ville à des personnalités ayant œuvré pour l'unité de l'Europe, a pour but de récompenser des personnes qui se sont engagés personnellement en faveur de la paix.

La cérémonie de remise des prix aura lieu le 1er septembre à Aix-la-Chapelle.

jlp/mr/mfo

AFP /JO0245/081636

MAI 95

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1995

Turkish Daily News

US Congress offers \$37 million as 'subsidy cost' to Turkey

Seven-to-ten ratio between Turkey and Greece will remain in force this year

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. Congress has offered to put aside \$37,800,000 as the "subsidy cost" of the FMF (Foreign Military Financing) assistance Turkey will receive from the United States in 1996. In the "Foreign Aid Reduction Bill of 1995," H.R. 1563, introduced at the House International Relations Committee by Chairman Rep. Ben Gilman, Greece was allowed \$26,620,000 in such costs. Thus the 7-to-10 ratio sought in U.S. assistance given to Greece and Turkey was preserved this year as well.

What is subsidy cost?

"Subsidy cost" is a term used by bankers to reflect the risk involved in loans extended to a certain country, and it has nothing to do with "subsidies." An expert on Turkish-U.S. assistance programs told TDN the term can roughly be understood as the "underlying cost of administering the loan."

More specifically, the subsidy cost "depends on Turkey's credit rating at any one time, as calculated by the OMB (Office of Management and Budget). The overall economic profile of a country gets assigned an interest rate for loans. Turkey's Eximbank is involved in such calculations all the time. It is a calculation made to cover the risk that Turkey would default on its loan," the TDN source said. "It is almost like a 'collateral' for a loan. It is the amount of money that must be set aside to cover the lender in case the borrower defaults."

Thus "subsidy cost" is the real amount the U.S. Congress appropriates, not the total FMF amount that is usually reported as received by the country in question. In 1996, Turkey will receive loans of some \$350-\$400 million under the FMF program, according to the expert. But these are loans supplied according to Section 23 of the Arms Export Control Act. They are market loans provided at a rate of interest "that are not less than the current

average market yield on outstanding marketable obligation of the United States of comparable maturities."

What do US taxpayers really pay?

The important thing to note is that when Turkey receives, let's say, \$350 million from the United States as "foreign aid," (i.e. under the FMF program), U.S. taxpayers do not pay \$350 million as is commonly believed. Instead, the tax payers' share is in reality limited to the "subsidy cost" mentioned, which is usually something like 10 percent of the loans involved.

"The crazy thing is that the percentage never changes from one year to another, even though the Turkish economy might pick up and the Greek economy might go down," the TDN source added. "The static percentages always preserve the 7-to-10 ratio, although the subsidy costs are supposed to reflect the inherent risks in an economy."

Egypt and Israel get free grants

Egypt and Israel will continue to receive free grants from the United States according to H.R. 1563 to the tune of \$1.3 billion and \$1.8 billion, respectively, for 1996 and for 1997. Since these are not commercial loans, the U.S. taxpayers will end up paying \$1.3 billion to Egypt and \$1.8 billion to Israel. But that's not all. These two countries are also to receive additional "economic support assistance" in 1996 and 1997. These are no-strings attached cash gifts that the recipients can spend in any way they like. Egypt will receive \$815 million and Israel will get \$1.2 billion in 1996 and in 1997. Turkey and Greece are not mentioned for cash transfers for 1996.

Ireland will be getting \$29.6 million for 1996 and \$19.6 million in 1997 as "economic support assistance," under the "International Fund for Ireland." The Irish monies are given in accordance with the "Irish Agreement Support Act" of 1986.

Libération - 9 mai 1995

Semdin Sakik

nie avoir été tué

Un chef rebelle kurde, prétendument tué par l'armée turque le mois dernier, a fait savoir par la voix d'un collaborateur de l'agence Reuter qu'il se portait comme un charme. Le journaliste Ferit Demir affirme en effet avoir rencontré à plusieurs reprises ce commandant du Parti des travailleurs kurdes (PKK), connu sous le nom de Sakik le doigt coupé. Après avoir été

détenu par la police turque, son garde du corps avait affirmé que Sakik était mort lors d'une attaque de l'armée contre les rebelles le 19 avril à Tunceli. Sakik aurait échappé à la mort, et se déplaçait la semaine dernière dans les montagnes, à la tête de 300 à 500 rebelles. Le frère de Sakik, Sirri, est l'un des huit parlementaires kurdes condamnés en décembre à des peines de prison allant jusqu'à quinze ans pour séparatisme et liens avec la rébellion.

Normalisation der Beziehungen mit Ankara

Türkeireise von Staatssekretär Franz Blankart

Its. Bern, 8. Mai

Die Reise von Staatssekretär Franz Blankart in die Türkei war der erste offizielle Besuch auf hohem politischem Niveau seit der Schiesserei vor der türkischen Botschaft in Bern im Frühsommer 1993 und der anschliessenden Rückstufung der diplomatischen Beziehungen, aber auch seit der Wiedereinsetzung von Botschaftern in Bern und Ankara im November letzten Jahres.

Instruktionen von Cotti

Wie Blankart vor den Medien ausführte, wurde dieser Besuch in engem Kontakt mit Staatssekretär Jakob Kellenberger vom Departement für auswärtige Angelegenheiten (EDA) vorbereitet. Vor seiner Abreise traf sich Blankart auch mit Bundesrat Cotti zur Entgegennahme der besonderen Instruktionen des Aussenministers. Blankart, der seine diplomatische Karriere im EDA begonnen hat, kennt viele Führungspersönlichkeiten der Türkei auf Grund von Begegnungen im diplomatischen Circuit oder an internationalen Konferenzen. Auch mit dem Kurdenproblem sei er sehr vertraut. Vor den Medien betonte der Staatssekretär, wie wichtig es in der Diplomatie sei, Kommunikationskanäle insbesondere dann offenzuhalten, wenn die bilateralen Beziehungen getrübt sind und der bilaterale Partner sich in einer schwierigen Lage befindet.

Das Gespräch suchen bedeute nicht Zustimmung zur Politik des Partnerstaates, sondern Schaffung der nötigen Vertrauensbasis als Voraussetzung für jeden sinnvollen Dialog. Blankart verglich bei dieser Gelegenheit seine Gespräche in der Türkei mit jenen von Bundesrat Cotti in China, einem, was die Menschenrechte betrifft, ebenfalls schwierigen Partner. Wer durch den Dialog etwas bewirken möchte, gab Blankart skeptischen Medienvertretern zu bedenken, könne nicht auf den Tisch hauen und sich medienwirksam in Szene setzen. Jeder Auftritt, der den Partner das Gesicht verlieren lasse oder in seiner Öffentlichkeit als fremde Schulmeisterei empfunden werde, ändere an der kritisierten Situation nichts und riskiere in einem komplexen innenpolitischen Machtspannungsfeld sogar, die Situation noch zu verhärtet.

Kein samtpfotiger Umgang

Diskretion, was die öffentlichen Stellungnahmen betreffe, bedeutet nach Blankart keineswegs samtpfotigen Umgang mit heiklen Dossiers in der direkten Begegnung. In seiner Unterredung mit Aussenminister Erdal İnönü habe er kein Blatt vor den Mund genommen, als er seinem Gastgeber die Position des Bundesrates zur Kurdenfrage und zu den Menschenrechten darlegte. Aus den geschilderten Überlegungen lehnte

es der Staatssekretär aber ab, den Inhalt des Gesprächs unter vier Augen nachträglich gleichsam auf dem öffentlichen Marktplatz auszubreiten und zu kommentieren. Ein sichtlich in seiner persönlichen Ehre getroffener Blankart wies den Einwand als ungerechtfertigte Unterschiebung zurück, wonach die von ihm propagierte diplomatische Zurückhaltung nur Ausdruck einer Politik sei, welche letztlich die politischen und humanitären Aspekte den wirtschaftlichen Interessen unterordne. Diese Interpretation verkenne seine tiefen inneren Überzeugungen und übersehe, dass gerade auch die Unternehmer wegen der Interdependenz von Politik und Wirtschaft ein fundamentales Interesse an einer befriedeten und damit politisch und sozial stabilen Türkei hätten. Dieses Interesse an der inneren Befriedung und damit auch an der Eindämmung der fundamentalistischen Gefahr gehe indessen wegen der Bedeutung der Türkei als Zentrum einer delikaten geopolitischen Region weit über jenes der Wirtschaft hinaus.

Doppelbesteuerung

Die andere Hälfte der Gesprächszeit widmete Blankart der wirtschaftlichen Lage der Türkei und den bilateralen Beziehungen. Zur Sprache kam das fehlende Doppelbesteuerungsabkommen. Die Schweiz ist das einzige OECD-Land, mit dem die Türkei sich noch nicht über die Beseitigung dieses Fiskalhindernisses einigen konnte. Hingegen besteht ein Investitionsschutzabkommen. Dieses hat nach Aussage des Bawi-Direktors noch Raum für Verbesserungen, insbesondere in den Bereichen «Pharma» und «Maschinen». Blankart rechnet damit, dass die von der Türkei eingegangenen Verpflichtungen aus dem Trips-Abkommen im Rahmen der WTO und aus der Zollunion mit der Europäischen Union sich auch positiv im Handelsverkehr mit der Schweiz auswirken werden. Diskutiert wurden die Möglichkeiten für schweizerische Klein- und Mittelbetriebe, zusammen mit türkischen Unternehmen Joint ventures im kaukasischen und zentralasiatischen Raum aufzubauen.

Weiterhin ungelöst bleibt die durch den Lizenzentzug bei drei türkischen Banken entstandene finanzpolitische Unsicherheit, nachdem zahlreiche ausländische und unter ihnen auch schweizerische Institute wegen dieses Kollapses erhebliche Verluste erlitten haben. Wie Blankart ausführte, ist das Verfahren noch nicht abgeschlossen, weil man sich in der Türkei nicht einig sei, ob die Geschäftsbanken Opfer eines geschäftsüblichen Risikos oder aber einer ungenügenden Bankenaufsicht seien. Die Schweiz, die zur Zeit der grossen Infrastrukturprojekte zur zweitgrössten Investorin in der Türkei aufgerückt war, belegt heute hinter Deutschland, Grossbritannien, Frankreich und den USA den fünften Platz.

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Appel du Parlement kurde en exil

BRUXELLES, 8 mai (AFP) - Le Parlement kurde en exil a appelé lundi la communauté internationale "à ne pas rester silencieuse" face à l'oppression dont est victime le peuple kurde au moment où elle commémore le 50ème anniversaire de la fin de la seconde guerre mondiale.

"L'Etat fasciste turc perpète un véritable génocide contre le peuple du Kurdistan, tout comme l'Empire Ottoman l'avait fait avant lui. Notre peuple souffre (...). Tout ce qui représente notre identité a été détruit. Et la Turquie ne pourra poursuivre cette guerre sauvage qu'avec l'aide du monde extérieur", affirme le conseil exécutif du Parlement kurde en exil dans un communiqué publié à Bruxelles.

"Nous appelons le monde entier à ne pas rester silencieux face à la destruction de notre culture et de notre héritage (...) et à oeuvrer pour la recherche d'une solution politique afin de mettre un terme à la guerre au Kurdistan", ajoute le texte.

csg/pk/mfo
AFP /J00245/081431 MAI 95

Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1995

Detained HADEP executives allegedly tortured

The charges: Party officials were beaten with batons, sprayed with high-pressure water-hoses while naked, hung in 'Palestine hook'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Top executives of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) detained by police in late April have been tortured while in custody, party sources alleged on Monday.

Talking to the Turkish Daily News, the sources said that Deputy Chairmen Şehabettin Özarlaner and Hikmet Fidan, Deputy Secretary-General Şeyhmus Çağro, Finance Secretary Süleyman Savaş and Ankara province branch executive Ferhan Türk had been subjected to inhumane treatment, which ranged from electric shocks to harsh beatings.

Özarlaner was detained on April 26 while

leaving his home for HADEP headquarters.

The party sources said that, while in the police

Anti-Terrorism office, Özarlaner was severely beaten and he was hosed with high-pressure cold water while naked. His hands and legs were tied and he was suspended with his arms behind his back in the "Palestine hanging" position. Later he was subjected to electric shocks and dragged around the room with a rope around his neck.

The sources said that Özarlaner was forced by this treatment into signing a false confession after his interrogation ended on May 4.

The party sources also alleged that Şeyhmus Çağro, who was in custody from April 27 until

May 4, had been severely beaten on the back by police using batons and verbally insulted. It is alleged that another detainee, Süleyman Savaş, the HADEP finance secretary, was stripped naked and sprayed with high-pressure cold water for a long time. He too, was verbally insulted.

The other two party officials also allegedly suffered similar treatment and were interrogated while blindfolded.

Four of the HADEP executives, Şehabettin Özarlaner, Hikmet Fidan, Şeyhmus Çağro and Ferhan Türk, were placed under formal arrest on May 4 by Ankara State Security court and charged with collaboration with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Idea of Turkish rule in north Iraq finds backers among Kurds, AFP says

One Kurdish aid worker believes that with its ambitions vis-a-vis the EU, Turkey could be more open to pressure for democracy than Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The idea of Turkey administering northern Iraq, or the Ottoman province of Mosul, has apparently found some support among local Kurds in the region, the Agence France Presse said on Monday.

"A longstanding territorial claim on northern Iraq, revived by Turkish President Süleyman Demirel, has found backers among the Kurds of the region, in contrast to the angry reaction of Baghdad," Tolle Aram, reporting for AFP from Dohuk, said. The notion of a "longstanding territorial claim on northern Iraq" was considered "curious" by officials in Ankara who see the Mosul matter as purely "academic issue" today.

President Demirel, in an interview with the Turkish Daily News last week, indicated that when the Ottomans laid down their arms at the end of World War I, Mosul was still in their hands. He said that the Kemalists who subsequently fought a war of liberation and established the Turkish Republic, had also considered Mosul as part of "National Pact territory." Demirel said that in the confusion following the uprisings in Turkey in the 1920s, the question of Mosul had been settled when this province was attached to Iraq, where it has been ever since.

Demirel did not, however, intimate any "territorial claims" by Ankara over the province today and merely complained about the way the border between the two countries was drawn up. Ankara's diplomacy vis-a-vis Baghdad is very much tied up with the notion of keeping Iraq's "territorial integrity" intact and Foreign Ministry officials indicate that remarks about "Turkish territorial claims on Mosul province" represent misinformation based on misreadings of what Demirel said. The United States signaled its opposition last week to any notion of a change of Iraq's borders.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Ekber Velayeti was quoted by the Kayhan daily in Tehran on Monday as saying that "any territorial claims on Mosul by Turkey — if indeed Demirel referred to such a claim — would have negative effects on peace in the region." Demirel did say in his interview that the fact that this border between the



President Süleyman Demirel

two countries passed over high mountains which are hard to defend had made it easier for incursions by separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) rebels into Turkey. He did qualify his remarks by adding that this was "not a matter for today" and suggesting that once Baghdad exercised the sovereignty over the region that it could not exercise today that matter could be discussed between the two sides in the future.

But his remarks were taken by Baghdad as implying territorial designs over northern Iraq today and severely criticized. The Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), the highest authority chaired by Saddam, warned that Iraq would be ready to fight to keep hold of its northern border region.

"Iraq refuses to study this issue and warns Turkey against any unilateral action that might alter the national border," the RCC said last week.

Demirel's remarks were apparently also taken by Kurds in northern Iraq as implying "territorial designs," judging by the AFP report on Monday.

"Iraq and Turkey are both enemies of the Kurds," a Kurd working for a foreign aid organization in Dohuk was quoted by AFP as saying. "But if we had to choose, we would choose Turkey so long as Saddam Hussein rules Iraq."

The aid worker, asking not to be named, said the Iraqi Kurds believed

that Turkey, with its ambition to join the European Union, could come under more effective pressure to implement democracy than the president of Iraq.

"[Demirel's] message swept through every household. Everybody has been discussing it," Selman Shalid, an official of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, one of the groups which have controlled the north in defiance of Baghdad since 1991, was also quoted by AFP as saying.

Even people living in his town of Kani Masi, in the heart of the border zone which Turkish troops occupied for six weeks in the recent Turkish operation against the PKK, would opt for Turkey rather than Saddam's Iraq, he said. "If Saddam Hussein came back tomorrow promising democracy and freedom, nobody would believe him. Too often he has turned out to be a liar," Shalid charged.

"Although Turkey isn't a real alternative, it's an open option and could be an improvement," he said.

Nebes Ahmad, a young man said to be from a village alleged by AFP as having been "looted" by Turkish troops during the incursion launched on March 20 — a charge angrily denied by the Turkish armed forces — told the French agency that Turkey could also not be trusted in its treatment of the Kurds.

"But if they were here, we wouldn't have any more problems with the PKK and Turkey would not attack our villages," AFP quoted him saying, apparently amidst "nods of approval from other residents." AFP said: "Out of several people questioned in the border town of Zakho as well as Dohuk and Kani Masi, nobody opposed the Turkey option. But some feared it could bring the PKK's struggle against Ankara even closer to their doorsteps."

"The PKK would view our villages as Turkish ones and intensify their attacks, even on us," Abdullah Saidi, a merchant in Zakho, was quoted as saying. Shmael Johanna, a Christian headmaster in Kani Masis, on the other hand was reported as cautioning that the Kurds would only welcome Turkey if a change of borders was backed by the United States and United Nations.

"Otherwise people would never give up their Iraqi nationality," he said.

MONDAY, MAY 8, 1995

Turkish Daily News

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1995

EUROPE

Saddam Is the Belle of the Ball

Iraq's Oil Riches Lure Suitors; U.S. Firms Stay Home

By Daniel Southerland
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Stretching for miles through the abandoned battlefields of southern Iraq lies a vast oil field called Majnoon — Arabic for “the crazed one.” Given the tension it is causing in the international oil business, the field might better be called “Saddam’s Revenge.”

The riches of Majnoon and other Iraqi oil fields are making Baghdad a popular destination — at least among the giant oil companies that hope to do business with Iraq once the United Nations lifts sanctions against it. Indeed, a conference in Baghdad in March on the future of the Iraqi oil industry was attended by representatives of 35 oil companies.

Elf Aquitaine of France already is negotiating a \$2.5 billion deal to develop Majnoon. Elf, along with its French rival, Total SA, started the negotiations with Iraq in May 1991, just three months after Operation Desert Storm. Meanwhile, Italian, Brazilian, Spanish and Russian companies are pursuing other deals to develop Iraq’s vast oil reserves, which analysts calculate are second only to those of Saudi Arabia.

U.S. companies, by contrast, are sitting on the sidelines as their competitors rush to woo Baghdad. Although some U.S. giants, such as Mobil Corp., had close ties with the Iraqis before the Gulf War, none of them attended the Baghdad conference. The American concerns are blocked by their government, which — nearly alone among its allies — insists that the UN economic sanctions against Baghdad should continue indefinitely.

“The U.S. companies are going to be way behind once the sanctions are lifted,” said Lawrence Goldstein, president of the industry-supported Petroleum Industry Research Foundation. “On Iraq, the U.S. oil companies clearly have to follow the

administration, and the administration is not going to budge on this.”

Iraq may be one of the last great prizes in the oil business. At a time when giant oil fields are increasingly difficult to find around the world, Iraq claims at least nine of them. Some analysts place Majnoon in the so-called super-giant category, capable eventually of producing 600,000 barrels a day.

Before the Iraq-Iran war began in 1980, Iraq was pumping 3.5 million barrels of crude oil a day. But the subsequent 15 years of war and economic sanctions have

Once sanctions are lifted, Iraq could become the most important and unpredictable factor in the oil market.

left the country’s oil infrastructure in disarray. Once sanctions are lifted, however, much of the damage could be repaired within a few years, making Iraq the most important and unpredictable new factor in the international oil market.

Iraqi officials say their aim is to expand output to 6 million barrels per day by the next decade, a production level that would be nearly equal to that of Saudi Arabia.

The Iraq bonanza brings the danger of oversupply to the oil market. Analysts worry that Iraq’s return will flood the market with oil and lead to a sharp drop in prices. Even without Iraq, the OPEC oil-producing nations have been unable to keep the price of oil above \$20 a barrel. On an inflation-adjusted basis, oil now costs less than it did in 1973.

Analysts also caution that deals made now with President Saddam Hussein might prove to be risky investments. The

Iraqi leader remains intensely unpopular at home and abroad, and a future Iraqi government might not look favorably on Western oil companies that rushed to do business with Mr. Saddam.

The financial risks will be high, as well. Iraq’s goal of producing 6 million barrels a day would require a minimum of \$25 billion in investments during the next 10 years, analysts say. Because Iraq already is heavily in debt, the foreign companies would have to provide most of the financing before they made their profit.

Despite these dangers, the lure of Iraqi oil seems irresistible because Iraqi crude is so easy to find and so cheap to produce. The Iraqi fields are also relatively undeveloped, unlike those of neighboring countries such as Iran, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia.

Oil-producing companies such as Elf Aquitaine are not the only ones that will profit from Iraq’s return to the market. European oil-service companies also are likely to win big contracts from drilling and exploration. So will the construction companies hired to build highways, power plants, export terminals and pumping stations.

But for U.S. companies that would like to share in the spoils, Iraq appears to be a no-win situation. Industry executives say that, given Mr. Saddam’s unpopularity in the United States, American companies are in no position to lobby for an easing of U.S. restrictions on dealings with Iraq. The prospect that Mr. Saddam would use his oil revenue to rebuild his war machine poses an additional problem.

The existing U.N. trade embargo against Iraq prohibits all trade and financial transactions, except for relief aid, and bans Iraq from selling oil except under U.N. conditions that Iraq has refused to accept.

Ankara happy with Chirac victory in French election

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Happy with the narrow victory of Jacques Chirac in the presidential elections on Sunday, Ankara sent a congratulatory message to the third-time-lucky Gaullist president.

President Süleyman Demirel sent a message to Chirac late Sunday, expressing the hope that the excellent ties between the two countries would be further enhanced during his presidency.

Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, who is in Paris for the anniversary of the World War II victory, is also expected to offer her congratulations to France's new president. "The bilateral ties between the two countries are excellent. France has been one of Turkey's main supporters in the realization of the customs union," a Turkish diplomat said. "We are convinced that this will continue with Chirac."

Although Turkish diplomats describe Chirac as a leader favorable to Turkey, Ankara's satisfaction with the result is largely attributed to the "Alain Juppe factor." Juppe, who has supported Chirac since the beginning of his campaign, is expected to be the prime minister, or, at least, retain his foreign ministerial post.

Despite the recent controversy caused by the remarks of President Süleyman Demirel, quoted in Sabah, that Juppe had told him that the problems of Turkey stemmed from its unitarian character, Turkish diplomats describe Juppe as one of the supporters of Turkish territorial integrity.

French Foreign Ministry has denied that Juppe had made such a statement. "Alain Juppe is familiar with the Turkish issues and has personal ties with many of Turkish officials.

He has also been an energetic supporter of closer ties between Turkey and the European Union," a diplomat said, adding that the same was true for Alain Lamassoure, who is a candidate for foreign ministry if Juppe becomes the prime minister.

"Since France will have a team that is already familiar with Turkey, there will be no adaptation period that usually follows elections," he said.

Turkish officials also admit that they are not exactly sad that the Mitterrand era is over, despite the fact that it was during the socialist president's time that an historical visit was made between the two countries thereby wiping the disagreements of the past.

"From time to time, certain moves or statements made by the Elysee Palace created tensions between the two capitals. With Chirac, we believe that these will be omitted," another diplomat said.

Turks hope that the Gaullist president will be less likely to give Turkey public tongue-lashing on human rights than his socialist predecessor.

Turkish diplomats are also secretly jubilant with the end of Danielle

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10, 1995

CIA: Turkey and Iran would intervene in an Iraqi Kurdish State

'Fate of N. Iraqi Kurds depends on Baghdad'

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- If there ever was a Kurdish state in northern Iraq, "Iran and Turkey, fearing the effect an Iraqi Kurdish state would have on their own Kurdish minorities, would intervene militarily and economically to either dominate or otherwise prevent its creation," according to an U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) analysis prepared last month in response to an inquiry made by Sen. Arlen Specter, chairman of the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. The CIA said such an independent entity "would be landlocked, have few economic resources and be vulnerable to outside interference." The CIA also noted that the Iraqi National Congress formally supports autonomy but not separatism.

"The Iraqi National Congress formally supports enhanced Kurdish autonomy within a unified, federated Iraq, but both the INC and its Western sponsors oppose Iraqi Kurdish separatism," the report said. Admiral William O. Studeman, acting CIA director, in a letter written on April 3, 1995 to Sen. Specter that theorized about a post-Saddam Iraq, noted that "serious infighting since

mid-1994 has severely damaged the unity of the Iraqi Kurds, undermined their fledgling regional administration and decreased their chances of maintaining a united political and military front in dealing with Baghdad.

The prospects for Kurdish reintegration into Iraq after Saddam, however, hinge more on the strength of the successor regime than on the strength of the Kurds." Studeman said "if Saddam's successor heads a strong central government and united Iraqi military, the Kurds — no matter how united — could not withstand a concerted effort to reimpose government control over northern Iraq and force Kurdish integration. Despite its degraded and demoralized state, Iraq's regular army still outnumbers and is better equipped, trained and organized than the Kurds."

The CIA analysis theorized that, in a post-Saddam world, even a weak government in Baghdad would be of no help for Kurds. "Even if a successor regime were weak and divided, fissures in the Iraqi Kurdish opposition make it likely that some Kurdish leaders would side with Baghdad to strengthen their hand against their Kurdish rivals."

Messieurs les juges...

PAR YACHAR KEMAL

Nous publions ci-dessous des extraits de l'adresse que l'écrivain prononça à l'ouverture de son procès pour «propagande séparatiste» devant la Cour de sûreté de l'État de Turquie à la suite d'un texte paru en allemand dans «Der Spiegel», dans lequel l'écrivain dénonçait l'oppression des Kurdes de Turquie.

Yachar Kemal
72 ans, est
écrivain turc
d'origine
kurde, auteur
entre autres de
l'*Aaktchasaz*,
Memed le
Mince, *Salman*
le Solitaire,
traduits chez
Gallimard

Je ne vais pas me livrer ici à une défense classique. Je dois rectifier d'abord quelques erreurs. Ce que monsieur le procureur met en cause, devant cette instance, n'est pas un texte que j'ai écrit, mais un texte publié par les quotidiens *Milliyet* et *Hurriyet* à partir d'une traduction incomplète, fautive, résumée de l'original publié en allemand.

(...) Même au terme de ces tripatouillages, il n'est pas facile de trouver un argument qui permette de condamner ces textes. Il est dès lors étonnant, Monsieur le procureur et Monsieur le juge, que tout ceci me conduise devant vous; et c'est là qu'il y a un problème grave. (...) Quant à mon texte, sa défense est toute entière dans son contenu.

Si à l'instar des quotidiens *Hurriyet* et *Milliyet* (qui ont l'ont publié dans une version fautive NDLR) on commence à manipuler ce texte pour le déformer, quelqu'un de malin finira bien par trouver quelque raison pour justifier ses accusations.

(...) Si Monsieur le procureur avait pris vraiment l'ordre juridique au sérieux, il n'aurait pas procédé comme à présent, pour me présenter devant la justice pour des accusations sans queue ni tête. Il aurait fallu au minimum une traduction intégrale du texte mis en cause pour savoir de quoi il est question. Il aurait pu également me demander l'original en turc du texte incriminé. Passe encore ce minimum, même à considérer que la tâche primordiale du procureur soit d'accuser. Il faudrait tenir compte d'un fait concret: dans les jours de ma mise en accusation, il y eut la parution de l'ouvrage collectif *La Turquie et la liberté de pensée*, contenant les contributions de 24 auteurs. Ma contribution à ce travail a

été d'y fournir deux articles. De ces deux papiers, le premier parut dans la très sérieuse revue britannique *Index*, et l'autre est celui qui fut publié dans *der Spiegel*. Messieurs les procureurs ont fait saisir cet ouvrage dans les deux heures suivant sa parution. On peut s'étonner de la rapidité avec laquelle ces juges ont pu lire un ouvrage de 140 pages en deux heures de temps. Nous sommes les témoins de choses étonnantes dans ce pays, décidément.

(...) Ce que le procureur ne sait pas, c'est que je suis écrivain depuis cinquante ans. Et que je suis l'écrivain que je suis depuis cinquante ans aussi. Parce que la Turquie n'a jamais été une démocratie, la Turquie a été une grande prison pour nous. Je n'ai cure d'une prison de moindres dimensions. Sauf si dans la petite prison l'administration turque me crée des péris encore plus grands.

(...) Si la justice n'avait pas saisi l'ouvrage incriminé, tout le monde, les juristes, les savants et écrivains de Turquie et d'ailleurs allaient lire le texte. Et tout le

monde allait dire «mais où est donc le racisme et le séparatisme dans ce texte». En saisissant notre ouvrage, la justice a commis une grande injustice vis-à-vis de moi-même et de mes amis écrivains.

(...) Mettre à feu dix millions d'hectares de forêts dans un pays qui n'a plus de forêts, dans une Anatolie désertifiée, n'est-ce pas un péché, même la plus grave des fautes? Tout cela pour brûler quelques guérilleros et bergers. Cet Etat a commis une faute grave. Il est la cause de la destruction des forêts de l'Anatolie entière... Nous le verrons de notre vivant, des inondations, des flammes, le dénuement vont ravager l'Anatolie. Est-il vrai ou non qu'on brûle les forêts? Ai-je raison ou non d'en accuser l'Etat?

(...) Les 1.800 meurtres aux auteurs inconnus, le monde entier ne l'a-t-il pas entendu, les journaux ne l'ont-ils pas écrit partout? N'a-t-on pas mis en accusation la Turquie comme un pays de tortures avec la responsabilité de l'Etat? L'oppression n'est-elle pas sur le peuple comme un vent empoisonné? N'a-t-on pas mis à feu des milliers de villages chaque fois que le peuple criait «augmente tes crimes pour que la chute soit précipitée»? N'a-t-on pas voulu créer un monde de faim et de dénuement comme au Rwanda? N'a-t-on pas chassé trois millions d'hommes de leurs maisons et leurs terres pour remplir les villes de l'Ouest ou du Sud des gens nus affamés sans feu ni lieu sous le froid et la pluie? Nous croyons que nous allons pouvoir échapper aux stigmates d'être désignés comme la honte du siècle. Ne joue-t-on pas avec l'honneur d'un grand pays? Pouvons-nous encore regarder le monde en face avec de telles pratiques?(...) La guerre sanglante que nous subissons n'est-elle pas la conséquence du fait que nous ayons nié leurs droits de l'homme à vingt millions de nos concitoyens? N'avons-nous pas attenté à la culture de ce pays, à sa beauté, aux valeurs humaines que nous avons su créer pour ces terres?

Peut-on nous pardonner, en ce temps, ce que nous commettons contre les droits de l'homme? Et, en premier lieu, les générations montantes vont-elles oublier ce que nous aurons fait contre notre pays? N'auront-ils pas honte de nous, de notre temps?

Demirel says Turkey faces 'conspiracy' from West

Plan afoot: 'Am I supposed to applaud those who say, "the state of human rights has reached such a level in Turkey that it should not be allowed to conclude a customs union"? These are just efforts to prevent Turkey from entering the customs union.'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- President Süleyman Demirel said on Monday evening that Turkey is faced with a Western conspiracy to prevent the country from entering a customs union with Europe.

Demirel added that keeping Turkey away from the European Union and trying to suspend its membership in the Council of Europe, as recent developments suggest, are part of this conspiracy. "I am not saying we should tear Turkey away from Europe. But Turkey does not owe its existence to Europe either.... I say this for a fact. We are not a hunch on anyone's back. My country is not indexed to the West either.... My citizen should know that my state is standing upright because of my nation," Demirel said.

President Demirel made these remarks on live television while being interviewed on the popular current-affairs program "32nd Day."

Demirel said that the Turkish state is responsible for protecting its flag, its nation, and that there were efforts underway to tear away part of these lands and to raise a new flag there.

"Some people are looking upon Turkey's efforts combating those people trying to raise a new flag as if it were a case of oppression by the Turkish Republic against some people and as if some other people had taken up arms on behalf of these oppressed people," Demirel said.

"Am I supposed to applaud those who say, 'the state of human rights has reached such a level in Turkey that it should not be allowed to conclude a customs union' These are just efforts to prevent Turkey from entering the customs union," Demirel added. About the so-called "Sevres debate" started by remarks he made in last week's interviews with the press, Demirel said that there were "certain signs" emerging today, suggesting that this is what had lead him to bring up the whole issue.

Sevres is the district near Paris where an agreement was drafted by the allies at the end of World War One which divided

Turkey and foresaw the establishment of a Kurdish and an Armenian state in Anatolia.

The Treaty of Sevres, as it came to be known, became a dead letter following the Turkish War of Independence and the status and borders of modern Turkey were determined later under the Lausanne Treaty.

Referring to the debate over his comments, Demirel said, "Rather than use this topic, those running the country should recognize that certain things are happening before they become open threats and take the necessary precautions."

"Turkey has many enemies but is standing firm despite these enemies. I am not the one creating these enemies," Demirel said. Maintaining that the West had started identifying Turkey's fight against terrorism with the Kurdish issue, Demirel said that under the Lausanne Treaty Kurds were considered equal citizens of Turkey, having fought side by side with the Turks to liberate Anatolia.

He said that he was telling Turkey's critics in the West that to start giving people of another origin the status of minority now "would irreparably upset the present stability and vitality of Turkey."

"We are telling them (the West) that these people (the Kurds) are the owners of the whole of this country. Why should they be given minority rights and made second-class? Anyway, this would lead matters in another direction, to a federation, to Turkey's division," Demirel said.

Touching on another debate his remarks started last week, Demirel repeated his view that the manner in which the Turkey-Iraq border was drawn up at the time was wrong. "This border is wrong. Let someone come up and say it is right. I am saying this border is wrong, correct it. But not unilaterally. Not by using force. Do it with the state concerned. You could do it this year, you could do it 10 years from now. This can be done perfectly well by peaceful means and in a reasonable manner. I will continue telling my

people what is right," Demirel said.

But, he said, "this is not a matter for today, but was a matter for yesterday. It is a political matter. The time will come and what has to be done can be done through peaceful means," Demirel added.

Asked whether "the matter had been settled" with Turkey's cross-border operation in northern Iraq against separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants camped in the region, Demirel conceded that it had not been.

"No, it has not finished. Five hundred and eighty-eight people (PKK militants) have been found dead, but 2,000 of them have gone elsewhere," he said.

Responding to a question on efforts to abolish Article 8 of the Law on Combatting Terrorism, thus broadening the scope of freedom of expression, Demirel said that during an address to Parliament on September 1, 1994, he said that "while everything must be said in Turkey the limits for this must also be found." "I found (the limit). The U.S. has a Supreme Court. Following certain incidents, certain people, especially those engaged in disseminating communist propaganda, were punished.... This is what you call freedom of expression: There is nothing to prevent free thought. The issue is dissemination. Provocation, getting people, masses to fight each other — these must not happen," Demirel said.

He added that first terrorism must end, "And then what had to be done must be done."

"I would oppose anything that will obstruct the fight against terrorism or anything that will weaken those conducting this fight," he said.

Asked if he could say that "Turkey was in a good state today," Demirel said if he answers in the affirmative the opposition would oppose him, and if he answered that the country was in good hands, others would emerge to criticize him.

"But am I afraid. Am I afraid to say that it is in good hands? How can you ask me to comment on 150 percent inflation? Minus 6 percent growth...? This is another matter. But how can I say that it is in a good state? In a country where people are confronted with a cost of living problem, when there are people crushed under the cost of living... is there anyone who can say it is good? When I say this I express a truth. I cannot say, 'if you cannot eat bread then eat cake,'" Demirel said. Asked if there was the need for a new election Demirel preferred to give an indirect answer.

"I am not saying the country is being administered badly, I am saying it could be run better," he said adding that "he was not sticking a pin into anyone."

"Turkey's courts must be run better, its hospitals must be run better. How can we say that everything is perfect?"

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Europe-Turquie

Menaces de suspension : le Comité des ministres s'engage à répondre

STRASBOURG, 11 mai (AFP) - Le Comité des ministres (organe exécutif) du Conseil de l'Europe a chargé jeudi les délégués (ambassadeurs auprès de l'organisation) de "rédiger une réponse" à l'Assemblée parlementaire qui lui a demandé "d'envisager la suspension" de la Turquie si elle ne donne pas d'ici la fin juin des gages de sa volonté de respecter la démocratie et les droits de l'homme.

Cependant, le Comité n'a pas donné de délai, ignorant ainsi l'ultimatum lancé par l'Assemblée parlementaire lors de sa dernière session en avril.

Le Comité entend ainsi montrer qu'il ne saurait être tenu par un calendrier fixé par l'Assemblée parlementaire, organe consultatif des "34", a-t-on indiqué de source diplomatique.

En revanche, les quinze pays membres de l'Union européenne siégeant au Comité des ministres "souhaitent qu'une réponse puisse servir à éclairer le débat" que tiendra le Parlement européen à l'automne sur la ratification de l'accord d'Union douanière avec la Turquie, a indiqué à l'AFP l'ambassadeur de France auprès de l'organisation, Michel Lennuyeux.

Le Parlement européen, en effet, a conditionné la ratification de cet accord, signé en mars dernier et qui devrait entrer en vigueur le 1er janvier prochain, au respect des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie par la Turquie.

L'Assemblée avait exigé le retrait total des troupes turques du nord de l'Irak, la fixation d'un délai pour mener à bien les réformes constitutionnelles et législatives exigées par l'organisation, et le début d'une recherche de solution politique au conflit kurde.

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Europe-Turquie

Conseil de l'Europe: signe de bonne volonté de la Turquie

STRASBOURG, 10 mai (AFP) - La Turquie, menacée d'être "suspendue" du Conseil de l'Europe pour non-respect des droits de l'Homme, a signé mercredi deux protocoles à la Convention européenne de prévention de la torture, a-t-on appris auprès de l'organisation pan-européenne.

La signature de ces deux textes, techniques et portant uniquement sur la procédure, est interprétée par des observateurs comme une manière pour Ankara de manifester son désir de rester au sein du Conseil de l'Europe et sa bonne volonté.

L'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil a demandé le 26 avril "d'envisager la suspension des droits de la Turquie" si elle ne satisfait pas d'ici la fin juin à trois conditions concernant les normes de l'organisation en matière de respect des droits de l'Homme et de la démocratie, notamment dans le cadre du conflit kurde.

L'une de ces conditions a été remplie par le retrait total des troupes turques du nord de l'Irak. Cependant, les parlementaires ont également exigé qu'Ankara amorce "la recherche d'une solution pacifique au problème kurde" et donne "un délai précis dans lequel la Turquie devra rendre sa constitution et sa législation conformes aux principes et normes du Conseil de l'Europe".

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InfoMatin - 11 mai 1995

ARRÊT SUR IMAGES



Un père porte son enfant blessé à l'hôpital, après une attaque des gardiens de la révolution iranienne. En 1979, Khomeiny déclenche sa guerre sainte contre les Kurdes.



« Watan giyan wa saru malem fiday to wa giyan. »
(« Je sacrifie mon âme, mes biens et ma vie pour toi, ma patrie. »)

Les Kurdes, peuple écartelé

Photographe iranien exilé en France depuis 1981, Reza a beaucoup photographié le peuple kurde, témoignant de sa lutte pour la liberté et l'autonomie. Les éditions Bentel publient, avec le soutien de la fondation France Libertés de Danielle Mitterrand, un recueil de ses photos, prises au Kurdistan entre 1979 et aujourd'hui. Les Kurdes sont principalement répartis entre la Turquie, l'Iran et l'Irak, généralement dans des régions montagneuses d'accès difficile. Les estimations divergent quant à leur nombre. Ils seraient aujourd'hui environ 12 millions en Turquie, 7 millions en Iran et 4 millions en Irak. Des communautés moins importantes sont également établies en Syrie – environ 800 000 – et dans l'ex-URSS, environ 350 000. Après la Seconde Guerre mondiale, les Kurdes font brièvement l'expérience de l'autonomie avec la république de Mehabad proclamée en Iran au tout début de l'année 1946 avec l'appui de l'URSS. Mais l'armée iranienne met fin à cette expérience en décembre de la même année. C'est en Irak que va se concentrer, pendant les vingt années qui suivent, l'essentiel de l'activisme kurde.

En Iran, la guérilla kurde tente de profiter de la chute du shah pour prendre le contrôle du Kurdistan. Mais le projet de Constitution retenu par Téhéran écarte tout principe d'autonomie pour les minorités ethniques, et l'armée islamique écrase dans le sang – plus de 18 000 morts entre 1980 et 1984 – la rébellion.

La guerre du Golfe va redonner à la question kurde une dimension internationale. La rébellion des Kurdes d'Irak dans le nord du pays est suivie d'une brutale reconquête par l'armée irakienne qui jette des centaines de milliers de réfugiés sur les routes. Après une première opération d'aide, les alliés décident de créer au Kurdistan irakien une « zone de sécurité », placée sous leur contrôle. C'est dans cette « zone de sécurité » que l'armée turque a pénétré il y a quelques semaines, pour y exercer un « droit de suite » contre les maquisards du PKK qui s'y étaient réfugiés.

Résistants kurdes
à Divandare,
au Kurdistan d'Iran, 1980.
PHOTOS : REZA/IMAX.

Kurdes. Les Chants brûlés, de Reza. Ed. Bentel-InterArt. 142 p. Prix : 120 F. D. L.

La Turquie relance le débat sur la modification des frontières de l'Irak

L'UNION EUROPÉENNE a « pris acte », mardi 9 mai, de l'annonce, à la fin de la semaine dernière, par la Turquie, du retrait total de ses troupes d'Irak du Nord. Dans un communiqué, les Quinze, tout en rappelant leurs préoccupations « en matière de démocratisation et de [respect] des droits de l'homme » à l'intérieur de la Turquie, ont souligné leur « attachement à la stabilité et à l'intégrité territoriale des Etats de la région. » Il s'agit surtout de l'Irak, sur le territoire duquel Ankara avait envoyé, le 20 mars, 35 000 soldats, pour déloger les rebelles kurdes du Parti des travailleurs (PKK).

L'insistance européenne n'est pas superflue après les déclarations du président Suleyman Demirel selon lesquelles la Turquie souhaite corriger le tracé de sa frontière avec l'Irak, pour en assurer l'imperméabilité. La nouvelle ligne, avait précisé M. Demirel, le 2 mai, devrait suivre le pied des montagnes en territoire irakien et inclure la province de Mossoul, laquelle, selon lui, « appartient encore à la Turquie ». Il faisait allusion au démembrement de l'Empire ottoman, au terme duquel les wilayat de Bassorah, Bagdad et Mossoul devaient constituer l'Etat irakien, Ankara n'ayant renoncé à la « province » de Mossoul, en juin 1926, qu'après de longues tractations avec la Grande-Bretagne et la signature d'un accord entre l'Irak et la Turkish Petroleum.

Certains diplomates occidentaux mettent en garde contre toute dramatisation des déclarations du chef de l'Etat turc, qui, à leur avis, doivent être lues à la lumière des luttes de pouvoir opposant M. Demirel au premier ministre, Tansu Ciller. Ils font valoir que ces tiraillements

avaient déjà pu être constatés au début de l'incursion turque dans le nord de l'Irak. M^{me} Ciller avait affirmé que celle-ci serait de courte durée, alors que M. Demirel n'excluait pas une prolongation.

Que cette explication soit fondée ou non, elle ne dédramatise rien aux yeux du régime irakien – pas plus qu'au regard de l'ensemble des pays arabes –, qui a multiplié les mises en garde. Bagdad a fait savoir aussitôt qu'il n'avait absolument pas l'intention de discuter d'une modification de la frontière avec son voisin du nord et qu'il s'opposerait « par tous les moyens légitimes » à une éventuelle décision « unilatérale » de la Turquie à ce sujet.

« ZONE D'EXCLUSION »

Les autorités irakiennes ont toujours considéré comme un prélude au dépeçage du pays la « création » pour des raisons humanitaires –, par une coalition occidentale emmenée par les Etats Unis, d'une « zone d'exclusion » au nord du 36^e parallèle. Ce que les Occidentaux ont toujours démenti. Des formations de l'opposition irakienne, notamment le plus important mouvement chiite, l'Assemblée suprême de la révolution islamique, ont aussi exprimé leur indignation.

La Ligue arabe a « vivement déploré » les déclarations de M. Demirel, qui « risquent d'aggraver la tension dans la région », et réaffirmé son attachement à l'« intégrité territoriale » de l'Irak. L'Egypte et le Yémen ont mis en garde contre toute velléité de traduire les paroles turques en actes. La presse arabe est revenue sur le sujet. Le quotidien saoudien *El Chark El Awsat*, publié à Londres et à Paris, rapportait

récemment M. Demirel et M^{me} Ciller étaient convenus de ne plus discuter de cette affaire en public « mais via les canaux officiels avec l'Irak ».

S'il va de soi que, depuis l'invasion du Koweït par l'Irak, en 1990, les pays arabes sont alarmés par toute remise en cause des frontières dans la région – dont bon nombre n'ont jamais été tracées précisément –, l'Iran, véritable mosaïque de peuples, a lui aussi des raisons de se soucier du respect du principe de l'intégrité territoriale. C'est pourquoi Téhéran a vivement protesté contre les déclarations de M. Demirel.

Au moment où le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU s'apprête à reconduire, vendredi 12 mai, les sanctions qu'il a imposées à l'Irak en 1991, les déclarations de M. Demirel ne font que compliquer une situation déjà passablement difficile. D'autant que – comble du paradoxe – Ankara, qui n'a jamais reconnu le « gouvernement » kurde issu d'élections libres organisées en 1992 dans la partie du Kurdistan irakien située au nord du 36^e parallèle, a toujours conseillé aux partis kurdes irakiens d'engager le dialogue avec le régime de Bagdad.

En attendant, aucune solution n'étant en vue pour l'Irak, c'est avec ces formations kurdes que les autorités turques entendent régler le problème des « infiltrations » des rebelles du PKK réfugiés dans le nord de l'Irak. Le jour même de l'annonce par Ankara du retrait total de son armée du territoire irakien, une source militaire turque déclarait à l'AFP qu'une partie des troupes allaient rester des deux côtés de la frontière pour en assurer la sécurité.

Mouna Naim

Die Europaratsminister schweigen zur Türkei

Kein Eingehen auf die Parlamentarier

uth. Strassburg, 11. Mai

Die Aussenminister der 34 Europaratsstaaten haben bei ihrem Treffen am Donnerstag in Strassburg keine Stellungnahme zur Situation in der Türkei abgegeben. Nach der Beratung der von der Parlamentarischen Versammlung des Europarates an sie gerichteten Aufforderung, die Mitgliedschaft der Türkei zu suspendieren, wenn bis zum Juni keine verbindlichen und mit einem Zeitplan versehenen Zusagen der Türkei zu einer Verfassungsreform vorliegen, beauftragten sie lediglich ihre Stellvertreter damit, eine Antwort zu entwerfen. Für die 15 Mitgliedsländer der Europäischen Union hatte der amtierende EU-Ratsvorsitzende Lamassoure erklärt, dass man inhaltlich zwar vollkommen mit den Forderungen der Parlamentarier übereinstimme, dass das Ministerkomitee aber den demokratischen Institutionen eines Mitgliedslandes keine Fristen setzen könne.

Europaratsstandards

Der deutsche Staatsminister im Auswärtigen Amt, Schäfer, mahnte die Türkei, endlich Zeichen zu setzen, um die Europaratsstandards in den Bereichen Demokratie, Rechtsstaatlichkeit und Achtung der Menschenrechte zu erfüllen. Doch allein mit Gesetzesänderungen sei es nicht getan. Die Regierung müsse auch beweisen, dass sie in der Lage sei, sie gegen die Sicherheitskräfte durchzu-

setzen, und dass sie bereit sei, gegenüber den Autonomieforderungen der Kurden Kompromisse auf der Grundlage der gegenüber dem Europarat eingegangenen Verpflichtungen einzugehen. Aber auch eine von den türkischen Parlamentariern erwartete Erklärung zur vorbehaltlosen Respektierung der türkischen Souveränität gab das Ministerkomitee nicht ab. Die türkische Delegation hatte am 27. April aus Protest gegen das an die Türkei gerichtete Ultimatum, das als nicht akzeptable Einmischung in die inneren Angelegenheiten des Landes bezeichnet wurde, die Mitarbeit in der Parlamentarischen Versammlung vorerst eingestellt. Sie will ihr weiteres Verhalten von einer solchen Erklärung des Ministerkomitees abhängig machen.

Differenzen auch wegen Russland

Bei den Beratungen über die Aufnahme neuer osteuropäischer Mitgliedsländer wurde deutlich, dass das Ministerkomitee anders als die Versammlung die Kontakte zu Russland weiter intensivieren möchte, um die Vollmitgliedschaft des Landes möglichst schnell zu erreichen. Die Aufnahme kann jedoch nur vollzogen werden, wenn sie von der Parlamentarischen Versammlung zuvor befürwortet wird. Die Abgeordneten aber hatten Anfang Februar das Aufnahmeverfahren wegen des Krieges in Tschetschenien ausgesetzt.

Iran Plans a Vast Nuclear Buildup

But Top Official Denies Any Intent to Develop Weapons

By Elaine Sciolino
New York Times Service

TEHRAN — Iran's top nuclear official says that his country intends to build about 10 nuclear power plants in the next two decades, but denies accusations by the United States that Iran is trying to develop nuclear weapons.

The official, Reza Amrollahi, also said that last year he signed a formal contract with China for two nuclear power reactors and that Chinese experts had completed a feasibility study and had begun to draw up blueprints and engineering reports for a site in southern Iran.

Iran has already made a "down payment" for the project, which will cost \$800 million to \$900 million and involve training by Chinese, said Mr. Amrollahi, director of Iran's Atomic Energy Organization.

Although the United States has doubted that China is capable of building the reactors on its own because the original model included parts from Germany and Japan, Mr. Amrollahi said the Chinese now believe that they have successfully duplicated the technology.

The United States has led a global campaign to prevent Iran from receiving any nuclear technology because of its suspected weapons program. Mr. Amrollahi's statements suggest that the agreement with China is much further along than was previously known, and that Iran is planning a vast long-range nuclear energy program.

[On Sunday, Leon E. Panetta, the White House chief of staff, said Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher had conveyed to the Chinese his "great concern" over sales of nuclear technology to Iran.

["We have begun the process of trying to put pressure on them to move away from this deal," Mr. Panetta said in a broadcast interview.

[He said the White House would continue to put pressure on both Moscow and Beijing to back off and added, "Understand: This is not acceptable for them to sell nuclear technology to the Iranians."]

In addition to its oil reserves Iran has the second largest natural gas reserves in the world. Natural gas is much cheaper to develop than nuclear energy, which makes U.S. officials suspect that Iran wants nuclear power for a weapons program.

In a clear attempt to answer charges that Iran is developing nuclear weapons, Mr. Amrollahi made his remarks in a two-and-a-half-hour interview at his agency's new six-story building. It is part of a sprawling complex in central Tehran that includes a small nuclear research reactor built for Iran by the United States in the late 1960s, when the monarchy was in power and the relationship with Washington was close.

Officials offered a brief tour of the complex, including a visit to two radio isotope laboratories for medical research, although

they did not allow a tour of the reactor.

"In case we get enough money, in case we have enough trained people, we have a plan to take 20 years to get 20 percent of our energy from nuclear," Mr. Amrollahi said. Asked if that could mean about 10 reactors, he said, "Something like that." That number is higher than what Iran had

previously been known to be planning.

Mr. Amrollahi repeated that Iran had already invested \$6 billion in the project — which is subject to international inspection and safeguards — and wanted to finish it.

He said the contract with Moscow consists of a \$780 million deal in which Russia will complete one of two reactors that a German firm was building at the southern port city of Bushehr before the project was halted after the 1979 revolution. If that project goes well, Russia will finish the second reactor.

The United States opposes the project in part because it will give Iran access to expertise, technology and training it would not otherwise have.

Mr. Amrollahi said that 150 Russian nuclear experts were already working at the site and that 500 would eventually be based there; a much smaller number of Iranians will be trained in Russia, he added.

"Training people is part of that nuclear power plan," he said. "I don't know why they make such a hot fudge of it."

He denied that Iran had negotiated — or even discussed — a plan to buy a gas centrifuge from Russia that could have rapidly enriched uranium to bomb-grade quality.

"This was a diplomatically made cake," he said of reports from Washington about the existence of a separate, albeit tentative agreement with Russia.

Russia has agreed to supply the enriched uranium needed to operate the plant it will finish, he said. Asked whether Iran was pursuing a program to enrich uranium, at first he said, "Not now," but added quickly: "No. Not forever. Not. No. Not at all."

Asked why Iran does not use natural gas for fuel, Mr. Amrollahi said: "Natural gas is one of the best fuels, and many countries at the moment need it. So we think it is better to sell it."

Like many of Iran's nuclear

specialists, Mr. Amrollahi has been educated and trained in the West. He holds a master's degree in electrical engineering from the University of Texas and a doctorate in physics from the University of Paris.

He has headed Iran's nuclear program for 15 years, and spoke with precision when discussing Iran's program.

But the United States and Germany have amassed substantial evidence that Iran is secretly buying components and technology from abroad that they say can only be useful in a weapons program.

U.S. and German intelligence officials believe that Mr. Amrollahi controls only part of Iran's nuclear program and that Tehran has created a parallel program through the military that is largely responsible for purchases of nuclear related items.

According to this view, the Defense Ministry Organization inside the Defense Ministry uses front organizations like the Sharif University of Technology in Tehran to help buy nuclear-related equipment.

On the basis of reports by Germany's foreign intelligence agency in 1992 and 1993 that Sharif was involved in secret nuclear activities, Germany began to reject all requests for equipment by the university.

Early last year, the German agency said that the university's physics research center was involved in buying technology that could be used in making weapons, including nuclear-related materials.

Mr. Amrollahi strongly denied that he was not fully in charge.

"I am the responsible for the atomic energy of Iran," he said.

He also denied reports that Iran secretly has been buying nuclear technology and equipment from abroad, noting that the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is responsible for monitoring nuclear programs around the world, turned up nothing suspicious during a visit to Sharif University.

But the nuclear chief was unfamiliar with intelligence reports about Iran's nuclear-related overtures abroad and asked for copies of news reports describing the details.

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Eco.-energie

Irak/Kurdistan : une région économiquement coupée en deux
par Tolle ARAM

ZAKHO (Irak), 15 mai (AFP) - La division du nord de l'Irak en deux zones distinctes contrôlées par les factions kurdes irakiennes en conflit depuis un an a provoqué une cassure dans l'économie de la région, déjà séparée du reste de l'Irak depuis 1991.

L'ouest du pays, contrôlé par les hommes du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani), vit de l'exportation de pétrole vers la Turquie. L'est, aux mains de l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK de Jalal Talabani), compte sur la réexportation de produits achetés en Iran.

Des centaines de camions font la queue chaque jour à un barrage du PDK près de Zakho, dans le nord-ouest de l'Irak, à dix kilomètres de la frontière turque. Ils transportent notamment des produits pétroliers, achetés bon marché en Irak et vendus à un prix inférieur au tarif officiel en Turquie.

Un négociant kurde irakien, Amine Hussein, explique que le pétrole est acheté dans la région de Mossoul, plus au sud, qui se trouve sous le contrôle des autorités de Bagdad. Selon lui, les camions ramènent de Turquie des produits alimentaires.

Un camionneur, Souleiman Hawech, affirme qu'il y a huit mois, il faisait passer en Turquie jusqu'à 20.000 litres d'essence bon marché à bord de son camion-citerne. A l'époque, les autorités turques fermaient les yeux.

"Par la suite, la Turquie a autorisé l'entrée de 2.000 à 2.500 litres par camion seulement, de peur que nous ne ruinions les stations-services publiques", ajoute-t-il.

Selon le directeur des "douanes" du PDK, Abdallah Ahmad Bengin, 500 à 700 camions traversent quotidiennement la frontière, acquittant une taxe d'un demi-dinar par litre. Selon lui, 10.000 à 15.000 dollars alimentent ainsi quotidiennement les caisses du PDK. Selon l'UPK en revanche, les recettes "douanières" du PDK se montent à quelque 200.000 dollars par jour.

A l'autre bout du Kurdistan d'Irak, d'autres camions font également par centaines la queue chaque jour au barrage de l'UPK près de Penjwin, à 10 kilomètres de la frontière iranienne.

Les véhicules se rendent notamment à Meriwan, une ville iranienne proche de la frontière pour y charger du bois utilisé par les organisations humanitaires internationales dans la reconstruction de villages détruits par les guerres dans le nord de l'Irak.

"Le bois est moins cher en Iran" explique Mohsen Kader, le responsable des "douanes" de l'UPK.

Mais la région tenue par l'UPK, autour de la ville de Souleimanieh, est aussi devenue un centre de transit pour les pneus importés d'Iran et revendus dans les régions irakiennes sous contrôle de Bagdad, soumises à un embargo multiforme de l'ONU depuis l'invasion du Koweït par les troupes irakiennes, en août 1990.

"L'UPK touche des droits de douane deux fois: une fois à la frontière iranienne et une autre fois au passage entre le Kurdistan irakien et les zones gouvernementales", affirme Mahmoud Aziz, un marchand de pneus de Souleimanieh.

Alors que les zones d'influence respectives du PDK et de l'UPK trouvent leur

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compte dans la séparation économique, Erbil, la principale ville du Kurdistan d'Irak, qui se trouve au centre, près de la ligne de démarcation inter-kurde, souffre de cette situation.

Selon des habitants de la ville, l'UPK, qui contrôle Erbil, n'y paie pas de salaires comme à Souleimanieh, alors que le PDK, qui y compte beaucoup de partisans, s'en désintéresse totalement.

"Les gens à Erbil se sentent oubliés. Certains d'entre eux souhaitent même le retour du régime irakien", affirme une femme chrétienne qui ne veut pas être identifiée.

En fait, explique une jeune femme, "tout le monde sait que le PDK et l'UPK utilisent l'argent des taxes pour leurs propres besoins militaires"

ta-elf/jhd/dk
AFP /JO0245/151000

MAI 95

LA CROIX - 13 mai 1995

Turquie

LE PACTOLE DE « MEHMETÇİK »

Une campagne de soutien a permis à l'armée turque d'amasser l'équivalent de 470 millions de francs

ANKARA

DE NOTRE CORRESPONDANT

« **A** llez la Turquie ! Avec Mehmetçik la main dans la main » : c'est avec ce mot d'ordre que le quotidien *Hürriyet* a lancé début avril ce qui allait devenir la plus grande campagne de soutien populaire à l'armée turque — « Mehmetçik » est le surnom affectueux que les Turcs donnent à leurs « pioupious ». Quinze jours auparavant, 35 000 soldats avaient pénétré dans le nord de l'Irak à la poursuite de combattants du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), guérilla autonomiste en lutte dans le Sud-Est turc.

Les protestations parfois spectaculaires de la communauté internationale — déplacement à Ankara de la troïka européenne (les ministres des affaires étrangères français, allemand et espagnol), embargo allemand sur les livraisons d'armes — montées en épingle

par la presse, provoquèrent en retour ce sursaut d'orgueil national.

Annonce des dons en direct à la télévision

En trois semaines, ce sont plus de quatre trillions de livres turques (un peu plus de 470 millions de francs) qui ont été récoltés en dons. Ces sommes sont le plus souvent versées sur 22 comptes ouverts spécialement par les banques dans tout le pays. Certains donateurs préférèrent se faire de la publicité en annonçant par téléphone leurs dons lors de l'émission en direct organisée chaque soir après le journal télévisé sur la première chaîne publique, TRT 1.

Celle-ci avait lancé tambour battant la campagne par soixante-douze heures ininterrompues d'émission en direct, durant laquelle les citoyens venaient devant les caméras remettre leurs aumônes à la cagnotte des soldats. L'opération se poursuivra pendant encore au moins quinze jours, jusqu'à la fête du sacrifice.

Individu, institution, entreprise, chacun y va de sa contribution. Un père de famille retraité, dont le fils est parti en Irak avec le contingent, donne trois mois de sa maigre pension. Les 6 000 chauffeurs de minibus d'Istanbul travaillent pendant deux jours au seul profit de l'opération. La Compagnie des autobus d'Istanbul a remis

quant à elle 13,7 milliards de livres (1,6 million de francs) représentant le chiffre d'affaires réalisé pendant une journée exceptionnelle.

Chacun colle affiches et drapaux dans sa devanture. Les deux plus grands clubs de football donnent leurs recettes. Les aides ne proviennent pas que de Turquie. Par l'intermédiaire des satellites et du câble, des foyers turcs vivant en Allemagne suivent et soutiennent la campagne. Les autorités allemandes, effrayées et gênées par ce qu'elles estiment être un encouragement à la guerre, ont envisagé d'interrompre les émissions de la chaîne internationale publique turque.

L'armée, premier employeur du pays

Couvée par la population, l'armée est pourtant loin d'être pauvre. C'est elle qui a reçu la plus grosse part du budget du pays en 1995. La Turquie arrive au cinquième rang mondial pour le montant de ses achats d'armements, selon l'Agence américaine de contrôle des armes et du désarmement. Les seules dépenses de papeterie du ministère de la défense dépassent l'ensemble du montant des investissements budgétés par l'État en 1995.

Mais l'armée est la bien-aimée de l'opinion. Premier employeur du pays, elle est également, grâce aux entreprises

contrôlées par le Fonds des officiers en retraite (Oyak), l'un des tout premiers trusts du pays. Elle est perçue comme la garante de l'unité de la nation, comme une institution impartiale, laïque et synonyme d'ordre. Lors de récents affrontements dans le quartier de Gaziosmanpacha, à Istanbul, ce n'est qu'à l'arrivée de l'armée, se plaçant en tampon entre la police et les habitants, que la situation s'était calmée.

L'opinion oublie ainsi volontiers que les militaires promettent d'année en année l'éradication prochaine de la guérilla turque au sud-est. La lutte au Kurdistan et l'aide fournie aux Chypriotes turcs depuis l'intervention sur l'île d'un corps expéditionnaire envoyée par Ankara en 1974 constituent par ailleurs les deux principaux gouffres financiers du pays.

Sûr de lui, le commandant en chef des forces armées Hakkı Karadayı se gargarisait lors d'un cocktail donné dimanche dernier de la « réussite » de l'opération en Irak du nord, l'opposant aux difficultés rencontrées par l'armée russe en Tchétchénie. Il se réjouissait du soutien trouvé auprès des populations et promettait de rendre compte « lui-même, centime par centime », des sommes confiées par les citoyens.

Claude ORTACQ

Erster kurdischer TV-Sender in der Türkei

Ein Satellitenprogramm sorgt für Verwirrung in Ankara

Seit Beginn dieser Woche kann in der Türkei und den angrenzenden Ländern ein in London produziertes, via Satellit übermitteltes Fernsehprogramm in kurdischer Sprache empfangen werden. Nach dem jahrelang aufrechterhaltenen Verbot der kurdischen Sprache in der Öffentlichkeit hat nun plötzlich ein Massenmedium bestehende Schranken umgangen. Der neue Fernsehsender steht deutlich unter dem Einfluss kurdischer Nationalisten.

it. Istanbul, 17. Mai

Bereits im März hat ein in London stationierter kurdischer Fernsehsender namens Med-TV Testsendungen aufgenommen, die in der Türkei mit Satellitenantennen empfangen werden konnten. Für Aussenstehende wirkten die ersten Sendungen eintönig. In den kurdischen Nationalfarben – Rot, Grün und Gelb – gekleidete Musiker sangen stundenlang kurdische Lieder. Unterbrochen wurden sie von Kinderprogrammen, Spielfilmen und unendlich langen Beiträgen zur kurdischen Kultur und Geschichte.

Auftritt Öcalans

Mit einiger Geduld kommen aber auch politisch interessierte Zuschauer auf ihre Rechnung. Der Vorsitzende der in der Türkei verbotenen Kurdischen Arbeiterpartei (PKK), Abdullah Öcalan, verkündete beispielsweise in einer Med-Sendung die Richtlinien seiner Partei. Dabei betonte er, dass die PKK für die Rechte der Kurden in der Türkei und nicht für ein unabhängiges Kurdistan kämpfe. Damit widersprach er der staatlichen Position, wonach die «Terrororganisation» PKK die Türkei spalten und, so Präsident Demirel, auf türkischem Territorium eine neue Fahne hissen wolle. Dass Med-TV dem offiziell verteuflten Öcalan ermöglichte, in den Salon aller türkischen Bürger und Bürgerinnen vorzudringen, bedeutete eine jäher Wandel in der hiesigen Medienlandschaft. Bisher hielten sich die elektronischen Massenmedien an ein Verbot, Interviews mit PKK-Funktionären zu senden.

Ein Novum ist es auch, dass der Privatsender aus London den Grossteil seiner Programme in kurdischer Sprache ausstrahlt. Nach der Gründung der Republik Türkei 1923 galt Kurdisch während Jahrzehnten als hinterwäldlerischer, bäurischer Dialekt und war in den Schulen und den Medien verboten. In der kurzen, hoffnungsvollen Zeit der Demokratisierung Anfang 1991 wurde das sogenannte Sprachengesetz, welches Veröffentlichungen in nicht zugelassenen Sprachen in der Türkei ausdrücklich verbot, aufgehoben. Damit waren auch die Einschränkungen für das Kurdische eliminiert. Einige Verlage wagten es damals, Zeitungen und Magazine in Kurdisch zu veröffentlichen; in elektronischen Massenmedien wurde die kurdische Sprache aber nie verwendet.

Dank der neuen Fernsehstation realisieren manche türkischen Kurden mit einem Male den Reichtum ihrer indogermanischen Muttersprache und deren Möglichkeiten zu differenziertem Ausdruck. Wegen der kurdischen Sendungen wird Med-TV auch im Nordirak verfolgt. In Dohuk beispielsweise verfolgten die Gäste eines Restaurants bereits Anfang April mit Spannung die Testsendungen. Das tägliche Programm, vorerst auf die Abendstunden beschränkt, wird in der kurdischen Zeitung «Yeni Politika» veröffentlicht. Med-TV wird laut den Angaben seines Pressesprechers hauptsächlich von kurdischen Geschäftsleuten und Gastarbeitern finanziert.

Machtlose Regierung

Allmählich wird sich die politische Führung in Ankara bewusst, dass im Zeitalter der Technologie auch die striktesten Verbote im Medienwesen wirkungslos sind. Dass der elektronische Medienmarkt grenzüberschreitend und kaum in Schranken zu halten ist, hatte als erster türkischer Politiker der verstorbene Präsident Özal erkannt. Zu Beginn der neunziger Jahre plädierte er dafür, kurdische Massenmedien in der Türkei zu legalisieren. Ankara könne mit einem kurdischsprachigen Kanal die Ziele seiner Politik der Bevölkerung im Südosten einfacher vermitteln und zusätzlich auch die Kurden des Nordiraks beeinflussen, argumentierte Özal damals. Sein plötzlicher Tod im Frühling 1993 setzte dann aber der öffentlichen Debatte über die Möglichkeit einer friedlichen Lösung der Kurdenfrage ein abruptes Ende. Die türkischen Generäle, die zunehmend an Einfluss gewonnen hatten, machten die Zerschlagung der PKK zur Voraussetzung für jegliche demokratische Reformen.

Artikel 8 des aus dem Jahr 1991 stammenden Antiterrorgesetzes, der «separatistische Propaganda» untersagt, kam in den Sondergerichten immer öfters zur Anwendung. So wurden bis Ende letzten Jahres 126 Journalisten, Schriftsteller, Herausgeber und Gewerkschafter auf Grund dieses Artikels zu teilweise jahrelangen Gefängnisstrafen und happigen Bussen verurteilt. Laut Angaben der Tageszeitung «Sabah» sind allein in den ersten zwei Monaten dieses Jahres 1260 Zeitungen und Zeitschriften beschlagnahmt worden, 103 türkische und kurdische Intellektuelle sitzen gegenwärtig wegen separatistischer Propaganda hinter Gittern. In Anspielung auf Artikel 8 sprach selbst der Justizminister, Mehmet Mogultay, von Gesinnungsjustiz.

Die Europäische Union hat die Eliminierung des umstrittenen Artikels vorausgesetzt, um die im März unterzeichnete Zollunion mit der Türkei zu ratifizieren. Weil der Artikel 8 zunehmend auch die Beziehungen der Türkei zum Europarat und zu den USA belastet, hat die Frage um dessen Veränderung oder Abschaffung eine hitzige öffentliche Debatte ausgelöst. Die Regierungschefin Ciller will laut eigenen Erklärungen den Artikel verändern, hat aber Schwierigkeiten, den konservativen Flügel ihrer Partei dafür zu gewinnen. Die sozialdemokratischen Koalitionspartner wünschen den Paragraphen ganz zu streichen, stellen im Parlament aber lediglich eine Minderheit. Letzte Woche schlug Präsident Demirel vor, die Militärführung in der strittigen Frage zu konsultieren. Der von hohen Militärs beherrschte Nationale Sicherheitsrat, der seit dem Militärputsch von 1980 in manchen Bereichen die Politik des Landes bestimmt, wird sich in den nächsten Tagen mit der Materie befassen.

Da Med-TV nun aber seit Montag in der Türkei regulär sendet, erscheint die ganze Debatte müßig. Der Artikel 8, der in der Türkei – wie der Fall des Schriftstellers Yasar Kemal zeigt – bereits die

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INTERNATIONAL

Neue Zürcher Zeitung
INTERNATIONALE AUSGABE

Forderungen nach einer Beendigung des Krieges im Südosten als separatistische Propaganda einstuft, kann gegen elektronische aus dem Ausland gesendete Medien nicht angewandt werden. Med-TV unterliegt dem Einfluss von in Europa exilierten kurdischen Nationalisten. Die Abkürzung Med steht für das in Mesopotamien in der Antike wohnhafte Volk der Meder, als deren Nachfahren sich manche kurdischen Nationalisten betrachten.

Ein Instrument der Nationalisten

Der Privatsender könnte im Klima der politischen und sozialen Polarisierung in der Türkei sich rasch zu einem mächtigen Instrument der kurdischen Nationalisten entwickeln. Während einer Testsendung am 21. März, dem kurdischen Nationaltag Newroz, erschienen Bilder von türkischen Soldaten, die in die Stadt Cizre vorrückten und dort Kinder und Frauen brutal zusammenschlugen und verschleppten. Solche Bilder vermögen auch unter politisch uninteressierten Kurden im Westen der Türkei einen Aufruhr zu verursachen. In den seit Montag regulären Sendungen begnügte sich der Satellitensender nun aber

vorerst mit Kinder- und Kulturprogrammen. Aus den kurdischen Städten des türkischen Südostens wird indessen gemeldet, dass sich die Nachfrage nach Parabolantennen in den letzten Wochen verdoppelt habe.

Verurteilung von zwei Journalisten

Istanbul, 17. Mai. (dpa) Ein Gericht in Istanbul hat am Mittwoch zwei Journalisten und einen Verleger wegen separatistischer Propaganda zu Haftstrafen zwischen 5 und 20 Monaten verurteilt. Die beiden Journalisten Metin Gülbay und Hidir Göktas und ihr Verleger Hasan Basri Ciplak hatten vor einem Jahr eine Reportage mit dem Titel «Vom kalten Krieg zum heißen Frieden – Die neue Weltordnung und die Türkei» veröffentlicht. Mit dem Artikel kombiniert war ein Interview mit dem inhaftierten Vorsitzenden der verbotenen kurdischen Demokratie-Partei, Hatip Dicle. Dieser war am 8. Dezember in Ankara zusammen mit sieben anderen kurdischen Politikern wegen Separatismuspropaganda zu 15 Jahren Haft verurteilt worden.

Des « amis » français de l'Irak organisent un colloque à Paris

Ce forum vise à relancer la coopération avec Bagdad

Munie de visas délivrés par le Quai d'Orsay, une délégation de hauts fonctionnaires irakiens, parmi lesquels un diplomate déclaré *persona non grata* en 1990, tente

de sortir de son isolement international le régime de Saddam Hussein. Ce dernier vient d'envoyer un chaleureux télégramme de félicitations au président Chirac.

IL FAUT VOUER à l'Irak une indéfectible « amitié » pour organiser, mercredi 17 mai – jour de la passation de pouvoirs entre François Mitterrand et Jacques Chirac –, un colloque sur les « perspectives de coopération avec l'Irak ». L'Association pour le développement des relations arabo-françaises (Adraf) n'a pas hésité à le faire. Une délégation irakienne de sept membres, conduite par Salah el Moukhtar, président de l'Organisation pour la paix, l'amitié et la solidarité assistera à ce forum, qui aura lieu à l'Assemblée nationale.

Créée en 1991, l'Adraf est une association privée. Son président, Ahmed Chaker, qui a maille à partir avec la justice française, a ses entrées en Irak, où il pilote les hommes d'affaires étrangers. Mais sont annoncées, lors du colloque, des « interventions » de deux députés de la « majorité », Yves Bonnet – ancien directeur de la DST sous la gauche, député UDF-RPR de la Manche –, et Jacques Féron – député CNI, app. RPR à Paris, adjoint au maire. M. Bonnet a été contacté dans le cadre des consultations visant à former un nouveau gouvernement (*Le Monde* des 14-15 mai). Deux sénateurs – Serge Mathieu et Jean-Jacques Robert – devraient, eux aussi, prendre la parole.

La délégation irakienne, dont

les membres sont de hauts fonctionnaires des ministères de l'industrie, de l'agriculture, de la santé, du commerce et des affaires étrangères, doit séjourner une semaine à Paris, et y rencontrer des représentants de sociétés françaises. Oudaï el Tayi, ancien attaché de presse à l'ambassade d'Irak en France, aujourd'hui vice-président de l'association Irak-France et directeur de l'agence irakienne de presse, fait partie du voyage. Il n'y aurait rien à y redire, si, comme d'autres diplomates irakiens, M. el Tayi n'avait pas été déclaré *persona non grata* en France, en septembre 1990 – après l'invasion du Koweït – pour activités d'espionnage et de renseignements. Aurait-il donc été « blanchi » ?

LA LEVÉE DE L'EMBARGO

Cette délégation est munie de visas délivrés par le Quai d'Orsay, contrairement à ce qui s'était passé en octobre 1994, lorsque le ministère des affaires étrangères avait été mis devant le fait accompli de l'arrivée imminente d'une délégation irakienne, à laquelle le ministère de l'intérieur s'était chargé d'accorder les autorisations d'entrée (*Le Monde* du 31 octobre 1994).

Tout en demeurant extrêmement prudents – la France, disent-ils, quel que soit son président, est

liée par les résolutions du Conseil de sécurité vis-à-vis de l'Irak –, les « amis » de Bagdad, toutes tendances politiques confondues, espèrent que, sous la présidence de M. Chirac, les choses bougeront. Les Amitiés franco-irakiennes – qui viennent d'élire un nouveau président en la personne de l'ambassadeur Marc Bonnefous, ancien directeur d'Afrique du Nord et du Moyen-Orient au Quai d'Orsay et ancien conseiller diplomatique du gouvernement de M. Chirac – ont lancé un nouvel appel pour la levée de l'embargo contre l'Irak, qui a déjà recueilli une cinquantaine de signatures d'intellectuels.

Dans une lettre adressée au président élu, Saddam Hussein a appelé de ses vœux une amélioration des relations avec Paris, « Je souhaite vous rappeler l'action commune que nous avons menée il y a vingt ans pour construire des relations privilégiées entre l'Irak et la France », écrit-il. Et d'ajouter : « Après votre accession à la présidence de la France, nous espérons que les relations entre nos deux pays reprendront leur cours, sur les mêmes bases et avec la même vitalité, dans l'intérêt mutuel et celui de la paix, de la sécurité, du développement et de la justice, dans notre région et dans le monde. »

Mouna Naïm

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Turkey extends contracts of US lobby firms for one year, but at lower fees

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Evidently satisfied — or less cross — with their performance in selling Turkey's case to the American public, media and politicians in contrast with the record of the European counterparts, Turkey has extended the contracts of two leading Washington lobby firms.

But although getting another year's contract from the Turkish government, Fleishman and Hillard (F&H) and Capitoline had to agree to serious cuts in their fees.

It was not clear, however, if the smaller purse was a result of the less-than-solid support Turkey received from Washington to its recent cross-border operation against the separatist Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq.

F&H's contract ended on March 31, and Capitoline's ended on April 30. F&H's contract was initially extended by only 2 months due to the fact that Turkish Promotion Fund, the multi-agency government board which approves lobby accounts, did not have a meeting scheduled when F&H's contract expired.

"It's only due to such a mismatch in timing that the F&H account initially had to be extended on a temporary basis," a Turkish official told the Turkish Daily News.

High-level representatives of both firms are currently in Ankara, holding the kind of inter-lobby conference that all lobby firms working for Turkey in the United States and Europe held three months ago in London to coordinate their activities on a global scale.

The representatives met with Turkish Foreign Ministry officials on Monday and some of them were also to fly to Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) to see the island republic for the first time. Their TRNC visit fuels existing rumors that a modest breakthrough could take place in the Cyprus issue within the next year.

Turkish officials in Washington assured TDN that they were "very satisfied" with the services provided both by F&H, which is responsible for "media relations," and Capitoline, which specializes in "government relations."

Yet, an informed source told the TDN that, although their contracts

were renewed, both companies had to accept a pay cut. F&H was paid \$525,000 every three months last year. Capitoline, on the other hand, received \$487,500 during the last six months of service.

An F&H source confirmed that the firm had taken a pay cut. The source said that F&H would be paid about \$430,000 per quarter in the new contract period, which represents a cut of 18 percent. Capitoline reportedly also accepted a similar reduction in paycheck but at this writing senior company officials could not be reached for confirmation.

TDN also learned that both companies will be subjected to a quarterly "performance review."

If they fail to pass the review, their contracts might be reevaluated before the annual contracts expire.

The F&H source could not confirm the reported "performance review" clause in the new contract.

Another reported modification in these two firms' contracts was the authority given to F&H to do some limited "government relations" work on Capitol Hill that was previously carried out mainly, if not exclusively, by the Capitoline team. An F&H source confirmed the mentioned change in their contract.

Other sources have told TDN during the last year that such overlapping of responsibilities between the two highly competitive PR companies caused minor strains in their relationship.

With this recent rearrangement of their job descriptions, it is expected that similar misunderstandings will be avoided and the efficiency of the overall operation will increase.

The TDN also learned that the Greek Cypriots have hired Ed Derwinski to represent their cause in Washington in addition to the Manatos & Manatos company. Derwinski is a well-known name in the capital.

He served in the U.S. House of Representatives for 22 years as a Republican Congressman from Chicago.

After losing his seat due to redistricting, Derwinski was brought into the Bush administration to work first briefly at the Department of Veterans Affairs, and then at the State Department.

Hasan Ocak's murder provokes strong reactions

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The case of Hasan Ocak, who went missing after his alleged detention by police on March 21 and was discovered dead in Istanbul on May 16, has led to angry reactions from human rights groups.

At a joint press conference held in Ankara on Wednesday, Akın Birdal, the chairman of the Human Rights Association (IHD), and Yavuz Önen, chairman of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TIHV), said the government was responsi-

ble for Ocak's murder. Önen also said Prime Minister Tansu Çiller was "the murderer of Hasan Ocak."

"The prime minister has to find out who murdered Hasan Ocak or she has to resign. We will not allow certain forces to turn Turkey into a country of unsolved murders," Önen added. Birdal, who spoke on behalf of both the IHD and TIHV at the press conference, spoke of the effort made by human rights groups to find Hasan Ocak after his disappearance and the lack of results.

"In 1994, a total of 327 people were reported missing to the IHD and unfortunately none of the prosecutors in this country take action to investigate the cases of missing people," Birdal said.

"It is said that villagers found his body in the forest area of Istanbul-Beykoz and took him to the forensic medicine department, then he was buried in the Küçükçekmece paupers' cemetery. The government has to launch an investigation and question those who found his corpse, those who carried out the autopsy and buried him in a very short time without conducting any checks," Birdal demanded.

The IHD chairman also pointed out that Hasan Ocak's case was very well known publicly and it was very hard to understand the officials who decided to bury someone without informing the public that a body had been found.

He claimed that there was an organized group carrying out torture and murders.

Both the IHD and TIHV called on nongovernmental organizations to set up a civil commission to investigate the Hasan Ocak case. They repeated their demand for human rights now and invited everybody with any piece of information about those missing to testify.

"We call on the government to disclose what has happened to those



Hasan Ocak

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1995

who have gone missing," they said, and for prosecutors to set up investigations to find out who is responsible for people going missing.

Hasan Ocak, 27, went missing in Istanbul on March 21 after calling his sister to say he would shortly be home. Nothing was heard from him after that.

Although at least two people, who were detained at the Istanbul police department and later released, testified that they had seen Hasan Ocak in the police center, officials denied they had detained Ocak.

The campaign to shed light on Ocak's whereabouts brought no results and finally on May 16 his relatives identified his body from a photograph in the police forensic medicine department. Sources said a nurse working in the department, who did not want to be identified, called Ocak's family and informed them about the corpse. The family then went to check the photographs. It emerged that Ocak's body was found on March 26, five days after he disappeared, and he was buried on April 13 in Istanbul's Küçükçekmece district.

The Beykoz district prosecutor also confirmed that the corpse was that of Hasan Ocak, that it had been found in Beykoz, and had remained at the forensic medicine department for 29 days, then was buried in Küçükçekmece cemetery.

The prosecutor's office said Ocak's family identified him from photographs, that the body had been examined before it was buried, and a court order was necessary to exhume the body and carry out a second autopsy.

With Hasan Ocak's murder the list of people who have gone missing in Turkey has been shortened but the list of unsolved killings has increased by one.

Now, Ocak's family is waiting for his grave to be reopened and for an autopsy to discover how and when he was killed.

Columnist Altan charged for satire about Kurds

By Aliza Marcus / Reuter

ISTANBUL- A Turkish columnist who satirized the country's restrictions against Kurdish cultural and political rights has been charged with provoking racism, court officials said on Wednesday.

Ahmet Altan, who was fired from his job at the daily Milliyet because of the column, was charged this week with article 312 of the penal code, under which it is a crime to promote differences among people based on race, religion, class or region.

He faces up to six years in prison if convicted. The



Ahmet Altan

use of article 312 underscores the myriad laws which can be used to limit debate, although Western attention recently has focused on article 8 of the anti-terror law, a catch-all ruling which bans "separatist propaganda". Human rights officials say as pressure mounts on Turkey to lift article 8, prosecutors are increasingly applying 312.

Altan's column two months ago caused a furore because he imagined what the country would be like if Turkey's revered founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had been a Kurd instead of a Turk. Altan, who comes from a distinguished journalistic family, wrote that Turkey would be called "Kurdey", Turkish would be banned and Turks defending their ethnicity would be jailed. The column turned on its head the problems Turkey's Kurds face, from the burning of civilian villages in the south-east by soldiers fighting rebel Kurds to torture faced by detainees and Turkey's attempts to forcibly assimilate Kurds.

"People think that if you write something that makes them angry, then you are guilty of a crime...but this is what democracy means," Altan told Reuters. The notorious article 8 has been used to imprison scores of journalists, academics and trade unionists, usually for written or verbal state-

ments criticising Turkey's human rights record or limits on Kurdish cultural and political expression. Turkish law blocks Kurdish-language education and television or radio broadcasts. Discussion of Kurdish nationalist aspirations and history often falls foul of legal limits. Turkey's Western allies want article 8 lifted as a sign of commitment to promote human rights, but this is unpopular with many deputies in Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's party. Some deputies claim that as long as Turkey faces a guerrilla war — an 11-year battle by Kurdish rebels for control of the mainly Kurdish southeast has killed more than 16,000 people — the country cannot afford to lift restrictions on debate.

Political analysts say article 8 may finally be lifted, but only if the restrictions are essentially restated in the penal code.

"Article 8 has become a symbol of problems, but just lifting it is not enough to make Turkey democratic," said Altan.

"After the column was published I got many calls from people who liked it. The problem is the desires of people who want democracy are not reflected in parliament," he said.

THURSDAY, MAY 18, 1995

Amnesty deplures use of US choppers in fight against PKK

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A new report by Amnesty International (AI) criticizes the Turkish government for using U.S.-made Sikorsky and Super Cobra helicopters while fighting Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK) guerrillas.

The report, "Human Rights and U.S. Security Assistance," also details "grave human rights violations" committed by the PKK. It condemns the murder of 16 women and children in January, 1994 "by grenades thrown by PKK members into a building during an attack on village guards in Ormancik, Mardin province." The report says "the PKK also is responsible for 'executions' of many teachers and non-military government officials." AI focused its criticism of Turkey's human rights record on the use of U.S.-made helicopters in its campaign against the PKK.

"Recent reports indicate that some types of U.S. military equipment supplied to Turkey may have been used by Turkish security forces to commit such violations against innocent civilians," the report said. In addition to one case of "Ali Karaca" who was reportedly "tortured by the local gendarmerie and then placed in a helicopter," AI said it "also received other reports indicating that helicopters were used to ferry troops in village raids in which 'disappearances' occurred." Turkey will receive in 1996 a \$450-million loan from the United States according to the Foreign Military Financing (FMF) program as well as \$100 million from the Economic Support Fund and \$103 million from an Excess Defense Article grant. The AI report mentions that "in December 1994 the PKK committed to abide by Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, which forbids ill-treatment or killing of civilians or prisoners of war. In January, 1995 the PKK reaffirmed this pledge. Despite these assurances, however, the PKK continues to commit violate human rights."

The Turkish government refuses to acknowledge or discuss the PKK's alleged commitment to the Geneva Convention since it does not recognize the terrorist group as a legitimate interlocutor in any legal process.

The report asks Turkey to send a public statement from the highest authorities stating their "absolute opposition to

torture," to eliminate incommunicado detention, to investigate the outlined charges according to international standards, to prohibit the use of statements extracted under torture, to repeal Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law and to provide adequate compensation to victims of human rights violations. AI did not have any recommendations for the PKK to follow.

Try at Kurdish democracy on the brink of collapse

By Tolle Aram

Agence France Press

SALAHADIN- Iraqi Kurds have two weeks to salvage their attempt at democratic rule in northern Iraq before parliament comes to the end of its term, Kurdish officials said Wednesday. A year of fighting between rival Kurdish factions has made it impossible to organize elections in time for June 4, when the term of their self-declared parliament ends.

"If we can't find a solution by June 4, we'll have definitely killed off our so-called democracy experiment," said former deputy prime minister Rosh Nuri Shaways, a member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP).

The Kurds have controlled northern Iraq in defiance of President Saddam Hussein and with US-led protection since after the 1991 Gulf War.

Their parliament, which is not internationally recognized, was created by elections in May 1992 — the Kurds' first ever — and voted itself a three-year mandate.

The KDP and its rival the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) believe that their only hope now is to extend the parliament's mandate by a year, to June 1996.

But the two sides, each of which has 50 MPs, cannot even agree on where to convene the session of parliament required to vote in an extension.

The main northern Iraqi town of Erbil, where the parliament has its seat, is controlled by the PUK. As a result the KDP wants to meet at its headquarters in Salahadin, a former hill station 30 kilometers (19 miles) to the north.

The rival factions say they are now negotiating a neutral site between the two towns to hold at least a one-hour session of parliament.

The parliament has not met since December amid sporadic violence which erupted in spring 1994 after two years of shaky cooperation between the KDP and PUK.

The struggle over power and tax revenues has cost more than 2,000 lives, according to Kurdish sources. It has also split the region and practically paralyzed the self-rule administration.

Turkish Daily News

LE « DERNIER QUART D'HEURE » DE L'ARMÉE TURQUE

Fuite en avant au Kurdistan

SIX semaines après le déclenchement d'une intervention militaire massive qui devait être de courte durée, l'armée turque est toujours présente en territoire irakien où la lutte contre les combattants kurdes fait des centaines de victimes civiles, tandis que les opérations guerrières se poursuivent au sud-est de la Turquie. La tolérance des Occidentaux à l'égard des Faucons d'Ankara risque d'être lourde de conséquences aussi bien pour la situation politique intérieure que pour l'équilibre de l'ensemble de la région.

Par KENDAL NEZAN *

Embourbée depuis bientôt onze ans dans une guerre interminable et ruineuse contre la guérilla du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK), la Turquie est à son tour atteinte par le fameux syndrome du « dernier quart d'heure ». A l'instar de leurs collègues engagés dans des guerres coloniales, les généraux turcs proclament à chaque saison que la victoire est proche, qu'ils voient enfin le bout du tunnel, qu'avec un peu plus d'armes, d'avions et d'hélicoptères, et s'ils ont « carte blanche » (1) pour évacuer telle ou telle région ou franchir telle frontière, ils écraseront définitivement la rébellion.

L'intervention massive de l'armée turque, le 20 mars dernier, dans le Kurdistan irakien procède de cette logique de fuite en avant. Décidée apparemment à la seule initiative des militaires, sans consultation ni même information du Parlement et de la plupart des ministres, cette opération est présentée par le premier ministre, M^{me} Tansu Çiller comme « la plus importante de l'histoire du pays depuis la guerre russo-turque de 1877 ». Si l'on en croit Ankara, elle vise à « éliminer les quelque 3 000 terroristes du PKK » installés dans les zones frontalières et à détruire leurs bases. Son coût est estimé à 1 milliard de dollars par mois.

Appuyée par des chars, des bombardiers et des hélicoptères, une force de 35 000 soldats a violé une frontière internationale, a envahi et occupé en quelques jours un territoire irakien de 8 400 kilomètres carrés. Cet espace fait partie de la « zone de sécurité » des Nations unies pour les Kurdes instaurée en juin 1991 et placée sous la protection des avions américains, britanniques et français contre les éventuelles attaques de l'armée irakienne.

Les troupes ont investi des villes et des villages kurdes irakiens, fouillé maison après maison, procédé à des contrôles d'identité, arrêté ceux qui leur paraissaient « suspects ». Elles ont planté, dans la vieille tradition des janissaires ottomans, des drapeaux turcs sur les collines et villages kurdes irakiens, bombardé et détruit à l'aveuglette de vastes zones d'un pays déjà si meurtri. L'accès de la région est interdit aux journalistes et aux observateurs, y compris aux représentants de la Croix-Rouge internationale, soucieux de venir en aide aux réfugiés fuyant les bombardements.

* Président de l'Institut kurde de Paris.

Intervenant deux semaines à peine après la signature à Bruxelles d'un traité d'union douanière entre l'Union européenne et Ankara (2), l'invasion du Kurdistan irakien a pris au dépourvu les gouvernements du Vieux Continent, qui doivent s'estimer bien mal payés de leurs efforts visant à « arrimer solidement ce pays à l'Europe démocratique ». Au moment où, faisant crédit aux engagements de leurs collègues turcs civils, ils attendaient l'annonce d'un calendrier de mise en œuvre de mesures de démocratisation tant de fois promises depuis plus de trois ans, afin de calmer les critiques et appréhensions d'un Parlement européen rétif à l'intégration de cette « semi-démocratie », les voilà placés devant le fait accompli. Embarrassée, l'Union européenne « condamne » cette « intervention disproportionnée » et demande le retrait « très rapide » des troupes turques. Pourtant aucun État n'a saisi le Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU afin d'examiner cette violation grave du droit international et seuls trois pays occidentaux – l'Allemagne, la Norvège et les Pays-Bas – ont décidé de suspendre leurs ventes d'armes à la Turquie. La France, qui doit livrer bientôt 20 hélicoptères Cougar à l'armée turque, a assuré, par la voix de son ministre de la défense, M. François Léotard, que les livraisons se poursuivront selon le calendrier convenu.

Faute de mesures de rétorsion concrètes, les condamnations ou la menace de non-ratification du traité d'union douanière n'impressionnent pas beaucoup les autorités turques, qui refusent de donner une date pour le retrait de leurs troupes. Ankara sait que, au cours des trois dernières années, l'Allemagne a, à deux reprises, décidé de suspendre ses livraisons d'armes. Il s'agissait de calmer une opinion publique choquée par le sort des Kurdes en Turquie, par l'utilisation des armes de fabrication allemande contre les populations civiles et par les violations des droits de l'homme dans ce pays allié qui pratique la politique de la terre brûlée, les déplacements de population (3), assassine par centaines des opposants civils et jette en prison, pour délit d'opinion, des intellectuels et des députés kurdes. Mais ces suspensions n'ont duré que quelques semaines, le temps d'apaiser l'émotion populaire.

Depuis la signature du traité sur le contrôle des armes conventionnelles en

Europe, l'armée turque a reçu de Bonn, à titre de don, un arsenal considérable : 300 chars de l'ancienne armée de la République démocratique allemande (RDA), 100 chars Leopard, 45 bombardiers Phantom, 250 000 kalachnikovs, 100 000 missiles antichars, etc. En 1993, elle a obtenu de Washington, également sous forme de dons, 1 017 chars,

600 véhicules blindés et 70 pièces d'artillerie (4). Ces armes qui, en principe, ne devaient pas servir à des fins de sécurité intérieure, sont ouvertement utilisées dans la guerre du Kurdistan où, à ce jour, plus de 2 000 villages et des milliers d'hectares de forêt ont été détruits, souvent par des bombardements aériens.

que ceux-ci restaient marginaux par rapport aux maquis installés à l'intérieur de la Turquie et qui regroupent de 12 000 à 15 000 combattants.

Pour ne pas prêter le flanc aux interventions répétées et déstabilisatrices de l'armée turque, les Kurdes irakiens avaient eux-mêmes, en octobre 1992, délogé le PKK de ses bases dans les zones frontalières et interdit à celui-ci toute action militaire à partir de ce territoire. 20 000 soldats turcs avaient alors franchi la frontière, pour « nettoyer définitivement les bases arrière du PKK » et Ankara avait annoncé triomphalement la mort de « 2 500 terroristes du PKK » dans ces opérations.

Occuper cette région afin de créer une illusoire « bande de sécurité » ou « zone tampon », comme certains généraux turcs le réclament, conduirait à une extension et à une internationalisation de la guerre et inciterait une partie de la population kurde d'Irak à basculer dans le camp du PKK afin de combattre l'occupation étrangère. L'armée turque, qui, malgré un budget évalué en 1994 à 12,5 milliards de dollars (6), malgré ses 350 000 soldats, gendarmes et autres supplétifs appuyés par l'artillerie lourde, les blindés et l'aviation n'a pu remporter militairement la guerre dans le Kurdistan turc, n'aurait rien à gagner à l'extension du théâtre des opérations à l'une des régions les plus escarpées et les plus difficiles d'accès de l'Asie occidentale. Si, avec une telle armada, elle n'a pas pu anéantir les maquis du PKK à l'intérieur, comment peut-elle demander aux Kurdes irakiens dépourvus de

« Compréhension » occidentale

ANKARA a, jusqu'ici, pu jouer habilement sur le manque de cohésion et de volonté politique de l'Union européenne et sur les conflits d'intérêt commerciaux entre ses États membres, tout en ménageant sa relation privilégiée avec les États-Unis. Washington a d'ailleurs ouvertement exprimé sa « compréhension » pour l'intervention turque. Il est même fort probable que cette « compréhension » se soit accompagnée d'un appui technique. Citant des sources du ministère britannique de la défense, l'Agence France-Presse indique que l'armée turque a bénéficié des photos aériennes du Kurdistan irakien prises par les Harrier G27 de la Royal Air Force, les Jaguar français ainsi que par un avion Awacs de l'OTAN appartenant à la force multinationale chargée du contrôle de cette zone (5). Aux Turcs invoquant le droit de suite pour justifier leur intervention, Washington répond en

substance : « D'accord, mais faites vite et retirez rapidement vos troupes. »

De quel droit de suite s'agit-il ? Tous les observateurs attentifs de la scène turque savent que, depuis des mois, aucune action militaire significative de la guérilla kurde n'a eu lieu dans cette zone frontalière. Le plus récent accrochage meurtrier s'est produit trois jours avant le lancement de la grande offensive turque, mais dans la province de Dersim (Tunceli), à plus de 500 kilomètres de la frontière irakienne : 15 soldats et officiers turcs sont morts au cours d'une embuscade tendue par les guérilleros du PKK. Épisode devenu banal dans une guerre où, en onze ans, 15 850 personnes selon Ankara (34 200, selon le PKK) ont trouvé la mort. Le maigre bilan de l'invasion – 320 morts en un mois d'opérations selon la version turque, une quarantaine selon le PKK – montre que cette zone dépeuplée abritait peut-être quelques camps du PKK, mais



ANNE DELASSUS

MOISSON DANS LE KURDISTAN D'IRAK

Un pays totalement dévasté, sans moyens techniques ni financiers

moyens le contrôle strict de leurs frontières ?

Reste alors un autre prétexte, invoqué par la diplomatie turque : remplir ou obliger les Alliés à remplir le vide d'autorité qui prévaut dans le Kurdistan irakien. Problème bien réel : pour assurer le retour dans leur pays de plus de deux millions de Kurdes irakiens réfugiés en Iran et à la frontière turque au printemps 1991, les Alliés ont institué cette zone de sécurité protégée des attaques aériennes de Bagdad sans prendre aucune disposition concrète pour l'administration de ce territoire grand comme cinq fois et demie le Liban, et peuplé d'environ 4 millions d'habitants; laissant les Kurdes se débrouiller par leurs propres moyens.

Comment un pays totalement dévasté, avec un chômage affectant plus de 70 % de la population, pourra-t-il panser ses plaies et se reconstruire sans une administration efficace, dotée d'un minimum de moyens techniques et financiers ? Sous la forte pression d'une Turquie craignant que le succès d'une expérience d'auto-administration ne préparât le terrain à la création d'un État kurde *de facto*, exemple dangereux pour ses propres Kurdes, les Alliés ont refusé toute reconnaissance politique au gouvernement et au Parlement régionaux kurdes, issus d'élections libres et démocratiques, si rares dans cette partie du monde. Ils leur ont également refusé tout soutien financier, se contentant de fournir à la population, par le biais des organisations non gouvernementales, le « minimum humanitaire » nécessaire à assurer sa survie au jour le jour.

L'échec de l'administration régionale kurde, qui, faute de moyens adéquats,

n'a pu s'imposer, laisse le champ libre aux conflits fratricides entre diverses milices. Candidate à remplir ce vide en attendant le retour des troupes de Bagdad, la Turquie se heurte pour l'instant à l'opposition de Washington, dont la stratégie pour l'avenir de l'Irak diffère sensiblement de celle de la Turquie, de la France, de la Russie et de la Chine, qui militent en faveur d'une normalisation rapide avec le régime du président Saddam Hussein. Les États-Unis ont clairement indiqué à leurs interlocuteurs turcs que la sécurité de la frontière irakienne devait être assurée par un accord avec les chefs kurdes irakiens en attendant l'installation à Bagdad d'un régime démocratique représentatif, seul capable de restaurer l'autorité de l'État dans la région; toute « zone tampon visant à empêcher les infiltrations terroristes » doit se créer, selon Washington, à l'intérieur des frontières turques.

Fortement sollicités, MM. Massoud Barzani et Jalal Talabani, les deux chefs kurdes irakiens, refusent de jouer le rôle de supplétifs turcs, et demandent une aide internationale massive pour la reconstruction des villages de la zone frontalière, seule mesure à leurs yeux susceptible d'empêcher durablement les mouvements des combattants du PKK.

Dans ce contexte, l'opération turque risque de se terminer par un fiasco militaire et politique. Même son rôle de « mobilisation patriotique » appuyé à grand renfort de campagnes médiatiques sur le thème « *En avant la Turquie, main dans la main avec l'armée* », ne saurait produire des résultats durables. Dirigée par un régime militaro-policié ultranationaliste, la Turquie refuse toute recherche de solution

politique à la question kurde, s'enfonçant dans une guerre sans issue et devient, selon les termes de M. Richard Holbrooke, secrétaire d'État adjoint américain, « *le pays de tous les dangers* ». Sa politique kurde d'un autre âge, par son coût économique et humain, marginalise des couches entières de la population, attise les clivages ethniques et religieux, alimente les mouvements islamistes et extrémistes, transforme les grandes métropoles du pays en véritables poudrières.

Le « rempart de l'Occident », gangrené par le conflit kurde, pourrait s'effondrer et se disloquer. La « compréhension » des Occidentaux à l'égard des Faucons, qui, depuis la mort du président Turgut Ozal, se sont engagés dans une politique suicidaire, leur refus de proposer un statut acceptable aux 25 à 30 millions de Kurdes du Proche-Orient en lutte pour leur survie et pour la défense de leur identité, risquent d'avoir les mêmes conséquences que la mansuétude, autrefois, à l'égard du chah d'Iran, qui devait, avec sa « cinquième armée du monde », être le gendarme régional de l'Occident. On sait ce qu'il advint...

(1) Lire Michel Verrier, « Carte blanche à l'armée turque au Kurdistan », *Le Monde diplomatique*, octobre 1993.

(2) Lire Michel Verrier, « La Turquie piétine aux portes de l'Union européenne », *Le Monde diplomatique*, mars 1995.

(3) Lire Jean-François Pérouse, « Terre brûlée au Kurdistan », *Le Monde diplomatique*, mars 1995.

(4) *The European*, 7 avril 1995.

(5) Dépêche de l'Agence France-Presse, 29 mars 1995.

(6) Selon le ministre turc de l'intérieur cité par le *Turkish Daily News*, 29 janvier 1995.

TURQUIE Plus de cent ans de prison ont été requis contre le sociologue Ismail Besikçi - qui a déjà passé vingt ans de sa vie sous les verrous -, « coupable » d'avoir dénoncé le sort fait au peuple kurde. Son ami, le poète Ataul Behramoglu, lui a rendu visite dans sa geôle.

Ismail Besikçi, une vie de droiture et de cachot

L'intellectuel turc qui sourit et chuchote en prison



Un spécialiste de la question kurde

Né en 1939, Ismail Besikçi est turc. Assistant en sociologie à Erzurum, à l'est du pays, il y découvre la question kurde. Il rédige son doctorat, « Les structures socio-économiques de l'Est anatolien », qui lui vaut, en 1969, d'être... chassé de l'université. Immédiatement arrêté après le putsch de mars 1971, il est condamné à treize ans de prison pour « atteinte aux sentiments nationaux et séparatisme », expression accolée en Turquie à quiconque défend les droits nationaux kurdes. Amnistié en 1974, il est de nouveau arrêté après la publication d'un

livre dénonçant les mythes du kémalisme (parmi lesquels l'idée que les civilisations fondatrices - Egyptiens, Sumériens, Hittites, ainsi que d'autres - sont toutes issues de Turquie). Condamné pour « insulte à la mémoire d'Atatürk », il croupe dans un cachot de 1977 à avril 1981, puis est arrêté de nouveau en juin, cette fois pour avoir « nuï à la réputation de l'État turc à l'extérieur » : le sociologue avait écrit à l'Union des écrivains suédois pour exposer ses conditions de détention. Ismail Besikçi a été adopté par Amnesty International. Il est le plus vieux prisonnier de conscience d'un pays membre associé de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale.

Courrier International, 11-17 mai 1995

Ataol Behramoglu
CUMHURİYET - İSTANBUL

Le 24 février dernier, un vendredi après-midi ensoleillé. Lorsque nous nous rendons à la prison d'Ankara pour une visite à İsmail Besikçi, je songe à ma première rencontre avec lui. C'était encore dans l'Ankara des années 60. Nous étions chez un bouquiniste de Kizilay [quartier central d'Ankara]. Il fouillait dans des revues pour ses recherches, et moi, j'étais derrière je ne sais quel livre. C'était un jeune homme blond, avec un sourire timide, qui parlait doucement comme s'il chuchotait...

Mon ami Abdullah Nefes, qui a purgé deux ans avec lui dans la prison d'Adana, après le putsch militaire du 12 mars 1971, est au volant, moi à côté. Nous sommes silencieux. Nous avons tous les deux la même question dans la tête : comment sera l'homme qui va nous accueillir ? Je sais qu'İsmail est incarcéré dans un quartier commun de 80 personnes. Cela n'a pas été facile d'obtenir la permission de lui rendre visite. Nous avons dû voir le ministre de la Justice en personne. Et dans le bureau du directeur de la prison, nous apprenons ce jour-là qu'une peine supplémentaire de huit ans vient d'être confirmée à son encontre... İsmail n'est pas encore au courant.

La porte s'ouvre. İsmail Besikçi entre derrière un gardien. Il porte un pull à col roulé de couleur sombre, une veste et un pantalon sombres également, d'un tissu épais. Pourtant, c'est le printemps dehors. Ces vêtements lourds témoignent du fait que le quartier où il est enfermé ainsi que la cour

de promenade ne reçoivent pas le soleil. Besikçi a le même sourire timide. Le même chuchotement lorsqu'il parle. Sans jamais élever la voix, sans jamais se plaindre, sinon pour demander seulement, avec l'étonnement d'un homme de science : *"Peut-on lire un livre dans le simple but de voir s'il contient un délit ? C'est déjà là que commence l'absurdité..."* Et puis, il demande des nouvelles de mon frère Nihat. Je lui réponds qu'il est en Suisse et qu'il va bientôt rentrer. Son sourire timide et chaleureux devient encore plus large.

Et puis, soudainement, Abdullah lui annonce la confirmation de sa peine de huit ans, en pensant sans doute qu'il vaut mieux que la nouvelle lui soit donnée par nous. Je le fixe avec appréhension : comment va-t-il réagir ? Mais que peuvent signifier huit ans de plus pour un homme qui cumule déjà des condamnations de je ne sais combien d'années ? Il semble tout de même un peu étonné. Et je sens que quelque branche se casse encore au fond de lui. Comme cela arrive chez les enfants et chez les gens au cœur généreux qui espèrent toujours de bonnes choses...

Lorsque je rentre à Istanbul la même nuit, je lis les notes de voyage du grand poète japonais Matsuo Basho, qui a vécu au XVII^e siècle, *"Le chemin étroit qui mène au Nord"*. Basho a fait trois grands voyages à pied dans son pays. Et il a noté ses observations. Des notes tissées de poèmes, fruits d'observations profondes et amères. Je lis plusieurs fois ces phrases de la préface : *"Il ne faut pas oublier, en lisant les notes de voyage de Basho, que, dans le Japon de cette époque, on se déplaçait dans des conditions très difficiles*

et dangereuses. Et le poète, dans les années de souffrance précédant son voyage, avait déjà traversé plusieurs étapes d'une quête d'identité." Un peu plus loin, d'autres phrases racontent que Basho a voulu se débarrasser de sa propre identité, afin de se fondre complètement dans l'identité éternelle de la poésie, et qu'*"il a laissé tomber les nécessaires du voyage pour partir comme un fou"*.

L'image du poète qui *"est parti en laissant tomber les préparatifs du voyage"*, et celle de l'homme avec qui j'ai parlé dans la prison voilée quelques heures, commencent à se superposer dans ma tête, d'abord comme une vague impression, et puis comme un sentiment de plus en plus fort. Il y a une ressemblance énorme entre cet homme qui s'est mis sur les routes pour se débarrasser de sa propre identité et celui qui est venu nous voir avec un gardien, qui n'est plus très loin de dépasser l'âge mûr, ses cheveux blonds de plus en plus espacés, son sourire toujours aussi timide, qui parle toujours comme s'il chuchotait, qui n'accuse personne, qui ne se plaint de rien, mais qui marche avec conviction et obstination sur le chemin qu'il croit juste...

Je comprends que le jeune homme des années 60, après tant de souffrances, ait atteint aujourd'hui la sérénité d'un derviche, d'un saint... Et je veux répéter à tout le monde, en criant, les paroles que je lui ai adressées dans la prison d'Ankara : on est libre de partager ou non les idées d'İsmail Besikçi, mais, si nous sommes aussi des intellectuels et des êtres humains, les menottes sur ses poignets serrent également nos poignets et nos propres consciences. ●

Human Rights Diary

Hunger strike ends at Yozgat prison

The hunger strike begun on March 21 by 180 political prisoners at Yozgat prison to protest their treatment ended on April 27, the Human Rights Foundation reported. Lawyers, parents and Justice Ministry officials came together and were able to bring about the end of the 44-day hunger strike, the report said. Yusuf Kenan Doğan, undersecretary of the Justice Ministry, Zeki Güngör, director of prisons, and two representatives of the Contemporary Journalists Association, Mehmet Cengiz and Nusret Senem, met with the parents of some of the prisoners and agreed to some of the prisoners' demands, it said. The parents of the prisoners also ended their hunger strike at the general center of the Human Rights Association on Wednesday.

(*Turkish Daily News, April 28*)

HADEP officials charged and arrested

Leading officials from the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP) who were detained a week ago have been formally charged and placed under arrest, sources from the party told the *Turkish Daily News* on May 4. Among those charged are HADEP Deputy Chairmen Şehabettin Özarıslan and Hikmet Fidan, Assistant Secretary-General Şeyhmuz Çağrı and a member of the party's Ankara provincial administrative board, Ferhat Türk. The charges brought by the State Security Court were not immediately apparent but the lawyers of the HADEP officials were barred from entering the courtroom under the Law on Combatting Terrorism. Observers say this gives an indication of what the HADEP officials have been charged with. HADEP's precursor, the Democracy Party (DEP), was closed by the constitutional court last year and its deputies were charged and convicted to harsh prison sentences on the grounds that they had links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). (*Turkish Daily News, May 5*)

Court adjourns trial of Yaşar Kemal for two months

The State Security Court in Istanbul on May 5 adjourned to July 7 the trial of Turkey's best-known writer, Yaşar Kemal, charged with advocating separatism and fanning public unrest with an article published in the German magazine *Der Spiegel* last year. Responding to charges, Kemal told the court that he was against racism and had upheld unity contrary to charges of separatism. Scores of local and foreign reporters and newsmen with television

cameras jostled with one another inside the tiny, packed courtroom to film the burly author, often blocking the view of the judges and defense attorneys. More foreign journalists were present than Turks to observe the trial. "I am not a racist. I have never been a Kurdish or a gypsy nationalist. I am a socialist," the 69-year-old Kemal declared. "For the past 50 years, as a writer, I have fought against racism. I have always sought to be a unifier through my writings, not a separatist." The barrel-chested author asserted he was on trial not because of his *Der Spiegel* article, but due to mistranslations published by the newspapers *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*. "The prosecutor did not build his case against my words, but on the so-called summary reporting by *Milliyet* and *Hürriyet*, based on their so-called translations from German," Kemal said. "Sentences are taken out of context. Passages have been removed by tweezers and changed ... It would not be a lie to say this is not my writing. This is *Hürriyet's* and *Milliyet's* writing," asserted the tall, 6-foot writer. "A writer stands as a complete whole. A text is also a complete whole. If we can attribute offenses to a writer on the basis of pieces of sentences plucked and distorted out of a writing, then there is no writer in Turkey who will not be found guilty even by the most conscientious judge," said he. He accused the prosecutor of frivolity for bringing totally unfounded charges. "He would have at least the German version translated by a neutral party, or he would have asked me for the Turkish version," Kemal said to the judges. If found guilty, Kemal could face two to five years in prison. Imprisoned many times for his political views, Kemal is best known for his novels depicting rural life in the southern region of Çukurova. He gained international attention in 1957 with the publication of his novel "Memed, My Hawk."

(*Turkish Daily News, May 6*)

Doctors prevented from giving medical reports

Doctors working in the State of Emergency region in the Southeast have been prevented from giving medical reports that document torture cases, the Turkish Medical Association (TMA) reported. A report on health services and health personnel's problems in the Southeast published recently by the association said that doctors were threatened and harassed in the region, where an ongoing conflict between the Turkish security forces and outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) militants has claimed over 16,000 lives. According to the report a physician from Diyarbakir who requested to remain anonymous complained of not being able to practice according to the principles of his profession. He said that people who had been detained by the

security forces were brought to centers like the emergency service of the state hospital, where security is very tight, and "the next morning he is brought before a judge and public prosecutor and his case is handled at the discretion of the person in charge there. Officials want a report stating that 'no blows have been made to the body' from the emergency service of the state hospital. If I say, 'Take off your clothes, I want to examine you' to the person coming from there, this is interpreted by the officials as taking the opposite side. Let's suppose that I confirm this and write a report, that report may immediately be torn up. I have experienced this. The official can ask, 'What are you writing doctor?' He might ask, 'Did you give him a report?', then, he can get the report he wishes from other places," the physician added. According to the Medical Association, some physicians in the region have been interrogated, arrested or even sentenced on grounds that they have treated "offenders" including "Dr. Abdullah Bolcal, who was the only internal diseases specialist in Cizre, was beaten and exiled from the region on grounds that he had treated an offender. In Diyarbakır, Dr. İlhan Diken was arrested and then sentenced because he helped treat an offender. He is still in Diyarbakır Prison. In Bitlis, Dr. Ersan Taşçı was arrested, accused of providing medical aid to an offender and spent a long period in prison. Dr. Seyfettin Kızılkın, the head physician of the Social Security Institution Hospital was interrogated several times and kept in detention for two nights on allegations that he had treated an offender at his examination office." The Medical Association, saying that doctors should be able to practice their profession without any restriction, recalled the principles of medicine: "In accordance with all the international and national regulations and as required by the medical profession, physicians are obliged to save human life and offer their medical knowledge to people without considering differences such as sex, race, nation, religion, political opinion, etc."

(*Turkish Daily News, May 18*)

Boyner testifies

Cem Boyner, leader of the New Democracy Movement party (YDH), said on May 16 following a hearing at the Ankara top prosecutor's office that there was no difference between bandits and state officials who break laws. Boyner was called by the prosecutors office to testify as part of an investigation launched before last week's religious holiday concerning a statement he made in a speech at a party meeting in which he refers to government "banditry." After his half-hour testimony, Boyner, who was accompanied by several other YDH party members, told reporters that there cannot be any differentiation made between officials who violate human rights and bandits.

(*Turkish Daily News, May 17*)

Union leader Ayçin goes to jail

Atılai Ayçin, chairman of the Aviation Labor Union, entered Bayrampaşa Cezaevi prison on May 16, the Anatolia news agency reported. He will start serving a one year and eight months prison sen-

tence imposed on him after his conviction for "propagating separatism" in a speech he made at a meeting of the Human Rights Association in 1991.

(*Turkish Daily News, May 17*)

Greece preparing to jail second ethnic Turkish mufti

An elected local Muslim leader of Turkish origin in the Greek town of Gümülcine (Komotini) is likely to be sentenced to prison on the grounds that he is "illegally using the title of mufti," Turkish diplomatic sources said on May 16. İbrahim Şerif, who was elected as the Gümülcine mufti (local religious leader) by the Turkish minority in the area, was sentenced to an eight-month term in prison by a Gümülcine court in December. He appealed, and a higher court in the regional center of Selanik (Salonika) will now decide his case on May 24. The diplomatic sources said the court was likely to ratify Şerif's sentence based on the precedent of a previous decision against another Turkish mufti. Mehmet Emin Ağa, elected mufti in the Greek town of İskece (Xanthia), was sentenced in January to 10 months in prison for the same reason. The diplomatic sources said the cases opened against the muftis were another example of Greek moves to intimidate the country's West Thracian Turkish minority, whose rights have been legally guaranteed in several bilateral and international agreements. The Athens government banned mufti elections in a 1990 decree passed in violation of the 1923 Lausanne Treaty, which guaranteed the rights of the Turkish minority. The decree also ordered Greek authorities to appoint local Muslim leaders. The law has prompted legal authorities in Western Thrace to sue elected muftis.

(*Turkish Daily News, May 17*)

'Missing' Hasan Ocak's murder provokes strong reactions

The case of Hasan Ocak, who disappeared after his alleged detention by police on March 21 and was discovered dead in Istanbul on May 16, has led to angry reactions from human rights groups. At a joint press conference held in Ankara on May 17, Akın Birdal, the chairman of the Human Rights Association (İHD), and Yavuz Önen, chairman of the Human Rights Foundation of Turkey (TİHV), said the government was responsible for Ocak's murder. Önen also said Prime Minister Tansu Çiller was "the murderer of Hasan Ocak." "The prime minister has to find out who murdered Hasan Ocak or she has to resign. We will not allow certain forces to turn Turkey into a country of unsolved murders," Önen added. Birdal, who spoke on behalf of both the İHD and TİHV at the press conference, spoke of the effort made by human rights groups to find Hasan Ocak after his disappearance and the lack of results. "In 1994, a total of 327 people were reported missing to the İHD and unfortunately none of the prosecutors in this country take action to investigate the cases of missing people," Birdal said. "It is said that villagers found his body in the forest area of Istanbul-Beykoz and took him to the forensic medicine department, then he was buried in the Küçükçekmece paupers' cemetery. The government

has to launch an investigation and question those who found his corpse, those who carried out the autopsy and buried him in a very short time without conducting any checks," Birdal demanded. The IHD chairman also pointed out that Hasan Ocak's case was very well known publicly and it was very hard to understand the officials who decided to bury someone without informing the public that a body had been found. He claimed that there was an organized group carrying out torture and murders. Both the IHD and TIHV called on nongovernmental organizations to set up a civil commission to investigate the Hasan Ocak case. They repeated their demand for human rights now and invited everybody with any piece of information about those missing to testify. "We call on the government to disclose what has happened to those who have disappeared," they said, and for prosecutors to set up investigations to find out who is responsible for people going missing. Hasan Ocak, 27, disappeared in Istanbul on March 21 after calling his sister to say he would be home shortly. Nothing was heard from him after that. Although at least two people who were detained at the Istanbul police department and later released testified that they had seen Hasan Ocak in the police center, officials denied they had detained Ocak. The campaign to shed light on Ocak's whereabouts brought no results, and finally on May 16 his relatives identified his body from a photograph in the police forensic medicine department. Sources said a nurse working in the department, who did not want to be identified, called Ocak's family and informed them about the corpse. The family then went to check the photographs. It emerged that Ocak's body was found on March 26, five days after he disappeared, and he was buried on April 13 in Istanbul's Küçükçekmece district. The Beykoz district prosecutor also confirmed that the corpse was that of Hasan Ocak, that it had been found in Beykoz, and had remained at the forensic medicine department for 29 days, then was buried in Küçükçekmece cemetery. The prosecutor's office said Ocak's family identified him from photographs, that the body had been

examined before it was buried, and a court order was necessary to exhume the body and carry out a second autopsy. With Hasan Ocak's murder the list of people who have disappeared in Turkey has been shortened but the list of unsolved killings has increased by one. Now, Ocak's family is waiting for his grave to be reopened and for an autopsy to discover how and when he was killed.

(*Turkish Daily News, May 18*)

Altan charged for satire about Kurds

A Turkish columnist who satirized the country's restrictions against Kurdish cultural and political rights has been charged with provoking racism, court officials said on April 17. Ahmet Altan, who was fired from his job at the daily *Milliyet* because of the column, was charged this week with Article 312 of the penal code, under which it is a crime to promote differences among people based on race, religion, class or region. He faces up to six years in prison if convicted. The use of Article 312 underscores the myriad laws which can be used to limit debate, although Western attention recently has focused on Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, a catchall ruling which bans "separatist propaganda". Human rights officials say as pressure mounts on Turkey to lift Article 8, prosecutors are increasingly applying 312. Altan's column two months ago caused a furore because he imagined what the country would be like if Turkey's revered founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had been a Kurd instead of a Turk. Altan, who comes from a distinguished journalistic family, wrote that Turkey would be called "Kurdey," Turkish would be banned and Turk's defending their ethnicity would be jailed. The column turned on its head the problems Turkey's Kurds face, from the burning of civilian villages in the Southeast by soldiers fighting rebel Kurds to torture faced by detainees and Turkey's attempts to forcibly assimilate Kurds.

(*Turkish Daily News, Reuters, May 18*)

Ankara welcomes Juppe's appointment as PM

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey, which considers France one of its chief supporters in its efforts to realize a customs union with the European Union, has welcomed the appointment of Alain Juppe, former foreign minister, as prime minister by new President Jacques Chirac.

Turkish officials, describing Juppe as "an old friend," point out that the French statesman has been "very supportive" in terms of Turkey's integration with the European Union. Having visited Turkey three times during his tenure as foreign minister, Juppe is fully aware of Turkey's policies and problems, according to the same diplomatic circles.

The same circles recall that while fervently requesting "urgent democratic reform" from Turkey, Juppe has also warned the European Parliament against the dangers of isolating Turkey.

The only strain in relations with Juppe occurred when President Süleyman Demirel told a newspaper that Juppe, while in Turkey last month as the term president

of the European Union, had said Turkey's problems stemmed from its "unitarian" state structure. This was contradicted by French Foreign Ministry spokesman Richard Duque, unable to find such a statement in the minutes of their meeting, but Demirel said he had been given the impression that this was what "Juppe wanted to say."

Prime Minister Tansu Çiller attempted to avoid any coolness that might occur by personally congratulating Juppe, Chirac's right-hand man, while visiting Paris for VE-Day anniversary ceremonies — a day after the Chirac-Juppe team's electoral victory. Çiller also sent a warm message of congratulations to Juppe on Thursday.

Turkish officials are also pleased that Alain Lamassoure, the European Union affairs minister who paid a visit to Turkey last winter, has kept his post.

The officials also say that Juppe is going to maintain his grip on foreign policy through close cooperation with Herve de Charlette, who is relatively unknown to Turkish political and diplomatic circles.

Lake: Further progress on customs union dependent on human rights

A further indication of the impact of the customs union on business in Turkey is skyrocketing rise in IMKB, EU representative says

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Even more important than technical measures now is the question of human rights in Turkey, said Ambassador Michael Lake who is the head of the European Commission's (EC) Representation in Turkey.

Speaking at a business forum organized by International Business Services yesterday at the Hyatt Regency Istanbul, Lake made a point of stressing how apprehensive the EC member country representatives were at the last two Association Council meetings about the human rights situation in Turkey.

Pointing out that they had appealed to Turkey to make improvements in this area, Lake emphasized the need to align Turkey's and the EC's systems in guaranteeing fundamental rights for the individual which are taken for granted in the European Union (EU), but restricted for Turkish citizens. At the next meeting of the European Parliament, that body will approve or reject Turkey's entry into a full customs union if its members, which represent all 15 EU member states.

Approval will follow if a wide range of party blocs feel that Turkey and the Union are on the same fundamental path. Lake then turned to the economic importance of the customs union, as Turkey has become the EU's tenth most important trading partner, with an overall balance of trade over \$20 billion.

European enterprises account for two-thirds of the foreign capital investment in Turkey, and Lake emphasized that this will certainly grow larger if foreign investors see that protection of intellectual and industrial property policy, competition policy and harmonized technical standards are being adhered to. At the same time he indicated that he wasn't sure that everyone in Turkey

understood in detail the real depth and breadth of the benefits which would accrue to everyone in the country.

The ambassador chose to accentuate what was positive in the customs union for Turkey, emphasizing that no one should doubt the commitment to the completion of the customs union and how it would lead "to a stronger, more prosperous and stable democracy in Turkey, a model for the region as a whole." He also noted that there had been quite a lot of work going on behind the scenes and progress made in meetings with committees and ministries that wasn't apparent to the public. While pointing out that Turkey had to adopt single market legislation in a number of areas in order to see that there was a level playing field, Lake didn't spare the EU from criticism.

Financial cooperation, for example, will have to be resumed, such as what recently happened with the signing of a 15-year agreement with the European Investment Bank for 35 million ECUs to upgrade water and sewage treatment in Antalya. "But much more is available under both the current and the new Mediterranean packages to be approved by the European Council — the biannual summit meeting — this time at Cannes under the French Presidency in June," Lake said.

"This commitment should be seen in the context of the major effort being made by Turkey to adapt its economy to a more competitive environment," he continued. "And in the months ahead the European Union will also be working to set up the machinery for running the customs union. There are still outstanding issues to settle at the technical level on coal and steel, conditions for ending self-restraint in textiles on the Turkish side and on automobiles some technical measures needed to avoid the circumvention of our consensus with Japan."

Bringing policy into line

Turning to commercial policy, Lake outlined the various provisions and measures which would bring Turkey's in line with those of the EU. These include common rules for imports and exports, procedures for administering quantitative quotas, officially supported export credits and textile imports under autonomous arrangements. Turkey also has to improve the effective protection of intellectual, industrial and commercial property rights so that the level of protection is equivalent to that in the EC.

Lake takes as an indicator of the implication which the customs union will have on Turkey the activity on the Istanbul Stock Exchange, where investors received a 31 percent return in dollar terms in the month following the signing of the customs union agreement. Although there have been rumors that this increase was due to speculative money, Lake believes that the record highs in trading value are significant because they refute such arguments. Textile stocks played a crucial role in the rise in the index.

Turning his attention to various sectors, Lake gave detailed information about the textile industry and how enthusiastic it is about entering the customs union. Turkey has been the number one ready-to-wear exporter to the EU since 1992, and the exporters are looking at a market which is expected to grow by 17-22 percent in 1996. The growth forecast for 2001 is nine percent. The automotive sector, on the other hand, has felt the most threatened by the customs union but all manufacturers in Turkey are EU-Turkish joint ventures with the exception of Toyota. Other sectors considered were durable goods, cement and iron and steel.

Demirel manifesto: We'll crush PKK, resist efforts to divide us -- and reform our system

Limit: Turks are normally soft-spoken and easy-going, but tough if limits are exceeded

Turkish Daily News
ANKARA - Angered by the reaction both to his warning about Western attempts to divide Turkey and to his call to put key issues to referendum, President Süleyman Demirel said Turkey had no option but to crush the Kurdish separatists without delay, not to allow the West to divide it, and to reform its state structure thoroughly to leave no need for interference. Talking to the Turkish Daily News editors in an exclusive interview, Demirel clarified the reasons for his controversial accusations that the Western powers were aiming to revive the defunct treaty of Sevres

Kurds, Demirel warned that this would cause a backlash of Turkish nationalism and render the country unmanageable. "These people do not want bread or food, more democracy, or their own television. They want land, they want a flag and they want a separate state — Demirel said.

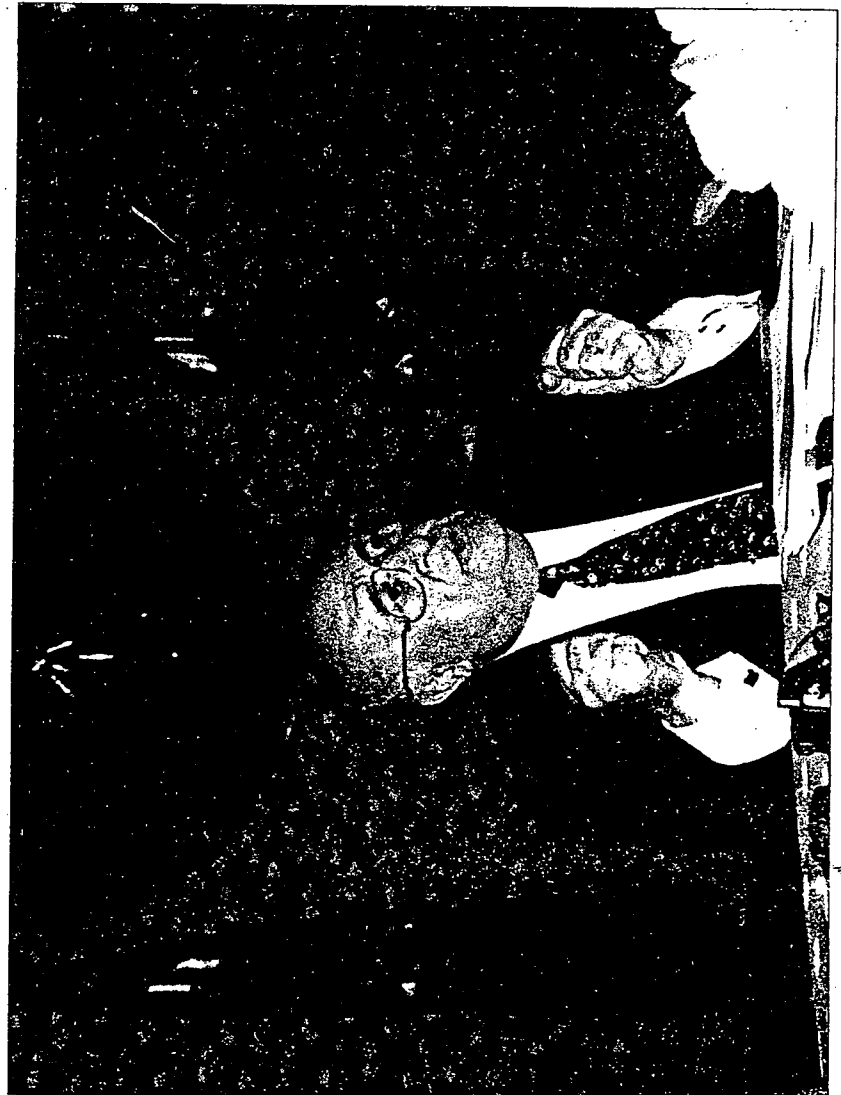
He said that the President and members of Parliament, as the elected representatives of the people, had taken an oath to protect the indivisible unity of the country and the nation.

See "DEMIREL" on page A8



Calls from Demirel:

- 1** Deal firmly with the PKK. Failure to finish off militarily the PKK this year will cause increased trouble for Turkey at home and abroad and lead to (ethnic) polarization.
- 2** Don't feel guilty towards the West, which wants "east of Euphrates" for a Kurdish homeland, as it did in the Sevres Treaty. It is Europe which is guilty by going back on its commitments to help the fight against terrorism.
- 3** Don't go for a dialogue or political solution with the separatists. Otherwise you will cause a backlash of Turkish nationalism and the country will become unmanageable.
- 4** The West should not advance impossible conditions that divide Turkey in return for a reserved seat for Turkey in the European club. Turks cannot be pushed beyond their limit, and if they are, the damage will be very difficult to repair.
- 5** The presidency should be strengthened. People should directly elect the presidents, and when elected they should be able to order new elections.
- 6** There should be more referenda about key issues. The pulse of the nation should be kept well and it should be noted that not all the people may share your thoughts.



"There is no need for us to feel guilty. On the matter of terrorism we are totally right."

TDN AS Fuat Uluay

"Even without this oath, is it not a duty for everyone who is eating the bread, drinking the water and breathing the air of this country (to protect it)? I am calling on everyone to do their duty," Demirel said.

In the interview, Demirel focused chiefly on Western attempts to impose a political solution, and said that as they did with the Sevres, the Western states now seemed to want "east of the river Euphrates" for a Kurdish homeland.

He pointed at the unrestricted activities of the ERNK (the PKK's political wing) across Europe, the Netherlands' permission for a Kurdish "parliament-in-exile", the British-supplied license and the French-provided channel for a Kurdish TV as the evidence of the European support to the PKK.

These, Demirel said, were breaches of Western commitments as the members of the European Union, as members of NATO and other democratic institutions, "to support those fighting with terrorism and not the terrorists themselves."

"There is no need for us to feel guilty. On the matter of terrorism we are totally right," he said.

Demirel said Turkey and Europe needed each other, but it should not be forgotten that "reserving a seat for Turkey among European nations cannot be tied to conditions that create insurmountable problems Turkey has to cope with."

He warned that, "the Turkish people had a developed common sense and while normally soft-spoken and easy-going, they could become very tough if certain limits were exceeded." Demirel asked for understanding from Turkey's European friends about the difficulties it has encountered in its democratic experience, and said Turkey still had some distance to cover to perfect its democracy.

For that, he said the "nation's pulse should be taken" whenever there is a need for important decisions.

Secondly, he called for the direct popular election of presidents.

He said presidents should also be able to schedule new elections — by dissolving the parliament.

The state should be subjected to thorough-going reform and there should be more frequent recourse to the institution of referendum, Demirel said.

Imprisoned Kurd lashes out at his British jailers

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Kani Yilmaz, a spokesman for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in detention and standing trial in London, has accused Britain of imprisoning him to gain favor with Turkey.

"The decision of the Home Office... supports the powers in Turkey who are determined to turn our country into a living hell on earth," Yilmaz said in a statement released by the Brussels-based Kurdistan Committee on Saturday.

"The treatment that I have been subjected to can only be construed as a move against the Kurdish people's struggle for liberty," said Yilmaz, who, on his way to meet British parliamentarians, was detained last October and charged with illegal entry.

Yilmaz, who is also being sought by Germany, dismissed Bonn's move to have him extradited as an attempt to placate Turkey and said there was no evidence linking him to the alleged actions of conspiracy to commit arson of which he is accused.

Yilmaz, who has refugee status in Germany, had entered Britain four times previously.

Deportation proceedings were halted when Germany requested his extradition.

Although the PKK is banned in Germany, it is not banned in Britain.

US delegation to visit Ankara

'Turkey and Armenia are two neighbors who will have to live in the same region. We hope that they will open their borders to each other and normalize relations.'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A high-level delegation from the United States will arrive in Turkey at the end of the month to take up a number of issues including the future of an allied force stationed in Turkey, according to a report on Sunday by the Anatolia news agency from Washington.

The agency reported that the delegation would be headed by Mark Parris, Near East Adviser to the National Security Council. Members of the State Department will also be in the delegation. The visit takes place following a suggestion by Prime Minister, Tansu Çiller, to US President, Bill Clinton, that the shape of Operation Poised Hammer — the popular name for an allied coalition force based in Turkey to maintain the no-fly zone over northern Iraq — must be changed. Although Washington has said they would assess

any proposal from Turkey, diplomatic sources say Ankara has made no concrete proposal yet. The extension of the mandate of the force — reviewed every six months — has to be approved by the Turkish Parliament at the end of June.

Extending the mandate poses a problem each time because many Turks believe that the force is instrumental in de facto partitioning of Iraq and establishing a Kurdish region in the north. Moreover, the stationing of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in Northern Iraq also makes Turks distrust the force.

In a related development, an unnamed US source, quoted by Anatolia, said that Washington hoped Turkey would also allow the use of its territory for transfer of aid to Armenia. Reversing a two-year blockade, Ankara has just opened its airspace to planes to and from Armenia, making it possible for aid via air to this country, which is involved in conflict with Azerbaijan over the enclave of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"Turkey and Armenia are two neighbors, who will have to live in the same region. We hope that they will open their borders to each other and normalize relations," the source said.



If there is a Parliament that cannot function then you have to find one that does. This is not something that can happen in a day. Turkey can go for new elections and find a Parliament that functions. But do not think this is a matter for just one day. TDN Ali Fuat Ulay

'Turks would refuse the promotion of separatism'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA— President Süleyman Demirel has said that while he himself did not put any restrictions on the freedom of expression it is his belief that the majority of Turks would be opposed to the full exercise of this freedom if it meant that separatism could be openly promoted.

In the second part of his interview with the Turkish Daily News, President Demirel continued to touch on Turkey's Kurdish problem and expressed doubt about the argument that granting cultural rights would reduce separatist Kurdish terrorism.

While apparently closing the door to any reformist changes concerning the Kurdish issue, Demirel nevertheless conceded that there were social problems, such as the plight of displaced persons in southeast Anatolia, which needed urgent attention.

Demirel said he was aware of this and indicated that he has initiated moves to try and alleviate the suffering of persons affected by the fight against terrorism in the region. Demirel went on to indicate that the manner in which the "freedom of expression" debate was unfolding in Turkey today showed that an impasse had been reached on this issue.

He expressed his hope that this issue would in the end be resolved within the framework of Turkey's democratic system and said in this context that the common people of the country would be the best referee in this respect in the final analysis.

While pointing in the direction of a referendum on this issue, Demirel also expressed his serious doubt that the Turkish public would, as matters stood today, endorse a notion of freedom of expression which allowed anyone to engage in the dissemination of separatist ideas.

While declaring that he himself did not place limits on the freedom of expression, Demirel nevertheless appeared to be doing precisely this with his exhortations that the security forces engaged in combatting terrorism should not be "demoralized" in their effort.

Demirel also said that overall pessimism was not justified vis-a-vis Turkey and pointed to the regions outside of the Southeast, where he said all the basic economic indicators pointed to positive developments.

TUESDAY, MAY 23, 1995
Turkish Daily News

Iraqi ambassador: Misunderstandings in ties ironed out; Baghdad wants strong relations

Meeting: Iraqi ambassador has breakfast with Demirel, conveys Saddam's message

Arrival: PUK delegation arriving for top-level talks

By Ilnur Çevik
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Iraqi Ambassador Rafi Dahham Mijwel el-Tikriti said an atmosphere of misunderstanding has recently affected relations between Turkey and Iraq but added that these misunderstandings have been ironed out and stressed the Saddam Hussein administration in Baghdad is determined to

forge the "best possible relations with Turkey."

The ambassador, speaking to the Turkish Daily News in a special interview Monday, said rumors that Iraq does not trust Ankara any more and does not want to export its oil through Turkey are wrong and stressed that "the pipeline built by the leaderships of the two countries serves the interests of both countries and is a symbol of peace and cooperation. Anyone who believes that we (Baghdad) will change this policy is wrong and we would like to stress that we have no suspicions about Turkey's intentions regarding Iraq."

The ambassador said he was authorized by President Saddam Hussein and the Iraqi lead-

ership to convey this message to the Turkish people.

The ambassador reportedly had a breakfast meeting with President Süleyman Demirel recently after returning from Baghdad and also conveyed a message from Saddam Hussein to the Turkish head of state on the relations between the two countries. Ambassador el-Tikriti said those who spread rumors about the oil pipeline are only trying to obstruct ties between Ankara and Baghdad.

The ambassador said Iraq has alternate export routes for its oil but stressed "the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline" remains our main line

for crude exports.

The ambassador said Iraq was completely opposed to U.N. Security Council Resolution 986, which gave it limited permission to export oil, saying the resolution did not allow Baghdad the freedom to use its money as well as export oil in any way it pleased. "But our target was not Turkey," he stressed.

He said Iraq had conveyed to Turkey that it wants to enhance its ties with Ankara without any future interference. "We have some problems between Turkey and Iraq but we can sort them out ourselves. We want to talk with Turkey as friends, brothers and good neighbors."

He said friends can always exchange complaints, but this should not cast a shadow on ties.

The ambassador said the fight between rival Kurdish groups in northern Iraq has hurt stability in the area. He said Iraq fears the fire in northern Iraq could spill into Turkey.

He said the Iraqi Kurds have shown they cannot run the area and claimed "they support the PKK (the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party)."

He charged that the Kurdish Democracy Party (KDP)

of Massoud Barzani had given refuge to PKK terrorists when Turkey launched its recent incursion into northern Iraq in March. He said PKK militants fleeing from Turkish forces had been given new clothing by the KDP people and had melted into the Iraqi Kurdish villages which support the KDP.

Independent Iraqi Kurdish sources contacted in Europe confirmed the PKK-KDP link during the Turkish military action.

They said the Kurds were annoyed with the Turkish presence in the area and had thus given shelter to the PKK groups. The Iraqi ambassador said the Iraqi government had armed and financed the Kurdish groups in the past in a plan similar to the village guard system in Turkey. He said in the end these Kurdish groups rebelled and joined Barzani and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). "Now they will do the same to Turkey," he warned.

Meanwhile, the TDN learned that a high-powered PUK delegation will arrive in Ankara today to start talks with Turkish officials on how to provide security in the border areas and tame the PKK groups which threaten Turkey.

Libération Champagne - 22 mai 1995

Communiqué de la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme (L.D.H.)

Réflexion sur la question kurde

Du point de vue des militants des Droits de l'Homme, la tragédie kurde a commencé réellement avec la signature du « Traité de Lausanne », le 24 juillet 1923.

Ce traité constitue l'acte de partage en 4 du Kurdistan.

Les quatre pays concernés directement par la question kurde, sont : la Turquie, l'Iran, l'Irak, et la Syrie.

Dans le passé, le peuple kurde a payé assez cher, le prix de plusieurs handicaps majeurs.

- 1) La richesse pétrolière du Kurdistan,
- 2) les choix stratégiques du gouvernement d'Ankara, et son appartenance à l'Alliance atlantique, (15 des 25 millions de Kurdes dans le monde, vivent au Kurdistan de la Turquie),
- 3) le soutien inconditionnel de l'Occident au Chah d'Iran,
- 4) les conflits régionaux dont le

peuple kurde a souvent fait les frais.

Aujourd'hui, la question kurde n'est plus celle de 1923 ou de 1945. La conscience politique et culturelle kurde, fait son chemin avec des figures d'avenir. Plusieurs facteurs interviennent en faveur de ce changement. La formation élargie de l'Intelligentsia kurde en dehors des structures traditionnelles. La présence d'une diaspora représentative du Kurdistan, avec son soutien économique et la place de plus en plus importante des citoyens dans la mouvance politique et associative.

La Ligue des Droits de l'Homme dénonce depuis des années les graves violations des Droits de l'Homme perpétrés dans la région kurde de Turquie.

La L.D.H. constate aussi l'aggravation de la répression commise à l'encontre des militants de l'Association turque des

Droits de l'Homme ; et les violations systématiques des normes internationales.

En fait, derrière l'apparence de la démocratie, une dictature de fait s'installe en Turquie. Si la tâche des militants des Droits de l'Homme est aussi de prévenir, il est aussi de notre devoir, d'encourager toute réflexion créative, qui prendra en compte les droits légitimes du peuple kurde.

Dans cette optique la L.D.H. s'associe avec le M.P.A.P., Amnesty international, la F.O.L. et le Secours populaire à une information solidarité pour le peuple kurde.

La L.D.H. vous invite à découvrir mardi 23 mai, à l'Espace Cité à Troyes, l'identité kurde ; dès 14 h. à travers une exposition, son folklore, différents films. Et, à participer, à 20 h, à la conférence-débat avec des personnalités kurdes.

Entrée gratuite.

La Voix du Nord - 23 mai 1995

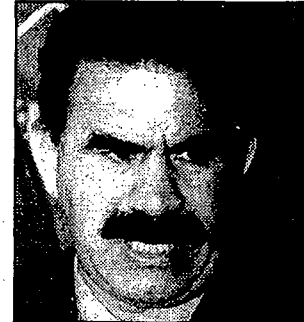
Traditions

Musique kurde d'Iran
Huit frères et sœur, plus le petit-neveu, forment un groupe unique de musiciens professionnels : l'ensemble Kamkar. Célèbre en Iran, cet ensemble est surtout l'ambassadeur du peuple kurde, et maintient, grâce à la musique et la poésie, l'identité ethnique et culturelle. Mais les Kamkar sont également passés maîtres dans l'interprétation de la musique persane, avec laquelle l'art kurde possède de grandes affinités. Concert de l'association "Attacafa" ce mardi 23, à 20h30, salle de la Marbrerie, rue de la Marbrerie (Fives). Entrée : 80F. Réservations : Fnac.

LE FIGARO - 24 mai 1995

TURQUIE

**Le PKK
prêt à une trêve**



Le chef du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan) Abdullah Ocalan (photo AFP) s'est dit prêt, hier, à un cessez-le-feu « si les Turcs sont prêts à une solution pacifique ». Près de 15 000 personnes ont été tuées en Turquie dans les violences séparatistes depuis que le PKK a lancé son insurrection en 1984 pour obtenir la création d'un État indépendant dans le Sud-Est.

Libération - 23 mai 1995

Peuple kurde

Information solidarité

Mardi 23 mai Espace Cité

Des milliers de villages kurdes ont, depuis des années, été rasés ; plusieurs villes et bourgades de montagne sévèrement bombardées et dépeuplées.

Cinq à six millions de Kurdes ont ainsi été contraints de quitter leurs terres et ont émigré vers les grandes métropoles turques de l'Ouest, où pour la plupart, ils vivent dans la misère. Ceux qui n'ont pas eu les moyens de partir peuplent les faubourgs miséreux. En moins de deux ans, la ville de Diyarbakir a vu sa population tripler, passant à un million et demi d'habitants, selon un processus qui n'est pas sans rappeler l'expérience récente du Kurdistan irakien, où, à la suite de la destruction des villages par les troupes de Saddam Hussein, les paysans déracinés ont été soit internés dans des camps, soit chassés vers de grandes villes...

En décembre 1994, la cour de sûreté de l'Etat en Turquie a condamné cinq députés kurdes à 10 ans de prison. Leur seul délit consistant à affirmer leur identité

kurde - Leyla Zana, première femme kurde élue député ayant osé prononcer en Kurde une phrase sur « la fraternité des peuples turc et kurde ».

Les Kurdes demandent simplement à vivre comme des êtres humains, dans le respect de leur dignité, de leur personnalité, de leur identité.

Le parlement en exil du Kurdistan a été fondé à La Haye aux Pays-Bas, le 25 avril 1995 en présence de personnalités de toute l'Europe.

Le MRAP, la LDH, la FOL, le Secours Populaire, vous invitent :

- à découvrir le mardi 23 mai à l'Espace Cité, l'identité kurde, à partir de 14 h, à travers une exposition, son folklore, et des films,
- à participer à partir de 20 h à une conférence-débat avec un parlementaire kurde, des personnalités kurdes, des témoins ayant participé à un voyage en Turquie le 20 mars dernier.

EST ECLAR - 23 MAI 1995

Peuple kurde

Information solidarité

mardi 23 mai

Espace Cité

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EST ECLAR - 24-25 MAI 1995

Hier à Troyes Une journée "Information-Solidarité" avec le peuple kurde



La résistance kurde : une guerre où les femmes sont partie prenante

Le MRAP (Mouvement contre le Racisme et pour l'Amitié entre les Peuples), la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, la Fédération des Oeuvres Laiques et le Secours populaire organisaient hier une journée "Information solidarité" avec le peuple kurde.

Car c'est bien d'un peuple qu'il s'agit et non pas d'une "minorité ethnique" comme l'affirment les gouvernements des pays dans lesquels les Kurdes sont violemment opprimés depuis soixante-dix ans. Certes, ce peuple dont le berceau se situe dans l'ancienne Mésopotamie, entre les bras du Tigre et de l'Euphrate est l'un des plus anciens du monde; pourtant l'histoire du XX^e siècle tend à l'éliminer. Déportation, génocide, guerres, exil, interdiction de pratiquer la langue tend à annihiler la résistance kurde et à briser l'affirmation de leur identité.

Ecartelé depuis l'éclatement de l'Empire ottoman entre la Turquie, l'Iran, l'Irak, la Syrie et l'ex-URSS, le peuple kurde résiste aux assimilations forcées. C'est cette résistance, notamment celle organisée en Turquie autour du PKK depuis 1983, qui a provoqué une répression de plus en plus violente ces dernières années et tout particulièrement

ces derniers mois, infligeant à la population civile un traitement digne de celui opéré par Mustapha Kémal: déportation de population, villages rasés, tortures, emprisonnement abusifs, enlèvements, paupérisme organisé dans l'ensemble du Kurdistan turc...

Folklore et conférence-débat

L'exposition présentée à l'Espace Cité montrait avec de superbes photos quelques caractéristiques de la culture kurde mais surtout, elle mettait l'accent sur les drames qui se sont déroulés dans cette région orientale de la Turquie, pratiquement en état de siège depuis des années et où la terreur imposée par l'armée s'est intensifiée depuis 1994 et tout particulièrement ces derniers mois.

Mille trois cents villages ont été à nouveau rasés... Des populations à nouveaux déportées, emprisonnées... jusqu'aux six députés condamnés à quinze ans, dans un pays qui fait le forcing pour entrer dans la Communauté européenne, qui utilise des armes allemandes et françaises et traquent, sans égard pour les populations civiles, les résistants du PKK

réfugiés dans les montagnes du nord de l'Irak, avec l'accord tacite, voire explicite, des nations occidentales et notamment des USA. Les photos étaient accompagnées de larges extraits du livre de Medhi Zana, ancien maire de Dyrbakir, intitulé "Prison n° 5; onze ans dans les geôles turques" et paru en février dernier.

Dans la soirée, l'exposition devait s'animer de films, de danses folkloriques ainsi que d'une conférence-débat à laquelle participaient Pitros Karatay, député du Parlement kurde en exil qui s'est constitué en avril dernier à La Haye, Kilic Semsî, coordinatrice du Bureau d'Information du Kurdistan, d'une des photographes dont les clichés sont reproduits dans l'exposition réalisée par le Centre d'Information du Kurdistan. "Que les Kurdes nous expriment ce qu'ils attendent de nous. Comment en tant que citoyens, nous pouvons les aider à trouver une solution à leur drame et savoir mieux ce qu'ils attendent aussi de nos gouvernements, c'est l'objectif de cette conférence", soulignait Anna Zajac, présidente du MRAP.

V.A.

La parole aux Kurdes à l'Espace Cité

« Pour briser le mur du silence »



Des photos très révélatrices de la misère kurde.

Exode massif, villages brûlés, massacres, tortures, emprisonnement... la guerre au Kurdistan se poursuit dans l'indifférence générale.

Sollicitées par les Kurdes du département, quatre associations (le Mouvement contre le racisme et pour l'amitié entre les peuples, la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, la Fédération des Œuvres Laïques et le Secours Populaire) se sont unies pour faire connaître aux Aulois, à

travers une exposition, des films, du folklore, la véritable identité turque.

La manifestation se tenait hier à l'Espace Cité et c'est dommage que le public, (et en particulier les scolaires) n'y ait pas participé davantage.

Cette action a pour but d'informer la population française sur le sort de ces 25 à 35 millions de personnes qui vivent actuellement, dispersées dans quatre pays : la Turquie, l'Iran, l'Irak et la Syrie, explique M. Ahmed Kiraz, responsable au

Centre d'information du Kurdistan à Paris.

Histoire d'un peuple « *menacé dans son droit même d'exister* » : les films et les photos racontent comment les Kurdes subissent la guerre avec toujours la même volonté de résister, de s'exprimer et de vivre libres.

Une conférence-débat à laquelle participaient entre autres un représentant du parlement kurde en exil et un représentant du Centre d'information du Kurdistan, terminait cette journée.

Bruits de bottes turques près de la frontière irakienne

L'armée turque masse depuis trois jours de grosses quantités d'hommes et de matériel dans la région frontalière turco-irakienne, ce qui pourrait préparer une seconde intervention en Irak du Nord contre les bases arrières des séparatistes turcs kurdes du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan). Il y a deux semaines, elle avait annoncé son retrait total de cette zone de 40 km de profondeur où elle était entrée le 20 avril. Les opposants au régime de Bagdad regroupés dans

l'INC (Conseil national d'Irak basé à Londres) assurent que « 10.000 soldats turcs ont traversé la rivière de Hezil pour entrer dans le territoire du Kurdistan irakien ».

Le ministère turc de la Défense a tout de suite démenti cette information. Mais de nombreux signes témoignent d'une intensification des activités militaires turques dans la zone. « Les vols de reconnaissance de l'armée turque sont de plus en plus fréquents », a observé lundi, un journaliste kurde à Silopi, à 16 km du pon-

te frontalier de Habur.

Le Conseil national de sécurité, qui regroupe les plus hautes autorités civiles et militaires de Turquie, a à nouveau « étudié » vendredi, « le cas de l'Irak du Nord ». Le PKK peut donc toujours s'infiltrer en Turquie, à partir d'Irak. Les autorités turques n'ont pas pu convaincre les deux leaders kurdes de l'Irak du Nord, Massoud Barzani et Djalal Talabani d'empêcher le retour des militants du PKK dans la zone « nettoyée » par l'opération rebaptisée depuis dimanche « Acier I ». Jusque-là, la dénomination officielle de cette intervention qui avait mobilisé plus de 30.000 hommes était « Opération Acier ». Est-ce

un autre indice de la volonté d'Ankara de récidiver. Les milieux proches de l'état-major de l'armée turque, soulignent que « la durée de l'opération Acier I avait été réduite à cause des pressions diplomatiques ».

Le Premier ministre Tansu Ciller ne cesse de répéter, depuis le retrait total, que « la Turquie pouvait rentrer de nouveau en Irak du Nord, pour poursuivre la lutte contre le terrorisme séparatiste ». Les partisans de la « solution » militaire au problème kurde ont aussi le soutien du président Demirel, qui a de nouveau lundi, refusé toute négociation « avec les terroristes » : « Nous les combattons jusqu'à la fin. »

MUSA AKDEMIR (Istanbul)

Reuters: Öcalan talks of political solution to war

Öcalan: 'I am saying if the Turkish state stops operations against us and if they are ready for a political solution, then we are ready for a ceasefire or peace as an organization'

By Haitham Haddadin

Reuters Staff Writer

IN THE BEKAA VALLEY, Lebanon-Kurdish rebel chief Abdullah Öcalan called on Tuesday for a ceasefire in the separatist war with Turkey and said he was ready for peace if Ankara was ready for a political solution.

"I am saying if the Turkish state stops operations against us and if they are ready for a political solution, then we are ready for a ceasefire or peace as an organization," Öcalan, who heads the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), told Reuters in eastern Lebanon's Bekaa Valley.

More than 15,000 people have been killed in Turkey since 1984 when the PKK took up arms for a separate Kurdish state in the southeast.

"If Ankara continues its campaign against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish people will fight," Öcalan said. "The Turkish state should stop all

military destruction against us and be ready for a political solution."

He said Ankara's efforts to impose a military solution in the Kurdish conflict could never work.

Asked if a 1993 threat he made to wage all-out war on Turkey, including attacks on tourist sites, was still on the PKK agenda, Öcalan replied:

"Since the Turkish state declared a whole war against us, we are having a whole war against the Turkish state... "We are having a war to hurt the Turkish economy and to let it be known internationally that there is a war in Turkey and that the Turkish state is not a tourist area."

Öcalan, with the PKK red banner behind him, said Turkish forces had destroyed all economic potential in Kurdistan. "They even burn horses and homes...not even Kurdish names are allowed in Turkey," said Öcalan, speaking in Turkish.

Dismissing Ankara's recent campaign launched with 35,000 troops against his guerrillas in northern Iraq as a failure, Öcalan said he suspected Turkey might repeat the operation. "Our presence in northern Iraq is strong... They (Turkish troops) feel the need to enter northern Iraq to be successful," Öcalan said. "They are preparing a bigger operation."

"The PKK presence in northern Iraq became

larger as a result of the operation. We established many important strategic places," Öcalan said. "We managed to draw people's attention to us."

Turkey declared the northern Iraqi campaign, which ended on May 2, as a complete success, saying 555 PKK fighters and 61 soldiers died. Öcalan said Ankara reversed the actual casualty figures.

He put Turkish deaths at 800 against 60 PKK dead. Turkish military sources said on Monday the number of troops in Turkey's eastern Tunceli province would be boosted to 45,000 as part of the army's bid to finish off the Kurdish rebels. Öcalan warned the Kurdistan Democratic Party of Iraqi Kurdish chief Massoud Barzani against joining Turkish forces in the war against the PKK, saying they would be finished if they did.

He said Ankara had offered the KDP control of strategic points along the Turkish-Iraqi border to stop cross-frontier raids by the PKK. "I don't think Barzani will accept," he added. Reuters correspondents were driven from Beirut to a secret PKK location in the Bekaa Valley for the interview with Öcalan, and waited for hours before he showed up with three bodyguards armed with AK-47 assault rifles.

State Minister Hacaloğlu: There are 295 unidentified corpses

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Algan Hacaloğlu, state minister responsible for human rights, said, while visiting the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Istanbul on Monday, that forensic examination had revealed that the deaths of 295 unidentified corpses had occurred in "unnatural" circumstances. Hacaloğlu, commenting on the case of Hasan

Öcak, said that no blame attached to the forensic department but that there was a gap in the chain

between the prosecutor's office, forensic medicine and the police department. He said that Hasan Öcak died as a result of torture or "at least his death was not from natural causes."

Twenty-nine year-old Hasan Öcak disappeared in Istanbul on March 21, and his dead body was found later, without identification, in the Beykoz district. The body was examined by the forensic department and later buried, still unidentified. On

April 16 his family saw a photograph taken by the forensic department and identified the body as Öcak. The remains were exhumed and taken to the Gaziosmanpaşa district where the family lived and which in March had been the scene of massive unrest between local people and police.

Minister Hacaloğlu said the number of unidentified corpses had recently risen to 295 and that he would take the matter before the cabinet.

MKE boosts machine gun exports to Norway despite Oslo's arms embargo

By Ümit Enginsoy / *Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkey's state-owned Machinery and Chemicals Company (MKE) has boosted sales of machine guns to Norway while at the same time Oslo continues an embargo on arms sales to Ankara, a senior MKE official said on Tuesday.

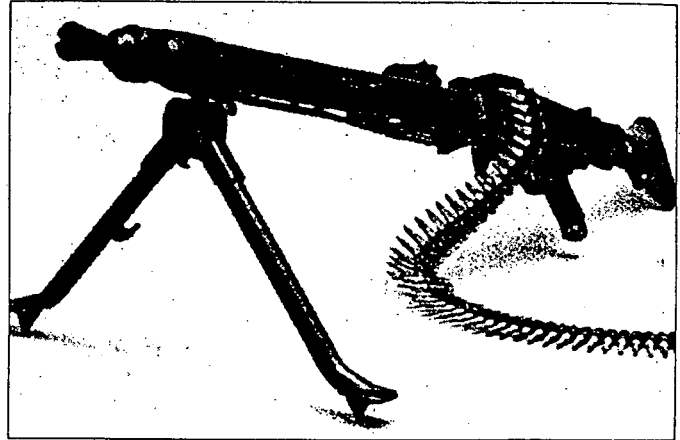
"Our sales of MG-3 type machine guns to Norway are going very well. They have bought 5,250 pieces and now are ordering another 1,000," the official told the *Turkish Daily News*.

"The arms embargo Norway recently imposed against Turkey has not affected our sales. In fact, we have received no orders from the related Turkish authorities to stop the sales," the official added.

To protest an incursion by the Turkish Army into northern Iraq to destroy bases of separatist Kurds, Norway said in late March that it would no longer sell weapons and military equipment to Turkey. Ankara retaliated by barring Norwegian companies from entering Turkey's future arms deals.

MKE manufactures a wide range of arms from artillery pieces and mortars, to machine guns, infantry rifles and ammunition — mainly for the Turkish Army.

But in recent years it has increased exports of mainly machine guns and ammunition to several countries throughout the world. MKE's exports exceeded \$15 million in 1994, and the company official said this year's target was to export arms and military equipment



worth \$20 million.

The original deal with Norway was worth \$13 million, covering a four-year production period for 5,250 machine guns. But the new order for another 1,000 pieces raises the deal's overall cost.

The official said Norway's selection of the Turkish MG-3s for its army was a very significant success for MKE, displaying the high quality of the company's products.

"Norwegian military officials have told us that they have been impressed by the performance of our MG-3s," he said. Arms exports by Turkish companies require permissions from the Office of the Chief of General Staff, the Defense Ministry and the Foreign Ministry.

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1995

Ankara retaliates against S. African embargo

By Nazlan Ertan / *Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkey announced that it has placed South Africa on a "red list" of arms suppliers in response to the decision by this post-apartheid African country last week to suspend arms sales to Turkey.

"In response to this country's military embargo, we now place South Africa on our red list of arms suppliers," a senior Turkish diplomat told the *Turkish Daily News*. He said that no further economic and diplomatic retaliation was being considered for the time being.

The "red list" is a Foreign Ministry euphemism meaning that the country in question is "black listed" as an arms supplier. A red-listed country is not allowed to enter arms tenders in Turkey not sell



military equipment to Turkey. According to the senior official, the decision was conveyed to South Africa last week both in Pretoria and Ankara.

Although the arms trade between Turkey and South Africa is negligible, Turkey has considered this country as a potential supplier and has sounded out some South African arms suppliers on the sale of Reoivaik helicopters and cluster bombs. While Ankara waited for a decision, South Africa, which has been assess-

ing its overall arms sales to other countries, informed Turkey last

WEDNESDAY, MAY 24, 1995

Turkish Daily News

week that it would suspend arms sales to Turkey. It gave no reason for the decision.

The South African Embassy, in response to an inquiry from Turkish Daily News, said that South Africa was suspending the delivery of certain arms to Turkey "in line with similar measures taken by several other states."

"We consider this an outrageous decision and attribute it to the past links with the African National Congress (ANC)," a Turkish diplomat, who requested anonymity, said.

This comment on a past link with the ANC is a thinly-veiled reference to Turkey's belief that the ANC, particularly in its days as a resistance group, had ties with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). When Nelson Mandela, prior to the all-race elections that installed him as president, declined to accept the Atatürk Award offered to him by Turkey in 1992, some Turkish circles attributed this to the influence of the PKK on the ANC. Although South Africa has assured Turkey at every opportunity that it considers the PKK a "terrorist organization," the decision to suspend arms to Turkey, along with rumors that Kurdish activists were increasing their presence in South Africa, has made Ankara remember old wounds.

"We consider the South African decision an incomprehensible one at a time when we are trying to enhance our relations," another Turkish diplomat told the Turkish Daily News. The two countries, which restored full diplomatic ties in 1992, concluded a number of economic accords last year to promote trade and tourism.

Turkish officials, however, maintain that they will not apply economic nor diplomatic sanctions to South Africa. A note of protest from Turkey is also ruled out by the same circles. Similarly, the South African Embassy ruled out that they had initiated a total embargo on Turkey. "Nor do (we) intend to do so," the embassy statement said.

Language problem limits health care in Southeast

'Physicians mostly believe that they cannot be effective enough as most of the patients do not know Turkish, they know only Kurdish'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish-speaking health personnel face difficulties providing health services in the Southeast, the Turkish Medical Association (TMA) reported.

In a report published at the beginning of the month, the TMA said language problems limit health services in Southeast, a predominantly Kurdish area of Turkey.

The report emphasized the importance of language in rendering services.

"Answers to a survey given on this matter by the physicians, midwives and nurses working at the health centers in the provincial center of Diyarbakir are interesting," the report said.

"Physicians mostly believe that they cannot be effective enough as most of the patients do not know Turkish, they know only Kurdish."

The survey said that midwives and nurses faced difficulties with vaccinations, family planning, maternal and child health care and in health education because of the language problem. Therefore they could not be effective enough.

The report also said that midwives and nurses who knew Kurdish said that they were more successful in rendering services. The TMA said that more than half of the physicians needed a third person to communicate with patients and more than half of the physicians believe that they cannot be helpful enough to their patients because of the communication problem. As a result of the survey, the TMA suggested that physicians working in the region should know a socioeconomic conditions and learn the patient's language so that they could communicate. According to the TMA, third persons also should be employed for communication with the patients in the region.

Öcalan pushes all of us to make a choice

There are about 14 million citizens of Kurdish origin in Turkey while are there more than 50 million Turks living on this soil. Most of our citizens of Kurdish ethnic origin live in Western Turkey mingled with all of us. Only about three million are located in southeastern Turkey where the PKK terrorist organization is waging a separatist campaign...

In an interview with Reuters on Tuesday, PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan says he is prepared to lay down his arms and end his terrorist campaign provided that Ankara starts talking about a political solution for the Kurdish issue.

What does this "political solution" mean? All we can under-

stand from this is that Öcalan wants to create a separate state for the Kurds on this soil and divide our country. So what he could not do through terrorism he wants to achieve through political means.

Öcalan is not a man of peace. If he were then he would never have ordered the killing of innocent women and children for what he calls a "cause."

He says, "if Ankara continues its campaign against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish people will fight." Turkey is not involved in any campaign against its Kurdish population and out of the huge millions of people of Kurdish origin in Turkey we see that only a handful of mili-

Editorial



By İlınur Çevik

tants — numbering around 5,000 — are involved in Öcalan's famous struggle. Of course, even so few people could cause all the destruction that is necessary to make people shudder when they hear Öcalan and the PKK mentioned. People living on this land may soon have to make a clear choice on whether they want to live all together or face the consequences... The consequences are clear: "You either live with us under this flag or you go and find yourself another homeland and that piece of land will not be within Turkish borders. If you do not consider yourself as our brothers and sisters then we cannot consider you as one of us...": If today people like us struggle for the rights of our Kurdish brothers and sisters, who we feel have been downgraded as second-class citizens in southeastern Turkey, it is because they are one of us. But the day we find out that they do not want to be a citizen of the Turkish Republic, then many things will change.

We do not want to be put in a position to make that choice and Öcalan should not force anyone to do that.

So when Öcalan says, "if Ankara continues its campaign against the Kurdish people, the Kurdish people will fight," everyone concerned has to remember that Ankara is only fighting against separatism but if the Turkish nation is provoked you may see that instead of "Ankara" the nation may well be up in arms. That is what Demirel was trying to warn against in his recent interview with the Turkish Daily News... We are confident that common sense will prevail and we will continue to live in peace and harmony as proud citizens of the Turkish Republic. The fact that Öcalan claims his forces are strong in northern Iraq is trivial. He knows well that his forces could not stand up to the might of the Armed Forces of the Turkish Republic and just fled like ants when the Army entered northern Iraq. Öcalan is simply making an effort to keep up the morale of his militants.

What we expect from the Turkish officials now is to ask the Lebanese authorities what Öcalan was doing on their soil on Tuesday, May 23, 1995...

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1995

Turkey urges complementing Provide Comfort with peace plan in N. Iraq

Stability perspective: 'Any disorder situation without a peace perspective is a continued source of instability. Any humanitarian action which is not closely tied to a peace plan will be, by nature, going on and on,' says Sanberk

By Nazlan Ertan
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Uneasy with the continued disorder in northern Iraq which threatens its own security, Ankara drew Washington's attention on Tuesday to the need to formulate a "peace plan" in northern Iraq to complement Operation Provide Comfort.

"There must be a peace plan to be tied to the humanitarian operation," Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk told the Turkish Daily News in an exclusive interview as Turkish officials met with their American counterparts to discuss the



Sanberk stresses Turkish interests have priority

situation in northern Iraq.

"We are trying to convince Washington and all allies that a peace and stability plan is necessary for the situation in northern

Iraq. The operation now should have a stability perspective," Sanberk added. Sanberk's words indicate that Ankara is having second thoughts on the future of Operation Provide Comfort II, an allied force which is stationed in Turkey to guarantee the security of Iraqi Kurds north of the 36th parallel.

A month ago, Prime Minister Tansu Çiller told U.S. President Bill Clinton that the structure of the force should be reshaped. While both Americans and Turks deny that concrete proposals have been made by either of the parties, Sanberk's words indicate that Turkey is reluctant to keep renewing the mandate of the force.

"Any disorder situation without a peace perspective is a continued source of instability. There is a humanitarian action going on in northern Iraq, in which Turkey is also participating. But any humanitarian action which is not closely tied to a peace plan will be, by nature, going on and on," the undersecretary said.

Turkey focused on complementing

Operation Provide Comfort II with a peace plan in its high level talks with two U.S. delegations from the National Security Council and State Department.

"This is not something that will happen with one meeting. But it is where we are trying to lead Washington," Sanberk said. Mark Parris, the head of the U.S. delegation that arrived in Ankara Wednesday, said that new ideas had been launched in the talks on the security of the Turco-Iraqi border and the protection of the northern Iraqi Kurds.

"Operation Provide Comfort is very important for both factors," Parris, the Near East adviser of National Security Council, said. He did not elaborate further.

While Sanberk told the TDN that there were "no concrete proposals on the restructuring of the Operation Provide Comfort," he said that a long-term peace plan can be based

upon U.N. Resolution 688, which aims to reconcile the Baghdad administration with the Kurds.

"If the resolution is realized, Provide Comfort can be lifted as Iraq restores its full sovereignty on all its territory," Sanberk said. "This is what we aim at but we are acutely aware that the sides are not ready for it."

Sanberk indicated that until this was realized, Turkey "would not consent to the safe haven in northern Iraq" to become an "unsafe region" for Turkish security.

Claiming that the Iraqi Kurds should maintain the security in the region, Sanberk said: "It is incompatible to think to make the safe haven a zone of insecurity for Turkey, then, at the same time, ask for the extension of Operation Provide Comfort." "If we get too pressed on security, we can impose tighter measures on Habur Border Gate. If the insecurity in northern

Iraq becomes a threat to Turkey's security, this will surely have an effect on Provide Comfort," Sanberk said.

The point is also expected to be put forcefully to a delegation of Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), which will arrive in Ankara this week.

The Turkish Parliament is expected to vote on extending the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort II before the end of June.

Despite constant criticism of various deputies, the force has been extended eight times since 1992.

A new round of talks between Turkey and the United States take place this weekend, as Deputy Assistant Secretary Eric Newson pays a visit to the Turkish capital.

"The sides will take up regional issues and defense cooperation," Nurettin Nurkan, the Foreign Ministry's new spokesman, said.

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1995

Terrorist chief plays cloak and dagger with press

By Haitham Haddadin

Reuters Staff Writer

IN THE BEKAA VALLEY, Lebanon-Interviews in which guerrilla chief Abdullah Öcalan called on Tuesday for a ceasefire in the Kurds' separatist war with Turkey were to have been held in a Beirut hotel, but reporters knew better.

A long-distance caller said the meeting would be in a luxury hostelry, but when reporters met up with the elusive guerrilla leader it was after another cloak-and-dagger trek to eastern Lebanon's Syrian-policed Bekaa Valley — a haven for Moslem militants and leftist groups during Lebanon's 1975-90 civil war.

Times have changed for the husky, coarse-voiced Marxist chief of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) since he was declared persona non grata by Beirut in 1993.

Lebanon's Prime Minister Rafik al-Hariri no longer wants PKK guerrillas preparing in Lebanon for attacks in Turkey and has vowed that if Öcalan is caught he will be thrown out. Our guide, who identified himself as a PKK supporter, would not disclose the venue but told us at the hotel lobby to drive behind him to a Bekaa town an hour after a 2 p.m. interview deadline had passed.

The town he named was another decoy. When we finally arrived at the actual site we waited for two more hours at a modest

house before Öcalan, dressed in a khaki shirt, showed up with three bodyguards brandishing AK-47 machine guns.

"We are sorry for the inconvenience but this is for security reasons," the soft-spoken guide, who declined to be named, said in broken Arabic.

The mustachioed Öcalan, raising his fist in the air often as he spoke, rapped the United States saying it was pressuring Syria and Iran — where 600,000 and 3.5 million Kurds live respectively — to stop supporting the PKK.

Sitting with the red PKK guerrilla flag behind him, it seemed almost ironic that he spoke in Turkish not Kurdish, a language he says the Turks are trying to ban.

He told reporters he was ready for peace if Ankara was ready for a political solution to the separatist campaign that has killed 15,000 people since 1984. Turkey has responded by saying it would not negotiate with terrorists.

At New Rouz festivities marking the Kurdish new year, PKK guerrillas usually wave pictures of Öcalan, known to them as "Apo", and chant "Biji Apo, Biji PKK (Long Live Apo, Long Live PKK)".

After the interview, the Kurdish guide politely asked our driver to bring the car close to the house so the television crew could put the camera in the boot and not arouse suspicions among Lebanese neighbors.

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 1995
Turkish Daily News



AMONG STATESWOMEN- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller receives the three chairwomen of the left-wing parties in the European Parliament. Socialist Group leader Pauline Green, Catherine Lalumiere, head of the European Radical Alliance and Greens' leader Claudia Roth were briefed by Çiller on democratization in Turkey.
Photo TDN-Cengiz Uysal

European Parliament MPs arrive in Ankara

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The chairwomen of three left-wing groups in the European Parliament arrived in Ankara on Tuesday to discuss Turkish-European relations, strained by human rights issues and prospects of democratization.

Socialist Group leader Pauline Green and Catherine Lalumiere, head of the European Radical Alliance, said upon arrival that they were saddened by the weakness of ties between Turkey and the European Parliament, which will vote on a customs union between Turkey and the Fifteen in fall.

Lalumiere, a former secretary-general of the European Parliament who has had close ties with Turkey, said the end on May 2 of Turkey's six-week incursion into northern Iraq was welcome, but merely a factor in

what she called the generally "saddening" state of Turkey-Europe ties.

Green, whose Socialist group has 212 seats in the Euro-Parliament, said she hoped to meet Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, some ministers and other parliamentarians during their trip.

"We will have the opportunity to tell them just how weak relations between the European Parliament, the European Union and Turkey are at the moment," Green said.

She said they would be making enquiries about democracy reforms urged by the West, and long-promised by Ankara.

The two politicians, accompanied by Green group Chairwoman Claudia Roth, paid a visit to the jailed deputies of the Democracy Party Tuesday morning.

"Those deputies want Turkey to be clos-

er to Europe. In fact, we all want Turkey's integration. But the conditions should be right for that," Green said after her two-hour visit with the deputies.

Afterwards, the Euro-MPs arrived in the Foreign Ministry for a briefing on human rights.

Turkey's chances of getting European Parliament approval for the customs union is slim. Roth, visiting Turkey three months ago, said that the Greens would vote against the customs union until her eight-point plan was met. Her points include restoring the parliamentary seats of the jailed deputies.

The three Euro-MPs will visit Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin and Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü today and leave Turkey after a press conference.

Turkish deputies inch closer to voting rights at WEU Assembly

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The regulatory commission of the Western European Union (WEU) Assembly approved a proposal to give Turkish deputies the right to vote in Assembly meetings and commissions, the Anatolia news agency reported on Wednesday.

The proposal, known as the Firsberg report, was prepared by Britain's Lord Firsberg and foresees giving voting rights

to associated members of the WEU, namely Turkey, Norway and Iceland. It was approved by the commission despite resistance from Greek, Italian, Spanish and Belgian deputies.

The Firsberg report will be presented to the WEU General Assembly for approval at the latter's meeting on June 19-20. It envisages granting associate members' deputies full voting rights except in budget and annual report matters.

The Turkish deputies have boycotted WEU meetings since the beginning of 1994, saying they could not accept second-class membership.

Sait Kemal Mimaroglu, chairman of the Turkish Parliamentarians' Group, characterized the commission's decision as a significant development. "We left our seats empty in the Assembly to get to this point. We will attend meetings once the General Assembly gives its approval," he said.

US on PKK: 'We believe in redemption'

By Uğur Akıncı / *Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON- A senior U.S. State Department official, reacting to the news that Abdullah Öcalan, leader of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has offered a ceasefire and asked for a political solution to the 11-year-old terrorist bloodbath in the southeastern Turkey, said "we believe in redemption."

When asked to elaborate further, the official repeated that Dev-Sol and PKK were terrorist organizations and "we don't talk to terrorist organizations." But he also mentioned Al-Fatah. "We did not deal with them when they were involved in terror."

The official added that when Yasser Arafat had renounced terrorism, the U.S. had also changed its position. If someday

the PKK and Dev-Sol also renounced terror and became peaceful, the US attitude might also change, he said.

When the Turkish Daily News asked what would constitute such a drastic change in organizational behavior, the official said that "that is not a hard question to answer. Actions count, not words."

You know [when a terrorist organization renounces terrorism]."

Turkey on Tuesday dismissed the PKK's call for ceasefire and negotiations. Government spokesman Yıldırım Aktuna said "our struggle is not with the Kurdish people. It is with the PKK terrorist organization, and the armed struggle against this terrorism will continue until terror is finished."

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Turkish Daily News

Rival Iraqi Kurdish factions to hold special parliament session

Agence France Presse

SALAHADIN, Iraq- Rival Kurdish factions are to hold a special meeting of parliament to extend its mandate in the absence of planned elections put off because of violent fighting, Kurdish sources said Wednesday.

The Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) share power in the parliament elected in 1992 in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq, but which is not internationally recognized.

Saturday's special assembly, the first this year, is expected to extend parliament's mandate for a year. Elections had been scheduled in June, but have been made impossible by the continued clashes

between the two sides locked in a bitter struggle over power-sharing and tax revenues since May 1994. About 2,000 have died according to Kurdish estimates.

Necim Omar Surtshi, the head of the Kurdistan Conservative Party told AFP the two sides had agreed to the meeting "to prevent the crumbling of the democratic experiment."

The session will be held on neutral ground in the village of Daraben, between PUK-controlled Arbil, where the parliament is based, and KDP-controlled Salahadin, Surtshi said.

Kurdish factions took control of northern Iraq after Baghdad's defeat by a US-led coalition in the 1991 Gulf War.

TURQUIE-IRAK

Ankara veut une pacification de la frontière

La Turquie tente de convaincre les États-Unis de la nécessité d'un « plan de paix » dans le nord de l'Irak, en complément de l'opération Provide Comfort, a déclaré le numéro deux turc, Ozdem Sanberk. Cette déclaration intervient alors qu'une délégation américaine dirigée par Mark Parris, spécialiste du Proche-Orient au Conseil national de sécurité, était à Ankara pour rencontrer des responsables turcs. Après la vaste opération militaire qu'elle a menée dans le nord de l'Irak contre les bases des rebelles du Parti des travailleurs kurdes (PKK), la Turquie cherche une formule lui permettant de rendre sa frontière imperméable aux infiltrations des séparatistes kurdes. D'autre part, au moins huit personnes, dont un enfant, ont été tuées hier par l'explosion d'une bombe près d'une école primaire à Batman dans le sud-est du pays.

LE MONDE - 26 MAI 1995

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Turquie-UE

Droits de l'Homme: le temps presse pour la Turquie, selon trois parlementaires européennes

ANKARA, 25 mai (AFP) - Les présidentes de trois groupes au Parlement européen ont indiqué jeudi à Ankara que les mois qui viennent seraient "cruciaux" pour les chances de la Turquie de voir ratifier par l'assemblée de Strasbourg son accord d'union douanière avec l'Union européenne.

Pour cela, des progrès doivent être faits dans le domaine des droits de l'Homme en Turquie, ont souligné Mmes Pauline Green, chef du groupe socialiste au parlement européen, Catherine Lalumière, chef du groupe radical, et Claudia Roth, chef du groupe des Verts, dans une conférence de presse à l'issue d'une visite de deux jours.

L'assemblée européenne a indiqué qu'elle ne ratifierait pas l'accord d'union douanière, signé le 6 mars à Bruxelles, si des progrès substantiels n'étaient pas accomplis en Turquie dans le domaine des droits de l'Homme. Elle doit en principe voter à l'automne.

Ankara a déclaré son intention de prendre des mesures de démocratisation mais celles-ci tardent à se concrétiser. L'union douanière est censée entrer en vigueur le 1er janvier prochain.

"Nous n'avons pas l'intention de retarder le vote" de l'assemblée européenne, a déclaré Mme Green. "Les quelques mois qui viennent seront cruciaux". Elle répondait à la question de savoir si le parlement européen pourrait reporter son vote afin de laisser le temps à la Turquie de démocratiser sa constitution et ses lois.

Les trois parlementaires se sont refusées à dire ce qu'il fallait que la Turquie fasse pour obtenir gain de cause. "Nous voulons voir des progrès" dans le domaine des droits de l'Homme, a dit Mme Green "mais ce n'est pas au parlement européen de dire comment".

Durant leur séjour à Ankara, Mmes Green, Lalumière et Roth ont rencontré notamment le premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, le président du parlement Husamettin Cindoruk, des parlementaires et de nombreux représentants des organisations de droits de l'Homme.

Elles ont rendu visite en prison à six ex-députés d'origine kurde condamnés à de lourdes peines de prison en décembre dernier pour "création et appartenance" ou "aide à bande armée" (le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, PKK). Leur cas est une préoccupation particulière du parlement européen.

Elles devaient rencontrer jeudi après-midi le ministre des affaires étrangères Erdal Inonu, avant de quitter la Turquie.

HC/mr/mfo

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LE FIGARO - 25 MAI 1995

**Droits
de l'homme**
**La Turquie
sous l'œil
de
Strasbourg**
*Une délégation
du Parlement
européen s'est rendue
à Ankara.*

La Turquie reste sous surveillance. La visite à Ankara des présidentes des groupes socialiste, radical et écologiste du Parlement européen le confirme, même s'il ne s'agit pas à proprement parler d'une démarche officielle de l'Assemblée de Strasbourg.

La Turquie est liée depuis le 6 mars à l'Union européenne par un accord d'union douanière. Les élus des « 15 » doivent ratifier ce texte à leur session d'automne, en novembre sans doute.

Le 16 février dernier, le Parlement européen soulignait que « la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie est trop grave pour permettre la constitution de l'union douanière ». Le 25 mars, les ministres des affaires étrangères de la Troïka européenne, avec à leur tête Alain Juppé, étaient venus à Ankara. Ils rappelaient au

premier ministre Tansu Ciller que les « réformes démocratiques » qu'elle avait annoncées « devaient être appliquées » et qu'« on ne réglerait pas le problème kurde par des méthodes exclusivement répressives ».

« Loi antiterroriste »

Désormais habitués aux « tournées d'inspection » des parlementaires européens, les autorités turques ont reçu hier les trois chefs de groupes avec une efficacité de bon aloi. Elles devaient notamment rencontrer le premier ministre, le président du Parlement et les ministres de la Justice et des Affaires étrangères. Un diplomate européen déclarait dernièrement : « L'union douanière n'entrera pas en vigueur le premier janvier prochain si Ankara ne fait pas un « lobby d'enfer » auprès

du Parlement européen. » Tansu Ciller semble avoir entendu le message.

Une campagne de relations publiques efficaces ne suffira pourtant pas. Les réformes démocratiques se font attendre. Celle de la constitution, un « cadeau » des auteurs du coup d'Etat de 1980, est au stade des commissions. Quatre ministres s'y étant refusé, le projet de réforme de l'article de la « loi antiterroriste » concernant la liberté d'expression n'a pas encore été soumis au Parlement. Quant aux six députés kurdes du DEP, ils sont toujours en prison pour « incitation au séparatisme ». Les parlementaires européens devaient leur rendre visite. L'Assemblée de Strasbourg attend d'ailleurs d'un futur partenaire.

Claude LORSEUX

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Euro-MPs urge Ankara to make speedy 'progress' in democratization

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- A group of European Parliament deputies, concluding a visit to Turkey, urged Turkish officials to speed up democratization.

"We are for full integration of Turkey with the European Union," Claudia Roth, the leader of the Greens, told a press conference. But she added that certain conditions have to be met.

These conditions are summarized by the deputies as: Making progress in democratization, realization of the Kurdish reality by Turks and, more concretely, the restoration of the rights of the jailed Democracy Party (DEP) deputies.

"We are aware that a judicial process is being continued, but we hope that the deputies, elected representatives of their people, will be released and their rights

restored," Roth said. The other two deputies, Socialist group's leader Pauline Green and European Radical Alliance chairwoman Catherine Lalumiere, said the European Parliament expected some progress from Turkey. Green allowed that the European Parliament hoped that the judiciary appeal of the DEP deputies would be finalized before the Parliament voted on a customs union accord with Turkey. The vote is to be held this fall, but there are increasing speculation in Ankara that it may be delayed for six months. "We have no intention of delaying the vote unless we have clear reasons to do so," Green told the press conference. The three Euro-MPs were emphatic that the coming months would be of crucial importance for the passing of legislation that would enhance democratization and human rights in Turkey.



Yekta Güngör Özden talks to journalists after his re-election as the presiding judge of the Constitutional Court. TDN Cengiz Uysal

Constitutional Court re-elects Güngör Özden

Another term: Özden was re-elected to post of presiding judge with majority vote

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Yekta Güngör Özden was re-elected to the post of presiding judge of the Constitutional Court on Thursday, extending his term in office until 1997, when he is expected to retire.

Özden's term in office expired on May 7. He was elected in the first round by an absolute majority vote, which is essential for a candidate to be elected. Although there has not been an

official statement, the general secretary of the Constitutional Court, Ali Kadri Ediz, announced after the election that Özden had been re-elected.

Özden, speaking to journalists after the election, said the Constitutional Court was a fully independent and impartial institution which fulfilled its duties with sensitivity. He also said the election had been conducted in a democratic manner by the members of the court.

"The Constitutional Court is the guarantee of everybody's rights and freedoms. That is why people should not try to undermine it," Özden said.

After expressing that life was becoming more difficult in Turkey as the number of reliable institutions declined, Özden said: "The

Constitutional Court is a united one. There is no differences between the members. If I am elected today, it can be someone else in the future. I am going to continue my work from where I left it when my office term expired on May 7. I wish happy days for the rest of the Turkish people." A rather interesting comment on the elections came from Güven Dinçer, the deputy chairman of the Constitutional Court. Prior to the election he told journalist that outside powers were trying to control the Constitutional Court. He later clarified his statement, indicating that by outsiders he meant newspaper columnists.

Dinçer said that Özden received six votes, while he got four and the other candidate, Selçuk Tüzün, only one.

Özden lashed back at the critics, saying that no one could influence the court and its decisions were taken

independently. When asked if some of the court members had received telephone calls telling them whom to elect, Özden said not to believe such rumors.

"I support Atatürk's tenets, secularism and human rights. I am a partial person when it comes to these issues," said Özden. Political party leaders sent congratulation messages to Özden. Deputy Prime Minister Hikmet Çetin stated in his message that he was proud of the Constitutional Court, which he defined as the protector of the democratic secular regime in Turkey. Nationalist Movement Party (MHP), Chairman Alparslan Türkeş also sent a message wishing success to Özden.

Özden was born in 1932 in Tokat. He graduated from the Ankara Law Faculty in 1956. He was elected to the Constitutional Court in 1979. He became the deputy presiding judge in 1988 and presiding judge in 1991.

Rival Kurds take feuds to airwaves in northern Iraq

Yelde: We aren't a state so we can't establish official contacts with other international stations nor travel abroad

By Tolle Aram

Agence France Presse

SALAHUDDIN- The small hill town of Salahuddin in northern Iraq has become home to three different television stations as rival Kurdish factions take their bitter power struggle to the airwaves.

The Iraqi National Congress, a coalition of groups opposed to Baghdad, and the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) have their own channels based in private villas in the former summer resort. Meanwhile the KDP's rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), broadcasts on its own two stations from other areas of northern Iraq under its control.

Television bosses face a host of problems trying to broadcast from the region, which came under Kurdish control in the aftermath of the 1991 Gulf War but is not recognised as a separate state. "We aren't a state so we can't establish official contacts with other international stations nor travel abroad," said Christopher Yelde, director of the KDP's first channel, KTV.

"We have to make the best of these political limitations." However one of the biggest problems for the viewers is what they say is an endless stream of

propaganda spouted by the rival television stations.

The KDP and PUK are locked in a year-long feud over power-sharing and tax revenues, which has cost more than 2,000 lives according to Kurdish sources and has carved up northern Iraq into different zones.

All this is reflected in the output of the rival factions' TV channels.

"We are so fed up with the propaganda you receive on all stations. Every time they start to talk about politics we switch on our satellite," said a 25-year-old aid worker in the main town of Arbil.

Like all the northern Iraqi channels, KTV relies on satellite channels for its international news and does very few of its own reports. Besides its three-daily news bulletins, its airtime is filled with foreign science programmes and soap operas and Kurdish music videos.

It remained passive even in the face of Turkey's massive six-week military incursion into northern Iraq to hunt down PKK militants, launched on March 20.

The KDP's second channel Gulan tried to break the mould when it was established in Arbil a year ago, and

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was the only TV station in the region to broadcast interviews with different factions. "But since the PUK conquered Arbil and we had to flee to Salahuddin, we have been limited to KDP-controlled areas and we have to concentrate more on party-related issues — whether we want to or not," said Gulan director Sero Kader.

The PUK is proving more successful in entertaining its viewers with the second of its two channels, based in Suleymaniya 220 kilometres (136 miles) east of Arbil.

"We realized that people were fed up with all that party-related propaganda so we designed a second channel for entertainment and young people," said Abbas Abdul Raza, director of PUK television.

"Five hours a day we produce our own programmes for health, women and children," he said proudly.

Despite his efforts, one of the biggest hits in northern Iraq is a new satellite channel beamed in from Europe by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). Not everybody can afford it but those who can enjoy four hours a day of original programmes including dancing, music and cultural shows.

Congress refuses to link US arms to human rights

State Department opposes arms limits on Turkey

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- During a second day of debates on the U.S. House floor on HR 1561, the American Overseas Interest Act, the house members rejected by 262-157 votes an amendment introduced by Cynthia McKinney (D) of Georgia that would deny U.S. arms exports to "dictators, military aggressors, human rights abusers, or non-participants in the UN Register of Conventional Arms." Since Turkey is frequently criticized by human rights groups, some observers were concerned that, if accepted, the amendment could jeopardize U.S. arms transfers to Turkey.

The McKinney amendment had many supporters, including Joseph Kennedy (D-MA), Chaka Fattah (D-PA), Carrie Meek (D-FL), George Miller (D-CA), Lynn Woolsey (D-CA), Alcee Hastings (D-FL).

Dan Burton (R-IN) was one determined voice who opposed the amendment arguing that the president already had the option to deny any arm sales he wants to any country he chooses, just as he refused to deliver F-16s to Pakistan even though Pakistan had already paid for the planes. John Mica (D-FL) and Matt Salmon (R-AZ) were among others who spoke out against the amendment.

Rep. Waters on Turkey

The only member of Congress who dwelled on Turkey's human rights record within the context of the amendment was Maxine Waters (D) of California. Ms. Waters referred to Lawrence Korb's testimony at a Senate subcommittee on Tuesday. Korb, an assistant secretary of defense during the Reagan administration and now a scholar at the Brookings Institute, said that Turkey's use of F-16s, Black Hawk helicopters and M-60s against "the Kurds" indicated that "many US arms transferred overseas are used not against the foreign enemies of the US, but against the indigenous population."

"We only need to look at the recent past to find examples of good intentions gone bad," she said. "Many people have talked about the recent gross human rights viola-

tions in Turkey. Turkey happens to be one of largest recipients of U.S. military aid. Former Assistant Secretary Lawrence Korb testified yesterday that Turkey's rulers have used U.S.-supplied F-16s, Black Hawk helicopters and M-60 tanks against its own Kurdish population," she said.

The U.S. arms exports should go to countries that hold "free and fair elections," Waters added. The arms should not go to countries that "engage in gross violations of human rights. We should also make sure that U.S. arms should not go to countries that do not engage in illegal acts of armed aggression." Thus the McKinney amendment would provide "a moral test to U.S. foreign policy," she said.

The House will reconvene to debate other amendments, including one submitted by Rep. Bob Andrews (D-NJ) which proposes to withhold \$500,000 from U.S. assistance for each day Turkey refuses to make any progress on a number of human rights issues concerning Cyprus and the Orthodox Greek Patriarchate.

The deliberations on HR 1561, sometimes also mistakenly referred to as the "Foreign Aid Bill," were scheduled to end at 2:30 p.m. on Thursday after a total of 10 hours of discussion on the new amendments proposed.

State Department responds

The U.S. State Department has registered its strong opposition to the McKinney amendment to link arms sales to human rights. "Our position is that we have very strong relations with Turkey, that Turkey is a strategic ally, that we see no reason to change the fundamental nature of our relationship with Turkey as a result of any actions in the past couple of months," spokesman Nick Burns said.

"Turkey has withdrawn its forces from northern Iraq. We were delighted to see that. We stand ready to work with Turkey on a host of problems that confront both Turkey and the United States in southeast Europe. Turkey is a valued ally. We don't support any move to decrease U.S. military or economic or political cooperation with Turkey," Burns concluded.

Human Rights Diary

Turkey delays freedom of expression reform- Turkey has delayed plans to ease a law restricting freedom of expression, part of democracy reforms urged by the West, until after local by-elections in June, Cabinet Minister Necmettin Cevheri said on May 18.

"We have left it until after the June 4 elections because my colleagues are going to be working on the elections and getting people together will be impossible," Cevheri, whose portfolio includes coordinating government policy, told Reuters. The government has only until late next month to carry out a pledge to scrap or amend Article 8 of the Anti-Terror Law, before a three-month summer recess. Article 8 bans "separatist propaganda," a catch-all phrase often applied to domestic critics of Turkey's treatment of its minority Kurdish population.

Turkish law blocks Kurdish-language education and television and radio broadcasts. Writers on Kurdish history, culture or politics are often taken to court under Article 8 or other laws limiting freedom of expression. The European Parliament has warned it will veto a planned customs union between Turkey and the European Union in the autumn unless Turkey improves its human rights and democracy record. Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and her social democrat coalition partners last month agreed in principle to do away with Article 8. But Çiller faces opposition to reforms from hard-line MPs within her own party who say Turkey cannot afford to lift restrictions on freedom of expression while the country is fighting rebel Kurds in the Southeast. Human rights officials say over 100 authors, academics, journalists and others are in jail for saying or writing something contrary to official views, usually about the Kurdish problem. (*Reuters, May 18*)

Human rights activists tried by military court- The trial against seven executives of the Human Rights Association's (IHD) Bursa branch started on May 23 at a military court in Ankara. They are charged with "discouraging people from doing their military service."

Muhammed Aydın, Lütfi Kurtuluş, Hıdır Gültepe, Handan Erucar, İşıl Irmak and Turan Akyüz were all present at the courtroom. Ayhan Diken did not participate in the first hearing. The defendants demanded to be tried in civil court, claiming that "only the civil courts can try civilians," and said that they were not guilty.

But the request was opposed by the prosecutor and the military court decided to continue the trial, which was postponed until July 27 to collect evidence and take Diken's testimony. The case against the IHD Bursa branch executives was launched first by a Bursa civil court following a ceremony in Bursa which took place in January 1993. According to the indictment, human rights activists were accused of waving placards saying, "Don't do your military service", and starting a signature campaign against military service.

The Bursa civil court decided to send the case to the Istanbul State Security Court (DGM) since the crime was connected to the support of terrorism, but the Istanbul DGM also decided it was not its duty to hear such a case, and sent it to the Ankara military court. If found guilty, the activists could be sentenced to between two months and two years in prison. (*Turkish Daily News, May 24*)

Beating charges against policemen dismissed- The Ankara Criminal Court on May 23 dismissed, for lack of evidence, charges brought against policemen Mehmet Okur and Miktad Budak alleging that they had beaten up Salman Kaya, Ankara deputy of the Republican People's Party (CHP). The incident occurred during 1994 May Day demonstrations in Ankara when Salman Kaya, while trying to stop police attacking demonstrators, was beaten up by men he claimed were undercover agents. The presiding judge said there was no compelling and persuasive evidence to indicate that the police were guilty and therefore dismissed the charges. An Interior Ministry investigation implicated Mikdat Budak and Süleyman Yalman as being involved in the beating of Kaya and they were charged accordingly. If they had been convicted they would have faced prison terms of between three months and three years. (*Turkish Daily News, May 24*)

Hacaloğlu: alarming forensic medicine examinations- Algan Hacaloğlu, state minister responsible for human rights, said while visiting the Institute of Forensic Medicine in Istanbul on May 23 that forensic examination of 295 unidentified corpses had revealed that their deaths had not been from natural causes. Hacaloğlu, commenting on the case of Hasan Ocak, said that he attached no blame to the forensic department but that there was a gap in the chain between the prosecutor's office, forensic medicine officials and the police department.

He said that Hasan Ocak died as a result of torture or "at least his death was not from natural causes." Twenty-nine year-old Hasan Ocak disappeared in Istanbul on March 21, and his dead body was found later in the Beykoz district. The body was examined by the forensic department and later buried, still unidentified. On April 16 his family saw a photograph taken by the forensic department and identified the body as that of Ocak. The remains were exhumed and taken to the Gaziosmanpasa district where the family lived. Hacaloğlu said the number of unidentified corpses had recently risen to 295 and that he would take the matter before the Cabinet. (*Turkish Daily News, May 24*)

JUEVES 13 DE JULIO DE 1995

INMIGRACION

Belloch autoriza la entrada de los 20 refugiados turcos

● Llevaban nueve días en Barajas al dictar Interior una orden de expulsión invalidada por la Audiencia Nacional

DAVID JIMENEZ

MADRID.— En 24 horas han pasado de estar a 10.000 metros de altura viajando de regreso a su país tras, a ser readmitidos y entrar legalmente en España tras su expulsión.

El Ministro de Justicia e Interior, Juan Alberto Belloch autorizó ayer la entrada de los 20 refugiados, 17 turcos y tres kurdos, bajo la custodia de la Comisión Española de Ayuda al Refugiado (CEAR) y de la Cruz Roja.

Es el final de una situación insólita. No podían entrar porque había una orden de expulsión firmada por el Ministerio. Tampoco podían ser expulsados al dictaminar la Audiencia Nacional su derecho a quedarse. Durante esos nueve días, los turcos han dormido en el aeropuerto de Barajas.

La odisea de los refugiados comenzó con su expulsión la noche del martes, diez minutos antes de que llegará el auto judicial que les permitía quedarse. Habían pasado siete días a la espera de que se permitiera su entrada. Una vez informados en pleno vuelo de la decisión de la Audiencia, los extranjeros se apearon en Barcelona y tomaron un nuevo avión de regreso a la capital. La «pelota» quedó entonces en el tejado del Ministerio de Justicia e Interior.

Finalmente, cinco de ellos se quedarán en Madrid bajo la tutela de la Cruz Roja. Uno de ellos es un niño que se encuentra hospitalizado por una neumonía. El resto, serán trasladados a un centro de refugiados de Málaga.

EL MUNDO 27. 5. 1995

Protestas diplomáticas logran censurar una exposición sobre kurdos

● La muestra, que se exhibe en el Museo Nacional de Etnología, intenta explicar las señas de identidad de este pueblo

EL MUNDO

MADRID.— La dirección de Bellas Artes del Ministerio de Cultura ha ordenado retirar la pancarta anunciadora de la exposición cultural sobre el pueblo kurdo, colocada en la fachada del Museo Nacional de Etnología de Madrid, tras una protesta diplomática de «una embajada extranjera», que fue asumida y transmitida al Ministerio de Cultura por el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores.

El origen del incidente diplomático que ha provocado este acto de censura está en la existencia de la propia exposición, inaugurada el pasado 18 de mayo y cuyo objetivo es mostrar al pueblo español las señas de identidad de la etnia kurda. También ha influido en la protesta diplomática en la queja de Asuntos Exteriores que en la pancarta anunciadora, de gran tamaño y visible frente a la madrileña estación de Atocha, se utilizara la palabra «Kurdistán» y

la frase «una mirada a un país prohibido».

En este sentido, el Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, al transmitir la protesta diplomática al de Cultura, indicó la conveniencia de retirar algunos objetos que se pueden apreciar en la propia muestra, a lo que la dirección de Bellas Artes se negó. Sin embargo, la dirección de Bellas Artes sí ha aceptado retirar la frase de la pancarta anunciadora —«Kurdistán: una mirada a un país prohibido»— y sustituirla por otra menos molesta para el país extranjero que protestó por la exposición.

Esta exposición es una iniciativa tomada tras la Guerra del Golfo Pérsico por un grupo de personas, para difundir entre el pueblo español el problema kurdo, que afecta a 30 millones de personas divididas por las fronteras de Turquía, Irán, Irak, Siria y la antigua URSS.

De carácter itinerante, la muestra ya ha recorrido una veintena de localidades del País Vasco, Cataluña, Castilla La Mancha, Comunidad Valenciana y Extremadura, destacando las ciudades de Bilbao, Pamplona, Alicante, Valencia y Ciudad Real. La exposición, que es la mayor muestra antropológica realizada en España sobre el pueblo kurdo, recoge materiales usados por los kurdos en su vida cotidiana, así como mapas, fotografías, un programa audiovisual realizado con música kurda y diapositivas y varios vídeos.

500,000 Iraqi Kurds face starvation

'We have food rations in our stores for only one month. I doubt that our food distribution program for the coming summer period will be financed'

Agence France Presse

ERBIL- About 500,000 Iraqi Kurds could face starvation if international donors fail to pay for food aid to northern Iraq, officials from the World Food Programme (WFP) warned Thursday.

"We have food rations in our stores for only one month. I doubt that our food distribution programme for the coming summer period will be financed," Peter Forster northern coordinator for the UN group told AFP.

"If that is the case we will have to stop it," he added. "People are so hungry and desperate that they have started destroying their concrete houses to sell iron bars and blocks."

Lack of funds have already forced the WFP to cut the number of people receiving monthly food rations from 471,000 to 350,000.

Desperate parents have offered their children to rich families hoping they might be fed, and some have even had to be stopped from poisoning their offspring, Kurdish officials and residents told AFP.

"What we distributed last month did not cover the basic needs, nor did it the month before," Abdirahman Meygag, head of the Erbil branch of the WFP, said.

Necim Omar Surtshi, secretary of the Conservative Party of Kurdistan (CPK), said some parents had offered their children to rich families "not as slaves, but in the hope that rich people will feed them."

In Beneslawa, in the Erbil governorate, fathers had been stopped from killing their children because they could not feed them, residents said.

Neciba Azid, 37, a mother of three children sitting in an empty house in Beneslawa, described her family's plight. "For the last three months we have been living on bread and water."

There were many days when we had nothing to eat," she said. She and other women confirmed that some parents offered their children to wealthy people to work for food. Haci Hamma Ali Raza, 80, said he had only survived so far by selling almost all his possessions: a television, a refrigerator and mattresses.

"People have no hope. There's no work, we own no land," he said. "Sometimes they don't see any other solution than getting rid of their own children. In their eyes, killing is still better than sending them into the town to beg."

Tehran sees breakthrough in its relations with Baghdad

Reuters

NICOSIA- Iran said talks this week had led to a breakthrough in ties with its arch-enemy Iraq and that preparations for a Baghdad visit by Iran's foreign minister had been completed.

"Preparations for the visit of Foreign Minister (Ali Akbar) Velayati to Baghdad have...been made," Deputy Foreign Minister Hossein Sheikholeslam, was quoted by Tehran radio as saying. He did not give a date for the visit, the first by an Iranian foreign minister since the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Important steps had been taken to improve ties between the two neighbors during talks in Baghdad by an Iranian delegation, he said. Ali Khorram, a senior advisor to Velayati, visited Baghdad at the head of an 11-member mission. An Iraqi delegation would soon visit Iran to continue the talks, Sheikholeslam added.

Velayati was quoted by Iran's news agency IRNA as saying the two countries should "broaden their mutual relations". He made no reference to a visit to Iraq.

Khorram said earlier on Thursday that a tentative accord on the thorny issue of prisoners left over from eight years of war was reached but made no mention of plans for a Velayati visit. Under the draft agreement on prisoners of war from the 1980-88 Iran-Iraq war, the two sides were to study detailed lists of soldiers believed to have been taken prisoner by the other side, Khorram added.

His visit was widely seen as part of an Iranian campaign to woo friends to break out of a U.S.-imposed isolation especially after President Bill Clinton's ban this month on U.S. trade and investment in Iran.

Iranian newspapers have in the last few days been trying to convince the bulk of Iranians still hostile to Iraq after its 1980 invasion that reconciliation with Baghdad was possible.

Khorram said the accord, yet to be approved by both sides, could solve the long-standing conflict over war prisoners, one of several outstanding issues from the devastating war.

Tehran demands that Baghdad should free thousands of prisoners. Baghdad denies holding any Iranians.

LE MONDE - 27 mai 1995

■ **TURQUIE : vingt à trente rebelles kurdes ont été tués et une quarantaine interpellés au cours de plusieurs opérations militaires, mercredi 24 mai, dans l'est et le sud-est du pays, selon différentes sources.**
Par ailleurs, au moins sept personnes sont mortes, jeudi 25 mai, lors de l'explosion d'une bombe près d'une école primaire dans le centre-ville de Batman, dans le sud-est de la Turquie. - (AFP, Reuter.)

Foreign Aid Bill vote postponed to June 6

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The US House of Representatives has decided to postpone the final voting on the American Overseas Interest Act of 1995 (H.R. 1561) to June 6. The bill is also referred as the Foreign Aid Bill, although it also covers a vast reorganization of the US State Department and the amendment of almost every existing law pertaining to US foreign policy. The delay has been linked to President Clinton's threat that he would veto the bill in its current form.

Lack of time to debate all the amendments has reportedly been another factor leading to the decision for postponement. There are currently 65 amendments on record which are awaiting floor debate. When the initial limit of 10 hours for debate was exhausted, a request was made for six more hours. The House Rules Committee met and agreed the extension by a vote of seven to three. The markup of the Senate version of the bill at the Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations subcommittee has also been postponed to June.

HR 1561 includes a "Humanitarian Aid Corridor Act" amendment that would bar US assistance to Turkey, unless Turkey lifts the embargo on Armenia.

Another amendment which would have impacted on Turkey proposed to link human rights to US arms transfers, but was defeated on Wednesday by 262 votes to 157.

One other important amendment waiting in the wings proposes to withhold \$500,000 a day from US assistance to Turkey unless Turkey improves its record on human rights, Cyprus and the Fener Orthodox Patriarchate (which was initially introduced as HR 1274 "Turkish Human Rights Compliance Act"). When the House reconvenes in June it will vote on this amendment.

\$320 million for Turkey

If and when it is approved by the House, the bill will authorize loans worth \$224 million for Greece and \$320 million for Turkey in the financial year 1996, corresponding to the "subsidy cost" levels of \$26.62 million for Greece and \$37.8 million for Turkey in the same financial year. The subsidy cost is the real cost of these loans to the American taxpayers. This year the subsidy cost levels are lower "because interest costs were lower and the credit ratings of these

House of Representatives offers \$320 million for Turkey

countries were higher," according to the House report on HR 1561. The proposed amounts maintain the 7-to-10 ratio between the level of US assistance given to Greece and Turkey.

The amounts authorized by the House for the financial year 1996 are 28.8 percent lower than the \$315 million for Greece and the \$450 million for Turkey which were originally requested by the Administration.

The total subsidy cost authorized by the Administration for both Turkey and Greece was \$89.89 million. The levels in the financial year 1995 (the net levels excluding the 10 percent conditioned for both countries), are \$229 million for Greece and \$328 million for Turkey. Thus the levels proposed for next year are almost identical to the levels this year.

The House report on HR 1561 says "the [International Relations] Committee's recommended level of funding for Turkey completes the commitment of the U.S. for funding a joint F-16 fighter aircraft program for the Turkish Air Force."

Economic Support Fund

The bill proposes \$50 million in the financial year 1996 and \$40 million in 1997 as an economic support assistance fund (ESF) for Turkey. This is a cash credit provided with no strings attached. The US provided at least twice as much in previous years. The International Relations Committee said "for further assistance allocations, the Committee will pay special attention to the opening up of Turkish markets to US goods and services."

Within the context of the ESF, the Committee also stated that it is "concerned about the human rights situation in Turkey, particularly government actions against journalists and others which infringe upon freedom of expression."

The Committee has also gone on record that it accepts the Greek thesis that the Fener Patriarchate represents all Orthodox Christians in the world. "The Committee expresses concern regarding recent attacks on the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul, Turkey, the center for over 250 million Orthodox Christians worldwide." Turkey does not accept the ecumenical status of the Patriarchate.

Free-trade agreement with Cyprus?

The House also proposes to give [Greek] Cyprus \$15 million as ESF in 1996 and 1997 "to support scholarships and bicomunal projects," like it did in the financial year 1995.

The committee suggested that a free-trade agreement might be a good idea to help Cyprus. "The Committee urges the

Administration to study other ways to demonstrate and improve the close ties between the U.S. and Cyprus. One such proposal may be to study jointly the prospects for a free trade agreement between the U.S. and Cyprus."

Since the late president Turgut Ozal's time, Turkey has always asked for "more trade, not aid" from the US but Washington never considered the prospects of a free-trade arrangement with Turkey. The US currently has such an arrangement with Canada and Mexico in the NAFTA agreement.

HR 1561 also proposes many sweeping changes in US foreign policy, including the amendment of almost all the foreign affairs related laws on the books.

One such change to be made to the "State Department Basic Authorities Act of 1956" proposes to eliminate the Office for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor currently headed by Assistant Secretary John Shattuck, a vocal critic of human rights violations in Turkey. Shattuck's office, if HR 1561 is accepted by the House, would become the Bureau for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor.

Shattuck's title would be changed to Coordinator for Human Rights and Refugees and he would head the newly established Bureau of Refugees and Migration Assistance as well. The coordinator will be appointed by the President and will carry the rank and status of "ambassador-at-large."

At this point, it is not clear yet if this represents a demotion for Shattuck, who is currently not an ambassador but reports directly to Secretary Christopher, just like Amb. Philip Wilcox, the Coordinator for Counterterrorism. A State Department source told the TDN that Shattuck, as a coordinator, will have "precedence among the other Assistant Secretaries of State" and come fourth in rank after the Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary and the Under Secretaries. Despite that, a TDN source alleged that the new "bureau" will have a smaller staff and smaller budget to work with.

Inönü urges an end to power vacuum in N. Iraq

Foreign minister says Operation Provide Comfort is under discussion between allies

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü said on Friday that the structure and future of Operation Provide Comfort, an allied force stationed in Turkey to protect Iraqi Kurds, was under discussion among Turkey and its European partners.

"We have discussed Operation Provide Comfort with a visiting delegation from the United States, but this was just the beginning. We will continue with our talks," İnönü told reporters in his first formal press conference since taking office two months ago.

Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Özdem Sanberk told the TDN in an interview earlier in the week that Turkey

wanted Operation Provide Comfort to "have a peace perspective," in other words, to be tied to a peace plan in Iraq.

"The power vacuum in northern Iraq prevents any solution," İnönü said.

He ruled out a redrawing of the border with Iraq in a way to make monitoring easier. "That is something we have never asked our Iraqi counterparts for," İnönü said, flatly denying press reports that Iraq was ready for it. "How can they reply affirmatively to a question that is not asked?"

He said that he expected northern Iraqi Kurds to provide security in the region. But he refused to give details about the ongoing talks between Turkey and a visiting delegation from the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK).

"In all our talks, we tell them that they should stop this fighting," İnönü said.

Iraqi Kurds to delay elections until June 1996

Agence France Presse

DARABAN- Feuding Iraqi Kurd factions agreed here Saturday to postpone elections in northern Iraq for a year and extend their parliament's mandate, an AFP correspondent said.

In a 15-minute session, 85 members of the 105-seat assembly agreed unanimously by a show of hands to postpone the elections to June 4, 1996.

The group gathered in a mosque in the remote but neutral village of Daraban, north of the main town of Arbil, for the meeting chaired by speaker Jawar Namik.

Among those present were 40 members of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and the same number from its rival the Patriotic Union

of Kurdistan (PUK) as well as five members of the small Assyrian Movement.

The parliament's term had been due to expire on June 4, three years after the assembly was first elected in 1992. But armed clashes between the two main parties which share control in the parliament made new elections difficult to organize and threatened a collapse of the Kurdish experiment in democracy.

One member said: "Forget elections. If we can't solve our problems now, how can we ever hold elections?"

Fighting between the KDP and PUK over power and tax revenues since May 1994 has cost 2,000 lives, according to Kurdish sources, and left the region split with each faction controlling one part.

The KDP said earlier that "a neutral location for the session was agreed upon for security purposes."

The parliament, which is not internationally recognized, is based in Arbil, which has been under PUK control since December. It has stopped meeting since the PUK captured the town from the KDP.

Northern Iraq has been under Kurdish control, in defiance of Baghdad, since the end of the Gulf war for Kuwait in 1991.

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Eco.

Irak: Saddam Hussein face aux plus graves émeutes depuis la défaite

DUBAI, 29 mai (AFP) - Les émeutes qui ont éclaté à la mi-mai dans le gouvernorat d'Anbar, à l'ouest de Bagdad, constituent pour le régime de Saddam Hussein le plus grave soulèvement depuis les insurrections de 1991 au sud et au nord du pays.

Selon des voyageurs en provenance d'Irak et des diplomates arabes à Bagdad, ces émeutes ont éclaté le 17 mai dans la ville de Ramadi avant de s'étendre à plusieurs localités du gouvernorat, considéré comme l'un des bastions du régime.

Une trentaine de personnes, en majorité d'une puissante famille sunnite irakienne, ont été tuées et des centaines d'autres, dont des fonctionnaires de l'Etat, ont été blessées, selon ces voyageurs.

Ces émeutes se sont produites peu après la restitution par les autorités à sa famille du corps du général de l'armée de l'air Mohammad Mazloum al-Doulaïmi, arrêté fin 1994 pour "complicité dans une tentative de coup d'Etat".

C'est la première fois, depuis les insurrections de mars 1991 dans la foulée de la défaite irakienne dans la guerre du Golfe, que des émeutes éclatent dans un gouvernorat généralement fidèle au président irakien.

Les soulèvements de 1991 avaient eu pour théâtre pendant plusieurs semaines le sud de l'Irak, à majorité chiite, et le nord du pays, à population kurde.

Le pouvoir central avait cependant rétabli son autorité au prix d'une sanglante répression. Pour protéger ces populations, les Etats-Unis, la Grande-Bretagne et la France avaient interdit le survol de ces zones par l'aviation irakienne.

Près de cinq ans après la guerre du Golfe, Bagdad tente toujours de venir à bout de la résistance chiite qui persiste notamment dans la zone des marais (35.000 km²) comprise dans le grand triangle que forment les villes de Bassorah, Al-Amara et Nassiriyah.

L'opposition irakienne, notamment le Congrès National Irakien (CNI, coalition de groupes d'opposition), a annoncé plusieurs tentatives de coup d'Etat contre le régime de Saddam Hussein et fait état de violentes répressions, en particulier contre les populations arabes chiites, qui constituent entre 45 et 60% des 18 millions d'Irakiens.

Ainsi, en 1993 et 1994, le CNI avait fait état de plusieurs offensives irakiennes contre la population des marais, affirmant que les troupes irakiennes ont fait usage d'armes chimiques.

En novembre 1994, le CNI avait annoncé l'arrestation de plus de 1.000 personnes dans diverses régions de l'Irak, parmi lesquelles un certain nombre d'officiers de l'armée, sans toutefois préciser la date ou les motifs de ces arrestations. Le CNI cite le nom de Mohammed Mazloum al-Douleimi, commandant de la base aérienne al-Bakr, au nord de Bagdad.

Pour sa part, la presse occidentale a fait état de plusieurs tentatives de coup d'Etat, attribuées pour la plupart à des militaires ou des proches collaborateurs de Saddam Hussein. L'une de ces tentatives, révélée en juillet 1992 par la presse américaine, avait été confirmée par de hauts responsables américains.

Depuis la guerre du Golfe, plusieurs ambassadeurs, anciens ministres et hauts dignitaires du régime ont fait défection et rejoint avec éclat les rangs de l'opposition.

Des rumeurs ont aussi fait état d'un attentat contre Oudaï, fils aîné de Saddam Hussein, qui, se sentant autant menacé que son père, aurait multiplié les subterfuges pour se protéger.

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Kurdish 'parliament-in-exile' to convene again in two months

**Executive Council Chairman
Aydar: We have no problem
in finding a place to meet**

By Aytül Gürtaş

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Zübeyir Aydar, the chairman of the executive council of the so-called Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" formed on April 12 in The Hague, said, in a telephone interview from Brussels on Sunday, that the assembly will convene again on July 12 and that he did not foresee any problem in finding a meeting place.

Aydar, in answer to a question from the Turkish Daily News, said that, according to its bylaws, the parliament should convene every three months, and the second meeting was planned for July, presumably somewhere in Europe.

"The laws of many European countries allow such meetings, provided they do not violate certain rules, and therefore we will have no difficulty finding a place to convene" said Aydar. Turkey strongly protested against the holding of the first meeting of the so-called Kurdish parliament-in-exile in the Netherlands in April. As a result relations between the countries became strained and Turkey put the Netherlands on its "red list."

At the end of its first four-day meeting the parliament formed an executive council of 15, including Turkey's now banned pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) deputies, and representatives of the National Liberation front (ERNK), the political wing of the outlawed Kurdistan Worker's Party (PKK).

Aydar, a former DEP deputy, said that the chief objective of the parliament was to gain observer status at the United Nations.

"We are continuing our diplomatic activities throughout the world, including European Union bodies and the other international organizations. We want the Kurds to be represented in the United Nations and as a parliament-in-exile we are ready for this," Aydar stated.

He repeated the call on international bodies to put pressure on Turkey for a peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem. Talking about the other activities of the executive council, Zübeyir Aydar said that they had decided to launch a campaign for cultural identity, and specifically the promotion of the Kurdish language.

"Our council will do its best for everyone in Kurdistan to be allowed to speak their mother tongue and be educated in Kurdish. In that context we call



Zübeyir Aydar

on all Kurds to speak Kurdish, think in Kurdish and read in Kurdish," Aydar added.

Meanwhile, according to Aydar, some other Kurdish factions which did not participate in the first meeting of the exile parliament, now want to participate.

"Representatives of the Kurdistan Communist Party (KCP), from Turkey, visited us on May 25 and expressed their support for the exile parliament. We have agreed that the KCP representatives could participate in the bye-election that the parliament has decided on.

He said this was a sign of the increasing support of the Kurdish people for the parliament-in-exile.

The grouping has been criticized in the past of being an organ of the PKK and of not giving any space to the other Kurdish political movements. Some other groups such as the Kurdistan Socialist Party led by moderate Kemal Burkay have refused to join the parliament.

It is being said that the other Kurdish groups are waiting to see if the parliament-in-exile gains international acceptance before deciding on their participation.

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Allemagne-Turquie

Conflit kurde : plainte devant la justice contre une chaîne de TV turque

DELMENHORST (Allemagne), 30 mai (AFP) - Une agence allemande pour les droits de l'Homme, MFM, a porté plainte auprès du parquet de Berlin contre un programme de la chaîne de télévision turque TRT.INT qui appelle à des dons pour les opérations militaires contre les Kurdes, a annoncé MFM mardi à Delmenhorst (nord).

La chaîne publique turque TRT.INT, diffusée sur le câble en Allemagne, est mise en cause à propos d'une émission qui a commencé fin avril à appeler à des dons pour l'armée turque engagée du 20 mars au 2 mai contre les Kurdes dans le nord de l'Irak. Cette émission se poursuit sporadiquement.

L'agence MFM, spécialisée dans les médias, a entrepris cette démarche faute d'une décision des autorités allemandes de contrôle des médias, a expliqué son directeur Peter Vogel. Elle a déposé plainte pour complicité de génocide et d'incitation à la haine raciale.

Les autorités allemandes de contrôle des médias, saisies de plusieurs plaintes, ont ouvert une enquête, qui n'a pas encore abouti. Les écolo-pacifistes du parti des Verts/Alliance 90 ont exigé que la chaîne ne soit plus autorisée à émettre sur le câble.

Près de 85% des 1,85 million de Turcs vivant en Allemagne reçoivent TRT.INT. Aux termes des réglementations européennes, le contrôle des programmes d'un émetteur étranger incombe principalement au pays d'origine sauf s'il y va de la protection de la jeunesse, de la dignité humaine ou de contraintes publicitaires.

La plainte a été déposée à Berlin, siège du directeur de la chaîne en Allemagne.

vl/lal/jag

AFP /JO0245/301940

MAI 95

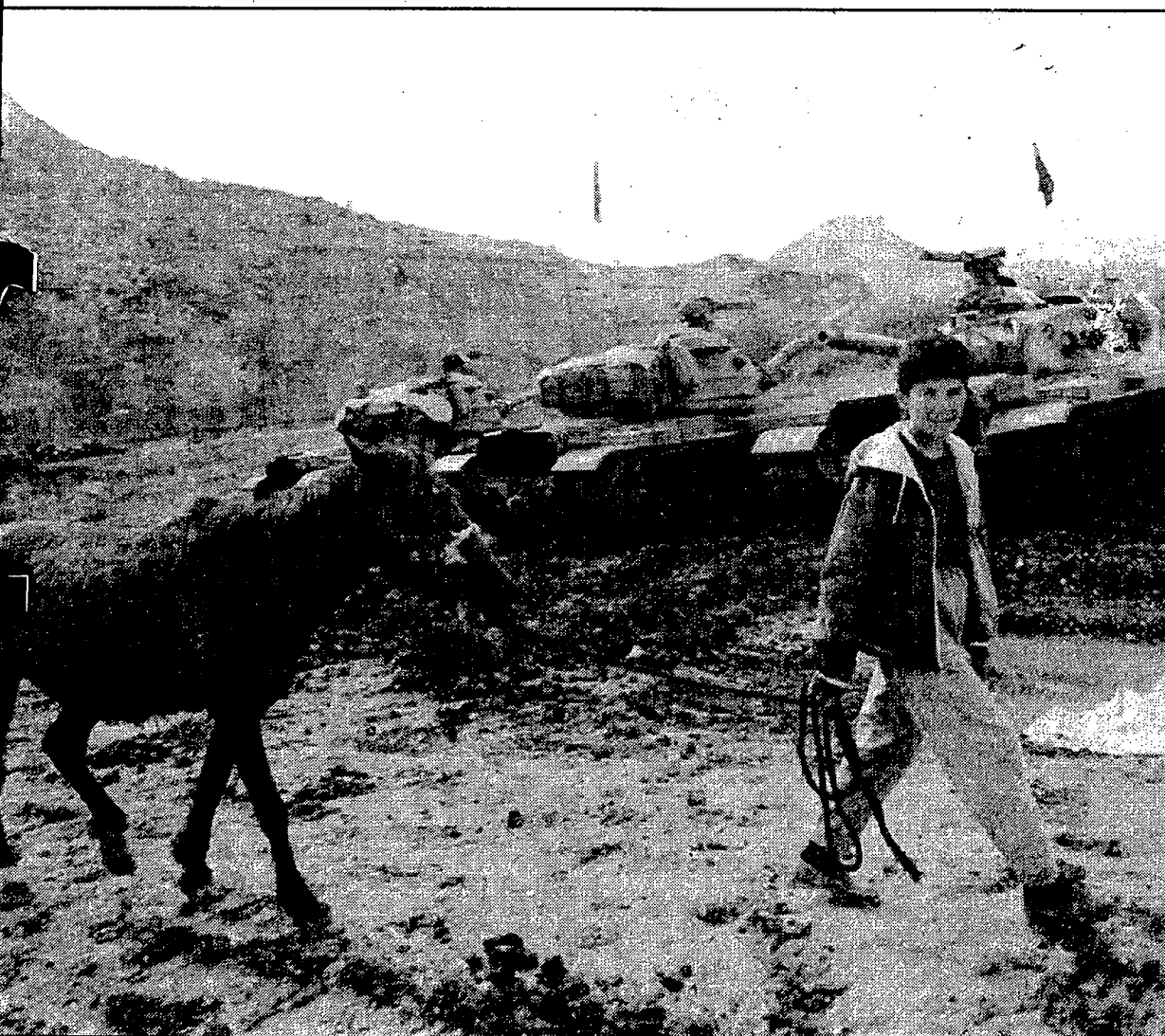
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ΕΠΙΒΕΒΑΙΩΝΟΝΤΑΙ και από τη Βρετανία οι πληροφορίες για το σέρβις την απαγόρευση π

ΤΟ ΝΑΤΟ ΚΑΤΕΥΘΥΝ



ΚΟΥΡΔΟΣ



Νεαρός Κούρδος του Ιράκ περνά με το άλογό του μπροστά από τουρκικά άρματα μάχης, στην κοιλάδα Πιρμπέλα

Οι χώρες-μέλη του ΝΑΤΟ που συμμετέχουν στην επιχείρηση προστασίας των Κούρδων του βορσιου Ιράκ παρέχουν στην Τουρκία πληροφορίες για τις επιχειρήσεις της εναντίον των Κούρδων αυτονομιστών του ΡΚΚ, δήλωσαν χτες πηγές του

βρετανικού υπουργείου Αμυνας.

Σύμφωνα με τις πηγές αυτές, υψηλής ποιότητας αεροφωτογραφίες που λαμβάνονται καθημερινά από γαλλικά και βρετανικά αεροσκάφη που «αστυνομεύουν» τη ζώνη απαγόρευσης των πτήσεων πάνω από το βόρειο Ιράκ, αναλύονται στην αεροπορική βάση του

Ιντόιρλίκ στη νοτιοανατολική Τουρκία και διατίθενται στους Τούρκους.

Όπως μεταδίδει από το Βερολίνο ο ανταποκριτής της «Ε» Παντελής Βαλασόπουλος, μυστική συμφωνία μεταξύ ΗΠΑ και Τουρκίας, που αφορά ανταλλαγή στρατιωτικών πληροφοριών, υπάρχει από το 1980, σύμφωνα με όσα μετέδωσε χτες το πολιτικό μαγκαζίνο

«Μόνιτορ» του πρώτου κρατικού καναλιού (ARD).

Η Τουρκία έχει στην κατοχή της μεγάλο αριθμό πληροφοριών που αφορούν τις κινήσεις, τις θέσεις και τον εξοπλισμό των Κούρδων ανταρτών του ΡΚΚ στα βουνά του βορείου Ιράκ, μέσω ΗΠΑ, σύμφωνα με όσα μεταδόθηκαν στο σχετικό ρεπορτάζ.

μέσω των AWACKS, που υποτίθεται ότι επιτηρούν για λογαριασμό του ΟΗΕ τήσεων πάνω από το βόρειο Ιράκ

ΕΙ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΣΒΟΛΕΙΣ!

ΒΑΓΔΑΤΗ

Εμποδίζουν οι Τούρκοι τους κυανόκρανους να επισκεφθούν τις περιοχές των συγκρούσεων, αλλά χαλαρώνουν τους περιορισμούς στην κίνηση των δημοσιογράφων. Πάντως οι επιχειρήσεις συνεχίζονται έστω και αν οι τουρκικές δυνάμεις συναντούν ελάχιστους Κούρδους αντάρτες. Ο Δανός διοικητής των κυανόκρανων που βρίσκονται στο βόρειο Ιράκ, Πουλ Νταλ, δήλωσε ότι τα τουρκικά στρατεύματα στο βόρειο Ιράκ εμποδίζουν τους φρουρούς των Ηνωμένων Εθνών να επισκεφθούν κουρδικά χωριά και να περιπολούν στη ζώνη των μαχών. Το απόσπασμα του Νταλ στάλθηκε στο βόρειο

Ιράκ για να επιβλέπει τις «ασφαλείς ζώνες» προστασίας των Κούρδων που έχει κηρύξει ο ΟΗΕ και για να εγγυάται τη διανομή της ανθρωπιστικής βοήθειας. Ο Νταλ δηλώνει ότι οι άνδρες του δεν μπορούν να κάνουν τη δουλειά τους, ενώ οι κάτοικοι

Χάνουν οι Τούρκοι στο κρυφτό με τους Κούρδους

καταγγέλλουν λεηλασίες των σπιτιών τους. Υπό την ασφυκτική πίεση της διεθνούς κοινότητας, η Τουρκία χαλάρωσε χθες τους περιορισμούς στην είσοδο των δημοσιογράφων στη ζώνη επιχειρήσεων. Στο εξής απαγορεύεται η είσοδος δημοσιογράφων ξένων μέσων ενημέρωσης οι οποίοι δεν έχουν άδεια παραμονής στην Τουρκία. Οι άνδρες του Κόμματος Κούρδων Εργατών (PKK) έχουν προς το παρόν πλήρη ελευθερία κινήσεων σε μια ζώνη 100 τετραγωνικών χιλιομέτρων στο βόρειο Ιράκ, μεταξύ δύο περιοχών στις οποίες αναπτύσσονται οι τουρκικές δυνάμεις. Πρόκειται για την περιοχή Σερβάν, όπως δήλωσε ένας χωρικός στο Γαλλικό Πρακτορείο. Άλλος Κούρδος, κάτοικος του χωριού Μπεσλε, δήλωσε ότι τα τουρκικά αεροπλάνα βομβάρδισαν το χωριό του και στη συνέχεια έφθασαν οι στρατιώτες και το έκαψαν, πριν από μία εβδομάδα. Ένας τρίτος Κούρδος δήλωσε ότι τουρκικό άρμα μάχης γκρέμισε το σπίτι του.

Δύο Βρετανοί βουλευτές που επισκέφθηκαν τη ζώνη επιχειρήσεων, διαπίστωσαν ότι μέλη του Δημοκρατικού Κόμματος του Κουρδιστάν παρέχουν τοπική υποστήριξη στους Τούρκους στρατιώτες. Εκατοντάδες Κούρδοι πρόσφυγες, οι οποίοι εγκαταλείπουν με τη βοήθεια του ΟΗΕ την περιοχή των συγκρούσεων, αναφέρουν ότι «όλοι κρύβονται» από τους Τούρκους και δηλώνουν τρομοκρατημένοι. Το PKK ανακοίνωσε χθες ότι οι άνδρες του έχουν σκοτώσει 515 Τούρκους, ενώ οι απώλειες των ανταρτών είναι μόλις 21 άνδρες. Η Τουρκία ανακοίνωσε ότι έχουν σκοτωθεί 269 αντάρτες και μόνο 17 στρατιώτες. Το PKK ανακοίνωσε ότι από τις τουρκικές επιθέσεις έχουν σκοτωθεί δώδεκα πολίτες και έχουν τραυματιστεί οκτώ.

ΣΥΛΛΗΨΕΙΣ ΔΙΚΗΓΟΡΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΗ

Τη σύλληψη πέντε δικηγόρων ασχολούμενων με υποθέσεις ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων, καθώς και δύο δημοσιογράφων από την αντιπροσωπευτική υπηρεσία της τουρκικής αστυνομίας στην Κωνσταντινούπολη, καταγγέλλει η Επιτροπή των Ελευθέρων Λαών την οποία αποτελούν Τούρκοι και Κούρδοι πολιτικοί πρόσφυγες που ζουν στην Αθήνα. Πρόκειται για τους δικηγόρους του Νομικού Συλλόγου του Λαού Ζεϊνέμπ Φρατ, Μουσταφά Τζαμάν, Νετίν Ακσί, Εφγκάν και Αϊντέν Τσελίκ και για τους δημοσιογράφους Μετουλένθ Μπαγτζί και Φαρούκ Ντεγουμπάι, συντάκτες της εκτός νόμου αριστερής εφημερίδας «Κουρτουλούς» (Ελευθερία). «Η ζωή των συλληφθέντων δικηγόρων και δημοσιογράφων κινδυνεύει όσο βρίσκονται στα κρατητήρια της Ασφάλειας», επισφαιμίνει η Επιτροπή και απευθύνει έκκληση προς όλες τις κατευθύνσεις για την απελευθέρωσή τους.

Από τα AWACKS

Οι μυστικές πληροφορίες προέρχονται από τις πτήσεις των αεροσκαφών-ραντάρ κατασκοπείας «AWACKS» πάνω από το βόρειο Ιράκ τα τελευταία χρόνια. Τα αεροσκάφη αυτά ανήκουν στη δύναμη του NATO, αλλά οι συγκεκριμένες πτήσεις γίνονταν και γίνονται όχι για το NATO αλλά για λογαριασμό των Ηνωμένων Εθνών. Να σημειωθεί ότι τα «AWACKS» στις επιχειρησιακές τους πτήσεις έχουν σχεδόν πάντα μικτά πληρώματα από διάφορα κράτη-μέλη του NATO, ανάμεσά τους Έλληνες αλλά και Τούρκοι. Οι πληροφορίες που φτάνουν από τον ΟΗΕ στο NATO, ΗΠΑ και τέλος Τουρκία, σύμφωνα με το ρεπορτάζ, χρησιμοποιούνται αυτές τις ημέρες για το βομβαρδισμό κουρδικών θέσεων από την τουρκική αεροπορία και το βαρύ πυροβολικό.

Επίσης σύμφωνα με τη γερμανική οργάνωση για την προστασία των ανθρωπίνων δικαιωμάτων MEDICO INTERNATIONAL, υπάρχει στην κατοχή της φωτογραφικό και κινηματογραφικό υλικό από την εισβολή των Τούρκων στο βόρειο Ιράκ που αποδεικνύει τη χρησιμοποίηση γερμανικών όπλων και οχημάτων στις μάχες κατά των Κούρδων.

ΠΑΝΤ. ΒΑΛΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ

ΑΓΚΥΡΑ

Εκκλήση για υποστήριξη εκ μέρους των συμμάχων της στο ΝΑΤΟ για την εισβολή στο βόρειο Ιράκ έκανε χθες η Τουρκία όπου εμφανίζεται διάσπαση στους κόλπους της κυβέρνησης αλλά και ανάμεσα στην κυβέρνηση και τους στρατιωτικούς σχετικά με το τι πρέπει να γίνει στο βόρειο Ιράκ.

Όπως αποκάλυψε ο Γερμανός υπουργός Εξωτερικών Κλάους Κίνκελ, η πρωθυπουργός της Τουρκίας Τανσού Τσιλέρ τον παρακάλεσε να προωθήσει στον ΟΗΕ τη διαμεσολάβηση του διεθνούς οργανισμού. Όπως είπε ο Κλάους Κίνκελ, «εξετάζονται ήδη τρόποι μεσολάβησης των Ηνωμένων Εθνών και η Γερμανία, που αποτελεί μη μόνιμο μέλος του Συμβουλίου Ασφαλείας, υποστηρίζει αυτήν την κατεύθυνση», είπε ο Γερμανός υπουργός. Μία ενδεχόμενη μεθόδευση - σύμφωνα με διευκρινίσεις που δόθηκαν αργότερα - θα μπορούσε να ήταν να ζητήσει η Τουρκία μόνη της την αποστολή κυανοκράνων του ΟΗΕ στην περιοχή για τη δημιουργία μιας ζώνης ασφαλείας μεταξύ Τουρκίας και βόρειου Ιράκ.

Στο ίδιο πνεύμα, η εκπρόσωπος του αμερικανικού υπουργείου Εξωτερικών Κριστίν Σέλι δήλωσε χθες ότι από την Τουρκία και μόνο εξαρτάται η προώθηση ενός διεθνούς σχεδίου για την επλω-

ση του προβλήματος.

«Νομίζω ότι η Τουρκία είναι η χώρα που έχει αφήσει να διαφανεί το ενδιαφέρον της για κάποια διεθνή προσέγγιση του προβλήματος στα σύνορα», είπε.

Αντιδρούν οι στρατιωτικοί

Η προοπτική όμως αυτή θεωρείται βέβαιο ότι αντιμετωπίζει την αντίδραση των Τούρκων στρατιωτικών και θα σκοπιάσει στο ελεγχόμενο απ' αυτούς τουρκικό Συμβούλιο Εθνικής Ασφαλείας.

Τις απόψεις αυτές των στρατιωτικών φαίνεται ότι εκφράζουν οι χθεσινές δηλώσεις του εκπροσώπου του τουρκικού υπουργείου Εξωτερικών Φερχάτ Αταμάν, ο οποίος, σε αντίθεση με τα όσα κατά τον Κλάους Κίνκελ δήλωσε η Τανσού Τσιλέρ, είπε πως «δεν πιστεύουν στην Αγκυρα ότι θα ήταν χρήσιμη η ανάπτυξη διεθνούς δύναμης στο βόρειο Ιράκ».

Ο Αταμάν είπε ακόμα ότι «είναι φυσικό δικαίωμά μας να αναμένουμε τους συμμάχους μας να πάρουν θέση εναντίον της απειλής απέναντι στην εδαφική ακεραιότητά μας, σύμφωνα με τη διατύπωση του Βορειοατλαντικού Συμφώνου».

Η Γερμανία, πάντως, ανακοίνωσε χθες ότι πέραν του παγώματος του κονδυλίου των 150 εκατομμυρίων μάρκων που προβλεπόταν για την επιδότηση της

αγοράς από την Τουρκία δύο φρεγατών τύπου «ΜΕΚΟ-2000», αναστέλλεται - μέχρι την αποχώρηση του τουρκικού στρατού από το βόρειο Ιράκ - και η παροχή ενός «υπόλοιπου» της λεγόμενης «ειδικής αμυντικής βοήθειας» από στρατιωτικό υλικό του πρώην ανατολικογερμανικού στρατού. Το «υπόλοιπο» αυτό αφορούσε άρματα περισυλλογής, αρματογέφυρες και υλικά ναρκοσυλλεκτών και η αξία του αναβιβάζεται στα 100 εκατομμύρια μάρκα.

Αντιδρώντας, η Τουρκία απειλήσε χθες ότι ενδέχεται να ακρωσίσει την ύψους εκατομμυρίων δολαρίων συμφωνία με τη Γερμανία για τη ναυπήγηση των δύο φρεγατών.

Ελικόπτερα από τη Γαλλία

Σε αντίθεση με τη Γερμανία, η Γαλλία προχωρά στην παράδοση ελικοπτέρων στην Τουρκία. Σύμφωνα με γαλλικές πηγές, η Τουρκία θα παραλάβει «μέσα στις επόμενες εβδομάδες» τα πρώτα γαλλικά μεταγωγικά ελικόπτερα «Κούγκαρ». Η πώληση των ελικοπτέρων είχε προκαλέσει την αντίδραση των Κούρδων όταν έγινε η σχετική συμφωνία. Ο Γάλλος υπουργός Αμυνας Φρανσουά Λεοτάρ είχε δηλώσει τότε ότι το Παρίσι έχει τις ίδιες απόψεις με την Αγκυρα σχετικά με την «τρομοκρατία».

Στον ΟΗΕ μέσω Γερμανίας πάει η Αγκυρα και με γαλλικά ελικόπτερα

Κατά το Στέιτ Ντιπάρτμεντ, ο Απίλας ...αμύνεται!

ΟΥΑΣΙΓΚΤΟΝ

Την αδυναμία του Ιράκ να καταδιώξει τους Κούρδους αυτονομιστές στις βόρειες επαρχίες του, κάτι που του επιβάλλει ο ΟΗΕ με προεξάρχουσες τις ΗΠΑ, επικαλέστηκε χθες η Ουάσιγκτον για να εκφράσει για άλλη μια φορά την υποστήριξή της στην τουρκική εισβολή στο βόρειο Ιράκ, ερμηνεύοντας κατά το δοκούν το διεθνές δίκαιο.

Κατά την εκπρόσωπο του Στέιτ Ντιπάρτμεντ Κριστίν Σέλι, από τη στιγμή που εξαπολύονταν τρομοκρατικές επιθέσεις κατά της Τουρκίας από το ιρακινό έδαφος και η κυβέρνηση του Ιράκ δεν είναι σε θέση να αντιδράσει, η Τουρκία έχει κάθε δικαίωμα να εισβάλει στο ιρακινό έδαφος.

«Μια χώρα έχει το δικαίωμα να αμυνθεί» αν μια γειτονική χώρα δεν μπορεί να εμποδίσει τη λειτουργία βάσεων ανταρτών στο έδαφός της, είπε η Σέλι, επισημαίνοντας ότι «το ΡΚΚ έχει σκοτώσει εκατοντάδες άτομα μέσα στην Τουρκία».

Απέφυγε όμως να εξηγήσει πώς η Βαγδάτη θα μπορούσε να ελέγξει τις δραστηριότητες του ΡΚΚ σε μια περιοχή όπου δεν ασκεί έλεγχο λόγω της επιβολής ζώνης προστασίας των Κούρδων, λέγοντας ότι το πώς

θα μπορέσει να το κάνει το Ιράκ είναι υπόθεση της Βαγδάτης.

Διαφωνίες για τα δοῦάρια

Την ίδια ώρα, η αμερικανική κυβέρνηση προσπαθούσε να πείσει την αμερικανική Γερουσία να μην περικόψει την παροχή 100 εκατομμυρίων δολαρίων ως βοήθεια προς την Τουρκία.

«Η Τουρκία βρίσκεται τώρα στο σταυροδρόμι κάθε σημαντικού για μας θέματος στην περιοχή», δήλωσε στην Επιτροπή Εξωτερικών Σχέσεων της Γερουσίας ο συντονιστής της αμερικανικής βοήθειας προς την Ανατολική Ευρώπη Ραλφ Τζόνσον. Χαρακτήρισε ακόμα την τουρκική εισβολή ως «αυτοάμυνα» και ισχυρίστηκε πως το σημερινό καθεστώς στην Τουρκία είναι «δημοκρατικό και φιλοδυτικό», καθώς και ότι υιοθετεί μια μετριοπαθή πλευρά του Ισλάμ, ενώ διατηρεί τη θέση του στον μουσουλμανικό κόσμο.

Διαφορετικές είναι οι απόψεις ορισμένων τουλάχιστων από τους γεροισιαστές που συμμετέχουν στην Επιτροπή. Ο Δημοκρατικός γεροισιαστής Τζόζεφ Μπλάντιντ δήλωσε ότι «είναι ώρα να μην υποστηρίξουμε πρόσθετη βοήθεια» για



Κούρδοι Πεσμεργκάς (αντάρτες του βόρειου Ιράκ) προσεύχονται μπροστά από τουρκικά άρματα μάχης

την Τουρκία, ενώ ο επίσης Δημοκρατικός Κλάιμπορν Πελ δήλωσε ανήσυχος για τη χρήση αμερικανικών όπλων στις τουρκικές επιχειρήσεις.

Κατά την αμερικανική εφημερίδα «Τάιμς της Νέας Υόρκης», πάντως, η υποστήριξη της κυβέρνησης Κλίντον στην επιδρομή, αμβλύθηκε ύστερα από πληροφορίες ότι οι τουρκικές δυνάμεις βομβάρδισαν θέσεις αμάχων και ότι η Τουρκία θέλει να εγκαταστήσει μια μόνιμη

«προστατευτική» ζώνη στο βόρειο Ιράκ.

Επισημαίνεται ακόμα ότι «πολλά μέλη του Κογκρέσου επιδεικνύουν συμπάθεια προς τους Κούρδους, έναν λαό χωρίς πατρίδα, και, καθώς επηρεάζονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από Ελληνοαμερικανούς και Αρμενοαμερικανούς, διάκεινται εδώ και πολύ καιρό εχθρικά προς την Τουρκία, παρά το γεγονός ότι αυτή είναι μέλος του ΝΑΤΟ».

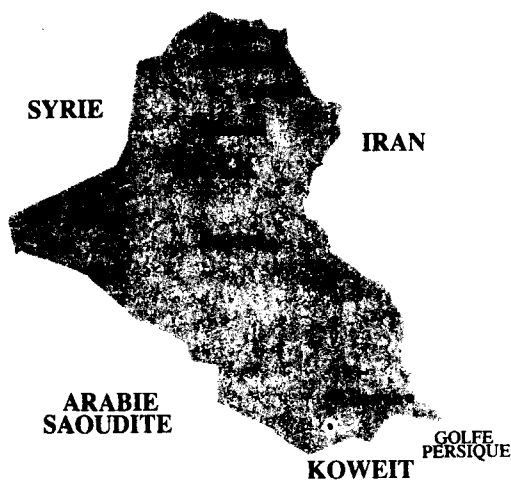
Persécution des Kurdes d'Irak

Un pays aux droits élémentaires de dignité bafoués où les invasions et les bombardements continuent à toucher et à tuer une population civile traquée. Il est même impossible de soigner sans protection.

Un peuple persécuté depuis plus de dix ans.



D.R.



V. Vernabel

Le 20 mars, 35 000 soldats turcs appuyés par des avions et des blindés pénètrent dans le nord de l'Irak. Objectif : détruire les bases arrière du PKK, une organisation séparatiste kurde de Turquie qui mène des opérations de lutte armée à partir du territoire irakien. En théorie, l'opération Acier, qui se déroule dans des montagnes presque désertes, ne touche pas la population civile. C'est faux. Nous l'avons constaté. Le jour de l'invasion, une de nos équipes mobiles travaillait dans une vallée proche de Raniyah,

une ville irakienne de 70 000 habitants, où nous sommes installés depuis la guerre du Golfe. Au programme : vaccinations et consultations maternelles et infantiles. Dans ces régions reculées, il est, plus qu'ailleurs encore, important de détecter les grossesses à problèmes ou simplement de suivre les enfants et les jeunes mères. Une heure après notre départ, une bombe tombait sur le village. Bilan : sept blessés et un mort, une bergère de quinze ans. Les bombardements ont fait d'autres victimes. Mais il nous est



difficile d'aller vérifier sur place, de savoir ce qui se passe réellement. Nous sommes coincés loin de la ligne de front. Pourquoi ? Parce que nous sommes implantés au sud-est du pays, dans une zone contrôlée par le PUK (Union patriotique kurde), frère ennemi du PDK (Parti démocrate kurde) qui tient le nord de l'Irak, lieu de l'invasion turque. Le pays est tellement peu sûr que nous ne pouvons soigner que sous protection.

A l'hôpital de Raniyah, les militants du PUK ne nous quittent pas d'un pouce. Nous opérons un gosse qui a sauté sur une des innombrables mines qui pourris-

sent le pays, nous intervenons pour une crise d'appendicite aiguë, nous accouchons des femmes dans le service d'obstétrique nouvellement créé, ils sont là pour nous éviter un éventuel coup de poignard. Nous sillonnons les camps de réfugiés et les villages de montagne pour former des agents de santé primaires et soigner les populations isolées, ils nous suivent pour nous éviter agressions et embuscades. Si nous voulons aller dans le Nord, fief du PDK, évaluer la situation, nous ne pourrions le faire sans mettre en danger la vie de nos gardes du corps du PUK. Que

faire ? Pour l'instant, recueillir des informations. Profitant d'un cessez-le-feu temporaire entre les deux factions rivales, nous avons fait le tour des hôpitaux de la région. A Amâdiyah, l'association Equilibre nous a parlé de six blessés qui avaient été brûlés avec des cigarettes, emprisonnés pendant sept jours puis jetés hors d'un hélicoptère volant à faible altitude. Le plus inquiétant reste l'absence de blessés dans les dispensaires. On suppose que les bombardements ont fait des dizaines de victimes civiles dans la zone de friction. Où sont-elles ? Ont-elles été achevées ? Une chose est sûre, le peuple kurde continue d'être l'objet de persécutions systématiques. Rappelons le bilan de la politique turque à l'encontre des Kurdes : 2 000 villages détruits, 20 000 prisonniers politiques, 10 millions d'hectares brûlés, 3 millions de Kurdes déplacés. Plus que jamais, nous devons témoigner contre cette négation systématique des droits élémentaires d'un peuple.

Dix années d'action

Nous sommes présents au Kurdistan depuis 1984. Notre première mission avait pour objectifs d'apporter une aide chirurgicale aux blessés de guerre, de faire de l'éducation sanitaire et de défendre une certaine idée de la démocratie : nous avons soigné les maquisards du PDKI, parti de résistants kurdes d'Iran opposés à Khomeini. Pendant la guerre du Golfe, nous avons assisté la population kurde d'Irak. Nous avons réhabilité l'hôpital de Raniyah, pratiqué la chirurgie de guerre comme la chirurgie courante, organisé des consultations itinérantes et soigné dans les camps de réfugiés. Aujourd'hui, nous venons d'ouvrir une maternité à l'hôpital de Raniyah et nous sommes implantés dans un vaste périmètre autour de la ville.

Dr. Jean Déain
Responsable de mission

KURDISTAN

Parliament or propaganda ploy?

The new Kurdish parliament in exile, aspiring to represent all Kurds does little to reflect the vast divisions between Turkish, Iraqi, Syrian and Iranian Kurds, as Chris Kutschera reports.

"I swear to take into consideration the will of my people in all circumstances... and to work for the liberation of Kurdistan". One by one, the 65 members - six women and 59 men - of the new Kurdish parliament in exile took the oath in Kurmandji or in Sorani the two main dialects of the Kurdish language. After this ritual, in the Hague, which underlined the success of the Turkish policy of as-

similation, since quite a few new deputies who usually speak Turkish stumbled on the Kurdish words, Ismet Cheriff Vanly, who, as the eldest new deputy (he was general Barzani's representative in Europe in the 1960's), chaired the meeting, emphasised that the "Kurdish problem was not a question of minority, but of a people entitled to freely determine their own future"

It would be easy to dismiss this "parliament" as a new PKK propaganda ploy, especially given that the the voting procedure was, at best, somewhat unorthodox. The 65 new "deputies" were elected by a body of "delegates", themselves elected by Kurds living in exile. Both elections took place without any form of public scrutiny.

What kind of a parliament is that?

The Middle East June 1995 11

CURRENT AFFAIRS



Ali Sapan (left) and Sherafettin Kaya, the speaker of the new parliament in exile

grumbled the sceptics. But the strong reaction of both Turkey and the USA, which protested the events in The Hague, as being a set up orchestrated by a "terrorist group", as well as the large numbers of journalists and international television teams that covered the event prove that the exercise was far from being a futile one.

The 65 deputies were elected to office on 26 March by some 500 delegates chosen by about 200,000 Kurds of the diaspora, living in Western Europe, Russia and the Caucasus, Australia and America. Considering there are at least half a million Kurds living in Germany alone, this figure seems disproportionately small. But the Kurdish organisers appeared satisfied, claiming the German authorities tried by all means available to prevent the organisation of the elections, and actually succeeded in several cases in forbidding the political meetings or festivals that were a cover up for the elections.

Even so, not all the deputies sworn in at the Hague were selected by elected "delegates": some of them were appointed on a quota system, like four representatives of the Assyro-Chaldean minority, one Yezidi, several Alevis, and six women. The number of women representatives is surprisingly low. But, claim the organisers, this "reflects the level of social emancipation of the Kurdish diaspora which is far less developed than inside the PKK", whose

military units include between one third and one quarter of women members.

There is definitely a strong PKK hard core in this new parliament, with 12 representatives of ERNK, the so-called political wing of PKK, including such heavyweights as Ali Sapan, its spokesman for Europe and the real strong man of the new parliament: Sherafettin Kaya, it newly elected speaker and a wealthy Kurdish businessman of the DEP, who is quite close to the PKK. The "Kurdish parliament in exile" also includes six former DEP deputies and various "independent" personalities -among them AbdourRahman Durre, representative of the "Kurdish Islamic Union".

Clearly, the new parliament is made up of personalities who may be considered to be standing within the PKK's sphere of influence. The absence of any representative of the other Kurdish political parties, such as Kemal Burkay's Kurdistan Socialist Party, is a serious shortcoming. Apparently, the KSP and the other Kurdish parties were invited to join the parliament once almost everything had been set up. All politely declined to sanction what was all but an "accomplished fact". However, such as it is, this assembly represents an effort by Abdulla Ocalan to widen his movement's political basis.

"This parliament in exile is a first step towards the creation of a national parliament", Ali Garzan, PKK representative in Europe told *The Middle East*. "Our aim

is not to remain in exile but to go back to Kurdistan and to set up a Kurdish national parliament that will represent all Kurds".

Despite the fact that he has spent almost half his life in Turkish jails (born in 1957, he was jailed for 16 years, from 1977 until the end of 1993) Ali Garzan is a soft spoken person who convincingly explains why the Kurds were forced to create this parliament in exile: "We, the Kurds, have no rights in Turkey", he says: "Look at what happened to the DEP deputies, they hardly spoke about the Kurdish rights when they were members of the the Turkish parliament, but they are in jail"

Ali Sapan, PKK spokesman for Europe, and now deputy speaker of the new parliament in exile, confirmed his conviction that there is "a difference between a party and a people." "The people altogether must be represented through all their components", he told *The Middle East*. "In international diplomacy, the Kurdish people will from now on have an address, which is: "Kurdish parliament in exile, Avenue Louis, Brussels. This parliament will take important decisions, such as deciding whether or not to implement a ceasefire. It is also going to be active in the economic field".

When asked how the parliament in exile could claim to take any economic decision, Ali Sapan answered: "Look, I am going to confide this piece of news to *The Middle East*: I personally have already met representatives of the World Bank to talk about the pipeline project to export Azerbaidjan's oil through Turkey. I told them that they should get our agreement for this project, if they want to build a pipeline through Kurdistan. If they don't get it, we shall prevent it".

Ali Sapan and his friends know that Turkey will reject the "parliament in exile" just as they forbid any form of Kurdish association. "But we shall ask them: with whom do you want to talk? Is there anybody who can represent the Kurdish people?

If they want to solve the Kurdish question, they must get in touch with this parliament...if not, we will do everything necessary to make them change their mind".

It is clear that the uproar raised in Europe by the Turkish invasion of Iraqi Kurdistan last March facilitates their task. ■

British commentator says 'it's time to let Mustafa Kemal Atatürk rest in his tomb'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- In an essay critical of the secular Kemalists' fear of the rise of political Islam in Turkey, Noel Malcolm, a British historian and commentator, recommended that "perhaps it is time for the sake of modernity and for the ordinary Muslim citizens of Turkey (most of whom want modernity as well), to let Atatürk rest in his tomb."

In his essay published in the June 12 issue of the *National Review*, America's foremost conservative biweekly, Malcolm summarized Atatürk's reforms as well as the unexpected rise of the Welfare party.

He said that the traditional Kemalist insistence on a homogeneous "Turkish Anatolian nationalism" — that Atatürk "invented by substituting the compact geographical identity of modern Turkey for the diffuse cultural-imperial thing that Ottoman civilization had been" — is not tenable anymore.

Kurdish insistence on cultural rights, thus, could not be stalled forever despite the fact that the government had every right to fight the terrorism of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), Malcolm noted.

The PKK "is certainly one of the most violent terrorist organizations in the world," he said. "But at the same time most Turks are prevented, by the dead weight of the Kemalist doctrine, from seeing that some new policy toward Kurds in general is also needed.

In the overwhelmingly centralist state system that Atatürk invented, any kind of regional political arrangement

becomes almost unthinkable."

The author decided that what bound all the Turks together — although they were from vastly different ethnic backgrounds — was religion. "Islam, not Turkhood, was the essential binding factor," he says. That's how Turks could feel such a genuine affinity to Chechens and Bosnians and make their agonies theirs.

Those secular-minded Turks who say they will leave the country if the Welfare Party comes to power are overreacting to a danger that does not exist, the author concludes. "The moderate Islamists, such as Abdullah Gül [of the Welfare Party], have a strong and simple argument," Malcolm says.

"If Western values include respect for democracy, how can you want to stop us from taking power democratically?" Eighty percent of the Turkish electorate would make its peace with a Welfare victory if Welfare could settle down to a platform of "social conservatism," he says.

He says Kemalism did not attack Islamic traditions head on. "Atatürk never tried to abolish religion; he was a practicing Muslim himself." Atatürk wanted Turkey to become another Western country in outlook and spirit.

"He wanted to make his country into a normal Western European-style state; this implied that Kemalism itself, as a peculiar governing doctrine, would (to borrow a phrase) wither away [like Lenin said of the Communist State]. Instead, it has become almost a substitute religion for one part of the population," he concluded.

Denmark joins arms embargo; Ankara hits back

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Denmark has joined a series of Western countries in imposing an arms embargo against its NATO-ally Turkey, protesting against an incursion by Turkish troops into northern Iraq.

In retaliation, Turkey has included Denmark in a "red list" of countries, ruling out any future participation of this state in Turkey's defense industry projects, deputy Foreign Ministry spokesman Nurettin Nurkan said on Wednesday.

But both decisions are mainly symbolic as the level of arms trade between the two countries is negligible, experts said. Nurkan said at a weekly press briefing that Danish Foreign Minister Niels Helveg Petersen told a parliamentary session in late March, following the Turkish incursion, that arms deliveries

to Turkey would not be permitted.

Denmark has not changed this attitude after the Turkish operation in northern Iraq ended on May 2, prompting retaliation by Ankara, Nurkan said.

"Denmark has lost its credibility as a reliable partner in military procurements ... From now on no weapons or military equipment will be bought from Denmark and that country will be barred from entering Turkey's all future biddings in the defense industry field," he said.

Nurkan also protested against the recent opening of a Copenhagen office by the ERNK, the political wing of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party of

PKK, which has been waging a separatist war in southeastern Turkey since 1984. "Denmark's tolerance for the opening of this office in Copenhagen is unacceptable," he added.

Ankara last week included South Africa on its red list of arms suppliers following a decision by the South African government banning arms transfers to Turkey.

Other countries in Turkey's red list include Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and NATO-allies Norway and the Netherlands. Germany, Turkey's second-biggest arms supplier after the United States, also suspended arms deliveries to Ankara in late March during the incursion by the Turkish Army into northern Iraq to destroy the PKK camps there. But German officials now say, after the incursion ended, that Bonn is considering lifting the suspension.

La Turquie cherche l'appui des partis kurdes pour assurer la sécurité de sa frontière avec l'Irak

La « non-politique » des Etats-Unis, focalisés sur le renversement de Saddam Hussein, préoccupe Ankara

En attendant une éventuelle levée des sanctions contre le régime de Bagdad et la restauration du pouvoir central sur l'ensemble du territoire ira-

kien, la Turquie considère que l'appui des Kurdes irakiens est la seule option possible pour élaborer un dispositif de sécurité à la frontière

et mettre un terme aux incursions du PKK. Une « solution temporaire à long terme » qui exige aussi l'accord des alliés et des Etats de la région.

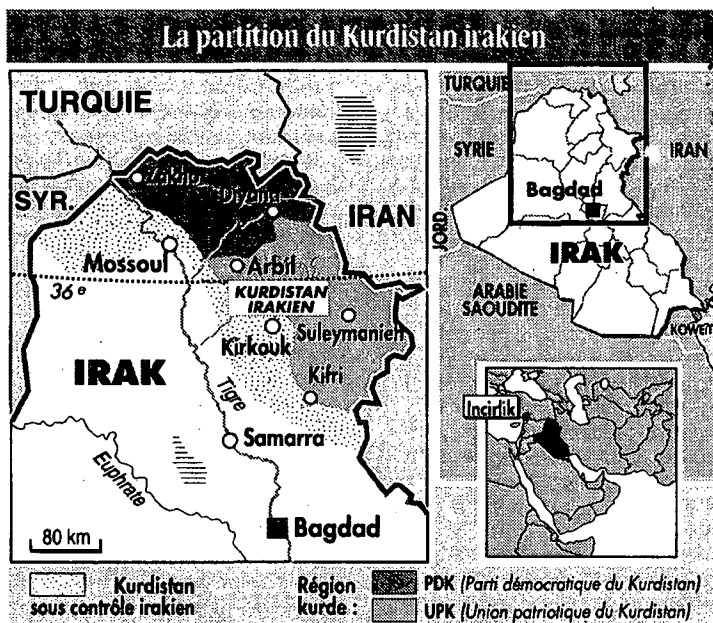
ISTANBUL

de notre correspondante

Les délégations se succèdent dans les couloirs de la diplomatie turque où, quatre semaines après le retrait des 35 000 soldats qui avaient pénétré dans le nord de l'Irak le 20 mars dernier pour combattre le PKK, les autorités tentent de dessiner une politique de sécurité cohérente à l'égard de cette région.

La tâche se révèle complexe : la Turquie est souvent tiraillée entre le cœur et la raison, qui lui dictent des intérêts contradictoires. Les Turcs sont préoccupés notamment par ce qu'ils appellent la « non-politique » des Etats-Unis dans la région, qui indexe toute décision sur l'éventuel renversement de Saddam Hussein. Récemment, ils ont exprimé ce souci à une délégation américaine venue prendre la température d'Ankara dans l'optique d'un renouvellement du mandat de l'opération alliée « Provide Comfort » à fin juin. La raison forcera probablement la Turquie à voter pour la huitième fois l'extension du mandat de la force aérienne internationale, pourtant très impopulaire auprès des nationalistes turcs. C'est cette raison également qui pousse la Turquie, malgré sa méfiance à l'égard des partis kurdes, à chercher leur appui pour assurer la sécurité de sa frontière et empêcher les incursions du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK). Dans une « conjoncture idéale », la Turquie préférerait évidemment la levée des sanctions contre le régime de Bagdad et la restauration de l'autorité du pouvoir central sur l'ensemble du territoire.

En l'absence de contrôle ferme, les combattants du PKK ont commencé à regagner la zone évacuée, dès le retrait des forces d'Ankara ; un développement que les autorités turques ne réfutent pas mais qui ne semble pas particulièrement les préoccuper. Les Turcs sont convaincus que, dans les circonstances actuelles, les Kurdes irakiens sont la seule option disponible pour appliquer un dispositif de sécurité à la frontière. Le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), qui contrôle actuellement les 350 kilo-



mètres qui séparent l'Irak de la Turquie, souhaite un accord bilatéral avec la Turquie.

RECONSTRUCTION

Un plan a été soumis aux autorités turques qui prévoit le déploiement de 15 000 à 20 000 *peshmergas* dans la zone frontalière, armés et payés par la Turquie et qui devraient être appuyés par un réseau de renseignements, explique le représentant à Ankara du PDK, Safen Dizayé. Mais, affirme-t-il, la reconstruction de quelque 300 villages, évacués de force par Saddam Hussein dès les années 70, fournirait la meilleure garantie de sécurité pour la Turquie.

Ce plan va cependant à l'encontre de la politique menée par les forces de sécurité turques de leur côté de la frontière. Accusant fréquemment les villageois kurdes de fournir un soutien logistique - volontaire ou non - aux militants du PKK, les forces de sécurité ont vidé des centaines de villages, forçant les habitants, souvent avec brutalité, à quitter leurs maisons. Les responsables turcs expriment également des doutes quant à la capacité du PDK à

recruter un nombre suffisant de *peshmergas*. « Barzani ne dispose que de 15 000 *peshmergas* au total, la plupart sont engagés dans la lutte avec l'UPK. Ces chiffres ne sont pas réalistes », explique un diplomate. Le PDK, pour faire preuve de sa bonne volonté, a pris le contrôle de quelques points stratégiques évacués par les forces turques, avec l'aide d'une modeste force de 500 hommes.

Les Turcs sont cependant convaincus que les Kurdes irakiens ne seront à même de mettre en œuvre un dispositif de sécurité que lorsqu'ils auront mis fin au conflit fratricide qui, selon des sources kurdes, aurait causé la mort de 3 000 à 4 000 personnes au cours de l'année écoulée. La Turquie préférerait dès lors un accord tripartite, incluant l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan, de Jalal Talabani (UPK), même si ce groupe n'a actuellement pas accès à la frontière. Une délégation de ce parti était d'ailleurs de passage à Ankara ces jours derniers.

Les diverses parties s'attribuent mutuellement la responsabilité de l'échec d'un accord similaire, conclu en 1992, les Kurdes irakiens affirmant que la Turquie avait manqué à

ses engagements financiers et matériels, Ankara accusant les Kurdes d'avoir déplacé leurs *peshmergas* frontières pour les engager dans le conflit entre partis kurdes.

ADMINISTRATION

Sur l'échiquier régional, la Turquie a des atouts considérables. D'une part, elle contrôle la principale route d'accès vers l'Occident - même si au cours des deux derniers mois les Iraniens ont rouvert quatre postes frontières avec l'Irak du nord. D'autre part, elle est le pivot de l'opération « Provide Comfort », puisque les avions alliés qui survolent régulièrement l'Irak du nord s'envolent de la base militaire d'Incirlik, au sud de la Turquie.

Sa faiblesse est évidemment sa politique inflexible à l'égard de ses propres Kurdes qui, si elle n'empêche pas le développement de relations avec les Kurdes irakiens, limite cependant le degré de rapprochement que ces contacts peuvent atteindre. Des efforts sont faits pour encourager la confiance de la population kurde irakienne à l'égard d'Ankara, notamment la fourniture d'électricité et d'aide humanitaire. Le gouvernement turc a également payé 40 000 dollars de compensation aux victimes de sa récente incursion militaire.

Les Turcs ne souhaitent pas le développement d'une administration kurde trop indépendante au nord de l'Irak qui à leurs yeux, pourrait mener à un Etat kurde indépendant. « Mais, explique Sahzad Saib, le représentant à Ankara de l'UPK, les Turcs semblent actuellement moins allergiques à l'idée d'une administration kurde ». Un an de chaos a démontré à Ankara qu'un degré de centralisation est finalement le moindre mal.

En attendant une véritable solution régionale, qui devra recueillir l'accord des alliés, des Kurdes, de l'Irak et des Etats de la région, la Turquie va devoir continuer à composer avec une situation peu favorable et se contenter de ce que les diplomates turcs appellent une « solution temporaire à long terme ».

Nicole Pope

Turkish Probe June 2, 1995

5

Euro-Parliament's Amazons Take On Ankara

Nazlan Ertan

They are here to see developments in democratization," a senior Turkish diplomat said. "But what will we show them?"

The diplomat's reference was to the visit of a three-women delegation from the European Parliament, which has more muscle since the Maastricht Treaty, before it votes on a landmark customs union accord with Turkey. The "ladies of the parliament" — or the Euro-Amazons, as they were dubbed by the media — control a total of 250 plus votes between them in their positions as chairwomen of the three key left-wing groups in the Euro-Parliament.

Two of the deputies, Catherine Lalumiere of European Radical Alliance, and Claudia Roth of Greens, were no strangers to Turkey. Lalumiere started her job as Council of Europe secretary-general with a critical attitude towards Turkey, but ended, after a lot of cooperation from Hikmet Çetin — the foreign minister at that time — with a favorable attitude. In fact, while she was in a contest with Daniel Tarchys for a second term, Çetin said his support went to Lalumiere, although this view was not shared by the Turkish deputies in the Council of Europe's Parliamentary Assembly, which elects the secretary-general. "This is a fascinating country, full of conflicts," Lalumiere said at the end of talks. "There is a young, dynamic population, but on the other hand... there is terrorism, the concern for the integrity of the country which takes, time to time, priority over the Kurdish problem."

Claudia Roth, a German deputy, has also taken a close interest in Turkey for a long time. Roth, according to those who have followed her contacts in Turkey, has also mellowed considerably in her outlook towards Turkey. She has also become increasingly familiar with Turkey, from its legal system to the country's soccer obsession. "I know the Turkish Penal Code so well that I can now start a law school in Turkey," Roth quipped. "We want Turkey to integrate with the European institutions," Roth said in the press conference after her talks. "But certain conditions should be right." Roth is a vocal supporter of what she calls the necessary Turkish recognition of the "Kurdish reality."

As far as Turks were concerned, the "tough cookie" in the group was the head of the delegation — Pauline Green, a British deputy who headed the majority Socialist Group in the European Parliament. Coming from a Greek Cypriot-dense constituency, Pauline Green's rhetoric on the Cyprus question tended to raise eyebrows even in her own Euro-parliament group. The fact that one of her top advisers is a Greek has led one Turkish politician, who talked to her during the visit, to remark: "All in all, she is an explosive combination."

But at the press conference marking the end of



CATHERINE LALUMIERE: The head of the European Radical Alliance, Catherine Lalumiere, says she is surprised by the conflicting aspects of Turkey. "We hope to have good news in the coming weeks," she said.

their Ankara outing, the "Amazons" refrained from sounding pessimistic, although they did not hide the fact that the fate of the imprisoned deputies of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) would be decisive. "We do not want to see democratically elected deputies in jail," Roth said.

"The European deputies see the imprisonment of the deputies not only as an extension of the Kurdish problem but a matter of solidarity with fellow deputies," Uluç Özülker, the Turkish ambassador to the European Union, said. "The Democracy Party deputies, on the other hand, have told the Euro-MPs that Turkish integration with the European Union will be better for them, because it would enable the Union to exert more pressure to the Turkish side."

Özülker appears to be correct regarding this message given by the DEP deputies. When the jailed deputies and the European Parliament delegation came together for a long meeting, the DEP deputies said that they want closer ties between Turkey and the European Union, provided that Turkey took a first step toward democratization.

Pauline Green indicated that they wanted to know what would happen to the deputies before the European Parliament voted on the customs union. "We have no intention of postponing the vote unless there is a concrete reason," Green said. But she added that she had heard that the appeal of the



CLAUDIA ROTH: Germany's Claudia Roth, the leader of the Greens group in the European Parliament, says she wants to see Turkey closer to Europe, but certain conditions have to be right.

DEP deputies to reverse the sentence would not be taken up until next year. "We have said, in our contacts in Ankara, that we would like to vote after a result is reached," she added. "We are looking towards the appeals process. We will base our assessment on that."

But Lalumiere, for example, carefully refrained from saying that the ratification of the customs union depended on the release of the deputies. "I would not go as far as saying that," she told a private TV channel. "But it is true that we are very sensitive to that."

Roth, who has visited the deputies at least twice this year, said she was aware of the independence of the judiciary but that "the government and the political parties should work toward their release" rather than work against it.

However, the clearest message given by the three deputies was that Turkey had to make some progress on democratization before the European Parliament vote. "We will be very attentive in the coming weeks...and before the European Parliament vote on customs union — this period will be crucial for Turkey and for us," Catherine Lalumiere said. "We hope for good news from Turkey in the coming weeks."

"For us customs union is not just about economic integration," Green said. "It is also the closest possible relationship the EU can have with any country short of full membership...We have to have confidence that the countries with which we have that relationship have the same fundamental democratic and human rights values."

She said while the Turkish withdrawal from northern Iraq was a welcome development, this did not mean that all the reservations of the European Parliament had now been dropped.

The reserves expressed by the three deputies, like those of most Turks, concern the lack of "parliamentary progress" on the democratization package. "That the package exists is progress," Green said. "What we want to see now is that as much of it as



PAULINE GREEN: British Socialist Pauline Green urges Turkey to pass the democratization package through Parliament, saying that the vote for ratification of the customs union will not be delayed unless there is a concrete reason to do so.

possible passes parliament."

The package, which proposes changes to Turkey's 1982 military era constitution as well as a relaxation of its tight restrictions on the freedom of expression, is wending a slow path through parliament in the face of hardliner objections, particularly from Çiller's own True Path Party (DYP).

What most confused the three deputies during their visit to Turkey were the different voices they heard about the democratization package. "There are different groups which, I grant, is the necessity of a democratic system," Lalumiere said. "But I guess you know whose success we, the European Parliament, wants."

A Turkish diplomat who accompanied the three visitors during some of their meetings with Turkish deputies, ministers and diplomats expressed downright exasperation. "We take them to see Çiller — Çiller says she is committed to democratization by September. Then they visit a parliamentary group and a deputy, from the same party as the prime minister, says it would not do to rush," the diplomat said. "Some other deputy says that Turkey is not ready for some of the reforms, such as lifting the Article 8 of the anti-terrorism law, and including it in the Penal Code."

Both politicians and diplomats indicate, on the other hand, provided some steps are taken, it would not be too difficult to convince the European Parliament since most of the deputies are already convinced by their respective government's arguments that Turkey is strategically important for the European Union.

"All we need is the political will to do this," the diplomat said.

And what if even this small step is not possible? Diplomats say that a six month delay before bringing the customs union accord before the European Parliament will cause the whole deal to lose momentum but, if the only alternative would be a negative result in the vote, even that may be done. ■

Human Rights Diary

Prosecutor wants high court review of law- A

Turkish prosecutor said on May 25 that part of a law limiting freedom of expression that Ankara's Western allies want lifted was unconstitutional and he wanted the high court to review it. "I believe that a part is against the Constitution and international conventions," Aytaç Tolay, a prosecutor in the Istanbul State Security Court said. Tolay said he raised his reservations about Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law, which bans "separatist propaganda," when he charged 99 people this week for publishing a book of articles by writers imprisoned for the same crime or promoting racism. Despite his reservations, Tolay said he had no choice but to charge the intellectuals as long as the law remained on the books. Because prosecutors are not empowered to refer cases to the high court, Tolay's move leaves it up to the judges to decide whether or not to send the case to the Constitutional Court for a ruling. Legal experts say this appeared to be the first time a prosecutor had requested that Article 8 be forwarded for review. Tolay's criticism centers on the part of Article 8 banning alleged separatist propaganda "regardless of the method, intention and ideas behind it." Removing this clause would force prosecutors to show the defendant intended to damage the "indivisible unity of the state," something those charged generally have denied. Some Western diplomats praised the move — which theoretically would sharply narrow the law's application — saying it was one way for critics of the law to get around Parliament's inability to agree on long-promised reforms. Article 8 has been used to jail scores of writers, academics, trade unionists and others for written or verbal statements deemed "separatist propaganda." Most of the people said or wrote something about Turkey's Kurds. Western allies have called on Ankara to ease restrictions on freedom of expression, and Prime Minister Tansu Çiller has repeatedly promised to make changes. The approval of Turkey's customs union with Europe may hang in the balance because the European Parliament has threatened to veto the deal unless concrete steps are taken to better the country's human rights record. But opposition within Çiller's own party has so far hampered reforms, with some parliamentarians arguing restrictions cannot be lifted as long as Turkey is battling separatist Kurdish guerrillas. (*Newspapers, May 25*)

Trial of 740 PTT employees starts in Bursa- The trial of 740 public employees of the Bursa branch of the Turkish Postal and Telecommunications agency (PTT) who demonstrated for union rights without permission started in Bursa on May 26. The PTT employees, members of the Turkish News Workers Union (Haber İş), staged a demonstration demanding the right to strike and collective bargaining on Nov. 24 and 25, 1994. The demonstration was unauthorized and the union members now face prison sentences ranging from four months to one year, if convicted.

(*Turkish Daily News, May 27*)

Appeal court reduces prison term for policeman- A five-year prison sentence imposed by the Bolvadin civil court on Hasan Belek, a police deputy chief, after he had been found guilty of torturing suspects has been reduced on appeal to two years. The reason given by the United Criminal Chambers of the Court of Appeals was that "he got no personal satisfaction out of the violence, but was proceeding in the interest of furthering his professional investigation." According to an Anatolia news agency report on April 30, Belek was first sentenced to five years imprisonment by the civil court of Bolvadin for "beating two suspected thieves with a baton, kicking and slapping them, locking them in the police headquarters' basement overnight, stripping them of their clothes in the morning to target them with high-pressured water, hitting them with a hose and wet towels, bathing them in hot water and salt to get rid of the marks and leaving them under the sun." However, the court of appeals decided otherwise. The "young and amateur" deputy chief was found to have gone too far due to his "inexperience" and "eagerness to perform his duties in an investigation." The five-year sentence was thus found to be "too rigid" and was lowered to the minimum "one year per tortured person" sentence. (*Turkish Daily News, May 31*)

Another missing person found dead- Ridvan Karakoç had not been heard from since March this year and his family reported him missing several weeks ago. They later discovered that he had been found dead and as he could not be identified, he had been buried in the İkitelli Cemetery for the Unknown. Identification was made possible by matching his fingerprints. Karakoç disappeared at the time of the riots in Gaziosmanpaşa.

(*Turkish Daily News, June 1*)

Eizenstat urges Turkey to fully integrate with EU

Any delay in enacting these measures would fuel the forces of opposition and give them the opportunity to block the customs union

By Metin Demirsar

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Turkey should use the upcoming customs union with the European Union to assimilate politically and economically with Europe, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union said in

Istanbul on Thursday.

"The customs union should not be viewed as another dry economic treaty, but as a major step for Turkey to intertwine and interweave its political and economic system with Europe, as it has integrated militarily," Ambassador Stuart E. Eizenstat said Thursday during a visit to Turkey.

He told members of the Association for Foreign Capital Coordination (YASED) that the customs union would strengthen Turkey's economy, support its ties with the West and unlock European aid to Ankara.

Eizenstat, the U.S. ambassador to the

EU since 1993, urged Turkey to pass pro-democracy legislation, lift restrictions on free speech, end the state of emergency in the Southeast and free intellectuals detained for their political beliefs. "Any delay in enacting these measures would fuel the forces of opposition and give them the opportunity to block the customs union," he added.

It would also cause a security vacuum, he said, but did not elaborate. But he endorsed Turkey's fight against the PKK, the separatist Kurdish guerilla group. He said he understood how many Turks felt European and American insistence on Turkey improving its human rights record

was blatant interference in the country's internal affairs, but reassured his listeners "this is the EU's standard fare, not something aimed specifically at Turkey."

A better human rights record would help improve the quality of life in Turkey and harmonize Turkey's laws with those of western Europe, he remarked.

He said the U.S. fully supports Turkey's efforts to become a member of the European Union.

"Europe would be incomplete without Turkey," he stressed.

He also reaffirmed Turkey's importance to the U.S. as one of the world's Ten Emerging Markets.

Barzani extends cease-fire in northern Iraq

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Massoud Barzani, the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) announced on Thursday an extension of the cease fire with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), led by Jalal Talabani, until July 15, an KDP spokesman said in a written statement.

"This decision was taken by the KDP leadership on Wednesday to reaffirm the party's commitment to a just

political settlement of the Kurdish internal conflict," the statement said. The KDP first announced a two-week unilateral cease fire in April 1995 which was later extended until June 1.

The Iraqi Kurdish Parliament decided to extend its mandate for another year in a session held on May 27.

The statement also accused the PUK leadership of not having taken any positive steps to normalize the situation.



Massoud Barzani

Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1995

Turkey accused of expelling Iraqi and Iranian refugees

World Refugee survey cites teachers murdered by PKK

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- According to a World Refugee survey released by the U.S. Committee for Refugees (USCR), Turkey is expelling Iranians and Iraqis after inadequate refugee screening.

The report also focused on those "internally displaced" as a result of the military operations against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK.) "The population of the city of Siirt has grown from 70,000 to 130,000; Diyarbakır has swelled from 300,000 to 900,000; Adana from 900,000 to 1.5 million; and Mersin's population had increased from 550,000 to 1,000,000," the report noted.

"Some portion of the internally displaced have also fled from threats and terrorist acts committed by the PKK, particularly its campaign of assassination of political opponents and schoolteachers," the report said.

"Accusing teachers of promoting Turkish propaganda and culture, the PKK has killed hundreds in recent years, causing an estimated 4,000 schools to close and other teachers to flee the area... It appears that many of the displaced are noncombatants fleeing both sides, particularly persons who are pressured to join the government-sponsored village guards."

Iran and Iraq

As to Iranian refugees in Turkey, the report noted that only 46.5 percent of

those Iranians applying for refugee status were approved.

But government officials said that Iranians said "they were not involved in any crime or political associations in Iran, that they did not fear persecution if returned to Iran and they just did not like the Iranian regime and wished to travel abroad to Western countries."

"No country would grant asylum on the basis of such statements," the Turkish officials claimed.

"In early January, Amnesty International reported that [Turkish] police took to the border and expelled to Iran two Iranian asylum seekers who had sought UNHCR protection in Turkey. In an apparent quid pro quo, in March, Iran reportedly turned over four members of the PKK to Turkey," the report said.

Iraqi refugees also complained about similar low rates of acceptance by Turkey. "In 1994, 2,414 persons approached the UNHCR office seeking recognition as refugees... At the end of the year only 444 remained in Turkey."

USCR said to the Turkish government, "we would like to support efforts to encourage other governments, such as our own, to resettle more refugees currently in Turkey."

However, if your government moves unilaterally to forcibly return refugees, international support for Turkey is not likely to be forthcoming."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1995

Turkey Bans Arms From Denmark

ANKARA — Turkey said Wednesday that it had banned arms and military equipment purchases from Denmark, a NATO ally, after Copenhagen halted sales to Ankara.

Nurettin Nurkan, a Foreign Ministry spokesman, said that Denmark had "lost the quality of being a reliable partner in military procurements."

Denmark stopped the sales this month because of Turkey's six-week military operation in northern Iraq against separatist rebel Kurds. Turkey ended the incursion on May 2. (Reuters)

State Dept.: Turkey used, but not misused US arms

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Balanced: American sources say the report is 'balanced' and duly notes 'considerable Turkish progress'

No cuts: A US Embassy official says the administration is against any new cuts or attaching conditions to aid to Turkey

By Uğur Akinci and Nazlan Ertan / *Turkish Daily News*
WASHINGTON/ANKARA- The Clinton administration has said that it was highly likely that U.S.-origin equipment had been used in support of Turkish operations to evacuate and/or destroy villages in Southeast Anatolia, but upheld Turkey's right to use those weapons for "self-defense and for internal security."

In a report submitted to the Congress appropriations committee late Thursday, the U.S. State Department maintains that the U.S.-origin equipment has been used in operations against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), during which human rights abuses had occurred. But it adds that there is no evidence that those weapons were used during "torture or extrajudicial killings."

The U.S. State Department report says that human rights would be an integral part of the ongoing U.S.-Turkish high level dialogue.

Human Rights Minister Algan Hacaloğlu understands citizens' alienation in Turkey's Southeastern Anatolia region,



The fifty-page document acknowledges that Turkey has recognized the need to improve its human rights practices and has made proposals, which, if adopted and implemented, could lead to important positive changes in the situation in the Southeast.

"We can and should expect progress," the report said as its bottom line.

Although the tone of the report is considered "lukewarm" by diplomatic observers, particularly in comparison to the 1994 Annual Human Rights Report, it still criticizes Turkey for not supplementing its military approach to the Southeast problem with a civil approach.

"In combating the PKK, the government of Turkey's approach has been largely military. Alone, this cannot succeed," the report says. "Turkey needs to combine this with a civil approach to the

problem in the Southeast."

It also maintains that Ankara has not, so far, been able to address its "internationally-recognized obligation to provide for those who are displaced."

The report notes that more than 4,000 applications claiming torture were filed by human rights organizations between 1991 and 1994, but adds that Turkey had taken a number of steps to stop the practice.

It also notes that extrajudicial killings, known as "mystery killings," occurred at a high rate until the end of 1994 — the total exceeding 2,000 over the past three years — but subsequently had decreased.

Although it allows that the U.S.-supplied equipment could be used in support of the evacuation and/or destruction of villages, it adds that the U.S. administration "does not have any evidence that verifies reports of torture and extrajudicial killings involving U.S. equipment."

The report does not give a recommendation on reinstating the 10 percent of military aid to Turkey, which had been withheld by the Congress until the report was prepared. Turkey had rejected the conditional part of the aid, which was tied to "progress on human rights and the Cyprus question."

On Cyprus, the report emphasizes the Turkish Cypriots' and Ankara's repeated attempts to implement the U.N. Confidence Building Measures. It notes that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller is committed to "work toward a solution to the Cyprus problem."

The report, known in Washington circles as the "ten percent report" puts Clinton administration's weight behind Turkish territorial integrity and, once more, condemns the PKK as a "ruthless terrorist group" which poses a major threat to Turkey's "sovereignty and territorial integrity."

A U.S. Embassy source said that although he could not judge how the report — particularly the part on use of U.S.-supplied equipment for village burnings — could be perceived by the Congress, the administration was against any "further restriction, cuts, or placing conditions" for U.S. aid to Turkey.

"I think the report is balanced and we have noted the considerable progress," a U.S. embassy source said, brushing aside speculations that the report had been delayed because of disagreement among State Department units.

In Washington, Christine Shelly, State Department spokeswoman, also reaffirmed continued U.S. support for Turkey, which she said offered "concrete responses" to the allegations.

She said that Ankara had known for some time that the report was coming and did not expect it to change relations between the two countries.

"Turkey is a very important ally in what is a difficult part of the world," she said.

"We are committed to Turkey's security in the interests of both the United States and Turkey."

REACTIONS

Turkey gives guarded response to US report

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Despite the U.S. State Department's presenting its report on Turkey's human rights and Cyprus as a balanced one, Turkish diplomatic sources adopted a "guarded" approach toward the report Friday.

Foreign Ministry sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the Turkish government would take up the report's "lack of information and wrong assessments" with the U.S. government in the near future.

"We hope that this report, which was released a week before the U.S. Congress starts discussing aid for 1996, will not help the efforts of certain circles who are prejudiced against Turkey," the same sources said.

Although no clarification was made on this point, the reference

was clearly toward the report's statement that it was likely that U.S.-origin equipment was used in the evacuation and destruction of villages in the Southeast. However, Ankara also appeared aware that the report, which came at a time of mounting European criticism, contained positive elements.

Diplomatic sources said that the report noted the development in democratization.

"It is clear that the human rights issues are taken up in the report in a balanced and constructive way," diplomats said. "Within this framework, we think it may be a model for some similar attempts of European institutions."

On the report's section on Cyprus, Turkey acknowledged that the report reflected the

"Turkish side's positive approach" but claimed that the way the two leaders in the island — Turkish Cypriot President Rauf Denktas and his Greek Cypriot counterpart Glafkos Clerides — were addressed on the island did not reflect the "principle of equality."

Neither is the uncompromising attitude of the Greek Cypriots reflected in the report, Turkish diplomats said.

Ironically, the Cyprus part of the report displeased the Greek Cypriot government. Greek Cypriot government spokesman Yannis Kasulides said that the administration may contact Washington to express their objections to the report, which they said was too favorable toward Turkey.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1995

Human Rights Watch says report too kind to Ankara

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Human Rights Watch has criticized the US State Department report on Turkey, obtained by the TDN on Friday, for its failure to admit that burning villages was "a policy of the Turkish government."

"The Human Rights Watch regrets the State Department's statement that it has no clear idea of how villages came to be evacuated," a press release from the human rights organization said. "The State Department's lack of precision about the evacuation campaign suggests a desire to avoid giving offense to the Turkish government which denies employing such tactics."

The Human Rights Watch claimed that the precise circumstances of individual evacuations are very clear. "Field research conducted by Human Rights Watch in Turkey on forced evacuations and state-

ments by Turkish government officials document that the majority of the estimated 1400 villages and hamlets forcibly evacuated in southeastern Turkey were the result of a government-sponsored counterinsurgency campaign," the non-government organization (NGO) said.

It also said that it held the Turkish government responsible for the majority of forced evacuations and destruction of villages, usually carried as a punishment for refusal to join the village guard system or for a pro-Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) village that provides the PKK with logistic or personnel support.

While the PKK has killed civilians and committed extensive human rights violations, their attacks on settlements are usually targeted against so called "village guard" villages, a minority of villages in the area, it said.

The Human Rights Watch called on the State Department to continue its investigation into this matter and to update this report concerning the use of U.S. manufactured weapons in all deployments in southeastern Turkey, especially in village evacuations. "We call on the Turkish government to give all journalists, legitimate NGOs, and foreign embassy personnel access to southeastern Turkey," it concluded.

Kurd arrested in Germany as PKK activist

Reuter

BONN- A Kurd suspected of masterminding firebomb attacks against Turkish properties in Germany for the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has been arrested, federal prosecutors said on Friday.

The 33-year-old suspect, a Turkish citizen identified only as Nihat A., is suspected of leading PKK cells in Bremen, Berlin and southwestern Germany since 1992, the federal prosecutor's office in Karlsruhe said in a statement.

He is being held in the northern city of Kiel while prosecutors check allegations he led a terrorist association.

They said he was also suspected of being an accomplice to firebomb attacks on Turkish banks, a

broadcaster and a travel agency in Berlin in June and November 1993.

The PKK has been fighting a war for a homeland in southeast Turkey for more than a decade. More than 15,000 people have died in the fighting.

Prosecutors say the PKK leadership in Germany has used arson attacks to press its revolutionary goals and allege that PKK leaders have also used punitive action, including murder, against adherents who break away from the organization.

Following a rash of arson attacks this year blamed primarily on the PKK, German officials have expressed fears that the group may have imported political violence to Germany, which has a Turkish population of 2 million.

Agence France Presse - AFP - Agence France Presse - AFP - Agence France Presse - AFP - Agence France Presse - AFP - Agence France Presse - AFP - Agence France Presse - AFP

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Eco.

Irak-Turquie: visite d'une délégation parlementaire irakienne à Ankara

ANKARA, 4 juin (AFP) - Une délégation parlementaire irakienne conduite par le président de la commission parlementaire des affaires arabes et internationales, Safaa Saleh Al-Omar, est arrivée dimanche à Ankara, a rapporté l'agence turque Anatolie.

Le président de la commission des Affaires étrangères du parlement turc Mumtaz Soysal a, en l'accueillant à l'aéroport, rappelé qu'une délégation du parlement turc avait fait une visite en Irak en 1994 et que la visite de la délégation du parlement irakien à Ankara "était préparée depuis longtemps".

"En juin, notre parlement devra prendre une décision importante sur le nord de l'Irak", a-t-il souligné. en faisant allusion à la décision attendue avant la fin du mois du parlement turc sur la durée du mandat de la force multinationale déployée sur la base turque d'Incirlik de l'opération alliée "Provide Comfort". Le mandat de cette force, chargée de surveiller le ciel irakien au nord du 36ème parallèle interdit à l'aviation irakienne et de protéger les populations kurdes d'Irak contre les troupes de Bagdad, vient à expiration le 30 juin.

Le chef de la délégation irakienne, M. Al-Omar, a pour sa part affirmé que l'opération "Provide Comfort" constituait une "intervention directe dans la souveraineté de son pays".

Selon lui, les entretiens porteront notamment sur les relations bilatérales, la sécurité frontalière, la vacance d'autorité dans le nord de l'Irak --qui échappe à l'autorité de Bagdad et est contrôlé par les Kurdes d'Irak depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en février 1991-- et la question kurde.

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JUN 95

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Irak-Kurdes-Turquie

Déploiement d'une unité turque en Irak du nord, selon un responsable kurde

SALAHEDDINE (Irak), 5 juin (AFP) - Une unité de 200 soldats turcs a récemment pénétré dans le nord de l'Irak et s'est déployée dans une région d'accès difficile pour empêcher les infiltrations de séparatistes kurdes turcs, a indiqué lundi un responsable kurde irakien.

"Nous avons des informations selon lesquelles près de 200 soldats turcs ont franchi la frontière il y a quelques jours et ont pénétré dans une région frontalière reculée, stratégiquement vitale pour le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste)", a-t-il précisé sous le couvert de l'anonymat.

Selon ce responsable, membre du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK de Massoud Barzani), l'une des principales formations kurdes irakiennes, la région

où les soldats turcs se sont déployés n'a pas d'accès routier et ne peut être atteinte qu'après une marche à pied de deux jours à partir du village de Sidekan.

Ce village se trouve dans le triangle frontalier séparant l'Irak, l'Iran et la Turquie, dans le nord-est du Kurdistan irakien qui échappe depuis 1991 au pouvoir de Bagdad.

"C'est une région très difficile, une véritable zone de guérilla", a souligné le responsable du PDK. Selon lui, "de toute évidence, ils (les soldats turcs) cherchent à couper la route des combattants du PKK en provenance d'Iran".

Il a indiqué que le PDK a envoyé une note de protestation à Ankara contre cette nouvelle action de l'armée turque, qui avait mené du 20 mars au 2 mai une vaste opération dans le nord de l'Irak contre le PKK, en rébellion armée contre le gouvernement turc depuis 1984.

ta-elf/mfo

AFP /JO0245/051635

JUN 95

SUNDAY, JUNE 4, 1995

Christopher asks EU to ratify customs union

Reform: 'Turkey should continue democratic reforms'

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- US Secretary of State Warren Christopher has asked the European Union (EU) to ratify the customs union agreement signed by Turkey on March 6. During a policy address on "transatlantic agenda for the 21st century" that he delivered at Casa de America, Madrid, Spain, on Friday Christopher also emphasized the importance of continuing with democratic reforms in Turkey.

"The United States and the EU... have a special interest in supporting a democratic Turkey, integrated into the transatlantic community," he said. "Turkey is at the strategic crossroads of the Balkans, the Middle East, and the former Soviet states. We hope that the European Parliament will ratify the critically important customs union agreement between the EU and Turkey."

"At the same time," Christopher continued, "we strongly encourage Turkey to move ahead with democratic reform and strengthen the protection of human rights. We are also redoubling our efforts to achieve a political settlement in Cyprus prior to the start of EU accession talks."

Turkish Daily News

MONDAY, JUNE 5 1995

Turkish Daily News

Snake plague rattles Iraqi Kurds as five die from venomous bites

By Toile Aram
Agence France Presse

SULAYMANIYAH- A plague of snakes has rattled Kurds living in northern Iraq with doctors reporting at least five deaths and dozens admitted to hospital suffering from venomous bites.

The countryside around Sulaymaniyah is swarming with snakes which have flourished amid a mild winter in the quiet ruins of hundreds of villages destroyed by Iraqi forces and abandoned by Kurdish residents.

"We have never before had to treat so many cases of snake-bites as this year. For some weeks now, 10 people of all ages, all of them villagers, have been admitted daily to hospital," Hermin Pired, a surgeon told AFP at the town's largest hospital.

Three women, a boy and a girl died in six days, he said. "I'm sure there are more cases we don't know about. People from some of the remote villages can't come to the hospital because they don't have cars. Even we don't have serum. We only have blood, antibiotics and hydrocortisan (an anti-inflammatory drug)," Pired added.

The region has been plagued by two types of poisonous snakes, a species of rattlesnake and a yellow viper.

A bite from either type can prove lethal if it is not treated immediately or if the victim is made to move too much, causing the venom to circulate faster round the blood stream. Amina Hassan Faath, 48, was work-

ing in her vineyard last week when she was bitten by a one metre (yard)-long snake. "She fainted, but didn't take the bite too seriously. She even walked a few kilometers (miles)."

"After we finally managed to put her in a car she died on the way to Sulaymaniyah," her son-in-law Akram Mahmud Nesrullah told AFP in Jaffaran, a village 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of here.

Villagers blame the weather as well as the forces of President Saddam Hussein for the plague of poisonous reptiles. "This year we have had a mild winter, and no frost. The snakes were able to survive, said Kamil Ahmad from the remote village of Astel, about 60 kilometers (36 miles) southwest of Sulaymaniyah.

"Afterwards we had unusually heavy rains and the grass grew very high. A perfect hiding place for snakes," he added. "Pesticides would be the best remedy against snakes, but there is none to be found on the market."

Residents of even more remote villages have thought about leaving their homes, because they feel so unsafe. "But finally they decided to stay otherwise they would lose their whole harvest," he said.

Forces loyal to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein destroyed an estimated 4,500 Kurdish villages in northern Iraq between 1975 and 1991, when the Kurds seized control of the region in defiance of Baghdad.

Turkey seeks increased trade with Gulf to compensate for losses from Iraq embargo

Agence France Presse

CAIRO- Turkey wants increased trade with the Gulf nations in compensation for over \$20 billion in losses from a U.N. embargo on Iraq, Turkish President Suleyman Demirel told a Saudi-owned newspaper on Sunday.

"We see it as our right at this time to confer with our partners in the (anti-Iraq) alliance about proper recompense for our sacrifices," Demirel said in an interview with the London-based Arab daily Ash-Sharq Al-Awsat.

"Since Turkish trade with the Gulf countries has been adversely affected since the war to liberate Kuwait, we are trying to gear up our economic and trade relations with these countries," he said.

Demirel outlined the effects on Turkey of the embargo imposed on Iraq following its August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

"The continuing embargo on Iraq has placed a burden on Turkey's shoulders for more than three years and has led to economic losses costing \$20 billion, in addition to the social and political cost."

Current trade between Turkey and Saudi Arabia is worth "around \$2 billion," he said. "And we believe there is

an opportunity for more expansion."

Demirel stressed that Turkey had no designs on changing its border with Iraq following its massive military action in March against Turkish Kurdish separatists operating from northern Iraq.

"Turkey has no regional demands on any of its neighbors, including Iraq. It has no policy for new border arrangements and no political plans for expansion," he said.

But the Turkish president, who had earlier provoked Iraqi protests after raising the prospect of changing the border, did not rule out new military operations against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

Turkey "will remain ever ready to overcome any threats to its territorial unity and it will take any action, including military, to defend the lives of innocent civilians targeted by terrorists," he said.

He defended the March operation in which Turkey sent 35,000 troops pouring over the border into Iraq against the PKK. "This operation rooted out more than 500 terrorists and destroyed all their camps. The PKK is now unable to make hit-and-run attacks into Turkish territory from there," he said.

Diplomatic efforts stepped up on UN sanctions against Iraq

Russian official: 'We are waiting for (Tariq) Aziz to give his agreement to the export of oil, in conformity with the U.N. Security Council resolution which Baghdad previously rejected.'

*Compiled by the TDN Staff from
Wire Dispatches*

ANKARA- Iraq has launched a diplomatic offensive to drum up support for an easing or lifting of crippling U.N. trade sanctions, Baghdad-based diplomats said on Monday.

They said senior Iraqi officials are to lobby members of the U.N. Security Council to explain Baghdad's point of view on compliance with the 1991 Gulf War cease fire terms on weapons. The first step of the Iraqi diplomatic offensive was made in Moscow. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz, meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, said Moscow and Baghdad had outlined a way for Iraq to end its international isolation after a series of top-level meetings.

Russia wants to see U.N. sanctions against Iraq lifted but Baghdad must first fulfil all its obligations to the international community, Kozyrev said.

"We are waiting for Aziz to give his agreement to the export of oil, in conformity with the U.N. Security Council resolution which Baghdad previously rejected," a senior Russian foreign ministry official, who asked to remain anonymous, was quoted as saying.

Iraqi Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Abduljabbar al-Douri is in Bonn for meetings with senior German officials. Baghdad newspapers said on Monday that Douri had demanded that Germany, a nonpermanent member of the council take "appropriate measures" to end the embargo on Baghdad oil exports.

The newspapers also said a large delegation of German industrialists and businessmen was to visit Baghdad soon to "develop economic ties."

Diplomats said that senior Iraqi officials intended to visit France, Russia and China, all permanent members of the Council with veto power, and all advocates of an early lifting of the oil embargo.

Diplomats also indicated that Iraq's frustration with the U.N.-imposed sanctions was growing. "The government believes it has got nothing so far in return for its efforts to comply with (Gulf War) disarmament terms," said a well-placed diplomat. Iraq on Saturday accused U.N. arms control official Rolf Ekeus of being commissioned by the United States and its Gulf allies to carry out anti-Iraq policies.

The diplomat said he expected a toughening of Iraq's stance towards the U.N. Special Commission (UNSCOM) in charge of dismantling Iraq's weapons of mass destruction if its crucial report to be submitted to the Council on June 19 is negative. Ekeus, following his visit last week to Baghdad, said Iraq was holding back information on its past biological warfare activities and he was not sure yet whether it had come clean on chemical arms.

The Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) said on Friday it had not yet completed investigations into reports that Iraq was secretly working on technology to build a nuclear bomb.

Iraq has dismissed the allegations as attempts to prolong the suffering of its people under sanctions.

The sanctions will not be eased or lifted until UNSCOM tells the Security Council that Baghdad has honored all its weapons commitments.

The thorniest issue is Baghdad's past biological warfare research. One diplomat said Iraq would disclose the biological programme once it gets clearance from UNSCOM on other categories of weapons.

"The Iraqis fear that this cat-and-mouse game may not end and sanctions are really hurting," added the diplomat.

Iraq warned last month that UNSCOM should not expect it to continue cooperation indefinitely.

It said it would soon decide to halt such cooperation if curbs on its oil exports were not eased or lifted.

School's out for Kurdish children despite months of feuding

'Education is free of charge for children. But we don't have enough books, notebooks, or pens'

By Tolle Aram

Agence France Presse

SALAHUDDIN, Iraq- A two-month truce between rival Kurdish factions in northern Iraq has enabled thousands of children to take exams and finish a school year punctuated by violence.

"The pupils are our future. It would have been a real shame if we hadn't managed to put aside our political problems to organize proper exams for them," said Kamal Shakir, head of the regional government's health ministry.

Shakir, 52, a member of the Iraqi Communist Party, is regarded as neutral by the two main factions so was asked to chair a committee setting exams for the 980 primary and 303 secondary schools in the Kurdish area.

Organizing the schools has not been easy amid the continuing feud between the two main factions, the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Massud Barzani, and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) headed by Jalal Talabani.

The two sides agreed on Thursday to extend their two-month ceasefire begun in April until July 15.

They have fought over control of the paralyzed regional government and its tax revenues for more than a year in northern Iraq, which they have run in defiance of Baghdad since the 1991 Gulf War.

"Since December, when even Erbil district was split into PUK and KDP pockets, we have received our salaries only twice," said Abbas Ismail Accrai, head of a school for six to 12-year-olds in Salahuddin, the KDP headquarters.

Although Accrai believed the KDP was genuinely short of money, others were more sceptical.

"The KDP has money but they use it for weapons," said teacher Sherzah Rassoul. Kurdia Said Aziz, the head of a school for 12 to 18-year-old girls in Erbil, the region's main town which is controlled by the PUK, complained that the PUK had also only paid teachers' salaries twice.

However, Aziz, 56, remained determined to give

her pupils an education. "We'll teach the pupils even without a salary because the Kurdish children have a right to be taught," she said.

Other teachers are more fortunate: those in KDP-controlled Dahuk province and the PUK-controlled Sulaymaniyah province are paid regularly but do not count themselves as well-off.

"We earn between 200 and 300 dinars (about 6.5 dollars) per month. With that, we can't even buy a pair of shoes," said Nesrin Abdallah, a teacher in Sulaymaniyah town.

Schools in northern Iraq are in an appalling state, particularly in the countryside. Many village schools were destroyed by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's forces in the 1980s.

At Abbas Ismail Accrai's school in Salahuddin, children sit on shaky wooden benches, but in many village schools pupils have only the bare ground to sit on and no heating during the winter.

"Education is free of charge for children. But we don't have enough books, notebooks, or pens," Accrai told AFP. "UNICEF, (the United Nations children's fund), provides each child with five thin notebooks and some pencils once a year but that's not enough," he added.

Accrai heads an Arabic school, where Kurdish is only taught as a subsidiary language, whereas Aziz is director of one of the many Kurdish schools that have opened since the Gulf War.

"In the 1970s, all classes were run in Kurdish but the Iraqi government slowly replaced them in the 1980s with Arabic," said Aziz.

The regional Kurdish government which began operating in mid-1992 supported the opening of Kurdish schools and ordered thousands of books to be printed in Kurdish.

"Despite our problems now, the classes are better than before 1991. We can give lessons on Kurdish history and we don't have to fill our children's minds with (Iraqi) Baath party propaganda," she added.

Le Soir - 8 juin 1995

Sur l'intervention contre le PKK en Irak, l'union douanière avec l'Europe, la démocratisation...

■ Quel bilan tirez-vous personnellement de la récente opération militaire turque contre le PKK dans le nord de l'Irak?

□ C'était une opération dirigée contre les terroristes qui avaient transformé les camps du nord de l'Irak en bases pour attaquer nos villages. Il s'agissait d'empêcher ces attaques et en ce sens, l'opération a été un succès. A voir les armes et les munitions trouvées dans ces bases, on mesure les dégâts qu'ils auraient pu causer sur notre territoire et à nos citoyens si cette opération n'avait pas été menée.

■ Le bilan n'est-il pas plus négatif sur le plan diplomatique?

□ Tout le monde a vu que c'était une opération dirigée uniquement contre les terroristes et causée par le vide d'autorité existant au nord de l'Irak depuis la guerre du Golfe. La Turquie n'était pas responsable de ce vide d'autorité. Certaines personnes ont peut-être prêté des idées expansionnistes à la Turquie, mais c'était un malentendu. Il n'y a pas de dommage diplomatique dès lors que l'on comprend bien la raison de cette opération et son résultat.

■ Que répondez-vous aux Européens qui reprochent à la Turquie son approche exclusivement militaire du problème kurde?

□ L'approche n'est pas exclusivement militaire. L'approche militaire est réservée aux terroristes, comme dans les autres pays européens. Il faut séparer le terrorisme des demandes légitimes pour la démocratie ou une plus grande participation. Nos citoyens d'origine kurde, turque ou autre jouissent tous des mêmes lois. Nous voulons développer notre démocratie dans le sens d'une plus grande participation, d'une plus libre expression des idées politiques et d'une administration locale plus étendue.

Décisions en juin

■ Beaucoup de promesses ont été faites, notamment par le Premier ministre, quant à l'amélioration des droits de l'homme et la reconnaissance des droits culturels des Kurdes. Que peut-on attendre concrètement dans un proche avenir?

□ On peut attendre que toutes ces promesses seront réalisées. C'est seulement une question de temps. C'est en fait l'action terroriste qui rend la réalisation de ces promesses plus difficile. Seul le Parlement peut changer la Constitution et les lois dans le sens de ces promesses, non le Premier

Erdal İnönü



Ministre turc des Affaires étrangères

ministre, et le Parlement agit sous l'influence des citoyens. Si, dans cet état de terrorisme rampant, la majorité des citoyens croit qu'on ne peut créer un Etat plus tolérant, mais qu'il faut d'abord réduire le terrorisme, le premier devoir est de combattre ce terrorisme. Nous essayons néanmoins de poursuivre notre action de démocratisation et notre action législative au Parlement.

■ Peut-on encore attendre à cet égard des décisions avant la fin de la présente session parlementaire?

□ Oui, évidemment. Un paquet de modifications portant sur 24 articles de la Constitution a été longuement discuté en commission et a été présenté ce lundi à la présidence du Parlement. La séance plénière en sera saisie la semaine prochaine. Comme plus de trois cents députés des partis de la majorité et de l'opposition ont déjà signé ce paquet, il y a de très grandes chances que ces changements soient adoptés avant la fin de juin. Des modifications de lois, qui ne requièrent pas de majorité des deux tiers, sont également à l'agenda du Parlement, notamment la loi antiterroriste.

■ En son article 8 qui limite la liberté d'expression?

□ En effet. J'espère qu'on verra également un changement sur ce plan avant la fin juin.

■ Est-ce à dire que les parlementaires pro-kurdes emprisonnés pourraient être libérés sous peu?

□ C'est une autre question. Il s'agit ici d'une action judiciaire dans laquelle le Parlement ne peut interférer. On attend encore à cet égard le verdict de la Haute cour.

■ Pensez-vous, d'après vos contacts avec les milieux européens ici à Bruxelles, que le Parlement européen va approuver l'accord d'union douanière conclu entre les Quinze et la Turquie?

□ Je pense bien que le Parlement européen examinera cette question sérieusement et arrivera à un avis conforme. La

dernière fois qu'il a eu à débattre de cette question, il y avait le malentendu concernant l'action au nord de l'Irak et cela a influencé la discussion. Mais il n'y a plus maintenant de raison que cette mauvaise atmosphère persiste. Je crois que le Parlement européen aura la bienveillance de comprendre que le Parlement turc est aussi un parlement, qu'on ne peut lui donner des ordres et qu'il agit dans un but démocratique. Je crois que le Parlement européen comprendra aussi que l'union douanière est une étape dont l'Union européenne et la Turquie bénéficieront parallèlement et conjointement.

■ La Turquie n'apprécie guère l'expérience de l'autonomie kurde dans le nord de l'Irak, pas plus qu'elle n'apprécie le maintien des sanctions internationales contre l'Irak. Est-ce à dire qu'Ankara n'est plus à ce sujet sur la même longueur d'ondes que Washington?

□ Non. En Irak, la Constitution actuelle a admis une autonomie pour les Kurdes au nord du pays. La difficulté est que les deux parties, le régime irakien et les groupes vivant au nord de l'Irak, ne sont pas arrivés à un consensus pour appliquer cette Constitution. Nous souhaitons qu'ils arrivent à un accord sur ce plan et que l'Irak devienne un Etat normal. Nous n'avons aucune objection à ce que certains jouissent d'une autonomie selon la Constitution. Notre malaise tient au fait qu'on n'est pas arrivé à une situation normale au nord de l'Irak. On en a vu les conséquences en matière de terrorisme dirigé contre la Turquie.

■ Selon vous, les sanctions contre l'Irak devraient-elles être levées?

□ Elles devront être levées. Si elles ne le sont pas encore, c'est parce qu'il n'y a pas encore de paix entre l'Irak et le Conseil de sécurité des Nations unies. Celui-ci pense que l'Irak n'a pas encore rempli toutes les conditions nécessaires.

■ Est-ce aussi votre avis?

□ L'Irak a rempli beaucoup des conditions demandées. Il a reconnu les frontières du Koweït, il n'a plus d'armes nucléaires. Reste une question d'armes chimiques et une question de prisonniers de guerre à régler. Il est vrai que l'Irak souffre beaucoup des sanctions, et nous en souffrons également beaucoup. La rupture de nos relations économiques avec l'Irak nous a coûté jusqu'à présent quelque chose comme 25 milliards de dollars. C'est pourquoi nous souhaitons la levée des sanctions aussi vite que possible. Mais nous faisons évidemment partie des Nations unies et nous ne pouvons pas les lever unilatéralement. Nous souhaitons que l'Irak arrive à un accord avec l'ONU.

Propos recueillis par
PIERRE LEFÈVRE

Union douanière et violations des droits de l'homme ne font pas bon ménage

Entre la Turquie et l'Europe, quel avenir ?

L'Union douanière entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne, sur laquelle le Parlement européen doit encore se prononcer — en septembre ou en octobre —, continue de susciter bien des débats. Traditionnellement, les discussions opposent ceux qui estiment qu'un rapprochement avec la Turquie permettrait d'exercer des pressions plus efficaces sur ce pays et ceux qui estiment qu'un tel rapprochement est impensable aussi longtemps qu'Ankara n'aura pas nettement amélioré la situation des droits de l'homme.

Pour tenter de préciser les données du débat, la Fédération internationale des Ligues des droits de l'homme organisait hier un forum de réflexion en compagnie de parlementaires

européens et d'intervenants turcs et kurdes. Ceux-ci, d'emblée, ont dressé un tableau très sombre. Ercan Kanar, vice-président de l'Association des droits de l'homme de Turquie (IHD), a rappelé que 166 intellectuels sont actuellement en prison en Turquie simplement pour avoir défendu leurs idées; qu'en 1994, 14.473 personnes ont été placées en garde à vue, parmi lesquelles 328 ont « disparu » et 292 ont été assassinées par un « auteur inconnu »; que 298 personnes sont mortes à la suite de tortures et d'une « disparition » — tout récemment, on a retrouvé les corps mutilés de deux personnes qui avaient été ainsi enlevées.

M. Kanar a également insisté sur le fait que 40 personnes qui

avaient été extradées de pays européens vers la Turquie ont été condamnées à la peine de mort, soulignant ainsi le danger que les pays d'accueil font courir aux réfugiés qu'ils renvoient.

Ces violations des droits de l'homme ont cours partout en Turquie, mais elles touchent davantage les minorités, notamment les Kurdes. Dans le Sud-Est anatolien, 2.500 villages ont été vidés, 2,5 millions de personnes déportées. Sans parler de l'interdiction des noms kurdes, des partis kurdes...

Tant que la liberté d'expression est considérée comme un délit, que les militaires mènent le pays, la Turquie ne doit pas entrer dans l'Union douanière, conclut Ercan Kanar.

Avis de Renzo Imbeni, vice-président du Parlement européen, très actif dans le domaine des droits de l'homme: *Le Parlement européen doit, selon moi, respecter ses positions antérieures, qui lient la coopération européenne [avec un pays] au respect des droits de l'homme [sur son territoire]. Et, lors de la révision du Traité de Maastricht, le premier changement à apporter sera d'insister sur le fait que la politique extérieure européenne doit être menée en fonction des droits de l'homme.*

La Turquie a incontestablement encore du chemin à parcourir: pas plus tard qu'hier, un collaborateur allemand d'Amnesty International a été arrêté à Adana et conduit à l'aéroport d'Istanbul.

AGNÈS GÖRISSEN

US aid to Turkey may be split into installments by Congress

Linkage: Aid payments could be linked to periodic rights reports for Congress

By Uğur Akinci
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A new report on Turkey just released by the State Department is expected by some observers to influence the conditions of FMF (Foreign Military Financing) assistance given to Turkey. One such new condition might involve splitting the total amount given to Turkey into four tranches, according to a TDN source on Capitol Hill. A similar, but much milder, report on Greece which has also been just released is not expected to have any effect on assistance to Greece.

A senior Congressional source, who preferred to remain anonymous, told the TDN today that the report "has to have some impact" on the amount of assistance to be appropriated for Turkey.

The State Department report, prepared in

Report: State Dept. report expected to have negative impact on military aid to Turkey



described the report as a "balanced" document

Four reports for four tranches

Another informed Congressional source said Congress might propose to divide the FMF assistance appropriated for Turkey into four quarterly tranches for the financial year 1996 and mandate the U.S. State Department to come up with four quarterly reports on human rights violations in Turkey. Last year Prime Minister Tansu Çiller rejected the conditional 10 percent of U.S. assistance.

The Greek government also rejected ten percent of U.S. FMF loans conditional on proof that Greece is not violating U.N. sanctions on Serbia, as well as the U.N. Charter. Turkey is again expected to reject such quarterly monitor-

consultation with the Pentagon, concluded that, "it is highly likely that" U.S.-made equipment was used "in support of the evacuation and/or destruction of villages" during the military campaign the Turkish security forces carried out against outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists.

The TDN source said that the report was "quite devastating on human rights abuses" in Turkey, so "it can't be ignored." Turkey and the State Department, on the other hand,

ing and turn down any aid with these conditions attached. Congressional sources say that this year the conditional amount could be as low as ten or as high as ninety percent.

The idea of "four tranches" was reportedly first suggested by some Congressional staffers to compel the State Department to come up with a stronger report than the initial drafts indicated. "It was a posturing maneuver," a TDN source said. But there are indications that the idea might eventually be adopted by the relevant committees since some members of Congress believe that the final report did not criticize the human rights violations in Turkey as much as it should.

Watch for Porter

Another possibility is for Rep. John Porter (R-IL) to push for eliminating all direct loans to Turkey even without waiting for the end of financial year 1996 when the F-16 project, and thus the whole FMF program, comes to an automatic end.

The House International Committee's currently recommended level of \$320 million for Turkey in financial year 1996 "completes the commitment of the United States for funding of Peace Onyx I/II, a joint F-16 fighter aircraft program for the Turkish Air Force," according to the committee report on HR 1561 (on which debate resumes this week).

Porter, a vocal critic of human rights violations in Turkey, wears two hats on the committee that is important as far as assistance to Turkey is concerned: the House Appropriations committee. Porter is the ranking majority member of the Foreign Operations subcommittee and he also serves as the chairman of the Labor, Health and Human Services and Education subcommittee.

The Foreign Operations subcommittee is chaired by Sonny Callahan of Alabama, an affable legislator who is believed to be sympathetic to Turkey's concerns. His private meeting with Prime Minister Çiller's top aide, Professor Emre Gönensay, on Capitol Hill in February reportedly made a good impression on him concerning the importance of Turkish-U.S. relations. So he might be expected to resist Porter's attempts to eliminate aid to Turkey completely.

The fact that Appropriations Committee chairman Bob Livingston (R) of Louisiana, as well as Charles Wilson (D) of Texas also serve on the Foreign Operations subcommittee should act as a brake on Porter's alleged designs. He, on the other hand, should be expected to get support from such other subcommittee members as Frank Wolf (R-VA), Nancy Pelosi (D-CA), and Esteban Edward Torres (D-CA).

Authorization versus appropriation bill

One thing that should be kept in mind within this context is that HR 1561 is an authorization bill covering financial years 1996 and 1997, but not an appropriation bill — which covers only a single

year. The last time the U.S. Congress considered an authorization bill was back in 1985. Thus the experts that TDN consulted have serious reservations if this bill can ever become an act. One source who worked on the 1985 authorization bill told TDN that the current bill is little more than a power-move on the part of the Republicans to prove that they can say the last word on authorizing foreign aid amounts as well as restructuring of the State Department.

But the Congress did not yet start to debate the final amounts that will be appropriated from the federal budget. A separate appropriation bill is expected to be introduced in the Congress as early as this week.

If the authorization bill, which will continue to be debated this week on the House floor does not become law, then the appropriation committees will have a free hand in deciding on the final aid amounts.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is considering foreign aid in a separate authorization bill, which is scheduled for markup this week. But even if the authorization bill is eventually signed into law, it is still not certain that the appropriation committee members would feel bound by it. "Even then, the appropriation committees will certainly try to cut down the authorized amounts," a TDN source said. Given the ambivalent relationship between authorization and appropriation bills, the experts that TDN consulted did confess in private that a) the authorization bill simply did not make much sense; b) it is highly doubtful if it will ever become a law; and c) the final outcome as far as foreign FMF assistance is concerned is anybody's guess right now.

In past years, the "Turkish side" played the game patiently and preferred to tackle similar bills "downstream" as it moved from subcommittee to committee and then to the floor, making sure that they secured the necessary number of votes first before making their move. This year the same quiet strategy is expected to be employed to challenge and neutralize such amendments as the "humanitarian aid corridor act" amendment introduced into HR 1561 by Chris Smith (R) of New Jersey.

Andrews amendment

There are about 100 amendments waiting to be discussed on the House floor in relation to the "American Overseas Interests Act of 1995" — within the six additional hours of debate allowed by the House Rules Committee.

Thus not all amendments are expected to get a fair shake on the floor. It is not clear at this writing, for example, if the "Comprehensive Turkish Human Rights Compliance Act" amendment of Bob Andrews (D-NJ) will be introduced for voting.

The bill asks to withhold \$500,000 in U.S. assistance for every day Turkey fails to change its policy vis-a-vis human rights, Cyprus, Fener Orthodox Patriarchate, etc.

Hyde amendment

The other amendment that might concern Turkey is the one asking for the repeal of the War Powers Act, to be offered by the powerful chairman of the House Judiciary Committee, Henry Hyde (R) of Illinois.

The War Powers Resolution of 1973 made it necessary for the president of the United States to consult with the U.S. Congress concerning the use of military forces without a declaration of war.

The president is expected to consult with Congress before deploying any troops and report to the Congress within 48 hours. The act is considered to be a failure since President George Bush sent troops both to Panama in order to capture President Noriega, and to the Persian Gulf to push Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait without invoking the War Powers Resolution Act. The Republicans are concerned that U.S. troops might get sent into the war in Bosnia by a president who might ignore the warnings against introducing U.S. ground troops.

Since Turkey also has 1,500 troops in Bosnia, the amendment concerns Turkey indirectly in that any attempt by the United States to introduce ground troops to Bosnia will also effect the future of the Turkish troops in a way that the Turkish officials are understandably not too eager to discuss in public. Defense Minister Mehmet Gölhan has already suggested the addition of Turkish troops to the newly forming Rapid Reaction Force but so far NATO disregarded the Turkish offer. "A big fight is awaiting at the Congress" over the Hyde amendment, according to a TDN source

Berman amendment

Another amendment expected to be introduced by Howard Berman (D) of California might affect Turkey as well.

Berman's amendment would waive the surcharge on commercial sales of major defense equipment to foreign countries when at least 90 percent of the funds used to pay for the equipment comes from U.S. foreign aid funds. Countries that buy military equipment from the United States are currently paying a surcharge of about 15 percent of the sales price to recover the cost of R&D (research and development) of the weapons systems in question.

The major military item Turkey purchases from the United States is the F-16 fighter plane. A reliable source consulted by the TDN on this issue could not tell if such R&D charges were included in the price of the F-16s that Turkey purchases or not.

If OPIC (Overseas Private Investment Corporation) is eliminated, as one amendment suggests, then Turkish-U.S. trade might be expected to be affected negatively since a number of U.S. firms ask for OPIC investment guarantees before they invest in Turkey. An informed TDN source, however, said he believed that OPIC would survive the ordeal.

«L'adhésion à l'Europe est un idéal pour la Turquie»

LIBÉRATION • 8 JUIN 1995

Erdal Inonu, ministre des Affaires étrangères turc, est optimiste sur la mise en œuvre du traité d'union douanière.

Bruxelles (UE)
de notre correspondant

De passage à Bruxelles, mardi et mercredi, Erdal Inonu, le ministre des Affaires étrangères de Turquie, s'est déclaré confiant sur la prochaine entrée en vigueur du traité d'Union douanière avec l'Union européenne le 1er janvier prochain. Ankara s'efforce de modifier sa législation judiciaire, notamment en ce qui concerne la liberté d'expression, et économique afin de répondre à la fois aux exigences du traité et aux demandes du Parlement européen. Entretien.

Dans un premier temps, l'Union douanière va surtout profiter aux Quinze...

Oui mais nous voyons l'union douanière comme un pas vers l'intégration économique avec l'Union. Et nous pensons qu'elle nous mènera à l'adhésion pleine et entière à l'Union, ce qui a toujours été l'idéal de la Turquie: c'est la logique normale de l'élargissement. Evidemment pour aller vers une intégration plus avancée, il y a des stades où l'on perd plus que l'on ne gagne, mais à la fin nous arriverons à un niveau de développement plus élevé pour notre économie et notre société.

Certains secteurs de l'appareil d'Etat ne sont-ils pas opposé à un rapprochement avec l'Union européenne?

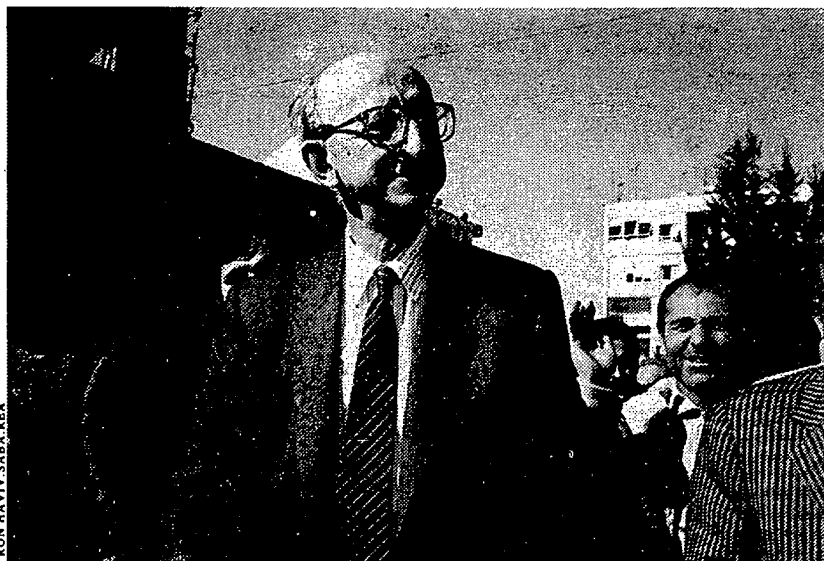
Non. C'est une tendance générale de l'intelligentsia turque, et donc des ministères, de la bureaucratie, de l'armée et des juges qui en sont une partie, d'être en faveur d'une intégration de plus en plus forte à l'Union. Mais des secteurs comme le ministère de l'Intérieur ou encore l'armée se voient comme les gardiens de l'ordre et de la stabilité en Turquie. Alors, compte tenu du terrorisme qui existe chez nous, ils se montrent plus méfiants. Mais c'est une règle générale que dans chaque Etat, il y a des forces de l'ordre et des forces libérales et qu'il faut un consensus entre ces deux secteurs pour arriver à une réforme continue et pacifique.

L'impuissance de l'Union à régler le conflit yougoslave n'a-t-elle pas refroidi votre enthousiasme à la rejoindre?

Au début, nous avons fait tout notre possible pour aider nos amis de l'Union, de l'Otan, de l'ONU à avoir une attitude plus ferme en Bosnie. Car, ou bien vous donnez aux bosniaques les moyens de se défendre ou bien vous les défendez vous-mêmes. Si vous ne faites ni l'un ni l'autre, alors l'agression et la souffrance continuent. C'est ce qui s'est passé. Mais après la prise d'otages des Casques bleus et les dernières agressions, on aura la volonté d'arrêter l'agression.

La Turquie s'est toujours montrée très prudente depuis le début du conflit.

Considérez-vous que le Parlement européen, qui a posé en préalable à la ratification de l'Union douanière, un meilleur respect des droits de l'homme,



Erdal Inonu: «Des réformes sur les libertés fondamentales seront adoptées.»

un règlement de la question kurde ainsi que de celle de Chypre, outrepassent ses compétences?

Désormais, l'on pense, et j'en suis d'accord, que le respect des droits de l'homme ne peut pas être considéré comme une affaire intérieure. Chaque Etat est tenu de respecter les droits de l'homme pour ses citoyens. S'il ne le fait pas, il peut être critiqué par les autres Etats. Cela fait partie de notre agenda politique. Je pense que les réformes élargissant les libertés fondamentales seront adoptées d'ici la fin du mois. En revanche, la structure essentielle de l'Etat est décidée par le peuple et lui seul. Quand le Parlement européen nous dit que nous devrions

adopter une structure fédérale (afin de régler le problème de la minorité kurde,

ndlr), c'est une idée que nous pouvons négliger.

La Turquie va-t-elle prendre une initiative pour faciliter le règlement de la question chypriote?

Une solution définitive de ce problème profitera clairement à la Turquie et au secteur turc de l'île car nous ne gagnons rien au fait que le monde se préoccupe de cette question. Donc c'est notre intérêt d'agir en ce sens. Certes, il y a une vie paisible là-bas, ce n'est pas comme en Bosnie. Mais on doit arriver à une solution définitive qui passe par un accord entre les deux communautés, grecque et turque, de l'île. Je suis optimiste: il y aura une solution dans l'avenir immédiat.

La Turquie va-t-elle tenter de régler autrement que par la répression la question kurde?

Il faut distinguer entre le terrorisme et les demandes légitimes de nos citoyens d'origine kurde. Nous poursuivons l'effort démocratique pour élargir la participation de tous nos citoyens. Déjà, il n'y a pas de discrimination: nous avons des ministres, des généraux, des banquiers d'origine kurde. Mais tant qu'il y aura ce terrorisme, il y aura des réactions à cette terreur et les gens ne voudront pas entendre les demandes kurdes. Le bon fonctionnement des lois actuelles et les réformes nécessitent une atmosphère plus tolérante. Nos amis de l'extérieur devraient nous témoigner leur solidarité contre ces actions terroristes, car moins de terrorisme permettra d'appliquer les réformes ●

Recueilli par JEAN QUATREMER

Akın Birdal: Kurdish people will decide if PKK will be part of the peace process

Human rights advocates Birdal and Önen draw a dark portrait of Turkish violations

By Uğur Akıncı

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Leading Turkish Human Rights activists here to collect an international award on Wednesday differed on their approach to the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), with Chairman Akın Birdal of the Human Rights Association urging a favorable response to its call for talks and Yavuz Önen of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation disputing its credentials as a negotiation partner.

But in a briefing held at the U.S. Congress by the U.S. Helsinki Commission (CSCE), Birdal and Önen were united in their pessimistic view of the escalating human rights violations in Turkey.

"Even the discourse on human rights is becoming meaningless. We have become marginalized. We have started to repeat ourselves," Önen complained.

Önen and Birdal have been invited to Washington to receive the "International Human Rights Partners Award" from the International Human Rights Law Group at an awards dinner on Wednesday. Wole Soyinka, the Nigerian Nobel-prizewinning author and human rights activist, and Randal Robinson of Transafrica are also to be given human rights awards.

In a presentation supported by numerical data concerning the dismal state of human rights in Turkey, Birdal and Önen also made interesting observations on the role of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the solution of the "Kurdish problem." In reply to a question asked by Necmeddin Kerim of the Kurdish National Congress, Birdal said the PKK's calls for a peaceful solution of the problem while observing the territorial integrity of Turkey should be given a fair hearing. When asked who will decide on the PKK's future role, Birdal said, "Only the Kurdish people can decide" if the PKK will be part of such a process. But Önen, in contrast, said he did not believe that the PKK could be in any way be a party to a peaceful resolution of the current conflict over Kurdish rights.

During the question-and-answer session, TDN asked Birdal to explain exactly how the "Kurdish people" were supposed to decide on the PKK's future role in Turkey. "The only decision-making body in Turkey is the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TBMM)," TDN said. "So are you perhaps suggesting that there should be a national referendum on the issue in which only those who call themselves a Kurd can participate? Or are you suggest-

ing the formation of a decision-making body only for Kurds, and apart from the TBMM, to decide on this issue? How will the 'Kurdish people' decide in practical terms?" Birdal answered by saying, "The Kurdish people exist and they will elect their own representatives. All we are saying is that the will of the Kurdish people must be taken into consideration. They say there are 136 Kurds in the TBMM. That's a lie. None of them can be elected on the basis of their Kurdish identity. Unless you deny your Kurdish identity, you can't get elected."

Referring to the fate of the former DEP deputies who have been imprisoned, Birdal said, "If a deputy is elected by the Kurdish people, no one should be able to throw him out of Parliament." When TDN followed up further, both Birdal and Önen admitted that they wished the issue could be resolved within the context of the Turkish parliamentary system despite their misgivings.

Önen explained to TDN after the meeting that there were two reasons why he, in contrast to Birdal, did not find the idea of the participation of the PKK in a peace process to be realistic. Currently, a political environment which would tolerate such a participation does not exist and it is also true that the PKK's use of terrorism makes it ineligible for such participation in the first place. Önen said, "When we defend the rights of the Kurds, we are defending their rights as Turkish citizens. Otherwise, it doesn't matter if somebody is a Circassian, Kurd, Turk, Laz, etc."

Birdal drew a dark portrait of human rights violations in Turkey where 2,492 villages have been evacuated and destroyed, according to official figures. Within the last six months alone, out of the 544 villages in Tunceli, 350 have been evacuated and 50 burned, Birdal said. A total of 2 million "Kurdish people" have been displaced and measures must be adopted to ensure their return.

There are 157 people in jail because their ideas violated the Anti-Terrorism Law; 2,474 people have been convicted of similar charges and they are waiting the outcome of their appeals; 5,685 people are currently being tried on similar charges. There are 152 laws and over 700 articles that restrict freedom of expression in Turkey, Birdal said.

"Within the last three and a half years the coalition government has voted on 303 laws. Only three of these pertain to human rights. They are not just laws but even they were not implemented," Birdal said.

"Systematic torture and disappearance while under detention, as well as unsolved killings continue," he said. "Within the last 15 days alone two more corpses have been discovered of people who were tortured before being buried. In Ankara, three corpses were found of people killed by the security forces in a house. We determined that nobody fired from inside the house. All the firing was from the outside." He said 11 members of the Turkish Human Rights Association have been assassinated.

"Is it the case that until now peace was given a chance but it didn't work?" Birdal asked rhetorically. "We want a Turkey where ideas do the talking, not guns. That's the road leading to the peace of the two peoples."

Önen, in his presentation, complained that in Turkey the democratization process is indexed to terrorism. "They think they have to end terrorism before they can resolve the Kurdish problem. That's a false premise," he said. "Because both terrorism and separatism are becoming a worse problem everyday. A people and culture which contributed to the rich mosaic of our country are being uprooted from its soil," Önen said.

"The Southeast is being dehumanized and turned into a military combat zone. I am ringing the alarm bells as someone who was born and raised in the Southeast and ask for more active participation on your part," he said.

Önen said the Tunceli operations have recently shifted to Mardin. "Those villages which do not agree to join the village guard system are being evacuated and there is no response from the public. Another round of migration from Mardin is about to start. Nothing is being done to stop it. The villages of Budaklı and Bakacak are two examples. Their Kurdish names are Kersaf and Kınıkey. I know Kınıkey pretty well because it happens to be the village where I spent my childhood," Önen added.

Önen criticized the restriction put upon the media in the emergency rule region. "We are left with two news sources: the governor of the emergency rule region and the PKK's press center in Germany. We don't have any reliable sources left," he said. "The dominant media is using the official line and acting in a provocative manner," Önen said.

Önen also criticized the "double standards" the West has been applying to Turkey in regard to human rights. He said the interests of the defense industry dictated dismissal of human rights complaints in Turkey.

Turkish Daily News

THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1995

US report calls PKK real threat to American interests

been considering writing a letter to Alain Juppé stating that Turkey would like to be included in the Cannes summit, but it is not clear whether she will send such a letter or simply raise the issue during her visit in Paris.

"It is possible (on the part of the European Union) to extend an invitation to Turkey. We have already send out feelers in that direction," a senior Turkish diplomat said.

Ankara has so far concealed its disappointment over not having received an invitation to the summit, which marks the end of the French presidency.

"What is important for us at this point is to complete our obligations and realize the customs union, which provides a cornerstone in our aim of full membership, and thereby join in the 1996 conference, where important decisions will be made," Foreign Ministry's deputy spokesman Nurettin Nurkan told a press conference last week.

Asked what Turkey thought of the fact that 11 nonmembers, including Central and Eastern European states, Cyprus and Malta, were invited, Nurkan replied: "This is not a new development but a reflection of their enlargement perspective."

İnönü told Brussels that Turkey regarded the customs union as a step toward full membership. He sounded confident on the customs union, telling van den Broek that the Turkish government believes it will have done enough by October to persuade the European Parliament to approve Ankara forming a customs union with the EU next year.

İnönü said he hoped the documents on constitutional reform would be ready at the end of this month. He added that his government, bolstered by weekend local elections, would press ahead with a package of reform measures with the aim of putting them to the Turkish Parliament by the end of this month. "I am quite hopeful that all these procedures will be finalized on time and that Turkey will become a member of the customs union by Jan. 1, 1996," he said. Van den Broek's spokesman said İnönü had told the commissioner his country was on the right track to satisfy both the European Union and the European Parliament.

"The Commissioner was very encouraged by the news from the foreign minister," he said. "He underlined that the EU and Turkey had the common goal of forming the customs union."

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA-The U.S. "1994 Global Terrorism Report" issued by the State Department in April includes the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in a list of organizations that threaten U.S. interests, the Anatolian news agency reported on Wednesday.

The Department's 1994 report had not included the PKK among groups that pose a danger for U.S. interests.

"The PKK employs the tactics of international terrorism in its campaign to set up a separate state in the Southeastern part of Turkey," this year's report stated, saying that this constituted a threat to American interests.

The report also said that the PKK had spread its terrorist activities to Western Europe, thus causing disturbances in the West. It mentioned that the political wing of the PKK — the ERNK — had opened bureaus in Italy and Greece last year.

The report pointed out that the PKK's terrorist activities targeting touristic resorts in Turkey had declined in 1994. However, it stated that PKK operations targeting the government and economic sources in Turkey were dangerous both for Turks and foreigners in the country.

The report, which describes the terrorist activities in the world during 1994, also mentioned the Islamic terrorists organizations in Turkey for the first time.

The daily Cumhuriyet quoted the report

as saying "the fundamentalist Islamic groups organized attacks on secular state institutions."

The daily said the report had named Islamic Jihad, (Islami Cihad) the Islamic Movement Organization and the Great Eastern Islamic Raiders- Front (IBDA-C) among Islamic terrorist organizations.

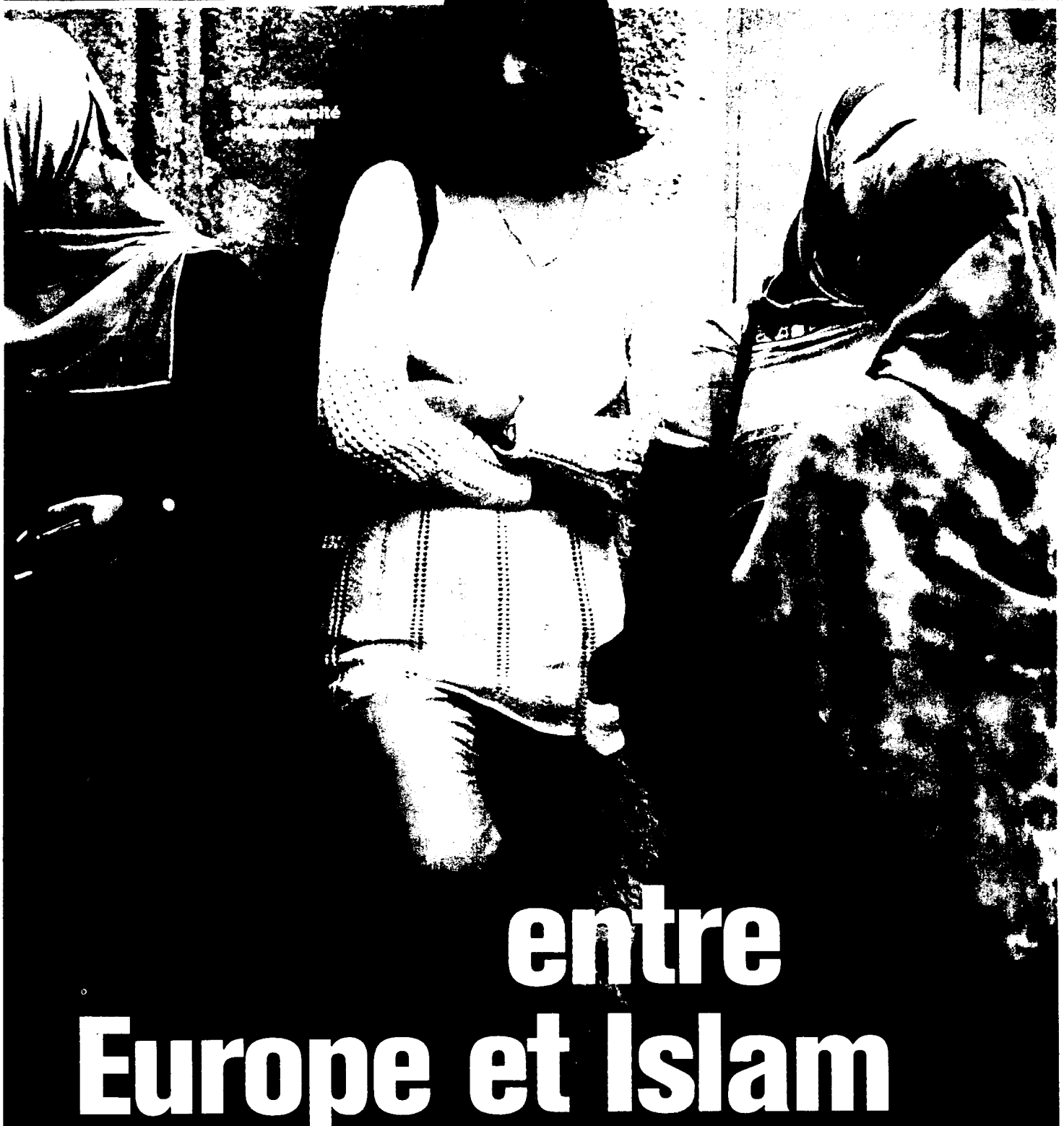
The report also highlighted that these Islamic organizations had carried out their attacks with the aim of establishing Sharia or Islamic law. These Islamic organizations was described as anti-West in the report.

Another terrorist organization the report described as a threat was the Revolutionary Left (Dev Sol) in Turkey. The report stated that Dev-Sol was still a potential danger both for U.S. interests and for Americans working in Turkey, despite the internal divisions which have weakened Dev-Sol.

The report accused Iran of supporting international terrorism and said that this country participated in terrorist activities directly.

Iraq is the other country the report links with terrorism. It stated that the Iraqi government was providing logistic facilities and shelters for the terrorist organizations.

The report also said that although there is no evidence of Syria's direct support of international terrorism since 1986, it stated that Syrian administration was providing logistic supports and shelters for many terrorist organizations, including the PKK.



entre Europe et Islam

REZA SYGMA

10 JUIN 1995 LE POINT NUMÉRO 1186

Curieuse symbiose qui règne dans les rues d'Istanbul et, au-delà, dans la Turquie entière. Deux mondes cohabitent et s'épient au pays d'Atatürk : le monde de la « tessekur », la stricte tenue islamique, et celui des boléros audacieux. Sur fond de corruption, de répression kurde, la Turquie hésite : comme si son destin se jouait à la va-vite, suspendu aux calendes européennes.

DE NOTRE ENVOYÉ SPÉCIAL

OLIVIER WEBER

Pouvait-on rêver meilleur vaisseau pour un conquérant ? Débarras de misère, garage rehaussé d'antennes paraboliques, les locaux de Kanal 7 accusent certes le dénuement. Mais à l'orée d'Istanbul, sur la colline de Rechit Pacha, son capitaine, chantre du retour de l'islam, peut se délecter d'un paysage de choix en contrebas : le détroit du Bosphore, bordé par des bars impies où coule à flots le raki, l'alcool

MONDE

turc, et sillonné par des cargos et paquebots aux sirènes stridentes.

Des sirènes, Özgül Eren, ancien architecte reconverti dans le prosélytisme, en délivre à la pelle, par voie hertzienne. Envoûtantes à souhait, propres à séduire non les marins mais les terriens, les paysans, les exilés des plaines lointaines d'Anatolie, perdus dans la grande ville d'Istanbul et enclins à retrouver des racines oubliées. A longueur de journée, les émetteurs de Kanal 7 propagent la sainte parole, prêchent d'un règne annoncé. Point de censure outrancière: entre les murs de ces studios de fortune, on tolère les débats contradictoires, les femmes non voilées, les dessins animés d'Occident, univers pourtant honni hors antenne.

Et peu importe à ces prédicateurs patentés que leur audience baisse lorsque les chaînes privées, au crépuscule, promettent aux foyers stambouliotes jupons, danses lascives et blondes effeuillées. Ceux-là savent que le grand soir enveloppera bientôt ces rivages aux mœurs maudites. La conquête des âmes sur les bords du Bosphore s'effectue aussi par les ondes. Et le petit écran, clament-ils avec l'assurance des zéloteurs de « l'ordre juste », ne constitue que le prolongement naturel des minarets.

Depuis un an, Istanbul, la « vieille main couverte de bijoux tendue vers l'Europe » que vénérât Cocteau, s'est parée de nouveaux atours. Des bagues vertes, aux couleurs de l'Islam, davantage tournées vers l'Orient. En mars 1994, les islamistes du Refah Partisi, le Parti de la prospérité, conquièrent les grandes villes. Istanbul, Ankara et d'autres cités, symboles de la laïcité turque, imposée en 1926 par Kemal Atatürk, le « Père de tous les Turcs », tombent dans leur escarcelle. Horreur, clament les Stambouliotes. Puis la peur cède à une curiosité. Quid de l'obscurantisme tant redouté ?

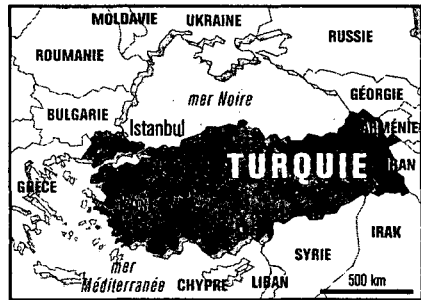
On déménage les vespasiennes

A l'usure du pouvoir les « maires verts » du Refah sont désormais confrontés. « Istanbul, c'est un cadeau empoisonné », persiflent les « laïcards ». Passent encore les décisions de pacotille... A peine intronisé, le nouveau maître d'Istanbul, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, décréta que les toilettes de la mairie n'étaient pas en odeur de sainteté. Tournées vers La Mecque, elles gênaient l'élu, qui ordonna de déplacer les vespasiennes en des lieux moins profanes. Quant à la sécheresse légendaire d'Istanbul, le maire, pour la contrer, s'en est remis à la puissance divine. Plus de fusées atmosphériques pour inciter les nuages à s'épandre, les prières collectives suffiront. Mais les incantations des muftis sont restées vaines, et face aux errements des cieux,

Erdogan, l'âme en peine, a dû renouer avec la technologie décriée. Les grandes réformes, elles, dorment encore dans les tiroirs...

« Avec ses douze millions d'habitants, Istanbul est une ville ingérable », avance un diplomate turc, en écho au portrait qu'en fit le romancier Yachar Kemal: « Une ville au cœur rongé par des milliers, des millions de vers grouillants, où tout pourrit, l'eau, le sel, et jusqu'aux pierres et jusqu'aux hommes. » La corruption, que décriaient hier encore les fondamentalistes à l'assaut des villes? « Au lieu de graisser la patte des employés de mairie pour avoir l'eau ou un permis de construire, lance Okay Gözensin, directeur du quotidien Yeni Yüzyıl (« Nouveau Siècle »), on paie désormais une fondation islamique! »

Depuis leur victoire, il est vrai, les



LA TURQUIE EN CHIFFRES

République : depuis 1923 ; laïcité instaurée en 1924 ; président : Süleyman Demirel (depuis 1993) ; Premier ministre : Tansu Ciller (depuis 1993).

Population : 62 millions d'habitants, dont 12 à 15 millions de Kurdes.

Dette extérieure : 65 milliards de dollars.

Croissance : - 5,4 % en 1994 ; prévisions pour 1995 : 3 %.

Inflation : 90 %.

Pouvoir d'achat : - 15 à 20 % en 1994.

édiles qui brandissent le Coran n'ont eu de cesse de songer à des mannes bien peu célestes : les caisses de leur parti. L'un des dirigeants, Süleyman Mercümeç, qui feint l'apostolat, est ainsi accusé d'avoir détourné des dons pour la Bosnie - plusieurs millions de dollars... Cet homme d'affaires, qui compte des intérêts dans le charbon, l'édition et la construction, brasse des sommes astronomiques destinées au parti. 250 millions de dollars, en provenance d'Arabie saoudite, de la Ligue islamique mondiale et de l'émigration turque en Allemagne, auraient ainsi transité entre ses mains. Quitte à ce qu'il empêche au passage de substantielles commissions, plus tangibles que les promesses de paradis. De généreux bienfaiteurs cèdent-ils une large aumône pour construire une université islamique? Mercümeç s'empresse de

revendre le terrain à des ouvriers turcs. La justice enquête. Les fins limiers d'Interpol, eux, ont tranché: derrière l'homme pieux se cache un redoutable blanchisseur d'argent sale.

Dans son palais rose qui domine les eaux de la Corne d'or, bras du Bosphore, le maire islamiste de Beyoğlu, quartier chic d'Istanbul et ancienne ville des Génois au temps de Constantinople, ne veut rien entendre de ces accusations irrévérencieuses. « Allah reconnaîtra les siens », professe-t-il en substance. Ingénieur de formation, Nusret Bayraktar, qui arbore un costume bien peu traditionnel - veste orange et chemise bleu sombre à la mode - jure que la cité se porte mieux. Sans doute parce que ses frasques et désirs de nouveau vizir ont été amendés... Les cafetiers, porte-drapeau du péché, ont ainsi été sommés de rapatrier sous leur toit les tables des trottoirs, vitrines d'un alcool surabondant et de jeunes filles en décolleté. Tollé dans la ville. Le maire a reculé, et les effluves du raki envahissent toujours les rues du quartier, fréquentées par des amants que nul sermon ne semble pouvoir séparer.

Autre combat, digne d'un calife : la couleur des trottoirs. « Peignez-les en vert », a ordonné le maire à son bataillon d'employés municipaux. Nouvelle tempête. Le maire a fait amende honorable. « Ne croyez pas que c'était pour l'islam », se justifie Bayraktar avec la fausse ingénuité des vrais conspirateurs. *Le vert, c'est bon pour les yeux. Demandez donc à votre médecin...*

1 000 mosquées par an

A l'entendre, la takkiye, l'art de la dissimulation que partageaient Persans et Ottomans dans les cours impériales, ne reste pas lettre morte entre les murailles d'Istanbul. Comme la palinodie. « Banalisation du discours », disent certains détracteurs. « Au contraire, s'insurgent les autres : ils ne veulent plus effrayer pour mieux prendre le pouvoir. » Reproche-t-on au secrétaire général du Refah, Oguzhan Asiltürk, les dernières affaires de corruption et la montée d'une mafia islamiste, il balaie d'un geste altier ces griefs et parle de son rêve de conquête, « en fidèle Ottoman »: les quatre coins du pays, du bazar d'Istanbul au fin fond de l'Anatolie.

Curieuse symbiose, tout de même, qui règne dans les rues d'Istanbul, et au-delà, dans la Turquie entière. Deux mondes cohabitent et s'épient au pays d'Atatürk: le monde de la *tessekur*, la stricte tenue islamique, que présentent avec une ostentation toute militante des boutiques sans cesse plus nombreuses, et celui des boléros audacieux; celui des minarets en chantier - 1 000 mosquées surgissent chaque année des entrailles turques - et celui des piliers lézardés du kémalisme, l'idéo- ▶

logie laïque et républicaine de la Turquie moderne, qui demeure encore une référence, voire un modèle pour nombre de nations musulmanes ; celui des laudateurs du règne d'Allah et celui des héritiers d'Atatürk, les uns et les autres dépositaires d'un dogme. Et pour le malheur des républicains, la balance penche en faveur des premiers, portés par les indigents, les déshérités et une frange de la moyenne bourgeoisie, du négoce et de l'intelligentsia.

« Ana » et « Baba »

Car la crise couve à Ankara et fait le lit des partisans de la *charia*, la loi coranique. Empêtrée dans une querelle des chefs, Tansu Ciller, Premier ministre d'un gouvernement à la dérive – une coalition centre droit-gauche – subit les foudres du président Süleyman Demirel, pourtant issu du même bord. Désignée voilà deux ans, cet ancien professeur d'économie de 49 ans, en butte à des indicateurs au rouge (90 % d'inflation, une dette externe de 65 milliards de dollars et une croissance négative de - 5,4 % l'an dernier), a perdu son aura. « Ana » (« Mère »), l'appelaient-on à ses glorieux débuts. Décrochée du panthéon, elle n'est plus que « la fille de papa », en référence à « Baba » Demirel, qui l'a faite reine. Signe de ces temps troublés : désormais, dans la phraséologie de la rue, Baba signifie moins « papa » que « parrain »...

A l'est, dans les zones kurdes, tonne la rébellion. 13 000 morts en onze ans. Cernée par les militaires qui dictent sa conduite, Tansu Ciller vers dans la répression à outrance. « Pas question de promouvoir le séparatisme », a récemment martelé Demirel. Or la double vio-

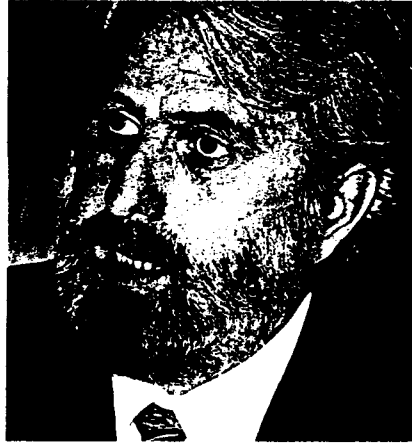
lence prônée par l'Etat et le PKK, le mouvement indépendantiste d'essence marxiste-léniniste. rend illusoire toute approche de négociation.

Prise entre deux feux, contrainte de vivre sur un champ de ruines, la population kurde – 12 à 15 millions pour 62 millions d'habitants – s'en remet à l'Europe, comme nombre de Turcs. Promesse d'espoir : l'Union douanière, si elle était adoptée par le Parlement européen à l'automne prochain, permettrait à la Turquie d'amender sa politique musclée. « On doit accorder un statut spécial aux Kurdes maintenant que la situation est stable sur le terrain », plaide Mümtaz Soysal, ancien ministre des Affaires étrangères. Mais les faucons veillent, drapés dans un orgueil nationaliste. « On ne va pas se soumettre au diktat de l'Eu-

rope, avance Coskun Kirça, député du Parti de la juste voie de Tansu Ciller, et ancien ambassadeur à l'Onu et à l'Otan, demeure encore le meilleur moyen de démocratiser le pays. »

Démocratiser... Le mot est sur toutes les lèvres. Comme si le destin de la Turquie se jouait à la va-vite, dans les mois à venir, suspendu aux calendes européennes, entre la quête d'un Occident réticent et l'appel des propagandistes de la foi retrouvée.

Car des pans entiers de la Constitution turque autorisent des mesures discriminatoires – emprisonnement d'intellectuels, d'auteurs et de journalistes. Le jovial écrivain Ahmed Altan en sait quelque chose : dans les colonnes du quotidien *Milliyet*, il avait inversé les rôles et évoqué le sort de Turcs minoritaires dans une hypothétique « Kurdie » autoritaire, matant ses franges en révolte. Ces Turcs-là n'avaient pas même le droit d'enseigner leur langue et subissaient le joug des suzerains... Les censeurs n'ont pas apprécié cette parodie du système turc :



Hasan Mesarci, député islamiste

« Atatürk est pire que Hitler. Il a opprimé les croyants », ose lancer, sans crainte du blasphème, l'ancien prédicateur de mosquée, héritier de la grandeur ottomane.

Finances : la cassette de l'islam

Les grands argentiers du parti islamiste turc Refah sont des faiseurs de miracles... Leur cassette est en effet richement dotée, et la chasse aux fonds relève de la pêche miraculeuse. Pour amasser leur fortune de guerre, impossible à chiffrer mais s'élevant à plusieurs dizaines de millions de dollars, les trésoriers ont ratissé large. Voici quelques exemples de ces sources de financement :

► **La rente foncière** : des terres sont redistribuées dans les banlieues d'Istanbul, via les services de la mairie, par des mafias locales liées au Refah. De substantielles commissions sont dégagées.

► **La publicité** : une firme islamiste repeint entièrement des autobus municipaux à Istanbul avec des images publicitaires.

► **Le pèlerinage à La Mecque** : une agence de voyages contrôlée par les islamistes, Van Der Zee, a empoché 1 million de dollars en 1994, avec un bénéfice de 200 dollars sur 5 000 voyageurs, quota supplémentaire de pèlerins qu'a concédé l'Arabie saoudite au Refah.

► **Les peaux de mouton** : les organisations islamiques liées au Refah collectent des taxes sur une partie des

peaux de moutons sacrifiées par des Turcs à l'étranger (100 francs pour une peau brute, 300 francs pour une peau tannée). Recette : au moins 1 million de francs, alors que l'Etat turc interdit les donations en provenance de l'étranger.

► **Donations diverses** : les campagnes de fonds pour diverses causes, dont celle de la Bosnie, sont souvent récupérées par le Refah. 35 000 marks récoltés en Allemagne ont ainsi servi à la construction d'un local pour le parti.

► **Les assurances islamiques** : 12 000 familles turques installées en Allemagne ont souscrit un contrat d'assurance auprès d'une société saoudienne contrôlée par le Refah.

► **Les donations de l'Etat allemand au titre du culte** : le Refah a recueilli une partie des 32 millions de marks alloués aux mosquées, etc.

La gestion de cette manne est souvent hasardeuse. Lors de la faillite de trois banques privées, l'un des trésoriers du parti a perdu 85 millions de francs. Le trésorier, accusé de détournement de fonds, est inculpé. Les donateurs, eux, en sont pour leurs frais... ■

aux termes de la loi, le scribe risque de tâcher de la geôle pour incitation au séparatisme. « *Les kémalistes veulent gouverner le pays comme il y a soixante-dix ans, tonitrué l'écrivain blâmé. C'est pourquoi la Turquie reste bloquée entre fondamentalistes religieux et fondamentalistes laïcs.* » Au nom de ces mêmes lois poussiéreuses, les médecins qui osent soigner les rebelles à l'est sont embastillés, tel le docteur İlhan Diken, qui croupit dans un cachot de Diyarbakir (voir le témoignage de Mehdi Zana, « *La prison n° 5* », Editions Arléa).

Face à ces atermoiements, face aux disputes des héritiers du kémalisme séculier et jacobin, les sectateurs de la charia fourbissent leurs armes. Greffier de la moindre vindicte, héraut du rejet de l'Europe, le parti islamiste caracole en tête des sondages - 23 % des intentions de vote. Certes, ses élus accumulent les impairs, mais la campagne pieuse a déjà levé ses étendards. Offensé par le regard de deux statues dans le parc Altınpark, le maire d'Ankara a ainsi ordonné leur enlèvement. Les sculptures, a-t-il juré la main sur le cœur, représentaient « *un couple en orgasme* ». Morale prude, qui n'a pas empêché un autre élu islamiste de finir dans les rets de la maréchaussée : en goguette dans les rues de la capitale, avec deux travestis prostitués, l'islamiste fut accusé de tapage nocturne et d'outrage aux bonnes mœurs...

A Istanbul, les troupes s'avèrent prêtes pour le saint combat. Au noyau dur de militants radicaux s'amalgament désormais une foule de grenadiers-voltigeurs et de supplétifs. Nombre d'intellectuels, dont d'anciens gauchistes perdus dans la vacuité idéologique, ont ainsi rallié la bannière de l'islam, atten-

tifs aux prêches des maîtres à penser.

L'un d'eux délivre des sermons enflammés, par voie de presse ou sur les ondes des chaînes islamistes. Longiline, la barbe finement taillée, Abdurrahman Dilipak, 55 ans, préfère siéger de l'autre côté du Bosphore, sur la rive asiatique, comme un conquérant ottoman face aux remparts lézardés, à la magnificence et la décadence de Constantinople. A l'étranger soucieux de sonder ses vénérables paroles, le penseur oppose une pure vérialité. 300 francs le questionnement, qui transite par l'agence islamiste Teha... Pour les quêteurs peu nantis ou suspicieux, 100 francs suffiront, mais le dialogue à ce prix ne souffre que la transmission par fax. Où il est prédit que l'islam gagnera tôt ou tard son trône turc. Où il est énoncé que les partis laïcs miment l'Occident décrié. Où il est affirmé sans ambages que le parti Refah flotte comme un navire sur la mer montante de l'islam.

Malgré son radicalisme, Dilipak, auteur d'une trentaine d'ouvrages dont « *Les guerriers de l'islam* » et « *Vers la société islamique* », continue à rameuter de nouveaux partisans sur les terres du kémalisme. Tel Atilgan Bayar, 25 ans, le cheveu ras et le visage glabre. Conseiller de plusieurs éminences de l'islam pur et dur, il ne craint pas les paradoxes : en jeans et bottes camarguaises, téléphone mobile à la ceinture, il fréquente moins les mosquées que le Roxy, une boîte de nuit branchée du centre d'Istanbul, dont les deux patrons ce soir-là, poignets et tête enveloppés dans des bandages teintés de mercurochrome, s'amuse à décrier les dégâts occasionnés par la dernière fête religieuse - 250 morts sur les routes en

trois jours. Ultime paradoxe : Atilgan, mentor des nouveaux princes d'Istanbul, avoue un athéisme tenace... « *Si je les ai rejoints, confesse-t-il, c'est pour tenter d'empêcher l'affrontement entre la société et l'Etat.* » Aveu qui sonne comme une sinistre prémonition et qui appuie les incantations de Necmettin Erbakan, le chef du Refah : « *La Turquie passera inévitablement à l'ordre juste. La question, c'est la période de transition. Va-t-elle se faire par la douceur ou par la violence? Gentiment ou par le sang?* »

Sur les rives du Bosphore, plongés dans une guérilla du signe et du symbole, obscurantistes et nombre d'intellectuels libéraux se donnent donc la main, à la recherche d'une « *synthèse musulmane* ». Comme si la Turquie entière tergiversait entre l'Islam radical, tempéré pourtant par le jeu des confréries traditionnelles, et l'Europe, quêtée comme antidote au fondamentalisme.

Mais les oracles stambouliotes demeurent soumis au crible des généraux, derniers remparts du kémalisme. Trois fois en trente-cinq ans, l'armée est sortie de ses quartiers pour prendre les rênes du pays. « *Si le Refah gagne, même avec la majorité relative, aux prochaines législatives (prévues à l'automne 1996), assure un proche de Ciller, ancien diplomate, c'est le coup d'Etat!* »

La mémoire d'Atatürk

Malgré ces menaces, les porte-parole de l'« *ordre juste* » poursuivent leur lutte - à ciel ouvert ou par infiltration des ministères et des institutions. Foin des bruits de bottes ! Les ordinateurs, les centaines de milliers de fiches constituées, le contrôle de la rente foncière dans les mairies tenues par le Refah représenteront autant d'armes de choix.

« *Il faut restaurer le califat à Istanbul, et transformer l'église Sainte-Sophie en mosquée* », clame dans son bureau de l'Assemblée Hasan Mesarci. Cet ancien prédicateur de mosquée, devenu député d'Istanbul, s'estime héritier, « *comme tous les Turcs* », de la grandeur ottomane. Thuriféraire isolé de la charia, dira-t-on. Certes, mais tonitruant, apte à jeter dans les rues des épigones voués au culte des martyrs. « *Atatürk est pire que Hitler. Il a opprimé les croyants* », lance-t-il sans crainte du blasphème. Le père de la nation s'en retournerait dans son mausolée... Faut-il lire derrière la plaque au nom du parlementaire islamiste une destinée de justicier, ou bien de croque-mort de l'idolâtrie ? Mesarci signifie « *celui qui creuse le tombeau* ». D'autres portent encore aux nues la statue d'Atatürk, pourtant ébréchée comme une vieille porcelaine du palais des sultans. Lancé dans sa croisade du verbe, porté par les nouvelles sirènes du Bosphore, le partisan de la charia se contente, lui, de creuser lentement son sépulchre. ■

« Peignez les trottoirs en vert », a ordonné le maire de Beyöglu. Mais il a fait amende honorable : « Ne croyez pas que c'était bon pour les yeux... »

Erdogan (maire d'Istanbul), Erbakan (chef du Refah) et Gökcek (maire d'Ankara)



Libération • 10-11 juin 1995

France Soir • 9 juin 1995

Le Figaro • 10-11 juin 1995

Les
gens



Catherine Lalumière

traîtée de «prostitué» par un ministre turc

Trois éues du Parlement européen, la Française Catherine Lalumière, la Britannique Pauline Green et l'Allemande Claudia Roth viennent de protester auprès du Premier ministre turc, après avoir été traitées de «prostitué» par un ministre de son gouvernement. Les trois femmes demandent à Tansu Ciller de se démarquer de son ministre d'Etat Ayvaz Gokdemir, dont elles attendent des excuses personnelles.

Présidentes du groupe de l'Alliance radicale, du Groupe socialiste et du Groupe des Verts, Lalumière, Green et Roth étaient venues fin mai en visite officielle en Turquie plaider pour la libération des prisonniers politiques kurdes. «Nous n'allons pas libérer ces traîtres pour faire plaisir à ces prostituées européennes», a rétorqué Gokdemir dans un récent meeting électoral.

TURQUIE CHARMANT, LE MINISTRE

Trois éues du Parlement européen, dont la Française Catherine Lalumière, ont protesté auprès du Premier ministre turc, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, après avoir été traitées de «prostitué» par un ministre de son gouvernement. Ayvaz Gokdemir avait critiqué les prises de position des trois éues en faveur de la libération des Kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie. « Nous n'allons pas libérer ces traîtres pour faire plaisir à ces prostituées européennes en visite chez nous », avait déclaré ledit ministre.

TURQUIE- EUROPE Trois députées insultées

□ Le ministre d'Etat turc Ayvaz Gokdemir a démenti hier avoir traité de « prostituées » trois éues du Parlement européen, la Britannique Pauline Green, l'Allemande Claudia Roth et la Française Catherine Lalumière. Les trois députées avaient formellement protesté la veille auprès du premier ministre d'Ankara, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, en accusant M. Gokdemir de les avoir insultées. Le ministre turc faisait référence à leur prise de position en faveur de la libération des prisonniers politiques kurdes.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, JUNE 10, 1995,

Menteşe: Government to remove terror issue from the agenda

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Graduates of the Police Academy received their diplomas at a ceremony attended by Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe, the Anatolia news agency reported on Friday. Speaking at the ceremony Menteşe said that Turkey's important position in the world was disturbing to certain circles and added that the government will soon remove the terror issue from its agenda.

The minister said that an educated society was essential to a country's development and that police officers are now trained to understand the importance of human rights and democracy. Menteşe continued that the police force played a significant role in fighting militants of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) in the country. Menteşe added that 4.5 tons of narcotics

has been confiscated during the military operation in northern Iraq.

Mehmet Ağar, director general of Police, said that education is very important and the police work hard for the country's security and deserve the support of the Turkish people. Hacı Ömer Sabancı, executive board chairman of Sabancı Foundation, gave a \$5,000 prize to Bülent Demirci who graduated top of his class, \$3,000 to Hayrettin Doğanşoy who was second and a \$2,000 prize to Ersin Yalçın for being third. Sabancı said that peace and security are the basic rules of development. Diplomas were presented to the three top students by Menteşe, Ağar and Ankara Governor Erdoğan Şahinoğlu, the agency reported.

FROM THE COLUMNS

The second Kurdish Parliament - in Vienna

From a June 9 article by **Milliyet's Yalçın Doğan**: Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü heard the news from opposition Motherland Party's (ANAP) Chairman Mesut Yılmaz. On the eve of İnönü's departure for Brussels Yılmaz called İnönü to tell him that the Kurds, who have set up a "parliament-in-exile" in the Netherlands, were now making vigorous attempts to found a similar body in Vienna. These news had not yet reached İnönü or any of the state departments from other channels. In fact, İnönü's response was, "I did not know that."

Yılmaz has telephone conversations with leading European figures several times a week. He engages in frequent exchanges of information thanks through both personal channels and the European Democratic Union, that is, the joint body of the European conservative parties.

During a conversation Yılmaz had last week with the new Austrian foreign minister, it became apparent that the Kurds were striving to set up a new Kurdish parliament in Vienna. The Austrian minister told Yılmaz, "We would not permit that but the Socialists need to be persuaded." Kurdish efforts to set up a parliament-in-exile in Vienna have been going on for three years.

During the İnönü-Yılmaz conversation Yılmaz told İnönü, "I will do my best (to prevent that) but you must discuss that issue with the social democrats."

And İnönü explained to the social democrats during his talks in Brussels that such attempts disturb Turkey. At this stage, Austrian authorities do not seem inclined to permit a new Kurdish parliament. But it is obvious that it will not be surprising to see similar attempts in various other parts of Europe from now on. Wherever such an attempt is made Turkish officials go there and explain their case over and over again. In fact, this is what the Turkish officials think. In reality they prove unable to "explain". To all foreign delegations visiting Turkey, the Turkish officials

say, before everything else, "In Turkey Kurds can take up any post. They are equal citizens." When they hear that the visitors promptly underline shortcomings on the part of Turkey, saying, "But you have thrown the Democracy Party (DEP) deputies out of Parliament and have still not staged new elections in those constituencies!" There is an extension to that remark. "The Kurds who are not represented in Parliament in their own countries" prove to be in an excellent position to explain to the Europeans their idea of "founding a parliament-in-exile." In the Turkish Grand National Assembly there are deputies of Kurdish origin, the above-mentioned Kurdish circles use very well the fact that a big part of the country, the southeast, has been left out, left without parliamentary representatives.

Other powers take on the task of defending the Turkish argument in Europe. One of these powers is the United States. During a recent visit to Ankara the United States Ambassador to the European Union Stuart Eisenstad told the Turkish officials, quite justifiably, something along the lines of, "We are striving hard to prevent you from tearing yourself from Europe. We can get 200 votes for you in the European Parliament but you need 314 votes." In other words, he told Turkey to take further steps.

Under the circumstances, Turkey must have something to tell the Europeans even if Ankara proves unable to prevent Kurdish attempts to set up new "Kurdish Parliaments" in the European countries. And to be able to say "something" the Turkish authorities must stage by-elections to fill the vacancies created in Parliament by the departure of the DEP deputies. In other words, the coalition partners must stage as soon as possible the parliamentary by-elections they dread so much. Those 22 vacant seats must be filled. That way, the Southeast will be represented in Parliament.

If they fail to stage parliamentary by-elections they will be, who knows, severing Turkey's ties this time with Austria today and with God knows who else tomorrow. And that is not the way to govern a country or to conduct foreign policy.

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Turquie-Kurdes

141 maquisards kurdes tués en dix jours, selon le ministre de l'Intérieur

ANKARA, 11 juin (AFP) - Cent quarante et un rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires du 1er au 10 juin dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a annoncé dimanche à Ankara le ministre de l'Intérieur turc Nahit Mentese.

Dans la même période, 168 maquisards kurdes ont été arrêtés, a indiqué le ministre qui a précisé que depuis le début de l'année, 209 militants armés du PKK s'étaient rendus aux forces de l'ordre turques.

M. Mentese a annoncé d'autre part l'arrestation de huit autres personnes auteurs de l'attentat à la bombe qui avait fait huit morts et 17 blessés le 25 mai à Batman (sud-est du pays), près d'une école. Un autre militant du PKK est recherché en liaison avec cet attentat.

M. Mentese a une fois de plus appelé les militants armés du PKK à se rendre à la justice turque et à bénéficier de la loi sur les repentis qui prévoit une réduction de peine.

Le ministre n'a pas fait état d'éventuelles victimes parmi les forces de l'ordre turques.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée contre Ankara depuis août 1984 pour créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Cette rébellion et les opérations de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 15.000 morts.

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Turquie-Kurdes

35 rebelles kurdes et cinq soldats turcs tués en Anatolie

ANKARA, 11 juin (AFP) - Trente cinq rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et cinq soldats turcs ont été tués lors d'accrochages armés dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, ont annoncé dimanche les autorités de Diyarbakir (dans le sud-est de la Turquie).

Depuis mercredi près de 70 autres maquisards kurdes ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires turques, selon la même source.

Le PKK mène une rébellion armée contre Ankara depuis août 1984 pour créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien à la frontière avec la Syrie, l'Irak et l'Iran. Cette rébellion et les opérations de l'armée turque ont fait plus de 15.000 morts.

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JUN 95

A F P A F P A F P A F P A F P A F P

Turkish Daily News opinion poll on future of northern Iraq Turks: Baghdad or Ankara should control northern Iraq; Provide Comfort should go

On Iraq: Majority feels Saddam is no threat to Turkey

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA - A majority of Turks feel it is in Turkey's security interests that either northern Iraq should be given back to the control of Saddam Hussein's administration in Baghdad or Ankara should control the region, according to a public opinion poll conducted by the Turkish Daily News research department.

The poll also showed that a majority of Turks do not want the Provide Comfort force to remain in the region and feel Saddam Hussein is not a threat to Turkey.

The poll was conducted by random sampling in the city centers of Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir and Antalya and covered 2,004 samples.

According to the poll 36.03 percent of those questioned felt if northern Iraq was given back to the control of Saddam Hussein's administration in Baghdad this would serve Turkey's security interests.

Another 34.68 percent felt Turkey should be given full control of northern Iraq.

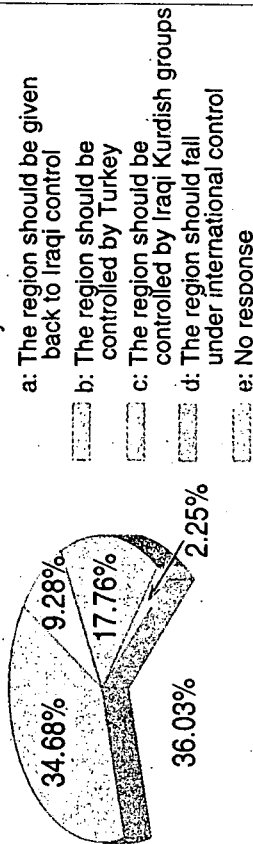
Only 9.28 percent said northern Iraqi Kurdish leaders should control the area.

But that was lower than the 17.76 which felt international control was needed in the region.

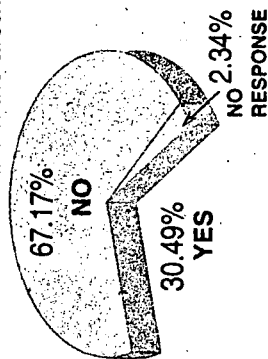
The Iraqi territory that falls to the north of the 36th parallel was declared a "safe-haven"

SURVEY ON NORTHERN IRAQ, SADDAM AND PROVIDE COMFORT

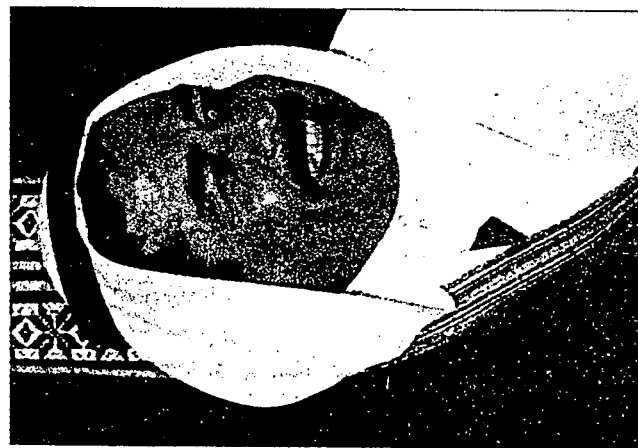
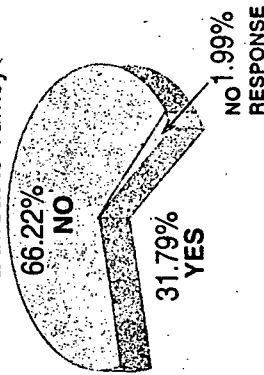
Question: What should Turkey do in northern Iraq to maintain its own security?



Question: Should the Provide Comfort force remain in the area?



Question: Is Saddam Hussein a threat to Turkey?



Saddam: Turks do not feel threatened

for Iraqi Kurds by the United Nations Security Council in 1991 to keep Saddam Hussein from taking revenge for an uprising after his Gulf War defeat.

A task force called "Operation Provide Comfort" was established in mid-1991 to protect the enclave against Saddam's forces. The force is comprised of 48 U.S., French and British planes and is stationed at the Incirlik air base in southern Turkey. Turkey extends the mandate of the Provide Comfort force

every six months.

The mandate of the force will expire at the end of the month and it is expected that the Parliament will agree to another six-month extension.

On Sunday the National Security Council met under the chairmanship of President

Süleyman Demirel and recommended to the government the extension of the mandate of the force for another six months.

However, the Turkish Daily News public opinion poll showed that 67.17 of those sur-

veyed are against the presence of Provide Comfort in the region, while 30.49 approve.

Similar TDN surveys in the past few years also showed both the people and the parliamentarians oppose Provide Comfort. Turkey's security concerns in northern Iraq increased in the past year when rival Iraqi Kurdish groups started fighting bloody battles among themselves, thus creating a power vacuum in the region.

The forces of Kurdish Democracy Party leader Massoud Barzani and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan boss Jalal Talabani could not control the movements of the separatist Kurdish terrorists of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) which uses northern Iraq as a base for its attacks against targets in Turkey.

In March Turkey sent more than 35,000 troops into northern Iraq to flush out the PKK. The troops were withdrawn in May. However, Turkey and the Western powers have failed to end the fighting between Barzani and Talabani and thus bring some stability in the region.

The survey also seemed to strengthen the hands of those who want closer ties between Ankara and Baghdad as 66.22 percent of the respondents felt Saddam Hussein is no threat to Turkey. Most of the respondents who answered the survey also made some interesting comments which showed sympathy for Iraq and some antagonism towards the West. Here are some interesting quotes:

■ "I would have liked the international community to control northern Iraq but after seeing the performance of the international force in Bosnia I realized this was impossible. For this reason I say whoever has the sovereign right to rule

in northern Iraq should control the area."

■ "Isn't northern Iraq the territory of Iraq? And aren't we saying we support Iraq's territorial integrity?"

■ "What happened in northern Iraq as Saddam ruled in the area for so many years? Could Saddam secure stability in the area? So I feel Turkey has to control northern Iraq."

■ "Iraq should control northern Iraq but then Baghdad should give us guarantees that the PKK will not find shelter in the area."

■ "The region should never be left to the control of Iraqi Kurds. We feel neither Talabani nor Barzani are dependable."

■ "Provide Comfort should leave the area because it supports Kurdish separatists."

■ "The Provide Comfort force should leave as soon as stability is achieved in northern Iraq."

■ "Does the presence of the Provide Comfort force have any benefits for Turkey? We do not feel it does. As a matter of fact, while protecting the Iraqi Kurds it is also protecting the PKK."

■ "We lived with Saddam for so many years. He wasn't a threat then, so why should he be a threat to us now?"

■ "Can Saddam become a threat to Turkey while he has to struggle with his own problems at home?"

■ "You can't trust Saddam. He attacked Iran, he attacked Kuwait so why shouldn't he attack Turkey?"

■ "Saddam will sooner or later become a threat to Turkey and he will raise the water issue."

■ "If the coalition forces had not cut Saddam to size in the Gulf War he may have been a threat to Turkey. But now he isn't."

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Allemagne-Kurdes

Fin du moratoire des expulsions de Kurdes dans neuf Etats fédérés d'Allemagne

BONN, 12 juin (AFP) - Le moratoire sur les expulsions de Kurdes de l'Allemagne vers la Turquie a pris fin lundi dans neuf Etats fédérés allemands sur seize, une prolongation des suspensions n'étant plus possible légalement, a annoncé l'association de défense de demandeurs d'asyle Pro Asyl.

Selon Pro Asyl, quelque 4.500 Kurdes sont désormais menacés d'être expulsés du Brandebourg, de Brême, de Hambourg, de Basse-Saxe, de Rhénanie-Palatinat, de Sarre, de Saxe-Anhalt, du Schleswig-Holstein et de Thuringe, des Etats fédérés gouvernés par l'opposition sociale-démocrate qui avaient décidé de leur propre chef de prolonger le moratoire levé le 15 mars par le gouvernement de Bonn.

Le moratoire avait été adopté en décembre après que huit députés turcs d'origine kurde eurent été condamnés à de lourdes peines de prison à Ankara.

Pro Asyl a condamné la fin de ce moratoire en affirmant qu'il s'agit "d'une déclaration de banqueroute morale et la politique des droits de l'homme de Bonn". Selon l'association, la levée de l'arrêt des expulsions est illégale la situation des droits de l'homme ne s'étant pas améliorée en Turquie.

jlp/bm/mfo

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JUN 95

Who, me apologize?

Condemnation and support: Claudia Roth says she will not be satisfied with the half-hearted apology of Ayvaz Gökdemir, who called three Euro-MPs 'prostitutes.' But some rally behind the minister

By Nazlan Ertan

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- "If someone wanted to mastermind a way to create antagonism between Turkey and the European Parliament, he could not have come up with a better plan," a Turkish diplomat said yesterday after Turkish newspapers splashed across their headlines the outrage of three Euro-MPs against State Minister Ayvaz Gökdemir.

The ever-blundering Gökdemir had reportedly called three key figures in the European Parliament, who had visited Turkey last month, "European prostitutes of dubious intent."

"We will not release jailed infidels (of the Democracy Party) because European prostitutes of dubious intent want us to do so. May God save us, and the nation, from the coalition partner we have!" Gökdemir told a True Path meeting in Kilis a day before the elections.

According to journalists on the scene, he used the word "slut" rather than prostitute, but the newspaper reports toned down his vulgarity.

The storm broke up four days later, before a dinner Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü planned

to host in Brussels. The three Euro-MPs, Catherine Lalumiere of France, Claudia Roth of Germany and Pauline Green of Britain, protested the remarks by not attending the dinner party.

In a letter to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, Turkey's first female prime minister who is not exactly known for her sensitivity on women's issues, they requested her to "distance herself from the remarks of Gökdemir" and asked for a personal apology from the minister.

Çiller did write a letter of apology, saying that she could not imagine how "one of her ministers" could make such a remark. "If he has said it," said Çiller's letter addressed to the MPs and the head of the European Parliament chairman, "his remarks do not reflect the view of myself nor my government. I detach myself from them." Çiller added that she regretted the developments, but, perhaps due to her awareness of Gökdemir's political weight, carefully refrained from condemning the remark.

"Writing an apology to the three women is probably the least Çiller can do," a Western diplomat agreed. But the Turkish mainstream media went further: "Just leave, you shameless man," a Hürriyet banner headline said.

Even the nature of Gökdemir apology was dubious. The minister has so far made one conflicting remark after the other: He has told conservative daily Türkiye's Sabahattin Onkibar that he had "never made those remarks" and the claim that he had would "only serve the interests of the PKK and Greek lobbies."

His denial won him the support of Türkiye. Onkibar described the minister as a "symbol of honor" and added: "Even if he, due to his straightforward Anatolian nature has made some blunder — which we really do not think he did — then this should have been overlooked."

Onkibar then condemned the blindly pro-European tendencies of the Foreign Ministry, making Turkish outrage sound as if it were an attempt to "appease" the European Parliament.

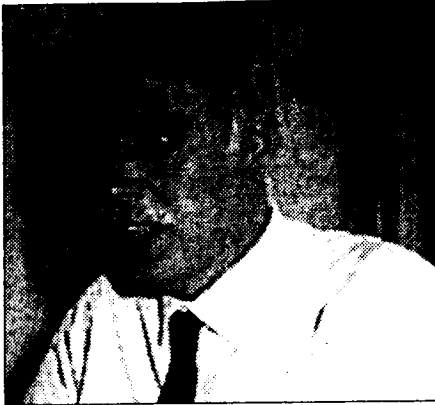
But speaking to other newspapers, such as Milliyet and Hürriyet, Gökdemir sounded indignant.

"If they tell me I have said it, I am not someone to disclaim that," he told Hürriyet. He added, in remarks quoted in various newspapers, "This is not a heavy insult. It is just a statement that reflects the sensitivity of the people who do not want to see their country



NAME-CALLING: The three members of the European Parliament -- dubbed 'Euro-Amazons' by the media -- firmly protested against vulgar name-calling by State Minister Ayvaz Gökdemir.

TDN Cengiz Uysal



Ayvaz Gökdemir

divided."

Then, he added for a finishing touch: "I do not know whether they are prostitutes or not. I am not keeping track of who is... playing around with whom in the European circles."

Finally, when he consented to an apology, his written statement was no more than half-hearted.

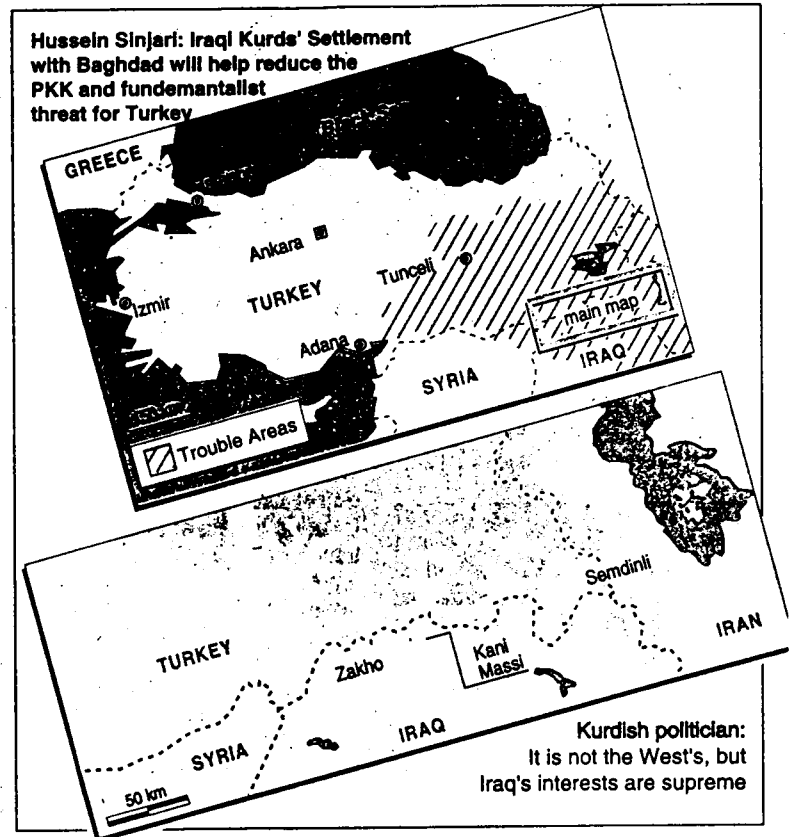
"I have learned with regret that some of the newspaper accounts of the remarks I have made in response to a citizen's question in Kilis have created some touchiness," he said. "If it will make up for their taking offense due to this misunderstanding, I apologize."

Speaking to Milliyet earlier, the minister maintained that he did not know if they were prostitutes, but he did not think the term was an insult.

The apology, such as it was, satisfied Pauline Green, the leader of the Euro-parliament Socialists, and Catherine Lalumière of European Radical Alliance. However, German Green Claudia Roth told Yeni Yuzyl that she would sue the minister. Female members of the Republican People's Party (CHP), the junior coalition partner of the Gökdemir's True Path, also launched their own protest.

"His remarks has not only offended us, the women of CHP, but all Turkish women," a statement said. "Gökdemir should apologize to the three female deputies and respectfully salute those intelligent and modern deputies who are the pride of Europe." Not every one is angry about the remarks. A journalist from a private TV channel reported that scores of faxes in support of Gökdemir's remarks were transmitted to their offices in Ankara and Istanbul.

"There is no reason for me to resign, and the prime minister has not asked me for that," said Gökdemir, who leaves today for Kazakhstan with President Süleyman Demirel.



Disillusioned Kurd urges settlement with Baghdad

Challenge: Iraqi Kurds now want peace with Saddam; anyone thinking otherwise is 'welcome to conduct a poll'

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Iraqi Kurds are fed up with their warring leaders, are disillusioned with their democratic experiment and are overwhelmingly longing for a settlement with Baghdad that would ensure them "a better life instead of slo-



Former Kurdish Minister Hussein Sinjari

gans," a former senior Iraqi Kurdish politician said.

Hussein Sinjari, a one-time minister in the regional Kurdish government and a founding member of Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), who resigned in January in protest at Kurdish infighting, said the present situation was causing people to look for alternative parties and leadership. "If we are not careful, this will lead to the rise of national extremism 'a la PKK' or religious extremism 'a la Islamic fundamentalism.' We should not forget that Islamic Iran is next door," Sinjari said.

The Kurdish politician, on his way to northern Iraq for consultations with Massoud Barzani, Talabani's rival for power and the leader of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), said the settlement with Baghdad, however, should have ironclad guarantees, be recorded as a U.N. document, and a Western country, preferably Britain, France or Russia should be a party to a deal. Reminded of likely Western objections to such a deal, Sinjari said not the West's but the Kurds' and Iraq's interests were supreme.

He said the overwhelming majority of the Iraqi Kurds would support that deal and challenged anyone claiming otherwise to come to northern Iraq and conduct an opinion poll if they so wished.

The Iraqi Kurds do not want a separate state, they want to live in dignity (as citizens of Iraq)," he added.

Sinjari, said, however, that a settlement with Baghdad had to be preceded by certain "confidence-building measures" and Baghdad had to agree not to send its troops, its hated secret service and the Baath party back into the Kurdish region

immediately and wait until the suspicions and grievances disappear.

But Sinjari said Operation Provide Comfort should remain in force and the Western air force deployed in Incirlik, southern Turkey, should stay as an added guarantee.

The Kurdish politician, who said he would seek to establish a new party that would end the predominance of PUK and the KDP, expected support from Kurdish intellectuals and the ordinary people.

He said to support a settlement with Baghdad was also in Turkey's interest since it would remove the PKK as a threat. "PKK and Islamic fundamentalists can flourish only in muddy waters, in a polluted and unstable environment."

Sinjari said Iraq's Turkmens will be better represented beside the Kurds and Arabs under the settlement he is seeking and foresaw a monitoring role for Turkey within the MCC, the Zakho-based Military Coordination Center comprising a score of allied military representatives monitoring the status quo.

Turkey wary of PKK infiltration from Iran, but denies abortive air strike

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Turkish General Staff denied over the weekend a newspaper report that a strike force of F-16 jets on their way to bomb a concentration of separatist rebels near the Turkish border in Iran had been recalled in mid-flight late last month on the intervention of the Foreign Ministry which feared a strong adverse reaction from Tehran.

Hürriyet, a leading Turkish daily, reported on Saturday that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller gave the green light for the strike after the Turkish General Staff reported that a strong force of PKK rebels had assembled at a camp on the outskirts of the Iranian town of Urmiya near the border to mount attacks against targets inside Turkey.

On learning that the flight of jets laden with bombs had taken off to raid the rebel camp inside Iraq, Özden Sanberk, the former foreign ministry undersecretary, while hosting a goodbye reception for diplomatic correspondents last month, immediately moved to halt the strike, arguing that the repercussions would be much stronger than those provoked by Turkey's March 20 incursion into north-

ern Iraq in pursuit of the PKK separatists. President Süleyman Demirel, who shared Sanberk's view that mounting a strike inside Iranian territory would spark a reaction far stronger than the one in northern Iraq where Baghdad's authority has been curtailed, exercised his powers as "commander in chief" to order the return of the strike force, Hürriyet reported.

But in a statement to the Anatolia news agency, the Turkish General Staff Headquarters categorically denied that the planes had taken off for the raid and had been ordered back.

The statement conceded, however, that after it was ascertained that a rebel force of about 300 or 350 had assembled in Iran in an area adjacent to the border late April and early May, the general staff proposed to the government the elimination of the threat by reminding the Iranian authorities of their responsibility to crack down on such activities under an existing security arrangement between the two countries.

The Iranians complied and took action against the PKK rebels in recent days, the statement noted.

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Turquie-terrorisme

La Turquie appelle au renforcement de la lutte contre le PKK

ANKARA, 14 juin (AFP) - La Turquie a appelé mercredi la communauté internationale à renforcer la lutte contre le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) accusé de terrorisme.

Le porte-parole du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères, Omer Akbel, a estimé, au cours de son point de presse hebdomadaire, qu'"il faut davantage de coopération et de coordination" en Europe contre le terrorisme et le PKK.

Le PKK, en rébellion armée contre Ankara depuis août 1984 et qui lutte pour l'établissement d'un Etat kurde indépendant, est considéré comme terroriste par Ankara et de nombreux pays occidentaux.

La Turquie fera une distinction entre les "pays qui font preuve de fermeté" dans la lutte contre le PKK et "ceux qui ne le font pas", a indiqué M. Akbel, regrettant que certains pays "soient réticents à prendre des mesures contre le terrorisme qui ne les vise pas directement".

Il a par ailleurs annoncé des "progrès" lors d'entretiens pour l'amélioration des relations entre la Turquie et les Pays-Bas qui avaient été perturbées après l'inauguration du "parlement kurde en exil" le 12 avril à La Haye. Il a indiqué que des réunions techniques se poursuivraient dans ce but la semaine prochaine à Ankara.

En réaction à l'autorisation donnée à la réunion du "parlement kurde en exil" par le gouvernement néerlandais, la Turquie avait rappelé pour consultations son ambassadeur aux Pays-Bas, Zeki Celikkol, et placé ce pays sur sa "liste rouge" de pays non crédibles pour l'achat d'armements.

La Suède, la Suisse, l'Autriche, la Norvège, l'Afrique du Sud et le Danemark se trouvent également sur cette "liste rouge". La Turquie n'achète pas de matériel militaire à ces pays et leurs firmes ne sont pas autorisées à participer aux appels d'offres militaires du gouvernement turc.

La Finlande, l'Allemagne, la Belgique et le Luxembourg figurent sur la "liste jaune" de la Turquie. Tout achat d'armements à ces pays nécessite un accord préalable du ministère turc des Affaires étrangères. Ces deux listes sont en vigueur depuis février 1993.

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US welcomes Provide Comfort recommendation

Christopher may not have asked Syria about PKK

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- A senior U.S. State Department official today told the Turkish Daily News that the United States was quite happy with the Turkish National Security Council recommendation that Operation Provide Comfort be extended.

"We welcome the decision of the Turkish National Security Council," the official said. "We are pleased that the Turkish government has agreed that Provide Comfort has got to stay. That's a fundamental part of our policy of trying to help the people of northern Iraq."

The official had no comment about whether the duration of the mandate pleased Washington.

"That's up for the Turkish government to decide," the official said.

The same official was unable, however, to say exactly whether, during Secretary of State Warren Christopher's recent Damascus visit, the question of the terror groups that Syria gives aid and comfort to like the PKK had been raised. Some observers claim that the United States is relying on Syria's cooperation in settling the Golan Heights issue with Israel — despite the fact that Syria is still on the State Department's list of seven states which sponsor international terrorism.

The source said that Secretary Warren Christopher raises the issue with the Syrians "as a normal part of our genuine interest. The issue

has been raised at quite high levels with the Syrians at the last month or two. I am not aware that it was raised in the recent discussions."

"That was a very small meeting [in Damascus]," the official elaborated, "and I was not a part of the meeting. But I'm not aware that it was raised."

He did deny that if it hadn't been discussed, it could imply terror was less important than progress in the Syrian-Israeli track of the peace process.

"No, it doesn't [imply that]," the senior State Department official replied. "Syrians know how concerned we are about the issue of terrorism. And we made that clear."

We talk about it publicly several times a year. We've written about it. We went on the record, I'm glad to say."

Insulted Euro-deputy says she is 'satisfied' by PM Çiller's letter

Labour Deputy Pauline Greene says she also accepts Minister Gökdemir's apology even if this was forced and reluctant

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The subject of the insulting remarks made by True Path Party (DYP) Deputy and Minister for State Ayyaz Gökdemir about three women Euro-parliamentarians was broached in the opening session of the June meetings of the European Parliament on Monday.

But an angry request from a female Euro-deputy calling for a strong reaction by the Parliament to Gökdemir's remarks was moderated by one of the deputies who had been the subject of the Turkish ministers' remarks, according to the Anatolia news agency reporting from Strasbourg.

British Labour Deputy Pauline Greene, responding to the request for an angry reaction by the European Parliament, reminded the assembled Euro-deputies that Prime Minister Tansu Çiller had sent her and the two other

female deputies concerned letters on the subject.

Greene said in her letter Çiller had reflected her regrets over the whole incident and added that she was pleased with the Turkish Prime Ministers' response.

Greene also said that Gökdemir himself had provided a somewhat forced and reluctant apology for his remarks but that she accepted this apology anyway.

Responding to Gökdemir's attempts to clear himself by accusing the Turkish press of misrepresenting his remarks, Greene said that the European Parliament's views on Turkey were clear. She said that if these views were being misunderstood in Turkey by certain people then they too should accuse the Turkish press by using the same logic that Gökdemir used.

This appeared a "dig" at Gökdemir for insulting Pauline Greene as well as German deputy Claudia Roth, and French deputy Catherine



Pauline Greene

Lalumiere as "prostitutes" following the coverage in the Turkish press of their recent visit to Turkey.

Addressing the Parliament after Greene Claudia Roth, a deputy for the German Greens Party, accused Gökdemir of having anachronistic views.

The also pointed to the fact that the minister's words had led to a great reaction in Turkey itself.

Financial Times: Çiller's record leaves little room for optimism

'A surfeit of inadequate leaders is perhaps Turkey's greatest handicap'

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- In an eight-page special survey of Turkey, the Financial Times (FT) concluded that the country was faced with a choice between "a high road of growth and stability" and "a low road it has chosen to follow in recent years of instability and hardship." The lead essay penned by John Barham concludes that "Mrs. Çiller's record as prime minister leaves little room for optimism."

"A surfeit of inadequate leadership is perhaps Turkey's greatest handicap," Barham said. "Critics claim that Mrs. Çiller is an insecure and indecisive politician who lacks the vision and determination of the late President Turgut Özal who, for all his faults, rapidly modernized Turkey in the 1980s." The FT described main opposition leader Mesut Yılmaz' performance as "leaden."

The survey, which studies in detail the current political and economic panorama of Turkey, presented Kurds and Shiites as "minorities." Gillian Tett, writing about "confusion of issues" in Turkey, came across as rather confused herself when she referred to "religious minorities, such as the Shia Muslims," since in accordance with the Lausanne Treaty of 1923, only three non-Muslim groups are recognized as minorities in Turkey, i.e. the Jews, Armenians and the Greeks. Tett also seemed to be much more unforgiving of the human rights abuses committed by the Turkish state compared to the similar ones committed by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK.) While referring to the violations of the former as "brutal suppression of the PKK," Tett described the PKK offenses as "human rights abuses." The survey also minimized the aspirations of the PKK for an independent state, or at least political autonomy, and presented the conflict as one over "cultural rights." "Many Turkish politicians fear that recognizing Kurdish cultural rights would threaten the state," a picture caption read. "However, an overwhelming majority of Turks believe that granting Kurdish autonomy would mean caving into terrorism. Moreover, autonomy is equated with separatism and treason," Barham noted.

Fundamentalism is winning over those "crammed into slums, lacking basic amenities," the survey said and introduced the Refah Party as "the militant Islamic party." "...the specter of Islamic fundamentalism is perhaps the most alarming development.... Nightmare scenarios of 'another Algeria' or 'another Iran' proliferate," the FT said. President Süleyman Demirel also received considerable attention in the survey. His recent broadsides against "Western interference" and his claim that the West is trying to revive the Sevres Treaty of 1930 "have left many Western diplomats baffled," the FT said. Demirel is quoted as saying "if the West does not understand Turkey then Turkey will break off from the West anyway."

Although "Mr. Demirel's comments may endear him to many Turks, it does little to improve understanding between Turkey and Europe," the FT said. Demirel's anti-Western comments "may simply represent the views of an aging patriarch, but they may also reflect a canny perception of a new political wind blowing through Turkey," Tett said. "For, as the last 30 years have shown, the one quality that Mr. Demirel undoubtedly has is that of a political survivor."

The economic panorama

Among many succinct observations the authors made, the FT survey stressed the following points concerning the Turkish economy: 1) Privatization is going at a snail's pace. Out of this year's target of \$5 billion, only \$70 million has been realized from "a few small-ticket operations."

2) Political ineptitude, corruption and favoritism handicaps economic recovery as well.

3) "Recklessly mismanaged state banks" do not serve the best interests of Turkey. The banking business is not healthy. Medium and small private Turkish banks are bad news. Most are technically bankrupt, according to one London banker.

4) Turkey will be hit by energy blackouts next year. The infrastructure is not adequate despite the fact that demand for energy grows steadily. There are many projects started and left incomplete. "A diplomat says there are 4,000 unfinished infrastructure projects in Turkey... The government

lacks political will to rank projects by order of priority and finish them."

5) Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) projects are going nowhere. "Not one single BOT project has yet been completed in Turkey because of legal challenges, the bureaucracy's hostility to private capital and inability to negotiate adequate terms."

6) The Treasury's prominence in the financial sector is partly responsible for high interest rates. "Treasury operations still remain by far (the Turkish banks') strongest source of profit. An estimated 65-70 percent of bank profits came from trading government bonds in 1994... The treasury's appetite for cash and the central bank's sound money policies have driven interest rates to Latin American levels."

7) Central stock market Yaman Törüner says high interest rates "are simply not his problem; they are determined by the supply and demand for money, "and who is the borrower?" he asks. "It is the Treasury."

8) Istanbul stock market "is now one of Europe's" largest second-tier bourses. Average daily trading hit a record of \$563 million in April... This performance makes Istanbul an important market in its own right to emerging market players."

9) Foreign cash is pouring into the automotive industry because "Turkey is a low-cost base with duty-free access to Western Europe. Second, the domestic market is very immature." The arrival of the Japanese will revolutionize the industry. "Renault and Tofas are already complaining that Toyota is buying market share with unfair price cutting."



Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe on Tuesday received a delegation led by Gulam Huseyin Bulandian, Iran's deputy interior minister, for security talks

TDN Cengiz Uysal

Iran calls PKK its enemy; denies giving shelter

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Gulam Huseyin Bulandian, the Iranian deputy interior minister said on Tuesday that the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) was the enemy of Iran and indicated their desire to make the border between the two countries "a friendship border." Bulandian arrived in Ankara on Monday for security talks against a backdrop of rumors that the PKK was amassing forces on Iranian territory for strikes at Turkey.

Meeting with Turkish Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe on Tuesday Bulandian said that as a country that has suffered the most from terrorism Iran was prepared to cooperate fully with Turkey to eradicate terrorism

by the roots.

For his part Nahit Menteşe said that cooperation between the two countries in areas such as the fight against organized crime and drug trafficking was ongoing.

Bulandian told reporters on Monday on his arrival in Ankara that Iran's borders were tightly controlled by security forces against any possible infiltration by the PKK.

"We did not and will not allow any sort of infiltration of those groups on Iranian soil. The PKK and other similar groups have no place in Iran. There are security agreements between Iran and Turkey. According to these accords, we do not allow Turkey's enemies to use our soil and Turkey does the same," the Iranian official noted.

Bulandian also noted that these agreements have been working very well and pointed out the presence of a mutual political will aimed at improving bilateral relations between Iran and Turkey.

A Turkish newspaper reported Saturday that a Turkish air strike force of F-16 jets on their way to bomb a concentration of separatist militants near the Turkish border in Iran had been recalled in mid-flight late last month on the intervention of the Foreign Ministry, which feared a strong protest from Tehran.

The Iranian official's Turkish counterpart Bekir Aksoy noted that this visit would maintain the friendly relations between the two neighbors.

The European - June 15, 1995

Kurds sentenced tourism to death

A KURDISH mother and child sit in the ruins of their home in southeast Turkey, laid waste by government soldiers. "Marvellous holidays in Turkey! Visit our attractions!", reads the headline on the poster.

Soon to appear in European cities, the image is part of an anti-tourist campaign by the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK), which has been fighting the Turkish government since 1984 for an independent Kurdish nation. The campaign is designed to cut a swathe through Turkey's burgeoning tourist industry.

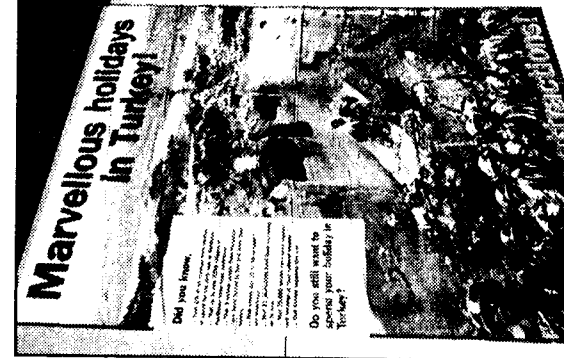
But the posters are just the gloss on a more sinister threat. PKK sources told *The European*: "If tourists ignore our message and come on holiday to Turkey they will be targets. We will bomb tourist areas." Last year bombs exploded in resorts on the Mediterranean coast, while in Istanbul three people were killed and many more wounded.

Of the 2.5 million Europeans who visited Turkey in

A PKK campaign is warning visitors away from Turkey, reports Richard Wayman

1994, almost half came from Germany. They spent a total of \$4.5 billion in hard currency, cash which Turkey's fragile economy can ill-afford to lose. A parliamentary report from late 1994 said that Turkey spent at least \$6.5 billion a year on its war with the PKK, fuelling hyperinflation.

Ironically, it is this hyperinflation which attracts tourists. The exchange rates are now so favourable that they receive an extra 32 per cent spending money compared with last year. As a result, Turkey has leapt to number two among Britain's most popular destinations, according to tour operator Lunn Poly. In Germany, Belgium and Scandinavia, however, bookings are down by between 20 and 30 per cent, largely because of active Kurdish minorities.



RICHARD WAYMAN



Holiday snap: marchers in London pass a poster alerting tourists to strife in southeast Turkey

Desmond Fernandez, head of the institute of tourism and development studies at the University of Bedford in England, has accused tour operators of "wilful and shocking irresponsibility" in failing to alert prospective tourists to the dangers. He said: "Over and again one is

overwhelmed by highly colourful and visually stunning tourist office advertisements. Images of this nature significantly influence public opinion and are used to market and sell the package holidays which entice millions of Europeans to Turkey." The secessionist rebels'

statement to the press and tour operators reads: "The PKK has decided to undertake general action against the tourist economy. We have plans of action in the Aegean, Mediterranean and the Sea of Marmara, and in Kurdistan. This includes tourist areas, hotels,

beaches and other facilities. We must make it clear that the lives of people from all over the world, and especially the greater numbers who come from Europe, will be in danger."

When asked about holidays to Turkey, none of the travel agents we approached mentioned the threat. Peter Espley, press counsellor at the Turkish tourist office in London, said: "The [Turkish] government is giving the issue high priority. There are greatly increased security measures in tourist areas."

He pointed out that statistically Turkey was one of the safest holiday destinations for European tourists: 18 were killed in Florida alone last year. "However, I must stress that people should be vigilant at all times," he said.

His warning was backed by the Association of British Travel Agents. It warns of "widespread terrorism in southeast Turkey".

The Turkish government did not respond to requests for a comment on the issue.

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Turquie-UE

Ankara critique la position du parlement européen sur le problème kurde

ANKARA, 15 juin (AFP) - La Turquie a critiqué mercredi la position du parlement européen, qui conditionne la ratification de l'accord d'union douanière conclu en mars entre la Turquie et l'UE à la libération des députés turcs d'origine kurde emprisonnés.

"La justice est indépendante en Turquie et ni le gouvernement ni le parlement ne peuvent avoir une influence sur elle. Nous l'avons déjà dit au parlement européen", a déclaré le porte-parole de la diplomatie turque Omer Akbel, lors de son point de presse hebdomadaire.

"Il n'est pas utile d'établir un lien entre cette affaire (députés kurdes) et l'union douanière alors que la Turquie remplit progressivement ses engagements (...) Cette union douanière est à la fois dans l'intérêt de la Turquie et de l'UE", a ajouté M. Akbel, en déplorant l'attitude du parlement européen.

Huit députés turcs d'origine kurde ont été condamnés en décembre dernier à des peines de trois ans et demi à 15 ans de prison pour "aide" ou "appartenance à bande armée" (ndlr: le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, PKK, séparatiste, en rébellion armée depuis 1984). Deux d'entre eux ont été remis en liberté provisoire.

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AFP /JO0245/141711

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Iraqi Army Repels Rebels Near Baghdad

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NICOSIA — Iraqi soldiers used tanks and helicopters to repel an assault by tribesmen and soldiers Wednesday on a radio transmitter outside Baghdad, dissidents said.

The reported fighting did not appear to threaten President Saddam Hussein's grip on power. But it was further evidence of unrest among the large Dulaimi tribe, which dissidents say took part in riots in May in the western province of Al Anbar.

The attack was led by members of the tribe on a relay station in Abu Ghraib, the site of a military camp and prison, according to Hamid Bayati, a leader of the an Iraqi opposition group in London, who was

quoting Baghdad sources. Transmission from the station, 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of Baghdad, stopped for a short period and then resumed.

An armored unit, the 14 July battalion, attacked the Baghdad Radio transmitters, as well as a heliport used by Mr. Saddam.

The attack, led by General Turki Ismail Dulaimi, touched off a battle with tanks, armored vehicles and helicopters, according to witnesses who were contacted by telephone from Amman, Jordan. An air force general was killed in the fighting around the heliport where several homes of pilots were hit, they said.

Mr. Saddam's special forces

later encircled the rebels.

Iraq's Information Ministry called the reports "lies and wishful thinking."

But Mr. Bayati said the fighting involved soldiers and men from the Dulaimi. Israeli military sources, speaking on condition of anonymity, said they had reports of a "serious battle." There was no immediate report of casualties.

The rebels were demanding the release of all Abu Ghraib's prison inmates, including hundreds arrested in troubled Anbar Province since May 18, the witnesses said.

Almost 850 people were rounded up after clashes that followed the return to his family of the mutilated body of an

executed Dulaimi air force general, according to residents of Ramadi, the capital of Anbar.

General Mohammed Mazlum Dulaimi was arrested in November for his alleged role in an attempted coup against Mr. Saddam. He was executed in mid-May. (AP, AFP)

INTERNATIONAL HERALD

TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, JUNE 15, 1995

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Europe-Turquie-Kurdes

Commission européenne des droits de l'homme: requêtes recevables des six députés kurdes emprisonnés en Turquie

STRASBOURG, 15 juin (AFP) - Les requêtes de six députés d'origine kurde emprisonnés en Turquie qui s'estiment victimes de violations de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme ont été déclarées recevables par la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme, a-t-on appris jeudi auprès du Conseil de l'Europe.

La levée de l'immunité parlementaire, l'arrestation et la condamnation des six députés est à l'origine d'un bras de fer entre Ankara et les institutions européennes et avaient provoqué des protestations dans le monde entier.

Le Conseil de l'Europe a lancé un ultimatum à la Turquie lui demandant de respecter les droits de l'homme, et notamment de libérer les six députés, sous peine de se voir suspendue de l'organisation pan-européenne.

Les mêmes conditions ont été posées par le Parlement européen pour donner son feu vert à la mise en oeuvre de l'accord d'Union douanière entre la Turquie et l'Union européenne.

Les six députés, anciens membres du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP, pro-kurde) ont été condamnés en décembre dernier par la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat d'Ankara à des peines allant de trois ans et demi à quinze ans d'emprisonnement pour propagande séparatiste, ou appartenance à une bande armée.

Arrêtés les 2 et 4 mars 1994, aussitôt après la levée de leur immunité parlementaire, les six députés avaient été maintenus en garde à vue jusqu'au 16 mars puis placés en détention provisoire jusqu'au jugement de la Cour de sûreté de l'Etat.

Dans leur requête auprès de la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme MM. Sirri Sakik, Ahmet Turk, Mahmut Alinak, Mehmet Hatip Dicle, Orhan Dogan et Mme Leyla Zana invoquent les articles 5, 6 et 10 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme qui garantissent les droits à la liberté, à être entendu par un tribunal indépendant et impartial, et à la liberté d'expression.

Ils font également valoir que l'article 14 de la Convention réprime les discriminations dans l'exercice des droits de l'homme fondées sur l'appartenance à une minorité nationale.

La Commission européenne des droits de l'homme ne peut se prononcer que sur des procédures pénales qui ont fait l'objet de toutes les voies de recours possibles au niveau national. Aussi, elle ne tranche pas sur la question de la recevabilité des requêtes concernant la procédure pénale car un pourvoi est également pendant devant la Cour de Cassation turque. En revanche, elle les déclare recevables en ce qui concerne la légalité et la durée de leur garde à vue (article 6 de la Convention).

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UE-Turquie

La présidente des socialistes du PE critique l'absence de sanction contre un ministre turc qui l'a traitée de "prostituée"

STRASBOURG, 13 juin (AFP) - La Britannique Pauline Green, présidente du groupe socialiste du Parlement européen (PE), a critiqué mardi l'absence de sanction contre le ministre d'Etat turc Ayvaz Gokdemir qui l'a injuriée ainsi que deux collègues récemment lors d'une réunion électorale.

M. Gokdemir avait qualifié Pauline Green, Claudia Roth et Catherine Lalumière (présidentes respectivement des groupes des Verts et de l'Alliance Radicale au PE) de "prostituées" en commentant leurs prises de position, lors d'un voyage officiel en Turquie du 23 au 25 mai dernier, en faveur de la libération des prisonniers politiques kurdes emprisonnés.

En dépit des dénégations du ministre turc -qui a affirmé ne pas avoir parlé de "prostituées", mais de "personnes de moralité douteuse"- "il ne fait aucun doute que ces propos ont été tenus par ce ministre en exercice", a estimé la présidente du groupe socialiste devant la presse mardi en marge de la session plénière du Parlement européen.

Ces déclarations avaient été rapportées le 3 juin par le quotidien turc Hurriyet.

"Rien n'a été fait contre ce ministre", s'est indigné Mme Green. "Dans un pays de l'Union européenne, un ministre en exercice qui tiendrait de tels propos démissionnerait", a-t-elle dit à l'AFP.

"Cela montre, a-t-elle dit, toute la distance qui sépare encore la Turquie des normes démocratiques qui sont les nôtres".

Le Parlement européen refuse de donner son feu vert à l'accord d'Union douanière avec la Turquie tant qu'Ankara ne respectera pas la démocratie et les droits de l'homme.

"Je ne laisserai pas mon jugement politique sur l'Union douanière être obscurci par des jugements injurieux d'un ministre turc en exercice", a indiqué Pauline Green.

Le Parlement européen conditionne actuellement la mise en oeuvre de l'accord d'Union douanière, signé en mars entre l'UE et Ankara, à la libération des députés kurdes emprisonnés et à une amélioration globale de la démocratie en Turquie, de nature à permettre une solution politique aux problèmes kurde et chypriote.

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■ Turquie

La démocratisation devant les députés

*Un « pas en avant »
mais sera-ce suffisant ?*

Après une année de promesses répétées et d'incessantes tergiversations, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, le Premier ministre turc, a enfin obtenu que le Parlement se penche sur les réformes démocratiques qui devraient permettre à Ankara de se rapprocher de l'Europe communautaire. La Grande Assemblée nationale a entamé mercredi la révision de vingt et un articles de la Constitution qui assoupliront les pratiques politiques mais ne vont pas à l'essentiel et risquent donc de ne pas résoudre le différend avec les Kurdes.

LES KURDES

C'est ainsi que la réforme constitutionnelle prévoit notamment la levée des restrictions sur l'exercice du droit syndical pour les fonctionnaires, la suppression pour les associations et les syndicats de l'interdiction de faire de la politique, l'abaissement du droit de vote de 20 à 18 ans, l'abaissement de l'âge d'éligibilité de 30 à 25 ans ainsi que l'octroi du droit de vote aux Turcs qui résident à l'étranger. C'est, a relevé un diplomate, la première fois que la Constitution, élaborée par les putschistes de 1980, est modifiée de manière substantielle à l'initiative des civils. Il s'agit donc d'un « pas dans la bonne direction ».

Par contre, deux sujets essentiels ne sont pas abordés : la liberté d'expression (de nombreux écrivains et journalistes sont en prison pour des écrits jugés « subversifs », notamment à propos du problème kurde) et les droits de la minorité kurde. Or, ce sont ces deux points qui font le plus problème avec l'Union européenne (à laquelle la Turquie désire adhérer mais qui ne peut accueillir que des pays pleinement démocratiques) et avec le Parlement européen en particulier (qui hésite à ratifier le traité d'union douanière qui lie de-

puis mars l'Union à Ankara).

M^{me} Ciller obtiendra vraisemblablement la majorité parlementaire nécessaire pour pouvoir réformer la Constitution sans devoir recourir à un référendum, soit un minimum de 300 voix sur 450. Elle dispose (enfin) du soutien de l'aile droite de sa formation, le Dyp (Parti de la juste voie), longtemps très réticente, de celui de l'allié social-démocrate de la coalition, le CHP (Parti républicain du peuple) mais aussi de celui du principal parti d'opposition, l'Anap (Parti de la mère patrie, droite). Si tous les députés votent le projet, elle devrait obtenir 345 voix.

GOKDEMIR

C'est dans ce contexte que se situe, aussi, l'absurde « affaire Gokdemir », du nom du ministre d'Etat sans portefeuille Ayvaz Gokdemir qui a récemment traité trois éminences du Parlement européen, Mmes Pauline Green, Claudia Roth et Catherine Lalumière, présidentes des groupes socialiste, écologiste et radical, de « putes » (ou de « prostituées » selon les versions) parce qu'elles demandaient la libération des huit députés kurdes condamnés en décembre 1994 à de lourdes peines de prison.

Les propos très cavaliers de M. Gokdemir constituent évidemment une catastrophe diplomatique pour M^{me} Ciller – qui a présenté des excuses écrites – mais le Premier ministre ne peut guère « réagir » : M. Gokdemir est un des piliers de la droite de son parti et elle a besoin des voix de ce courant pour faire adopter les réformes démocratiques exigées... par le Parlement européen. Il est question d'un remaniement ministériel d'ici la fin du mois mais que faire de cet encombrant personnage qui n'a déjà pas de portefeuille ?

Marc OPSOMER.

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Turquie-Kurdes

28 rebelles kurdes tués lors d'opérations militaires en Anatolie

ANKARA, 15 juin (AFP) - 28 rebelles kurdes ont été tués et 11 autres se sont rendus aux forces de l'ordre lors d'accrochages armés dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens, a-t-on annoncé jeudi de sources officielle et semi-officielle.

Cinq rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires dans les provinces de Diyarbakir (chef-lieu du sud-est anatolien à majorité kurde), de Batman (sud-est) et de Tunceli (est), selon un communiqué de la super-préfecture de Diyarbakir.

23 autres maquisards du PKK ont été tués lors de combats entre forces de sécurité et rebelles dans la vallée de d'Ahbanoz, près de la sous-préfecture d'Ovacik, dans la province de Tunceli, a rapporté jeudi l'agence Anatolie.

Les opérations de l'armée sont soutenues par des hélicoptères dans cette région très montagneuse qui constitue l'un des refuges des militants armés du PKK, selon la même source.

Ce bilan porte à au moins 186 le nombre de rebelles kurdes et à 22 les pertes de l'armée turque lors de combats dans différentes zones du sud-est anatolien en moins d'une semaine, selon une compilation effectuée à partir de chiffres officiels.

Depuis lundi, l'armée aurait mobilisé près de 50.000 soldats dans la région de Tunceli, selon des informations non confirmées officiellement.

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JUN 95

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1995

'Increasing Tension' in Iraq

Brief Revolt by Elite Troops Signals Unrest, U.S. Says

Reuters

WASHINGTON — The United States said Thursday that a brief "mutiny" by Republican Guard tank troops had occurred near Baghdad and was apparently quashed by loyal Republican Guard troops.

The State and Defense Departments said the revolt against President Saddam Hussein took place on Wednesday and was apparently the second such incident in recent weeks.

"We don't know all the details, but we can confirm that there was a mutiny by a small number of Republican Guard armored troops in Abu Ghraib, which is near Baghdad," said Nicholas Burns, the State Department spokesman. "It was apparently put down by other Republican Guard units."

Neither Mr. Burns nor the

Pentagon spokesman, Ken Bacon, who gave similar but separate briefings on the issue, said where the information came from. But other U.S. officials cited intelligence sources.

The U.S. report said the clash had involved an attack by rebel tank troops on a government radio facility in Abu Ghraib, the site of a military camp and prison about 20 kilometers (12 miles) west of Baghdad.

"It suggests that there is increasing tension within his army," said Mr. Bacon. "It certainly appears that Saddam Hussein is facing increasing pressure from groups that have been loyal to him in the past."

The Iraqi government denied that there had been any unrest inside the country in discount-

ing reports that they said originated with exiled Iraqi opposition figures in Damascus.

The official U.S. assessment said the uprising was believed to have been led by members of the Dulaimi tribe, one of the major Sunni Muslim tribes of Iraq and traditionally a strong supporter of Mr. Saddam.

"We think this is the second incident of unrest in recent weeks involving this tribe," Mr. Bacon said. "There was some unrest recorded west of Baghdad in May involving the same group and we think it was sparked by Saddam Hussein's government's torture and killing of a senior tribal official who had been accused of attempting to plot a coup against Saddam Hussein."

L'Evenement du Jeudi
15-21 juin 1995

LA PHRASE

« Nous ne libérerons pas les traîtres pour faire plaisir aux prostituées venues d'Europe. » C'est ainsi que le ministre d'Etat turc Ayvaz Godmekir a exprimé son refus de libérer les députés kurdes emprisonnés pour délit d'opinion, alors que trois parlementaires européennes, dont Catherine Lalumière, yenaient d'exprimer, après un voyage en Turquie, leur intention de surveiller les pratiques turques en matière de droits de l'homme ».

Prof. Başkaya released after 15 months in jail



Prof. Fikret Başkaya

Imprisoned for his thoughts, Başkaya expresses no remorse and vows to continue speaking out

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Professor Fikret Başkaya, a leading Turkish intellectual who was jailed for a book he wrote, was released on Wednesday as the various parties in Parliament continue to quibble over whether the article under which he was charged should be abolished or not.

Başkaya's release, however, was not due to an official exoneration of any sort but came because he had completed his 20-month prison sentence for his book "The Collapse of the Paradigm."

Başkaya only served 15 months of his prison sentence but under Turkish law should have served even less due to judicial remission.

He was forced to serve 15 months under stipulations which increased his sentence for disseminating "separatist propaganda."

Başkaya was tried by the Istanbul State Security Court under the controversial Article 8 of the Law on Combatting Terrorism. Article 8 is considered by human rights groups as one of the key articles which effectively puts a lid on the freedom of expression in Turkey and is currently the subject of a heated political debate in and outside Parliament.

Greeted outside Haymana prison near Ankara by a large group of family, friends and admirers, Başkaya expressed no remorse for what he has written or said in the past and declared his intention to continue expressing the same ideas in the future.

Başkaya said that the TL 41 million fine that the court imposed on him also put him in dire financial straits. Asked by journalists about Article 8, Başkaya said this was the product of the parties that emerged from the Sept. 12, 1980 coup. "Article 8 is the invention of parties that are void of content," Başkaya said.

Başkaya argued that today's Parliament is also "void of content" and expressed serious doubt that a democratization package could be accepted by the legislature as it is today. "The parties are not working to lift obstructions but to lay down new ones," Başkaya said.

Asked what he thinks about the fact that he was disowned by the universities even though he is an academic, Başkaya said, "There are no longer any universities."

"If the universities had acted as universities, then no scholar would be in prison today. The universities are working to make young minds blunt."

Finnish human rights expert visits Interior Minister Mentese

Mentese: Our struggle is based on a just cause

By Çağlar Ünal

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Interior Minister Nahit Mentese received Christopher Panico, a research expert from Human Rights Watch-Helsinki, at his office on Wednesday.

Speaking at a press conference after this meeting, Mentese said Panico had come to Turkey to research the activities of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the suffering inflicted on innocent people by this outlawed organization.

Mentese noted that the PKK had been formed illegally in 1978, with the aim of damaging Turkey. The Turkish government launched an operation against militants of the PKK after the latter carried out attacks on Eruh district in Siirt province and Şemdinli district in Hakkari.

Mentese added that the PKK always targeted innocent people. The interior minister continued that 1,086 innocent people had been killed by PKK militants in 1994. Last week, four babies

died at the hands of militants in Hakkari, he said. "Our struggle is right and our aim is to protect the innocent. Turkey is one country and no one can divide this country," Mentese stated.

The minister continued that the PKK was on the decline and was finished. He said the Turkish people had solved the terrorism problem, especially in Şırnak. Şırnak and its districts had become a secure area and Şırnak even had a football team now, Mentese added.

He said the police and military forces were successful in their operations, adding, "The killers of 19 soldiers in Tunceli will certainly be punished."

The minister said the PKK was cooperating with the outlawed leftist organizations and PKK militants were involved in drug trafficking to finance their outlawed activities. "The PKK cannot fight with the Turkish government, because it is not strong enough to fight with the Turkish government," he added. Mentese continued that 38 teachers had been killed last year, commenting that this amounted to savagery and the whole world should say "stop" to this savagery. He said

that teachers played a valuable and important role in the country.

"There is no ethnic problem in Turkey now. All citizens are equal, no matter whether Kurdish or Turkish. There are lots of our Kurdish citizens in the western cities," Mentese said. The interior minister added that the PKK has started to disturb the big cities and tourism resorts, but the Turkish government has enough power to fight it.

He continued that the PKK was against the development of eastern and southeastern districts, but no one could prevent this development.

"It is impossible for the PKK to resist against the Turkish government," Mentese said.

For his part, Panico said he had come to Turkey to observe the general situation of human rights in the country and would research human rights in general. He added that he would examine all the violations committed by the outlawed organization in the area of human rights.

Panico continued that he would not be releasing any information to the press on his findings, but a statement would be issued after the research was completed.

La mutinerie d'une unité de l'armée irakienne a été réprimée par les troupes fidèles au régime

Ces incidents font suite à des émeutes, en mai, dans la région d'Abou Gharib

SELON DES INFORMATIONS recueillies à Amman, en Jordanie, une mutinerie a éclaté, mercredi 14 juin, dans une garnison située à une vingtaine de kilomètres à l'ouest de Bagdad, dans une région qui a été le théâtre, en mai, de sanglantes émeutes, violemment réprimées. Des témoins contactés par téléphone ont affirmé que, mercredi matin, un bataillon de blindés avait attaqué les émetteurs de la radio irakienne à Abou Gharib et qu'une épaisse fumée noire s'élevait au-dessus des lieux.

Toutefois, mercredi soir à Bagdad, aucune interruption des programmes n'avait été constatée au cours de la journée et la télévision a démenti ces informations, les qualifiant de « propagande ». Mais des diplomates arabes en poste à Bagdad, sans pouvoir fournir de détails, ont indiqué, jeudi, que des troubles s'étaient produits, la veille, dans le périmètre des importantes installations militaires qui se trouvent à Abou Gharib et que le secteur était isolé du reste du pays.

L'unité qui s'est mutinée - sur-

nommée le « bataillon du parti », parce que, jusqu'alors, très fidèle au parti Baas au pouvoir - est commandée par le général Turki Ismail el-Doulaïmi, membre de la puissante tribu sunnite des Doulaïmi qui est depuis longtemps liée au régime du président Saddam Hussein. Les Doulaïmi, parmi lesquels se recrutent nombre d'officiers de la Garde républicaine - véritable garde prétorienne du chef de l'Etat - font partie du deuxième cercle du pouvoir.

L'INSURRECTION DES DOULAÏMI

Mais, depuis le 18 mai, ils sont impliqués dans des affrontements avec les forces de l'ordre, à la suite de l'exécution d'un des leurs, le général de l'armée de l'air Mohammad Mazloum al-Doulaïmi. Arrêté en novembre 1994 pour « complicité dans une tentative de coup d'Etat », ce dernier a été exécuté et son corps - mutilé - a été rendu à sa famille le 17 mai. Cet événement a provoqué une véritable insurrection qui a été brutalement réprimée (Le Monde du 31 mai). Selon

des habitants de Ramadi, qui ont fui en Jordanie ce chef-lieu du gouvernorat dont dépend Abou Gharib, près de 850 personnes ont été arrêtées après les émeutes, qui auraient fait plus de 170 morts, dont une centaine de civils. La mutinerie de mercredi aurait été provoquée par l'attaque menée la veille à Ramadi par les forces de l'ordre contre le domicile d'un des dignitaires de la tribu des Doulaïmi.

Selon des informations dignes de foi reçues par l'AFP, jeudi à Amman, l'insurrection du bataillon d'Abou Gharib a été matée et le général qui l'a menée s'est « suicidé ». Des unités des forces spéciales d'intervention avaient encerclé les insurgés mercredi après-midi.

Après une première tentative d'avance sur la prison d'Abou Gharib, qui a échoué, le général al-Doulaïmi a lancé une deuxième attaque qui s'est soldée par l'anéantissement de son bataillon. Les insurgés exigeaient la libération de tous les prisonniers détenus dans la prison.

Le Monde

VENDREDI 16 JUIN 1995

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Turquie-Kurdes

Cinq militaires tués lors d'une attaque rebelle kurde

ANKARA, 16 juin (AFP) - Cinq militaires turcs ont été tués et six autres blessés lors d'une attaque rebelle kurde dans la nuit de jeudi à vendredi contre un poste de la gendarmerie turque dans la région de Baskale, dans la province de Van à la frontière avec l'Iran, a rapporté l'agence Anatolie.

Des militants armés du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), venant du territoire iranien selon des autorités locales, ont attaqué avec des lance-roquettes le poste d'Erenler de la gendarmerie turque situé sur la frontière turco-iranienne, selon la même source.

Ce bilan porte à 27 le nombre de militaires turcs tués lors de combats entre forces de sécurité turques et rebelles kurdes du PKK depuis une semaine.

Par ailleurs, selon le super-préfet de Diyarbakir, Unal Erkan, chargé de la coordination de la lutte contre le PKK, 284 rebelles ont été tués lors d'opérations militaires effectuées du 1er au 15 juin dans dix régions administratives qui sont sous état d'urgence depuis juillet 1987.

Le parlement turc doit se prononcer prochainement sur une prolongation de ce régime d'exception pour une période de quatre mois à partir du 19 juillet.

Le PKK mène une rébellion contre Ankara depuis 1984 pour créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien. Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée ont fait près de 16.000 morts en 11 ans.

Different Tunes Aired in Turkey While KDP Hunts Security Deal

Raşit Gürdilek

A poll conducted by the Turkish Daily News recently showed that Turks, seeing the authority vacuum in northern Iraq as a chief source of insecurity for the country, want Baghdad's authority to be reinstated in the Kurdish-controlled north. If a former senior Kurdish official is to be believed, the Iraqi Kurds, frustrated with their leaders' bloody feuds, disillusioned with their experiment with democracy and crushed by poverty, want the same.

Mainstream Iraqi Kurdish parties, meanwhile, keep waiting for a response from Ankara to their terms for a border security arrangement, which was proposed after Turkey's March 20 incursion into Iraq against the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) separatists. But despite its early enthusiasm, Turkey seems to have a change of heart.

An Iraqi parliamentary delegation was given a red-carpet treatment last week and was pointedly allowed to file an official request against a renewed mandate for the Western air force based in Incirlik, protecting the safe haven for the Iraqi Kurds under Operation Provide Comfort. The mandate of the force expires at the end of the month and there is a growing opposition in the Parliament to extend the stay of the alien warplanes although the military has sought an extended mandate. The TDN survey, based on interviews with 2,000 people in the main cities and published on Monday, June 12, showed that 36.03 percent of the people want northern Iraq to be given back to Iraqi control in response to a question over what Turkey should do in the area to maintain its security.

Those who wanted northern Iraq to be controlled by Turkey were also numerous, making up 34.68 percent of the sample. The poll results were more pronounced in showing that the Western planes had definitely overstayed their welcome. No less than 67.17 percent of the sampled people said "no" when asked if the Provide Comfort force should remain in the area. A similarly high percentage of the Turks did not have any security worries regarding Iraq. Asked if they considered Saddam Hussein as a threat to Turkey, 66.22 percent of the sample replied in the negative.

Strangely, the feeling does not seem to be very different among the Iraqi Kurds, according to Hussein Sinjari, a former aide of Jalal Talabani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan and once a prominent figure in the Kurds' regional government, although the PUK has disputed his contentions that he was a founder of the party and that he held ministerial rank in the government.

In an exclusive interview with the TDN, published on Tuesday, June 13, Sinjari said the Iraqi Kurds

longed for a settlement with Baghdad and that if a referendum were held right now, an overwhelming majority would support it. "I challenge anyone who is saying otherwise to come to Iraqi Kurdistan and conduct a poll, an opinion poll in Dohuk, Erbil and Sulaymaniyah," Sinjari told the TDN.

A main reason for the Kurds' longing for "a better life instead of slogans" was their diminished respect and loyalty to their traditional leaders —Talabani and his moderate rival, Massoud Barzani who heads the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP)—because of their unending power struggle and selfishness. Sinjari also said the democratic institutions such as the local parliament and the regional government were discredited in the eyes of the people because of impotence and widespread corruption afflicting officialdom.

According to Sinjari, a Western-trained international relations expert and the London representative of the regional government, the Iraqi Kurdish leaders proved themselves to be dividers instead of uniting the people and squandered the meager income of the entity to arm their private militias. He said he, and most Iraqi Kurds, first of all considered themselves citizens of Iraq and held the interests of the Iraqi state over those of the West.

But he sought international guarantees, preferably from the West, for the accord he wanted with Baghdad. He said it was essential for a third party to take part in the talks with the Iraqi government for a negotiated settlement which, he said, should have the additional guarantee of being recorded by the United Nations.

He said Britain, which played a major role in Iraq's independence in the past, had close historic and cultural relations and on top of that was a "mother" for the Kurdish safe haven in the north, was ideally suited for such a role. If Britain was not accepted, France, Russia, the Iraqi National Congress (INC) —an umbrella organization for the Iraqi and Kurdish opposition groups— or the MCC, the Zakho-based Military Coordination Center grouping a score of Western military personnel monitoring the Gulf War cease-fire terms, could be other candidates for the role, Sinjari said. As for Turkey, he said it could play a role as monitor within the MCC, and could advise the Iraqi officials on a democratic solution for the Kurdish issue.

Beyond the presence of an agreed third party in the negotiations, the Kurdish official said a set of confidence-building measures had to be implemented to help remove the deep-rooted distrust between Baghdad and the Kurds. Topping the list for such measures should be a commitment by Baghdad not to send its troops back into the north before the

The Saga of Ministerial Name-Calling

Nazlan Ertan

Ankara's best known line vis-a-vis the European Parliament is that this body, known as the "conscience" of the European Union, should not link ratification of a customs union with Turkey to "other issues."

"Turkey is fulfilling its obligations (on technical harmonization and democratization). Bringing up other issues would not benefit either of the sides," the Foreign Ministry's new spokesman Ömer Akbel said after a European Parliament resolution linking the Euro-Parliament ratification of the lucrative trade deal with the release of jailed Kurdish deputies.

But for the past week, the ties between Turkey and the European Parliament have been strained due to the strangest "other issue" ever. Turkey's tentative image was tarnished considerably when State Minister Ayvaz Gökdemir was quoted as calling three female European deputies "prostitutes." "If someone wanted to mastermind a way to create antagonism between Turkey and the European Parliament, they could not have come up with a better plan," a Turkish diplomat said a day after headlines splashed across Turkish newspapers voiced the outrage of three Euro-MPs against State Minister Ayvaz Gökdemir. The ever-blundering Gökdemir had reportedly called three key figures in the European Parliament, who had visited Turkey last month, "European prostitutes of dubious intent."

"We will not release jailed infidels (of the Democracy Party) because European prostitutes of dubious intent want us to do so. May God save us, and the nation, from the coalition partner we have!" Gökdemir told a True Path meeting in Kilis a day before the elections.

According to journalists on the scene, he used the word "slut" rather than prostitute, but the newspaper reports toned down his vulgarity.

His words were echoed in Brussels and the storm broke four days later, prior to a dinner Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü planned to host in Brussels. The three Euro-MPs, Catherine Lalumière of France, Claudia Roth of Germany and Pauline Green of Britain, protested at the remarks by not attending the dinner party.

In a letter to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, Turkey's first female prime minister who is not exactly known for her sensitivity on women's issues, they requested her to "distance herself from the remarks of Gökdemir" and asked for a personal apology from the minister.

Çiller did write a letter of apology, saying that she could not imagine how "one of her ministers" could make such a remark. "If he has said this," said Çiller's letter addressed to the MPs and the head of the European Parliament, "his remarks do not

reflect the view of myself nor my government. I detach myself from them." Çiller added that she regretted the developments, but, perhaps due to her awareness of Gökdemir's political weight, carefully refrained from condemning the remark. Gökdemir, for his part, made one conflicting remark after another: He told conservative daily Türkiye's Sabahattin Önkibar that he had "never made those remarks" and the claim that he had would "only serve the interests of the PKK and Greek lobbies." "If they tell me I have said it, I am not someone to disclaim that," he told Hürriyet. He added, in remarks quoted in various newspapers, "This is not a serious insult. It is just a statement that reflects the sensitivity of the people who do not want to see their country divided."

Then, he added as a finishing touch: "I do not know whether they are prostitutes or not. I am not keeping track of who is... playing around with whom in European circles."

Finally, he made a halfhearted apology to the female deputies: "I have learned with regret that some of the newspaper accounts of the remarks I have made in response to a citizen's question in Kilis have created some touchiness," he said. "If it will make up for their taking offense due to this misunderstanding, I apologize."

The apology, such as it was, failed to end the controversy. German Green Claudia Roth said she intended to sue the minister, and Pauline Green, the chairman of the largest group in the European Parliament, complained that no action had been taken against Gökdemir by Çiller.

"I must stress that this man is a minister in government in Turkey," Green told a separate news conference.

"This demonstrates...the distance that Turkey has to travel to the same democratic conditions and values as in the European Union...That's why we in the European Parliament are cautious until they demonstrate the same democratic conditions and values as we do," she said.

"From a point of view of getting votes it's not useful if three party leaders are described in this way," Claudia Roth told a news conference.

Despite the initial outrage expressed in the media toward the minister, the sensitivity appears to have died down. Reliable sources say that Gökdemir will not maintain his post in a Cabinet reshuffle (and in a few months, Ayvaz, pronounced "I was" will become a "he was.")

However, there are politicians and journalists who support him, on the grounds that he either did not make the remark or he was right to make the remark.

Sabahattin Önkibar, a columnist of Türkiye, described the minister as a "symbol of honor" and



added: "Even if he, due to his straightforward Anatolian nature has made some blunder — which we really do not think he did — then this should have been overlooked."

Önkibar then condemned the blindly pro-European tendencies of the Foreign Ministry, making Turkish outrage sound as if it were an attempt to "appease" the European Parliament.

A journalist from a private TV channel reported that scores of faxes in support of Gökdemir's remarks were transmitted to their offices in Ankara and Istanbul.

The strangest statement came from Kenan Evren, the seventh president of Turkey. "If it was my time I would have dismissed him," said Evren, now happily retired in Marmaris. "What an undiplomatic remark — he should have found another word. In fact, you cannot call a prostitute a 'prostitute' because it is a felony."

The state ministry responsible for the rights of women kept a low profile, but female members of the Republican People's Party (CHP), the junior coalition partner of the Gökdemir's True Path, also launched their own protest.

"His remarks have not only offended us, the women of CHP, but all Turkish women," a statement said. "Gökdemir should apologize to the three female deputies and respectfully salute those intelligent and modern deputies who are the pride of Europe."

A bitter statement came from Işıl Özgentürk, a movie director. "I've known Ayvaz Gökdemir for a long time. His words show that he does not understand democracy. I am sure that many of those who occupy the same seats in Parliament are also capable of using such words." ■

Who said What:

"I do not know whether they are prostitutes or not. I am not keeping track of who is... playing around with whom in European circles."

Ayvaz Gökdemir, State Minister

"If he (Gökdemir) has said this... his remarks do not reflect the view of myself nor my government. I detach myself from them."

Tansu Çiller, Prime Minister

"Even if Gökdemir, due to his straightforward Anatolian nature has made some blunder — which we really do not think he did — then this should have been overlooked."

Sabahattin Önkibar, Türkiye columnist

"What an undiplomatic remark — he should have found another word. In fact, you cannot call a prostitute a 'prostitute' because it is a felony."

Kenan Evren, ex-president

"This demonstrates...the distance that Turkey has to travel to the same democratic conditions and values as in the European Union...That's why we in the European Parliament are cautious until they demonstrate the same democratic conditions and values as we do."

Pauline Green, head of the European Parliament socialists group

"I am sure that many of those who occupy the same seats in Parliament are also capable of using such words."

Işıl Özgentürk, film director

Diplomatic Briefcase

FM İnönü: Terrorism Has Delayed Reforms

Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü was quoted last week as saying that separatist terrorism against the Turkish state has caused a delay in government-planned democratization reforms. In an interview with the Brussels-based daily *France Soir*, İnönü said Turkey was determined nevertheless to realize the reforms, adding he believed major steps would be taken before the end of June. Turkey and the European Union agreed in principle in March for Ankara's planned customs union with the EU next year. But the European Parliament, the body which will make a final decision on the issue, urges Turkey to democratize its regime first. İnönü also said Turkey was using military methods only against the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party, or PKK, and not targeting civilians in the country's troubled Southeast where the PKK has been waging a separatist war.

Armenia to Open Damaged Nuclear Plant

Risking a major human and environmental disaster, according to experts, Armenia is said to be going ahead with plans to open the Metsamor nuclear power plant, which was seriously damaged in an earthquake in 1988 and which is near that country's border with Turkey. Reporting from Moscow on Tuesday, the Anatolia news agency said that Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin would attend the opening ceremony planned for June 19. Turkey has opposed the opening of the plant, saying it is a safety hazard. Ankara's position was conveyed to Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan two months ago in Athens by Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü during a Black Sea Economic Cooperation summit. İnönü, a nuclear physicist, told reporters in Athens that Yerevan could not operate the nuclear power plant without the permission of the Vienna-based International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The plant itself lies on a fault line and is only 10 kilometers from Turkey. The 1988 earthquake, which seriously damaged the plant, also killed an estimated 55,000 people in Armenia. Western countries approached by Yerevan for help to reopen the plant have refused all assistance.

Greek Cyprus Said To Be 'On Course' for EU

Greek Cyprus and Malta signed agreements on Monday to help them prepare to be in the next batch of countries to join the European Union when

it next opens its doors to new members. Negotiations are set to start six months after the end of a review of EU treaties, which is due to begin next year, but could last for several months, Reuters said. Greek Cypriot Foreign Affairs Minister Alecos Michaelides and his Maltese counterpart Professor Guido de Marco signed accords for 74 million European currency units (ECUS) (\$96 million) and 45 million ECUS (\$58.5 million), respectively, in loans and grants. The two ministers hailed the commitment to a firm date for the start of talks — even if the division of Cyprus into Turkish and Greek Cypriot sectors has not been resolved. "Today's agreements are a milestone in efforts for Cyprus joining the community," Michaelides told a news conference. Turkish Cypriot officials say the Greek Cypriot application to join the EU cannot be on behalf of the island and therefore reject the application. They say they are also opposed to Cyprus joining the EU before Turkey does. Michaelides said he hoped the decision would give impetus to finding a solution to the Cyprus issue. "Our responsibility is not to analyze the past, but to build the future... We are thrilled, excited and committed to this process," Michaelides added.

Deported Amnesty Official Claims He Was Denied Rights

Amnesty International representative Helmut Oberdiek, who was deported from Turkey last week under an order issued by the Interior Ministry, claimed once back in Germany that he was denied a lawyer and the right to make a telephone call during his detention in Adana. Talking to the Turkish Daily News from Germany by telephone, Oberdiek said he was taken away by three plainclothes policemen from his hotel room in Adana to be interrogated. "They did not say I was being detained. They just said 'you have to come with us.' Then they took me to the police department dealing with aliens," Oberdiek said. "There they told me that it was illegal for me to enter Turkey and I asked them which authority had made this decision. They did not want to tell me at first but later said it was the Ministry of the Interior," he added. "I was just made to wait in a room and was later taken to the department dealing with terrorism. For eight hours we argued with the policemen there. In other words, it was not like being questioned. But they held me responsible for all the mistakes made by European governments," Oberdiek said. He added that his personal belongings had been gone through separately by every policeman there, saying these included his notes. "My real concern is that those whose names are in my notes may be in some way threatened," he said.

Human Rights Diary

Deported AI official claims he was denied right to legal counsel: Amnesty International representative Helmut Oberdiek, who was deported from Turkey earlier last week under an order issued by the Interior Ministry, claimed on June 9 that he was denied a lawyer and the right to make a telephone call during his detention in Adana on June 5. Talking to the Turkish Daily News from Germany by telephone Oberdiek, said he was taken away by three plainclothes policemen from his hotel room in Adana to be interrogated. "They did not say I was being detained. They just said 'you have to come with us.' Then they took me to the police department dealing with aliens," Oberdiek said, continuing: "There they told me that it was illegal for me to enter Turkey and I asked them which authority had made this decision. They did not want to tell me at first but later said it was the Ministry of the Interior." Indicating that he received privileged treatment while in detention, Oberdiek said he was not put into prison. "I was just made to wait in a room and later taken to the department dealing with terrorism. For eight hours we argued with the policemen there. In other words it was not like a questioning. But they held me responsible for all the mistakes made by European governments," Oberdiek said. He added that his personal belongings had been gone through separately by every policeman there, saying these included his notes. "My real concern is that those whose names are in my notes may be under some threat," he said. (*Turkish Daily News, June 10*)

Acquittal of rights activists endorsed by Court of Appeals: The Appeals Court upheld a ruling by the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) to acquit the administrators of the Turkish Human Rights Foundation (TIHV) and the Human Rights Association (IHD) of charges of engaging in separatist propaganda. TIHV President Yavuz Önen, executive board member Fevzi Argün, IHD head Akın Birdal, IHD General Secretary Hüsnü Öndül, and executive board members Sedat Aslantaş and Erol Anar had all faced two to five years in prison had they been convicted by the court. Yavuz Önen and Fevzi Argün were charged with disseminating separatist propaganda in their book, "The Torture Case," which deals extensively with the situation in Turkey's Southeast where security forces are combatting Kurdish separatist terrorism. Akın Birdal, Hüsnü Öndül, Sedat Aslantaş and Erol Anar were being tried separately for a book published by the IHD entitled "A Cross-section of Burned Villages," which again deals extensively with the situation in the Southeast. Both the TIHV and IHD administrators had been acquitted last January of the charges brought against them by the DGM prosecutor. The outcome of the trial and its endorsement by the Appeals Court is considered a landmark development in Turkey's difficult struggle to secure full freedom of expression, analysts say, pointing out that an important legal precedent has thus been set. (*Turkish Daily News, June 13*)

Justice Minister 'ashamed' of Article 8: Justice Minister Mehmet Moğultay, speaking to the press upon arrival from the International Labor Organization (ILO) meeting in Geneva, said that Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law was "Turkey's shame." "An article foreseeing the restriction of thought is unconstitutional and Turkey should not continue holding on to such laws for much longer," the Anatolia news agency reported Moğultay saying. He went on to say that if Turkey lifted the article limiting freedom of thought "the country would neither end up being divided nor be 'saved' like some people believe," and added "it will only take us a step further toward democracy." Moğultay concluded by pointing out that the article "had to be cleared out of the way" in order to start "concentrating" on solutions to other problems in Turkey. (*Turkish Daily News, June 13*)

Turkish German deputy makes protest speech in Istanbul: Cem Özdemir, the ethnic Turkish Greens deputy in the German Parliament, on June 12 contributed his signature to a controversial book, expressing his solidarity with its prosecuted authors. Signing the book entitled "Freedom of Thought and Turkey," in front of the State Security Court in Istanbul, where the contributing artists and academics are on trial, Özdemir quipped he had "never committed a crime so easily in all my years in politics." Özdemir also slammed the government policies which he said were limiting political liberties. Addressing a news conference later at the Foreign Press Center, Özdemir said Turkey should enter not only the customs union but the European Union as well, and for that it "had to become and will become European in the respect of democracy and human rights." Noting that the East and West were completing the process of unification and the Eastern European countries had already entered the Western European market, Özdemir said the Turks living abroad would play a key role in the country's integration with Europe. "Turkey should not let this chance slip. If it does, it may never find it again," warned the outspoken Greens deputy. (*Turkish Daily News, June 13*)

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Irak prév

Guerre ouverte entre une des plus grandes tribus irakiennes et le régime

Par Randa HABIB

AMMAN, 16 juin (AFP) - Une des plus grandes tribus connues pour sa loyauté au président irakien Saddam Hussein a déclaré une guerre ouverte à son régime qui, bien qu'ayant maté l'insurrection de mercredi, voit sa base se réduire dangereusement.

La tribu des Doulaïmi, dont un des membres a mené une insurrection avortée à Abou Gharib, aux portes de Bagdad, a affirmé que l'opération n'était qu'un "avertissement". "Il y aura d'autres émeutes et d'autres insurrections jusqu'à l'anéantissement du régime", a affirmé à l'AFP un membre important de cette famille.

Les Doulaïmi, dont l'influence s'étend tout le long de l'Euphrate, de l'ouest de Bagdad jusqu'aux frontières avec la Syrie, la Jordanie et l'Arabie saoudite, forment la plus puissante tribu d'Irak si l'on prend en considération les grandes familles, notamment les Hadithi qui s'y rattachent, indiquent des experts de l'Irak.

Lors des soulèvements chiite et kurde de 1991, au lendemain de la guerre du Golfe, le pouvoir de Saddam Hussein n'a pas été affecté, en partie grâce au soutien des Doulaïmi.

Les sanglantes émeutes qui ont éclaté le 18 mai dernier à Ramadi, chef-lieu du gouvernorat d'Anbar et fief des Doulaïmi à l'ouest de Bagdad, ont été déclenchées en réaction au renvoi du corps atrocement mutilé du général Mohammad Mazloum al-Doulaïmi. Arrêté en novembre 1994 pour complot, celui-ci avait été exécuté malgré la promesse donnée par le président Saddam Hussein à sa famille de le gracier.

La réaction des Doulaïmi qui se sont sentis trahis, n'a pas tardé. "Ce sont des bédouins, ils ne pardonneront pas et lutteront jusqu'à la vengeance", a affirmé un expert de l'Irak.

En s'aliénant ainsi un des plus importants bastions du régime, c'est la loyauté de ses proches que le président irakien est en train de perdre, estime cet expert.

Selon lui, l'opposition, jusqu'à ce jour, n'était représentée que par des groupes chiite et kurde, traditionnellement ennemis d'un leadership sunnite à Bagdad.

Un membre influent des Doulaïmi a affirmé vendredi à l'AFP que sa tribu n'avait aucun lien avec l'opposition chiite et kurde. "Les communiqués qui sortent de Damas, Téhéran ou Londres sur l'insurrection de mercredi n'ont aucune valeur. Nous avons notre propre stratégie sur le sol irakien et nous ferons payer cher à Saddam Hussein sa trahison", a-t-il déclaré.

Nombre de membres de l'armée et des services de renseignements irakiens appartiennent à la tribu des Doulaïmi, indiquent les experts de l'Irak. Malgré la guerre ouverte déclarée par cette communauté, Saddam Hussein ne peut limoger tous les Doulaïmi sans affecter son armée.

Le président irakien s'est déjà aliéné la grande tribu des Joubouri de Mossoul (nord), lors d'incidents avec les services de renseignements en octobre dernier. Un officier supérieur de la grande famille de Samarra (nord), le général Wafik Samarrai, a fait défection en décembre 1994.

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Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, JUNE 16, 1995

Turkey could free some Kurdish MPs after report

Yazar: 'If the Court of Appeals acts on the chief prosecutor's interpretation...(deputies) Türk, Yurttaş and Doğan, have a chance of being freed'

By Hıdır Göktaş
Reuter

ANKARA- A senior Turkish prosecutor's office said on Wednesday three Kurdish MPs jailed for "separatism" were improperly charged, paving the way for their possible release, one of their lawyers said.

"If the Court of Appeals acts on the chief prosecutor's interpretation... (deputies) Ahmet Türk, Sedat Yurttaş and Orhan Doğan, have a chance of being freed," Feridun Yazar, a lawyer for the MPs, told Reuters.

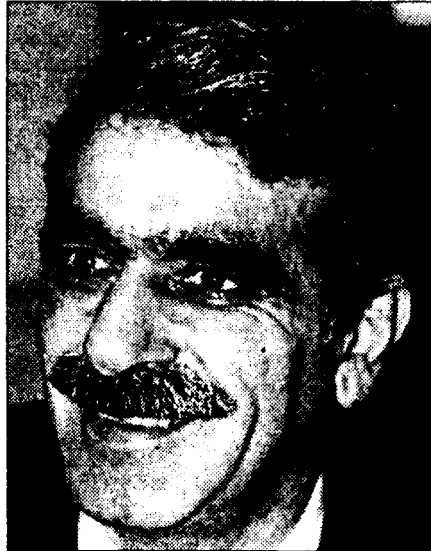
Türk and Doğan are serving 15 year jail terms, while Yurttaş is serving 7 1/2 years.

The arrest and conviction in December of eight Kurdish MPs on charges of complicity with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), has undermined Ankara's ties with the West and cast a cloud over its bid for a customs accord with the EU. The prosecutor's report recommended that three other jailed Kurdish deputies — Leyla Zana, Hatip Dicle and Selim Sadak — serve out their 15-year sentences.

Two other deputies were freed for time already served when the trial ended in December.

"That the report conflicts (with the original charges)...shows the political nature of the case," Yazar said. "All the accused have the same status. They should all be released."

A copy of the report, carried on the private National Press Agency (UBA), said



Ahmet Türk

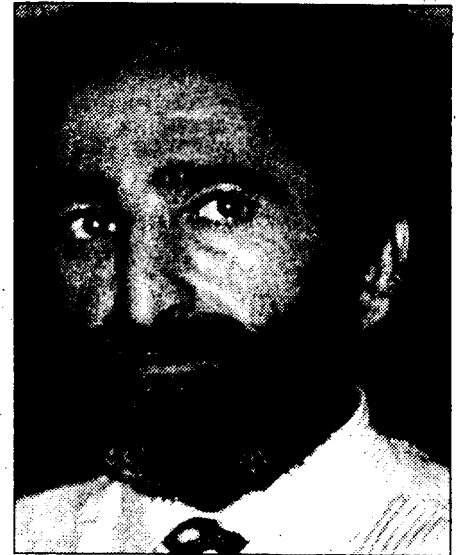
Türk and Yurttaş should have been tried for "separatist propaganda" under article 8 of Turkey's notorious anti-terror law and Doğan for having given help to the PKK. Both charges carry lesser jail terms.

The European parliament, a critic of Turkey's human rights record which is due to vote on Turkey's customs union with the EU in October, says the approval hinges on the release of the deputies.

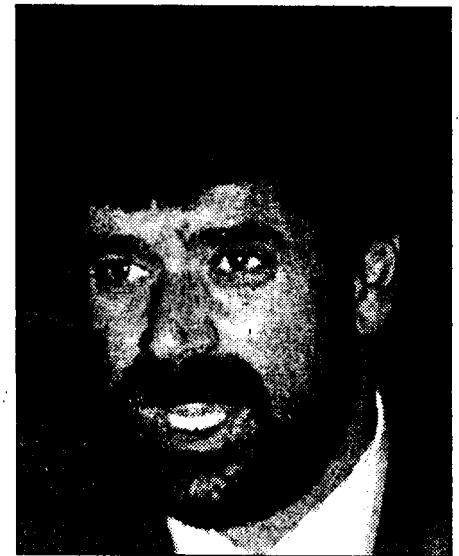
"Turkey wants customs union and membership of the European Union," Yazar said. "It has become clear that it will not be admitted unless it conforms to EP (European parliament) conditions."

The government, struggling to liberalize Turkey's post-military coup constitution as a first step towards greater democracy, says it cannot influence the judiciary. Article 8, which has caused scores of writers, intellectuals and unionists to be jailed for speeches and writings, is also a sore point with the European parliament, which would like to see it scrapped.

Turkey's ties with the European parliament tensed further last week when nationalist minister Ayyaz Gökdemir was quoted as describing as "prostitutes" three



Orhan Doğan



Sedat Yurttaş

woman Euro-MPs who asked for the release of the six deputies.

Wednesday's report by Turkey's court of appeals chief prosecutor's office must be approved by the "ninth department", a body of nine people dealing with appeals of terror convictions.

No date has been set for the body to review the report, but the ninth department usually approves such recommendations.

Professor Başkaya reflects on 20 months in prison

Başkaya, whom we interviewed at his apartment, said, 'If their aim had been to stop the people from learning my opinions, my punishment has been a complete fiasco'

Sinan Yılmaz

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Professor Fikret Başkaya was not a very well-known man. Those who knew him were mostly the students of Izzet Baysal University, where Başkaya is a lecturer, and those who read his books.

Başkaya first attracted attention after he started writing in *Özgür Gündem* newspaper. Later, his book "The Collapse of the Paradigm" was published. The book, in which Başkaya argued that the official line which had been put forward until today had no validity, attracted the attention of book lovers. However, it must have attracted the attention of somebody else as well because a letter was sent to Başkaya by the Prosecutor's Office, saying "... since we will ask for your statement ... we expect you to be present at the Prosecutors's Office ..."

Başkaya did not turn down the invitation and went to the prosecutor's office. A

file had been opened against him on charges of disseminating separatist propaganda under Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law. In other words, he had supported "separatism" as many other "criminals of thought" have done. Başkaya was tried, found guilty and sentenced to 20 months in prison and fined TL 41 million. He began his jail sentence on March 17, 1994, in Haymana Prison. At the same time Başkaya's book was being sold everywhere. He was, in fact, in prison because of a book which was not banned. As he expressed it, "They sent the criminal to jail but did not touch the source of the crime."

Five editions of the book were published while Başkaya was in prison. There were also an unknown number of illegal publications. Consequently, Başkaya rightly said, "If their aim was to stop the people from learning my ideas, my punishment is a complete fiasco."

Başkaya, whom we visited at his apartment after his release from prison, once again failed to keep silent and expressed his ideas bravely. His remarks follow:

TDN- I must first say welcome back. How was your life in prison? Could you tell us about it?

BAŞKAYA- I didn't have much trouble. I continued to do what I used to do before. I was involved in translating, writing and reading when I was out of jail. I continued to do so in jail. I did not suffer

any material or physical problems. Neither did I suffer from loneliness. On the contrary, I found the opportunity to see many people whom I haven't seen for a long time. Thus, my life was not interrupted at all. I can say that they failed to achieve their objectives by putting me in jail. They wanted to isolate me. I was not isolated. They wanted to prevent me from writing, reading and producing opinions. They failed to do so.

TDN- What did you do throughout the day?

BAŞKAYA- For some time I was involved in sports. Later, we quit sports, claiming that it was too hot. We listened to news bulletins. I used to write and translate. I translated two books into Turkish. But I hit trouble at the publishing stage. The printing rights belonged to a foundation in the United States and they asked for a great deal of money. So I could not get it published.

TDN- What does the outside world look like when you view it from jail?

BAŞKAYA- It is important where you look. But it is more important from where you look at it. When you look from jail, Turkey's socioeconomic and political geography does not create a hopeful

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Turkish Daily News



Professor Fikret Başkaya (L) with TDN's Sinan Yılmaz

TDN-Cengiz Uysal

scene. I need to say this openly. We have failed to take any steps toward democratization, the human rights record and enlarging the field of freedom. We even have stepped backwards. We saw all these easily from prison as well. The eruptions of racism, the increase of nationalism, naturally create a negative scene.

TDN- You have been sentenced to a prison term of 20 months due to part of one paragraph. You have served the term and been released. You had said that the ideas that were mentioned in "The Collapse of Paradigma" have been confirmed. Is this really true?

BAŞKAYA- We had a talk with you before I entered jail. And I told you that if I were sentenced that would mean that the state says, "Yes, what you have said was true." Since time has passed, it is possible to claim this in a more open manner. It is obvious that the paradigma has collapsed and that this was proven several times. But I need to explain that one paragraph. A part of the book was about Kurds. The whole of the book was a criticism of the official view. I don't think that it is only related to the book. I was a writer of Özgür Gündem and a founder of Özgür University. These things are very important in a country like Turkey, which is not a judiciary state nor even a state of law. It is neither a judiciary state nor a state of law, because they even fail to implement their own legislation.

TDN- Then, the state should apologize to you. You say that your claims have

been confirmed.

BAŞKAYA- I insist that my claims have been confirmed. However, such a thing will not take place in such a system. I don't even expect an apology.

Thus, if those sections of society which need democracy more than ever do not push hard for it, the scope of freedom will never be widened. That is why I believe it is wrong to assume that there is a direct correlation between the legal process and democratization. Because, what is also important is the way in which laws, regulations are issued. The powers behind those laws or bills are also important. When we consider the present Parliament, the government, we should not be expecting much from them. The mission of the members of these formations is to block the way forward.

We have to put terms, concepts where they belong. Democracy? If we look at this process in this country, we can easily see that no step has been taken for 70 years, because there is no tradition of struggling for democracy in Turkey. The sections of society which are really in need of democracy do not push hard for it. When this is the case the authorities — those in power — always won the argument and gave nothing where democratization is concerned. Even when they gave some rights they took them back. For example they drew up a constitution and then they narrowed it down on the grounds that it was too much for society. Then in the following years they abolished it as a whole.

If those who earn their living by their labor do not argue strongly and ask for what is theirs, it will be difficult for this country to attain democratization.

TDN- What happened to your application to the European Human Rights Commission?

BAŞKAYA- I did apply and the process continues. I think around November, they'll consider whether to accept my file or not. The Commission has asked for a Turkish government statement on the matter.

TDN- Only a couple of days have passed since your release from jail. How do you feel being at home?

BAŞKAYA- To be honest with you, I feel like I have never been in jail. I feel like I never left my house. I know it is hard to believe this but this is how I feel. As if my wife, Sevinç, did not come to visit me 63 times.

We asked Sevinç Başkaya, wife of Fikret Başkaya, our last question.

TDN- How did you survive this experience. How did it affect you?

S. BAŞKAYA- It was very difficult at first. I felt so sad. Since we were colleagues too, we used to go everywhere together. We spent a great deal of our time together. We did not experience financial difficulties, but physiologically it was very difficult. I am proud of my husband. I always felt so. Of course we were affected very much by the incident, however, we are so happy at the moment.

TDN- I would like to thank you both very much. I hope you will not be put in jail again.

S-F: BAŞKAYA- We thank you.

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18 juin 1995

Droits de l'homme ?

Ce sont des pays proches de nous, où beaucoup se sont rendus ou vont se rendre en voyage. Ces touristes ne verront sans doute pas ce dont deux livres portent témoignages. Deux petits livres terribles - terriblement accusateurs.

"La prison n°5" par Mehdi Zana (129p, 85F, Arléa).- Qu'il ne fasse pas bon être kurde sous le régime turc, nul n'en doute. Mais, alors que les médias occidentaux se sont très vite désintéressés de l'opération de "police" menée par l'armée turque dans le sud-est du pays, le témoignage de Mehdi Zana nous donne toute l'ampleur, toute l'horreur de la répression dont les Kurdes font les frais. Leader du mouvement démocratique, élu maire de la principale ville kurde de Turquie, Diyarbakir (plus d'un million et demi d'habitants) il a fait comme une multitude de militants kurdes l'objet de détentions, de tortures, d'humiliations dont le récit froid, objectif, mesuré qu'il en donne souligne l'abjecte férocité.

Aujourd'hui, alors que la Turquie, membre de l'OTAN, frappe à la porte de la CEE, des avocats sont jugés par le tribunal devant lequel ils sont en train de défendre un accusé. On aimerait croire que le sadisme féroce qui s'exerçait à l'encontre des détenus comme Zana jusqu'à sa libération (en 1991) n'est plus en vigueur...

"Ces terribles enfants de Russie" (128p, 68F, Griot).- Laissés pour compte du grand chambardement russe, les enfants affrontent une situation terrible de misère, d'abandon, de dénuement, de désespérance absolue. Soumis à toutes les violences, à toutes les déviances, jetés sur le trottoir, délinquants pour survivre, ou tout simplement perdus dans un monde qui les ignore pour mieux faire son "business", ils se confient, ils écrivent aux journaux. Les confessions de ces enfants d'un siècle pourri ont de quoi nous faire frémir, qui maternelles nos propres rejets dans l'édrédon du "cocooning"...

J.PH. MESTRE

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JUNE 17-18, 1995

Iraq Mutiny Reveals Cracks in Clan Loyalty

By Youssef M. Ibrahim
New York Times Service

PARIS — Although insignificant in military terms, the brief mutiny by Iraqi Army units against President Saddam Hussein earlier this week is being regarded as a crack in an essential pillar of support for the regime, Iraqi opposition figures said Friday.

The rebellion, the opposition figures said in interviews, was led by Sunni Muslim clansmen counted among the people who steadfastly fought for, and stood by, the regime ever since the Gulf War when other Iraqis, primarily Kurds in the north and Shiite Muslims in the south, arose to bring Mr. Saddam down.

The army units that undertook the aborted march on Baghdad were staffed, led and commanded by men from the Dulaimi clan, one of several tribes and clans that form the bedrock of support for Mr. Saddam's ruling establishment of largely Sunni Muslims.

Like scores of other Sunni Muslim clans, including the Jabouris, the Majids and the Hassans, the Dulaimis, who populate the Anbar Province of Iraq, were carefully nurtured over the last five

years to a point of becoming an essential pool from which sensitive command posts in the army, intelligence and personal corps of Mr. Saddam's bodyguards were recruited.

"The military significance of this revolt is debatable," said Ali Zaki of the Iraqi National Assembly, an opposition group based in London. "But the fact that those who were breathing life into it are elders and members of the Dulaimi clan is far more significant."

Clans like the Dulaimis number in the hundreds, stretching into branches and subbranches. Ever since the tense days of the Gulf War, the Iraqi leader restructured his inner core of supporters to draw closer his extensive direct family clan of sons, cousins and half-brothers, followed by circles of these loyal other clans and a core of the Republican Guards units also staffed from these tribal families.

It is this alliance, opposition figures argued Friday, that has been cracking in the last year under the impact of tribal tension, perceived or intended slights and simple business rivalries within the inner ruling circles.

Opposition figures say dismantling all

this structure layer after layer as the loyalty of each clan comes under suspicion is a vicious circle that will only widen the circles of discontent.

In an earlier rebellion, the Jabouri clan arose to protest the execution of several of their own after one member of the clan, an army officer, was accused of plotting to kill Mr. Saddam.

The Jabouri elders argued that the regime's reaction was excessive, including a widespread purge of Jabouri men from sensitive government jobs and army positions and the widespread humiliation of other clansmen peppered in various government jobs.

This rebellion this week followed a similar pattern beginning with the arrest, torture and brutal execution of an air force officer from the Dulaimi clan, General Mohammed Mazloun al-Dulaimi. Opposition figures said his body was turned over to his family on May 18 showing signs of savage torture.

Again, the discovery of a plot by a clan member was followed by purges, demotion and humiliation of scores of Dulaimis, who were expelled from the Republican Guard army units and intel-

ligence services under the command of Mr. Saddam's son, Qosai.

Historically, this sort of ostracism of a whole group over suspicion of disloyalty has been part of the political culture of Iraq, a country where ideology comes next to greater loyalties imposed by blood ties and clanish solidarity. Historically also in Iraq, the humiliation of clans has led to bouts of revenge.

Iraqi opposition and Arab analysts said the latest rebellion failed as troops loyal to Mr. Saddam easily stopped infantry units led by General Turki Ismail Dulaimi 40 kilometers (25 miles) east of the capital. Some opposition figures argued Friday that the rebellious general was more interested in scoring points for the Dulaimi clan than in overthrowing Mr. Saddam. The general's fate is unknown.

An Arab diplomat who has had extensive dealings with Mr. Saddam said what happened with both the Jabouris and that Dulaimis indicated the widening nature of problems faced by the president, but also clearly showed the Iraqi leader plans to fight every step of the way even as his most inner core of support begins to disintegrate.

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Turquie-Kurdes

Trente rebelles kurdes tués dans le sud-est anatolien

ISTANBUL, 17 juin (AFP) - Trente rebelles kurdes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) ont été tués lors d'opérations de l'armée turque notamment dans les régions de Bingol et de Van du sud-est anatolien, a rapporté samedi l'agence Anatolie.

Dix-neuf "terroristes" (terme officiel désignant les rebelles kurdes) ont été tués samedi dans la matinée, lors d'une opération militaire dans la région de Dosekkaya, près de Genc (province de Bingol) selon l'agence, citant les sources officielles.

Neuf autres rebelles kurdes, dont une femme, ont été abattus près du village de Burcakalan dans la région de Van, rapporte l'agence qui cite un communiqué de la Préfecture de l'état d'urgence de Diyarbakir. Ce dernier, établi en 1987, coordonne la lutte de l'Etat turc contre le PKK.

Par ailleurs, deux rebelles ont été tués à Sirnak et Silopi (sud-est).

Le PKK mène une rébellion contre Ankara depuis 1984 pour créer un Etat indépendant kurde dans le sud-est anatolien. Cette rébellion et les opérations de représailles de l'armée ont fait près de 16.000 morts en 11 ans.

KG/php/cc

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Allemagne-Kurdes

70.000 Kurdes manifestent à Bonn pour une solution politique en Turquie

BONN, 17 juin (AFP) - Près de 70.000 Kurdes se sont rassemblés samedi à Bonn pour exiger une solution politique au conflit qui oppose les Kurdes aux forces gouvernementales dans l'est de la Turquie.

Cette manifestation, soutenue notamment par des élus allemands de la formation écologiste Alliance 90/les Verts, s'est déroulée dans le calme.

Une contre-manifestation à Cologne (ouest) à laquelle avaient appelé des Kurdes radicaux pour protester contre l'interdiction du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) en Allemagne, où il est considéré comme une organisation terroriste, n'a pas été autorisée.

Ainsi, 36 cars en provenance de Belgique ont été stoppés à la frontière par la police qui entendait s'assurer de l'absence dans les véhicules d'armes ou de symboles du PKK.

Selon la police, les Kurdes ont alors cru qu'on voulait leur refuser l'entrée sur le territoire allemand et 2.000 d'entre eux ont passé la frontière à pied. Ils ont ensuite regagné leurs autocars pour rallier l'ancienne capitale allemande.

Les opérations militaires turques contre le PKK se sont intensifiées depuis une quinzaine de jours. Dans la région de Tunceli (est de la Turquie), où 18 soldats turques ont été tués lundi dans une embuscade kurde, l'armée a, selon des informations non confirmées officiellement, mobilisé près de 50.000 hommes. L'agence turque Anatolie a annoncé samedi que trente rebelles du PKK venaient d'être tués dans le sud-est anatolien.

La rébellion menée depuis 1984 par le PKK pour créer un Etat indépendant dans le sud-est anatolien et les opérations militaires turques ont fait près de 16.000 morts.

1,85 million de Turcs vivent en Allemagne, parmi lesquels environ 400.000 Kurdes.

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Turquie-France

Mme Ciller attendue en France dans un climat bilatéral "au beau fixe"

ANKARA, 18 juin (AFP) - Le premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller sera mardi à Paris afin de participer aux travaux de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale (UEO) et d'avoir une première rencontre officielle avec les nouveaux responsables français, alors que les relations franco-turques sont, de l'avis général, "au beau fixe".

Mme Ciller est attendue dans la capitale française lundi soir et en repartira 24 heures plus tard. Elle a été invitée par l'assemblée parlementaire de l'UEO, devant laquelle elle prononcera un discours mardi matin. La Turquie est membre associé de l'UEO.

Mais cette visite-éclair permettra également à Mme Ciller d'avoir un déjeuner officiel avec son homologue Alain Juppé, avant d'être reçue dans l'après-midi au palais de l'Elysée par le président Jacques Chirac, pour la première fois depuis l'élection de celui-ci le mois dernier.

Cette visite ne peut que renforcer les "excellentes" relations entre les deux pays, estime-t-on tant du côté français que du côté turc, où l'on considère que la France est le meilleur soutien de la Turquie au sein de l'Union européenne (UE).

Ankara a été sensible aux efforts de Paris, qui détient encore jusqu'à la fin du mois la présidence tournante de l'UE, pour faire aboutir les négociations ayant mené à la signature en mars de l'accord d'union douanière entre la Turquie et les Quinze.

M. Juppé, comme ministre des affaires étrangères, avait alors joué un rôle crucial dans ce processus et la Turquie lui en sait gré.

Par ailleurs, l'élection de M. Chirac à la présidence a été saluée comme une bonne nouvelle à Ankara où les sympathies pour la cause kurde du précédent président, François Mitterrand, et surtout de son épouse Danielle, étaient une cause fréquente d'irritation.

Le fait que la Turquie a ménagé la France la semaine dernière en étant l'un des rares pays du monde à exprimer sa "compréhension" devant sa décision de reprendre ses essais nucléaires dans le Pacifique Sud est considéré à Ankara comme révélateur de la bonne atmosphère régnant actuellement entre les deux pays.

De source proche de Mme Ciller, on a indiqué que celle-ci demandera lors de sa visite le soutien de la France pour que l'union douanière soit suivie dans les plus brefs délais d'une adhésion de la Turquie comme membre à part entière de l'UE, à laquelle elle est candidate depuis 1987.

Ankara, dont le rapprochement avec les institutions européennes remonte à 1963, s'inquiète en effet de voir que des pays dont la candidature est beaucoup plus récente, comme ceux d'Europe de l'est, pourraient rejoindre l'UE avant elle.

On note toutefois à Ankara que l'entrée en vigueur de l'union douanière, prévue pour le 1er janvier prochain, dépend encore de la ratification du parlement européen. Or, celui-ci exige au préalable des progrès substantiels dans le domaine des droits de l'homme et de la démocratie en Turquie.

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France-Turquie

Arrivée du premier ministre turc à Paris

PARIS, 19 juin (AFP) - Le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, est arrivé lundi en fin d'après midi à Paris pour une visite de travail de 24 heures consacrée notamment à l'Union de l'Europe occidentale et à des entretiens avec le président et le premier ministre.

Mme Ciller doit participer aux travaux de l'Assemblée de l'UEO qui se tient dans la capitale française jusqu'à mercredi. La Turquie fait partie des "trois membres associés" de l'UEO au côté de la Norvège et de l'Islande.

Le premier ministre turc devait ensuite être reçu à déjeuner à l'Hôtel Matignon par son homologue Alain Juppé avant de rencontrer le président Jacques Chirac au palais de l'Elysée.

Mme Ciller, selon des sources informées turques, devrait demander le soutien de la France pour que l'union douanière, conclue en mars dernier entre l'Union européenne et Ankara, soit rapidement suivie d'une adhésion de la Turquie comme membre à part entière de l'UE, à laquelle elle est candidate depuis 1987.

Ankara, dont le rapprochement avec les institutions européennes remonte à 1963, s'inquiète en effet de voir que des pays dont la candidature est beaucoup plus récente, comme ceux d'Europe de l'est, pourraient rejoindre l'UE avant elle.

Par ailleurs, l'élection de M. Chirac à la présidence française a été saluée comme une bonne nouvelle à Ankara où les sympathies pour la cause kurde du précédent président, François Mitterrand, et surtout de son épouse Danielle, étaient une cause fréquente d'irritation.

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French groups urge pressure on Ciller over Kurds

PARIS, June 19 (Reuter) - On the eve of a Paris visit by Turkish Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, nine union and human rights groups asked the French government on Monday to press her to achieve a peaceful settlement with militant Kurds.

They said Turkish forces and Kurdish separatists were locked in one of the world's bloodiest conflicts, killing 30 people daily, and asked France to suspend arms sales to Ankara.

The groups, including the Human Rights League and the France-Libertes group headed by France's former first lady Danielle Mitterrand, protested against French plans to sell 20 Cougar helicopters to Turkey.

They asked Paris to make Turkish progress towards democracy, a release of political prisoners and dialogue on a peaceful Kurd settlement conditions of any financial aid or political support to Ankara.

Ciller is due to have talks on Tuesday with President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppe and address the parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union defence group of which Turkey is an associate member.

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France-Turquie-Kurdes

Dix associations mettent en cause l'aide militaire de la France à la Turquie

PARIS, 20 juin (AFP) - Dix associations ont mis en cause, mardi, l'aide militaire de la France à la Turquie accusée d'en faire usage pour "renforcer contre les Kurdes de Turquie une répression aussi féroce que celle que pratique le régime de Saddam Hussein à l'encontre des Kurdes d'Irak".

"Cédant une fois de plus au mercantilisme, le gouvernement français a autorisé la signature d'un contrat portant sur la livraison de 20 hélicoptères Cougar à l'armée turque qui ne manquera pas de les utiliser contre les villages et les populations civiles kurdes", ont déclaré dans un communiqué ces associations parmi lesquelles figurent France-Libertés, la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, l'Union des Femmes Françaises, le CIMADE, la Maison du monde, Agir ensemble, Agir ici.

Au moment où le Premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller effectuait une visite d'une journée à Paris (elle devait quitter Paris pour Ankara dans la soirée de mardi), les associations ont demandé à la France de "suivre l'exemple de l'Allemagne, l'Afrique du Sud, l'Autriche, la Norvège, le Danemark, la Suède et les Pays-Bas en suspendant toute livraison d'armes et assistance militaire à la Turquie".

Elles ont aussi demandé au gouvernement français de "conditionner toute aide financière ou politique à Ankara au progrès réalisé par la Turquie dans la voie de la démocratie, de la libération des prisonniers d'opinion et du dialogue en vue d'un règlement pacifique du problème kurde".

Selon les associations signataires, "la guerre du Kurdistan dans laquelle sont engagés 300.000 soldats, gendarmes et policiers turcs, est actuellement l'un des conflits les plus meurtriers du monde".

Elles ont dressé un bilan accablant de l'action du gouvernement Ciller au Kurdistan turc : "destruction de deux mille villages et d'une dizaine de millions d'hectares de forêt, assassinat de 3.000 intellectuels, enseignants, écrivains, avocats, déportation de trois millions de civils, internement de députés, d'universitaires, de journalistes pour délit d'opinion, baisse de 6% du PNB et inflation de 156% du fait du coût exorbitant de la guerre (19,5 milliards de dollars en deux ans)".

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Turquie-UEO-UE

Le Premier ministre turc met en garde contre une non-ratification de l'union douanière avec l'UE

PARIS, 20 juin (AFP) - Le Premier ministre turc Tansu Ciller a mis en garde mardi à Paris contre une éventuelle non-ratification de l'accord d'union douanière, conclu entre son pays et l'Union européenne, affirmant qu'une décision "négative" renforcera les extrémismes en Turquie.

"Si l'union douanière est approuvée (par le Parlement européen), cela permettra sûrement d'accélérer les réformes et le changement en Turquie. Un vote négatif renforcera les extrémistes", a souligné Mme Ciller, lors de sa première intervention devant l'Assemblée de l'UEO (Union de l'Europe occidentale).

Selon elle, "il n'existe pas de formule précise pour mesurer les changements et les améliorations" des réformes en Turquie.

Le Parlement européen, qui doit se prononcer à l'automne, conditionne la ratification de l'accord d'union douanière conclu en mars à Bruxelles entre la Turquie et l'UE à la libération des députés turcs d'origine kurde emprisonnés et à la mise en place de réformes démocratiques dans ce pays.

"L'Union européenne doit aussi prendre en considération l'action de la Turquie pour la sécurité et la stabilité de l'Europe, alors que les conflits et les violences nées de la désintégration de l'URSS risquent de dévaster la région", a dit le Premier ministre.

Le discours de Mme Ciller, dont le pays est membre associé de l'UEO, a été vivement applaudi par les parlementaires de l'UEO.

Lutter contre le terrorisme

Mme Ciller a également présenté la Turquie comme "un modèle" pour les républiques à population essentiellement musulmanes, issues de l'ex-URSS, et qui ont accédé à l'indépendance.

"Le choix pour ces 200 millions de personnes, qui parlent le turc, est entre notre modèle politique et économique d'ouverture et le modèle fondamentaliste de l'Iran", a-t-elle fait remarquer.

Balayant les critiques à l'égard de son pays, en matière de droits de l'homme, notamment en ce qui concerne le problème kurde, Mme Ciller a insisté sur les efforts en cours de la Turquie pour mettre en place les réformes démocratiques et constitutionnelles.

"Nous sommes déterminés à renforcer les droits individuels, sans mettre en cause l'intégrité de notre nation", a-t-elle indiqué.

Elle a également justifié la condamnation de huit députés turcs d'origine kurde à des peines de trois ans et demi à 15 ans de prison pour leur soutien au Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste).

"L'action du PKK n'est ni romantique, ni héroïque, mais terroriste", a-t-elle lancé, regrettant que la Turquie ne dispose pas, à l'instar d'un pays comme l'Espagne avec la France, d'un voisin lui permettant de lutter contre le terrorisme, ce qui l'oblige à composer avec "un voisinage difficile".

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LIBÉRATION - MERCREDI 21 JUIN 1995

Tansu Ciller à Paris veut accrocher la Turquie à l'Europe

Les réformes exigées par les Européens piétinent, mais le Premier ministre turc, Tansu Ciller, a tenté hier à Paris de montrer qu'elles sont en bonne voie. Elle a répété ce message dans son discours devant l'assemblée de l'UEO comme dans ses entretiens avec Alain Juppé. Un véritable compte à rebours est engagé en effet pour la Turquie, qui joue son destin ces quatre prochains mois: à l'automne le Parlement européen devra donner l'ultime feu vert au traité d'Union douanière associant ce pays à l'espace économique des Quinze. Un premier pas vers une pleine intégration européenne que revendiquent les autorités d'Ankara au nom de l'histoire et de leurs institutions, démocratiques bien qu'imparfaites.

Cette ratification indispensable est loin d'être acquise, car les atteintes aux droits de l'homme et l'absence de solution politique à la question kurde cristallisent une forte hostilité au sein du Parlement de Strasbourg. Toujours plus contestée, Tansu Ciller, première femme chef de gouvernement à la tête d'une coalition «droite gauche», répète qu'un refus de la part de l'Europe ferait le lit des islamistes, électoralement toujours plus forts après leur conquête l'an dernier de nombreuses municipalités du pays, dont Ankara et Istanbul. Elle compte plus que jamais sur l'aide de Paris, particulièrement sensible au rôle stratégique de ce pays au carrefour des trois principaux centres de crise: Balkans, Caucase et Moyen-Orient. Malgré leurs mises en garde lors de l'intervention de l'armée turque au nord de l'Irak en mars dernier, les autorités françaises ont toujours montré plus de compréhension que certains de leurs partenaires européens pour la république laïque créée par Ataturk, qui reconnaît tous les droits des citoyens

turcs aux Kurdes, sauf celui de se revendiquer comme tels.

Depuis maintenant onze ans, Ankara poursuit dans les 15 départements du Sud-Est anatolien, peuplés en majorité de Kurdes, une «sale guerre» contre les rebelles du PKK (Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste) qui a fait plus de 15.000 morts. Près de 2.000 villages ou hameaux ont été détruits et leurs habitants déplacés. Seul parti ouvertement kurde, le DEP a été interdit et, en décembre dernier, huit de ses députés ont été condamnés à des peines allant jusqu'à quinze ans d'emprisonnement pour

«propagande séparatiste». La loi antiterroriste, notamment son article 8, a servi à multiplier les poursuites contre des intellectuels, dont le célèbre romancier Yashar Kemal. Les Européens demandent l'abrogation de ces textes liberticides ainsi qu'une transformation de l'actuelle Constitution, élaborée par les militaires deux ans après le coup d'Etat de septembre 1980 et interdisant notamment l'activité politique et syndicale des fonctionnaires ou le droit pour les associations de faire de la politique.

Ces réformes sont bloquées au Parlement. Les amendements de la Constitution exigent une majorité des deux tiers. Elle est impossible à cause de l'intransigeance du Refah, le parti islamiste, qui veut en échange

la suppression de l'article 24 interdisant la formation d'un parti sur une base religieuse. L'abrogation d'une partie des lois antiterroristes est refusée par une grande partie de la droite et l'armée, qui dispose du soutien explicite du chef de l'Etat, Suleiman Demirel.

Le calendrier des réformes risque donc de ne pas être respecté. Quelques-uns des députés du DEP en exil et les milieux kurdes proches du PKK incitent les Européens à l'intransigeance. Mais en Turquie, les responsables des associations des droits de l'homme et les libéraux craignent surtout que les pays occidentaux, en isolant la Turquie, ne se privent de tout moyen d'y pousser la démocratisation.

MARC SEMO

Nord Eclair - 21 juin 1995



TURQUIE Le président Jacques Chirac a réaffirmé mardi devant le Premier ministre turc, Mme Tansu Ciller, «la vocation européenne» de la Turquie et a souhaité qu'à terme ce pays puisse participer aux Conseils européens.

Le chef de l'Etat s'est déclaré «favorable à la présence de la Turquie à l'occasion des Conseils européens, dès lors que le Parlement européen aura approuvé l'accord d'union douanière» conclu entre l'UE et Ankara.

De son côté, le Premier ministre Alain Juppé a demandé à son homologue turc, des «mesures de grâce» pour les huit députés kurdes de Turquie, accusés de soutenir le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et condamnés en décembre 1994 à des peines allant de 3 ans et demi à 15 ans d'emprisonnement par la Cour de sûreté d'Ankara. (Photo AFP)

InfoMatin

21 juin 1995

COMMUNIQUÉ

Bonjour madame Ciller!
 Vous voilà à nouveau à Paris.
 Nous espérons que vous n'êtes pas venue demander des armes et des hélicoptères à votre collègue M. Juppé, qui connaît bien le sort que vous faites subir à la population kurde.
 Sachant la politique de destruction de villages kurdes et de massacres de civils innocents menée par votre armée, l'Allemagne, l'Afrique du Sud, l'Autriche, le Danemark, la Norvège, les Pays-Bas et la Suède ont suspendu leurs ventes d'armes à votre pays.
 Pour protester contre l'embalement des députés kurdes et la dissolution de leur parti de la Démocratie, le Parlement européen a gelé ses relations avec la Turquie. Le Conseil de l'Europe demande la suspension de votre pays pour ses violations massives des droits de l'homme.
 Nous formons des vœux que la France ne soit pas le dernier pays à vous vendre des armes et que notre gouvernement mette à profit votre séjour pour vous inciter à nouer le dialogue avec vos 15 millions de citoyens kurdes, à répondre enfin à leur aspiration à la reconnaissance de leur identité, à la paix et au droit de vivre sur la terre de leurs ancêtres.
 Est-ce trop demander à la patrie des droits de l'homme?
 Est-ce trop demander à un pays comme le vôtre qui se dit démocratique et qui veut entrer dans l'Union européenne?

Comité international pour
 la libération de députés kurdes
 emprisonnés en Turquie

La Marseillaise • 21 juin 1995

CRIMES CONTRE L'HUMANITE

L'Association arménienne Azadakrotioun organise une conférence débat sur "L'actualité des crimes contre l'humanité : le cas de l'Etat Turc" le samedi 24 juin de 19 heures à 23 heures avec :

Patrick Devedjian, député au parlement Français. Ismet Cheriff Vanly, historien - président de l'institut Kurde de Berlin. Michel Marian, agrégé de philosophie - Enargue, Maître de conférences à l'I.E.P. de Paris. Ali Haydar Cilasun, Député du Parlement Kurde en exil Chercheur à Berlin. Un représentant de la L.D.H., Pris.

La conférence se déroulera en la salle Le Mistral, 11, impasse Flammarion, 13001 Marseille.

V.S.D. • 22-28 juin 1995

INSULTE INTERNATIONALE

En Turquie, il y a des Kurdes en prison pour des raisons politiques. Trois représentantes du Parlement européen (parmi lesquelles Catherine Lakrière) ont demandé au gouvernement de ce pays des explications. Réponse d'Ayvaz Gokdemir, ministre d'Etat turc : « Nous n'allons pas libérer ces traîtres pour le plaisir de ces prostituées européennes. » Voilà qui donne à penser que côté politesse, respect de la vérité et droits de l'homme... c'est, en fait, monsieur le ministre qui est de bien « petite vertu ».

Le Quotidien de Paris • 22 juin 1995

Turquie: la France mise en cause

Dix associations ont mis en cause, mardi, l'aide militaire de la France à la Turquie accusée d'en faire usage pour « renforcer contre les Kurdes de Turquie une répression aussi féroce que celle que pratique le régime de Saddam Hussein à l'encontre des Kurdes d'Irak ». « Cédant une fois de plus au mercantilisme, le gouvernement français a autorisé la signature d'un contrat portant sur la livraison de 20 hélicoptères Cougar à l'armée turque qui ne manquera pas de les utiliser contre les villages et les populations civiles kurdes », ont déclaré dans un communiqué ces associations parmi lesquelles figurent France-Libertés, la Ligue des Droits de l'Homme, l'Union des Femmes Françaises, le CIMADE, la Maison du monde, Agir ensemble, Agir ici.

M^{me} Ciller appelle l'Europe à plus de compréhension envers la Turquie

LE PREMIER MINISTRE TURC, M^{me} Tansu Ciller, s'est adressée mardi 20 juin aux parlementaires de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale réunis à Paris, avant de s'entretenir avec Alain Juppé puis avec Jacques Chirac. M^{me} Ciller s'était préparée aux critiques sur les droits de l'homme, sachant que la crédibilité de ses réponses compterait dans la ratification par une autre assemblée, le Parlement européen, de l'accord d'union douanière signé le 6 mars avec la Turquie qui, s'il est ratifié, entrera en vigueur le 1^{er} janvier prochain. Elle a donc abordé de front les sujets les plus polémiques, en prenant soin de rappeler au préalable les mérites de la démocratie turque et en soulignant l'incompréhension de son peuple « devant les attaques contre notre système venues d'Europe ».

Les lenteurs de la réforme constitutionnelle sont dues aux procédures parlementaires, destinées à éviter « les changements hâtifs et inconsidérés » et qui mé-

ritent autant de respect que celles en vigueur dans les autres pays, a-t-elle expliqué. « Nous devons abolir l'article 8 en vertu duquel des écrivains, des journalistes et des universitaires ont fait l'objet de poursuites qui ont reçu une large publicité », a-t-elle précisé, en ayant le souci de « protéger l'expression non violente des idées ».

MISE EN GARDE

Concernant la question kurde, M^{me} Ciller a systématiquement associé la revendication kurde au terrorisme du PKK, tout en rappelant que les citoyens turcs d'origine kurde sont intégrés à toutes les sphères de la vie publique : « 150 députés sont d'origine kurde, le tiers de l'assemblée, alors qu'il y a dix millions de citoyens d'origine kurde sur soixante-dix millions », a-t-elle souligné. Aux questions réitérées des parlementaires de l'Union de l'Europe occidentale sur les droits de la minorité kurde, elle a donné une seule et même réponse : la démocratie turque n'a pas de fondement ethnique.

Quant aux parlementaires emprisonnés, le premier ministre a déclaré que, si elle avait le pouvoir d'intervenir dans une décision de justice, la Turquie ne serait pas une démocratie. « Ils n'ont pas été emprisonnés pour les idées qu'ils ont exprimées, mais pour leur affiliation prouvée et leur soutien à une organisation terroriste », a-t-elle martelé, citant l'un d'entre eux qui aurait déclaré le 7 juin, à Vienne : « Nous sommes le PKK. »

Sur le chapitre des relations avec la Grèce, le premier ministre turc a déclaré que l'extension des eaux territoriales grecques en mer Egée « est inacceptable car elle empêcherait la Turquie de respirer », en se gardant de parler de casus belli comme elle l'avait fait à Ankara. Et pour ce qui est de la solution au problème chypriote, M^{me} Ciller a déploré que le blocage vienne désormais de la partie grecque, encouragée, selon elle, à penser que l'adhésion de Chypre à l'Union européenne dispenserait de trouver une solution.

Ayant ainsi dûment déblayé le

terrain, le premier ministre turc a répété que l'Europe avait une grave responsabilité envers la Turquie, son alliée et son rempart de toujours dans une région difficile. « Si l'union douanière est approuvée, elle accélérera le changement en Turquie, renforcera les forces réformatrices et encouragera la vaste majorité des Turcs qui veulent l'intégration avec l'Europe », a-t-elle dit, mettant en garde contre le dépit aux conséquences incalculables que causerait un vote « non ».

Les Etats-Unis déploieraient en ce moment une activité fébrile pour convaincre les parlementaires européens de ne pas bloquer la ratification de l'accord d'union douanière avec la Turquie. La France a demandé où en étaient les opérations militaires contre le PKK en Irak, et rappelé que la lutte contre le terrorisme en Turquie même devait se faire dans le plus strict respect des droits de l'homme.

S. Gh.

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 21, 1995

Çiller defends Turkey against Euro criticism

Europe: PM pledges democratization, says integration with Europe is crucial

Turkish Daily News

PARIS- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on Tuesday defended Ankara's stance in the face of European criticism regarding the human rights situation and the Kurdish issue, admitting that Turkey lacks some elements of a true democracy, but pledging to remove several anti-democratic legislative articles.



PM Çiller: Customs Union is of vital importance for Turkey.

Addressing a Western European Union (WEU) assembly meeting in the French capital, Çiller urged Europeans to show no sympathy to the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party, or PKK, which she said was a violent terrorist organization.

Çiller said Turkey, while democratizing its constitution and laws, would take into account a delicate balance between the right of free speech and the advocacy of violence.

The prime minister said Ankara's planned customs union with the European Union was of vital importance for her country, warning that a "no" vote by the European Parliament for the customs union deal would frustrate the Turkish people regarding ties with the West and probably push Turkey in an "eastward" direction.

Replying to questions by members of the WEU assembly after her speech, Çiller said Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's administration supported the PKK at one point in retaliation for Turkey's firm backing to the U.S.-led multinational movement against Baghdad during the Gulf crisis.

In a press statement Çiller also reiterated Turkey's demand to become a full member of the WEU, saying this issue could be finalized during the process of a European review conference scheduled to begin in 1996.

The following are some excerpts reflecting the major points Çiller mentioned at the WEU meeting:

"Some critics complain about our failure to modify quickly our anti-terrorism law, but again this decision must be made by our Parliament, and on this very complex issue of

balancing the right of free speech against the advocacy of violence and terrorism. There are deep and passionate divisions not just within the opposition parties but within my own party as well. I am certain these critics would be more understanding if the debate were in their own home country.

"Some critics express indignation at the restrictions imposed by our Anti-Terrorism law on certain types of speech but they fail to acknowledge that in each of their own countries there are special laws that restrict speech relating to violence, terrorism or group defamation. Not all of these European laws are neat and sensible and not all of Europe's history enforcing these laws and combating terrorism has been exemplary.

"And finally some critics romanticize the activities of the PKK and they are sometimes called 'guerrillas,' implying that they are engaged in some heroic struggle but these critics ignore the thousands of innocent civilians brutally murdered by PKK terrorists. They ignore that most of these victims are of Kurdish origin, including many women and children, and they ignore the fact that among those targeted by the PKK have been teachers and village leaders solely because they refuse to support PKK terrorism. This is not romantic, it is not heroic, it is vicious cowardly terrorism and it should be seen as such by every civilized nation.

"Some people hold that more democratic rights are, per se, an antidote for terrorism but nothing is further from the truth. Even in a "perfected" democracy, if such were attainable, human dignity can be placed at risk by terrorism. Indeed countries deemed "most democratic" all too often experience terrorism at its worst.

"First there are changes in 21 articles of our constitution which have been agreed upon by the main parties. The second change is the devolution of more powers to local authorities. The third change involves freedom of expression. We must modify our Anti-Terrorism law by abolishing or changing Article 8 under which highly publicized prosecutions have been brought against writers, journalists and academics.

"These judicial proceedings have been a growing source of contention, both at home and abroad. They must and will end. We are striving for a consensus on a carefully crafted provision that conforms to article 10 of the European convention of human rights so that the nonviolent expression of ideas will be protected.

"Officially, in Turkey there are three minorities, Greek and Armenian Christians, and Jews. This official minority status is a legal legacy of the 1923 treaty of Lausanne which viewed Muslims in the newly formed Turkish Republic as a whole, and defined minority status strictly to protect the religious rights of these three groups. But as a unitary nation-state built from more than twenty ethnic backgrounds, who have completely intermingled, no special privileges have ever been attached to any group because of ethnic background, race or geographic location. We are all first class citizens.

"Among these groups are Kurds, full citizens of the Republic, active in every walk of life, living in every region, and fully integrated publicly, privately and politically. The PKK terrorist campaign for separatism can not relate to their needs or aspirations. Indeed, they continue to be the greatest victims of PKK brutality.

"Our goal is greater liberty for each and every individual. For each local administration, greater authority. For each person, the right to cultural self-expression.

"Let me also address the issue of the convicted DEP parliamentarians that many of our friends here seem to focus on. It has been suggested on a number of occasions that the Turkish government should free the DEP parliamentarians who have been tried and sentenced to various prison terms. Let me be direct: If the government of Turkey had such

authority, Turkey would no longer be a parliamentary democracy. It would undermine and politicize our independent judiciary and the rule of law — which are at the foundation of a democratic state.

Instead, we will strictly honor their right to appeal, not only in Turkey, but also in Strasbourg. And let me emphasize that according to the decision of the courts, they have not been jailed on account of the ideas they expressed, but due to their proven affiliations with and actions supporting a terrorist organization.

"Some of the DEP parliamentarians are themselves confessing it in Europe in front of the European press. Indeed, one of the leaders said the following, and I quote. 'The movement which is carrying out the armed struggle is developing its own diplomacy. We particularly are carrying out these activities. The PKK movement has a diplomacy on behalf of the party. We are performing this diplomacy.' The chairman of the Democracy Party which has been closed down said the following in Vienna on June 7: 'We are the PKK.'

"We share our frontiers with eight countries which extend from the Mediterranean — to the Black Sea — to the Persian Gulf. This is a 'rough neighborhood.' The one solid rock at the center is Turkey — stable, democratic, tolerant, modern. The map vividly demonstrates why the survival of Turkish democracy is so remarkable.

"Later this year, the customs union will be before the European Parliament. I want to say this to my friends in the European Parliament: I know of no precise formula or measurement to weigh the changes and improvements in Turkey. This is an ongoing process for us, as it is in all countries. In making this judgement, you must also weigh the alternatives: If the customs union is approved, it will unquestionably accelerate further change in Turkey. It will strengthen the forces of reform and encourage the large majority of Turks who want integration with Europe.

"But you must understand that a "nay" vote is bound to strengthen the hands of rejectionists who tell our citizens that European bigotry and prejudice against Turks will prevail regardless of what we do — and that Turkey's aspiration of integration will be rejected in any case.

"Europe should also consider the impact of this historic decision on its own future. Consider what Turkey has done for European stability and security in the past — and what we can do for European prosperity and economic strength, as well as for its stability and security, in the years and decades ahead.

"The collapse of the Soviet Union has left a security vacuum throughout this region. There is the danger that the very complex ethnic, cultural and religious mosaic straddling this area may be set with strife and violence. We have seen the traumatic consequences of this even in the heart of Europe in Bosnia. This situation has produced a new type of security dilemma. It cannot be addressed with orthodox defense or military structures from without. The problem must be tackled from 'within.'

"Our challenge together is to bring peace, prosperity and security to those areas threatened by a continuation of the ethnic, religious, and cultural conflicts and passions of the past. The solution, we know, must lie in a policy mix of economic cooperation, and political and security alliances. Turkey's unique location, our economic strength, our historic diversity, and our political and social stability can help Europe respond to these challenges."

Çiller on Tuesday also urged the Western European Union to accept Turkey's full membership to the European defense organization during a WEU review process due to start in 1996. In a press statement, Çiller recalled that the organization approved in 1992 a status of associate membership for Turkey, Norway and Iceland — all NATO allies but not full members to the European Union.

Complaining that associate membership meant much less than full membership, Çiller said, "This we find to be somewhat incompatible with the logic and requirements of true partnership in the field of security and defense.

"Security is indivisible... Europe cannot afford to keep Turkey at arms' length in security matters... We view our associate membership status in WEU as a transitory phase towards full membership."

The prime minister said, "Therefore, 1996 (EU and WEU) review conference will be a timely opportunity for the countries concerned... to accord Turkey full membership in WEU."

Highlights From Çiller Q-A in WEU Assembly

■ In a move to soften the European criticism of Turkey following State Minister Ayyaz Gökdemir's insults to three female deputies of the European Parliament, Çiller said: "Those deputies are my friends and I will not tolerate anyone being insulted." "My government immediately made a remark distancing itself from the remarks," Çiller said.

■ Saddam Hussein and PKK: The Turkish prime minister claimed at one point that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein supported the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party because Turkey acted against Iraq in the Gulf War. She added that Turkey's other neighbors supported the PKK for various other reasons.

PM Çiller: We can't tolerate use of neighboring countries as bases for terrorist attacks

Interference: Some factions in PKK are open to manipulation by neighboring states

By Ilnur Çevik / *Turkish Daily News*

PARIS- Prime Minister Tansu Çiller says Turkey cannot tolerate terrorists infiltrating from neighboring countries and killing innocent people in Turkey, including civilians and soldiers, and adds "no country in Europe would turn a blind eye to this either if they were targets of such aggression."

The prime minister, speaking to five journalists who accompanied her to the French capital where she addressed the parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union (WEU), reacted to the recent Kurdish separatist attacks from Iran and northern Iraq where several Turkish border stations were raided and more than two dozen soldiers killed saying "no one and I mean no one including our neighbors should underestimate our determination to wipe out the terrorists."

Çiller said the terrorist organization, the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) had been reduced to size in Turkey and could not launch serious terrorist actions at home "so they fled to neighboring countries and are launching terrorist attacks from these places."

She said the PKK militants who set up bases in northern Iraq were preparing terrorist actions throughout Turkey and not only in the southeastern parts of the country. "We entered northern Iraq and dislodged them thus we prevented them from launching terrorist attacks," she said.

The prime minister said the decision to launch a military incursion into northern Iraq to wipe out the PKK bases had been taken before Turkey signed the entry documents into European customs union in early March. "This decision showed our strength and our determination to wipe out separatist terrorism," she declared.

"The world was up in arms because we had launched the military operation into northern Iraq because this was an area where there were rich oil reserves."

Asked to comment about the recent attacks on the Iranian and Iraqi borders by PKK militants, the prime minister said "we have some intelligence reports that the terrorists slipped into Turkey from Iran." However, without naming Iran or any other country the prime minister stressed "if people come into our country from the outside and kill ordinary civilians and our soldiers everyone should be aware that we will not tolerate this. We will not tolerate anyone who turns a blind eye to this. What European country would allow such action against its territory?"

The prime minister also said the PKK is factionalized and hinted that some of these groups may be open to manipulation by the neighboring countries. "There are some factions which can be controlled by neighboring states while there are others who prefer to act independently." Çiller said there are even alliances with some PKK factions and the Hezbollah group. The prime minister stressed Turkey needs to enhance her intelligence gathering capabilities to counter the threats levelled against the country. "We have to concentrate especially on intelligence gathering activities outside the country." Çiller also stressed this means better cooperation with allied countries for intelligence gathering and sharing.

The prime minister stated all this means a reorganization and restructuring of the intelligence gathering apparatus and this had already been started in Turkey.

On Turkey's ties with Europe, the prime minister said she and her colleagues made every effort to explain to the Europeans "that you can't do without us."

She said if Turkey fails to enter the customs union this would be a great loss for the country but a greater loss for Europe. Çiller stressed she was the first to openly tell the European Union leaders "you are a club of Christian countries" and said she never gave promises she cannot keep. "I openly told them we will not do anything to help the PKK, we will not provide special rights to a certain group of people" and regarding democratization "I will push hard for reforms but I did not promise anything."

On other domestic issues the prime minister said:

■ She is not pessimistic that the constitutional amendments will clear the Parliament. "We have found 298 votes for the amendments and I am sure we can get the 300 that is necessary to push them through Parliament without the need to refer them to a referendum." She feels there may be only few True Path Party deputies opposing the amendments and voting against them but the bulk of the DYP deputies have supported the constitutional changes.

■ She says she opposes a referendum on the constitutional amendments because this will be a loss of valuable time for the country "but this does not mean we are scared of a referendum". Çiller set her priorities as:

"First the passage of the constitutional amendments, then the passage of the seventh five year development plan which will give more autonomy and independence to local administrations to run their own regions and last but not least the amendments on Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law on freedom of expression.

■ "Throwing away three zeros from the Turkish lira is an important issue and we should start work on looking at the pros and cons of the issue. To do this we need to a task force to work on it. We have started this and ordered the State Planning Organization to make a preliminary study. It is a matter of timing and I cannot say we will do it immediately. We are now simply looking into the viability of the issue.

■ "I will convene the cabinet soon after returning to Turkey and ask the council of ministers to approve the extension of the mandate of Provide Comfort and the emergency rule in the southeastern provinces."

Kurdish "parliament-on-the-road" unable to find new base

Secessionist: Austrian government says it will neither recognize nor support the "secessionist" group

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Ankara's angry reaction to Amsterdam for not preventing the meeting of a Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" has made it difficult for the self-styled Kurdish parliament, which aimed at meeting in a different country each time, to find a new base.

Austria, where the Kurdish "parliament-on-the-road" wanted to meet next, has said that it will neither "recognize" nor "support" the Kurdish "parliament."

The Austrian government's objection was revealed in a letter by Alois Mock, the former Austrian foreign minister who resigned last month, to Social Democrat Party deputies. Mock described the Kurdish parliament-in-exile as a "secessionist body" and expressed support for Turkey in its efforts to strengthen its human rights and democratic state system.

"Despite the change of foreign ministers, the views expressed by Mock is still our policy," an Austrian diplomat told the Turkish Daily News.

"We do not recognize any such body as a parliament-in-exile. Austria thinks the parliament of Turkey is in Ankara," the diplomat said.

"The efforts of the Kurdish parliament-in-exile are purely secessionist," Mock said in his letter. "Austria will neither recognize nor support it."

Mock said in this letter that a "political solution" meant a dialogue between interested parties or representatives, but the "outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) which systematically used terrorism... could not be considered a counterpart."

Asked whether the lack of support and recognition meant that Vienna would prevent the parliament-in-exile from meeting in Vienna, the Austrian diplomat said: "I have had no indication that we will allow them to meet in Austria."

According to Turkish observers,

Austria's objection to the self-styled parliament intensified after Yaşar Kaya, its "chairman", told a press conference in Vienna that the parliament was the "PKK itself."

Kaya said that he had met with the PKK Leader Abdullah Öcalan in Bekaa Valley in the Syrian-controlled part of Lebanon after his Democracy Party was closed down. "The Kurdish

Parliament-in-exile is not a body overshadowed by the PKK. We are, through our efforts, the PKK itself," Kaya was quoted as saying.

Although Kaya said that his meetings with the Austrian Parliament had been fruitful, his remarks also reflected some disappointment: "Small European states support our efforts, but larger states act selfishly due to their imperial interests and place their support with Turkey."

Turkish and foreign observers say the remark is due to the cold shoulder the self-styled parliament has had from Austria, Germany and Belgium, where they originally planned to meet. Ankara, for its part, has made it clear that it was going to pursue a "carrot and stick" policy toward Europe on the issue of support to Kurdish activists.

"It is inevitable that the attitude of certain countries, who do not show the necessary sensitivity and determination on fighting terrorism, will have a reflection on these country's relations with Turkey," Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel said last Wednesday.

"It is only natural that we will carefully note the attitude of the countries which cooperate, and make a distinction between the two groups."

Turkey has placed the Netherlands on the military "red list," which means that Ankara will not make any defense industry deals in future with this country. Turkish officials maintain that relations with their Dutch counterparts have "yielded results" and relations can gradually normalize.

KDP seeking deal as PKK hits from Iran

Shift: Iran seen as new haven for separatists despite official denials

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- As the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which survived Turkey's March-April massive cross-border push in northern Iraq, began hitting back at Turkish army posts, Ankara turned angry glares at Iran despite a stream of assurances from Tehran officials that the country was not sheltering separatists attacking Turkey.

Meanwhile the Iraqi Kurds, hard put to keep the PKK away from the border with their own means appeared to have succeeded at last to persuade Turkish officials to hasten the progress for a joint border security arrangement and reinforce it with resumed political dialogue.

A Turkish foreign ministry delegation was expected to travel to Salahuddin, the stronghold of the Iraqi Kurdish leader Massoud Barzani, to take Ankara's reply to the Kurdish terms for cooperation for border security. The visit was expected to take place in the coming weeks.

The news of the resuming negotiations followed a recent reminder by Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) officials that the passing time was working in the PKK's favor and if more months were allowed to pass by without any action, then the Iraqi Kurds should not be blamed for PKK infiltrations in strength from northern Iraq.

Kurdish sources said the KDP was already battling with its meagre means to keep the border safe and that two weeks ago the villagers had beaten off PKK attacks on the villages of Sheriakeri, Shabaniya and Tangabangi between Zakho and Batufa near the Turkish border.

"This illustrates the value of the settled villages for the defense of a border with limited forces," the source said, indicating that KDP still saw the Turkish permission for the resettlement of some 350 destroyed border villages as a key element of the security arrangement.

The KDP, controlling the area adjoining Turkey, was trying to patrol the PKK's main supply routes and was keeping its activities under surveillance wherever it could, but its officials have told Ankara earlier that Turkey has to open its purse to arm and provide a peshmerga force of at least 20,000 to police the border.

Beside the military means, the KDP sources have been calling for the restoration of the political dialogue between the two countries to their former levels, noting that "it has been two years, since an Iraqi Kurdish leader (Massoud Barzani) arrived in Turkey and was received by Demirel in Istanbul.

The sudden responsiveness of the Turkish officials to the Iraqi Kurdish calls for haste in cooperation followed a spate of PKK attacks.

As the Turkish security forces concentrated their summer offensive in the rugged eastern province of Tunceli against the elusive PKK militants, the consecutive rebel attacks against army posts on the Iranian and Iraqi borders showed that the PKK still had some punch, and more importantly, seemed to be wresting back the initiative in their 11-year-old separatist war which claimed about 16,000 lives so far.

The sobering attacks came on June 16 when strong rebel units attacked the Erenler army post on the Iranian border where they killed five soldiers and wounded six others, and the Ortaklar gendarme post on the Iraqi border near the Iraqi post where they killed two non-commissioned officers 13 soldiers. The rebels lost 16 of their numbers in the two attacks.

The suspicions immediately turned to the PKK rebels getting entrenched in Iran alongside the border.

A visit to the attacked post on the Iranian border by President Süleyman Demirel and

his publicly-aired anger at the presence of PKK separatists in Iran brought a profusion of denials from Tehran officials. Alaeddin Brucerdî, the deputy Iranian foreign minister on Tuesday handed Demirel a message from Iranian President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani in which he reportedly discounted any official tolerance of the PKK presence in Iran. In the message, sent in reply to the one Demirel sent to Rafsanjani last week, the Iranian president also reportedly opposed any Turkish incursion or air strike against the separatists on Iranian soil, but offered concerted action by the security forces of the two countries on their side of the common border.

Despite the denials from Iran, the PKK is using several camps as well as training and infiltration facilities inside Iran, intelligence sources told the Turkish Daily News. The sources said the PKK separatists had camps at Dambat, north of the town of Mako, Qal'el rash southwest of Salmas, at Serow and Bani northwest of Urmiya and opposite the Esendere customs point, and Jermi; Suledukel and Doretersin mountains southwest of Urmiya, not to mention the PKK houses in Tehran, Urmiya and Mako.

Intelligence sources also say that Cemil Bayik and Rıza Altun, both members of the PKK central committee, are directing the activities of the separatist organization on the Iranian soil. In return for its services, Iran is seeking to employ the PKK against the Iranian Kurdistan Democratic Party

(IKDP). It has further inspired the PKK to set up a Kurdistan Islamic Movement (KIH) two years ago to "mobilize the Islamic Kurdish potential in Turkey," the intelligence sources said. Iran is also assisting the PKK inside Lebanon via the Hezbollah extremist group, the sources said.

Independent Kurdish sources in northern Iraq also confirmed the existence of a sizable PKK strength inside Iran. "We all know that the area is rugged and difficult to control. But no one can believe if a major power of the region says it is unable to detect a foreign military presence as big as 1,500 men," the source said, giving an indication as to the number of the separatists.

Beside Iran, the PKK is also making a comeback to the border area in mobile small groups after withdrawing the bulk of its forces during Turkey's six-week-long crossborder operation. The Iraqi Kurdish sources told the TDN of their belief that the attacks on border posts were mounted by the PKK rebels "gathered locally (inside Turkey), from northern Iraq and from neighboring countries."

Noting that one of the attacked posts was near Iraq's Khwakur valley, they said the rugged area was "never truly cleared of the PKK during the crossborder operation."

"Not only is the terrain very difficult, but the Turkish military did not want to pursue the operation too close to the Iranian border," the sources said, indicating that the PKK rebels had therefore been able to slip into Iran without difficulty.



CHIRAC WELCOMES ÇİLLER- French President Jacques Chirac greets Prime Minister Tansu Çiller in Paris where she was to address a WEU Assembly meeting and hold talks with French officials. Reuters

France prepared to rally for Turkey in Europe but urges democratic reforms

Thursday June 22, 1995

Turkish Daily News

Booster: After strong US backing, Turkey also secures French support to solidify its European vocation

By İlnur Çevik / *Turkish Daily News*

PARIS/ANKARA- The French administration of Jacques Chirac has given Prime Minister Tansu Çiller clear signals that is prepared to go out of its way to help Turkey solidify its European vocation.

However, an unavoidable precondition for this support appears to be that Ankara has to make some concrete headway in the direction of further democratization in order to facilitate the French support.

Prime Minister Çiller, on her way back to Ankara, speaking with the leading columnists of five dailies who accompanied her to Paris, said her address to the Western European Union Assembly where she made an impressive plea for a customs union with the European Union "is a turning point for Turkey in Europe."

Çiller's performance at the WEU Assembly was praised by the Turkish press and a majority of the European deputies at the WEU Assembly. The prime minister said both President Jacques Chirac and Prime Minister Alain Juppe, whom she met with separately, had referred to her address at the WEU Assembly and informed her that the French deputies at the assembly had been "deeply impressed."

Çiller said her meetings with Juppe concentrated more on economic issues while her talks with Chirac centered around international political issues

The prime minister said Chirac told her that France wants to see Turkey strongly entrenched in Europe.

Çiller said the European Union will be reviewing the Maastricht Treaty in its summit in early 1996 and France, which has the term presidency of EU has asked Turkey's views on this issue. "This is very significant," she added.

The French president reportedly told Çiller that France wants Turkey to attend European Union summits once it enters the customs union. This seemed a polite rejection of Turkey's recent requests to France to be invited to the EU summit in Cannes next week to which central and eastern European countries also have been invited.

Despite this mini setback, diplomats accompanying Çiller said the French leaders gave a very warm reception to the Turkish prime minister, which was a clear signal that Paris is prepared to serve as a dynamo to secure a better place for Turkey in the European vocation.

They say this effort will complement the all-out drive by the United States, which has been rallying for Turkey's admission to the European customs union.

But, of course, Turkey's human rights record was not forgotten. Chirac and Juppe reportedly

reminded Çiller about European sensitivities regarding democratization and human rights in Turkey.

Çiller told reporters on her plane that Juppe had asked her about the "prospects" of former pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) deputies being released from jail through new legal arrangements and that she had replied this was not possible. "I explained to the French leaders that the former DEP deputies are not in jail for their political views or speeches they made in Parliament but because of their affiliation to a terrorist organization," Çiller said.

The prime minister said she was proud to see that the French leaders felt the urge to ask for Turkey's views on wide-ranging issues ranging from "Maastricht to Bosnia." Çiller stressed they attach great importance to Turkey's views and said "this shows our country's true vocation in Europe. We do not only ponder on our country's issues but we also concentrate on various problems and issues in Europe."

Despite all the positive developments during her trip to Paris, Çiller said "I cannot say everything has been ironed out and we have overcome all the difficulties in our quest for a better vocation in Europe. We still have a way to go but at

least the European countries led by France realize the importance of Turkey."

"On international issues we have complete agreement. We have invited President Chirac to Turkey and he agreed to come and have a long stay," Çiller said. She said she observed Chirac has very warm feelings towards Turkey.

The prime minister said Turkey and France discussed what the two countries can do on the Bosnia-Herzegovina crisis. She also said, "France supports Turkey's opposition to Greece extending its territorial waters to 12 miles in the Aegean and also shares the views of Turkey on the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan."

Çiller also said she received support from the conservative French leaders for her True Path Party to join the European Democratic Union (EDU), which is a gathering of European conservative and centrist parties.

The main opposition Motherland Party is a member of EDU and the DYP now also wants to enter the union.

Çiller said there are growing jobs prospects for French companies in Turkey and she discussed build, operate and transfer (BOT) projects with Juppe. She also said Turkey may now buy 30 more helicopters from France.

Le Soir • 22 juin 1995

Turquie : la timide démocratisation en difficulté

Tansu Çiller, le Premier ministre, va-t-elle réussir son pari sur la nouvelle démocratie turque? Rien n'est moins sûr: les projets de réforme constitutionnelle actuellement discutés au Parlement turc paraissent bien mal engagés, alors pourtant qu'ils se révèlent peu ambitieux, et en tout cas décevants pour les milieux libéraux turcs et les pays européens qui fondaient beaucoup d'espoirs dans les promesses de «démocratisation» répétées par Mme Çiller sur tous les fronts depuis deux ans qu'elle est au pouvoir. Ainsi, le Parlement européen, qui menace de ne pas ratifier, à l'automne, l'union douanière avec la Turquie en l'absence de progrès dans le domaine des droits de l'homme, pourrait être amené à passer à l'acte.

Les autorités turques expliquent les limites des réformes en discussion par la récurrence du terrorisme du PKK (rebelles kurdes armés): une bonne partie de la population turque n'accepterait pas l'idée de voir des avancées démocratiques venir «récompenser» la sédition kurde. Ces derniers jours, justement, les sources officielles turques ne se sont pas contentées de publier le bilan des pertes quotidiennes du PKK, mais elles

ont fait mention d'un nombre important de victimes turques (42 militaires tués en juin).

Le projet de révision concerne 21 articles de la Constitution héritée du régime militaire des années 80. Il lèverait les restrictions sur l'exercice du droit syndical pour les fonctionnaires, supprimerait l'interdiction pour les associations, y compris les syndicats, de faire de la politique, accorderait aux étudiants le droit d'être membres d'un parti politique, abaisserait l'âge minimal pour voter (de 20 à 18 ans), alors que l'éloge du coup d'État militaire de 1980 serait également supprimé. Rien, donc, sur l'essentiel: la liberté d'expression et les droits culturels des Kurdes.

Mais, bien que ces timides modifications aient obtenu le soutien des trois plus importants partis du Parlement, le gouvernement éprouve les pires difficultés à les faire adopter. La majorité des deux tiers requise est théoriquement acquise, mais des députés conservateurs «dissidents» se sont alliés ces derniers jours au parti islamiste Refah — qui réclame, lui, l'abrogation de l'article consacrant l'interdiction de l'exploitation de la religion à des fins politiques. Résultat: les pre-

miers articles examinés n'ont pu recueillir les 300 voix nécessaires sur 450 et ont dû être renvoyés en commission pour «reformulation». C'est dire si les députés sont actuellement choyés: ainsi les propos injurieux d'un ministre, qui avait traité trois députées européennes de «prostituées» au moment où elles étaient venues plaider, fin mai, la cause de huit députés turcs kurdes emprisonnés, n'ont même pas entraîné de sanctions de manière à ménager le courant conservateur du parti de Mme Çiller que représente l'irascible ministre.

Quant aux dirigeants syndicaux de la fonction publique qui ont appelé lundi et mardi lors de «sit-in» pacifiques à une grève partielle pour protester contre les insuffisances des réformes envisagées, sept d'entre eux ont tout simplement été arrêtés pour infraction à l'interdiction de manifester en plein air...

PAS DE RÉFÉRENDUM?

La petite majorité de députés loyaux permettrait cependant au gouvernement de recourir à un référendum pour faire passer son projet de réformes. Mais comme l'observait hier «The Fi-

nancial Times», les performances de Mme Çiller en tant que Premier ministre inspirent peu de confiance dans sa capacité de réussir une telle campagne référendaire. De toute manière, cette perspective ne semble pas enthousiasmer le personnel politique dans la mesure où elle risquerait de diviser le pays, de lézarder la coalition et d'aviver les tensions ethniques.

En France cette semaine, Tansu Çiller déploie sa fougue habituelle pour défendre ses positions. Elle a donc une fois de plus expliqué que la Turquie a besoin de l'Europe comme l'Europe a besoin d'elle, insistant dans la foulée sur le facteur de stabilité qu'incarne son pays musulman laïque dans une région géostratégique importante... L'oreille des autorités française lui est acquise depuis longtemps: Paris a joué un rôle clé en faveur d'Ankara dans le dossier de l'union douanière qui doit entrer en vigueur le 1^{er} janvier 1996 si le Parlement européen la ratifie. La Turquie a montré sa reconnaissance en allant jusqu'à exprimer sa «compréhension», la semaine dernière, pour la reprise des essais nucléaires français.

BAUDOUIN LOOS

Tehran assures Ankara on fight against PKK terror

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Concerned about escalating attacks by the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) from Iranian territory, Turkey has launched a series of diplomatic initiatives aimed at Tehran and has received a positive response.

Iran has assured Turkey that it has the political will to fight against PKK terrorist activities, Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Omer Akbel said on Wednesday.

Akbel told reporters that Mohammed Reza Bagheri, Iranian ambassador in Ankara, was summoned to the Foreign Ministry and met with Foreign Minister Erdal İnönü on June 17, one day after two terrorist attacks hit Turkish troops on the Iran-Turkey border.

Inönü asked for more effective cooperation against terrorism.

"On June 19 President Süleyman Demirel sent a message to his Iranian counterpart Hashemi Rafsanjani and reiterated this request," Akbel said.

"But even before Demirel's message reached Rafsanjani, the Iranian president sent a message with his Deputy Foreign Minister Alaaddin Brujerdi to Demirel.

"Rafsanjani stressed Tehran's political will to improve bilateral relations in his message," he added.

Brujerdi said his country considered the PKK as a terrorist organization threatening



Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel

the security of both Turkey and Iran. Brujerdi noted that Tehran was fighting against the PKK and was determined to actively support Turkey's struggle as well. "We understand

Turkey's sensitivity on the issue of border security. We are ready to improve our cooperation and take necessary measures on our part," the Iranian official told reporters after his official talks on Tuesday.

Meanwhile, as part of cooperation on security issues between Iran and Turkey, Gulam Hussein Bulandian, Iran's deputy interior minister, visited Ankara last week to attend a high security commission meeting, a mechanism set up in 1992 between the two countries.

Bulandian told his Turkish counterpart Bekir Aksoy that Tehran was ready for further cooperation to combat terrorism. It was announced after the commission meeting that Turkey and Iran would launch coordinated operations against PKK militants. But no details were given.

Iran showed that it would not allow the issue to turn into a subject of tension with Turkey, diplomatic sources told the Turkish Daily News on Wednesday.

"Iran has quickly made effective moves to prevent a possible crisis with Turkey. The last thing Tehran wants these days is a crisis with Ankara.

Iran gave a strong message to Ankara, saying that relations with Turkey are very important for Tehran and that it is handling the PKK issue with determination," the sources noted.

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1995

Turkish Daily News

US: We don't support independent Kurdistan in northern Iraq

US tells Greek Cyprus to enforce sanctions on Serbs

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- Responding to recent statements made to TDN by Eric Rouleau, the former French ambassador to Turkey, to the effect that Operation Provide Comfort may be helping the establishment of an independent Kurdistan in northern Iraq, a State Department spokesman today confirmed the administration's opposition to such an eventuality. "I am not aware that there are any Western countries who favor an independent state — at least none of our major allies — of Kurdistan, and that's certainly not the direction in which our own policy is leading us," spokesman Nicholas Burns said.

Burns said, "There is no change in our policy towards Iraq or that portion of Iraq which includes northern Iraq." He said the United States supports the territorial integrity of Iraq but Saddam Hussein should be held accountable "for the welfare of the people in northern Iraq."

"That's why we have consistently supported

Operation Provide Comfort," Burns continued. "We were very pleased to see the Turkish government decide last week that it would extend Operation Provide Comfort. That remains our core interest in northern Iraq, to provide protection for the Kurdish populations of northern Iraq, and that will remain the basis of the United State's policy."

On another matter, Burns said that the administration has contacted the Greek Cypriot government concerning the commercial activities in Cyprus of certain individuals of Russian and Serbian background that ended up violating the U.N. sanctions on Serbia.

"We're not pinning any blame here on the government of Cyprus," Burns was careful to point out, "it's rather directed at individuals in Cyprus who may, we think, have been involved in transgressions against the sanctions that are in place."

"And we're concerned about that and we're pursuing it with the government of Cyprus because we expect, of course, that the government of Cyprus can bring some authority to bear on these particular individuals," he concluded

PKK chief thanks Kadhafi for support

Agence France Presse

TRIPOLI - The leader of Turkey's outlawed separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) has thanked Libyan leader Moamer Kadhafi for his support, the official news agency JANA reported Wednesday.

"We are proud of your principled stand toward the cause of our people. This stand will be engraved in our minds," said Abdullah Öcalan in a written message to Kadhafi.

Colonel Kadhafi backed the PKK's campaign to set up an independent Kurdish state, after a Turkish army offensive in March and April against separatist guerrilla bases in northern Iraq.

"The Turkish operation in northern Iraq was part of a plot hatched by Western countries against the Kurds and the Arab world aimed at dominating the peoples of the region," wrote Öcalan.

Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, JUNE 23, 1995

The cost of DEP closure was high

The closure of the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP) and the jailing of its members have all turned out to be grand mistakes committed by the Turkish government, which is now trying to salvage something from the ruins.

At the time, former Chief of Staff Gen. Doğan Güreş had encouraged Prime Minister Tansu Çiller to throw the DEP deputies out of Parliament and silence the pro-Kurdish voice in the house.

Çiller went out of her way to oblige Güreş and the Parliament voted at first to lift the immunities of some DEP deputies who were immediately jailed.

Soon after, the Constitutional Court closed down the DEP and thus all the remaining deputies lost their seats in Parliament. But just before the supreme court decision, other DEP deputies who realized they too could be jailed simply fled to European countries where they are now living in exile.

Later the DEP deputies were convicted on charges of being part of a terrorist organization, namely the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK).

What has happened since has amounted to an uphill struggle for Turkey.

The six former DEP deputies who are living in exile are

playing havoc with Turkey's interests in the West. They are appearing before various forums and fueling anti-Turkish sentiment.

They were at the Western European Union Assembly where Prime Minister Çiller made her address on Tuesday. They are active at the European Parliament and the Council of Europe.

Instead of being regarded as terrorist collaborators they are accepted as "victims of racism" and poor parliamentarians who have been denied their basic rights...

This is the core reason why the European Parliament has turned against us and is blocking our membership in the customs union. The plight of the DEP deputies has become a major obstacle in our relations with practically every parliament in Europe and it will be very hard to undo this.

Turkey faces a dilemma in this area which it cannot solve. It cannot simply change its laws and free the DEP deputies because the Parliament will never accept such changes. Even if this was done the government would be accused of "treason" by certain influential circles and it cannot afford this at present. So we are left with the problem of having to brave the waves of criticism levelled at us from all quarters in Europe and also balance this with the ultra-conservatism that runs the country. The price paid for the DEP adventure has been too heavy...

editorial



By Ilnur Çevik

L'Humanité • 23 juin 1995

Grève en Turquie

PLUS de cinq cent mille fonctionnaires turcs ont observé un arrêt de travail mercredi pour réclamer le droit de grève et la mise en place de négociations collectives.

Les manifestants ont dansé dans les rues de la capitale turque, provoquant de gigantesques embouteillages. Le jour même, l'Assemblée nationale avait rejeté un amendement constitutionnel prévoyant le droit pour les travailleurs de participer aux discussions salariales.

La Constitution particulière-

ment réactionnaire de 1982, imposée par les militaires après leur coup d'Etat de 1980, est considérée comme un des obstacles à la démocratisation du pays.

Sa réforme est réclamée par la population, mais aussi par les institutions européennes : l'Assemblée de Strasbourg exige une modification complète des institutions turques, notamment dans le domaine des libertés et des droits de l'homme, avant d'approuver l'union douanière prévue pour janvier 1995 avec la Turquie.

Le premier ministre turc, M^{re} Tansu Çiller, avait promis

que la Constitution serait rapidement amendée. De toute évidence, M^{re} Çiller a du mal à tenir cette promesse qu'elle a pourtant renouvelée mardi à Paris lors de ses rencontres avec Alain Juppé et Jacques Chirac, en marge d'une réunion de l'UEO.

Forte du soutien de Washington, qui fait pression en faveur d'une admission rapide de la Turquie dans l'Union européenne, elle a maintenu sa politique de force à l'égard des Kurdes et brandi la menace d'une victoire de l'intégrisme si les Européens ne se montraient pas assez compréhensifs.

FRANÇOISE GERMAIN-ROBIN

Human Rights Diary

IHD report: No improvement in human rights in Turkey- April and May saw no improvement in the human rights situation in Turkey, according to a Human Rights Association (IHD) report released on June 20. Execution without trial, torture or time spent in custody resulted in the death of 20 people over the two-month period, according to the report. Also, there were 14 unsolved killings during April and May and 26 people went missing while in custody, the report says. The number of "criminals of thought" in prison is given as 157. The IHD document notes that "criminals of thought" were fined TL 6 billion and the total length of prison sentences of the 157 detainees is 66 years. The reports also indicates that 50 books and publications were confiscated in the period and that 75 individuals from the media were taken into custody. The number of villages burned down and evacuated was 29, according to the report. Also, 20 police raids were organized on associations, unions, and publishing houses and 22 bomb attacks were carried out. The IHD's document claims that eight associations, foundations and publishing houses were closed down in the two-month period. Speaking at a press conference on Tuesday, Akın Birdal, the chairman of the IHD, said the association was under increased pressure. He also criticized the deportation of international human rights' association members from Turkey, referring to Amnesty International's representative, Helmut Oberdiek, who had to leave the country on June 12. With respect to the debates on constitutional amendments, Birdal said the planned changes were not an adequate response to Turkey's needs. "The 1982 Constitution should be changed as a whole. The planned changes would not be a step toward a real shake up of the legal structure nor would they be a step toward democratization," said Birdal. The IHD leader continued that while the debates on constitutional amendments continued, the authorities should be more sensitive to the civil servants and workers who staged a sit-in protest in Ankara to demand the right to collective bargaining negotiations and to strike. "The natural result of being a democratic and open society is the establishment of democratic controls on the army and the bureaucracy," added the chairman. (*Turkish Daily News, June 21*)

Interstar TV news coordinator taken into custody- Ardan Zenturk, news coordinator of the Interstar TV channel, was taken into custody by police for questioning about a program on the attack against Professor Yuda Yürüm, an academic and leader of Ankara's small Jewish community, who was slightly injured in a car bombing in Ankara on June 7, the Anatolia news agency reported on June 16. During the program Ismet Calisir claimed responsibility for the attack and also confessed to having taken part in murder and having caused bodily harm. After the program six people, including Interstar announcer Şeyda Açıkol and reporter Nafiz Akyüz, were taken into custody. (*Turkish Daily News, June 17*)

Police officers on trial for murder- A criminal court in Istanbul's Kadıköy district has started to hear the case against 19 police officers charged with killing four people in a raid on a house. One of the dead was Sabahat Karataş, the wife of Dursun Karataş who was the leader of the outlawed Revolutionary Left (Dev-Sol), the Anatolia news agency reported on June 15. The court decided, for security reasons, to have a closed trial. Special security measures have been taken by Istanbul police and around 200 suspects have been taken into custody. These include Olçay Merâl of Özgür Gelecek magazine and Gülmişar Başar of the New Democrat Youth magazine, security officials said. Seventeen lawyers from Germany, England, Greece and the Netherlands were present as observers. The press was banned from the court. (*Turkish Daily News, June 16*)

Helsinki Watch suspends activities in Turkey- The renowned human rights watchdog group Helsinki Watch has announced that it is suspending its activities in Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported on June 16. Anatolia cited a statement from Helsinki Watch issued by the Turkish Human Rights Foundation which said that the decision was based on a long statement given to the press recently by Interior Minister Nahit Menteşe when he received an official from the New York-based organization in Ankara. The statement, quoted by Anatolia, reported remarks by Menteşe when he was receiving Helsinki Watch official Christopher Panico. Menteşe reportedly announced that Helsinki Watch supported Turkey's fight against separatist terrorism. Anatolia said these statements were the reason the organization decided to suspend activities in Turkey. Menteşe had told reporters just prior to the meeting that Panico had arrived in Ankara to study the activities of the separatist terrorist organization (PKK). Panico, for his part, said that Helsinki Watch was a nongovernmental organization and that they had arrived in Turkey to study the general human rights situation in the country. He had added that he did not want to comment prior to completing the investigation and had said that the report would be published in the end and available to everyone interested in the matter. The Helsinki Watch statement quoted by Anatolia also apparently indicated that Menteşe had violated the organization's principle of not making a statement before its investigation had been completed. (*Turkish Daily News, June 17*)

US Congress debates 'ongoing genocide of Kurds' target Turkey and Azerbaijan in foreign aid bill

Setting their sites: Porter, Gekas, Pallone, Visclosky target Turkey and Azerbaijan in foreign aid bill

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The U.S. House of Representatives today saw yet another tirade about the so-called "ongoing genocide of Kurds" in Turkey during the House debate over the "Foreign Operations, Export Financing and Related Programs Appropriations Bill, 1996." (H.R. 1868), thanks to Rep. John Edward Porter (R-IL), George W. Gekas (R-PA), Frank Pallone Jr. (D-NJ) and Peter J. Visclosky (D-IN).

The U.S. legislators had an hour-long debate on the bill, without introducing any amendments. Such amendments will be considered when the House takes up the bill again on Monday, June 26th.

Today's attack on Turkey was led, as on many occasions in the past, by John Porter of Illinois, a founding member of the "Armenian Issues Caucus" of the House.

"Together with Frank Wolfe of Virginia and Chris Smith of New Jersey, I will be offering to cut some of these funds in order to send a clear message to Turkey that their ongoing genocide of the Kurds and the treatment of their neighbors, Armenia and Cyprus, is absolutely unacceptable," Porter said.

The bill, H.R. 1868, provides \$320 million in loans to Turkey in foreign military sales (FMF) and \$46 million in grants from the economic support fund (ESF).

"It is hypocritical, it seems to me, that our nation, the freest ever, should be helping to prop up and arm a government that the State Department has repeatedly cited for gross and worsening violations of human rights," Porter

said. However, Porter said he was pleased with the \$15 million the bill is extending to Greek Cyprus for bicommunal projects. A TDN source said that what Porter has in mind is to leave FMF alone and suggest a \$25 million cut in ESF to Turkey, counting on the cost-cutting instincts of this Republican Congress. Since ESF are cash transfers, the Congress would be more willing to reduce ESF than FMF, the source said.

Frank Pallone Jr. (D-NJ) targeted the "humanitarian aid corridor act" section of the bill and asked that the amendment not be removed. If approved, the bill would ban U.S. aid to Turkey for maintaining a blockade on Armenia.

"Asking our allies to allow American humanitarian assistance to reach its intended recipients is a reasonable condition of U.S. aid, in my opinion," he said. Any country that fails to do so does not deserve to receive American aid, he said.

Pallone also said supported the Porter amendment and "conditioning aid to Turkey on compliance on human rights." "The Porter amendment is intended to draw attention to Turkey's immoral and illegal blockade of Armenia, also to the Cyprus issue, the rights of the Kurdish people, and restrictions on free expression in Turkey," Pallone added.

In addition, Pallone asked members of the House to maintain sanctions on Azerbaijan in accordance with Section 907 of the Freedom Support Act of 1992 until Azerbaijan lifted its embargo on Armenia.

The act forbids any government-to-government direct transfer of U.S. humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan. Pallone did not mention that 20 percent of Azeri territory is currently under Armenian occupation and Armenian attacks have created over 1 million Azerbaijani refugees.

Peter J. Visclosky (D-IN) also said he was "extremely disturbed" by the provision of the bill that would "gut [Section] 907".

He said the Freedom Support Act only banned direct governmental aid to Azerbaijan and did not prevent private groups from transferring similar humanitarian aid to Azerbaijan.

As of March 31, 1995, Azerbaijan had received \$61.8 million worth of such goods from NGOs and private volunteer organizations, he said.

George W. Gekas (R-PA), a Greek-American, also voiced his strong opposition to aid to Turkey and said he was supporting Porter's amendment.

Porter's amendment "seeks to modify the behavior of the Turkish government vis-a-vis the Kurds and the record of human rights violations that has become repeated over the last few years."

Gekas said he wouldn't pay much attention to such issues as an individual member of the Congress as he normally would "except that this record attached to the Turkish behavior with the Kurds is only but the latest of other reported, documented and severe violations perpetrated by the Turkish governments in Cyprus, for instance."

In Cyprus, Turks turned U.S. weapons on the Cypriots, Gekas said. "it's just too much. We just cannot tolerate that kind of behavior anymore," he added.

Turkey removes Netherlands from 'red list' of arms suppliers

'Improvements in cooperation against terrorism' prompts Ankara's decision as Dutch are keen to sell frigates and marine aircraft to Turkey

By Ümit Enginsoy

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey said on Friday that it had removed the Netherlands from a "red list" of arms supplying countries from which Ankara had pledged not to buy weapons due to rows over the Kurdish issue.

"Turkey and the Netherlands have reached improvements in cooperation against terrorism," a senior Turkish diplomatic source said.

"Our decision (to take the Netherlands off the red list) is an outcome of these improvements," the Turkish source said, without elaborating.

The announcement follows a series of technical meetings between Turkish and Dutch teams to increase cooperation in fighting the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party, or PKK, which is waging a separatist war in south-eastern Turkey.

Ankara said on April 26 it would stop all new military purchases from the Netherlands in response to the Dutch government's policy towards a Kurdish government-in-exile established in The Hague earlier in the month.

The Netherlands said at the time that its legal system did not provide any means of banning the meeting by separatist Kurds as long as they did not violate Dutch laws.

But analysts now suggest that the Netherlands, which has apparently eased its stance in Turkey's favor, may have promised that such a Kurdish meeting would not take place in that country again.

Defense sources said the Netherlands is keen to take part in Turkey's two major defense projects to acquire frigates and marine aircraft for its navy. "This situation is likely to have prompted the Dutch to mend ties with the Turks," one source said.

Turkey plans to buy eight frigates, a deal worth between \$2 billion and \$3 billion, and the contenders include companies from the Netherlands, the United States, Germany, Britain, France, Canada and Spain.

Ankara also plans to purchase at least five marine aircraft and the Dutch Fokker wants to win the deal. Turkey's April ban did not cover equipment already ordered from the Netherlands. The Dutch were supplying Turkey with casings for grenades and electronics for radar, defense sources said.

Turkey also bought military goods worth about \$22 million, mainly parts for tanks, from the Netherlands between 1987 and 1994, according to Reuters.

Turkey's red list now includes Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, South Africa and NATO-allies Norway and Denmark, which all have banned arms exports to Ankara in criticism of Turkish policies on the Kurdish issue.

Turkey now includes the Netherlands on a "yellow list" of countries from which arms purchases are "not stable." These states are considered on a case-by-case basis for participation in military tenders and procurements. Other countries on the yellow list are Finland and NATO-allies Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg.

Ankara also recalled its ambassador in The Hague in an angry reaction to the Kurdish presence in the Netherlands. But Turkish diplomatic sources said ambassador Zeki Çelikkol's return is now imminent in the light of the positive developments.

The Turks and the Dutch have ties that go back for centuries and they had been among the closest of allies within NATO before the crisis.

The Hague has also been a staunch supporter of Turkey's bid for full integration with Europe.

LE PREMIER MINISTRE TURC A PARIS

Les beaux yeux de Tansu Ciller

Entre Paris et Ankara, l'ère du soupçon est finie.

Tansu Ciller, le premier ministre turc, est contente de sa visite à Paris, le 20 juin : Jacques Chirac et Alain Juppé ont reconnu publiquement auprès d'elle la «vocation européenne» de son pays. Echange de bons procédés : Mme Ciller a exprimé sa «compréhension» devant la reprise des essais nucléaires français dans le Pacifique.

On est loin des tensions de l'ère Mitterrand, quand Paris prenait systématiquement position contre Ankara au nom des causes arménienne et kurde. Non pas que Paris remette en question sa politique de défense des droits de l'homme : Alain Juppé a indiqué qu'il ne soutiendra l'idée d'une présence turque aux futurs Conseils européens que dans la mesure où des «gestes» seront consentis en faveur de certains opposants. Notamment des huit membres kurdes du

parlement turc condamnés en décembre 1994 à des peines de prison, pour leur «soutien» au mouvement de guérilla PKK.

Mais d'un préjugé défavorable, Paris est passé à une attitude beaucoup plus confiante envers le plus occidental des pays musulmans. Une évolution qui a commencé en fait dès le mois de mars dernier, sous le gouvernement Balladur : en sa qualité de président semestriel de l'Union européenne, la France a alors contribué à une signature rapide de l'union douanière euro-turque, en dépit d'une campagne d'obstruction menée par la Grèce.

Le début des années quatre-vingt-dix a semblé marqué, pour Ankara, une ouverture diplomatique et économique sans précédent : la Turquie s'imposait comme un partenaire de premier plan pour le Caucase et l'Asie centrale ex-soviétiques, mais aussi pour toute l'Europe du Sud-Est. Cinq ans plus tard, la situation est redevenue plus difficile : la Russie réaffirme son rôle ; le conflit bosniaque a ravivé les antagonismes entre musulmans et chrétiens orthodoxes.

Plus que jamais, la Turquie a donc besoin de l'Europe. Et en Europe même, d'un truchement.

Stéphane Trano

V.A. 24 juin 1995

A F P A F P A F P A F P A F P A F P

Conseil de l'Europe: l'examen de la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie reporté à septembre

STRASBOURG, 26 juin (AFP) - Le président de l'Assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe Miguel Angel Martinez a indiqué lundi que la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie ne sera examinée qu'en septembre.

Les Parlementaires avaient fixé la fin du mois de juin comme le terme de leur ultimatum lancé en avril dernier à l'encontre d'Ankara.

La décision de reporter l'examen de la situation en Turquie à la lumière de la "réponse intérimaire" du Comité des ministres à l'Assemblée a été prise lundi matin par le Bureau de l'Assemblée, a précisé M. Martinez à Strasbourg lors de l'ouverture de la session d'été.

L'Assemblée parlementaire avait demandé au Comité des ministres (organe exécutif de l'organisation) d'envisager la suspension de la Turquie du Conseil de l'Europe si elle ne se conformait pas avant la fin du mois de juin à ses exigences en matière de démocratie et des droits de l'homme.

Lors d'une rencontre avec la presse, M. Martinez a espéré que "la situation aura évolué d'ici septembre d'une manière suffisamment favorable".

La Turquie "fait actuellement des efforts" pour se conformer aux normes de l'organisation en matière de démocratie et de respect des droits de l'homme, a-t-il estimé en faisant valoir l'inscription de réformes législatives et constitutionnelles à l'agenda de la Grande Assemblée Nationale Turque.

Après s'être félicité du retrait des troupes turques du nord de l'Irak, le président de l'Assemblée a cependant reconnu qu'Ankara n'a pas entamé la recherche d'une solution pacifique au conflit kurde comme les Parlementaires des "34" l'en avaient sommé.

Le Comité des ministres, dans une "réponse intérimaire" rendue publique lundi, n'évoque ni une suspension éventuelle de la Turquie du Conseil de l'Europe, ni une date-butoir d'ici laquelle Ankara devrait se conformer aux normes de l'organisation.

Cette "réponse intérimaire" est "raisonnable" a estimé M. Martinez en se défendant de vouloir l'expulsion de la Turquie.

dro/tj/mfo

AFP /J00245/261858

JUN 95

RÉPONSES DES MINISTRES

AUX QUESTIONS ÉCRITES

Politiques communautaires

(commerce extra-communautaire - Turquie - union douanière - droits de l'homme)

26731. - 2 mai 1995. - M. Georges Hage attire l'attention de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères sur la situation des Kurdes en Turquie. Un parlementaire kurde du DEP en exil lui a fait part le 7 février dernier de la situation dans son pays, et notamment de la répression qui s'accroît contre les populations et les démocrates kurdes. La récente demande de mise en détention à l'encontre du romancier turc Yachar Kemal, accusé de « propagande séparatiste », ne fait que confirmer ce constat. Cette situation est d'ailleurs désormais connue de l'opinion internationale. La Turquie est engagée dans des négociations avec l'Union européenne afin de conclure une union douanière. La France, qui assure la présidence du Conseil européen jusqu'en juin prochain, se doit de peser de tout son poids économique et politique pour s'opposer à l'entrée en vigueur de l'union douanière entre la Turquie et la communauté européenne aussi longtemps que les Droits de l'homme et l'Etat de droit, ne seront pas respectés dans ce pays, que les prisonniers politiques ne seront pas libérés et que le gouvernement turc refusera de rechercher, notamment avec la population kurde et ses représentants, une solution démocratique et pacifique aux différends qui les opposent. La lutte contre l'intégrisme ne saurait servir de prétexte pour diligenter l'union douanière comme tente de le faire croire le gouvernement turc ; il s'agit en l'espèce d'un problème totalement différent. Aussi il lui demande ce que compte entreprendre prochainement la France pour prendre en considération ces principes dans les négociations douanières avec le gouvernement turc.

Réponse. - L'honorable parlementaire a bien voulu appeler l'attention du ministre des affaires étrangères sur la situation des Kurdes en Turquie. La question kurde est un sujet sensible. La France et ses partenaires européens sont intervenus en toutes occasions sur ce sujet auprès des autorités turques. Cependant, les Etats membres de l'Union n'ont pas voulu remettre en cause la négociation du projet d'union douanière avec la Turquie, convaincus que le rapprochement de ce pays avec l'Europe serait pour lui un puissant facteur d'évolution et de démocratisation. Le nouveau gouvernement turc, constitué le 27 mars à la suite de la fusion des deux partis sociaux-démocrates, a inscrit comme priorité du protocole de coalition l'accélération de la libéralisation des institutions. La France, comme ses partenaires européens, restera vigilante sur les engagements pris par la Turquie de se conformer aux principes du Conseil de l'Europe et de mener à bien les projets de réforme constitutionnelle et législative avant la fin de l'été. Le gouvernement turc est à cet égard conscient que seule l'adoption rapide de mesures concrètes en faveur de la démocratie et des droits de l'homme permettra d'obtenir l'avis conforme du Parlement européen sur l'accord d'union douanière.

Politique extérieure

(Turquie - droits de l'homme - Kurdes)

26787. - 8 mai 1995. - M. Jacques Brunhes attire l'attention de M. le ministre des affaires étrangères sur la dégradation de la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie. En effet, alors que les forces de sécurité responsables d'un grand nombre d'assassinats politiques et de disparitions continuent de bénéficier d'une

complète immunité, la liberté d'expression est bafouée, des journalistes, des personnalités politiques, des écrivains et des membres d'associations de défense des droits de l'homme sont harcelés et traduits devant des cours de sûreté de l'Etat. Quant à la torture, malgré la condamnation du comité Contre la torture de l'Europe et du comité des Nations unies, elle continue d'être très largement pratiquée, y compris à l'encontre de jeunes adolescents. Dans la partie de Kurdistan sous contrôle turc, des villages entiers sont décimés et de nombreuses personnes tuées par les forces gouvernementales et les guérilleros du PKK, ce qui compromet la possibilité d'établir une paix durable dans le Kurdistan. Dans sa réponse à la question n° 24 340 parue dans le *Journal officiel* du 20 mars 1995, le ministre déclarait : « Le Gouvernement turc, conscient qu'une amélioration des droits de l'homme est indispensable à un rapprochement avec l'Europe, s'est engagé à mettre en œuvre un programme de démocratisation. » A l'heure actuelle, aucune disposition visant à lutter contre la pratique largement répandue de la torture n'a été mise en œuvre ni même envisagée. Au lieu de faire face à la réalité de ces violations constatées par un grand nombre de témoins, le Gouvernement turc a choisi la politique du démenti, en affirmant que ces violations ont été commises par des guérilleros portant des uniformes de soldat ou encore que les villageois ont brûlé leurs propres maisons dans l'espoir d'obtenir les indemnités. Une mission d'experts de la OSCE devrait se rendre en Turquie afin d'y enquêter sur la torture et les entraves à la liberté d'expression, et de formuler des recommandations précises. Il lui demande quelles mesures concrètes il compte prendre afin que la France adopte une position officielle rappelant au Gouvernement turc l'obligation de respecter les engagements qu'il a pris dans le domaine du respect des droits de l'homme et qu'il se déclare prêt à recevoir la mission de la OSCE dans un esprit d'ouverture et de coopération.

Réponse. - L'honorable parlementaire a bien voulu appeler l'attention des affaires étrangères sur la situation des droits de l'homme en Turquie et sur le problème kurde. La question des droits de l'homme a toujours été à la base du rapprochement de la Turquie avec l'Europe. La France, qui, comme ses partenaires de l'union européenne, souhaite une Turquie stable, prospère, démocratique, ancrée en Europe, est convaincue que le rapprochement de ce pays avec l'union européenne est un gage de stabilité qui favorisera une évolution positive en matière de libéralisation politique. Le gouvernement turc est bien conscient que le Parlement européen n'entérinera pas l'accord d'union douanière avec l'Europe si des mesures concrètes en matière de droits de l'homme ne sont pas prévues rapidement. Il s'est donné comme priorité l'accélération de la démocratisation et le passage des nouvelles lois d'ici l'été. Ces projets de loi viennent d'être adoptés par la commission *ad hoc* de l'Assemblée nationale. Par ailleurs, les autorités turques s'efforcent de mettre en œuvre des mesures concrètes visant à améliorer les comportements administratifs et policiers. Les plaintes déposées devant la Cour européenne aux règles du Conseil de l'Europe en matière de droits de l'homme. Dans le cadre des enquêtes ouvertes à la suite de ces plaintes, deux missions d'experts de la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme se sont déjà rendues en Turquie. Tout en reconnaissant à la Turquie le droit à la souveraineté et à l'intégrité de son territoire, la France a toujours considéré que la solution militaire ne pourrait résoudre définitivement le problème kurde et que seule une approche politique permettrait d'y parvenir.

Monday, June 26, 1995

Turkish Daily News

OSCE drafts letter to PM Çiller on political murders

Request: Letter circulates in US Congress for signatures

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- The Helsinki Watch, the U.S. branch of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), has drafted a letter on the unsolved political murders in Turkey to be sent to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller on June 30. The letter, signed by committee chairmen Reps. Steny Hoyer (D-MD) and Chris Smith (R-NJ), is now being circulated on the Capitol Hill for additional signatures.

"We are writing to express our grave concern about unsolved disappearances and murders in Turkey," the letter starts. "In the past 18 months, according to Turkey's main human rights association, more than

400 people have disappeared or been found murdered.

The letter mentions that this month, "families of the disappeared and other concerned Turkish citizens will walk to the Ministry of Interior and hold a silent vigil. There, they will leave their loved ones' shoes to signify their loss.... We are writing to show our support for the disappeared and their families, and to lend support to democracy in your country."

Hoyer and Smith told Çiller that "we appeal to your government to bring the perpetrators of such crimes to justice and unequivocally demonstrate your commitment to protecting the most precious human right, the right to life."

In the "dear colleague" letter they attached to the letter to be sent to Çiller, the two U.S. co-chairmen of OSCE said "death squads operate with impunity and unsolved murders proliferate. In many incidents, it is evident that persons were held in police custody before disappearing or being found murdered. Victims have been taken from their homes, offices and off the street."

Hoyer and Smith called on their colleagues to add their names to the letter as co-signers to "express your concern about the fate of the disappeared and lend support to their families."

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Turquie-Kurdes-Irak

Le parlement turc renouvelle le stationnement de la force multinationale

ANKARA, 27 juin (AFP) - L'assemblée nationale turque a renouvelé mardi soir pour six mois le stationnement en Turquie de la force multinationale chargée de protéger les Kurdes d'Irak dans le cadre de l'opération alliée "Provide Comfort".

L'autorisation de présence de cette force aérienne, stationnée à Incirlik (sud, près d'Adana) et composée d'appareils américains, britanniques et français, venait à expiration à la fin du mois.

Le gouvernement turc avait décidé la semaine dernière de soumettre au parlement la prolongation pour six mois de sa présence sur le sol turc. Sa proposition a été adoptée par 202 voix contre 153.

Dans une intervention devant les députés avant le vote, le chef de la diplomatie turque Erdal Inonu a demandé la prorogation du stationnement "pour le bien du pays" et "afin d'empêcher un nouveau flux de réfugiés vers le territoire turc".

La première phase de cette opération alliée avait assuré le retour chez eux de quelque 500.000 Kurdes d'Irak qui s'étaient massés à la frontière turque, fuyant l'armée irakienne à la suite de l'insurrection kurde matée par Saddam Hussein en mars 1991, à la suite de la guerre du Golfe (janvier-février 1991).

La force a pour mission de surveiller la zone d'exclusion aérienne imposée à l'aviation irakienne au nord du 36ème parallèle et les mouvements des troupes irakiennes en direction de la zone de sécurité établie par la coalition anti-irakienne dans une bande de territoire du nord de l'Irak proche de la frontière turque.

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JUN 95

Turkish Daily News

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 28, 1995

Gen. John M. Shalikashvili defends human rights progress in Turkey

By Uğur Akıncı
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON- General John M. Shalikashvili, the chairman of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, in a letter he wrote to Rep. Sonny Callahan (R-AL) on June 21, recalled Turkey's value as a staunch ally and warned that if the U.S. Congress succeeds in cutting aid to Turkey for alleged human rights violations and "taking on the role of adversary," the U.S. leaders will "lose access to key (Turkish) decision makers." Callahan is the chairman of House Appropriations Foreign Operations subcommittee.

'Turks are proud people'

Defending the progress the Turkish Armed Forces had made in regard to human rights issues, Shalikashvili said "I have personally engaged General Karadayi, Turkey's Chief of Staff, in dialogue regarding human rights and found him to be willing to assist in moving forward with new measures aimed at enhancing Turkish democracy and human rights.

The Turkish military leadership is backing progress on human rights and is ready to make a

concerted effort to see democratization legislation pass.

Imposing more restrictions on this valued ally will only hinder our attempts to encourage progress and bring about lasting change.

The Turks are proud people, and respect for the military is a time-honored tradition. By withdrawing support for them and taking on the role of adversary, we lose access to key decision makers.

Recent progress combined with Turkey's unquestioned strategic importance, should drive the United States to increase support to Turkey in order to achieve our objectives, not destroy bilateral relations."

'Progress is visible'

In his long letter, Shalikashvili gave the following examples of progress in human rights issues in the Turkish army:

"The Turkish military is actively engaging in efforts to improve human rights awareness among its personnel. Progress is visible in their newfound willingness to discuss this sensitive issue openly.

They have instituted new rules of engagement

for all military operations and provided additional training to many soldiers assigned to anti-terrorist operations.

While the recent operations in northern Iraq drew sharp criticism from many of Turkey's European neighbors, evidence indicates that the Turkish military went to great lengths to protect the lives of innocent civilians while destroying terrorist camps.

There has been, in short, significant progress on the human rights front."

Shalikashvili reminded Callahan of the crucial role played by Turkey as a U.S. ally in NATO, Gulf War, Korea, Provide Comfort and in Somalia. "As of June 19, the coalition has flown over 23,000 sorties out of Incirlik in support of humanitarian operations protecting Kurds of northern Iraq.

Further, without Turkish military support, our humanitarian operations in Provide Comfort would have long since been terminated and Saddam Hussein would have subjugated the Kurds of northern Iraq," Shalikashvili said.

In a similar effort to block Rep. John Porter's (R-IL) attempt to cut aid — especially economic support funding — to Turkey, three influential

leaders of the House Appropriations committee circulated a "Dear colleague" letter last Friday. Bob Livingston (R-NJ), chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Rep. Callahan, and Charlie Wilson (D-TX), ranking member of the House appropriations foreign operations subcommittee urged the House members to "read Chairman Shalikashvili's letter. As the country's most senior and respected military leader, he makes a compelling case in support of our vital relationship with Turkey.

We strongly urge you to oppose any amendments which would undermine our bilateral relationship with this critical ally and proven supporter."

The three congressional leaders said "it is our view that the government of Turkey is already in the process of addressing the human rights concerns which these amendments attempt to address. In fact, it is clear that our present strong relations with Turkey is a critical factor in shaping these improvements."

As we went to press the TDN had learned that Rep. Greg Laughlin of Columbia, Texas, longtime supporter of Turkey, has decided to change his party and sign up with the Republicans.

Conseil de l'Europe: grands principes suédois... et réalités turques

●●● Réalités européennes à Strasbourg. Dans l'hémicycle, le président du Comité des ministres explique la difficile position de l'Europe sur la Turquie, sans prononcer le mot tabou «kurdes». Mais dehors, devant le Palais, des centaines de femmes kurdes manifestent avec des youyoues stridentes. Peine perdue. Elles ne peuvent être entendues. Car les «Kurdes» n'existent pas...

Evidemment, M. Josef Zieleniec, ministre des affaires étrangères de la République tchèque, actuel président du comité des ministres du Conseil de l'Europe, n'est pas en cause. Dans sa fonction, il est le porte parole du plus large consensus entre 34 Etats membres. Ou du plus petit dénominateur commun de l'Europe politique.

Contre le racisme

Et en tant que tel, il a expliqué avec beaucoup de tact diplomatique que le Conseil de l'Europe prenait en quelque sorte acte des déclarations faites récemment par Madame Ciller, Premier ministre turc, devant l'assemblée de l'Union de l'Europe Occidentale: la

condamner la Turquie en avril dernier, doit-elle se contenter de cette réponse qui ne fait aucune allusion aux droits des Kurdes? Réponse du ministre tchèque: il n'a trouvé, dans la déclaration de Madame Ciller, «aucune référence à une interdiction de l'enseignement en langue kurde»...

En d'autres termes, il n'y a plus de «problème turc» dans l'optique du Conseil de l'Europe. Il est vrai, aussi, que dans un autre domaine, le sommet des «Quinze» à Cannes a décidé d'associer la Turquie aux réunions de l'Union européenne...

Condamnation des essais nucléaires français

Cette question réglée, il était plus aisé aux parlementaires des «34» de prôner la lutte contre l'intolérance et le racisme dans une recommandation qui fait l'unanimité sur les principes mais pose problème dans les détails. Par exemple, les Etats y sont invités à ratifier la convention-cadre sur la protection des minorités nationales, à ratifier la charte européenne des langues régionales et à accorder un droit de vote aux résidents étrangers lors des élections locales.

Autant d'exigences qui heurtent la tradition de certains pays, voire leur constitution, comme celle de la France.

C'est incontestablement le Premier ministre suédois Ing-

var Carlsson qui était la vedette de la journée d'hier. Non seulement parce qu'il a été fort applaudi en condamnant la France dans sa décision de reprendre les essais nucléaires («la guerre froide a pris fin et il faut savoir s'adapter aux nouvelles réalités») mais aussi en proposant de «diviser par deux le chômage en Europe au cours de la prochaine décennie».

Comment? En réduisant les déficits publics, en abandonnant les simples critères économiques pour élever le débat vers d'autres dimensions. Par exemple, concernant l'Union européenne, «qui doit se faire la championne du libre-échange», il a demandé que «les critères de politique de l'emploi, de formation et d'environnement soient aussi stricts que ceux requis en matière de convergence monétaire».

En même temps, parlant d'avantage de l'Europe des Quinze que de celle des «34», le Premier ministre suédois a insisté sur la nécessaire «politique étrangère et de sécurité commune» tout en insistant par ailleurs sur la célèbre «neutralité» suédoise...

Une contradiction que n'a pas manquée de relever le député français Jean Vallex mais sans obtenir de réponse précise... Comme quoi, l'assemblée parlementaire du Conseil de l'Europe est aussi le champ clos de tous les exercices de rhétorique!

Jean-Claude Kieffer



Pour le Premier ministre suédois Ingvar Carlsson, «la guerre froide a pris fin et il faut savoir s'adapter aux nouvelles réalités». (Photo DNA)

Turquie, mise un moment au ban de l'Europe, veut concilier la «préservation de l'unité nationale et le renforcement des droits individuels». L'assemblée, si prompt à

Local support for Kurd rebels hinders Turks

By Aliza Marcus

Reuter

TUNCELI, Turkey- The Turkish military's drive against rebel Kurds in the eastern province of Tunceli is hampered by a major factor, front-line members of the security forces say — many Kurdish civilians support the rebels. "The problem is there is still sympathy for the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party), and as long as that continues it will be impossible to finish them off," a counter-insurgency commando told Reuters at the weekend. Turkey has long said the PKK, which it calls a terrorist group, commands little support in the mainly Kurdish east and southeast, where the rebels have fought for 11 years for autonomy or independence. Over 16,000 people have died. The Turkish army outnumbers the PKK by something like 25 to one in Tunceli province, at the heart of the struggle. Troops were recently boosted to at least 50,000 there against an estimated 2,000 rebels. But Kurdish sources throughout the region say the guerrillas rely on villagers for food, shelter and supplies, something some give willingly and others provide out of fear.

The commandos, based in Tunceli for almost four years, said they found it hard to accept continuing sympathy for the rebels, who have burned schools and health clinics, killed teachers and attacked families of state-paid village guards.

"It's not up to us to solve this, we just take orders," said one commando, who like the others would not give his name.

"But if the state would lift some restrictions, like allow Kurdish television or schools, then sympathy would probably drop," he said. Kurdish

activists have long argued the PKK benefits from state repression of Kurdish cultural and political identity, and Turkey's weak record on human rights.

Many Kurds who do not support the PKK say Ankara is playing into the hardline group's hands by closing off democratic alternatives and essentially criminalising discussion of Kurdish-related issues. Last year the pro-Kurdish Democracy Party was shut by the courts for separatist activity and six of its parliamentarians were jailed in December on similar grounds.

"If I suggest a federation or complain about Turkish policies I'll also end up in prison," said a Kurdish intellectual.

Tunceli province has always been a stronghold of leftist and Kurdish activism, and a 1936-38 rebellion harshly put down by Turkish troops has become the stuff of local folklore.

"Back then our people wanted a Kurdish province, where cultural rights and their Kurdish identity could be free," said a bus driver, who like others insisted his name not be used.

"The rebels in the mountains now are fighting for the same thing." Turkish forces last September launched a major operation against PKK forces in Tunceli, criss-crossed by narrow gorges and soaring mountains that offer rebels natural hiding places.

Despite frequent promises the military has not managed to end PKK attacks or hunt down regional commander Semdin Sakik and local commanders say PKK activity seems to be on the rise again.

Since mid-April the PKK has killed at least 33 soldiers in two major attacks in Tunceli and staged numerous smaller raids.