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## SELON UNE MISSION PARLEMENTAIRE DIX DÉTENUS DE LA PRISON DE DIYARBAKIR ONT BIEN ÉTÉ TUÉS PAR DES GARDIENS ET DES SOLDATS

**U**NE mission d'enquête parlementaire composée de députés Demir Berberoglu (DYP), Sabri Okçu (RP), Hakan Tartan (DSP) et Sabri Ergül (CHP), au terme de deux mois d'investigations, a présenté à la Commission des droits de l'homme du

Parlement son rapport sur la mort de 10 détenus kurdes le 24 septembre dernier à la prison de Diyarbakir. Après avoir longuement débattu des conclusions de ce rapport, la Commission a, le 3 décembre, décidé à l'unanimité de le rendre public. Ce rapport est accablant pour les autorités pénitentiaires car il affirme clairement que

*«ces détenus ont été battus à mort pendant la mutinerie» et même, pour 8 entre eux, «pendant leur transport à l'hôpital». Selon les rapports d'autopsie révélés par la mission d'enquête, l'un des détenus, Mehmet Aslan, est mort sur place d'un traumatisme crânien le 24 septembre, 8 autres le lendemain à l'hôpital, également de traumatisme crânien, et le dixième, Kadri Gümüs, deux jours après, lors de son transport à l'hôpital d'Antep situé à environ 350 km de Diyarbakir. La mission parlementaire demande au parquet de Diyarbakir d'engager des poursuites*

judiciaires contre 30 soldats et 38 matons et policiers impliqués dans cette tuerie. Selon les députés, ces 68 personnels de sécurité devraient être poursuivis pour «coups et blessures ayant entraîné la mort», crime puni de peines allant jusqu'à 12 ans de prison selon le Code pénal turc. «Même pendant une mutinerie ceux qui sont au service de l'État n'ont pas le droit d'agir par vengeance» a déclaré, Sabri Ergül, député CHP, membre de la mission d'enquête. Son collègue Sevki Yilmaz, du parti islamiste, a, de son côté, estimé que «les employés de l'État ne peuvent pas assumer le rôle des procureur, juge et justicier» et tuer des détenus suspects d'appartenance au PKK.

Ce rapport d'une extrême gravité a eu un certain retentissement dans les médias. Mais le Parquet de Diyarbakir n'a encore ouvert aucune information contre les soldats et policiers incriminés. D'ailleurs selon la loi turque sur le jugement des fonctionnaires (Memurin Muhakemat Kanunu) aucune poursuite ne peut être engagée contre des fonctionnaires de l'État sans l'autorisation du préfet du lieu où des crimes ont été commis. Dans plusieurs affaires où des fonctionnaires ont été impliqués dans des meurtres d'opposants les préfets ont refusé au Parquet l'autorisation d'engager des poursuites. Les cas les plus connus sont l'assassinat sous la torture, à Bitlis, du journaliste Seyfettin Tepe et le meurtre en pleine rue, à Istanbul, par des policiers du vendeur de journaux Irfan Dagdas. Les préfets de ces deux villes ont pris des décisions de «refus de poursuites» (men'i muhakeme) et ces deux crimes sont restés impunis.

Dans son éditorial du 3 décembre intitulé «Où est l'État ?» le journaliste libéral Hasan Cemal écrit dans le quotidien *Sabah*: l'information a fait la manchette du *Milliyet* du samedi (30 novembre) sous le titre «barbarie de la torture !» Un sous-titre en caractères frappants précisait: «Des rapports d'autopsie établissent que des détenus tués lors des affrontements survenus à la

prison de Diyarbakir sont morts à la suite de la torture». Le récit se poursuit ainsi: «Les investigations de la mission d'enquête de la Commission des droits l'homme du Parlement dépêchée dans la région révèlent une vérité tenue secrète. Des rapports d'autopsie communiqués à la Commission établissent que la mort des 10 détenus est due aux lésions cérébrales causées par la torture. Les rapports qui ont éclairé les travaux de la Commission indiquent que les détenus ont été battus même lors de leur transport à l'hôpital». Cette information terrible sur la torture est parue samedi. Depuis, il s'est passé 3 jours. Aucune réaction en Turquie! N'est-ce pas une situation terrible ? Je regarde le Premier ministre Erbakan qui déclare à la télévision: «La punition d'une femme médecin pour port de foulard à l'Université d'Istanbul est une torture inhumaine» Soit. Mais que dites-vous de la mort sous la torture (de 10 détenus), Maître? Dans un pays normal une telle information aurait provoqué un tollé général. Mais en Turquie, hélas, pas la moindre réaction! Mais où est donc passé l'État? Regardez aussi le scandale Goktepe ! Rappelez-vous ce jeune collègue, Metin Göktepe, battu à mort lors de sa garde à vue. Il y a 48 policiers prévenus dans ce procès. 11 policiers sont tenus pour responsables de la mort de Goktepe. Le procès a d'abord commencé à Istanbul. Puis, sous prétexte de sécurité, il a été transféré à Aydin. Les avocats des policiers prévenus ont invoqué le même prétexte de sécurité et obtenu le transfert à Afyon. Le procès devait

commencer enfin dans cette ville la semaine dernière mais affirmant ne pas avoir reçu le dossier, la Cour l'a reporté. Il s'est passé 11 mois. Les 11 policiers impliqués dans ce meurtre n'ont toujours pas comparu devant une Cour. Où est donc la Justice? Où est l'État?»

Par ailleurs, le 6 décembre à Genève, le Haut commissariat de l'ONU pour les réfugiés (H.C.R.) a confirmé que « 28 Kurdes irakiens ont été tués à la frontière entre l'Iran et la Turquie dans la nuit du 14 au 15 octobre par un groupe paramilitaire turc » (voir notre Bulletin N° 139-140). « Selon les témoignages des deux survivants, les victimes ont été tuées alors que 30 Kurdes irakiens s'apprêtaient à traverser par groupes de dix la frontière iranienne avec la Turquie » a indiqué le porte-parole du H.C.R.. « Il n'est pas clairement établi de quel côté de la frontière a été commise le massacre » a ajouté Mme. Christiane Berthume qui a précisé que le H.C.R. avait demandé des explications au gouvernement d'Ankara.

Selon le H.C.R., 75.000 Kurdes irakiens s'étaient réfugiés en septembre en Iran à la suite des affrontements entre les factions kurdes dans la région de Souleimanieh et d'Erbil. « Depuis, l'Iran a contraint plus de 50.000 réfugiés à rentrer les menaçant notamment de les priver de nourriture » indique le porte-parole de cette organisation internationale.

## LA FRANCE SE RETIRE DE L'OPÉRATION PROVIDE COMFORT

**L'**OPÉRATION Provide Comfort instituée en juin 1991 pour venir en aide à la population kurde irakienne se transformera à partir du 1er janvier en une mission de patrouille de l'espace aérien du nord de l'Irak, menée conjointement par les États-Unis, la Grande Bretagne et la Turquie. La France a décidé, le 27 décembre, de ne pas participer à cette mission. Officiellement « parce que le volet humanitaire ne figure pas

dans ce nouveau dispositif». Paris va donc retirer la demi-douzaine d'avions basés à Incirlik, en Turquie, qui depuis 5,5 ans participaient à une force alliée d'une cinquantaine d'appareils. Elle continuera cependant à participer à l'autre force d'exclusion aérienne au sud de l'Irak, baptisée *Southern Watch* qui ne comprend pas non plus de « volet humanitaire » mais qui a l'avantage de protéger le Koweït et l'Arabie Saoudites, riches pays pétroliers,

contre les incursions éventuelles de Saddam Hussein.

Les États-Unis ont exprimé leur « déception » face à cette décision française qui a été saluée chaleureusement par l'Irak. Paris déploie depuis deux ans des efforts constants pour normaliser ses relations avec Bagdad à la fois pour recouvrer ses créances et pour prendre pied sur l'important marché de reconstruction irakienne.

Les affrontements entre les factions kurdes rivales ont eu, entre autres conséquences désastreuses, celle de démobiliser le camp hostile à la normalisation avec la dictature irakienne. L'opinion publique est progressivement préparée à cette normalisation par une série de reportages télévisés sur les souffrances de la population civile irakienne où l'on oublie généralement d'indiquer que les souffrances sont dues au refus opposé pendant des années par le régime irakien à l'acceptation de la résolution 986 de l'ONU autorisant les ventes de pétrole irakien pour acheter des produits alimentaires et des médicaments. De dictateur sanguinaire prenant sa population en otage Saddam Hussein devient ainsi dans certains média une victime de la politique américaine. Son émissaire, Tareq Aziz, est reçu avec égards par la France.

Dans ce climat presque retrouvé des « amitiés franco-irakiennes » les affaires reprennent peu à peu. Elf a signé en décembre un premier contrat d'achat de pétrole irakien d'une durée de trois mois. Une délégation d'une quarantaine d'entreprises françaises se rendra en janvier à Bagdad.

Cependant les règlements de comptes commencent à affecter l'entourage proche de Saddam Hussein. Après avoir perdu ses deux gendres, considérés comme des piliers de son pouvoir, voilà que son fils aîné Udaï, considéré comme son héritier, est grièvement blessé dans un attentat

perpétré le 12 décembre dans une rue de Bagdad. Très vraisemblablement paralysé, ce personnage tout puissant mais honni ouvre une brèche dans le dispositif politique du clan au pouvoir. Suspectés d'implication dans cet attentat ou simplement pour faire régner la terreur plusieurs dizaines d'officiers irakiens ont été passés par les armes, selon les sources de l'opposition irakienne.

Incertitudes à Bagdad. Précarité au Kurdistan irakien où en décembre aucun affrontement n'a été signalé. Cependant la trêve reste précaire et la population civile ne croit plus aux promesses de paix des chefs de parti. Ceux qui le peuvent quittent

le pays. En décembre, environ 4500 Kurdes irakiens, considérés par les États-Unis comme « en danger » en raison de leur collaboration avec des organisations humanitaires américaines ou financés sur fonds américains, ont été acheminés vers Guam, île américaine du Pacifique. En septembre, les États-Unis avaient évacué 2100 Kurdes pour les mêmes motifs. En octobre, 730 membres, en majorité arabes, du Congrès national irakien, avaient eux aussi été évacués. Ces Kurdes qui parlaient anglais et avaient fait des études universitaires formaient l'élite intellectuelle et technique du Kurdistan irakien. Leur départ constitue un grave appauvrissement pour le pays.

## IRAN:

### L'ASSASSINAT D'UN DIGNITAIRE RELIGIEUX KURDE PROVOQUE DES ÉMEUTES

L'ASSASSINAT, le 2 décembre, du mollah Mohammad Rabii, imam de la mosquée chaféite de Kermanshah, a suscité une vive émotion dans le Kurdistan iranien où ce dignitaire religieux kurde sunnite jouissait d'une grande estime. Les émeutes populaires ont éclaté le jour même à Kermanshah puis dans d'autres villes de cette province kurde, notamment à Javanroud et Ravansar. Des affrontements violents ont opposé des manifestants kurdes, accusant le régime chiite iranien de cet assassinat, et les forces de sécurité iraniennes, notamment le 4 décembre lors des obsèques du mollah Rabii. Des témoins cités par l'A.F.P. parlent de « plusieurs morts » dans les rangs des manifestants ainsi que chez les policiers dont l'un des officiers supérieurs, le colonel Akbar Najafi, a été tué au cours des affrontements. La police a procédé à un grand nombre d'arrestations tandis que la radio d'État lançait des appels au calme affirmant que le dignitaire religieux était mort d'une crise cardiaque et accusait le

Parti démocratique du Kurdistan iranien (PDKI) d'avoir répandu « des rumeurs infondées pour inciter la population à l'agitation ».

Les appels officiels à « déjouer les complots ennemis » n'ont eu guère d'impact sur une population kurde saturée de propagande et sachant à quoi s'en tenir avec le régime des ayatollahs qui, depuis la proclamation en août 1979 de « la guerre sainte » contre les Kurdes par l'imam Khomeiny lui-même, subit un état de guerre permanent. Ne se contentant pas de la répression à l'intérieur de l'Iran le régime iranien est allé jusqu'à faire assassiner en Europe plusieurs dirigeants kurdes dont deux secrétaires généraux du PDKI, Dr. A.R. Ghassemlou et Dr. Sadegh Charafkandi, tués respectivement en juillet 1989 à Vienne et en septembre 1992 à Berlin par des agents iraniens.

Cependant, les émeutes populaires de décembre au cœur même des grandes villes kurdes témoignent de l'exaspération

de la population. La contestation s'étend désormais jusqu'au clergé chiite lui-même dont plusieurs membres importants ont été arrêtés au cours des derniers mois. Arrivé

au pouvoir par l'adhésion d'une large majorité de la population iranienne le régime islamique iranien ne se maintient plus que par la peur et par la force brute.

## LE CONSEIL DE SÉCURITÉ NATIONALE TURC CRAINT QU'EN 2025 LES KURDES NE DEVIENNENT MAJORITAIRES EN TURQUIE

**S**ELON le rapport «confidentiel» du CSN intitulé «*Problèmes et propositions de solution*» préparé à l'intention du Comité interministériel d'orientation qui s'est réuni le 18 décembre, «*le taux de natalité et la croissance démographique est, dans cette région (kurde), élevée par rapport aux autres régions. En raison de cette croissance et de la vitalité du nationalisme kurde à l'intérieur et à l'extérieur du pays, le changement des équilibres démographiques pourrait constituer à long terme une menace. Des travaux de recherches indiquent qu'en 2010 la population kurde constituera 40% de la population totale du pays et qu'elle tend à dépasser le seuil critique des 50% en 2025. Avec un tel taux le nationalisme kurde surgira au premier plan et sa traduction dans le nombre de députés pourrait, à l'avenir, avoir des conséquences graves. Il est nécessaire de mener dans la région une campagne de planification démographique. Il faudrait adopter des mesures radicales consistant à accorder des primes aux familles ayant peu d'enfants et taxer les familles nombreuses.*»

Ce rapport divulgué par le *Milliyet* du 18 décembre constate que «*les opérations de sécurité intérieure qui avaient au début été lancées sous la responsabilité du ministère de l'Intérieur, sont aujourd'hui complètement confiées à l'armée; en conséquence bien que le ministère de l'Intérieur soit, en droit, compétent pour la lutte contre la terreur, en raison des réalités de notre pays la responsabilité de fait est totalement exercée par l'armée.*»

Le rapport critique également «*les actes d'indiscipline, le laisser-aller vestimentaire et les exactions envers la population civile*» des équipes spéciales (*Ozel Tim*) de police et recommande leur rattachement à l'armée et leur restructuration. Il propose une coordination des multiples services de renseignements civils et militaires sous la houlette de l'armée. Il évoque aussi la nécessité d'amender le champ de l'immunité parlementaire car «*la plupart des trafiquants d'armes sont liés à des députés et en échange d'intérêts variés ils bénéficient de leur immunité parlementaire*». Enfin, le rapport du CSN demande que «*l'ensemble des sommes consacrées par le budget national à la lutte contre la terreur soient mises à la disposition de l'état-major général de l'armée*». En résumé, après avoir mis le ministère de l'Intérieur et le ministère de la défense hors course, l'armée «*en raison des réalités du pays*», veut se rattacher ouvertement tous les services de

renseignements et de police du pays et leur budget «*au nom de l'efficacité de la lutte contre la terreur*». A noter également que ce rapport classe l'Allemagne, la France et la Grande-Bretagne parmi «*les pays qui soutiennent la terreur en Turquie*» car «*ils ne font pas une appréciation politique des événements de terreur et du peuple (kurde) de la région*» et regardent avec compassion «*la population pauvre et victime de cette région*».

Ce rapport a suscité des réactions nombreuses au sein des organisations de la société civile. Au Parlement, seuls les députés kurdes du parti Refah ont osé s'en prendre publiquement au tout-puissant CSN, auteur de ce rapport. Pour le député de Bingöl, Husamettin Korkutata, s'exprimant au nom de ses collègues de la région et cité par le *Milliyet* du 21 décembre «*ce rapport est le produit d'une approche raciste. Cela montre combien ils ont peur des Kurdes, c'est une honte pour l'État et pour la République. S'ils cherchent à planifier la croissance démographique du pays, ils doivent le faire pour l'ensemble du territoire de la République. La peur du peuple kurde conduit ces nationalistes à des pratiques racistes*». De son côté, le député islamiste de Diyarbakir, Ömer Vehbi Hatipoglu, a invité le Premier ministre Erbakan à tenir pour «*inexistant*» ce rapport «*raciste et inacceptable*» du CSN.

## LE PARLEMENT EUROPÉEN PRÉOCCUPÉ PAR LA DÉGRADATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME EN TURQUIE

**D**ANS une nouvelle résolution, adoptée le jeudi 12 décembre, le Parlement européen s'est prononcé sur l'expulsion d'un député danois (voire notre dernier bulletin) dans les termes suivants: «*Le Parlement est choqué par l'emprisonnement, suivi d'une condamnation à*

*une amende et de l'expulsion de Turquie de Soeren Soendergaard, qui s'était rendu dans ce pays en qualité de membre du Parlement danois pour assister au procès de Kemal Koç*». Par ailleurs, à la suite de l'audition par plusieurs groupes du Parlement européen des rédacteurs en chef de principaux journaux turcs, les eurodéputés se sont

déclaré «vivement préoccupés de la dégradation constante des droits de l'homme en Turquie et opposés aux tentatives d'Ankara de limiter la liberté de la presse». Tout en reconnaissant la gravité du projet de loi gouvernemental visant à museler la relative liberté de presse, İlnur Çevik, directeur du journal turc en langue anglaise *Turkish Daily News*, dans son éditorial du 12 décembre, ironise sur « les démocrates de la 25ème heure » que sont les patrons des grands journaux turcs accourus à Strasbourg. Extraits: «...Il semble que ceux qui ont invité ces éditeurs (de journaux) ignoraient que ce sont bien ces derniers qui ont fait en sorte pour que la véritable répression de l'État, qui a endommagé notre image dans le monde, soit cachée. Ce sont eux qui ont applaudi Tansu Çiller, qui était Premier ministre à l'époque, dans sa démarche de jeter hors du Parlement les députés pro-kurdes du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP), qui ont fini par la suite en prison. Ce sont eux qui sont restés silencieux lorsque des villages ont été détruits (par l'armée) dans notre pays. Ce sont eux qui sont restés silencieux alors qu'on jetait en prison des dizaines d'écrivains pour avoir exprimé leurs points de vue. Ce sont eux dont les journaux recevaient des primes et des subventions et, de ce fait, servaient de couverture (à la répression de l'État). C'est seulement dans les dernières semaines que ces éditeurs se sont montrés un peu responsables en permettant à leur journaux d'écrire sur la sale guerre en Turquie où les responsables de l'État sont accusés d'utiliser des gangs pour éliminer les sympathisants séparatistes kurdes. Peut-être les parlementaires européens auraient dû demander à ces éditeurs pourquoi ils ont permis à leurs journaux d'être instrumentalisés par l'État afin de dissimuler le chaos régnant au Sud-Est de la Turquie toutes ces années. Peut-être auraient-ils dû leur demander pourquoi ils ont permis à leurs journaux de violer les droits de l'individu aussi longtemps».

Même si en nationaliste turc militant, M. Çevik n'est pas non plus tout à fait exempt

de participation à la campagne de désinformation et de bourrage de crâne pratiquée depuis des années par les médias turcs, à la demande de l'armée, sur la situation au Kurdistan, ses remarques ont le mérite de rappeler l'étendue des dégâts provoqués par la guerre kurde dans de vastes secteurs de la société et au sein de l'appareil d'État turcs. La population découvre avec amertume qu'on ne cesse de lui mentir, que les prétendus «sauveurs de la nation» sont des affairistes sans scrupules liés à la mafia, impliqués dans de centaines d'assassinats d'opposants civils, que la justice ne poursuit que les malpensants tandis que des criminels et des trafiquants de drogue notoires, recherchés par Interpol, sont protégés par les plus hautes autorités publiques du pays.

En cette fin d'année 1996, les citoyens réalisent que leur État est gravement malade, gangrené et que le problème kurde est à l'origine de cette gangrène. Le directeur de *Hürriyet*, qui est pourtant un pilier de l'establishment nationaliste turc, lance dans le numéro du 13 décembre de son quotidien cet appel pathétique: «Il faut sauver la Turquie de la tyrannie des gangs secrets de l'État, des barons de la drogue et des fortunes acquises par des moyens noirs».

Par ailleurs, toujours à Strasbourg, la Turquie a été à nouveau condamnée par la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Statuant sur la plainte d'un civil kurde, Zeki Aksoy, affirmant avoir été torturé pendant 14 jours durant sa garde à vue dans un poste de police de Kiziltepe, dans la province de Mardin, la juridiction européenne, après enquête approfondie, a, le 18 décembre, déclaré le gouvernement turc coupable de la violation de l'article 3 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme interdisant la torture et les mauvais traitements. Aksoy avait été interpellé en 1992 par la police et placé en garde à vue pendant 14 jours. A la suite

d'une série de tortures subies, notamment la pendaison par les bras, appelée «pendaison palestinienne», il avait perdu l'usage de ses mains et de ses bras. Le parquet de Mardin avait refusé d'enregistrer la plainte contre les policiers tortionnaires et ceux-ci l'avaient empêché de tout dépôt de plainte devant un autre tribunal turc. Citoyen décidé à se faire rendre justice, Aksoy, par l'intermédiaire de son avocat, s'était alors adressé à la Commission européenne des droits de l'homme. En 1994, il a reçu des menaces par téléphone de la part de la police qui lui demandait de retirer sa plainte à la Commission. Devant son refus, deux jours après avoir reçu ces menaces, il était assassiné par des «tueurs non identifiés» que la justice turque n'a d'ailleurs pas cherché à poursuivre. Son père a décidé de poursuivre son combat civique pour la vérité et la justice en se constituant, malgré les menaces, partie civile devant la Commission de Strasbourg. Rejetant les objections turques prétendant que les voies de recours interne n'avaient pas été épuisées dans cette affaire, la Commission avait déclaré la plainte des Aksoy recevable et l'avait transmise à la Cour européenne des droits de l'homme. Celle-ci, à l'issue de son audience du 18 décembre, a reconnu la Turquie coupable et l'a condamnée à verser à la famille de la victime une indemnité de 4,28 milliards (environ 42 000 dollars). Le même jour dans une affaire séparée, statuant sur la plainte d'une citoyenne chypriote, Mme. Titina Louzidon, affirmant avoir été empêchée par les forces turques d'occupation de retourner dans sa maison de Girne, située en zone d'occupation turque, la Cour européenne a reconnu la Turquie coupable de violation de l'article 1 du Protocole n° 1 de la Convention européenne des droits de l'homme qui stipule que «nul ne peut être privée de la jouissance de ses biens».

## CAMPAGNE DES FEMMES POUR LA LIBÉRATION DE LA DÉPUTÉE KURDE LEYLA ZANA

**U**NE délégation de sept femmes, en majorité allemandes, a demandé lundi 9 décembre à Ankara la libération de Mme. Zana et a appelé les pays européens à «arrêter leur soutien économique et politique» au gouvernement d'Ankara. L'initiatrice de cette campagne, Florence Hervé, journaliste et universitaire, a déclaré dans une conférence de presse, que les femmes signataires de son appel étaient «prêtes à passer chacune une journée en prison à Ankara pour écarter le temps de prison que Leyla Zana doit encore purger, 4745 jours, soit 13 ans». Mme. Hervé a présenté une pétition de plus de 2000 signatures, dont celle de Mme. Mitterrand, de personnalités soutenant leur campagne dans 11 pays européens, aux États-Unis et au Canada. Dans le cadre de cette mission à Ankara, la délégation souhaitait rencontrer Mme. Zana dans sa prison ainsi que le président du Parlement turc pour lui remettre la pétition. Mais les autorités turques ont interdit à la délégation l'accès de la prison. Les femmes solidaires de Leyla Zana ont manifesté devant la prison, puis donné une conférence de presse au siège de l'Association turque des droits de l'homme. Après avoir protesté contre le refus des autorités turques de les recevoir et de les laisser rendre visite à Leyla Zana, Mme. Hervé a notamment déclaré: «*Leyla Zana est un symbole. Le symbole de la lutte du peuple kurde pour la paix, pour la démocratie et pour le respect des droits de l'homme. En ce jour marquant le deuxième anniversaire de sa condamnation nous demandons sa libération et celle de ses collègues détenus.*»

Toujours à Ankara, le 2 décembre, la Cour de Sûreté d'État a lancé une information judiciaire contre 4 anciens députés kurdes du Parti de la Démocratie (DEP, interdit depuis 1994): Mehmet Emin Sever,

Mahmut Uyanik, Muzaffer Demir et Abdülkerim Zilan. Les chefs d'accusation retenus par les juges turcs sont: «propagande séparatiste» (il s'agit de l'appel lancé par les députés kurdes du DEP à l'Organisation pour la Sécurité et la Coopération en Europe (OSCE) afin d'envoyer un comité d'observation permanent dans le Sud-Est kurde de la Turquie); «grève de la faim» observée par les députés lors de l'opération de grande

envergure lancée par les forces de sécurité turques dans le Sud-Est de la Turquie ainsi qu'au Kurdistan d'Irak en 1992 ou encore une conférence de presse lors de laquelle les députés kurdes avaient mentionné l'existence du peuple kurde en Turquie. Les peines encourues par les ex-députés kurdes vont de 4,5 à 7,5 ans de prison. Alors que la justice turque poursuit de ses foudres ces 4 ex-députés kurdes «coupables de délit d'opinion», un autre député kurde, Sedat Bucak, chef d'une armée privée de 10.000 miliciens, et impliqué dans nombre de crimes et meurtres, coule de jours tranquilles à Ankara. Son mentor, Mme. Çiller, le qualifie de «héros national» pour «services rendus à l'État».

## LE COMITÉ EUROPÉEN CONTRE LA TORTURE DÉNONCE LA TURQUIE

**I**L est extrêmement rare que le Comité européen contre la Torture (CPT) sorte de sa réserve et dénonce publiquement un pays. Cet organe du Conseil de l'Europe, basé à Strasbourg, a dénoncé, dans un communiqué rendu public le vendredi 6 décembre, la pratique «fréquente» et «inacceptable» de la torture en Turquie, appliquée tant à des détenus politiques qu'à des suspects de droit commun. De retour d'une mission d'enquête à Adana, Bursa et Istanbul et après avoir visité des centres de police dans ces villes et rencontré d'anciens prisonniers, le Comité a dénoncé la police turque dans les termes suivants: «Un nombre considérable de personnes examinées par les trois médecins légistes (du CPT) présentaient des lésions ou d'autres signes médicaux prouvant qu'elles avaient reçu des coups sur la plante des pieds, la paume des mains ou qu'elles avaient été longuement suspendues par les bras». Deux des personnes examinées ont perdu l'usage des deux bras, des séquelles qui pourraient se révéler «irréversibles» selon

le CPT. Le Comité a, par ailleurs, trouvé dans les locaux de la police d'Istanbul du matériel de torture servant notamment à des électrochocs et à la suspension au plafond par les bras. Selon le Comité, le gouvernement turc était au courant de l'existence de ces matériels mais ne s'est jamais montré «apte à reconnaître la gravité de la situation». «Il appartient à l'État de se faire respecter» a encore ajouté le Comité et «en aucune circonstance la lutte contre la violence de la guérilla ne justifie la torture ou d'autres mauvais traitements». Il y a quatre ans le Comité avait déjà publié un communiqué dans le même sens. Il avait demandé, en vain, au gouvernement turc de «remédier à la situation» en réduisant notamment la durée de la garde-à-vue pour les «suspects de terrorisme». Ceux-ci peuvent être maintenus au secret jusqu'à 15 jours, et même 30 jours dans les régions kurdes soumises à l'état d'urgence. C'est pendant la garde à vue que les «suspects» sont systématiquement torturés. Le Comité, composé d'experts indépendants (juristes, médecins...), effectue des visites-



surprises dans les endroits où des personnes sont détenues par la force publique en Europe, et n'adopte la procédure de la «déclaration publique»

que si l'État concerné refuse de coopérer ou d'apporter les améliorations préconisées.

## ANKARA : UN ANCIEN PREMIER MINISTRE TÉMOIGNE DE LA DÉRIVE MAFIEUSE DE L'ÉTAT

**L'**ANCIEN Premier ministre conservateur turc se fait depuis quelques semaines le principal accusateur de la dérive mafieuse de l'État turc. Déposant successivement devant la Cour de Sûreté de l'État d'Istanbul et devant la Commission d'enquête du Parlement, il décrit, souvent avec force détails et cassettes de témoins à l'appui, les agissements de divers groupes opérant depuis des années sous la protection d'une partie de l'appareil de l'État. Devant le Parlement, il affirme que pendant son court mandat de Premier ministre, au printemps 1996, il a voulu tirer au clair les affaires des meurtres mystérieux et d'autres crimes perpétrés par des organes de l'État: «J'ai fait ce que j'ai pu. Je me suis battu pendant un mois pour nommer mon candidat à la Direction générale de la Sûreté; je n'y suis pas parvenu (...) M. Erbakan a encore moins de pouvoir que moi; il n'a pu procéder à aucune nomination au ministère de l'Intérieur (...) Finalement j'ai pu nommer une personne de confiance à la direction de Sûreté d'Istanbul, Mme. Çiller a imposé son candidat à la Direction générale de la Sûreté. Certaines autres nominations dans la police ont été faites sous l'influence de la mafia (...) Mme. Çiller a créé une unité spéciale au sein des services de renseignements (MIT), chargée en principe de contre-terrorisme qui se livre en fait à l'espionnage de ses adversaires. Il y a quelques jours, j'ai eu une conversation privée au téléphone avec un ami procureur; le lendemain le MIT a communiqué à Çiller son compte-rendu (...) Mme. Çiller a constitué tout un réseau à son service. L'un des membres de ce réseau, le député Bucak dispose en plein Ankara, dans

son logement de fonction et dans son bureau de plus de 100 mitraillettes Kalachnikov (...) L'ancien ministre de l'Intérieur, Mehmet Agar, qui a été pendant longtemps chef de la police, est mêlé à une série d'affaires graves. Je suis en possession d'une cassette de 4 heures d'aveux d'un certain Huseyin Baybasin, l'un des gros bonnets de la drogue, qui affirme que depuis le début des années 1980 il a mené son trafic en utilisant les voitures de police mises à sa disposition par M. Agar, de fausses cartes d'identité établies et signées par Agar et qu'il a voyagé en Europe avec des passeports de service qui lui ont été remis par ce même Agar. Une cinquantaine de trafiquants de drogue utiliseraient ce genre de passeports et de pièces d'identité délivrés par M. Agar. Il existe au sein de la Direction générale de la Sûreté une unité qui fournit ces trafiquants et des tueurs en cartes d'identité de police et en passeport de service. Des trafiquants notoires portent des passeports de chef de bureau de commissaire ou de conseiller technique de la police. Tout cela mérite au moins une enquête sérieuse».

Comme pour appuyer ces déclarations de M. Yilmaz, H. Baybasin décrit dans le même *Hürriyet* du 27 décembre 1996 et dans *Özgür Politika* du 2 janvier 1997 les relations de M. Agar avec les divers chefs de la mafia. Il rappelle que cet ex-policier, fils de policier, se trouve actuellement à la tête d'une fortune colossale acquise grâce à sa coopération avec la mafia, mais, précise-t-il, il n'agissait pas à titre personnel; c'était la politique de l'État pour financer grâce à cet «argent noir» une série d'opérations secrètes. Il évoque aussi le nom d'un frère du président Demirel et d'un député du parti islamiste faisant

également partie de leur «réseau». Témoignant devant la Commission parlementaire, Mehmet Eymür, numéro 2 du MIT, confirme l'essentiel de ces révélations. Il affirme notamment que ses services ont «utilisé» Abdullah Çatli, chef mafieux recherché par Interpol et tué dans le récent accident de voiture de Sussuruk, dans des «opérations secrètes à l'étranger». « Plus tard, nous avons appris qu'il était impliqué dans le trafic de drogue, nous avons alors renoncé à nous en servir. Mais la Direction générale de la Sûreté l'a engagé (...) Récemment nous avons appris que l'un de nos agents, Tarik Ümit, avait été enlevé par des équipes spéciales (Özel Tim) et interrogé par Çatli. J'ai appelé le ministre de l'Intérieur Agar pour demander qu'on le libère. Il a dit qu'il allait voir. Puis notre agent a été trouvé mort. Un autre chef de la mafia d'héroïne, Ayhan Akça a également été enlevé par les équipes spéciales et interrogé par Çatli. L'agent de liaison d'Akça, Mlle Dilek Onek, vient d'être arrêté à l'aéroport d'Istanbul en provenance des Pays-Bas avec une valise bourrée de narco-dollars. Elle portait un passeport de service, comme celui de Çatli émis par la Direction générale de la Sûreté». Le haut dirigeant du MIT, cité par le *Hürriyet* du 27 décembre confirme que «ses services utilisent, dans l'intérêt de l'État, toute sorte d'individus y compris des criminels». Enfin sa révélation majeure: « le trafic de drogue rapporte 25 milliards de dollars par an aux trafiquants turcs car une partie considérable du trafic international d'héroïne passe par la Turquie « qui est en outre considéré comme «un paradis d'argent noir». M. Eymür ne précise pas la part prélevée par les divers services de l'État turc sur cette masse énorme de narco-dollars. A la question de savoir jusqu'où peut aller ce «réseau», M. Yilmaz répond, dans le *Hürriyet* du 27 décembre, qu'à son avis, Tansu Çiller était au courant de tous les agissements de M. Agar et les couvrait. Il a ajouté «Rappelez-vous: en décembre 1993, Mme. Çiller déclare qu'elle a entre les mains la liste d'une soixantaine d'hommes d'affaires aidant le PKK. 15 jours plus tard, on est passé

aux exécutions. Depuis août 1995, l'état-major des armées ne s'est pas mêlé de ces affaires, pas même par le biais de JITEM (Service de renseignement de la gendarmerie). Depuis que le général Karadayi est devenu chef d'état-major, l'armée se tient à l'écart de ces affaires». Ce qui veut dire qu'avant août 1995, sous le règne du général Güres, l'armée était elle aussi impliquée. M. Yilmaz, qui a fort à faire avec ses adversaires dans l'actuel bras de fer et qui se dit «menacé», tient ostensiblement à exempter l'armée. Tout comme le président Demirel, qui en

réponse à la crise de confiance que connaît le pays, déclare que «le gouvernement est un organisme politique. L'État, c'est le Conseil de Sécurité nationale (à dominante militaire) qui est une institution extraordinairement sérieuse et fiable». Est-ce pour conjurer le péril d'un coup d'État militaire que ces hauts dirigeants turcs encensent ainsi l'armée? En tout cas, celle-ci, par la voix de l'un de ses «hauts commandants», déclare au quotidien *Hürriyet* du 20 décembre: «cette fois-ci, c'est aux forces non armées de résoudre la crise!».

## LA MORT DE LA CHANTEUSE KURDE AYŞE ŞAN

**L**A plus célèbre des chanteuses kurdes des années 1960-1970, Ayşe Şan est décédée le 18 décembre à Izmir des suites d'une longue maladie. Née à Diyarbakir dans une famille de *dengbêj* (barde traditionnel kurde), elle était très jeune remarquée par la qualité exceptionnelle de sa voix. Dans un pays où chanter en kurde en public était interdit, sa vocation de devenir chanteuse allait se heurter à une foule d'obstacles. Les radios, les salles de concert, les maisons de disques ne voulant pas prendre de risques de poursuites pénales refusaient de la produire. Finalement, en 1963, le propriétaire d'un jardin de thé avait accepté qu'elle chante chaque soir dans son jardin devant les gens qui venaient passer les soirées d'été autour d'un samovar de thé. Le succès fut rapide. Le salon gagnait en une soirée plus que la recette ordinaire de tout un mois. Un Juif d'Istanbul, Albert Meşulum, conquis par la voix d'Ayşe Şan a accepté de prendre le risque de produire un disque avec deux chansons en turc et deux chansons en kurde pour ne pas être accusé de «séparatisme». Ce premier disque de musique kurde de l'histoire de la République turque a eu un succès

populaire immense. Il fut suivi de plusieurs autres qui furent tous saisis et interdits lors du Coup d'État militaire de mars 1971. Interdite dans son propre pays, Ayşe Şan s'est réfugiée pendant 3 ans en Allemagne. Ses disques, constamment joués par Radio Erévan et Radio Bagdad continuaient de combler les admirateurs de cette chanteuse populaire kurde. En 1979 elle a été invitée à Bagdad pour participer à des programmes de musique kurde.

Elle a ensuite donné des concerts dans les principales villes du Kurdistan irakien en compagnies des chanteurs kurdes irakiens Muhamed Arif Cizrawî et Isa Berwarî. Ces concerts furent de véritables triomphes et les enregistrements réalisés à cette occasion rencontrent encore un vif succès auprès du public kurde. Revenue pour des raisons familiales dans une Turquie à nouveau dirigée par un régime militaire, elle fut contrainte au silence. Première chanteuse publique kurde de Turquie, Ayşe Şan, grâce à son talent et à son courage exceptionnels aura été aussi la première chanteuse à jouir d'une large audience dans l'ensemble du Kurdistan ainsi que dans la diaspora kurde d'Europe et du Caucase.

## AINSI QUE...

• SELON UN RAPPORT OFFICIEL TURC 3 288 ÉCOLES PRIMAIRES RESTENT FERMÉES DANS LES PROVINCES KURDES. D'après les extraits de ce rapport «confidentiel» du ministère de l'Éducation nationale, publiés dans le quotidien *Milliyet* du 17 décembre, les 24 provinces kurdes de Turquie comptent théoriquement 11591 écoles. Sur ce total 3288 (soit 35%) sont actuellement fermées. 1859 d'entre elles sont fermées «pour des raisons de sécurité», 1248 «faute d'instituteurs» et 181 parce qu'il n'y a plus assez d'élèves. Dans les écoles qui restent ouvertes, en raison de pénurie de crédits et d'instituteurs «chaque classe compte en moyenne 80 élèves». A la base de cette situation dramatique se trouve l'évacuation et la destruction des villages kurdes et les déplacements massifs des populations car le nombre d'écoles fermées correspond à peu près à celui des villages évacués par l'armée. Les instituteurs, craignant pour leur vie, sont peu volontaires pour aller servir dans les provinces kurdes. En 1996, alors qu'un chômage massif sévit dans le pays, sur 9895 instituteurs et enseignants du secondaire nommés pour les provinces kurdes à peine la moitié a accepté d'aller y travailler. Encore s'agit-il en grande partie d'enseignants d'origine kurde soucieux de l'avenir de la jeune génération. Et cela place l'administration turque face à un nouveau dilemme. Les fonctionnaires d'origine turque malgré les fortes primes de risques ne veulent plus aller travailler au Kurdistan; pour assurer un fonctionnement minimum de l'appareil d'État; on nomme alors, à des postes subalternes, nombre de Kurdes qui sont «peu fiables» aux yeux du pouvoir politique. Dans le rapport préparé par le Conseil de sécurité nationale mentionné ci-dessus les militaires s'inquiètent du fait que «90% des imams (prêtres musulmans), 80% des gardiens de prison et 43% des

*instituteurs servant dans ces provinces (kurdes) sont d'origine locale*». Le CSN demande l'adoption des mesures urgentes pour remédier à cette situation.

• **BILAN DES VIOLATIONS DES DROITS DE L'HOMME COMMISES EN NOVEMBRE.** M. Akin Birdal, président de l'Association des droits de l'homme de Turquie (IHD) a donné le 19 décembre une conférence de presse à Ankara pour rendre public le bilan de novembre des violations des droits de l'homme établi par son organisation. Selon l'IHD, en novembre 11 civils ont été assassinés pour motif politique par des tueurs non identifiés, 8 personnes ont trouvé la mort sous la torture ou à la suite d'exécutions extrajudiciaires, 9 civils ont été tués à la suite des opérations militaires et 9 autres ont été blessés, 13 civils sont portés disparus. Au cours de ce mois, la police a placé en garde à vue 1652 personnes dont 176 ont été écrouées; 16 publications ont été saisies, 37 travailleurs de presse ont été gardés à vue. Fin novembre on comptait 142 prisonniers politiques d'opinion en Turquie.

Par ailleurs, selon un bilan établi par la Super-préfecture des provinces kurdes, cité par le quotidien *Hürriyet* du 27 décembre, dans la période allant du 1er janvier au 26 décembre 1996, 2782 membres présumés du PKK, 531 soldats, policiers et miliciens, 143 civils et 4 instituteurs ont été tués dans «la guerre de basse intensité» qui se poursuit au Kurdistan. 2233 civils ont été blessés ou amputés dans des actes de violence liés à cette guerre.

• **CRÉATION D'UN NOUVEAU PARTI PRO-KURDE EN TURQUIE.** Un nouveau parti pro-kurde, celui des «Masses démocratiques» (DKP), qui préconise une «solution politique à la question kurde, tout en respectant les frontières actuelles de la Turquie», a été créé en Turquie. Le DKP se situe au «centre» et est «libéral», politiquement et économiquement, selon

son président Serafettin Elci, ancien parlementaire d'origine kurde et ministre des Travaux public dans les années 70. M. Elci a déclaré, vendredi 3 janvier, au ministère de l'Intérieur où il était allé déposer les statuts de son parti, que son parti était «contre la violence et attaché aux méthodes pacifistes et démocratiques». Il revendique «la reconnaissance de l'identité kurde au niveau constitutionnel et l'attribution aux Kurdes des droits culturels, notamment celui de l'enseignement dans leur langue maternelle». Jusqu'à présent, toutes les tentatives de création d'un parti kurde légal ont été réprimées par la justice turque. Les observateurs attendent avec intérêt la suite qui sera réservée à l'initiative de M. Elçi connu pour sa modération et son pacifisme.

• **GENÈVE: LA MISSION TURQUE REFUSE DE RECEVOIR UNE PÉTITION EN FAVEUR DE BESIKÇI.** A l'occasion de la journée mondiale des droits de l'homme, une délégation suisse composée notamment de parlementaires s'est rendue le 10 décembre à la Mission turque après de l'ONU, à Genève, pour y déposer une pétition en faveur du sociologue turc. I. Besikçi portant 1400 signatures d'écrivains, d'artistes et d'universitaires. Les parlementaires suisses ont été accueillis par un cordon de police qui leur a fait savoir que «l'ambassadeur turc ne souhaitait pas les recevoir». Déçue par ce refus, la délégation suisse a finalement remis au Haut commissariat des Nations unies pour les droits de l'homme sa pétition demandant notamment la libération d'Ismail Besikçi «dont les peines cumulées se montent à plus de 200 ans de prison» et «qui a commis l'unique délit de faire des recherches sur la réalité et l'identité du peuple kurde».

• **«LES MÈRES DU SAMEDI» REÇOIVENT UN PRIX INTERNATIONAL DES DROITS DE L'HOMME.** La ligue des droits de l'homme allemande a accordé son prix cette année aux mères des «disparus» en Turquie appelées communément «les

mères du samedi» d'après leur rassemblement hebdomadaire tous les samedis à Istanbul. En recevant le Prix au nom des «mères du samedi» Mme. Nimet Tanrikulu a déclaré à la presse: «C'est un soutien chaleureux qui va au-delà des frontières; ce Prix a donné du retentissement à notre voix». Amnesty International et Reporters sans frontières ont participé à la cérémonie de la remise de ce Prix nommé Carl von Ossietzky, du nom du journaliste allemand qui a lutté contre le nazisme et qui avait reçu le Prix Nobel en 1935.

• **LE DANEMARK EXIGE DE LA TURQUIE LA LISTE ROUGE DE DANOIS «INDÉSIRABLES».** A la suite de l'arrestation et de l'expulsion d'un député danois, M. Soeren Soendergaard, le vendredi 29 novembre à Ankara, le ministre danois des Affaires étrangères Niels Helveg Petersen a exigé que le gouvernement turc lui remette «la liste rouge» de ressortissants danois jugés «indésirables» par Ankara. «Nous avons demandé des explications au gouvernement turc sur cette interpellation du député danois et nous allons suivre de près cette affaire» a indiqué le ministre danois. Le député en question s'était rendu à Ankara pour assister au procès d'un Danois d'origine kurde. L'ambassadeur turc à Copenhague, Turan Morali, a été convoqué pour donner des explications au ministère danois des Affaires étrangères sur le cas de ce député. Deux autres députés danois sociaux-démocrates siégeant à l'assemblée de Strasbourg, Freddy Blak et Kirsten Jensen, ont demandé que cette affaire soit soulevée rapidement au Parlement européen. «Ce cas est encore un argument pour geler les quelque 2,5 milliards de couronnes (425 millions de dollars) promis à la Turquie dans le cadre des accords douaniers entre ce pays et l'Union européenne» ont-ils souligné. Le mardi 10 décembre, le ministre danois des Affaires étrangères a, en marge de la réunion des ministres de l'OTAN, rencontré son homologue turc, Mme.

Tansu Çiller, à qui il a rappelé l'affaire de la «liste rouge» en disant: «*J'espère vraiment qu'Ankara renoncera à cette liste car son maintien est tout à fait déraisonnable*». Quatre politiciens de gauche et un responsable du Centre danois, connus pour leur défense des droits de l'homme, ont été déclarés persona non grata en Turquie à la suite de leurs déclarations en faveur des droits du peuple kurde.

• **NOUVELLE SUSPENSION DU QUOTIDIEN DEMOKRASI.** La Cour de Sécurité d'État n° 2 d'Istanbul, à l'issue de son audience du 18 décembre, a décidé une suspension de 10 jours du quotidien pro-kurde *Demokrasi* pour avoir publié dans son numéro du 2 janvier 1996 un article intitulé «*Les travailleurs et les Kurdes*» de l'écrivain Münir Leylan. Selon la Cour turque, ce texte enfreint l'article 312 du Code pénal turc qui réprime «*l'incitation ouverte de la population à la haine et à l'hostilité en invoquant des différences raciales*». L'auteur du texte incriminé, M. Leylan, a été condamné à deux ans de prison. Le 27 décembre, la même Cour a prononcé 3 autres peines de suspension de 10 jours pour des articles parus respectivement dans les numéros des 18 juillet, 29 juillet et 25 décembre du quotidien *Demokrasi*. Si ces peines sont confirmées par la Cour d'appel, *Demokrasi* sera, au total, suspendu pendant 45 jours.

• **ERBAKAN SIGNE LE NOUVEL ACCORD DE COOPÉRATION MILITAIRE AVEC ISRAËL.** Le Premier ministre islamiste, connu pour sa rhétorique enflammée contre Israël, s'est finalement rangé aux injonctions de l'armée en signant le 5 décembre l'accord de coopération militaire turco-israélien. Cet accord porte sur la rénovation par la firme publique israélienne, Israel Aircraft Industry, de 54 avions de combats turcs F-4. Les Israéliens vont d'ici cinq ans installer sur ces bombardiers turcs des systèmes avioniques avancés, y compris des radars Elta, pour un coût total de \$600 millions (\$800 millions avec les intérêts).

26 de ces bombardiers seront rénovés en Israël, 28 autres en Turquie par des ingénieurs israéliens avec des équipements fournis par IAI. Par ailleurs, le 1er décembre la radio publique israélienne a annoncé la signature à Ankara d'un « accord de coopération et de manœuvres communes pour l'année 1997 » entre les responsables militaires des deux pays. Selon la radio, citée par l'A.F.P., « *les manœuvres communes, aériennes et navales entre les deux pays se sont poursuivies. Récemment, le chef d'état-major adjoint israélien, le général Matan Vilnay et le chef de l'armée de l'air, le général Eitan ben Eliahu se sont rendus en Turquie* ». L'arrivée au gouvernement des islamistes turcs n'a rien changé à cette coopération ajoute la radio israélienne.

La coopération militaire israélo-turque est vivement critiquée par les pays arabes et par l'Iran. Pour rassurer « ces pays musulmans frères » le Premier ministre islamiste turc avait, à plusieurs reprises, évoqué la possibilité d'une coopération militaire similaire entre la Turquie et l'Iran, provoquant l'ire de Washington et de

l'armée turque. De fait, lors de la visite officielle de quatre jours que le président iranien Rafsanjani a effectué à partir du 19 décembre en Turquie cette question n'a pas pu figurer à l'ordre du jour. L'armée s'est opposée à la proposition du Premier ministre de faire visiter à la délégation iranienne les installations de Turkish Aerospace Industry (TAI) où sont assemblés des avions CASA et des F-16 sous licence américaine (La firme américaine Lockheed possède 49% du capital de TAI). Les Iraniens ont dû se contenter de la visite des barrages du réseau GAP construits sur l'Euphrate dans la province kurde d'Urfa longeant la frontière syrienne. La proposition de M. Rafsanjani d'une médiation iranienne entre la Turquie et la Syrie afin d'améliorer les relations entre « ces deux pays musulmans frères » a également été rejeté par les autorités turques. Seul résultat tangible de cette visite très médiatisée dans les deux pays; signature de trois accords commerciaux qui devraient porter à \$2 milliards par an le volume des échanges turco-iraniens.

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ANKARA SIGNE BOUCLE L'ACCORD DU GAZODUC TURKMENISTAN-IRAN. Le ministre de l'énergie Kutan signe l'accord avec l'Iran et la Turkmenie, la prochaine phase du projet est de vendre du gaz à l'Europe. (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 décembre 1996), p. 103.

UN ENVOYÉ TURC AUX ÉTATS-UNIS POUR CLARIFIER « LES MALENTENDUS ». (*Turkish Daily News*, 30 décembre 1996), p. 104.



# Revue de Presse



# Invoicing the future

There was widespread disbelief when Massood Barzani enlisted the help of Saddam Hussein to oust Jalal Talabani from Arbil. CHRIS KUTSCHERA, a seasoned 'Kurd watcher' looks at the background to the latest conflict and assesses the extent of the damage.



Chris Kutschera

The KDP's Massood Barzani sees himself as the natural leader of the Kurds

The incredible news was spread over the front pages of newspapers across the world: Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massood Barzani had recaptured the city of Arbil, the capital of Iraqi Kurdistan, from his rival Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), with the assistance of some 30,000 Iraqi Republican Guards, Saddam Hussein's elite troops, supported by several hundred tanks. Nine days later, without firing a single shot, Massood Barzani drove into Suleimanya, the biggest city (population over 800,000) in Iraqi Kurdistan, which he now controls absolutely.

The most seasoned experts were at loss to explain this latest development in the war the two Kurdish leaders have been waging since May 1994. The spark that ignited the conflict was a

banal quarrel over a piece of land between two *peshmergas* (Kurdish freedom fighter) chieftains. But this dramatic conflict, which threatens to destroy the Kurds' dream of an autonomous entity inside the area protected by the Allies since the end of the Gulf War in 1991, has far deeper roots. The rivalry between Massood Barzani and Jalal Talabani dates back 30 years.

The elections organised in Iraqi Kurdistan in May 1992 did not create a clear winner between Massood Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK). The two leaders then made a deal: each party would get 50 seats at the Kurdish parliament in Arbil. But this sharing of the parliament and government portfolios led to a stalemate.

The Kurdish government proved itself incapable of organising a real administration. A particular bone of contention was how the income of the customs post at Zakho's Ibrahim Khalil transit point with Turkey — the single most important source of income of the Kurdish government, controlled by Barzani's KDP — should be allocated.

Son of the Kurdish national hero General Barzani, Massood Barzani (born in 1946) sees himself as his father's heir and as the natural leader of the Kurdish movement. Meanwhile, Jalal Talabani (born in 1934) rebelled against General Barzani in 1964, and from 1966 to 1970, led a group of *jash* (mercenaries) paid by the Baathist government of Baghdad, before setting up his own party in 1977.

Talabani cannot contemplate for a second the idea of yielding to Massood Barzani: having battled against the father he is not going to humble himself in front of the son. And while Massood Barzani is prepared to make a deal and offer Jalal Talabani a position in a Kurdish administration, it will be as his subordinate, not his equal.

All the powers which have tried to solve this conflict have failed. First France, which in July 1994 played host to delegations of the two Iraqi Kurdish parties. The text of an agreement was drafted, but the formal signing ceremony that was supposed to take place at the Elysée Palace, in the presence of President Mitterrand, never took place. Then the United States organised meetings in Ireland in August and September 1995. The draft agreement that was supposed to be signed by the two Kurdish leaders in Washington also remained a still-born treaty.

Iran then attempted to play the mediator and invited representatives of the two Kurdish parties to Tehran in October 1995 for a meeting that led to a partial agreement but that too was quickly forgotten.

To crown the whole exercise, the United States brought KDP and PUK delegates together in London on 30 August to finalise an agreement that was going to be signed in Washington by Massood Barzani and Jalal Talabani in the presence of Robert Pelletreau, American Under Secretary of State.

PUK leader Jalal Talabani: first stood firm against the Barzanis over 30 years ago



Harry Kerr

## Current Affairs



Chris Kutschera

Another winter approaches for the real losers of the latest conflict, the Kurdish people

After a first meeting that made some progress, under the auspices of Robert Deutsch, head of Northern Gulf affairs at the State Department, the Kurdish envoys scheduled a meeting the next day, 31 August, but the meeting was cancelled at the last minute by exasperated American mediators owing to the incursion into Arbil. American attempts at mediation were further frustrated by the behaviour of the Kurdish leaders after Tariq Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister, revealed on 31 August that Massood Barzani had written as early as 22 August to Saddam Hussein, requesting that "Your Excellency issue orders to the Iraqi Armed Forces to intervene and help us ward off the foreign threat and Jalal's conspiracy and treason..."

Not since Operation Desert Storm had such disruption swept through the region. At the end of August, Massood Barzani had a rough time. By this time controlling only Badinan (in the northern part of Iraqi Kurdistan, alongside the border with Turkey) and his HQ area of Salaheddin, Barzani was being attacked from the rear around 17 August, by PUK *pesh-mergas* who, enjoying the decisive support of an Iranian artillery barrage, had taken over key positions along the famous Hamilton road. His very survival seemed to be at stake. Meanwhile Jalal Talabani, controlling Arbil and Suleimanya, the two largest cities of Kurdistan, was *de facto* king of Kurdistan.

Overnight, after what seemed almost like a fantastic poker trick,

Barzani found himself the uncontested master of all Kurdistan, while Jalal Talabani was forced back into the role of a routed guerrilla chief, camping on the Iraq-Iran border.

Though Massood Barzani claims his alliance with Saddam Hussein was a one-off, confined to the raid on Arbil, and entirely unconditional, observers wonder what the real price of this pact with Saddam Hussein, a dictator who did not hesitate to gas the Kurdish city of Halabja in March 1988, exterminating 5,000 of its inhabitants, will be.

Massood Barzani vehemently maintains he did not sign any agreement with Saddam Hussein. However, Barzan al Takriti, Saddam's half-brother, confirms that there is a plan, drawn up by Saddam Hussein and now ready to be signed.

Time will tell the full extent of the price the Kurds will pay for Barzani's actions. What is already clear however, is the loss of face suffered by Western powers. Despite the American gestic-

Decades of desolation in the past and an uncertain future ahead



Tordai

ulations, and the firing of more than 40 Cruise missiles over southern Iraq, Saddam Hussein was able to send three of his divisions into a city located in an area supposedly protected by the Western Allies. True, he pulled them back only a few hours later but not before his action had seriously reduced confidence in American policy in Iraq.

The coalition between the Arabs and the West was another victim of Saddam Hussein's incursion into Arbil; rarely in recent memory were relations between Washington and its Arab allies more strained.

The situation is more explosive than ever in Kurdistan which has become open to all potential invaders. Iran, which last July sent a column of 2,000 Revolutionary Guards some 250 kilometres inside Iraqi Kurdistan to try and capture the leadership of the Iranian Democratic Party of Kurdistan (KDPI) without any Western power protesting, will try again at the first opportunity. The Middle East has learned that by 20 August the Iranians had already sent units equipped with Katyusha launchers and 130mm and 155mm howitzers into Iraqi Kurdistan. The equipment went back to Iran on the evening of 24 August, probably under pressure from the Allies. Speculation runs high that Tehran will now play the Talabani card, creating at low cost new troubles in Iraqi Kurdistan.

Turkey has not stopped reasserting its will to create a security cordon stretching to the foot of the mountains inside Iraq, nor is it likely to do so. Meanwhile Saddam Hussein, aware of the inability of the West to define a strategy for Kurdistan, is sure to remind Massood Barzani, if ever he were inclined to forget it, that there is no such thing as a free lunch. Despite his protestations to the contrary Barzani will undoubtedly be required to pay the price of Saddam Hussein's support, only where and when remain, for the moment, a matter of conjecture.

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## **Irak-ONU : Des experts de l'ONU dans le nord de l'Irak**

BAGDAD, 1er déc (AFP) - Des experts de l'ONU se sont rendus dimanche dans la région de Zakhō, à la frontière entre l'Irak et la Turquie pour y inspecter les installations douanières, en prévision de l'application de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", selon une source de l'ONU.

Cette inspection du poste-frontière par où doivent transiter les produits qui seront importés par Bagdad dans le cadre de cet accord était initialement prévue samedi. Elle a été reportée de 24 heures pour favoriser des entretiens avec les responsables irakiens, a-t-on ajouté, sans plus de précision.

Arrivés mercredi dernier à Bagdad, les experts, trois techniciens des Lloyds Register de Londres, avaient inspecté jeudi les installations d'Oum-Qasr, proches de la frontière avec le Koweït.

L'inspection des trois postes-frontières désignés par l'ONU –le troisième se trouvant à Trebil, sur la frontière avec la Jordanie-- intervient en prévision de l'application de la formule "pétrole contre nourriture" prévoyant le retour de l'Irak sur le marché pétrolier, pour la première fois depuis 1990.

Des experts pétroliers sont attendus mardi prochain à Bagdad pour inspecter le double oléoduc Kirkouk-Yumurtalik, qui traverse la Turquie jusqu'à la méditerranée, et le terminal de Mina al-Bakr, sur le Golfe.

Des experts ...

BAGDAD - "L'ONU a demandé à dix experts pétroliers de se rendre en Irak pour être sur les postes de pompage du pétrole jeudi, au plus tard", a rapporté dimanche l'agence officielle irakienne INA, citant le représentant de l'Irak à l'ONU, Nizar Hamdoun.

L'arrivée de ces experts "intervient en prévision d'un rapport du secrétaire général de l'ONU (Boutros Boutros-Ghali), qui donnera le coup d'envoi à l'entrée en vigueur de l'accord 'pétrole contre nourriture' et au pompage du brut irakien en direction des marchés internationaux", a ajouté INA.

Conclu en mai dernier en dérogation à l'embargo international imposé à l'Irak depuis l'invasion du Koweït en août 1990, l'accord autorise Bagdad, pour des raisons humanitaires, à vendre du brut à hauteur de 2 milliards de dollars par semestre pour se procurer des vivres et des médicaments, sous stricte surveillance de l'ONU.

A cette fin, l'ONU prévoit de déployer en Irak 151 observateurs de distribution de vivres, 23 agents de douane chargés de vérifier l'arrivée des denrées et 14 inspecteurs pétroliers qui surveilleraient les exportations de brut sur place. En outre, huit personnes seront basées au siège de l'ONU à New York.

Les Lloyds assureront le contrôle de la livraison des biens humanitaires en Irak, et la compagnie néerlandaise Saybott supervisera le chargement des cargaisons de pétrole, selon des diplomates.

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### **Allemagne-Liban-Iran : Mise en garde du Hezbollah pro-iranien à l'Allemagne, selon le Spiegel**

BONN, 1er déc (AFP) - La milice chiite libanaise pro-iranienne Hezbollah a mis en garde l'Allemagne contre une "campagne de harcèlement" du régime de Téhéran, dont les dirigeants sont mis en cause par le parquet de Berlin dans un procès pour terrorisme, affirme l'hebdomadaire Spiegel à paraître lundi.

Selon le Spiegel, qui cite "des dirigeants fondamentalistes" sans plus de précisions, le Hezbollah estime que l'Allemagne a de plus en plus partie liée avec les ennemis de la communauté islamique.

Si les Allemands ne changent pas leur politique, ils perdront toute chance d'influer sur la politique dans la région et ne pourront plus travailler "à la solution de problèmes internationaux non réglés" au Proche-Orient, poursuit l'hebdomadaire en se référant toujours à la même source.

L'hebdomadaire souligne que cette mise en garde intervient alors que le coordinateur des services secrets allemands Bernd Schmidbauer a dû renoncer la semaine dernière à un voyage à Beyrouth, parce que les responsables du Hezbollah ne veulent plus rencontrer de représentants du gouvernement fédéral. M. Schmidbauer était pourtant depuis des années en contact étroit avec les mollahs et leurs alliés libanais: il avait notamment participé activement aux négociations entre Israël et le Hezbollah pour l'échange de prisonniers et de dépouilles de combattants l'été dernier, rappelle l'hebdomadaire.

Le service de presse du gouvernement s'est refusé à commenter les informations du Spiegel.

Les relations entre l'Iran et l'Allemagne sont tendues depuis que le parquet allemand a accusé au début du mois les plus hauts dirigeants iraniens d'avoir ordonné en 1992 le meurtre à Berlin de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens. Un Iranien et quatre Libanais sont jugés depuis octobre 1993 pour le meurtre à l'arme automatique de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens en 1992, et le parquet fédéral allemand a accusé le guide de la République islamique d'Iran, l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei d'avoir ordonné les meurtres.

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### **Turquie : Signature d'un nouvel accord de coopération militaire israélo-turc**

JERUSALEM, 1er déc (AFP) - Israël et la Turquie ont signé ces derniers jours un nouvel accord de coopération militaire, a rapporté dimanche la radio publique israélienne.

Selon la radio, "l'accord de coopération et de manoeuvres communes pour l'année 1997" a été signé à Ankara, du côté israélien, par le général David Ivri, proche collaborateur du ministre de la Défense Yitzhak Mordehai.

En février dernier, M. Ivri, alors directeur général du ministère israélien de la Défense, avait signé avec la Turquie le premier accord militaire entre les deux pays.

Cet accord, qui prévoit notamment un entraînement de l'aviation des deux pays dans leurs espaces aériens respectifs, avait été vivement critiqué dans le monde arabe, notamment par l'Irak et la Syrie, ainsi que par l'Égypte et l'Iran.

L'Etat hébreu avait craint une remise en cause de cet accord à la suite de l'arrivée au pouvoir d'un chef de gouvernement islamiste à Ankara, M. Necmettin Erbakan, en juin dernier.

Toutefois, selon la radio israélienne, la coopération militaire entre les deux pays n'a jamais cessé, "l'armée turque ayant intérêt à la préserver".

Ainsi, les manoeuvres communes, aériennes et navales entre les deux pays se sont poursuivies. Récemment, le chef d'état-major adjoint israélien, le général Matan Vilnay, et le chef de l'armée de l'air, le général Eitan ben Eliahu, se sont rendus en Turquie.

Au ministère de la Défense à Tel-Aviv, il n'était pas possible d'obtenir des précisions dimanche matin au sujet du nouvel accord militaire israélo-turc.

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# Erbakan, Çiller at odds over OPC future

**Clash:** Çiller says OPC presence allows Turkey to pursue rebels in Iraq, while Erbakan says he can arrange that easily with Baghdad government if foreign planes are sent away

By Hayri Birler  
*Turkish Daily News*

**ANKARA-** The debate of the Operation Provide Comfort in last Friday's meeting of the National Security Council (NSC) showed that partners of the ruling coalition had serious disagreements about the future of the Western air umbrella protecting Iraqi Kurds, military sources told the Turkish Daily News.

Central component of the Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) is an American-British-French air force based at Incirlik, southern Turkey, patrolling a no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel covering part of the Kurdish-held enclave in northern Iraq for the past five years.

The force's mandate, regularly extended by the parliament despite Ankara's reservations about its side effects (chiefly the strengthened presence in northern Iraq of Turkey's own separatist Kurds) expires at the end of the year if not prolonged again.

The NSC debates on the OPC reportedly focused first on the reasons for the formation of the multinational air force, with authorities noting that it was set up primarily to deter an Iraqi attack on the Kurds and listing Turkey's expectations in the light of the recent developments as follows:

"Even if the OPC leaves now, there will not be a recurring mass exodus of the Iraqi

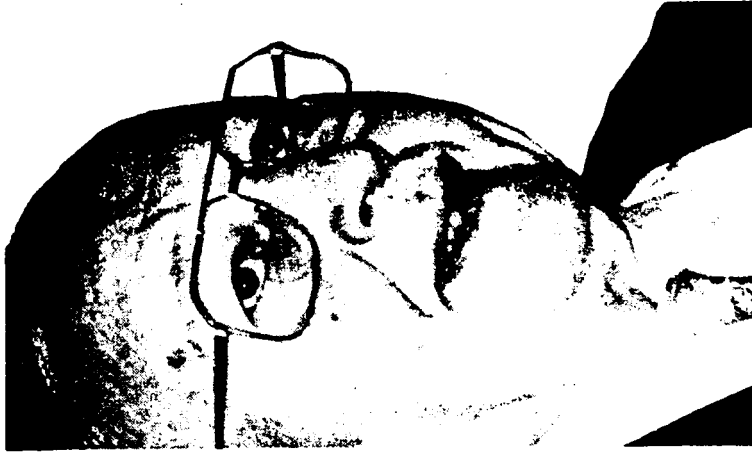
into northern Iraq from time to time and the presence of OPC screened Turkey from Western objections, the military sources said. "The combat is continuing with the PKK; therefore we will still need the OPC for a while," Çiller reportedly said.

Dismissing her arguments, (Islamist) Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan said the government could negotiate bilaterally with the Baghdad government to extract its permission for operations against the PKK terrorists inside Iraq, adding his belief that "Baghdad will not object to these crossborder operations if Turkey does not extend the OPC's mandate. "The completion of OPC's term on Dec. 31 will be a favorable development for the country and the nation," Erbakan reportedly told the gathering.

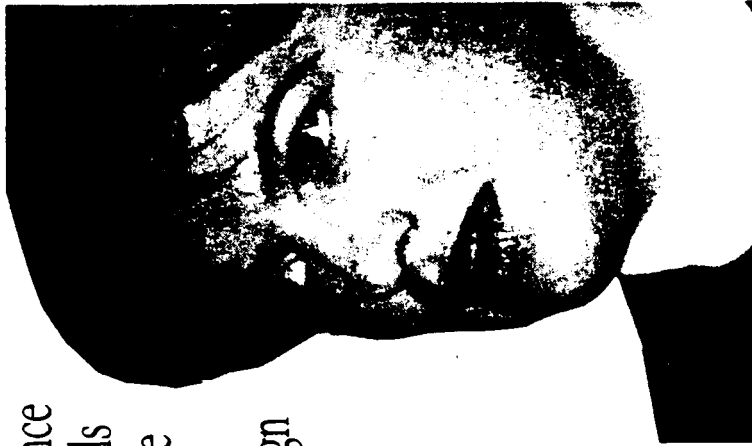
Faced with Erbakan's firm stance, Çiller then asked the military to make its views known. General Staff Chief Ismail Hakkı Karadayı agreed with the analyses that the reasons calling for the OPC's maintenance had disappeared, but the warplanes attached to operation could be kept at Incirlik, to be a part of a new security mechanism that might be possibly set up in connection with likely new developments in northern Iraq.

After noting that Turkey can hold bilateral negotiations with countries participating in OPC regarding its future, mainly with the United Nations, Gen. Karadayı argued that the question was more political than military and pledged to support the steps the government might decide upon, after extracting, if necessary, the views and support of the Parliament.

The debate closed on that note with the NSC calling on the government to start formulating its decision about OPC's future in keeping with the emerging new conditions, the sources said.



Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan is banking on Baghdad's gratitude if Turkey refuses to prolong the stay of the OPC planes



Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller has reportedly opposed the termination of mandate for Western warplanes based at Incirlik

Analysts, noting that the United States has been busy creating new alternatives excluding Turkey to maintain its control over northern Iraq, and has deployed sizable air units in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Egypt, argued that in view of these the maintenance of the OPC had stopped being a vital issue for Washington as well.

But Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller disagreed with these views, noting that the Turkish Security forces fighting the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) terrorists in southeastern Turkey had to cross

Kurds to the Turkish border. Because the latest fighting between Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and Jalal Talabani's Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) in September and October has shown that PUK supporters will not flee to Turkey but to Iran in the face of possible pressure from Iraq.

On the other hand a flight to Turkey by the KDP supporters can also be ruled out because the Iraqi forces have entered the north to intervene with the Kurdish fighting on an invitation from Barzani himself.

# Kurdish tribes have free rein in fight against PKK

**Feudalism:** Sedat Bucak, head of the biggest and most powerful Kurdish tribe in southeast Turkey, runs his village and surrounding Siverek township as a private fiefdom. He is backed by the state in exchange for taking on the PKK

By Jonathan Lyons

Reuters Staff Writer

**BUCAK-** Surrounded by vast expanses of rich tribal lands, the walled Bucak family compound symbolizes a feudal way of life which modern Turkey once pledged to eliminate.

From behind hefty steel gates Kurdish chieftain Sedat Bucak can swing an election — he is a perennial deputy to the Turkish parliament — or raise a militia of 20,000 armed followers. Bucak, head of the biggest and most powerful tribe in southeast Turkey, runs this village and surrounding Siverek township as a private fiefdom. He is backed by the state in exchange for taking on the separatist rebels of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK).

The result is a revitalized tribal system and a legacy of grinding poverty and underdevelopment at odds with the outlook of Kemal Atatürk, the modernizer who founded Turkey in 1923. But after years as chief of "Bucakistan", Bucak is now under intense scrutiny after a car crash on November 3 tied him to a right-wing gangster and a rogue police chief.

The ensuing scandal has already brought down the interior minister and uncovered a tangled web linking the security forces to nationalist death squads, drug runners and Kurdish warlords. "The state has created other, separate 'states' by giving them social, political and military force all in the name of fighting the PKK," said Ahmet Özer, a sociologist in the south-east regional capital Diyarbakır.

"Think of a state that hands over economic power, arms and military force so Kurds can kill other Kurds," Özer said. "It is clear it will blow up some day."

## Tribes deployed against rebels

The Bucak tribe's fight with the PKK — upholding a tradition of siding with Ankara dating back to the failed Sheikh Said rebellion of 1925 — is part of a general government strategy to quell the restive Kurdish marches of the southeast.

Another tribe, the Jirki, is vital to the anti-guerrilla fight in the badlands along the Iraqi and Iranian borders.

Across the border in Iraq, the Kurds have been torn by tribal and clan rivalries, crippling opposition to direct rule from Baghdad.

In Siverek, 80 km (50 miles) west of Diyarbakır,

Bucak's grip on power appears firm. The mayor of Siverek is married to Bucak's sister, a brother serves as deputy chief of the poverty-stricken district.

Few have anything but praise for the tribal leader whose militiamen make up Turkey's biggest private army.

"Sedat Bucak has his private bodyguards but within an hour he can have a force of 20,000 to 25,000 gathered under the Bucak tribe," said Mehmet Akçiçek, a volunteer village guard. Village women a stone's throw from the Bucak compound and its satellite TV dishes wash clothes in muddy streams. Residents duly send the tribal boss to parliament every election. "The Bucak family and Sedat Bucak himself are very good people. They hold public feasts to mark the end of bloodfeuds between families," said a worker outside the family compound. Sedat Bucak, as well as other tribal leaders, declined to be interviewed.

## Village guards boost tribalism

The village guards were created by the state in 1985 as a "temporary" force against the PKK. Many tribes, including the Bucaks, signed up to settle personal scores with pro-PKK rivals. The system took root in Siverek in 1993. Residents said Bucak fielded a permanent armed force of no more than 2,000 armed men, but claimed an inflated "paper" force of 10,000 to secure \$1.3 million per month in government subsidies. "Since 1993 when the village guard system began, tribalism developed further and became more powerful," said Koçali Aymaz, a local historian.

Steps by the Republic to abandon its egalitarian policies, however imperfect, and rely on traditional Kurdish leaders date to the introduction in 1946 of multi-party democracy.

"The tribes were seen as a warehouse of votes, so the agha, bey or sheikh was made the local head of a party, or somehow became the mayor," said Özer, the sociologist.

"Aghas, beys and sheikhs have formed an authority more powerful than the state." This has led to the failure of periodic land reforms and the concentration of economic power in the old ruling classes. About 65 percent of the land in the southeast is held by 10 percent of the population.

Around Siverek government neglect is obvious.

There is no industry and the only sign of state investment is a shiny new highway to ship out cotton and other raw materials for processing elsewhere.

Per capita income for many peasants, banished from the land by mechanization, runs at about \$500 a year.

## Tribal mentality lingers

"This is the tribal mentality of the Bucaks. You drive a Mercedes, shop in supermarkets and look like a capitalist, but the mentality has not changed," Özer said. "You may raise cotton but you never think of building a factory."



You scratch my back... Sedat Bucak, the DYP politicians and local warlord has elicited state tolerance for a private rule in exchange for the loyalty of his tribe.

More than 100 district schools are closed for lack of teachers, and the few residents with advanced education or capital to invest have left for Turkey's western cities. "The Bucak case shows it was the state that has revitalized tribalism," said Behlül Yavuz, a student of tribal history.

"The state doesn't want the Kurdish region to be developed. It carries out a systematic programme to keep it backward."

## Those who led us in the past 8 years cannot remain silent

**T**he month of November may well have been a historical period in Turkey when the links between the underworld and the state were revealed by a simple auto accident in the district of Susurluk near the northwestern city of Balıkesir...

Turkey's feudal landlord Sedat Bucak, a parliamentarian from the True Path Party

*Turkish Daily News* MONDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1996

(DYP), was the lone survivor of the accident where a senior police official, a mobster wanted for killings and drug charges as well as a beauty queen were killed...

Then came incredible revelations. At first charges were abundant that the crash had highlighted the links between the underworld, the police and the politicians. There was widespread public anger as people demanded a deep investigation into the dealings between the state and the mobsters. But soon things started changing. Abdullah Çatlı, the mobster killed in the accident was laid to rest with "full state honors" and his friends and "colleagues" hailed him as a patriot... Bucak, soon after leaving hospital told a TV interviewer that Çatlı was the "kindest" person he had ever met and that he was a great citizen

It became apparent that Çatlı and several other wanted ultra-rightist people like him had been used by the authorities to do

some dirty work in the name of the state. According to some people, including Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister

*Editorial*



By Ilnur  
Çevik



Tansu Çiller what him should all be  
Çatlı had done was considered patriots.  
respectable and Former Prime  
thus people like Minister Mesut

Yılmaz, the main opposition leader, had charged that such people had been used by the state in the past eight years for covert operations and that in the past year these people were being used by politicians like Tansu Çiller for their own purposes... So in effect Yılmaz was not objecting to use killers and drug peddlers for covert operations as long as people like Çiller did not use them against their own political adversaries.

This is all really extremely shocking and unfortunately defames Turkey's good name.

As if all this was not enough, recent claims by Çatlı's friends have further complicated matters. While claiming Çatlı was the best thing that ever happened to this

country, they went so far as saying he had been involved in the Greek forest fires and the killing of Armenian terrorists... The Foreign Ministry vehemently denied these charges, but that is not enough because once you create such unnecessary suspicions the mud usually sticks until you can prove beyond all reasonable doubt that these people are liars.

All the prime ministers who served in the past eight years, including President Süleyman Demirel who served between 1991 and 1993, as well as Yılmaz, Çiller and Yıldırım Akbulut have to declare that they did not approve of covert activities by mobsters. They simply cannot remain silent anymore. A meaningful and transparent public probe is needed to bring out all the dirt and clear Turkey's international reputation. As the Turkish saying goes "give me a clever adversary instead of a stupid ally."

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## Europe-Droits-Turquie : Une plainte de 16 avocats turcs jugée partiellement recevable à Strasbourg

STRASBOURG (France), 2 dec (AFP) - La Commission européenne des droits de l'Homme a jugée en partie recevable, lundi à Strasbourg (est), une plainte de 16 avocats turcs arrêtés fin 1993 dans le Sud-Est de la Turquie et à Istanboul.

Les avocats, qui ont passé entre sept et 25 jours en prison à Diyarbakir, se plaignent d'avoir été détenus uniquement parce qu'ils avaient défendu des personnes accusées d'être membres du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, indépendantiste).

Ils ont affirmé avoir subi en prison des mauvais traitements, soit parce qu'ils avaient porté les cas de certains de leurs clients devant la Commission des droits de l'Homme, soit à cause du rôle qu'ils avaient joué dans des cas politiques en Turquie.

Ils se sont plaints que les dossiers de leurs clients aient été saisis par la police.

Lors de l'audience sur la recevabilité de la plainte, les représentants du gouvernement turc ont réfuté les allégations des plaignants, en soulignant que ces avocats sont accusés "d'être membres actifs de l'organisation terroriste PKK". L'affaire est en cours d'instruction, ont-ils ajouté.

Le gouvernement turc estime aussi que les mauvais traitements n'ont pas été confirmés par les deux certificats médicaux effectués à l'époque.

La Commission des droits de l'Homme, qui effectue un tri dans les requêtes, n'a pas précisé les points de la requête qu'elle estime recevable et ceux qui ne le sont pas.

Elle va tenter de chercher un arrangement amiable entre les parties. Si elle n'y parvient pas, l'affaire pourra éventuellement être réglée par le Comité des ministres ou jugée par la Cour des droits de l'Homme.

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### **Turkey-Kurds : Prison terms sought for Kurdish ex-deputies over rebel ties**

ANKARA, Dec 2 (AFP) - An Ankara state security prosecutor has demanded prison terms of more than seven years for three Kurdish ex-deputies accused of helping separatist rebels, the Anatolia news agency said Monday.

The three were members of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HEP) and its successor, the Democracy Party (DEP). Both parties were closed by the constitutional court on charges of having links with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK), which has been waging a separatist war in southeastern Turkey.

The prosecutor has accused the three men of helping the PKK by organising hunger strikes against anti-rebel military operations, releasing pro-PKK press statements and "wearing badges bearing the colours of the PKK's flag," the agency said.

The state security prosecutor is seeking prison terms of up to 7-1/2 years for Mehmet Emin Sever, Mahmut Uyanik and Muzaffer Demir under the penal code and anti-terrorism law articles on "helping an armed gang."

A fourth ex-deputy, Abdulkerim Zilan, who is being accused of pro-PKK propaganda, also faces up to three years in jail if convicted, Anatolia said.

Their trial is set to begin in the coming weeks.

The four people entered the Turkish parliament after the 1991 legislative elections as members of a social democrat party, but later set up the HEP and then the DEP.

Four other former DEP deputies are currently serving 15-year prison terms after being convicted for cooperation with the PKK in 1994.

Their sentences were criticized abroad, and one of the four, Leyla Zana, was awarded last year's Sakharov peace award for freedom of thoughts by the European Parliament.

Four other Kurdish ex-deputies served shorter sentences and have been freed.

Several others fled the country in 1994 and joined a "Kurdish parliament-in-exile", which is under the PKK's influence.

More than 23,000 people, including PKK rebels, members of the security forces and civilians, have been killed in violence in southeast Turkey since 1984 when the PKK launched its armed campaign for a Kurdish homeland.

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### **Irak-Kurdes : Violation du cessez-le-feu dans le nord de l'Irak selon le PDK**

ANKARA, 2 déc (AFP) - Le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) a accusé son rival, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK), d'avoir violé le cessez-le-feu en vigueur depuis cinq semaines dans le nord de l'Irak, a annoncé lundi l'agence Anatolie.

Selon l'agence, qui citait la radio du PDK de Massoud Barzani, des peshmergas de l'UPK de Jalal Talabani ont attaqué récemment ses positions près du mont Didevan, au sud d'Erbil, la "capitale" du Kurdistan irakien.

C'est la première accusation d'une violation du cessez-le-feu depuis la proclamation de celui-ci le 23 octobre, bien que dimanche l'UPK avait accusé le PDK d'avoir exécuté neuf de ses membres qui voyageaient dans la région.

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## Turkish army kills 17 rebel Kurds

ANKARA, Dec 2 (AFP) - Turkish troops killed 17 separatist Kurdish rebels in recent fighting in the troubled southeast, government officials said Monday.

The clashes took place in the provinces of Hakkari, Mardin, Bingol, Van and Sirnak, the southeast's regional governorship said in a statement.

It did not say when the clashes took place or if there were casualties among the security forces.

More than 23,000 people, including PKK rebels, members of the security forces and civilians, have been killed in violence in southeast Turkey since 1984 when the PKK launched its armed campaign for a Kurdish homeland.

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*Turkish Daily News* TUESDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1996

# DGM launches trial against former pro-Kurdish deputies

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Prosecutor's on Monday launched a trial in the Ankara State Security Court against four former deputies of the Democracy Party (DEP) which had been closed down by order of the Constitutional Court, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Mehmet Emin Sever, Mahmut Uyanık and Muzaffer Demir face between four-and-a-half and seven-and-a-half years imprisonment on charges of assisting the Kurdistan Workers' Party. The prosecutor has asked for one to three years imprisonment for Abdülkerim Zilan, accused of spreading separatist propaganda.

Six other DEP deputies, including Hatip Dicle and Leyla Zana are currently serving various jail sentences for similar offences.

A seven-page indictment prepared by Prosecutor Talat Salk of the Constitutional Court said the defendants ran for the 1991 general elections by aligning their People's Labor Party (HEP) with the Social Democratic People's Party (SHP). The HEP later separated from the

SHP and closed itself down when facing closure by the Constitutional Court. The HEP deputies then founded the Democracy Party (DEP) and carried on their political activities in Parliament until the DEP itself was closed down by the Constitutional Court in 1994.

The indictment said the defendants had held a press conference in the Parliament before the official oath ceremony, where the defendants said the text of the oath contained racist and chauvinist elements and that it denied the existence of the Kurdish people.

During the press conference the deputies said, however, they felt obliged by the Constitution to take the oath.

The indictment also said the deputies wore the colors of the PKK flag during the oath ceremony. Three deputies, Sever, Uyanık and Demir were accused of supporting the PKK by leading hunger strikes and protests while the security forces were conducting a series of operations in 1992 in both eastern and southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq.

It said the defendants, Sever, Uyanık and Demir had applied to the Conference on Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, now the OSCE) along with other former DEP deputies, Hatip Dicle, Leyla Zana and Orhan Dogan, who are currently serving jail sentences in Ankara, asking for the setting up of permanent observation committee in southeastern Turkey.

Zilan on the other hand, was not charged of any offences except wearing the colors of PKK flag during the oath ceremony and attending the controversial the press conference in October 1991.

Sever, Uyanık and Demir were indicted for continuing their activities allegedly aimed at undermining the country's territorial integrity, by refusing to condemn the PKK terrorism.

The indictment stated that the hunger strike in which these former deputies took part was ordered by the PKK. It also said the defendants had tried to gain give the PKK some sort of legal status by appealing to the CSCE.

# Parliament considers OPC to be no longer necessary

By Kemal Balci  
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA. The government's reported plan not to give the Turkey-based Operation Provide Comfort Force (OPC) a fresh mandate when its current one expires on Dec. 31, finds support from parliamentarians. Kamuran Inan, one of the leading figures of the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP), said that the OPC did not have a purpose anymore. The Republican People's Party's Hikmet Çetin, a former foreign minister, said that it would be useful to have the OPC arrangement terminated through a compromise achieved with the United States.

The OPC force — comprising Turkish, U.S., British and French military units — has been deployed in Incirlik-Adana on the basis of a decision the Turkish Parliament took on Jan.



Hikmet Çetin

17, 1991 providing an air umbrella for the Iraqi Kurds in the wake of the Gulf War. Since then its mandate has been renewed regularly. If Parliament chooses not to take any action on the issue this time, the force will leave Turkey at the end of the current year.

At the latest session of the National Security Board, Chief of Staff Ismail Hakkı Karadayı reportedly agreed with Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's contention that "there is no need for the OPC." This piece of news has fuelled the expectation that the OPC force will leave the country at the beginning of the new year.

Also, the U.S. administration has told the Turkish Foreign Ministry that the OPC force would not be needed anymore. Some of the Turkish parliamentarians have, for quite a long time, treated the OPC with a certain coldness. The latest turn of events encourages them to express what they think about this issue. Recalling that the OPC had been created with the aim of "protecting the lives of the local population" in northern Iraq in the face of the pressure being exerted by the Baghdad administration, they say that the OPC has been robbed of its "purpose" now that Jalal Talabani, the leader of one of northern Iraq's two major Kurdish groups, has secured the protection of Iran and Massoud Barzani, the leader of the rival Kurdish group, has reached an agreement with the Baghdad administration. ANAP Bilis Deputy Kamuran Inan told the TDN, "Following the latest development there is no longer a population needing protection in northern Iraq. Everybody has found a way of fending for himself." Noting that there would be no harm in the OPC departing from Turkey, Inan said, "It was doing Turkey no good anyway."

Why should Turkey suffer from its departure?" Inan noted that a U.S. air force unit stays at the Incirlik base permanently in the framework of bilateral agreements. He believes that it would be easy to work out a bilateral arrangement under which the American planes which serve in the OPC too would remain at Incirlik for some more time against the possibility of a threat of war suddenly emerging in the region.

The government too is reportedly working on the "retention of U.S. planes at Incirlik" plan to which Kamuran Inan was referring. A leading member of the Welfare Party (RP) wing of the government said, "A further extension of the OPC force's mandate is not expected. But what happens after that I do not know. We are working on this issue."

Sources close to the government say that when the mandate of the OPC force is not



Kamuran Inan

renewed, the British and French military forces taking part in the operation would simply have to leave. They say the American planes currently serving in the OPC force can stay on at the Incirlik base under a "technical agreement" expanding the Incirlik-based U.S. air fleet.

They believe that such an agreement would not create any new tensions in the region. On the contrary, this would prevent the regional countries from being upset over this new situation. With the departure of the OPC force, all of the

non-governmental organizations — about whose activities Turkey has been complaining for quite a long time — will leave the region. Most of these NGOs already left at the beginning of last summer.

CHP Gaziantep deputy Hikmet Çetin, a former foreign minister, recalled that the OPC force had been deployed in Turkey as a result of an international consensus and stressed that its departure too should ensue from a similar consensus.

He told the TDN that in not renewing the OPC force's mandate Turkey should not give the impression that it was taking a stance against the Western coalition powers contributing to the force. He believes that Turkey should reach an agreement with the United States in particular and terminate the OPC force's mandate only as a result of that agreement.

It would be to Turkey's benefit to get the OPC force out of the country via an agreement, he stressed, saying, "New developments are taking place in the region. The oil pipeline is being reopened."

A rapprochement between Iran and the United States is on the agenda. Turkey must make a decision in line with the new situation not through confrontation but by reaching an agreement with everybody concerned.

# Targeting writers

*Turkey's human rights record and its crackdown on nonviolent dissent has once again given the country distinction of being named —among other wrongdoers— as a country which imprisons and prosecutes writers in a recent Washington Post article by Jim Hoagland.*

*In the article reprinted by the International Herald Tribune in its weekend edition, Hoagland focused on the punishment of novelist Yaşar Kemal by a suspended jail sentence and prosecution of other journalists and writers for backing him.*

**Following is the full Washington Post editorial:**

**N**ot all state persecution of writers is a high-profile international affair like the death sentence against Salman Rushdie. A quieter and more ominous series of events has been taking place, also in Iran, aimed at writers in that country rather than abroad. Two years ago, after the suspicious death in jail of a satirist named Ali Akbar Sadiqi Sirjani, 134 Iranian writers signed a declaration calling for an end to censorship and saying writers "must be free to create their work and express themselves."

"It is our natural social and civil right that our books reach readers freely and without any impediment," they wrote. In the past month, following signs of a more general tightening, one of the 134 was found dead under mysterious circumstances, and a second disappeared and is thought to be either in custody or dead as well.

Iran, of course, is not the only country that deals with political and literary dissent by throwing writers in jail: China, Burma and Sudan are among many that have been in and out of the news for variations

on the practice, sometimes involving trumped-up charges (the man whose death in custody sparked the 1994 Iranian manifesto had been jailed on charges of espionage, drug use and homosexuality, which watchers of this issue say is a traditional troika of accusations in such cases.)

The problem is not confined to dictatorships: Ninety-eight Turkish writers who signed a declaration in support of the eminent novelist Yaşar Kemal — himself prosecuted for his views regarding Kurdish separatism — now are on trial on similar charges, and Mr. Kemal himself received a suspended sentence for "incitement." All these cases need continuous scrutiny and pressure from outside national borders, and PEN American Center, the New York-based writers' group, has played a role in keeping many of them visible.

But the methodical murder of writers on a list, if that is what is happening, is more alarming. Significantly both the recently "disappeared" writers in Iran were among those who could travel, and thus could convey information about the situation for writers there to those outside. One, Farraj Sarkoobi, editor of the independent journal *Enough*, disappeared on Nov. 3 while trying to leave to visit relatives in Germany; the government at first insisted he had left the country, but others say he has been sighted in custody.

The second, Ghaffar Hosseini, was found dead on Nov. 11 in his apartment of what was officially reported as a heart attack but which others suspected was foul play.

Americans, living in a system that swears by free speech and the principles for which these writers put their names and lives on the line, know better than anyone else that the actual practice of these principles leads to a lot of noise and inconvenience, especially for authorities.

How much more convenient for those authorities if the people seeking to exercise those rights could just mysteriously shut up and go away. Nothing but steady pressure and complaint from outside can persuade them that it isn't so.

## Two dead in Kurdish clashes in N. Iraq

Turkey hopes clashes will not affect 'ongoing efforts to strengthen the ceasefire' says Foreign Ministry spokesman

*Reuters*

ANKARA- Two Kurdish militiamen died in fighting at the weekend between rival groups in northern Iraq that could put Western-brokered peace talks in danger, an Iraqi Kurdish faction said on Monday.

"KDP forces attacked on November 30 at Didevan, a mountain 30 km (18 miles) southwest of Koy Sanjak town and they took it from us," Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) Ankara representative Shazad Saib told Reuters.

"The clashes continued yesterday, killing two PUK fighters," he said.

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Officials from the rival Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) were not immediately available for comment.

The two sides have held several rounds of peace talks under U.S., British and Turkish mediation since they declared a ceasefire in October to end months of fighting that had increased Baghdad's influence in the mountainous region.

"It is very negative indication for the future of the peace talks," Saib said.

Iraqi troops and tanks helped Massoud Barzani's

KDP take the key city of Arbil from the rival faction in August, prompting U.S. missile strikes on Iraqi targets in retaliation.

The Kurds broke from Baghdad after the 1991 Gulf War. They are protected from any Iraqi attack by a U.S.-led allied air force.

"We heard those reports over the weekend but we are hoping that those clashes are local in nature and will not effect their ongoing efforts to strengthen the ceasefire," Turkey's foreign ministry spokesman Sermet Atacanli told a news briefing.

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## Irak-ONU : Des experts douaniers de l'ONU achèvent une mission en Irak

BAGDAD, 3 déc (AFP) - Trois experts douaniers de l'ONU devaient achever mardi une mission d'une semaine en Irak, axée sur l'inspection de trois poste-frontières, en prévision de l'application de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", a-t-on appris auprès de l'ONU.

Les experts des Lloyd's Register de Londres se sont rendus dans la matinée dans le sud de l'Irak pour y inspecter le poste-frontière de Trebil, sur la frontière avec la Jordanie.

Cette inspection marque la fin de la mission des trois experts, qui se rendront ensuite à Amman, d'où ils s'envoleront pour Londres, a-t-on précisé de même source.

Dimanche et lundi, ils ont inspecté les installations douanières dans la région de Zakho, près de la frontière avec la Turquie. Après leur arrivée mercredi en Irak, ils avaient visité le port d'Oum-Qasr, sur le Golfe.

Les trois postes-frontières doivent servir au transit des biens et médicaments qui seront importés par l'Irak dans le cadre de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture".

La même source de l'ONU s'est refusée à donner le moindre détail sur l'état des installations visitées. "Un rapport sera soumis à l'ONU", a indiqué cette source.

Les trois experts des Lloyds font partie d'un groupe de 23 agents de douane chargés de vérifier l'arrivée des denrées, après l'entrée en vigueur de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture" de mai dernier, selon l'ONU.

Aucune date pour l'arrivée de ces douaniers n'a été avancée. Les Lloyds assureront le contrôle de la livraison des biens humanitaires en Irak.

L'accord autorise Bagdad à vendre du brut à hauteur de 2 milliards de dollars par semestre pour des raisons humanitaires, pour la première fois depuis 1990.

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# US wants Operation Provide Comfort to continue

By Uğur Akinci  
Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON/ANKARA- As if trying to stem the rising tide of rejection in Turkey concerning the future of Operation Provide Comfort (OPC), the State Department repeated on Monday its continuing support for the operation. A senior government official also expressed his "impression" that Turks want to continue with the operation as well — if with some changes. OPC is up for extension by the Turkish Parliament at the end of this month.

In Ankara, press reports quoting senior military sources, indicated that even though the five-year-old OPC will be folded, the American, British, and French warplanes will be allowed to patrol northern Iraq under a different format which will enhance Turkey's control over the umbrella protecting Iraqi Kurds against possible attack from Baghdad. The likely name for the new operation is "Northern Watch", the Turkish daily Cumhuriyet said.

The OPC is currently patrolling a no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel although some parts of Iraq's Kurdish enclave remains outside the air umbrella. Turkish Parliament has been prolonging the stay of the Western force with increasing reluctance because of widespread feeling that OPC was indirectly strengthening the entrenchment of Turkey's own rebel Kurds in northern Iraq. The military, however, has been averse to terminating the OPC, saying it was preventing reaction from the West to Turkey's frequent crossbor-

der strikes against the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) separatists shewttering in northern Iraq.

The National Security Council (NSC), a liaison body between the military and the government, did not make its accustomed call to the government for a mandate extension last week, which, analysts say, has technically sealed the fate of the OPC whose mandate expires at the end of the year.

Military sources later told the Turkish Daily News that the future of the Western operation brought the leaders of the ruling coalition into clash during the NSC meeting, with Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller defending a new extension and Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan saying there was no further need for the foreign planes since he could easily negotiate an arrangement with Baghdad whereby Turkish troops can continue pursuing the PKK rebels inside Iraq without any need for OPC. The military sources also said that the Turkish General Staff favored the stay of the Western force under a new format and renegotiated terms. After Erbakan reversed his opposition to OPC and allowed the last mandate extension about six months ago, he came under fire from diehard opponents within his Welfare Party who charged that Washington had reneged on many of its promises it has made in return.

In Washington, state department spokesman Nicholas Burns said he could not confirm a Turkish -press story that Washington sent an official letter to Ankara, withdrawing their support from the operation

based in Incirlik. "No, I certainly can't confirm that [story]," he said. He added that he would check the story further with the European Affairs department. "But if the United States canceled the Operation you would know, right?" TDN asked Burns. "I would hope so," he quipped.

"I had no indication that we let [Turks] know that we don't want Provide Comfort. On the contrary, we do want to continue," Burns told TDN.

## Cobras and frigates

TDN reminded Burns that the stalling of Super Cobra and frigate deliveries suggested a number of Turkish parliamentarians that it can't be business-as-usual from now on between the two NATO allies. Thus followed the Turkish resistance to renewal.

"Certainly we perceive that in Turkish body politic," Burns said. But the Turkish government has let us know that it wants to continue. It may have some ideas to offer. It may have some changes it wants to make. But we would think that the Turkish government would want to renew Provide Comfort."

## An impression

"Did the Turkish government already tell you that they want to renew Provide Comfort?" TDN probed.

"It's our impression that the Turks want to go forward with us and meet their commitments to us and others in the Provide Comfort," Burns said.

"There is always a problem [with] exten-

tion. There is always issues to be discussed. I don't want to diminish the importance of that," Burns said. "But fundamentally, do we go forward? Or do we just roll up our tents and go home? We want to stay."

"There has been no change in our policy [to enforce no-fly zones over Iraq]; none whatsoever," Burns stressed. "Saddam Hussein must understand that we will continue to restrict his ability" to fly south of Baghdad and north of 36th parallel, he said.

OPC was designed after the Gulf War to provide an air umbrella over the Kurds of northern Iraq, with a ground Military Coordination Center in Zakho. After Saddam Hussein's incursions to north in September, the MCC was moved over the border to the Silopi. The current dominant mood at the Turkish Parliament is to cancel both the ground and air segments of the operation but to keep the 48 U.S. jets in Incirlik for future contingencies.

## No 'Kurdistan'

In his daily briefing Burns also corrected an American journalist who referred to northern Iraq as "Kurdistan." "We refer to the region as northern Iraq. We don't recognize a political entity called Kurdistan," Burns said.

Concerning the news that "Kurdish Parliament in Exile" was getting ready to locate in northern Iraq, Burns said the U.S. government did not have any information in that regard. "We're not aware of it at all," he said.

# Euro-commission accepts Turkish lawyers' complaint

Reuters

STRASBOURG- The European Human Rights Commission on Monday recommended that 16 lawyers and the Turkish government seek a friendly settlement after hearing a complaint that the lawyers were mistreated after being detained.

The Commission declared the complaint by the lawyers partially admissible.

The alternative to a friendly settlement would be to send the dispute to the Council of Europe or the European Human Rights Court for a legal ruling.

The lawyers, who defended members of the Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK)

were themselves held for between one and three weeks in November and December 1993.

They alleged they were mistreated while in custody and their professional files were seized.

Turkish government representatives told the Commission the lawyers were

not mistreated and justified the detentions on grounds that the lawyers were themselves alleged to be members of the PKK.

The Turkish representatives said the European Human Rights Convention allowed such arrests in case of war or of public disorder.

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## Turquie-Kurdes-USA : Début de l'évacuation de 4.500 personnes du nord de l'Irak

DIYARBAKIR (Turquie), 4 déc (AFP) - L'évacuation du nord de l'Irak de près de 4.500 personnes, en majorité des Kurdes ayant travaillé pour des organisations humanitaires américaines et leurs familles, a commencé mercredi, a-t-on appris de source bien informée à Diyarbakir (sud-est).

Les premiers groupes sont passés en territoire turc peu après 10h30 (08h30 GMT) au poste frontière de Habur, seul point de passage terrestre entre la Turquie et l'Irak.

Parmi les premiers groupes, se trouveraient "des agents importants ayant travaillé pour les Américains", a-t-on indiqué de même source.

Ils seront transportés par hélicoptère à Batman, à près de 200 km de la frontière, d'où ils partiront pour Guam, île du Pacifique sous administration américaine, à partir de vendredi.

Les autres personnes doivent séjourner plusieurs jours près de Silopi, localité turque à une dizaine de km de la frontière, pour un contrôle d'identité, avant d'être transférées à Batman, selon la même source.

L'opération peut durer 10 à 15 jours, selon les autorités turques.

C'est la troisième opération d'évacuation du nord de l'Irak entreprise par Washington depuis la mi-septembre.

En septembre, quelque 2.130 personnes, en majorité des Kurdes ayant travaillé pour des organisations américaines dans le nord de l'Irak, et leurs familles, avaient été évacuées. Elles étaient parties pour Guam de Diyarbakir.

En octobre, c'était au tour de plus de 730 membres, en majorité arabes, du Conseil national irakien (CNI), organisation chapeautant plusieurs groupes d'opposition au régime de Saddam Hussein et travaillant en collaboration avec la CIA, d'être évacués. Ils avaient été conduits à la base turco-américaine d'Incirlik près d'Adana (sud de la Turquie), avant de se rendre à Guam.

"Nous apportons notre aide à cette évacuation dans un cadre humanitaire, comme pour les deux opérations précédentes", a déclaré le porte-parole de la diplomatie turque Omer Akbel, interrogé lors d'un point de presse mercredi à Ankara.

Les évacués de septembre avaient collaboré avec les organisations humanitaires présentes dans le nord de l'Irak dans le cadre de l'opération alliée "Provide Comfort" d'aide et de protection des Kurdes d'Irak contre les troupes de Bagdad, menée de la base d'Incirlik.

Après l'incursion fin août des troupes irakiennes dans le nord de l'Irak sous contrôle kurde depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en février 1991, des organisations humanitaires américaines avaient indiqué craindre pour la vie de leurs employés kurdes dans la région.

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## ONU-Irak-Iran : L'Iran affirme vouloir empêcher les exportations illégales de pétrole irakien

NEW YORK (Nations Unies) 4 déc (AFP) - L'Iran a informé les Nations Unies qu'il prenait des mesures pour empêcher les exportations illégales de pétrole irakien de transiter par ses eaux territoriales, a déclaré mardi le responsable d'un comité de l'ONU chargé de l'application des sanctions internationales.

Le représentant allemand Tono Eitel a indiqué à la presse que la délégation d'un "Etat riverain du Golfe" avait informé



l'ONU du fait qu'il était au courant du trafic qui passait par ses eaux territoriales et que plusieurs bateaux étaient arraisonnés chaque année pour tenter de mettre fin à ces pratiques. M. Eitel n'a pas cité nommément l'Iran.

Les Etats-Unis ont affirmé que l'Iran avait autorisé le passage de navires de faible tonnage en échange du paiement d'une taxe pour leur permettre d'échapper au contrôle de la force multinationale chargée de l'application des sanctions économiques qui frappent l'Irak depuis six ans.

La délégation américaine avait présenté mardi, au cours d'une réunion du comité d'application des sanctions, un nouveau rapport détaillant ses accusations.

Selon ces affirmations, les services du gouvernement iranien procureraient aux navires de faux papiers donnant une origine iranienne à leur cargaison, alors qu'ils n'ont touché aucun port de ce pays. De son côté, l'Iran affirme que ces documents, dont sa police maritime a elle-même saisi certains exemplaires à bord des bateaux arraisonnés, sont des faux.

Selon M. Eitel des milliers de tonnes d'hydrocarbures seraient ainsi sorties d'Irak en contrebande chaque mois.  
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## **Irak-ONU : L'ONU inspecte une station de comptage de brut dans le nord de l'Irak**

BAGDAD, 4 déc (AFP) - Deux experts pétroliers de l'ONU se sont rendus mercredi à Zakho, dans le nord de l'Irak, pour y inspecter une station de comptage de brut, en prévision de l'application de l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", a-t-on appris auprès de l'ONU.

Les deux experts de la compagnie néerlandaise Saybolt inspecteront les travaux de réparation effectués dans la station de comptage sur l'oléoduc irako-turc reliant les champs pétrolifères irakiens de Kirkouk au port de Yumurtalik en Turquie, a-t-on ajouté.

La mission du Néerlandais Debruijn Huibregt et du Britannique Stokes John doit préparer le déploiement en Irak de 10 des 14 experts, que l'ONU entend affecter à la supervision du chargement du brut irakien après l'entrée en vigueur de l'accord sur le pétrole.

Les 4 autres experts doivent se déployer au terminal turc de Ceyhan, sur la Méditerranée par où doit transiter la majeure partie du pétrole irakien, acheminé par l'oléoduc Kirkouk-Yumurtalik.

Saybolt a été chargée par l'ONU de superviser le chargement des cargaisons de brut irakien, alors que la supervision des importations irakiennes de vivres et de médicaments, prévues par l'accord "pétrole contre nourriture", a été confiée aux Lloyd's de Londres.

Trois experts de la compagnie britannique ont achevé mardi une mission d'une semaine en Irak où ils ont inspecté trois postes-frontières par où doivent transiter les vivres et médicaments.

Conclu en mai dernier, l'accord sur le pétrole autorise l'Irak à vendre du brut à hauteur de 2 milliards de dollars par semestre pour se procurer des produits humanitaires pour sa population, affectée par l'embargo international en vigueur depuis l'invasion irakienne du Koweït en août 1990.

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## **Irak-Kurdes : Les factions kurdes attachées au cessez-le-feu en Irak, selon Ankara**

ANKARA, 4 déc (AFP) - Les factions kurdes rivales d'Irak ont réaffirmé leur attachement au cessez-le-feu entré en vigueur le 23 octobre, lors d'une réunion mardi à Ankara, a déclaré mercredi le porte-parole de la diplomatie turque, Omer Akbel.

Les représentants du Parti Démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) de Massoud Barzani et de l'Union Patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de Jalal Talabani, ont exprimé leur attachement à la trêve, au cours de la réunion du Groupe de Supervision de la Paix (Supervisory Peace Monitoring Group), a indiqué M. Akbel.

La création de ce groupe était prévue dans l'accord conclu le 31 octobre à Ankara entre le PDK et son rival, l'UPK, qui combattaient pour le contrôle du nord de l'Irak qui échappe à l'autorité de Bagdad depuis la fin de la guerre du Golfe en février 1991. Il s'agit de la troisième réunion de ce groupe depuis sa création, a indiqué le porte-parole.

Les représentants turcs, américains et britanniques ainsi que ceux du PDK, de l'UPK et de la communauté turcomane d'Irak, troisième ethnique du pays après les Arabes et Kurdes, ont participé à cette réunion. Les représentants du PDK et de l'UPK ont indiqué que les accrochages de la semaine dernière sur la ligne de cessez-le-feu dans le nord de l'Irak étaient "locaux et limités", a ajouté M. Akbel, sans autre précision.

Aux termes de l'accord du 31 octobre, le Groupe de Supervision de la Paix, basé à Ankara, doit contrôler le cessez-le-feu sur la base d'informations fournies par une Force de Surveillance de la Paix (Peace Monitoring Force), basée, elle, sur le terrain et composée d'éléments neutres, des Turcomans et des Kurdes non membres de l'UPK et du PDK.

Tous les participants ont exprimé leur "satisfaction de la poursuite du cessez-le-feu", a ajouté M. Akbel.

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## **UNE JOURNÉE EN PRISON POUR LEYLA ZANA**

C'est sur ce mot d'ordre que plus de 1000 femmes d'Allemagne et d'autres pays européens appellent à la libération de la députée kurde Leyla Zana. Celles-ci se déclarent, par ailleurs, prêtes à passer une journée en prison à la place de Leyla Zana. Parmi les premières 120 signataires de cette initiative, on note les noms des personnalités de la vie culturelle et politique ainsi que du mouvement féministe telles que: Angela Davis; les écrivains Benoîte Groult, Laurence Deona et Gisela Steinecker; les metteurs en scène Anne Delbée et Margrath von Trotta; les actrices Vinie Burrows, Hanna Schygulla, Gisela Oechelhaeuser et Renan Demirkan. Parmi les personnalités du mouvement féministe international: les présidentes de la Fédération Démocratique Internationale des Femmes, de l'organisation des femmes social-démocraties suédoises, du mouvement des femmes néerlandais, de l'Union des femmes de Russie... Parmi les personnalités politiques: Danielle Mitterrand, Claudia Roth, présidente du Groupe des Verts européens; Antoinette Fouque (vice-présidente de la Commission des droits de la Femme au Parlement européen) ainsi que des députées de différents groupes politiques du Bundestag. Début décembre, une dizaine de femmes iront remettre les premières 1000 signatures de l'appel "Une journée pour Leyla Zana" au président Dèmirel à Ankara.



*Turkish Daily News* THURSDAY, DECEMBER 5, 1996

# US: OPC to provide 'comfort' for millions, if not Iraqis

By Uğur Akıncı  
*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON- Since most of the Iraqi Kurds, Turkmens and others directly threatened by Saddam Hussein in northern Iraq have either left the region or are about to be evacuated soon, who does the Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) provide "comfort" for?

The U.S. State Department replied to this obvious question with a long list: "Providing a lot of comfort to the citizens of Turkey, the citizens of Kuwait, the citizens of Saudi Arabia, the citizens of every other Gulf state; I would think most of the Arab world," said Nicholas Burns, spokesman for the state department.

But that was not all. "Certainly, the citizens of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and France just to name several hundred million people who are going to benefit from the continuation of this operation," Burns said.

Hussein is not going to be able to fly north or south. We're going to prevent him from doing that, as we have during the last two American Administrations — of President Bush and President Clinton."

## No shift

Does that represent a shift in policy focus from providing comfort to the northern Iraqis to anyone but the northern Iraqis, TDN asked.

Burns denied there was any shift in focus. "No, it hasn't, because we're maintaining a northern no flight zone. It's very much focused on northern Iraq," he said.

"Of course, we carry on a very active dialogue with the Turkish Government about the basis for Operation Provide Comfort. We'll continue to talk to the Turks about it," he added.

"But we expect that the basic alliance in place, that is engineered to constrain Saddam Hussein and deter him from military movements north and south, that is going to remain in place."

Burns again confirmed that, contrary to some Turkish press reports, there were no official messages exchanged between Washington and Ankara on the final fate of OPC. Turkish Parliament will decide on if the operation will be extended or not at the end of this month.

## Humanitarian aid to continue

Would OPC still continue to supply humanitarian aid over land or by air, a journalist asked. The answer suggested that a little help from Turkey might be needed.

"I think that remains to be seen. That's one of the questions that we've got to talk to the Turks and others about," Burns said.

"We no longer have the infrastructure in place that would allow us to have a continuation of those problems, but we are looking at other ways to accomplish that purpose," Burns said, reminding that was the result of evacuation of all Iraqis who used to work for the U.S. government in humanitarian programs.

"One of the things that we have been trying to achieve in our discussions with the Turkmen population — with the two major Kurdish factions, is programs that would help to build stability and peace for the people of northern Iraq," he said.

## European NGOs

Burns suggested the load of the humanitarian work could now be shouldered by European NGOs. "There are efforts underway by the United Nations and by private organizations to continue the efforts to deliver humanitarian aid. Northern Iraq is going to be a busy place for the next couple of months," he said. Once the U.N. 986 is approved and oil-for-food program is launched, the role of such NGOs would become even more important, he said.

"So it's going to be an area where there will be lots of outside involvement in a very beneficial way," he said about northern Iraq. "So I would expect that this general effort to try to help the Turkmens and Kurds and Assyrians and others will continue."

## Turkmens

Stressing the role of Turkmens in the region, Burns reminded that "we're not just talking about Kurds here in northern Iraq. We're talking about Assyrians and we're talking about Turkmens and other ethnic groups. It's very important to make that distinction."

Burns said he had no further details on the preparations to evacuate 5,000 NGO workers still inside northern Iraq.

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## Iran-troubles : Affrontements dans l'ouest de l'Iran après la mort d'un dignitaire sunnite

par Christophe de ROQUEFEUIL

TEHERAN, 5 dec (AFP) - Des affrontements provoqués par la mort dans des conditions controversées d'un dignitaire religieux sunnite ont fait plusieurs morts et entraîné des arrestations dans l'ouest de l'Iran mercredi.

Un officier supérieur de la police iranienne, le colonel Akbar Najafi, a été tué lors de ces heurts dans la ville de Kermanshah, ont rapporté jeudi des témoins à l'AFP.

Un à trois autres manifestants ont également été tués, et de nombreuses autres personnes blessées, selon ces sources, qui ont ajouté que les obsèques du colonel Najafi avaient eu lieu jeudi à Kermanshah.

Selon les manifestants, le mollah Mohammad Rabii, responsable de la prière du vendredi à la mosquée Chafeii (une branche du sunnisme) de Kermanshah, a été assassiné lundi. Les autorités iraniennes assurent à l'inverse qu'il est mort d'une attaque cardiaque.

La radio d'Etat iranienne a confirmé jeudi les troubles, affirmant que des personnes avaient été arrêtées, sans préciser leur nombre.

Un "groupe de provocateurs" a, selon la radio, fait irruption lors des obsèques du religieux en "lançant des slogans déviants".

La population aurait alors répliqué en scandant "mort aux hypocrites" (référence aux Moudjahidine du Peuple, principal groupe d'opposition armée au régime) et "Allah Akbar" (Dieu est grand).

La population iranienne est majoritairement chiite, mais d'importantes minorités sunnites vivent dans l'ouest frontalier avec l'Irak et la Turquie ainsi que le sud-est du pays.

Ces événements constituent la plus importante tension connue avec la communauté sunnite depuis l'instauration de la république islamique dominée par le clergé chiite, en 1979.

Affrontements ...

TEHERAN - Les autorités iraniennes appellent régulièrement à l'unité entre les obédiences islamiques pour "déjouer les complots de ceux qui veulent la division".

La radio officielle a également accusé le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan iranien (PDKI, basé en Irak), d'avoir "répandu des rumeurs" incitant à l'agitation.

Le PDKI lance régulièrement des attaques en territoire iranien, notamment dans la province de Kermanshah.

Les médias iraniens ont présenté M. Rabii, un ancien employé de la radio-télévision d'Etat à Kermanshah, comme un "religieux érudit".

Le journal Jomhuri-Islami, proche des milieux intégristes du régime iranien, a pour sa part affirmé que les orateurs présents aux obsèques du mollah avaient appelé à l'unité pour "déjouer les complots ennemis", ajoutant lui aussi que le décès du dignitaire sunnite était dû à une crise cardiaque.

Des témoins ont également fait état de troubles dans deux autres villes de la province de Kermanshah, Javanroud et Ravansar, mardi, avec là encore des morts parmi les manifestants.

Le Parti du Peuple d'Iran (PPI), un groupe d'opposition ultra-nationaliste illégal mais toléré en Iran, a affirmé dans

un communiqué que le dignitaire avait été "assassiné".

Ce meurtre présumé a entraîné une "vague d'émeutes à travers les provinces de l'ouest" iranien, avec un nombre non précisé de morts et de blessés entre manifestants et forces de l'ordre, a déclaré le PPI, dirigé par un ancien ministre du Travail, M. Darioush Fourouhar.

Selon lui, des "milliers de personnes de la ville de Sanandaj, chef lieu de la province du Kurdistan iranien, à majorité sunnite, s'étaient rendues à Kermanshah pour assister aux funérailles du dignitaire.

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### **Turquie-Universités : Deux étudiants blessés par balles à l'université d'Istanbul**

ISTANBUL, 5 déc (AFP) - Deux étudiants d'extrême-gauche ont été blessés jeudi par balles par des condisciples d'extrême-droite à l'université d'Istanbul, a-t-on appris de sources bien informées.

Un groupe d'étudiants d'extrême-droite, armés de sabres, ont attaqué leurs rivaux dans la cantine de l'université, selon la même source. L'un des assaillants a ensuite tiré avec un revolver sur les étudiants, en blessant deux aux jambes. Plusieurs autres étudiants ont été légèrement blessés par des coups de sabre.

Les étudiants d'extrême-droite ont ensuite pris la fuite.

C'est la première attaque à main armée dans les universités turques depuis le coup d'Etat militaire de septembre 1980.

Depuis le début de l'année universitaire, les bagarres sanglantes ont été fréquentes à l'université d'Istanbul entre étudiants d'extrême-gauche et d'extrême-droite.

Début novembre, quatre étudiants d'extrême-gauche avaient été blessés à coups de couteau par des militants d'extrême-droite.

Pendant les années 70, les universités turques avaient été le théâtre d'un conflit sanglant entre extrémistes armés de gauche et de droite. Au moins 5.000 personnes avaient été tuées lors de ce conflit, qui avait été cité parmi les causes du coup d'Etat de 1980.

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### **Allemagne-Iran : Le procès de la discorde entre Bonn et Téhéran prolongé de plusieurs mois**

BERLIN, 5 déc (AFP) - Le procès des meurtriers présumés de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens à Berlin, qui a provoqué une crise entre Bonn et Téhéran, se prolongera de plusieurs mois, bien au-delà du début janvier, la date initialement prévue pour le jugement, ont indiqué jeudi les magistrats.

Le tribunal a fait droit aux requêtes de la défense qui réclamait l'audition de nouveaux témoins dans ce procès ouvert en octobre 1993. Les avocats entendent obtenir ainsi l'acquittement de l'un de cinq accusés (un Iranien et quatre Libanais).

Le tribunal a programmé les nouvelles auditions jusqu'à la fin février ce qui, selon les parties, ne permet pas de

supposer un jugement avant la fin du mois de mars.

Le parquet fédéral et les parties civiles ont protesté contre ce nouveau report qui aurait pu, selon eux, être évité si ces auditions avaient été conduites plus tôt. Les plaidoiries de la défense, qui avaient débuté la semaine dernière, ont été repoussées. Les réquisitoires du parquet qui ont déjà eu lieu devront probablement être répétés.

Les relations entre l'Iran et l'Allemagne sont tendues depuis qu'à l'audience, le parquet fédéral allemand a accusé en novembre les plus hauts dirigeants iraniens d'avoir ordonné le meurtre des quatre opposants kurdes assassinés en 1992 dans un restaurant à Berlin, le "Mykonos". Le clergé iranien est furieux que le guide de la République islamique d'Iran, l'ayatollah Ali Khamenei, ait été nommé par le parquet.

Le parquet fédéral, compétent pour les affaires de terrorisme, avait déjà lancé en mars un mandat d'arrêt contre le ministre iranien des Renseignements Ali Fallahian, accusé d'avoir commandité le meurtre.

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### **Grèce-Turquie-UE : La Grèce justifie ses difficultés avec l'UE à cause de la Turquie**

ATHENES, 5 déc (AFP) - La Grèce "a de grandes difficultés à suivre le processus d'unification européenne" en raison de ses problèmes avec la Turquie, affirme le Premier ministre grec Costas Simitis dans une lettre adressée aux autres membres de l'UE.

Dans cette lettre rendue publique jeudi, M. Simitis évoque "l'attitude agressive de la Turquie qui continue d'être un facteur de déstabilisation dans la région et qui menace les droits souverains de la Grèce".

"Cette situation influence nécessairement les choix de la Grèce sur une série de questions", ajoute M. Simitis dans cette lettre adressée à ses 14 homologues avant le sommet de Dublin du 12 au 14 décembre.

Il cite notamment "l'obligation pour la Grèce d'adopter un nouveau programme d'armement qui constitue une charge annuelle supplémentaire dépassant à moyen terme 1% du PIB". La Grèce consacre déjà environ 7% de son PIB à ses dépenses militaires. Le nouveau programme dont le financement est prévu sur dix ans s'élève à 17 milliards de dollars.

"Ce programme empêche pratiquement la Grèce d'atteindre, dans les délais prévus, les critères de Maastricht", déclare M. Simitis.

Le gouvernement grec a répété à plusieurs reprises que la Grèce ne pourrait pas satisfaire les critères de Maastricht dès la première étape mais plutôt vers 2000-2001.

Dans sa lettre M. Simitis ajoute que la menace turque détermine également "les positions grecques au sein de la conférence intergouvernementale (CIG) notamment sur les questions de défense et de politique étrangère".

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Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1996

# West 'skeptical' over rights package

Challenged over their "prejudice" European diplomats say Turkey "prejudiced its own position" and cite Çiller's comments appearing to defend extrajudicial killings

By D. Semih İdiz  
*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Western diplomats are expressing deep skepticism about the sincerity of a "human rights package" the government submitted to Parliament last week, and said they believed that this, like similar recent initiatives, will be no more than a "cosmetic" undertaking.

When they were challenged that this is a "prejudicial approach," given that the contents of the package are not fully clear yet, they were quick to retort that "Turkey has prejudiced its own position" in this regard.



Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller, who faces a serious credibility problem in Europe

As the most concrete example of this, they point to recent remarks by Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller expressing "respect" for underworld figures "who shoot and are shot at" on behalf of the state.

"This is the foreign minister of

Turkey who will be coming to the Dublin summit next week to try and sell her government's new human rights package to EU ministers," one western diplomat commented wryly to the Turkish Daily News.

"It will be interesting to note what response she has if she is asked to explain her words in apparent support of extra-judicial killings in Turkey that human rights proponents complain so much about," he added.

Çiller uttered these debilitating words in connection with Abdullah Çatlı, the central figure in the so called "Susurluk scandal" that is currently rocking the nation.

Çatlı who died in the car crash in Susurluk on Nov. 3, along with a senior police officer, had been on the run for 18 years and was on

Interpol's "Red Bulletin" as an "armed and dangerous criminal."

He was supposedly being sought by the Turkish police for allegedly masterminding the so called "Bahçeşehir massacre" in Ankara in 1978, when 7 student activists for the Turkish Labour Party were brutally killed. He was also being sought in Europe in connection with drug-related crimes.

After Çatlı's death there were widespread media allegations that he had been used by the authorities in extrajudicial killings against persons involved in anti-Turkish activities.

The fact that, Sedat Bucak, a pro-government Kurdish tribal feudal lord, and a deputy in Çiller's True Path Party (DYP), was also in the car in which Çatlı was killed, has heightened suspicions about a link between the state and the underworld.

Bucak, who survived the accident, heads a large state-sponsored private army which is fighting the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party.

Washington, usually coy to comment publicly about internal political developments in Turkey, voiced its concern last week, through State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns, over the implication of the Susurluk case.

Çiller's support for Çatlı is being interpreted in Turkey as a bid to attract ultranationalist votes to her DYP whose popularity has been waning.

Turkish diplomats concede that their colleagues in European capitals, who have a hard time as it is defending Turkey's human rights record, have been placed in an embarrassing position by Çiller's defence of Çatlı.

The embarrassment, they admit, has been compounded by the fact that these remarks, in defence of people like Çatlı, had come from the foreign minister of the Turkish Republic.

Western diplomats say that Çiller's utterances in connection with Çatlı and the Susurluk case are not her only "gaffes" that will leave her with a major "credibility problem" when she attends the EU's Dec. 14 summit on the sidelines.

"Not more than just a few weeks ago she came out and told us to be patient because the government was working on a fine human rights package that would even abolish the death penalty in Turkey," another western diplomat commenting to the Turkish Daily News said.

"Now there is no mention of this. All there is is some vague talk about reducing the period of incommunicado detention without any evidence that this will be more than a new attempt to hoodwink the West in a bid to try and buy more time" he added.

"All the steps presented by Ankara over the past few years as major judicial reforms aimed at enhancing human rights have proved to be no more than cosmetic," this senior diplomat added.

"We were told about the so-called "CMUK reform" which said those arrested could demand the presence of their lawyers, when questioned, provided they were not accused of acts of terrorism. But all of a sudden there was a proliferation in the number of those charged with terrorism, including those who had merely expressed their views on an issue," he added.

"Then we were told that Article 8 of the anti-terrorism law would be abolished so that people would not be sent to prison for their opinions.

This fact was rapidly belied by ensuing facts, and even today there are people being jailed for what they have said or written," this diplomat declared, reflecting the general belief among his colleagues from other European states.

He went on to declare as, "true to a great extent" remarks by Turkish officials that Turkish laws are actually sufficient to deal with torture and other human rights violations perpetrated by the authorities.

"But this is damning oneself with one's own hands" he said.

"If the laws are sufficient, but violations continue unabated, with the perpetrators escaping punishment or being given laughably lenient sentences, then it means there is a serious lack of will to implement the law" he explained.

This diplomat went on to point to the case

of Metin Goktepe, the journalist whose death at the hands of riot policeman, has even been acknowledged by the highest authorities in Turkey.

"But are the authorities using this clear cut case to prove that Turkey, which always refers to the supremacy of the law, has the

will to punish human rights violators?" he asked.

"To the contrary they give the impression of trying to make the public forget about this case altogether by having it sent from city to city on the grounds of 'security concerns'" he said reflecting at the same time how close western diplomats are following this particu-

lar case.

Indicating that Europe was not prepared "to be taken for a ride" by Ankara anymore with regard to human rights, this senior diplomat from a key European country said bluntly, "the Turkish government should stop taking us for fools."

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1996



PM Erbakan has withdrawn his objections.

## Erbakan okays deal with Israel for F-4 upgrade

**U-turn:** Erbakan said nothing about credit when he signed the agreement, despite his contention that the credit conditions are not in Turkey's best interests

By Metehan Demir / Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on Thursday officially signed the controversial \$600 million Turkey-Israeli deal to refit Turkish F-4 fighter planes. The modernization program will finally get off the ground when President Süleyman Demirel, as head of state, signs the deal.

"Erbakan has offered proposals for maximum local input in the upgrade program with Israel's state-run Aircraft Industry (IAI), saying that Turkish firms related to avionic and electronic systems such as MIKES, which produces the electronic warfare systems of Turkish F-16s, and Aselsan, the backbone of the Turkish military electronic field, should be given priority," a senior Prime Ministry source told the Turkish Daily News. Erbakan aims to minimize costs with this thrust for domestic input. President Demirel is expected to sign the agreement in the near future.

### Turnaround

Turkey's prime minister said nothing about credit when he signed the deal, whereas just last week Erbakan had come out strongly against the agreement between Turkey and Israel, saying the credit conditions were not in Turkey's best interests and that they should be changed.

Defense sources called Erbakan's approval a U-turn in attitude, saying that he had made the move to avoid angering the general staff.

### General staff pleased with PM's approval

Speaking to the TDN, a high-level general in the Turkish general staff expressed his pleasure at Erbakan's approval of the joint project, saying that the project will start as soon as possible. During last week's tense meetings, in which Erbakan voiced his strong opposition, general staff officials slammed the Islamist prime minister, suggesting his opinions were purely emotional in nature.

Before coming to power, Erbakan's pro-Islamist Welfare Party (RP) condemned the agreements, complaining they had not been debated in Parliament before being signed. Erbakan toned down his criticism after becoming prime minister.

The general staff have, for a long time, stressed to Erbakan the importance of such defense industry cooperation schemes with Israel.

The prime minister and his aides earlier voiced specific concerns about the credit package provided by Israel,

saying that the upgrade deal entailed delivery of the first modernized Turkish F-4s 33 months after the joint plan was signed but that Turkey would be required to pay \$150 million up front. Repayments would begin just 23 months after the signing date. If the full interest which will be owed to Israel for the credit package is added, the total cost of the F-4 upgrade project would be roughly \$800 million. Under these circumstances, the deal was very expensive and would harm Turkey, they said.

### What is the deal?

Israel Aircraft Industries reached a consensus on the \$600 million deal with Turkey in 1995 to upgrade 54 McDonnell Douglas-made F-4 jets. The deal was a boost for Israel's defense industry and awaited the stamp of Turkish officials. The present five-year deal to upgrade the fighter bombers was to involve the installation of advanced avionic systems, including Elta radars and electronic warfare and navigation systems. According to the agreement, the first 26 aircraft will be upgraded in Israel. The plan also involves upgrading 28 of the 54 F-4Es at the Eskişehir Air Supply and Maintenance Center (HIBM) with the equipment supplied by IAI.

To date, Turkey and Israel have signed two different agreements, one concerning military training and the other a defense industry cooperation scheme.

The military training plan, which was signed last February, sparked a row in Middle Eastern countries due to ideas that Turkey was aligning itself with Israel against Syria and other Arab states.

That accord involved reciprocal naval visits, the sending of delegations to military academies and the use of each other's air space and seas for pilot training.

Countries throughout the Middle East called the agreement a betrayal of solidarity against the Jewish state.

Turkey earlier rebuffed the criticism, saying it was based on a misunderstanding of the terms of the agreement.



# Çiller pledges to investigate torture allegations

By Orya Sultan Halisdemir

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller said at a press conference in London that the Turkish government would start to release the reports published by the Council of Europe's Committee for Prevention of Torture and pledged that Turkey would improve its standards on human rights and democracy for the sake of the Turkish people.

Çiller said that past reports of the Committee for Prevention and Torture were not acknowledged by previous Turkish governments, adding that from now on these reports would be investigated seriously.

"Turkey is a country where the rule of law is an important feature of the state. Torture is illegal in Turkey. If there is any allegation that torture is practiced in Turkey, we will investigate it," Çiller emphasized. "Related authorities will be notified of this decision," she added.

Foreign Minister Çiller also pointed out that there was a committee set up within the Interior Ministry to initiate investigations of missing persons.

"If there are people who are missing we will search for them," Çiller added.

She said that another positive step taken by the present government was the proposed bill to decrease the period suspects are kept in custody.

Referring to the Susurluk car accident that occurred on Nov. 3, where alleged connections between the state and the mafia were revealed, Çiller pointed out that it would be wrong to turn this accident into a battle for gaining political power.

"The necessary investigations have been started by the relevant government bodies. However, nobody should try to defame the entire security structure in Turkey because of some individuals' actions," she insisted.

## EU and Cyprus

Speaking about Turkey-EU relations, Çiller charged the EU with not carrying out its obligations to Turkey, in the relation to the customs union.

"There are no disagreements in the government about the fact that the customs union has been useful for Turkey," Çiller said.

She said that she would bring the issue of EU-Turkey relations to the attention of EU officials she was expected to

meet during the London conference.

"We will warn them, and remind them of their obligation," said Çiller adding that Turkey "as a partner with the West for decades" deserves to be in the EU.

In reference to talks about Cyprus, Çiller said that she would reiterate Turkey's belief that if both the Greek and Turkish side of Cyprus were to enter into the EU simultaneously with Turkey, the whole problem would be solved.

The foreign minister also said that Turkey was not against EU membership of some of the Eastern European countries, "but Turkey should also take its place in the European family," Çiller added.

"I believe Turkey will take this place. We will improve Turkey's human rights records and democracy to its highest possible level," Çiller emphasized the need for more democratization.

Çiller also reiterated her statement issued on Wednesday regarding Turkey's commitments to peace in Bosnia. "We will continue our full support for reconstruction of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We also believe that war criminals should be brought to justice, this would show how serious the peace process is," Çiller said.

# Cabinet decides to replace OPC with new 'reconnaissance force'

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- The Council of Ministers has refused to extend the mandate of Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) but has decided, in principle, to replace it with a "reconnaissance force" comprised of OPC's air units to patrol the no-fly zone in northern Iraq.

In its last meeting, the National Security Council (MGK) had declined to give Cabinet an advisory opinion on whether or not to extend the OPC mandate, which expires Dec. 31, claiming it

deemed the issue too "political."

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan and Cabinet decided against the extension of the force in view of the recent developments in northern Iraq.

The OPC force — comprised of Turkish, U.S., British and French military units — was deployed to Incirlik-Adana on the basis of a Turkish Parliament decision made on Jan. 17, 1991. The force provided air protection for the Iraqi Kurds against possible action by Saddam Hussein in the wake of the Gulf War.

Since then its mandate has been renewed regularly.

Cabinet will decide in its next meeting the terms for establishing the new reconnaissance force. Meanwhile, the groundwork for the proposed force is to be specified in more detail. Cabinet is generally inclined to authorize the use of air units to monitor military movement on the ground north of the 36th parallel. If Parliament chooses to take no action on the issue this time, the force will leave Turkey at the end of the current year.

Turkish Daily News  
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1996

# Germany keeps to its hard-line policy against separatist PKK

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- German Parliament harshly condemned the violent attacks of the outlawed organization, the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), in a draft resolution. The resolution was unanimously accepted on Thursday in a session on human rights, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Deputy Parliament Speaker Burkhard Hirsch said that the PKK was a terrorist organization. Referring to human rights in Turkey, he said that no progress had been made.

Claiming that the Turkish police should be trained with respect to human rights, Hirsch said: "The Turkish police should have the same training as the German police. This will contribute to improving human rights in Turkey."

Later, the Parliament approved the draft resolution, criticizing the PKK for violent

attacks it carries out on innocent people. The resolution also demands that the Turkish government improve human rights and accelerate the democratization process.

German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, reading the government's declaration on human rights during Thursday's session, noted that human rights was an important element in German foreign politics. Stressing that violation of human rights can no longer be seen as a domestic matter, he urged that the issue be evaluated on an international level and that international cooperation be developed to prevent human rights violations.

## Munich court sentences three PKK members

Meanwhile, Reuters reported that a German court convicted three members of the outlawed PKK on Thursday of member-

ship in a terrorist organization and responsibility for crimes, including attacks on Turkish shops.

The Munich court, which said the three were "professional cadres of the PKK," gave two of the men suspended two-year sentences and sent the third to jail for 22 months.

During the two-month trial, the defendants denied prosecution charges they were regional PKK leaders for the southern German cities of Nuremberg, Munich and Freiburg.

The prosecution said the men, named only as Erhan S., Kemal C. and Fevzi A., had passed on orders for illegal protests and violent attacks from PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan.

It said these acts ranged from firebombings to murder but did not accuse the three of participating in any specific incident.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1996

# U.S. Is Evacuating More Iraqi Kurds

By Steven Lee Myers  
*New York Times Service*

## WASHINGTON

Nearly three months after its military and relief effort collapsed in northern Iraq, the United States has begun evacuating 4,000 to 5,000 Kurds and other Iraqis who had worked for private organizations in the northern Kurdish enclave once protected by the United States and its allies.

The evacuation of the relief workers is the third the United States has undertaken to help thousands flee northern Iraq after the outbreak of fighting between two rival Kurdish factions and the brief incursion of Iraqi forces into the enclave in August.

The State Department announced in October that it would consider evacuating the workers and their families, but the effort had been delayed by concerns that some of them might pose security risks to the United

States. The delay has prompted criticism from relief organizations that feared the workers faced reprisals from Iraqi security forces still believed to be operating in the north.

As U.S. officials began to ferry the refugees across Iraq's border with Turkey, it was still not clear how many would finally be allowed to leave. "There are people on the border checking as people come across," an official in Washington said, speaking on condition of anonymity.

In the months since Iraqi troops stormed into the Kurdish enclave, the United States has been trying to reassert its influence on the ground. With its allies it still patrols the region in the air and it has been trying in recent weeks to shore up a cease-fire reached in October between the two Kurdish factions. But, as one official put it recently, "The situation is still pretty raw."

While the exodus of relief

workers has undermined relief efforts in northern Iraq, U.S. officials have expressed hope that the United Nations and its agencies will be able to deliver food and medicine under the recent agreement to allow Iraq to sell some oil.

The relief workers, employed by two dozen private groups, had to make their own way to the border. It will take a few days for all of them to cross over. They will stay briefly in Silopi, Turkey, before being flown to Guam, as were the previous refugees, and eventually being resettled in the United States.

The previous waves of refugees included 2,100 Kurds who had worked directly for the U.S. government in its military and humanitarian efforts in northern Iraq since the Gulf War in 1991 and a group of about 600 Iraqi dissidents who had received support from the United States to undermine the government of President Saddam Hussein.

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## **Turquie-Irak-Kurdes : Vers une modification de l'opération "Provide Comfort"**

ANKARA, 6 déc (AFP) - L'opération multinationale de protection et d'aide aux Kurdes d'Irak, "Provide Comfort", devrait voir son mandat prolongé ce mois-ci mais ses objectifs et son nom pourraient être modifiés à la demande de la Turquie, a-t-on appris de sources bien informées à Ankara.

Selon ces sources, l'opération pourrait ne conserver après le 31 décembre, date d'expiration de son actuel mandat, que sa composante aérienne, le volet terrestre étant abandonné, et elle pourrait à l'avenir s'appeler "Northern Watch" (surveillance du nord) et non plus "Provide Comfort".

Des négociations sont en cours entre la Turquie et les Etats-Unis d'une part, et entre différentes tendances en Turquie même, pour définir une formule nouvelle et satisfaisante pour tous, ajoute-t-on. Le renouvellement du mandat dépend du parlement turc.

"A l'évidence, l'opération va faire peau neuve, le nom n'a pas grande importance, l'ancien s'était attiré une certaine publicité en Turquie, ce ne serait pas une mauvaise idée d'en changer, cela ne nous poserait pas de problème", a déclaré vendredi à l'AFP une source diplomatique occidentale.

Les modifications sont motivées principalement par le changement de situation intervenu dans le nord de l'Irak depuis l'alliance conclue fin août avec le gouvernement de Saddam Hussein par l'un des deux groupes kurdes rivaux d'Irak, le Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK) de Massoud Barzani.

Comme celui-ci accuse son rival, l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK) de Jalal Talabani, d'être soutenu par l'Iran, beaucoup en Turquie estiment que les deux groupes ayant chacun leur parrain, ils n'ont plus besoin de la protection de l'Occident.

L'argument vient à point nommé compte tenu de l'hostilité croissante rencontrée par l'opération "Provide Comfort" en Turquie, surtout depuis l'arrivée au pouvoir fin juin des islamistes du premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan, à l'antioccidentalisme notoire.

L'opération, lancée après la guerre du Golfe en 1991, est constituée d'une force aérienne, composée d'avions américains, britanniques et français et basée à Incirlik (sud), et chargée, sous commandement conjoint américano-turc, de surveiller et faire respecter la zone d'interdiction de vol imposée à l'aviation de Saddam Hussein au nord du 36<sup>e</sup> parallèle.

Son volet terrestre comporte un Centre de coordination militaire (MCC), ainsi qu'une aide aux populations civiles apportée sur le terrain par des ONG.

Ce volet n'existe pratiquement plus. D'une part le MCC a quitté Zakho (nord de l'Irak) pour Incirlik, à la suite de l'intervention des troupes de Bagdad aux côtés des peshmerga du PDK contre l'UPK fin août.

Les Turcs, qui accusaient le MCC de travailler sans contrôle et de promouvoir la création à terme d'un Etat kurde indépendant, un tabou pour Ankara, aux prises avec sa propre rébellion séparatiste kurde, s'opposent au retour du MCC dans le nord de l'Irak.

Les Etats-Unis sont en train de terminer l'évacuation de la plupart des membres des ONG qui travaillaient pour eux.

Reste la composante aérienne. Selon la presse turque, Ankara est divisé sur l'opportunité de la maintenir, M. Erbakan voulant y mettre fin, sa partenaire dans la coalition, le ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, souhaitant qu'elle continue.

Selon Mme Ciller, c'est la présence de la force qui permet à la Turquie de mener de fréquentes incursions en territoire irakien contre les rebelles du Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan, qui utilisent la région comme base arrière, et il n'est donc pas dans l'intérêt d'Ankara d'y mettre fin.

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### **Turquie-Israël : M. Erbakan approuve l'accord sur la modernisation des F-4 turcs par Israël**

ANKARA, 6 déc (AFP) - Le premier ministre islamiste turc Necmettin Erbakan a approuvé jeudi un accord d'un montant de 600 millions de dollars passé avec Israël pour la modernisation des F-4 de l'armée de l'air turque, a-t-on appris vendredi de sources informées à Ankara.

M. Erbakan s'opposait initialement à cet accord mais les militaires turcs, qui sont favorables à la poursuite de la coopération turco-israélienne et désirent réaliser ce projet, l'ont convaincu de l'approuver, selon les mêmes sources.

L'accord turco-israélien, conclu en 1995, prévoit l'octroi à la Turquie par Israël de 600 millions de dollars de crédits pour aider au financement du projet. Il sera effectif après ratification par le président turc Suleyman Demirel.

L'accord prévoit un programme, sur cinq ans, d'installation sur 54 F-4 turcs d'équipement sophistiqué, comprenant des radars, des systèmes de navigation et de brouillage électronique, par la firme publique Israeli Aircraft Industries.

Les 26 chasseurs-bombardiers seront modernisés en Israël et les 28 autres dans les installations des forces armées turques dans la province d'Eskisehir (centre).

"Nous sommes très contents de cette initiative turque", a dit un diplomate israélien à Ankara. "Nous désirons exécuter le projet dans les plus brefs délais".

M. Erbakan, premier ministre depuis fin juin à la tête d'une coalition à dominante islamiste et connu pour ses prises de position contre Israël lors de la campagne électorale de décembre 1995, s'opposait aux conditions financières de l'accord, a-t-on affirmé de mêmes sources.

La Turquie et Israël avaient signé en août un accord de coopération sur la technologie militaire, dans le cadre d'un accord-cadre sur la coopération militaire conclu en février, prévoyant notamment des vols d'entraînement des pilotes des deux pays, l'échange de personnel et d'informations.

Cet accord-cadre avait alors provoqué la colère de pays arabes, notamment l'Egypte et la Syrie, ainsi que de l'Iran, ces deux derniers étant voisins de la Turquie.

M. Erbakan, alors dans l'opposition, l'avait également critiqué.

La semaine dernière, la Turquie et Israël ont signé le programme de coopération militaire pour l'année 1997, lors de la visite à Ankara du directeur général au Ministère israélien de la Défense David Ivry.

Ce programme prévoit l'organisation pour la première fois de manoeuvres conjointes entre les armées turque et israélienne.

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### **Turquie-mafia : Le chef de l'opposition fait état de trois "bandes" au sein de l'Etat**

ANKARA, 6 déc (AFP) - Le chef du principal parti d'opposition turc Mesut Yilmaz a fait état de la présence de trois différentes "bandes" au sein de l'appareil de l'Etat, dans des déclarations publiées par la presse vendredi.

M. Yilmaz, chef du Parti de la Mère Patrie (ANAP, droite), a affirmé que ces "bandes luttaienent pour le contrôle du trafic d'héroïne", lors d'une réunion à huis clos du groupe parlementaire de l'ANAP dans la nuit de mercredi à jeudi.

Ces "bandes sont composées d'hommes du service de renseignement (MIT) et de la police" ainsi que d'anciens membres des "Loups gris", l'organisation de jeunesse du Parti d'Action Nationaliste (MHP, extrême-droite), selon M. Yilmaz.

Ces anciens membres des "Loups gris" sont accusés actuellement de s'être livrés à des activités illégales et d'avoir des liens avec les milieux mafieux.

Le chef de l'Etat Suleyman Demirel et le premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan "possèdent des documents et informations sur l'existence de ces bandes", et le MIT ainsi que l'armée "sont gênés par leurs activités illégales", a affirmé M. Yilmaz.

Ces nouvelles déclarations interviennent après qu'un accident de la route survenu le 3 novembre près de Susurluk (ouest) eut révélé l'existence de liens entre certains milieux politiques, des éléments mafieux et la police, créant un scandale dans le pays.

Un ancien activiste ultra-nationaliste, Abdullah Catli, recherché depuis 18 ans par la police pour meurtres et par Interpol pour trafic de drogue, et un ancien chef de la police, Huseyin Kocadag, avaient été tués dans cet accident.

Dans la même voiture, se trouvait un député kurde du Parti gouvernemental de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite) du ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, Sedat Bucak, qui avait été blessé.

Le scandale de Susurluk a provoqué la démission du ministre de l'Intérieur Mehmet Agar, membre du parti de Mme Ciller.

Son successeur, Mme Meral Aksener, a limogé jeudi, pour le "salut de l'enquête entreprise", trois chefs de police dont celui d'Istanbul Kemal Yazicioglu, et les trois gardes du corps de M. Bucak, qui avaient conservé leur statut de policiers.

M. Yilmaz, premier ministre de mars à juin 1996, affirme posséder des documents qui révéleraient les liens entre la mafia et l'appareil de sécurité de l'Etat. Il menace de les rendre publics si M. Erbakan ne lance pas une enquête approfondie.

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### **ONU-Iran-Kurdes : Massacre de 28 Kurdes irakiens à la frontière turco-iranienne, selon le HCR**

GENEVE, 6 déc (AFP) - Vingt-huit Kurdes irakiens ont été tués à la frontière entre l'Iran et la Turquie dans la nuit du 14 au 15 octobre "par un groupe para-militaire", a annoncé le Haut commissariat de l'ONU pour les réfugiés (HCR) vendredi à Genève.

"Selon les témoignages de deux survivants, les victimes ont été tuées alors que 30 Kurdes irakiens s'apprêtaient à

traverser par groupes de dix la frontière iranienne avec la Turquie", a indiqué la porte-parole du HCR.

"Il n'est pas clairement établi de quel côté de la frontière à été commis le massacre", a ajouté Mme Christiane Berthiaume qui a cependant précisé que le HCR avait demandé des explications au gouvernement d'Ankara.

75.000 kurdes irakiens s'étaient réfugiés en septembre en Iran, la plupart fuyant un conflit entre factions rivales dans le nord de leur pays, dans la région de Souleimanieh et d'Erbil.

Selon le HCR, l'Iran a contraint depuis plus de 50.000 réfugiés à rentrer les menaçant notamment de les priver de nourriture.

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### **Europe-Turquie : Le Comité européen contre la torture dénonce la torture en Turquie**

STRASBOURG (France), 6 déc (AFP) - Le Comité européen contre la torture (CPT), organe du Conseil de l'Europe, a dénoncé vendredi à Strasbourg la pratique "fréquente" et "inacceptable" de la torture en Turquie, appliquée tant à des détenus politiques qu'à des suspects de droit commun.

C'est la deuxième fois que le CPT rend publique une telle déclaration visant la Turquie, après une première en 1992. Cette procédure exceptionnelle n'est adoptée qu'en cas de constat d'échec de ses précédentes mises en garde.

"Un nombre considérable de personnes examinées par les trois médecins légistes (du CPT) présentaient des lésions ou d'autres signes médicaux" prouvant qu'elles avaient reçu des coups sur la plante des pieds, la paume des mains ou qu'elles avaient été longuement suspendues par les bras", indique le CPT, après des visites en septembre dans les commissariats de police d'Adana, Bursa et Istanbul. Deux des personnes examinées ont perdu l'usage des deux bras, des séquelles qui pourraient se révéler "irréversibles", selon le CPT.

En outre, la délégation a trouvé, au cours de ses trois dernières visites, "des preuves matérielles de recours aux mauvais traitements, en particulier un instrument modifié d'une manière susceptible de faciliter l'administration de chocs électriques ainsi que l'équipement pouvant être utilisé pour suspendre une personne par les bras".

Le CPT a demandé à de nombreuses reprises aux autorités turques de remédier à la situation, depuis sa première visite en 1990. Le gouvernement a mis en place "une grande partie du cadre légal et réglementaire pour combattre la torture et les mauvais traitements", mais ces mesures "ne sont respectées que du bout des lèvres", selon le Comité. "Il appartient à l'Etat de se faire obéir", avertit le CPT.

Le Comité demande aussi aux autorités turques de réduire les périodes maximales pendant lesquelles des personnes soupçonnées de terrorisme peuvent être placées en garde à vue. Ces suspects peuvent être maintenus au secret jusqu'à 15 jours, et même 30 jours dans les régions où l'état d'urgence a été proclamé.

Le Comité, composé d'experts indépendants (juristes, médecins...), effectue des visites-surprises dans tous les endroits où des personnes sont détenues par la force publique en Europe, et n'adopte la procédure de la "déclaration publique" que si l'Etat refuse de coopérer ou d'apporter les améliorations préconisées.

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## Allemagne-Iran : L'Iran envisage de racheter l'ancien combinat est-allemand Sket

BERLIN, 6 déc (AFP) - Le ministre iranien de l'Industrie minière et des métaux, Mohammed Hossein Mahloudji, a fait part vendredi au ministre allemand de l'Economie, Guenter Rexrodt, de l'intérêt porté par son pays à l'ancien combinat est-allemand de construction mécanique Sket de Magdebourg, en faillite.

M. Mahloudji "a parlé des projets d'investissement de son pays en Allemagne et confirmé aussi l'intérêt de l'Iran pour Sket", a indiqué M. Rexrodt dans un communiqué publié à l'issue d'un déjeuner de travail à Bonn.

Le ministre iranien a aussi souligné "le souhait de l'Iran d'étendre les relations économiques bilatérales", a ajouté M. Rexrodt, soulignant qu'il saluerait "particulièrement un engagement dans l'ancienne RDA".

Du temps de la RDA, Sket (laminoirs, câbles, etc...) était un puissant combinat, employant jusqu'à 13.000 salariés sur le seul site de Magdebourg. Déficitaire, l'entreprise qui n'emploie plus que 1.850 personnes a demandé sa mise en faillite en octobre.

Un plan d'assainissement prévoit de scinder Sket en cinq unités autonomes privatisables, qui n'emploieraient plus au total que 400 personnes.

Les salariés de Sket s'opposent à ce plan de démantèlement élaboré par l'Office chargé des privatisations dans l'ex-RDA, la BvS, qui doit encore être soumis à l'autorisation du gouvernement et de la commission européenne.

Un millier d'entre eux avaient manifesté à Magdebourg lundi.

M. Mahloudji est en Allemagne à l'invitation de la fédération patronale de la construction mécanique (VDMA), a précisé M. Rexrodt.

La BvS a fait savoir vendredi qu'elle étudierait l'offre iranienne dès qu'elle aurait à sa disposition "des documents concrets", soulignant que l'Iran n'avait pas fait connaître ses intentions "en matière d'emplois et d'investissements".

Les relations entre l'Iran et l'Allemagne sont tendues depuis que le parquet allemand a accusé, au mois de novembre, les plus hauts dirigeants iraniens d'avoir ordonné le meurtre de quatre opposants kurdes iraniens assassinés en 1992 dans un restaurant à Berlin, le "Mykonos".

Un Iranien et quatre Libanais sont jugés depuis octobre 1993 à Berlin pour ces meurtres.

L'Iran possède déjà une participation de 23,55% dans le groupe sidérurgique allemand Fried. Krupp. AG Hoesch-Krupp, achetée du temps du Chah d'Iran.

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*Turkish Daily News* SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1996

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- The European Commission on Torture Prevention called the draft bill in Turkish Parliament on shortening custodial detention periods an "important step in the right direction" in a declaration it issued on Friday, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Focusing on the insufficiency of changes in Turkey since 1992 with respect to human rights, the declaration recalled that Turkey had ignored several warnings given at the

# European commission on torture okays shortened custody periods

political level. It claimed that then Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's directive in 1995 "not to abuse people in custody" had not been obeyed.

The declaration urged prosecutors to act with speed and determination when faced

with claims of ill treatment and that deterrent type punishments be handed out when such an occurrence has been proven.

It noted that following the shortening of custodial detention periods, measures to prevent inappropriate treatment would be need-

ed. Emphasizing that there was a relationship between torture, ill treatment, and ter-

rorist activities in Turkey, the declaration said, "The commission condemns terrorism

and recognizes the difficulties Turkey faces on the issue. Terrorist activity in Turkey has led to security and humanitarian problems."

*Turkish Daily News* SATURDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1996

# Relatives ask for help in relocating Atrush camp residents

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkish citizens living in the Atrushrefugee camp in northern Iraq are waiting for help from Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) to return Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Approximately 10,000 Turkish citizens left Turkey and went to northern Iraq after the Gulf War, settling in the Atrushrefugee camp under the auspices

of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Turkey claims that these camps were controlled by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). During the Ankara meetings in October and November between the KDP leader Barzani and Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) leader Jalal Talabani, mediated by the United States, Britain and Turkey, both parties agreed to close down the Atrushrefugee camp.

The relatives of those living in the Atrushrefugee camp told Anatolia that they should be assisted in relocating back to Turkey before harsh winter weather sets in.

"If Massoud Barzani wanted to he would be able to assure us of the return of our relatives to Turkey in one day. Turkey must also take more action in the matter," a relative was quoted as saying.

## GAMK

SAMEDI-DIMANCHE, 7-8 DECEMBRE 1996

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### IRAN-TURQUIE

## M. Rafsandjani

### attendu en Turquie

Le président iranien Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsandjani devrait effectuer une visite officielle en Turquie le 18 décembre prochain, ont annoncé jeudi les milieux diplomatiques à Ankara et à Téhéran. A l'ordre du jour des entretiens prévus entre le président iranien, son homologue turc Suleyman Demirel et le premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan à Ankara, le commerce bilatéral et la situation dans le nord de l'Irak. Cette

visite de trois jours répond à celle qu'avait effectuée M. Erbakan en Iran, premier pays qu'il visitait peu après son entrée en fonction en juillet dernier. L'arrivée



de l'islamiste Erbakan au pouvoir à Ankara a contribué à améliorer des relations traditionnellement délicates entre Ankara et Téhéran, même si le premier ministre turc n'est pas en mesure d'appliquer à la lettre un programme électoral visant à recentrer vers le monde musulman la diplomatie turque. Lors de sa visite à Téhéran en août dernier, M. Erbakan avait toutefois signé avec l'Iran, au risque de déplaire aux États-Unis, un contrat d'un montant de 20 milliards de dollars portant sur la livraison de gaz naturel iranien à la Turquie, les deux pays s'engageant par ailleurs à augmenter de 2,5 milliards de dollars le volume de leurs échanges commerciaux.

Les motifs de contentieux restent toutefois nombreux entre l'Iran et la Turquie, à laquelle Téhéran reproche notamment ses accords de coopération militaire passés avec Israël, accords que M. Erbakan n'a pu remettre en question malgré ses

engagements en ce sens. La visite de M. Rafsandjani en Turquie a été annoncée aussi au lendemain de la visite effectuée par le ministre iranien des affaires étrangères, M. Ali Akbar Velayati en Syrie, où il a renouvelé ses critiques à l'encontre d'Ankara pour ses relations avec l'État hébreu. "Nous nous opposons fermement à tout accord conclu entre des pays musulmans et l'entité sioniste", avait déclaré M. Velayati dans un entretien accordé au journal officiel syrien "Ath-Thawra" au terme de sa visite de deux jours à Damas. Enfin, l'Iran vient de jeter les bases d'une coopération avec la Géorgie, mais aussi avec la Grèce et l'Arménie, deux pays qui entretiennent des relations pour le moins délicates avec leur voisin turc. Téhéran s'est pourtant empressé de souligner qu'une telle coopération avait une vocation strictement économique et qu'elle ne dissimulait aucune arrière-pensée politique ni alliance au détriment d'un pays tiers.

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# 'Saturday Mothers' win international award

Reuters

BERLIN- A women's human rights group which holds weekly vigils in Istanbul to campaign against torture, extrajudicial killings and "disappearances" of political dissidents in Turkey, won an award in Berlin on Sunday.

"Saturday Mothers," comprised mostly of wives and mothers of victims of human rights abuses in Turkey, holds vigils every Saturday to protest against the rights record of the Turkish government and raise worldwide public awareness.

Two of the organization's members, Nimet Tanrikulu and a woman identified as Yelda, accepted the International League for Human Rights medal in Berlin on behalf of the group. The medal is named after German journalist Carl von Ossietzky who fought against fascism and won the Nobel peace prize in 1935.

He was interned in a concentration camp during World War Two and died in 1938.

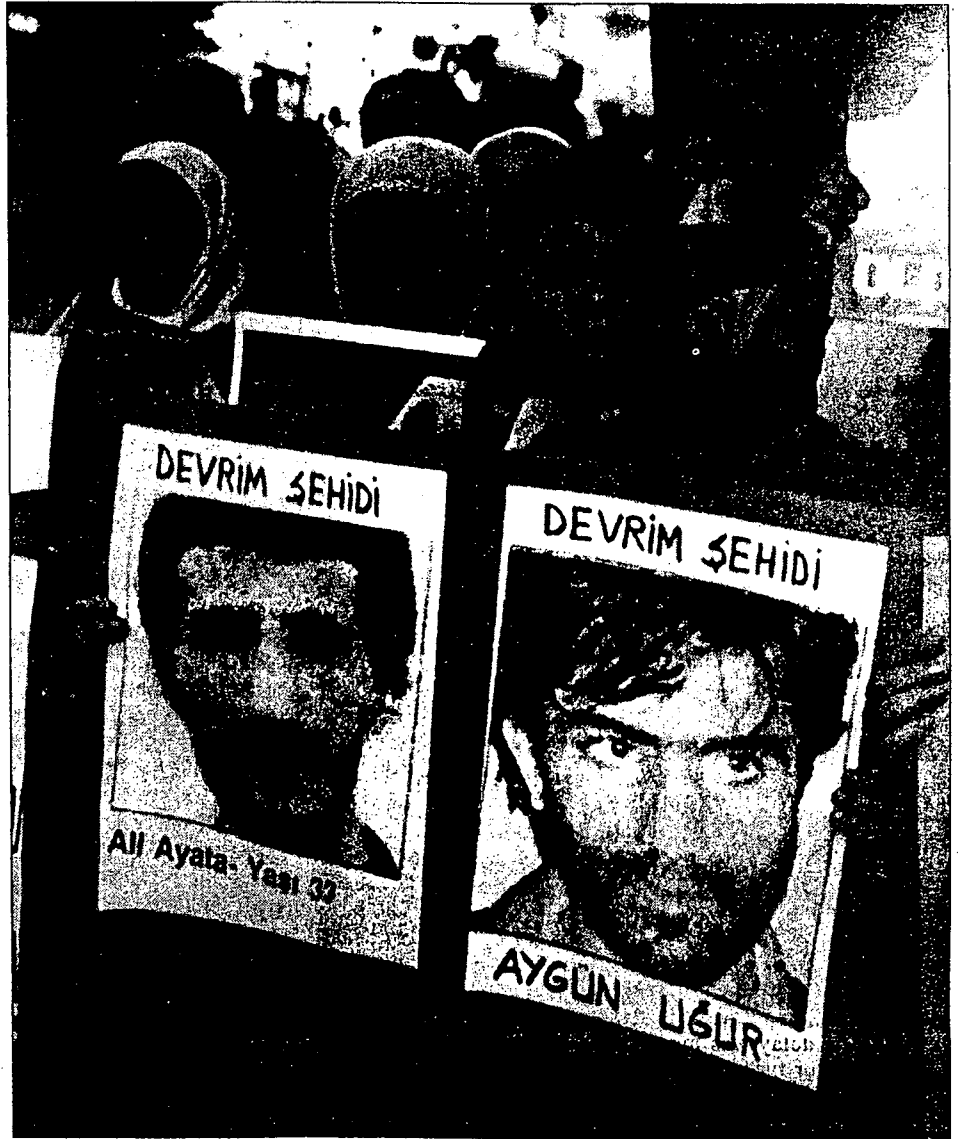
The Paris-based International League for Human Rights has bestowed the medal annually since 1962 on persons or groups fighting against state-sponsored oppression.

"This award is a warm greeting across the borders," Tanrikulu said as she accepted it, speaking in Turkish through a translator. "It has granted our voice a voice."

According to "Saturday Mothers", at least 827 people have been reported missing after being seized by police in Turkey since 1990. Human rights organizations list such cases as "disappearances".

Turkey, which hopes to join the European Union by 2000, has faced heavy criticism of its human rights record from the 15-nation body.

The awards ceremony launched a week-long programme of human rights demonstrations and seminars by Berlin human rights organizations, including Amnesty International and Reporters Without Borders.



Some of the "Saturday Mothers" who received the International League for Human Rights medal for their activities

## Former DEP deputies visit state and justice ministers

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Ahmet Türk and Sırrı Sakık, former deputies of the Democracy Party (DEP) which was closed by the Constitutional Court in 1994, on Saturday visited State Minister Fehim Adak and Justice Minister Şevket Kazan, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Türk and Sakık, while leaving the Prime Ministry after their visit to Adak, told journalists that theirs was a private

visit to Adak — a Welfare Party (RP) Mardin deputy — and that they talked about the problems in the Southeast.

Türk said they also visited Justice Minister Kazan. Asked whether they talked about that the former DEP deputies in prison, Türk said: "There are unjustified claims in the case. We expressed our doubts that these were evaluated without prejudice."

Sırrı Sakık, noting that the establishment of peace in the country was more

urgent than ever, said the Parliament was five years behind the DEP, holding debates on points which the DEP put forth five years ago.

Asked whether they had any hope that a solution to the problems of the Southeast could be found, Türk said: "Everyone is trying to do something. But they all know the state Turkey is in at present. Gangs and the mafia are all intertwined. It is not easy to progress without eliminating these."

## High migrant areas to be declared disaster zones

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Areas with a high population of internal immigrants will be classified as "disaster areas," in a one-off measure, according to State Minister Salim Ensarioğlu, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Ensarioğlu, speaking after being received at Diyarbakır airport — where he will stay for a three-day investigation — by the Emergency Rule Area Governor Necati Bilican, Diyarbakır Governor Emir Durmaz and by True Path Party (DYP) members, said the coalition government was attempting to solve the problems that previous governments had failed to tackle or solve.

Ensarioğlu summarized the coalition

aims as being to provide peace and increasing the economic power of society. "The new year will be a year of challenge for the region. We will give priority to the issue of internal migration resulting from terrorism," said Ensarioğlu. "We will determine which areas that are highly populated with internal immigrants and we are planning to include these places on the 'disaster area' list. I believe that unrequited aid should be supplied to these municipalities..."

Ensarioğlu said areas where a high proportion of the population are internal immigrant suffer in ways that other areas do not.

"Proper education cannot be given in these regions. The rates of closed

schools reach 40-50 percent in some regions. We give a great deal of importance on boarding schools at primary schools (YIBO) to provide education to children coming from scarcely populated areas," said Ensarioğlu. "Thirty of the 46 YIBO's that are being constructed, will be completed in 1997. The budget for these schools has been set aside. In addition, in 1997, stationary equipment will be provided to the poor students. In the new term, there will be no school without a teacher, or no students without a school."

Touching upon the lack of health services, Ensarioğlu said that the uncompleted hospitals of the region will be completed.

A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

### Turquie-Kurdes-USA : 1.700 personnes évacuées du nord de l'Irak

ANKARA, 8 déc (AFP) - Quelque 1.700 personnes, majoritairement des Kurdes irakiens ayant travaillé pour des organisations humanitaires américaines et leurs familles, sont passées du nord de l'Irak en Turquie depuis mercredi, début de la nouvelle opération d'évacuation, a rapporté dimanche l'agence Anatolie.

L'opération comprend le transfert en deux semaines de près de 4.500 personnes à Guam, île du Pacifique sous administration américaine.

650 personnes parmi ces évacués ont déjà quitté la Turquie, selon l'agence. Pour passer en territoire turc, elles utilisent le poste frontière de Habur, seul point de passage terrestre entre la Turquie et l'Irak.

Elles séjournent pour quelques jours à Silopi à une dizaine de km de la frontière, pour un contrôle d'identité, avant d'être transférées à Batman (sud-est, à 200 km de la frontière) afin de quitter la Turquie pour Guam.

Il s'agit de la troisième opération d'évacuation du nord de l'Irak entreprise par Washington depuis la mi-septembre.

En septembre, quelque 2.130 personnes, en majorité des Kurdes ayant travaillé pour des organisations américaines dans le nord de l'Irak, et leurs familles, avaient été évacuées. Elles étaient parties pour Guam de Diyarbakir.

En octobre, c'était au tour de plus de 730 membres, en majorité arabes, du Conseil national irakien (CNI), organisation chapeautant plusieurs groupes d'opposition au régime de Saddam Hussein et travaillant en collaboration avec la CIA, d'être évacués. Ils avaient été conduits à la base turco-américaine d'Incirlik près d'Adana (sud de la Turquie), avant de se rendre toujours à Guam.

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# Herald INTERNATIONAL Tribune

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1996

## UN Lets Iraq Start To Sell Oil Again

By Barbara Crossette  
New York Times Service

UNITED NATIONS, New York — For the first time since its invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Iraq will be allowed this week to begin selling oil in limited quantities to raise money for food, medicine and other urgent civilian needs.

"It's a go," said Sylvana Foa, spokeswoman for the United Nations secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali.

He informed the Security Council on Monday that all necessary monitoring systems were in place and that all other requirements had been met after nearly six months of haggling over restrictions and operational details.

Contracts for oil purchases can be submitted to an international panel of overseers for approval beginning Tuesday.

Iraq, which hopes to have oil flowing within days, plans to declare Tuesday a national holiday, according to reports from Baghdad. Buyers from around the world have been lining up to bid for weeks.

"This is a victory for the poorest of the poor of Iraq, for the women, the children, the sick and the disabled," Mr. Boutros Ghali said.

The plan allows Iraq to sell up to \$2 billion in oil over six months to buy emergency goods for the civilian population. Under current pricing formulas, that will amount to exports of about 600,000 barrels a day, well below the 3

million barrels produced daily before the invasion of Kuwait and the Gulf War in 1991, which drove the Iraqis out of their captured territory.

The oil-sale plan may be renewed in six months if there are no infringements of the rules. The first report on Iraq's compliance is due in three months.

Fourteen oil experts from Saybolt Co. of the Netherlands will be watching flows out of Iraq. Thirty-two customs officers from Lloyds Register in Britain will monitor imports.

On the ground, the distribution of emergency supplies will be monitored by 150 inspectors or in some areas actually delivered by the United Nations or through independent relief groups.

Most of the oil is expected to flow through a Turkish pipeline to the Mediterranean, with smaller quantities to be exported through an Iraqi port on the Gulf.

The money earned from the limited oil sales will be banked through an escrow account administered by the UN in New York.

About \$260 million will be earmarked for the Kurds of northern Iraq. About \$600,000 will go to a compensation fund established to aid victims of Iraq's 1990 aggression.

About \$20 million goes to cover the operating expenses of the UN Special Commission, the body set up to oversee the destruction of Iraqi weapons.

Turkish Daily News

TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1996

## Six soldiers freed, İHD and Mazlum-Der officials acquitted

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Six soldiers who had been kept prisoner by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) for more than two years, were released on Sunday and have now returned to Turkey, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The soldiers arrived at the Habur border gate at 10:00 a.m. on Monday morning together with Welfare Party Van deputy Fethullah Erbaş.

The soldiers were taken to the Governor's Office and are expected to be sent to their hometowns after debriefings.

Fethullah Erbaş had gone to the PKK's Zap camp on Aug. 26 for the release of the soldiers but failed to secure

the soldiers' freedom.

Erbaş was then accused of helping spread PKK propaganda through the visit and was charged by the Ankara Security Court, along with Human Rights Association (İHD) President Akın Birdal, Mazlum-Der deputy Chairman İhsan Arslan and İHD Mardin Branch Office head Cemil Aydoğan who accompanied Erbaş on the trip.

The group, accused by the prosecutor of acting in sympathy with a terrorist organization, was found not guilty on Monday.

The court ruled that the defendants' actions were totally humanitarian and that they did not intend to harm the state or sympathize with the PKK.

# GCC warns against 'interference' in N. Iraq

Turkish Daily News  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1996

Reuters

DOHA- Leaders of five Gulf Arab states ended an annual summit in Qatar on Monday with a statement cautioning against 'interference' in northern Iraq and lambasting the policies of Iran, Iraq and Israel.

The Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) warned that "interference" by some of Iraq's neighbors in northern Iraq — an apparent reference to Iran and Turkey — was a "threat to world security and peace."

It welcomed Iraq's deal with the United Nations allowing Baghdad to export limited amounts of oil to pay for food and medicines. But the GCC also slammed Iraq for failing to meet all U.N. resolutions relating to the 1990-91 Gulf crisis, mainly the elimination of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

Leaders of Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Oman, Kuwait and Qatar attended the three-day summit of the GCC but a sixth member, Bahrain, boycotted the meeting because of a territorial and espionage dispute with hosts Qatar. One official told Reuters that GCC foreign ministers will meet later this month, probably in Riyadh, to tackle the Bahrain-Qatar issue.

The summit's final statement called on Iran to end its occupation of three Gulf islands claimed by the UAE, and criticised Tehran's military development

programs and its deployment of surface-to-surface missiles in the region. It said Iran's programs exceeded "conventional" defensive needs and called on international agencies to rid the oil-rich region of all weapons of mass destruction.

On the Middle East peace process, the GCC warned

of a return to regional "tension and acts of violence" unless Israel honoured existing peace deals with the Palestinians and reached accords with Syria and Lebanon.

It demanded Israel's full withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands, including Jerusalem which Israel calls its eternal capital. The GCC called for the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

The summit demanded that Israel join the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and allow international agencies to inspect its nuclear installations. The Jewish state is believed to be the only Middle East power with nuclear warheads.

The collapse of the peace

process "will force GCC states to reconsider steps taken towards Israel," the statement said.

Oman and Qatar have in recent weeks put on hold their newly-forged trade ties with Israel to protest against the policies of Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Diplomats said the general tone of the statement was stronger than previous summits, especially on Iran and Israel. Next year's GCC summit will be held in Kuwait where the leaders are due once again to review proposals by their ministers to form a customs union, a long-delayed step needed to start the process of economic integration.

Turkish Daily News  
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1996



TDN- Selahattin Şimşek

# German women ask to be jailed instead of Zana

TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- A group of German women attempted to hand a petition to Parliament Speaker Mustafa Kalemli asking that they each be allowed to spend one day in jail in the place of Leyla Zana, who was arrested

while serving as a deputy of the now-defunct pro-Kurdish Democracy Party (DEP).

Parliament security officials refused to allow the women to enter because Kalemli had not granted them an appointment.

More than 2000 women reportedly have already added their signatures to the campaign to free Leyla Zana from her second year in prison.

All of them have asked to spend one day each in prison instead of Zana.

## Former İHD officials tried for separatist propaganda

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Former officials from the Human Rights Association (İHD) are being tried on charges of spreading separatist propaganda, the Anatolia news agency reported.

The prosecutor has demanded prison terms of between six months and two years for the defendants for spreading separatist propaganda in an İHD book entitled "Panorama of Human Rights in Turkey." The defendants were elected officials of the İHD when the book was published.

Writers who contributed to the book have also been charged. İsmail Beşikçi, serving time in prison on an unrelated matter, is being tried for spreading separatist propaganda and Hatip Dicle, also serving time, has been charged with inciting hatred and enmity through racial, religious, regional and class discrimination in articles published in the book.

Former İHD official Naciye Erkol said in her defense statement that the İHD had organized a forum during Human Rights Week to which many writers, artists and scientists attended.

Erkol said İsmail Beşikçi and Hatip Dicle had sent telegrams to the forum to express their views, which were later published in a book together with speeches made at the forum. Erkol then said she did not believe that any of the pieces published in the book contained any separatist propaganda and that she believed in freedom of thought and the press.

Other defendants said they agreed with Erkol's statement and pointed out that human rights were ensured by the European Human Rights Convention and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, both conventions which Turkey has endorsed and professes to follow. After the defense statements were heard, the presiding judge postponed the hearing to a later date.

## Turkey is a natural partner, says French foreign minister

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- French Foreign Minister Herve de Charette stressed that Turkey is a very important natural partner for the European Union (EU), the Anatolia news agency reported.

De Charette, interviewed by the To Vima weekly newspaper — published in Greece — pointed out that the E.U.'s doors were opened to Turkey with the establishment of the Turkey-E.U. customs union accord.

"Turkey which is located in the center of a region where stability is essential, is by nature an important partner with the E.U.," de Charette told the Greek newspaper. "We should share the values of democracy and freedom that we are loyal to, with Turkey, by the help of dialogue and cooperation. Greece especially and the rest of Europe could only benefit from establishing regular dialogue and tight cooperation with a stable and prosperous Turkey."

After noting that Paris sees the tensions that occur from time to time between Turkey and Greece as a serious problem, de Charette asked the question, "Isn't there a way to avoid these tensions?"

Recommending that Greece leave the past behind and to look to the future, de Charette said, "Disputes can be and must be resolved in the International Court of Justice, through the means suggested in the United Nations Charter." De Charette said the Cyprus issue should be solved before the negotiations on the membership of Cyprus are initiated. "Turkey and Greece have to play an important role and in need, France would be ready to help in the case," de Charette said. "However, the solution lies in hands of the two sides."

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### Turquie-droits : Droits de l'homme: la mission turque auprès de l'ONU refuse une pétition

GENEVE, 10 déc (AFP) - Une délégation composée notamment d'hommes politiques suisses s'est vu refuser mardi à Genève l'accès à la mission turque auprès des Nations Unies où elle souhaitait déposer une pétition en faveur du sociologue-écrivain İsmail Besikci "le plus ancien prisonnier d'opinion en Turquie".

Les parlementaires genevois ont été accueillis par un cordon de police qui leur a fait savoir que l'ambassadeur de Turquie ne souhaitait pas les recevoir.

La pétition, préparée à l'occasion de la Journée internationale des droits de l'homme, était signée par 1400 personnes dont des écrivains,

des artistes et des sociologues.

Elle demandait notamment la libération d'Ismail Besicki "dont les peines cumulées se montent à plus de 200 ans de prison" et qui a commis "l'unique délit de faire des recherches sur la réalité et l'identité du peuple kurde".

Elle a finalement été remise au Haut-commissariat des Nations Unies pour les droits de l'homme.

La coordination de soutien au peuple kurde (COSPEK), regroupant des associations et des élus suisses, a fait parvenir une lettre de protestation à l'ambassadeur de Turquie Tugay Ulucevik.

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### **Danemark-Turquie : Le Danemark appelle Ankara à revoir une liste rouge comprenant cinq Danois**

COPENHAGUE, 10 dec (AFP) - Le ministre danois des Affaires étrangères, Niels Helveg Petersen, a appelé mardi le gouvernement turc à renoncer à imposer une interdiction de séjour pour cinq hommes politiques et défenseurs danois des droits de l'homme, jugés indésirables en Turquie.

"J'espère vraiment qu'Ankara renoncera à cette liste car son maintien est tout-à-fait déraisonnable" a déclaré à la presse le ministre à l'issue de sa rencontre à Bruxelles avec son homologue turc Tansu Ciller, en marge de la réunion des ministres de l'OTAN.

Le ministre danois a souligné à son interlocutrice que les cinq politiciens jugés persona non grata en raison de leur engagement dans les problèmes de la minorité kurde "ne constituaient aucune menace pour la sécurité en Turquie".

Mme Ciller a envisagé, selon M. Petersen, de revoir cet arrêt d'interdiction de séjour.

Quatre politiciens de gauche et un responsable du Centre danois pour les droits de l'homme ont été déclarés persona non grata en Turquie pour avoir participé à une assemblée du parlement kurde en exil, en mars dernier à Copenhague, et pour avoir noué des contacts avec le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, indépendantiste).

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1996



Frank Hornann/The Associated Press

**A CALL TO RIGHTS** — Two activists with Amnesty International adjusting a banner they hung Tuesday on city hall in Rostock, Germany, to mark International Human Rights Day. The banner condemned countries the group accuses of torturing dissidents and included names of those it says have been victimized.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1996

## Sordid Secrets From Car Crash Jolt Turkish Politics

By Stephen Kinzer  
*New York Times Service*

ISTANBUL — When a speeding Mercedes crashed into a tractor-trailer on a highway 160 kilometers southwest of Istanbul last month, killing three people and seriously injuring a fourth, it was at first viewed as nothing more than another accident like those that kill thousands of people on Turkey's rugged roads each year.

But after the victims of the accident were identified as including a top police official, a member of Parliament and a well-known criminal, a scandal broke out that threatens to shake the foundations of Turkish politics.

It involves allegations that successive Turkish governments have sponsored death squads, harbored terrorists and turned a blind eye to heroin smuggling over the last decade.

For years, many Turks have suspected that government agencies were using gangs of killers to help suppress dissidents and Kurdish rebels waging a separatist war in southeastern Turkey. Now, with new

information emerging almost daily, and the press and the public talking of little else, evidence suggests that officially sanctioned criminality may have reached levels that few had imagined.

The scandal has already led to the resignation of the Turkish interior minister and the suspension of several high-ranking officers from the Istanbul police force, including the chief. No one believes that they will be the last to lose their jobs or reputations.

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's Islamic-led government, which has been in power since June, has not been the target of direct accusations, although unsolved killings have continued here in recent months.

Turkey's principal opposition leader, Mesut Yilmaz, who has demanded that the government pursue the crash investigation wherever it leads, was assaulted on Nov. 24 in the lobby of a Budapest hotel by a rightist Turk who nearly broke his nose.

"Obviously the next message is going to be sent

with a bullet," Mr. Yilmaz said later. "but we will not be scared into abandoning this crusade for clean government. If we do not fight today, we won't have anything to fight for tomorrow. If illegal money, coercion and political power come together to seize the state, it will be impossible to continue our struggle through democratic means."

Since the attack, Mr. Yilmaz and other senior Turkish leaders, including the prime minister, have been guarded by unusually tight security details.

The victims of the crash on Nov. 3, all of them in the Mercedes, included Abdullah Catli, a convicted heroin smuggler and terror suspect; Sedat Bucak, head of a Kurdish clan that receives \$1.3 million a month in government money for providing thousands of "village guards" who fight separatist Kurds in the southeast, and Husseyin Kocadag, a

senior security officer who had commanded anti-guerrilla units and served as deputy police chief in Istanbul.

Mr. Catli and Mr. Kocadag were killed in the crash, together with Gonca Us, a former beauty queen who had been the mistress of several prominent gangsters. Mr. Bucak, the member of Parliament, survived. Investigators discovered a trove of weapons, including pistols and silencers, in the wrecked car's trunk.

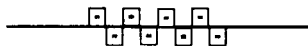
Immediately after the accident, journalists and politicians demanded to know what a top police official was doing in the company of Mr. Catli, who has been hiding from Interpol since his escape in 1990 from a Swiss prison, where he was serving a sentence for heroin smuggling. Questions increased when it turned out that Mr. Catli held a Turkish diplomatic passport, a gun permit and six identity cards, each bearing a different name.

Mr. Catli was well known to those

who follow far-right activities in Turkey. Police investigators have linked him to a number of crimes here, including a massacre of seven leftist students in Ankara in 1978 and the Istanbul jailbreak in 1979 that freed Mehmet Ali Agca, who was being tried for the killing of a leading journalist and who later shot Pope John Paul II in Rome.

Investigators also believe that Mr. Catli and his associates carried out terrorist attacks abroad, some of them aimed at Armenians who were gunning down Turkish diplomats in the United States and elsewhere.

The driver of the truck into which the Mercedes crashed, Hasan Gokce, has become something of a cult figure. Many Turks feel that although the crash was accidental, Mr. Gokce deserves the nation's thanks for having been the instrument through which so many sordid secrets have begun to emerge.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 11, 1996

# Iraq Reopens Flow To Its Oil Markets

## Only Limited Quantities Move Under UN-Supervised Plan

By Douglas Jehl  
New York Times Service

CAIRO — Iraq began to pump oil abroad Tuesday for the first time in six years as President Saddam Hussein reopened a pipeline that will deliver Iraqi crude to terminals on the Turkish coast.

[But shortly after, Iraq had to stop the pumping because the United Nations had not approved any contracts for delivery of the oil. The Associated Press reported, quoting UN officials in New York. There was no immediate word on when approval might be given.]

At a ceremony in the northern oil city of Kirkuk, Mr. Hussein proclaimed that Iraq had returned "to the international market," the official Iraqi press agency, INA, reported. But experts said the first oil to emerge from the pipeline would be suitable only for asphalt. They said it could be weeks before the limited quantity of oil that Iraq would be permitted to sell under a strict United Nations plan reaches the world stage.

"There is a difference between pumping and exporting," said Isam Ab-

dul Rahim Shalabi, a former Iraqi oil minister who is now an oil consultant in Amman, Jordan. But as millions of barrels of trapped oil began to move through the pipeline, which was shut down by Turkey in August 1990 to protest Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, reports from Iraq suggested that officials believed they had reached a watershed.

Amir Mohammed Rashid, the oil minister, said in a statement that oil would also begin to flow by week's end from Iraq's southern terminal of Mina al Bakr, at the mouth of the Gulf. Less than 24 hours after the UN secretary-general, Boutros Boutros Ghali, announced his approval of the plan, Mr. Rashid said that 650,000 barrels of oil would flow from Iraq into Turkey on Tuesday alone. That is about the maximum daily volume that Iraq will be permitted to maintain under the UN rules, which will allow it to sell \$2 billion worth of oil over the next six months to buy food, medicine and other humanitarian goods.

All contracts to buy Iraqi oil will have to be submitted to a UN panel for approval. But a state-owned Turkish oil company, Tupras, on Tuesday became

the first to announce that it had signed an agreement to buy Iraqi crude, and the Turkish Energy Ministry said it would hold a ceremony next Monday to celebrate the loading of oil tankers at Ceyhan, Turkey.

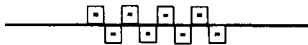
Except for a limited quantity trucked to Jordan under a special arrangement, Iraq has been barred by UN sanctions from selling its oil abroad since shortly after its invasion of Kuwait. An estimated 12 million barrels has remained trapped in the Iraqi-Turkish pipeline, about 4.5 million of them on the Iraqi side of the border.

Baghdad-based diplomats and experts said that all of it was likely to be so badly degraded that it could be sold only at cut-rate prices for use in construction materials.

But when the fresh crude that began to be pumped Tuesday does make its way through the pipeline some days from now, the experts said, it is likely to be of a quality as high as in 1990, when Iraq, with production of 3 million barrels a day, was second only to Saudi Arabia as the world's leading exporter of oil.

To send oil flowing northward again, INA reported, Mr. Hussein simply "pressed the button in Kirkuk's No. 1 pumping station" at 11:25 A.M. local time. That was possible, however, only because of extensive repairs made in the last nine months to the 985-kilometer pipeline, a 16-kilometer stretch of which was damaged by explosives in the Kurdish uprising against Baghdad that followed the 1991 Gulf War.

[The opening of the pipeline sent crude oil prices plunging Tuesday, Bloomberg Business News reported. Crude oil for January delivery on the New York Mercantile Exchange, a benchmark for the industry, fell 81 cents a barrel, to \$24.49.]





A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

## USA-Irak-Kurdes : 3.000 Kurdes travaillant pour des organisations humanitaires évacués

WASHINGTON, 11 déc (AFP) - Près de 3.000 Kurdes travaillant pour des organisations humanitaires accompagnés de membres de leurs familles ont été évacués du nord de l'Irak au cours de la semaine dernière, a indiqué mercredi le département d'Etat.

Sur les 2.853 personnes qui ont franchi la frontière séparant le nord de l'Irak de la Turquie, 2.087 ont été conduites sur l'île de Guam, un territoire américain du Pacifique, a précisé un porte-parole du département d'Etat, Glyn Davies.

Une fois sur l'île de Guam, les ressortissants kurdes devraient se voir accorder le statut de réfugié politique aux Etats-Unis.

Ces quelques 3.000 évacués font partie d'un groupe estimé à 4.500 personnes, en grande majorité kurde, considérés par les Etats-Unis comme en danger au nord de l'Irak en raison de leur appartenance à des organisations humanitaires américaines ou financées sur des fonds américains.

Cette nouvelle vague d'évacuation de Kurdes est la troisième effectuée depuis la fin du mois d'août et l'intervention des troupes du président irakien Saddam Hussein dans cette région de l'Irak.

En septembre, les Etats-Unis avaient évacué 2.100 personnes, y compris des agents travaillant pour les services de renseignement américains. En octobre, 730 membres, en majorité arabes, du Conseil national irakien (CNI), organisation d'opposition au régime de Saddam Hussein, avaient eux aussi été évacués.

A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

West Deutsche Zeitung - 11 décembre 1996

# Kämpferin für Kurdenrechte

Seit zwei Jahren sitzt Leyla Zana, die erste kurdische Abgeordnete in der Türkei, wegen „Separatismus“ im Gefängnis.

Von Anja Clemens

**Düsseldorf.** „Mit 14 war ich ein gewöhnliches Bauernmädchen, dessen Welt beschränkt war auf die Suche nach dem häuslichen Glück. Die erlittenen Grausamkeiten haben aus mir eine entschiedene Kämpferin gemacht.“ Worte von Leyla Zana, niedergeschrieben in einem Gefängnis im türkischen Ankara. Seit zwei Jahren sitzt die 35jährige Kurdin in einer Einzelzelle, verurteilt zu 15 Jahren Haft wegen Separatismus gegen die Türkei.

Verantworten mußte sie sich wegen eines einzigen Satzes. Den fügte sie einst dem Eid hinzu, den sie als Abgeordnete im Parlament leistete: Sie wolle sich für ein brüderliches Zusammenleben von Türken und Kurden einsetzen. Das hatte sie den Men-

schen in Diyarbakir, der heimlichen Hauptstadt der Kurden, versprochen. Dafür hatte eine große Mehrheit sie als Vertreterin der Demokratiepartei DEP, als erste Kurdin überhaupt 1991 ins Parlament gewählt.

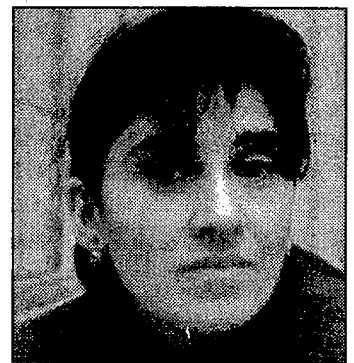
„Es gab einen Aufstand“, erinnert sich die in Düsseldorf lebende Autorin Florence Hervé, die sich für die Freilassung Zanas einsetzt. Man habe ihre parlamentarische Immunität aufgehoben, die DEP verboten und sie ins Gefängnis gebracht. „Sie wurde mißhandelt und gedemütigt.“ Auch der Prozeß und die Urteilsverkündung, die sich morgen ein zweites Mal jährt, seien eine Farce gewesen. „Zeugen wurden erst gar nicht vernommen“, weiß die Autorin, die im Staatssicherheitsgericht als Beobachterin dabei war. Nur durch internationa-

len Protest konnte das verhängte Todesurteil abgewendet werden.

Leyla Zanas Vergehen war ihre Suche nach einer politischen Lösung des Kurden-Konflikts. Dafür wurde die 35jährige unter anderem mit dem Aachener Friedenspreis und dem norwegischen Thoralf-Rafto-Preis für Menschenrechte ausgezeichnet.

Bedeutende Ehrungen für eine Frau, die Analphabetin war, nur ein halbes Jahr die Schule besuchte. Gemäß der Tradition wurde sie mit 14 Jahren mit einem Cousin ihres Onkels zwangsverheiratet. Mit 15 bekam sie Sohn Ronay, mit 20 Tochter Rügen. Beide leben heute mit ihrem Vater Mehdi im Pariser Exil. Der anfangs ungeliebte Mann war es, der sie für die Leiden der Kurden sensibilisierte. Er mußte im Kampf für sein Volk viele Jahre in Gefängnissen verbringen. „Leyla folgte ihm und bildete sich weiter“, erzählt die Autorin. „Der Staat hat mich politisiert“, sagte Leyla einmal.

Das Schicksal dieser Frau läßt



Leyla Zana

Florence Hervé nicht mehr los. So hat die Düsseldorferin den Appell „Ein Tag für Leyla Zana“ ins Leben gerufen. 1500 Frauen aus ganz Europa erklären sich darin bereit, 24 Stunden als Austauschgeisel in Haft zu verbringen, um so die Haftdauer der Kurdin abzukürzen. Unterstützt wird Hervé von Danielle Mitterrand, der Witwe des ehemaligen französischen Präsidenten. Mit sieben anderen Frauen fliegt Hervé am Montag nach Ankara, um Staatschef Demirel die Unterschriftenliste zu übergeben.

LE MONDE / MERCREDI 11 DÉCEMBRE 1996

# L'Irak peut désormais vendre du pétrole pour acheter vivres et médicaments

## Le feu vert a été donné par le secrétaire général de l'ONU

Sous embargo pétrolier depuis son invasion du Koweït en 1990, Bagdad est autorisé, à partir du mardi 10 décembre, à vendre du pétrole sur le marché mon-

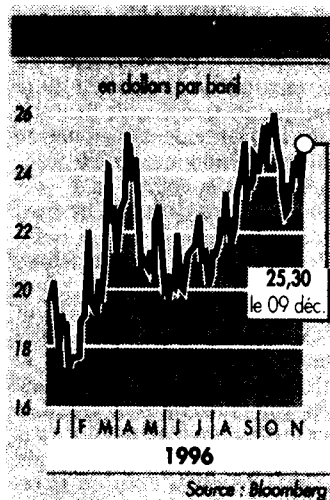
dial. Le processus a été déclenché lundi, par une lettre du secrétaire général des Nations unies au président en exercice du Conseil de sécurité.

**NEW YORK (Nations unies)**  
de notre correspondante

Boutros Boutros-Ghali a donné son feu vert à la mise en œuvre de la résolution 986, autorisant Bagdad à vendre du brut, tous les six mois, à hauteur de 2 milliards de dollars (ce qui correspond à 500 000 barils par jour environ) pour subvenir aux besoins humanitaires de la population irakienne. Exprimant sa joie du fait que désormais « toutes les conditions » sont réunies pour que l'accord dit « pétrole contre nourriture » soit appliqué, le secrétaire général des Nations unies écrit : « Cet accord est une victoire pour les plus pauvres des pauvres, pour les enfants et pour les plus vulnérables parmi la population irakienne. »

Quelques instants après l'annonce de la lettre du secrétaire général, l'ambassadeur irakien à l'ONU, Nizar Hamdoun, a annoncé, jubilant, que le pétrole irakien commencerait à être écoulé vers le marché mondial, « une minute après 8 heures [5 heures GMT], mardi 10 décembre ». Pour M. Hamdoun, cette reprise partielle des exportations est une victoire pour Bagdad. A Washington, toutefois, les responsables américains ont aussitôt rappelé le caractère « exceptionnel » de l'accord, soulignant que l'embargo international restait en vigueur et devrait au contraire « être renforcé dès lors que du brut pouvait être vendu pour des raisons humanitaires ».

Adoptée le 14 avril 1995, la résolution 986 prévoit que tant l'exportation du brut que l'utilisation des revenus et la distribution de vivres et de médicaments seront placées sous la supervision de



l'ONU. Versés directement dans un compte séquestre des Nations unies, ouvert à la Banque nationale de Paris à New York, 30 % des revenus serviront à financer la commission spéciale de l'ONU chargée du désarmement de l'Irak (Unscm) et, entre autres, à alimenter le fonds de compensation des victimes de la guerre du Golfe.

### LE QUART DES BESOINS

Selon des diplomates irakiens, l'accord avec l'ONU ne couvre que le quart des besoins irakiens en vivres et en médicaments et la levée définitive des sanctions économiques contre le régime de Bagdad est liée, par les termes du cessez-le-feu de la guerre du Golfe, au désarmement de l'Irak. Or Bagdad persiste à retarder le travail de l'Unscm, dont le chef, le diplomate suédois Rolf Ekeus, se trouve actuellement à Bagdad.

Alors que l'Irak, à contrecoeur, avait fini par accepter, mardi 3 dé-

cembre, la vente contrôlée de son pétrole, certains problèmes « techniques », notamment le nombre des observateurs de l'ONU et leur liberté de mouvement, avaient retardé le feu vert final de M. Boutros-Ghali. Ces problèmes, assure-t-on à New York, sont désormais réglés. Selon des diplomates au fait du dossier, quatorze moniteurs de la firme néerlandaise Saybolt sont sur place pour vérifier le pompage et la distribution du pétrole.

Six d'entre eux sont d'ores et déjà stationnés au terminal irakien de Mina el-Bakr, dans la ville de Bassorah, quatre sont chargés de la surveillance de l'oléoduc irakoturc, à la frontière avec la Turquie, et les quatre autres sont basés au port méditerranéen de Ceyhan, en Turquie. Dans les semaines à venir, cent cinquante observateurs internationaux seront déployés pour veiller à ce que les produits alimentaires et les médicaments soient équitablement distribués. Trente-trois agents de douane de la compagnie britannique Lloyds sont chargés, eux, de superviser l'arrivée en Irak des besoins humanitaires.

Selon les termes de la résolution 986, dans quatre-vingt-dix jours, le Conseil de sécurité fera le point de la situation. Les diplomates irakiens ne cachent pas leur intention de demander « assez rapidement » l'augmentation du quota de vente fixé par le Conseil de sécurité. « Encore faut-il qu'ils [les Irakiens] autorisent nos observateurs à faire librement leur travail », commente un diplomate chargé du dossier.

Afsané Bassir Pour

**BORDEAUX SUD-OUEST**  
MARDI 10 DÉCEMBRE 1996 -

## L'éternelle question kurde



Kamuran Ji Kikan (Photo Rodolphe Escher)

■ Pour comprendre aujourd'hui la question kurde mieux vaut connaître le passé de ce peuple trop oublié. Aussi Kamuran Ji Kikan a fait un long historique, hier soir dans les salons Mollat, où le Comité-Relais « France-Libertés » Gironde de la Fondation Danielle Mitterrand organisait une rencontre sur le destin douloureux du peuple kurde.

Carte à l'appui, le réfugié politique, juriste de formation, a rappelé la vieille histoire de son peuple, les républiques autonomes de l'empire ottoman, le nationalisme ravageur de Kemal Ataturk, la perte de leur langue, de leur traditions ... Ce n'est qu'en 1950, avec l'instauration d'un pluralisme politique, que les Kurdes ont évoqué leurs revendications en soutenant le parti démocrate. En 1972, ils ont demandé la reconnaissance de leur identité, en 1984, certains ont appelé à la lutte armée.

Ils vivent encore aujourd'hui sous des lois d'exception. Les deux partis kurdes, le PKK et le parti socialiste kurde, sauront-ils s'entendre ?

Ce serait sans doute le moment, d'autant que l'on voit émerger une société civile turque qui n'accepte pas le sort qui leur est fait.

International Herald Tribune, Saturday-Sunday, Decembre 7-8, 1996

### Kurdish Women

The harsh history of the Kurds is recorded in the names the women give to some of their children. A baby born in prison may be named Diel, which means prisoner. Babies born high in Iraq's Zagros Mountains are often given the name Awara, meaning refugee, to show that the family was then in hiding. Children who were born during Iraq's chemical bombardments answer to the name of Kimewe, which means chemical.

These women reflect the strength of their culture, a stateless nation of 26 million people. Although a part of lar-

ger empires, Kurds developed over the centuries as a distinct culture.

Kurdish women have earned a reputation for enduring all fates. For example, a 76-year-old woman led a group of women on a march from Sulaymaniyah to Arbil, in Iraq — about 120 miles — three years ago to demand that the *peshmerga* — literally, those who face death — of the Kurdish political parties stop fighting among each other.

— From an article by Mary Ann Smothers Bruni in the fall edition of the National Peace Corps Association's *Worldview* magazine, reprinted in *The Washington Post*.

## Susurluk scandal reshapes politics

By Ayla Ganioglu  
TDN Parliamentary Bureau

ANKARA- An unexpected collision of a Mercedes with a truck in the western town of Susurluk on Nov. 3 rocked the entire country with the emergence of scandalous links between the government's top officials and the members of the criminal underworld. Now the political arena, already perplexed by the aftershocks of the accident, enters a new phase in which its displaced elements begin to reshape themselves.

The accident differed from other isolated incidents as a senior police officer and an ultra-right wing terrorist suspect were killed in the same car, while another passenger, a deputy from the coalition-partner True Path Party (DYP) was injured, thus leaving the DYP leader Tansu Çiller as the number one target of the opposition. The consecutive press claims based on secret intelligence reports asserting that Çiller was allegedly leading a private security organization made of police officers and ultra-nationalist terrorists, and the resignation of a DYP minister that followed these claims, added to the accusations Çiller had to face. It is now leaving the Welfare Party (RP), the coalition's senior partner led by Necmettin Erbakan, to have the last word to determine the future of both Çiller and the other political parties.

The Nov. 3 accident became a turning point in Turkish politics and some have started to use phrases like the pre-Susurluk and post-Susurluk era. The fate of the current political arena in the post-Susurluk era, will be decided by RP leader and Prime Minister Erbakan.

Although more than a month has passed since the Susurluk accident, Erbakan has refrained from directly accusing Çiller of any involvement.

The coalition's image of a united front — which was claimed by both RP and DYP members — was put off track after Interior Minister Meral Akşener, who is known to have close ties to Çiller's family, had suspended Istanbul's security chief Kemal Yazıcıoğlu, despite Erbakan's

objection to it. However the RP wing of the coalition did not consider Akşener's move a reason to break up the partnership.

Debates on the coalition's prospects still continue in the post-Susurluk era despite the RP's cautious mood. Political analysts believe the RP has not made its final decision on the coalition's future and is still trying to buy time. Here are several assumptions regarding the positions of the parties which play key roles in the most probable post-Susurluk developments:

### The Welfare Party (RP):

Currently, the RP seems to maintain the partnership with the DYP, since the inevitable weakening of the latter in the post-Susurluk era has helped the strengthening of the former. This, analysts believe, could provide the senior coalition partner more room to move. Many RP members consider an offer by the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) to form a new coalition by throwing out the DYP, a tactic to draw the RP away from power. They are distrustful of ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz, who had once rejected an offer to form a coalition with the RP at the last moment.

Meanwhile, some predict the RP will not be able to stand against pressures any longer. Erbakan's move to launch a probe after meeting with President Süleyman Demirel for the first time since the accident took place is seen as a result of these pressures. Wednesday's press headlines relating to a letter sent by President Demirel to Prime Minister Erbakan, which the RP members described as "unimportant," has again put the RP in dire straits. The letter contained Demirel's remarks that found main opposition leader Yılmaz's claims "very serious".

Erbakan's second meeting with Demirel scheduled as part of Demirel's efforts to have talks with all political party leaders, is also believed to have significance. During this meeting Demirel is also expected to convey to Erbakan, as he did to the opposition leaders, his message saying "let the investigation go as far as it will."

It is widely believed within the political circles that the RP will be left with two options, either to declare early elections or form a new coalition with ANAP. ANAP members predict that Erbakan might decide to call for early elections by next spring, but it would be inconvenient for

the RP to run with the DYP. Some other ANAP members also say the RP may use as its election propaganda attacks against the DYP. The possibility of aligning with ANAP also seems reasonable in case pressures on the RP intensify.

### The Motherland Party (ANAP):

ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz has drawn on a post-Susurluk strategy by targeting DYP leader Çiller. Although Yılmaz came up with many claims of alleged state-mafia links, he is facing the difficulties caused by the still unresolved mystery, despite the fact that more than a month since the accident occurred. It is believed that the prolonged investigation would work against ANAP and cause the silenced opposition in the party to revolt.

The ANAP leader is trying to bring down the coalition from inside by pressing Erbakan to launch further inquiries on the incident. Knowing that his personal efforts will not be enough for success, Yılmaz relies on President Demirel's support. The ANAP members who believe the need to keep the DYP away from power to solve the mystery, are open to other alternatives including a coalition with the RP.

### The True Path Party (DYP):

In the post-Susurluk era, DYP leader Tansu Çiller is having her hardest time in politics. She is struggling to maintain the RP-DYP coalition since she believes an end to partnership would mean more troubles for her. The DYP deputies are puzzled with so many allegations aimed at Çiller. The suspension of Istanbul's security chief met by some complaints within the party. Some DYP members regarded it as a great mistake.

Çiller thinks Yılmaz's internal problems within ANAP is the only reason to why the Susurluk incident has occupied the political agenda so long. She waits for his efforts to strike ANAP like a boomerang, expecting that it would cause a counter-movement against Yılmaz.

In her latest move, Çiller, whose political future completely depends on Erbakan's decision, used her powers in the DYP to clear up accusations against the RP in a parliamentary commission which was originally set up by the DYP itself. This move on the other hand is seen as a sign of gratitude towards RP who cleared up Çiller from charges in two corruption cases, as well as of a need for RP's support during the post-Susurluk era.



Village guards in the South East — often working for tribal chieftains.

# Çiller accused of supplying tribal chief, the murderer of seven soldiers, with weapons

By Jan Pacal  
*Turkish Daily News*

ISTANBUL- Turkey has been tormented by the Susurluk accident for over a month now. The incident, which exposed the cooperation of a parliamentarian, a police chief and an outlaw wanted under an Interpol red bulletin, led to allegations that the state is involved in dirty activities, protecting and supporting outlaws. A number of documents have also come to light which have resulted in new claims and allegations being made nearly every day. These allegations indicate the involvement of official figures and officials in shady activities in cooperation with wanted criminals.

High-ranking security department chief Hüseyin Kocadağ, who lost his life in the Susurluk accident, was travelling with True Path Party (DYP) parliamentary deputy Sedat Bucak, a tribal chief with some 30,000 armed men, and Abdullah Çatlı.

The revelation that one of the victims of the accident was Çatlı, responsible for the killing of seven youths in Ankara in 1978 in addition to drug smuggling and being wanted by Interpol under a red bulletin, led to serious question marks. According to the claims, Çatlı was a wanted criminal, an infamous ultra-right wing militant and his name had been mentioned along with the leading figures of the Italian Gladio organization.

Has the state protected other outlaws in addition to Abdullah Çatlı? While many have replied with a definite "yes" to this question, the deputy prime minister, Tansu Çiller and her parliamentary group have denied the claims.

## The unholy alliance: authorities meet criminals

In 1993 though, allegations are now being made that a meeting took place between the highest representatives of the Turkish state, top security officials and a group of 12 people, whom, it is alleged, were outlaws.

At the meeting was Tansu Çiller, along with President Süleyman Demirel, the then speaker of parliament, Hüsamettin Cindoruk, the then General Commander of the Gendarmerie, Aydın İtler, the Interior Minister of the time, Nahit Mentеше, and the then General Chief of Police, Mehmet Ağar. The 12 people they met included some who were allegedly outlaws responsible for killing soldiers, and police officers who were brought in from the South East secretly on a private plane.

These people have been on state TV, on the "Acı" program and have been hosted

Tansu Çiller initiated the provision of arms to 11 tribal chiefs, among them outlaws including Tahir Adıyaman, the murderer of seven soldiers in 1993

in a police guesthouse. They have been introduced as the most influential Kurdish tribal chiefs. These "most respected Kurdish Tribal Chiefs" were Ahmet Zeydan, Tahir Adıyaman, Kamil Atak, Abdurrahman Özbek, Süleyman Tatar, Abdurrahman Seylan, Hazım Abat, Osman Demir, Ramazan Çetin, Dilbaz Ucu, İsterder Ertuş and Hakkı Türe.

Tansu Çiller allegedly addressed these men, who have lengthy criminal records, saying: "We are going to overcome terrorism together." Reports suggest that she then went on to guarantee that all their needs were to be supplied. The said "needs" were heavy machine guns, such as MG-3s and BCXs, RPG rocket launchers and flame throwers. The state refused the tribal chiefs' demand of howitzers and police tanks, but agreed wage increases for the village guards, the local militias who are stationed in the towns and hamlets of the South East.

The Susurluk accident revealed that according to the Turkish Criminal Code the leading figures of the state and the government had committed a crime by hosting "the state-friendly tribal chiefs" in their offices. Article 296 of the Turkish Criminal Code states: "Anyone who knows the location of those who have been sentenced or are wanted is subject to imprisonment of between three and five years if they do not inform the authorities."

The minister of public works and housing of that period and a close witness of the meeting, Şerafettin Elçi, states the charge clearly.

"In spite of the clear verdict of the Criminal Code, there were people among the invited who have been accused of manslaughter and drug smuggling, who were sentenced to death and wanted by the authorities."

He adds that Tansu Çiller and others who attended the meetings were quite aware of this situation.

"The state has to be a lawful institution and should maintain its security by lawful means," Elçi states. "It should not need to cooperate with outlaws. If the state solves its problems through unlawful activities, its very existence becomes the subject of discussion. The state puts its self-esteem in jeopardy if it resorts to unlawful channels, as revealed by the Susurluk accident, and citizens will then have serious concerns. The authorities who have illegal intentions without the information of the higher authorities should be dismissed."

Elçi also says that the state made the decision to cooperate with the outlaws in 1993.

"The decision was made in 1993; few were briefed about it before the meeting. But by 1993, the National Security Council (MGK) was informed about the invitation of these people to Ankara and the arms aid. In other words, the MGK has approved and covered up the aid to these outlaws," Elçi says.

"Among the state-friendly outlaws, Tahir Yaman was charged with the killing of soldiers and a prosecutor in 1975 and should still be wanted since he was not acquitted. Yaman is also a military service dodger. It is dangerous for the state that an outlaw threatens people with the support of the state."

Stating that there have been many examples since 1993 of the relations that came to light with the Susurluk accident, Elçi says that there were many former PKK members in the state who had con-

fessed and have been used in illegal activities. Elçi then points out a statement by former Minister of the Interior Mehmet Ağar.

"Ağar confirmed that they had organized thousands of operations. No one was informed about them. There have been thousands of summary executions in the South East and it is impossible that those responsible for thousands of murders cannot be found. If the murderers have not been found, it means that the state protects them. The unresolved murders would come to light if the state did not protect the murderers," he says.

### Who is who: portraits of the state-friendly criminals

● **Tahir Adıyaman (Jirki Tribe):** He has 350 armed village guards and owns eight villages. He was prosecuted for the murder of seven soldiers in his village in 1975. A court order for his arrest is still in effect. His name was mentioned in connection with the murder of the prosecutor Abdurrahman Çaduk in December 16, 1976, who had survived from incident in which the soldiers were killed. Tahir Adıyaman has been wanted for 18 years and has been avoiding his military service. He was a fugitive in 1993. While Tahir Adıyaman was shaking hands with the state, the Criminal Court Prosecutor of Isparta demanded with an official letter, No. 988/22, to the Isparta Prosecutor's Office on September 29, 1993 that they rule "(...) the court order in the absence of the arrest of the accused who has not been caught to this date to continue until the accused is caught."

● **Hakkı Türe (Beyzade Tribe):** The population of his village is 500 and he has 70 armed village guards. It is known that his brother and his son served long prison terms for drug smuggling.

● **Süleyman Tatar (Tatar Tribe):** He has 200 armed village guards. He does not own any villages. It is known that he has been on the run for a murder he committed, but it is unknown whether he served his sentence.

● **Hazım Babat (Babat Tribe):** He represents a family of 1,500 people in Senoba, and has 80 armed men. It is known that a member of his tribe, Yakup Kara, and himself killed the Hilal district mayor and four of the mayor's men in 1990, as part of a blood feud between the families.

● **Ahmet Benek (Benek Tribe):** He was prosecuted by the State Security Court of Malatya in 1986 for drug smuggling and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. He had served in Malatya and Mardin prisons until his release with the 1991 change of punishment law.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1996

# Saudis Offer Evidence of Iran Terror Inquiry Links Tehran To Blast at U.S. Base

By R. Jeffrey Smith  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — The government of Saudi Arabia has given the Clinton administration detailed data intended to support the Saudis' belief that the June bombing of a U.S. military housing complex in the kingdom was carried out by Saudi Shiite extremists who were trained in Lebanon and acted with the support of the Iranian government.

Prince Nayef ibn Abdulaziz, the Saudi interior minister in charge of security, handed over the evidence to the director of the FBI, Louis Freeh, when Mr. Freeh visited Riyadh last month.

The data included confessions extracted from some of 40 Saudi Shiites detained and accused of involvement in the bombing, results of Saudi wiretaps and other electronic eavesdropping, and a detailed account of the movements of

key alleged conspirators into and out of Saudi Arabia, Lebanon's Bekaa, Damascus and Tehran, according to sources familiar with the matter.

Officials in the United States and Saudi Arabia described Mr. Freeh's meeting with Prince Nayef as a turning point in the inquiry because it was the first formal presentation of much of what Saudi officials have learned during their five-month inquiry into the truck bombing. The blast killed 19 Air Force service members and wounded hundreds at the Khobar Towers military housing complex in Dhahran.

In a related development, some well-placed senior Saudi officials have suggested to the Clinton administration that the United States could lead other nations in taking some form of military and diplomatic action against Iran early next year if the United States agreed with the Saudis that Iran was linked to the bombing, the sources said.

The Saudi government as a whole has not yet taken a position that such action against Iran is warranted, because it is awaiting Washington's formal judgment about the case, the sources said.

But by raising this possibility now, while the top U.S. foreign policy and defense positions are in a state of transition to new appointees, these Saudi officials have put the White House on notice that the issue of potential retaliation for the Khobar Towers bombing will be one of the first challenges of President Bill Clinton's second term, they said.

U.S. officials said Tuesday that FBI

counterterrorism experts were now reviewing the latest Saudi evidence, which Mr. Freeh obtained from Prince Nayef and other Saudi officials during the American's visit Nov. 23 to 25. But the officials added that no final FBI or administration judgment about the credibility of the evidence was expected for weeks, if not months.

"It's still early," a senior U.S. law enforcement official said. "It takes a while to sort through" evidence of the type presented to Mr. Freeh.

Saudis have told Washington that the data given to Mr. Freeh painted a picture of a conspiracy carried out by Saudi Shiite terrorists who received military-grade explosives, bomb components and training in Lebanon from members of Hezbollah, or the Party of God, a radical Islamic organization that long has been financed, trained and equipped by Iran.

Some of the Saudis and Hezbollah members traveled to and from Tehran before and after the explosion, and allegedly had extensive dealings with Iranian intelligence agents, the sources said.

The Saudi theory is that Iran's target was not so much the United States as the Saudi regime itself, on the assumption that the bombing would highlight the kingdom's controversial ties with the West, encourage a withdrawal of U.S. troops from the kingdom and possibly destabilize the Saudi leadership.

Saudi Arabia's pro-Western monarchy, led by members of the Sunni branch of Islam, vies for influence in the Gulf and the Islamic world with Iran's anti-Western, Shiite-led government.

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## UE-Turquie : Les eurodéputés préoccupés par la dégradation des droits de l'Homme en Turquie

STRASBOURG (France), 12 déc 1996 (AFP) - Les députés européens se sont déclarés jeudi, "vivement préoccupés de la dégradation constante des droits de l'Homme en Turquie" et opposés aux tentatives d'Ankara de limiter la liberté de la presse.

Dans une résolution adoptée à main levée, les députés européens affirment que "l'amélioration sensible de la situation des droits de l'Homme est une des conditions indispensables pour le développement des relations futures entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie".

Le Parlement est "choqué par l'emprisonnement, suivi d'une condamnation à une amende et de l'expulsion de Turquie de Soeren Soendergaard, qui s'était rendu dans ce pays en qualité de membre du Parlement danois pour participer à l'observation du procès de Kemal Koc".

Les députés se déclarent "préoccupés par l'existence en Turquie d'une liste noire d'hommes politiques européens" et demandent son abolition.

Le Parlement européen "exprime sa ferme opposition aux tentatives de limiter la liberté de

la presse en Turquie et demande au gouvernement turc de renoncer à son projet d'approuver une nouvelle loi qui vise à limiter la liberté de la presse et qui serait préjudiciable aux relations entre l'Union européenne et la Turquie".

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### **Turquie-mafia : Scandale mafia: l'ancien ministre de l'Intérieur à nouveau sur la sellette**

ANKARA, 12 déc 1996 (AFP) - Le parquet d'Ankara a demandé la levée de l'immunité parlementaire de l'ancien ministre turc de l'Intérieur Mehmet Agar, afin de le déférer en justice pour "usurpation de pouvoir", dans le cadre de l'enquête sur le scandale de l'Etat-mafia, indique jeudi la presse turque.

M. Agar avait dû démissionner quelque jours après un accident de la route survenu le 3 novembre et qui avait révélé l'existence de liens entre certains éléments de l'Etat, de la police et la mafia turque.

M. Agar est un protégé du vice-Premier ministre et ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, chef du Parti de la Juste Voie (DYP, droite).

Un document délivré mercredi au ministère de la Justice accuse M. Agar d'avoir, lorsqu'il était directeur général de la Sûreté avant de devenir ministre, signé un faux permis de port d'arme destiné à Abdullah Catli, un truand tué dans l'accident du 3 novembre.

Catli était un ancien activiste d'extrême droite reconverti dans la mafia. Il était recherché depuis 18 ans par l'Etat turc pour une série de meurtres de militants de gauche et par Interpol pour trafic de drogue.

Dans la même voiture se trouvaient un ex-chef adjoint de la police d'Istanbul, Huseyin Kocadag, tué lui aussi, et un député du parti de Mme Ciller, Sedat Bucak, qui avait été blessé.

Chef d'un clan kurde, M. Bucak commande dans le sud-est un millier de "gardiens de village", miliciens kurdes pro-gouvernementaux payés par l'Etat pour lutter contre le PKK (Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan, séparatiste).

Une fausse carte d'identité et un faux permis de port d'arme au nom de "Mehmet Ozbay", avait été découverts sur le corps de Catli. Le deuxième portait la signature de Mehmet Agar.

Si le document était faux, la signature de M. Agar était en revanche authentique, selon la gendarmerie turque, qui a remis un rapport mercredi, ajoute la presse.

M. Agar a nié jeudi que cette signature était la sienne, affirmant qu'elle avait été imitée.

Il serait passible d'un à 3 ans de prison, si son immunité parlementaire était levée et qu'il passait en jugement, selon le document du parquet d'Ankara, cité par la presse. Une décision du Parlement est nécessaire pour la levée de son immunité, selon la Constitution.

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1996

# A Son of Saddam Shot in Baghdad

## Udai Is Wounded in Ambush

*The Associated Press*

BAGHDAD — President Saddam Hussein's eldest son, sometimes described as his heir apparent, was slightly wounded Thursday when attackers ambushed his car.

Udai Hussein was rushed to a hospital, where he was reported in stable condition, Youth TV reported.

The station, which is owned by Udai Hussein, interrupted its programming to announce that he was attacked while driving in the upscale Mansour district of Baghdad.

It said that the police were investigating the incident, but there were no details on who carried out the

attack or the specifics of the injury.

Udai Hussein has been the target of assassins before. In 1992, gunmen shot him in the arm while he was driving into his farm north of Baghdad.

After the Gulf War, Mr. Saddam put key ministries and military units under the supervision of his two sons. He further increased their powers after a power struggle in his usually tight-knit family that was sparked by the defection of his two sons-in-law, Lieutenant General Hussein Kamel and his brother, Saddam Kamel.

The two brothers left for Jordan in August 1995, vowing to topple the regime. They were killed by family members after they returned in March.

Udai Hussein, who heads the trade and information ministries, is considered by some to be greedy, a playboy and prone to violence. He was sent into exile in Switzerland after he bludgeoned to death his father's favorite servant in 1988. Last year, Udai shot one of Mr. Saddam's half-brothers in the leg during a family quarrel.

Mr. Saddam's younger son, Qusai, is in control of the Republican Guards and the state's security apparatus.

*Turkish Daily News* FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1996

# Construction of Iranian natural gas pipeline is underway

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- The construction of the first 300 kilometers of the pipeline which will carry Iranian natural gas to Turkey began, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Turkey's state-run pipeline company Botaş General Directorate opened the bid for the 300 kilometer-long Doğubayazıt-Erzurum pipeline.

Botaş' announcement published in the Official Gazette on Thursday said firms entering the bid should

have constructed a total of 50 kilometers of pipeline of various diameters (10 inches and more), and finished a total of \$20 million worth of industrial facilities or steel pipeline construction as well as having sufficient workers, equipment and work machines.

Those firms that meet the requirements will be able to provide the bidding documents to Botaş General Directorate between Dec. 13 and 25.

The closing date for the bid is

February 28, 1997.

During Prime Minister Erbakan's visit to Iran, a consensus was reached and the agreement was signed on transferring Iranian natural gas to Turkey, which will begin no later than 18 months from the date the agreement was signed.

The pipeline construction will cost about \$200 million, according to estimates.

The two countries will be responsible for the construction of the part on their own territory.

*Turkish Daily News* FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1996

# Mafia-state links come under scrutiny

**President's letter:** There are at least 100-120 people involved in the crime. These are murderers working on behalf of state

*TDN Parliament Bureau*

ANKARA- Documents proving the "Police, mafia, politician" relations which were first disclosed after the traffic accident in Susurluk on Nov. 3 are one by one being revealed. A mass of documents have been submitted to the parliamentary commission responsible for finding out the "state-mafia"

relation. The commission decided to ask for some missing documents and summon witnesses to testify.

The most important documents which were given to the commission set up to investigate the secret relations of the underground world and their extensions in the state were the "personal letter" written by

President Demirel to Prime Minister Erbakan, reports of military and police officials on the subject and inspectors' investigation reports.

The letter written by Demirel to Erbakan on Nov. 13, 1996 include the claims communicated to the president by the main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) Chairman Mesut Yılmaz.

Demirel said in his letter that some members of the special operation division of the Police Department have taken part in "drug dealing, gambling, extorting protection



President Süleyman Demirel says state, democracy should be spared in the Susurluk probe.

money, murders." Demirel noted that the Susurluk accident has proven that the situation is worse than estimated.

Referring to the confessions of the murderers of Ömer Lütfi Topal, also known as the king of casinos, Demirel said that although these people have confessed their crimes they were still free. "The clan chief is using the state," said Demirel, without giving any names but clearly meaning True Path Party (DYP) Şanlıurfa deputy Sedat Bucak. Noting

that some state officials received orders from Special Operations Division Head İbrahim Şahin and that some top officials including former Interior Minister Mehmet Ağar had knowledge of these relations, the president said at least 100-120 people were involved in these crimes and that these people were "murderers working under state

orders."

When Demirel said "some top officials," it has been thought that he meant Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller and her husband, Özer Çiller. He repeated the same statement on a TV program the night before and said: "I gave the name to the prime minister and Mesut Yılmaz has already disclosed this name."

The documents which the commission requested from the Interior Ministry, the General Directorate of Police Department, the National Intelligence Agency, the Headquarters of Gendarmerie, etc. run to hundreds of pages. It was announced that the signature on the licence to carry a gun for Mehmet Özbay, Abdullah Çatlı's false identity, belonged to the then-chief of the Police Department, Mehmet Ağar. The Headquarters of Gendarmerie's criminal laboratory investigated whether the signature was fake or not and decided that it belonged to Mehmet Ağar. Upon this development, the State Security Court

Prosecutor's Office asked that the notice to lift Ağar's political immunity, sent to the Justice Ministry, be sent to Parliament. After Parliament receives the notice it will vote on the lifting of Ağar's immunity. However, Parliament has the right to postpone the voting until the next election.

Another important document submitted to the commission is the one prepared by inspectors of the General Directorate of the Police Department, based in Ankara. The document notes that the director of the Istanbul Police Department, Hüseyin Kocadağ, who also died in the Susurluk accident, had given a reference letter for Abdullah Çatlı, who was wanted by Interpol for the murder of seven people and drugs smuggling in France and Britain, to get a gun licence.

This information has proven wrong the

claims that Hüseyin Kocadağ did not know Abdullah Çatlı and that it was a coincidence that they were in the same car.

A folder signed by Interior Ministry Undersecretary Teoman Ünüsan, containing more documents on the issue, also includes investigation reports pertaining to other state-related gangs. The reports say that a court file was opened on a total of 16 people, including three military officers and three policemen — known as the Söylemez gang — and that these people had in their possession arms, explosives, DM 186,500 and TL 155.2 million.

It was noted in the report that the Yüksekova gang, consisting of a police chief, a police officer, a PKK militant who turned informer and three village guards were brought before the courts on charges of kidnapping and demanding ransom, and that their case was still pending.

An interesting example among the documents is one dealing with Deputy Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's two body guards and the illegal mafia practices they were involved in.

In the armed attack on the famous mafia leader Tevfik Ağansoy at a cafe in Istanbul, one of the body guards was killed and the other injured. The documents in the hands of the parliamentary commission include an order to "clear all accusations" against the injured body guards during the investigation carried out by the chief of Police Department following the attack. In fact, investigators had found that these body guards were involved in armed attacks, extortion of protection money and other incidents related to the mafia.

The parliamentary commission also has official documents relating to Abdullah Çatlı's identity, address, all the searches conducted against him, as well as the fact that he deserted the army.

## Human rights week: We are still waiting patiently

By Hande Çulpan  
Turkish Daily News / ANKARA

With the start of Human Rights Week, Dec. 10-17, focussing on peace, all eyes have once again turned on the state of Turkey and its record on human rights. Looking at statistics compiled by the Human Rights Association, one cannot help but wonder how many

more lives will be lost before democracy is fully implemented and human rights conditions improved.

### Human rights under the Ottomans

Turkey's commitment to the rule of law, although there have been times when the country strayed from it, dates back more than 150 years, to the nineteenth century. In 1839, Sultan Abdulmecit proclaimed the Rescript of Rosechamber, which recognized the inviolability of the life, honor and property of all subjects of the empire, as well the right to a fair and public trial for

so on. However, it is explicitly stated that the exercise of a basic human right can be restricted on the basis of a court decision, and the Constitution generally allows administrative agencies to take such measures in urgent cases.

An important problem area for human rights derives from restrictions imposed on such rights during times of martial law and a state of emergency. Articles 121 and 122 state that in both cases the manner in which freedoms are to be restricted shall be regulated by law, thus giving the legislature broad discretionary powers to determine the nature and extent of restrictions during such periods. However, Article 15 of the Constitution still guarantees a core area of human rights during such times, such as the individual's right to life and the integrity of his physical and spiritual self, and the right not to be forced to reveal his religion, conscience, thoughts and opinions nor be accused of them.

The same article also stipulates that in cases of martial law or a state of emergency the measures taken should not violate Turkey's obligations under international law.

The Turkish Constitution prohibits actions aimed at "violating the indivisible integrity of the State with its territory and nation, of endangering the existence of the Turkish State and Republic, of destroying those accused of crimes. The Rescript also enlarged and institutionalized the Grand Council of Justice, which was responsible for discussing and drafting new laws on matters of civil rights (especially the inviolability of life and property).

The second step towards the rule of law was the Reform Edict of 1856. The edict declared the equality of all Ottoman subjects before law, irrespective of religion, sect and creed, and their equality in the entry into public service — a radical departure from the Ottoman state tradition in which governmental

posts were reserved for Muslim subjects.

Another important development was the establishment of the Council of State in 1868 based on the French Council of State. The Ottoman council functioned both as an advisory body to the central administration and as a high judicial council dealing with conflicts between individuals and the administrative agencies.

All these reforms led to the 1876 Constitution, which resulted in a legislative assembly at least partially elected by the people.

### The 1982 Constitution

Following the 1980 military coup, a new constitution was issued, which is believed by many to be the most basic obstacle to improving human rights here. The 1982 Constitution recognizes all basic rights commonly found in liberal democratic constitutions, such as freedom of speech, the press, religion, association, assembly, travel, communications, due process of law, the right to privacy, freedom from unwarranted searches and seizures, freedom from arbitrary arrests, the right to property and fundamental rights and freedoms, of placing the government under the control of an individual or a group or establishing the sovereignty of one social class over others, or creating discrimination on the basis of language, race, religion, or sect, or of establishing by any other means a system of government based on those concepts and ideas."

### Turkey endorses agreements

Turkey, a member of the Council of Europe, was among the original signatories of the Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1950 and its additional

Protocol in 1952. However, Turkey did not recognize the competence of the European Commission of Human Rights to deal with individual complaints against it until April 1987. Even then, it was not possible for individuals to make a direct application to the Commission. It was only in 1990, when Turkey signed the ninth protocol to the Human Rights Convention, that individuals gained the right of direct application.

However, it took another year for Turkey to recognize the jurisdiction of the European Court of Human Rights. In 1991, during the Council of Europe Parliamentary Assembly, Turkish Justice Minister Oltan Sungurlu announced that Turkey would recognize the jurisdiction of the court for a period of "three years." "Turkey was the only remaining Council of Europe member to have delayed this decision but effective from today, the rulings of the court will be recognized," Sungurlu said.

In Feb. 1988, Turkey ratified the Council of Europe's "European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment." In fact, Turkey was the first member state to ratify the convention.

The convention established the European Committee for Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, which makes visits to examine the treatment of people in detention in order to prevent them from being tortured.

The convention stipulated that if a party fails to cooperate or refuses to improve conditions, the Committee may decide to make a public statement on the matter.

Later, Turkey also endorsed the United Nations "Convention against Torture and Other Cruel,

## Prosecuted defender of the prosecuted

The Human Rights Association (IHD), a voluntary nongovernmental organization, was established on July 17, 1986 by 98 founders, consisting of writers, journalists, lawyers and relatives of detainees and convicts. The association defined its 'sole and definite' aim as working on the issue of human rights and liberties.

"Between the years 1946-1950, there were three human rights associations in Turkey, which were later closed and their administrators were put on trial. It was only after the 1980 military coup that IHD was established," explains IHD Secretary-General Kamil Ateşoğulları.

Undertaking work on a number of issues which never fail to make headlines, such as prison conditions, torture, "disappearances" in custody and the Southeastern problem, the association was the subject of over 100 cases, in which over 300 administrators were put on trial. Twenty-five IHD offices have been closed for various periods of time by mayors, while 13 offices in the Southeast have been closed due to pressure and death threats against the administrators.

Asked to what extent the IHD, in the ten years following its establishment, had achieved its aims, Ateşoğulları says that the association aims at a totally democratic environment with full exercise of

human rights and liberties. "This is a utopia. The important thing is what we are able to achieve under what conditions because we are fighting against a mentality."

Referring to the horrific state of Turkey's human rights situation, Ateşoğulları says that the public, whether a supporter or opponent of the political power, wants a country to be proud of. "When we look at lists of countries with respect to welfare levels, per capita income, education level, etc. Turkey is always placed somewhere at the bottom. However, when it is a list concerning human rights, it is at the top. We wish that the situation was just the opposite," he says. "It is a sad picture. It is not what our people deserve."

Ateşoğulları claims that the European pressure on Turkey will prove fruitless. Turkey, facing foreign powers economically more developed than itself, undertakes a few superficial attempts to silence the domestic voices who are rebelling against the injustice done, he notes, recalling Winston Churchill's words that there are no perpetual friendships or enmities, but only interests. "And Europe is aware of this, but we should be improving human rights in Turkey not because Europe wants it but because our people deserve it."

Recalling that Turkey has endorsed two important

conventions on torture, Ateşoğulları notes that the important thing is not to endorse such conventions, but to actually put them into force. "Unfortunately, there is no control mechanism. Organizations such as the U.N. do not have the power to impose sanctions on Turkey; they can only condemn the country's acts. However, such organizations should have the power to impose sanctions."

Asked why the IHD has chosen "peace" as the topic of this year's Human Rights Week, Ateşoğulları explains that Turkey is urgently in need of peace, calling violence a long-running tradition coming down from the Ottomans. "The war in the Southeast, which has been going on for the last 14 years, is the reason for the current economic and social deadlock in Turkey. The state has been setting aside a budget for the war, which naturally reduces the funds reserved for people. This breaks up a society, in which different ethnic groups coexisted for years. The war destroys cultural and traditional values."

Ateşoğulları says it is urgent that human rights be established, protected and developed. "However, to fight for human rights, one has to know one's rights. This is why we have to make people aware of their rights. Once this awareness is achieved, people need to organize and fight for their rights."

Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. The Convention defines torture and requires the signatory states to take effective legislative, administra-

## Figures tell it all

The following statistics were taken from IHD's 6th working report and cover the period between Jan.-Sept. 1996

- Fifty people died in unsolved murders and 46 people were injured in unsolved attacks.
- 162 people lost their lives through execution without trial, after torture or while in custody.
- 1,852 people died in armed clashes.
- Attacks on civilians left 94 dead and 105 injured.
- 155 people "disappeared" while in custody.
- 301 people were tortured or claimed to have been tortured.
- 15,729 people were taken into custody, 314 of whom were from the press.
- 1,475 people were arrested.
- 67 villages and hamlets were evacuated.
- 87 places were bombed.
- 84 associations, trade unions and press agencies were closed.
- 93 associations, trade unions and press agencies were raided.
- 147 publications were confiscated.
- At present, there are 157 prisoners of conscience in jail.
- Courts have approved of prison terms exceeding 150 years and fines totalling TL 5,879,780,000.

## Turkey's commitment to the rule of law goes back more than 150 years, dating to the nineteenth century

tive, judicial or other measures to prevent acts of torture in any territory under their jurisdiction. It clearly states that no exceptional circumstances — a state of war or a threat of war, internal political instability or any other public emergency — may be invoked as a justification of torture. Like the European Convention, the U.N. Convention also established a "Committee against Torture" which has the right to make visits if it receives reliable information concerning abuses.

The ratification of these two very important conventions by Turkey was considered to be a very important step in improving the protection of human rights in Turkey.

## A bleak record

Turkey, with a constitution dating from the 1980 military coup and signatory to two international conventions against torture, has been encircled in claims of human rights violations, stimulating many national and international nongovernmental organizations to act. Turkey's quest to become a member of the European Union also accelerated efforts to improve human rights here.

The most serious claims against Turkey involve systematic torture and the increase in "disappearances" of people in custody. In 1992, the Council of Europe said that even though Turkey had improved its human rights record, it had yet to eliminate torture and other violations of basic freedoms. The Council adopted a resolution urging Turkey to prevent torture, pursue reports of human rights violations more vigorously and take more control of security forces. The Council's resolution followed a clash between security forces and Kurds earlier in the year.

During the same year, the British Medical Association said in a report published in London that doctors in Turkey were involved in torture. "We found that doctors had actively participated in the process of torture by certifying the prisoner's fitness for torture, reviving the prisoner after collapse, monitoring the prisoner's state during torture and giving false or inadequate medical care to the tortured person," the report said. "Equally importantly, we found that many doctors who know that torture or other abuses are happening do nothing to challenge it."

The report added that one common form of collaboration in human rights abuses was the preparation of false or inadequate medical certificates for victims.

Turkey, following a two-year period in which it was supposed to set the record straight, was once again blasted by Amnesty International for its increasing attacks on freedom of expression. The group called for an expert mission to be sent to investigate deteriorating human rights in the country. In its annual report, Amnesty also urged Washington to reconsider military aid to the country.

The London-based group also drew attention to the alarming increase in "disappearances." "Urgent measures must be taken to stem the alarming increase in 'disappearances' and extrajudicial executions in Turkey," Amnesty said, expressing fears that "the practice of 'disappearance,' like that of extrajudicial execution, is becoming established as a tool of intimidation in Turkey."

All these reactions were not enough to motivate the state to improve human rights, as clearly seen in the horrifying violations of human rights in 1996. The death of Evrensel journalist Metin Göktepe in January due to torture while in custody, the hunger strikes in prisons in July, which led to the deaths of 12 people, and the student demonstrations in November were all examples of human rights violations where, despite widespread criticism, the state remained a spectator.

These incidents lead to serious doubts about President Süleyman Demirel's statement on Human Rights Day that Turkey is a country which always seeks the perfect with respect to human rights. As IHD points out, the improvement of human rights in Turkey depends on the individual's awareness of his or her own rights, and on the public organizing and fighting for their rights.

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## Irak-Kurdes : Massoud Barzani a rencontré Saddam Hussein à Bagdad, selon l'opposition

DUBAI, 13 déc (AFP) - Le chef du Parti démocratique du Kurdistan (PDK), M. Massoud Barzani, a rencontré à Bagdad le président irakien Saddam Hussein, a affirmé vendredi le Conseil national irakien (CNI, opposition).

Le CNI précise dans un communiqué parvenue à l'AFP à Dubaï, que M.Barzani s'était rendu mercredi à Bagdad en compagnie de deux de ses frères, Sidad et Wajeeh, ainsi que du chef de la sécurité du PDK Karim Sinjari.

La délégation du PDK a été reçue par Saddam Hussein et son fils cadet Qoussaï. Elle a regagné Salaheddine (nord) jeudi, ajoute le communiqué.

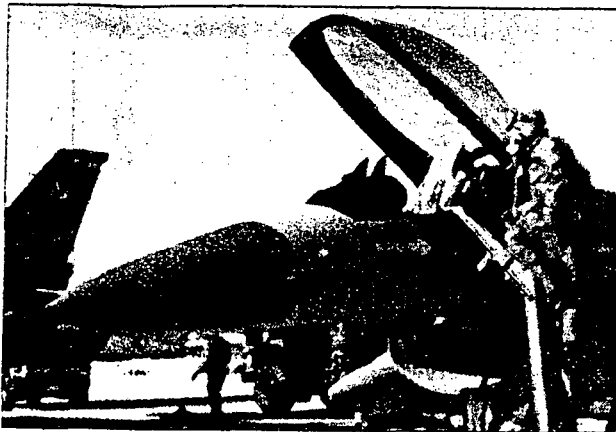
Les forces de Saddam Hussein étaient intervenues fin août dans le nord de l'Irak pour venir en aide au PDK dans son offensive contre l'Union patriotique du Kurdistan (UPK, de Jalal Talabani), chassé le 31 août d'Erbil, chef-lieu du Kurdistan irakien.

Les deux formations se sont livré des combats à plusieurs reprises pour le contrôle de cette région qui échappe au contrôle de Bagdad depuis 1991.

ht/sb

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*Turkish Daily News* SATURDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1996



F-16 pilots will no longer patrol the skies over northern Iraq under Operation Provide Comfort after this month.

**By Inur Çevik**  
*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkish and American military officials will meet on Monday or Tuesday to discuss the demise of Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) and the new arrangement to replace it that

will allow coalition air forces to monitor Iraqi military buildup and its mass destruction weapons, Turkish government sources reported. Prime Minister Erbakan said on Friday that Operation Provide Comfort would end

as of December 31.

Speaking just prior to a cabinet meeting Erbakan said that OPC would be replaced by air reconnaissance components which would monitor Iraq's compliance with U.N. resolutions. American sources said the U.S. remains committed to deterring and monitoring Saddam Hussein and this will be done by the new air component that will replace Provide Comfort. The Turkish sources who

## Turkish, US military officials to discuss replacement of OPC

PM Erbakan says operation for protecting northern Iraqi Kurds to end on December 31

asked not to be named said the Turkish-American meeting would concentrate in defining the new rules of the air component that will be stationed on Turkish soil like the jet fighters of Provide Comfort.

They said the new air component would again include American, French, British as well as Turkish forces.

They said sides would be working on basing this new force on a legal framework.

The sources stressed the issue would be presented to the Turkish Parliament for approval.

Both Turkish and American officials acknowledged that Provide Comfort is now dead.

The Turkish Daily News was told the Americans have phased out their presence in northern Iraq for good. They said the Military Command Center for Provide Comfort in northern Iraq has gone and will never be replaced.

They also said the U.S. aid program is gone and that too will never come back.

# Semi-democracy

**F**or years the Turkish Daily News has been complaining about the semi-democratic system in Turkey. For years we have been living through a rather peculiar type of system where the individuals are relatively free but when it comes to certain issues state repression is worse than in the case of totalitarian regimes... For years the West has expected some kind of a breakthrough in Turkey through which our country would be transformed into a true democracy. But that did not happen.

On the contrary even the leaders who promoted democracy and fought for rights and liberties in our country turned their backs on real democratic reforms and when they came to power they too joined the conservative establishment, which has successfully blocked reforms and freedoms in Turkey. Suleyman Demirel, the president of Turkey, was once a banned leader. He fought along with a handful of Democrats to break the chains of depoliticization in Turkey brought about by the 1980 coup. He once again made Turkey a country where the people were vocal. Then he became prime minister and declared Turks have to accept the "Kurdish reality." But after that Demirel suddenly changed. He went through a stunning transformation and lost his interest in democratic reforms and a vocal society.

He had been promising some meaningful democratic reforms to the EU ambassador since 1992. Today none of those reforms have been achieved...

This has really annoyed the West. Some people are already viewing our country as a lost case.

We do not believe this is the case. On the contrary, the current Susurluk scandal, which revealed the existence of a dirty war in Turkey supported by some leading state officials, may well be a new opening for Turkey to rid itself from the conservative establishment.

The West does not have the right to complain. They were the ones who applauded Tansu Çiller who they now call an untrustworthy person. They were the ones who encouraged leaders like Turgut Özal to make short cuts and ruin the state system, which later created the gangs used in the



Editorial

By Ilnur Çevik

'US Human Rights Award' goes to Ankara Embassy staff

Janice Weiner wrote reports on Kurds and US arms

dirty war against the so-called adversaries of the state.

We all have to face the consequences of our past mistakes. This does not mean Turkey should be treated as a lost case or it should be written off. That would be a serious mistake for the West...

We have to transform our system from a semi-democracy to a real democracy. That may well be achieved if the facts about the gangs involved in the dirty war are fully revealed and those who ordered their actions are thrown into jail.

Turkish Daily News

WASHINGTON — The U.S. State Department confirmed the singular importance it attaches to human rights violations in Turkey by giving one of its four "Democracy and Human Rights Awards" to Janice Weiner, a former staffer that worked at the U.S. Embassy in Ankara between 1993 and September 1996. Weiner, a career foreign service official, currently works at the Germany desk in Washington.

In his introductory speech, Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights and Labor John Shattuck signaled that, in his opinion, human rights violations in Turkey were comparable to those in Indonesia and Saudi Arabia: "Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Indonesia — although friends, they are subject to close human rights scrutiny," Shattuck said. Shattuck explained that Weiner "endured pressures" in Turkey while "documenting" human rights violations in Turkey in reports which were filed to Washington, to become a part the Department's annual human rights country reports. She established "liaison" with "ethnic and religious minorities" in Turkey and traveled many times to Southeast Anatolia, Shattuck said.

Weiner also monitored the trials of Turkish parliamentarians of Kurdish origin who belonged to the DEP party. Five of those deputies are still in jail for committing crimes banned by the Anti-Terror Law.

Weiner also wrote the first report to the U.S. Congress concerning Turkish use of U.S.-made weapons in the war against the PKK, a Kurdish separatist organization that the U.S., as well as most other European countries, regard as a terrorist group. The U.S. Senate denied Turkey the delivery of Super Cobra attack helicopters on the basis of suspicions raised by such reports. Despite categorical denials by the Turkish government, the anti-Turkish lobby in Washington maintained that Turkey might use such U.S.-made weapons against "innocent Kurds" while fighting the PKK.

After accepting her award from the out-going Secretary of State Warren Christopher at a ceremony held on Thursday at the State Department, Weiner, who speaks Turkish fairly well, talked to TDN about her work in Turkey.

"I tried to be absolutely fair," said Weiner, not trying to hide the fact that her reports did not make her too popular with Turkish Foreign Ministry. She said she wrote the "human rights action plan" for the U.S. Embassy in Ankara and paid many visits to the southeast, with help of the U.S. consulate in Adana.

Despite her detailed documentation of such violations, Weiner sounded optimistic when she expressed

her belief that such violations can ultimately be prevented. "There is a solution even for torture, for example," she said. "The police must be trained to prevent undue punishment of suspects. One thing that would certainly help is the quick availability of access to attorneys, even for those who are apprehended as terrorists," Weiner said.

Another issue Weiner mentioned is the difficulty of suing civil servants who commit human rights violations. "The existing civil servant prosecution law makes it very difficult for civil servants to be charged. It needs to be changed and a ombudsman mechanism must be introduced," she told TDN.

Le Monde / Samedi 14 décembre 1995

## Le fils aîné du président irakien a été blessé dans un attentat

Agé d'une trentaine d'années, le tout-puissant Oudaï Saddam Hussein s'est fait des ennemis à tous les niveaux de la classe politique à Bagdad. Il est reconnu responsable de plusieurs meurtres

**AVEC SON PÈRE** et nombre de membres du clan du président irakien, il figure sur la liste des responsables que l'opposition souhaite voir traduits en justice pour crimes contre l'humanité. Il a à son actif plusieurs meurtres, dont le plus connu est celui de l'un des gardes du corps de Saddam Hussein.

C'est parce qu'ils étaient en conflit avec lui que deux gendres du chef de l'Etat irakien firent défection, en août 1995. C'est sous ses ordres et ceux de son frère Qousaï que ces derniers furent assassinés à leur retour à Bagdad. On lui impute aussi la récente destitution du ministre irakien de l'information et de la culture, Abdel Ghani El Ghafour. En août 1995, il a tiré sur son oncle, Watban, le blessant à la jambe. Il contrôle les circuits de la contrebande... On pourrait multiplier les preuves que Oudaï, le fils aîné de Saddam Hussein, s'était fait de nombreux ennemis, y compris au sein du clan qui dirige l'Irak.

Oudaï, âgé de trente-trois ans, a été blessé, jeudi 12 décembre, dans un attentat à Bagdad, « alors qu'il était à bord de sa voiture, dans le

quartier d'El Mansour », a indiqué un porte-parole de la présidence irakienne, selon lequel « son état n'inspire pas d'inquiétude ». Le porte-parole a ajouté qu'une enquête avait été ouverte sur ce « crime odieux ».

Contrairement aux dizaines de tentatives d'attentat, réelles ou imaginées, qui auraient été dirigées contre le chef de l'Etat irakien lui-même, depuis l'invasion du Koweït en août 1990, et qui toutes étaient annoncées par les différents mouvements d'opposition, celle dirigée contre Oudaï tire sa crédibilité du fait qu'elle a été révélée de source officielle.

### DEVANT TÉMOINS

Aucune indication n'a été fournie de même source sur ses blessures, mais selon des informations non confirmées il aurait été touché à la tête. Deux sortes de raisons pourraient expliquer le fait que les médias officiels en aient fait état, enfreignant ainsi la règle du secret total qui entoure les faits et gestes de la famille présidentielle : la première explication est que la tenta-

tive d'attentat aurait eu lieu devant témoins, l'autre étant que son état serait plutôt sérieux.

Oudaï Saddam Hussein n'a pas de fonctions gouvernementales, mais il est tout-puissant. Il contrôle le marché noir et les exportations de pétrole - il était hostile à l'acceptation de la résolution 986 du Conseil de sécurité de l'ONU, qui autorise Bagdad à vendre des quantités limitées de pétrole pour subvenir aux besoins urgents de la population. Il dirige la radio et la télévision de la jeunesse - qui ont le plus fort taux d'écoute à Bagdad, - le quotidien *Babel* et le comité olympique irakien. Il a créé en 1994, le corps des « volontaires » irakiens, qui comprend quelque 60 000 hommes, et auquel le Parlement a conféré, en mai 1996, « une part de la responsabilité dans la défense de l'Irak contre toute conspiration ou agression extérieure ». Toutefois, selon certaines informations, sur ordre de son père, il en aurait perdu le contrôle au profit de son frère, en août 1996.

M. N.

A.F.P. - Agence France Presse-A.F.P. - Agence France Presse-A.F.P. - Agence France Presse

### Irak-attentat : Un parti islamiste revendique l'attentat contre le fils de Saddam Hussein

BEYROUTH, 14 déc (AFP) - Le parti irakien al-Daawa, islamiste chiite, a revendiqué samedi l'attentat au cours duquel le fils aîné du président Saddam Hussein, Oudaï, a été blessé jeudi à Bagdad.

"Un de nos commandos a exécuté jeudi la justice de Dieu et du peuple contre l'ennemi de Dieu et du peuple, Oudaï Saddam al-Takriti, qui a semé la terreur et la corruption en Irak", affirme le parti al-Daawa al-islamiya (appel islamique), dans un

communiqué manuscrit en arabe parvenu à l'AFP à Beyrouth.

"Nos Moudjahidine (combattants de l'islam) ont encerclé le convoi de Oudaï dans le souk al-Mansour, à Bagdad, et l'ont mitraillé, blessant Oudaï qui a été hospitalisé et qui a échappé à la mort", ajoute le texte daté du 12 décembre.

Le parti clandestin al-Daawa, créé en 1958, est la plus ancienne formation chiite de l'opposition irakienne.

nk/Kar

A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

*Turkish Daily News* SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1996

## Turkish cooperation is praised

By Uğur Akıncı / *Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON - The U.S. State Department announced on Friday that evacuation of 3779 employees of some American non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from northern Iraq is completed via Turkey. A senior department official had nothing but praises for the cooperation shown by Turkey in the evacua-

tion process.

"The movement of the nongovernmental office employees and their family members from northern Iraq across the border into Turkey was completed today, December 13, at 12:20 local time," said Nicholas Burns, department spokesman. Over 2,700 similar refugees were previously airlifted to the island of Guam in the Pacific after the refugees were first brought across the border to Turkey. The Iraqi refugees and their families, most if not all Kurdish, were considered to be in peril of becoming the targets of Saddam Hussein's wrath after he was invited in September to northern Iraq by Massoud Barzani of Kurdish Democratic Party (KDP), in an effort to neutralize the gains of his arch rival, Jalal Talabani of Patriotic Unity of Kurdistan (PUK). The two factions later on signed a cease-fire agreement in Ankara.

"The United States would like to express its appreciation to the Turkish Government for its support for allowing the refugees to come across the border and to harbor them, on a transitional basis, until their flights left for Guam," said Burns.

"Three thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine people crossed into Turkey since the operation began on December 4; 3,464 passengers on 10 flights have already departed Batman Airport for Guam, and the first nine flights have arrived in Guam. We anticipate that the last flight will depart tomorrow, Saturday, December 14, with the remaining people," Burns said.

"We're very pleased that this operation was carried out in such an orderly and safe manner. There were very few problems, and we're pleased by the cooperation of the Turks," he concluded.

*Turkish Daily News* SUNDAY, DECEMBER 15, 1996

## US says OPC may continue operations under a new name

Official confident that no-flight zones will remain

By Uğur Akıncı / *Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON - If anything, Washington is certainly persistent in making sure Saddam Hussein will not breathe any easier even though greenlight is given to UN's food-for-oil program. A Clinton Administration official who did not want to be identified told TDN that Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) may very well contin-

ue — however, under a new name. "Northern Watch" is among the names proposed for the air-wing of the operation originally designed to protect Kurds and other minorities of northern Iraq from Saddam Hussein.

After Saddam's drive to the north of 36th parallel in September, the ground elements of OPC, i.e. Military Coordination Center, left Zakho for Silopi in Turkey, thus reducing OPC to an air operation.

Short of the ground-power to ensure ground deterrence against Iraqi Republican Guard divisions, the operation shifted its emphasis to maintaining no-flight zones in north and south Iraq, instead of "protecting" any minorities. OPC, based in Incirlik, Turkey, is up for renewal by the Turkish Parliament at the end of this month but Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan said OPC, as we know it, is over. The U.S. official in question said "it's a possibility" that OPC may continue, if under a new name. "The no-flight zones, I'm very confident, will remain."

But can the operation, regardless of its new name, can be implemented without Turkish cooperation and involvement. TDN asked the official.

"The Turks will help us implement the no-flight zones," the official said.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1996

# Rigid Positions Ease Up In Turkish-Kurd War

## *Soldiers' Release Seems to Be a Signal*

By Stephen Kinzer  
*New York Times Service*

ISTANBUL — The recently negotiated release of six Turkish soldiers captured by Kurdish rebels appears to reflect at least the beginning of a change in thinking about a conflict that has seemed likely to drag on forever.

Until lately, the government and the rebels have insisted that their single goal is military victory and that no nonmilitary solution to the conflict is possible.

But in recent months, the rebel leader, Abdullah Ocalan, has been quoted as saying that he would settle for autonomy rather than full independence for Turkey's Kurdish region in the southeast.

He told a French newspaper that he had been contacted by Turkey's new prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, but Mr. Erbakan has not acknowledged making any such overture.

Still, the prime minister has said he hopes to ease the terms of emergency rule under which much of the southeast is governed. Last week, the government was reportedly considering some form of amnesty for Kurdish prisoners.

Political and military leaders have resolutely refused to deal with the rebel Kurdish Workers Party, known as the PKK, for any purpose, including negotiating the release of prisoners.

A member of Parliament who traveled to the party's strongholds in northern Iraq three months ago to seek the release of prisoners was bitterly denounced and threatened with prosecution when he returned.

The politician, Fethullah Erbas, a member of the governing Welfare Party, was unsuccessful that time. But last week he went back to northern Iraq. This time he was successful, returning with six young men who had been held prisoner for more than a year.

"I have done my duty not in the name of any party, but as a citizen," he said, "and I have done it in spite of criticism from many quarters."

Among those who criticized Mr. Erbas was Yasar Okuyan, a leading member of Parliament from the opposition Motherland Party. "No one and no organization in Turkey should make deals with the PKK," Mr. Okuyan said. "The PKK is a murderous organization that kills our soldiers, our police officers and even our women and children. I violently object to this."

The government and the press, which

covers the conflict according to unwritten rules laid down by the military, portray the Kurdish Workers Party as a terrorist organization financed principally by heroin smuggling. Police officials in several West European countries also believe that the PKK is heavily involved in drug trafficking. The party denies it.

On Tuesday, an Istanbul daily, *Yeni Yuzyil*, which says it has obtained secret documents related to the government's use of death squads to fight the rebels, published what it said was a report showing that in 1994, Tansu Ciller, then the prime minister, authorized a payment of more than \$2 million to a Turkish gunman for an operation aimed at killing Mr. Ocalan, the rebel leader.

Last month, the gunman, Abdullah Catli, died along with a senior police official in a car crash that has set off a major scandal here.

Mrs. Ciller has not commented on the report.

Government leaders and Turkish journalists routinely refer to Kurdish Workers Party combatants as terrorists, and they described the six captured soldiers as hostages, carefully avoiding the use of the word "prisoner."

"They have an underlying reason for this," said the chairman of the Ankara-based Human Rights Association, Akin Birdal, who was part of the delegation that traveled to northern Iraq to arrange the soldiers' release. "If they accepted that the Turkish soldiers were POWs, then they would have to consider people who had fought for the other side as POWs as well, which would force them to act within the boundaries of international law."

Last week, the three negotiators met in Ankara and then traveled secretly to the Iraqi city of D'hok, where the prisoners' relatives had been camped out for weeks hoping for their release. There they met Kurdish Workers Party members, who brought them and the relatives to a camp near the Iraqi town of Amadiyah.

"The camp is established in rocky hills and mighty caves, resembling an eagle's lair," wrote a Turkish journalist who was present, adding:

"The beating of hearts seemed noisy enough to move the rocks around, when the commander of the camp told the families to come out of the tents as the soldiers had arrived. Then the soldiers were restored to their families. The scene at the gathering brought tears to everyone's eyes."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1996

# Oil Flowing Out, Iraqis Now Start the Wait for Food to Come In

By Douglas Jehl  
New York Times Service

BAGHDAD — From a Baghdad storefront, Khalid Zuweidi measured out government rations for each of 136 families in his charge, scooping out flour, sugar and rice according to strict prescription. But for the first time in six years, he did so with a hope that next month the portions will be bigger.

With a limited amount of Iraqi oil starting to flow to foreign buyers for the first time since the Gulf War in 1991, the Iraqi government has promised as part of a deal with the United Nations to fatten the meager package that has become the main source of sustenance for most of the country's 20 million people.

But redemption of that promise may have to wait until revenue from new contracts reaches a special UN account, and that has left ordinary Iraqis to wonder when they will witness the alchemy that promises to turn oil to food. "Everyone wants to know: When will the UN food come?" said Mr. Zuweidi, a 50-year-old grocer.

For the Iraqi government, last week was one of celebration. On Tuesday, it began to pump oil to Turkey through a pipeline that had been closed since August 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait. It opened a second outlet Sunday in the southern port of Basra with the loading of a tanker with oil that Iraq said was bound for two American companies.

And suddenly, the lobby of the government-owned Al Rashid hotel, the best in the capital, is crowded with French, Italian, Russian and other foreign businessmen who have hurried to Iraq in hopes of securing a contract to buy oil or to sell food and other goods that Iraq will be able to buy up in return.

Without exception, government newspapers have portrayed the resumption of oil exports as the beginning of the end for the six-year-old embargo imposed by the United Nations after Iraq invaded Kuwait.

But it is far from clear how and whether the easing of the ban on oil sales will change the complexion of Iraq, whose economy remains shattered and whose people have

suffered greatly as a result of the UN sanctions.

Minutes after the deal was announced earlier this month, hundreds of celebrating Iraqis fired weapons that set Baghdad's skies a-thunder, and people interviewed in markets and cafés and on downtown streets said they were in good spirits. All said their lot would improve under the accord, and some said they expected the increased ration to cover their families' basic needs for the first time since the invasion of Kuwait.

But some basic foods like meat, cheese, eggs and milk will not be included even in the augmented monthly package, which the government says will be all that it can afford.

And having lived comfortably before the Gulf War, many of those interviewed said they remained bitter at the prospect that ordinary Iraqis must still bear the burden of an international campaign that the United States and its allies have said is aimed not at them but at the Iraqi leader, President Saddam Hussein.

"Do they want to keep us hungry?" asked Mohammed Nuamen Youssef, a shabbily dressed 60-year-old who spoke amid the dust and din of the outdoor Shorjah bazaar. "Even the new ration will not be enough. I am a retired government official, and my pension is only enough for two eggs. Is that logical?"

It is just such ordinary citizens who are intended to be

comforted by the new accord. It will allow Iraq to sell only about one-fifth as much oil as it sold before the war.

Under the terms of the deal, about \$1.32 billion in revenue from the \$2 billion in oil that Iraq will be permitted to sell in the next six months will be set aside for the purchase of food, medicine and other essential aid under UN supervision.

As soon as it can purchase the new supplies, the government announced, it will increase the ration of each of the six basic foods it provides to its citizens by a substantial share.

For each person, the monthly allotment of rice is to increase from about 3 pounds to more than 5 pounds (1.4 kilograms to 2.3 kilograms), for instance, while the sacks of flour doled out to every family will include nearly 20 pounds per person, up from about 15 pounds.

But Gualtiero Fulcheri, the UN humanitarian coordinator for Iraq, said he could not predict when the Iraqi government would be able to increase the ration under the UN plan, which specifies that all revenue from the oil sales be put in escrow in a special UN account. He said it would be "several weeks" at the earliest before Iraqis received augmented rations.

"Everyone is working at full speed, both on the government and the agency side," Mr. Fulcheri said.

But he added that there would be "a certain slowness in starting up."



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

# For Victims of Gulf War, the Checks Are in the Mail

## UN Committee Orders Iraq to Pay \$3.2 Billion in Reparations

By Raymond Bonner  
New York Times Service

GENEVA — In the next few weeks, some of the world's low-income workers — from strapping members of Polish construction crews to Egyptian agricultural hands to Filipino nurses — will be pleasantly astonished by the arrival of a check for \$2,500.

The trickle of checks marks the beginning of a flood of \$3.2 billion in payments to more than 860,000 men and women in 78 countries.

The money is not part of some new international welfare program or philanthropy. Rather, it is the handiwork of a little-known United Nations commission set up after the Gulf War to exact reparations from Iraq.

Until now, the UN Compensation Commission has had little money to settle the claims it approved. But that is changing as Iraq resumes oil sales under a UN agreement that reserves 30 percent of the proceeds for payment of reparations.

Recipients are to include foreign workers forced to flee Kuwait and Iraq when the war began; Kuwaitis whose family members were killed by Iraqi soldiers or whose homes were looted and multinational corporations that lost property and profits.

"It has been too long," said Carlos Alzamora, a 70-year-old Peruvian diplomat who is executive director of the commission. "But as we say in Spanish, 'It is never too late when joy arrives.'"

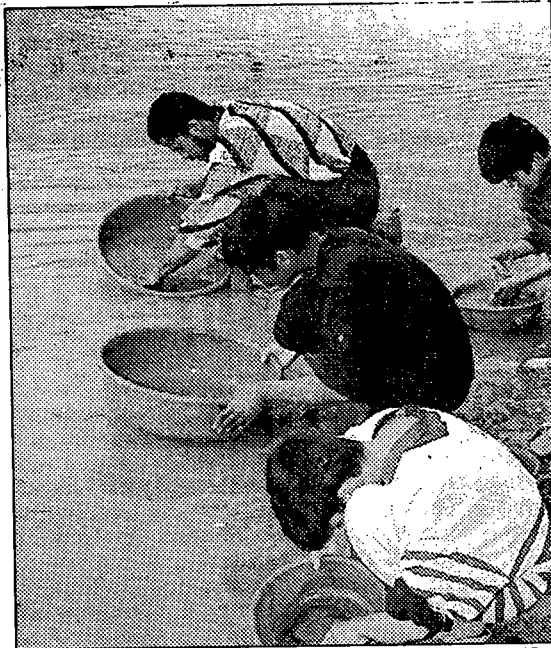
The commission, which has been at work for nearly six years, is said to be unique in the annals of international law. In the past, reparations have been imposed by the victors, as in World War I, or adjudicated through agreements between individual countries. The commission approved its first payments more than two years ago.

A woman in upstate New York will soon receive a check for \$2,500, a small step toward what will eventually be a least \$100,000 and probably closer to \$1 million in compensation for the death of her husband. He had been working as a consultant in Kuwait and died of a heart attack after being seized by the Iraqis and used as a human shield, commission officials said.

To protect claimants from possible reprisals by Iraq, the commission promises confidentiality, and the identities of individuals and companies seeking reparations are kept secret.

Among the claims filed by the companies is one from Kuwait Oil Co. for \$950 million to cover the costs of extinguishing the oil-well fires that had been set by the Iraqi troops.

[The Gulf War reparations agency on Tuesday approved a \$610 million damage claim filed by Kuwait Oil Co.,



Jassim Mohammed/The Associated Press

**PANNING IN BAGHDAD —** Iraqis looking for gold Tuesday in the Tigris River near the jewelry district in a bid to augment their incomes.

making it the first corporate claim approved by the agency, UN officials said, Reuters reported.

[The Governing Council of the commission, made up of the same 15 members as the Security Council, also agreed with a judges' panel that another \$340 million of the Kuwaiti claim should be deferred.]

But it will be a long time before Kuwait Oil or any other company receives money. The commission has decided to pay the smaller, individual claims with the first receipts from the oil sales, putting the corporations at the back of the line.

Although it seems fairly certain that Iraqi oil money will now swell the commission's coffers, officials in Geneva have been circumspect in their comments and reluctant to raise hopes. Commission officials said the money will be provided to governments, which are then to pay the individual claims.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

## Wounded Son Of Saddam Is Shown On Iraqi TV

Agence France-Presse

BAGHDAD — Iraqi state television on Tuesday showed the first pictures of President Saddam Hussein's eldest son, Udai, since he was shot and wounded in an assassination attempt last week.

Mr. Hussein, 33, appeared in good condition. He was shown talking with a diplomat from Qatar and then meeting a representative from the official Iraqi News Agency.

He was heard to say to his Qatari visitor: "Thanks to God, Iraq is safe and sound." The envoy was accompanied by Mr. Saddam's other son, Qussai.

Diplomats in Jordan said earlier Tuesday that Mr. Hussein was in a hospital in serious, but not critical, condition after the ambush Thursday in a wealthy neighborhood of Baghdad.

Two French doctors arrived in the capital Sunday after Mr. Hussein underwent "several operations by Iraqi doctors who pulled out bullets from his chest, abdomen, shoulder, and grenade shrapnel from his head," a diplomat said.

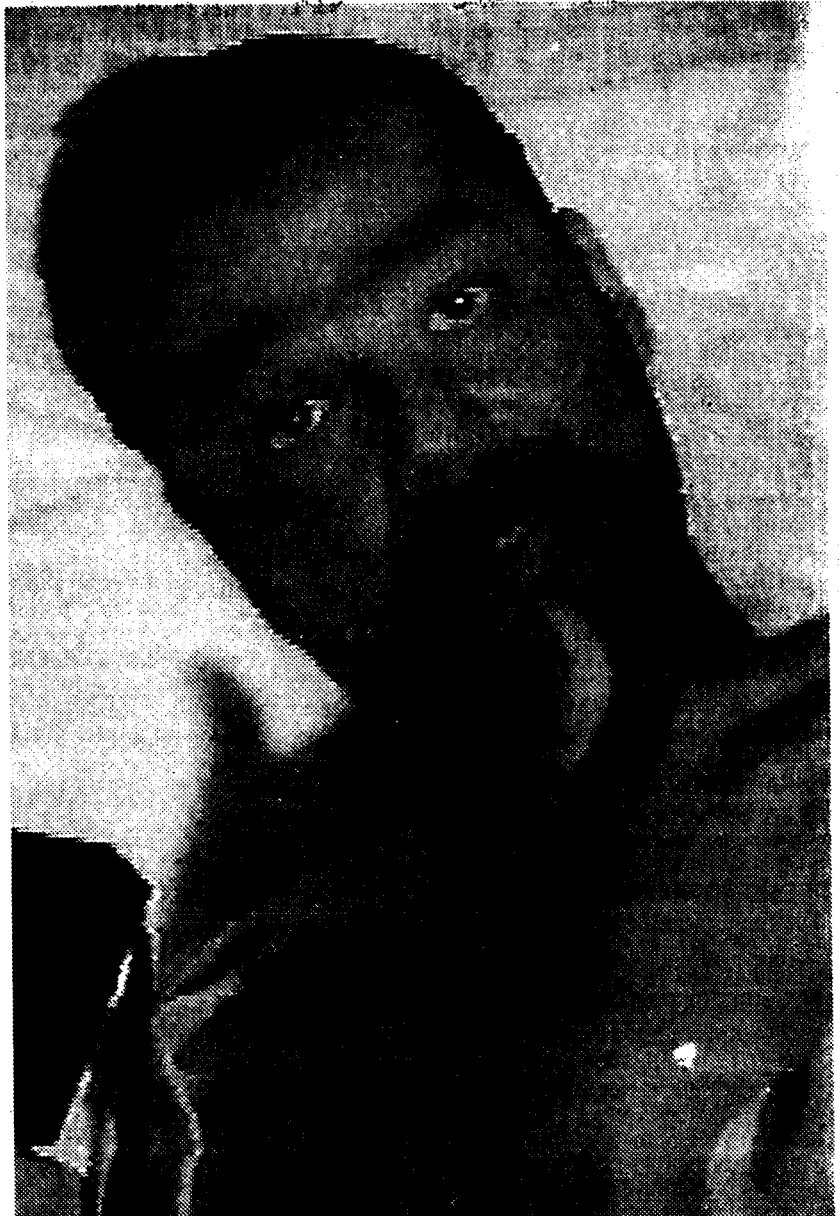
Other diplomats, citing an official who visited him, said Mr. Hussein was not in critical condition and was "lucid."

At least two masked men reportedly fired submachine guns and threw hand grenades at Mr. Hussein's car.

After the initial reports of the attack, Iraq's official media had given no update on Mr. Hussein's condition or on the status of the investigation.

An opposition group, the Iraq Salvation Movement, claimed responsibility for the attack in a statement from Beirut on Saturday. The Islamic Dawa Party, an Iran-based group, said Friday it had carried out the assault.

But Wafiq Samarrai, a former Iraqi intelligence chief who now lives in Damascus, said he suspected dissidents from the ruling Ba'ath Party might be responsible. General Samarrai said last week that Mr. Saddam had arrested hundreds of people after the attack, the second since June on his eldest son.



The Associated Press

Udai Hussein in footage that state television said was taken Tuesday at his hospital bed in Baghdad. It was his first appearance since being shot.



# Rafsanjani: I am concerned about northern Iraq

There are centers of power in the world who are not interested in Turkey and Iran maintaining cordial relations, and we can see the footprints and traces of ill intentions in some of the incidents occasionally taking place for the purpose of spoiling our relations

We have agreed on a very clear basis with Turkey that we will not allow anyone to use our lands to harm the interests of the other. Should there be any incident we will cooperate to uproot it

**P**resident Hashemi Rafsanjani, who will be visiting Turkey from Dec. 19-22, granted an exclusive interview to the Turkish Daily News which will also appear in the Turkish daily Zaman and will be televised on Channel 7 TV tonight.

The Iranian president, in his interview, said he is hopeful about the future of relations between the two countries but stressed there are still centers of power in the world who are trying to spoil the relations between them.

Here is the full text of the Turkish Daily News interview:

**ILNUR ÇEVİK.** Mr. President, once again the winds of instability are blowing in the Middle East. It is said the peace process is not working. Have militant groups linked to Iran contributed to this?

**PRESIDENT HASHEMI RAFSANJANI.** This instability in the Middle East in fact started when they tried to turn Palestine into a Jewish state. And still it is continuing. Occasionally there is a breeze of tranquility but the rest is instability, turmoil or I should say typhoons. Stability cannot be established in the region unless the Palestinian people are given their rights. To attribute this instability to any country, including Iran, and on the other hand exclude Israel means ignorance of the reality.

**ÇEVİK.** In recent months some American officials have voiced an interest in establishing a dialogue with Iran. What are the conditions for your country to start such a dialogue?

**RAFSANJANI.** America has held this view for a very long time to normalize its relations with Iran. The main problem is that we have lost trust in the Americans. The only condition that we have mentioned is an attitude or the conduct of America to prove its goodwill and good intentions.

**ÇEVİK.** Sir, there are reports in American newspapers that Iran is suspected of being behind the killing of American servicemen in the bombings in Saudi Arabia. There are reports that the U.S. may take punitive action against Iran. What do you say to this?

**RAFSANJANI.** This is not anything new against us. We are used to such allegations. Prior to this even after the bomb explosions in Argentina and in the U.S. such allegations were also made. And again recently regarding the TWA crash such allegations were levelled against us. After a while it became clear that these were just accusations. This is like the others. Americans are well aware of these realities that Iran is not on this path. We are strongly against having any innocent human rights violated or any threat throughout the world. We, more than any of these countries have been the victim of terrorism and we have felt the bitter experience of this more than anybody.

**ÇEVİK.** Do you hope the attitude of the American administration against Iran will change during the new term of President Bill Clinton?

**RAFSANJANI.** We can see positive and negative signals but we can have no assurances.

**ÇEVİK.** What are these positive signals?

**RAFSANJANI.** It can be seen in the messages and statements.

**ÇEVİK.** During your two terms in office as president how do you see the progress in Turkish-Iranian relations? Are you satisfied?

**RAFSANJANI.** Our relations with Turkey are deep rooted and enjoy a strong base. We are two Muslim neighboring countries who have ancient historical cooperation. Both nations feel positive sentiments and emotions for each other. A series of viable economic activities are bringing our two nations closer to each other. However, there are centers of power in the world who are not interested in Turkey and Iran maintaining cordial relations and we can see the footprints and traces of ill intentions in some of the incidents occasionally taking place for the purpose of spoiling our relations.

**ÇEVİK.** Who are they?

**RAFSANJANI.** Occasionally we can see it in the press whose trace can be found in other countries. We also see these in incidents which our analysis shows has no national origin. But, however, these negative ways are transient and the basics of cooperation will continue uninterrupted. We hope the future will be better than the past.

**ÇEVİK.** What do you expect for the future in Turkish-Iranian relations?

**RAFSANJANI.** I expect to see the trends in our existing relationship to be strengthened in the political, cultural, scientific, technical and economic fields. We want to expand our regional cooperation regarding the ECO, regarding Iraq, regarding the issues of the Kurds as well as the Caucasus.

**ÇEVİK.** During Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's recent visit to Tehran you had pledged cooperation with Turkey to fight the PKK. What has been done since then?

**RAFSANJANI.** There has been intense interest from the Iranian side to have safe borders all along. The issue of the Kurds is a common issue for Iran and Turkey. It is only natural that Turkey and Iran cooperate so that the security of both countries is assured. There is the probability that some occasional incidents could occur in our border areas considering the mountainous nature of this region and the land of both countries might be used by the PKK. We have recently strengthened our forces patrolling the borders. But there is still the possibility that the mischievous forces will try to stage provocations to embitter our relations.

**ÇEVİK.** Before coming here we talked to Prime Minister Erbakan who told us he was satisfied with the security coopera-

6 The Gulf islands issue and the Israeli issue are interrelated. Whenever they are trying to undermine the crisis with the Israelis they are creating something with us. We are quite regretful over the fact that our Arab brothers prefer to do something in favor of Israel rather than move in favor of Iran. This is something that cannot be accepted by the Arab people 9



Turkish Daily News Editor İlnur Çevik with Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani.

tion between the two countries while there are allegations coming from some quarters in Turkey that this cooperation is not working. What do you attribute this to?

**RAFSANJANI-** What I was mentioning was exactly this. There are those who spread fake news or make other allegations who want to bring a bitter taste into our relations. We have agreed on a very clear basis with Turkey that we will not allow anyone to use our lands to harm the interests of the other. Should there be any incident we will cooperate to uproot it.

**ÇEVİK-** Do you have the mechanisms to do this?

**RAFSANJANI-** Definitely. Intelligence services of the two countries and the border patrols should cooperate with each other.

**ÇEVİK-** The United Nations has finally allowed Iraq to export oil. Are you concerned about Iraq's return to the world oil markets?

**RAFSANJANI-** It would be a source of pleasure for us to see that the problems of the Iraqi people are resolved. We see that this process has been started. We hope that we have the cooperation of the Iraqi government so that this window which has been opened is not closed again.

**ÇEVİK-** Are you concerned that Iraq may once again become an antagonistic force in the area?

**RAFSANJANI-** We do pray that the Iraqis would have learned their lessons and that the incidents that have taken in the past are not repeated in the future.

**ÇEVİK-** The U.S. has pulled out of northern Iraq. What future do you see for northern Iraq and for the Kurds living there?

**RAFSANJANI-** I am concerned about that region.

**ÇEVİK-** What future do you see for this region?

**RAFSANJANI-** Iran, Turkey, Syria and Iraq should cooperate seriously in order to establish tranquility and peace in the region and see to it that this region does not serve as a hotbed of crisis or instability for our countries.

**ÇEVİK-** Do you think the fighting among the Kurds in northern Iraq can be stopped?

**RAFSANJANI-** It is quite hard to predict that.

**ÇEVİK-** What are the obstacles?

**RAFSANJANI-** First of all there is serious hostility in Iraqi Kurdistan. Then the problems between the Iraqi

Kurds and the government have been left unsolved. The presence of unwanted forces in northern Iraq makes the scene more complicated for Turkey and Iran. Also the interests shared by the colonialist powers to have some kind of presence in northern Iraq would be another

source of turmoil. It would be quite clear that countries like America are interested in using the Kurds as a leverage to serve their interests. Further to that Israel has also been an active element in helping in this crisis.

**ÇEVİK-** Turkey, Iran and six other D-8 countries are now forming a new D-8 organization. Why is Iran in this formation? What do you expect from it?

**RAFSANJANI-** This is a very positive proposal made by His Excellency Mr. Erbakan. It is a vigilant and farsighted proposal. We completely support it. Of course there are problems in the way which need to be resolved. Should this cooperation materialize then we are witnessing the formation of a positive and healthy grouping that will serve regional and global cooperation. It could bring some kind of moderation to the antagonistic powers.

**ÇEVİK-** Do you think the D-8 will supplement the Islamic Conference and ECO?

**RAFSANJANI-** It could work in the same direction as the others and they could share many common and positive aspects. It could serve as a link with other similar organizations in Asia and in other parts of the world like the African continent.

**ÇEVİK-** Some countries reportedly feel antagonistic because they have been left out of the proposed D-8. What do you say to this?

**RAFSANJANI-** The D-8 is being formed to serve the member countries and the Islamic world. It does not aim to disturb anyone.

**ÇEVİK-** It is said that Iran is trying to acquire nuclear capability. It is also developing its missile technology. Are you concerned that the Americans and Israel may strike against you to stop all this?

**RAFSANJANI-** It is a false allegation that we are trying to acquire nuclear capability. We hate these kinds of weapons. Regarding missile technology our capabilities are good and we will further develop them. We will not use this capability against any other country. We will use it to defend ourselves. Thus no one should fear our missile capability. I believe that the Israelis and the Americans know well that any hostile and aggressive move by them against us will bring remorse to them. They only have to look back into history to find reasons why they should not attack Iran.

**ÇEVİK-** The Gulf Cooperation Council recently attacked Iran. Are you concerned about a new front being opened up against you in this part of the world?

**RAFSANJANI-** We are complaining about the countries in the Persian Gulf Cooperation Council. We feel that knowingly or unknowingly they are serving the will of America. Americans are not interested in seeing unity among the Persian Gulf countries. The islands issue existed prior to the revolution era and it was created by the British. Such claims are baseless and differences over the islands are quite old. At the time Iran had a claim over Bahrain and that issue was resolved. As long as the government in Iran acted with the West the Americans and the British did not allow Iran to raise such problems. After the victory of the revolution when we expelled the Israelis and cut the interests of the Americans on this land we wanted to establish good neighborly relations with regional countries.

Now such issues and differences are being raised. The islands issue and the Israeli issue are interrelated. Whenever they are trying to undermine the crisis with the Israelis they are creating something with us. We are quite regretful over the fact that our Arab brothers prefer to do something in favor of Israel rather than move in favor of Iran. This is something that cannot be accepted by the Arab people.

**ÇEVİK-** Are you concerned that the situation in countries like Afghanistan and Tajikistan may destabilize Central Asia?

**RAFSANJANI-** Yes, we are very concerned and we cannot predict a good future especially for Afghanistan. We are trying hard to resolve the problem.

**ÇEVİK-** The U.S. has been seen opposing Islamic fundamentalist regimes and yet there are claims that it backs the Taleban administration in Afghanistan. What do you say to this?

**RAFSANJANI-** There are so many contradictions concerning the Americans. The Americans talk about democracy but then they are active and have investments in countries where there is no Parliament or there is no way for democracy to ever prevail. While they claim they are fighting terrorism they turn a blind eye towards the terrorist activities of the Israeli regime. My analysis is that what is really important for the Americans is their economic and political interests. The rest is just some kind of justification given to their actions. But the test in Afghanistan has somehow been scandalizing their case.

**ÇEVİK-** We have talked to many people in the streets during our stay in Tehran and many people feel you should remain as president. However, you have rejected legal moves to extend your office into a third term. Are you concerned about the stability in Iran after you leave office?

**RAFSANJANI-** First of all I am not leaving the administration of the country. As long as I live I shall be working for the people, for Islam and the revolution. I see no reason for changing our constitution. I do not want to facilitate people who are looking for a lifetime presidency. This is not a good background for the revolution. I believe a good revolutionary is a person who hands over power to the will of the people and to the constitution once the situation has stabilized. Usually they say there are no powerful figures to take over the position but I do not agree with that. Once there is freedom there is an atmosphere and chance for powerful figures to emerge. In today's Iran the administrative system has been so stabilized that with the absence of one person not much would change. The best service I could do myself and to my country should be to help this democratic system function.

**ÇEVİK-** Mr. President you will soon pay a state visit to Turkey. With what kind of message are you bringing to Turkey?

**RAFSANJANI-** I convey my greetings to the good people of Turkey. I hope that Turkey will always remain as a free and democratic country. The objective of my visit is to further strengthen the cooperation between the two countries.

**ÇEVİK-** Thank you Mr. President.

*Turkish Daily News* WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

## US supports French to pull Turkey into EU

*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON- The U.S. State Department repeated its support for Turkey's bid to become a full member of the

European Union (EU) since 1963. Among the EU members, France has recently taken the lead to lobby on behalf of Turkey while others, including Greece, took a somewhat dim view on the issue due to Turkey's alleged "incompatibility" with the rest of the EU on issues like human rights. Greece has blocked the payment of Customs Union funds to Turkey after the Turkish-Greek dispute over an Aegean islet. The United States is evidently on the French corner on the issue. "We fully agree with the French position," said Nicholas Burns, spokesman for the State Department,

in response to a TDN question.

"The United States took the lead in [Turkey's membership in] European Customs Union," Burns reminded.

"We believe Turkey is a European country. Turkey's future is in becoming a member of the major European institutions — not just NATO, but the European Union.

We fully support Turkey's bid to become fully integrated in Europe," he said.

When the recent friction with France over Africa and the command of the 6th Fleet was reminded, Burns said "we almost always support France. In this case we are stalwart supporter of French policy," he said.

*Turkish Daily News* WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

# State brings gangs to light

The 'Confidential' section of the report says two security department chiefs, 23 head superintendents, 13 police superintendents, five deputy superintendents, and 298 police officials were among the total 347 police and soldiers who were arrested for being members of the gangs

**By Hakan Aslaneli**

*Turkish Daily News*

ISTANBUL- Some of the criminal gangs operating within the state have come to light after the murder of underworld casino king Ömer Lütfü Topal and the Susurluk car accident. According to a report of the Security Department, 18 gangs have been broken up this year.

Details on the 18 gangs are contained in the report sent to the TBMM Susurluk Accident Investigation Commission by the Security Department. According to the report, police and soldiers also participated in the gangs.

The most important section of the report, stamped "Confidential", says two security department chiefs, 23 head superintendents, 13 police superintendents, five deputy superintendents, and 298 police officials were among the total 347 police and soldiers who were arrested for being members of the gangs.

The report explains how these gangs could come into the state, make illegal profits off legitimate business in most of Turkey's cities, collect money from businessmen by threats and how they killed those who resisted.

The first section of the confidential report tells about the murder of Tevfik Ağansoy, and the gang in which former Prime Minister Tansu Çiller's guards participated as well as the Söylemez brothers gang.

Well-known mafia godfather Tevfik Ağansoy was attacked while he was sitting with friends in Bebek on August 28.

Three other people, one a police officer, also lost their lives in the same incident. The report says Ağansoy's killers were from the largest of the gangs, headed by Alaattin Çakıcı, currently believed to be overseas.

Also outlined is the Söylemez brothers gang, brought to light after the investigation of Istanbul Security Department Chief Kemal Yazıcıoğlu, who has been relieved of his duties, and his team. The gang is considered by officials as probably the largest of recent times.

The gang consisting of police and the soldiers, using the power of the state to extort money and killing those who resisted, was headed by Faysal Söylemez, a junior officer. Many members are still in Umraniye prison.

One of the more colorful operations uncovered was termed the "Bakers Gang". Formed by the Balıkesir Bakers association, they received a percentage off all bread sold in Balıkesir from bakers and shopkeepers. The gang has 20 members, only eight of whom were arrested. Members confessed under questioning by the security department that they had shot at the feet of those who refused to pay them.

## Other gangs listed were:

**Kasta-Çakıcı gang:** Appeared in Kastamonu on October 16. Members were known as guards of Çakıcı, and dealt in construction bids.

**Organized Auto Robbery Gang:** Brought to light in Kocaeli on May 21. Dealt in fake car licences, and eight stolen cars were recovered. Four policemen were among the 11 people connected to the group.

**Drugs and Guns smuggling:** Three members out of seven found are police. Arrested after the operations in Diyarbakır, İçel, and Hakkari.

**Organized Auto Robbery:** Operating in İzmir. Dealt in getting engine numbers and licence plate numbers of broken cars from insurance companies with low prices, and added them to the stolen cars. Nine members of the gang were arrested. Group of



Vanians: Dealt in bad check collection in Koçali. All members are from Van.

Five Estate Gang: Dealt in construction. Rigged bids and collected debts. Seven members arrested in Balıkesir. Emka Gang: Formed a paper company "Emka Bidding and Commission Firm." Physically threatened victims who refused to pay them. 18 members were arrested.

Sevinç Auto Gang: Of the Sevinç Auto Gallery in Balıkesir. Stole cars, swindled, kidnapped. Seven members were arrested. Check and voucher gang: Passing bad checks and raiding work places in Balıkesir. 48 members arrested.

Sakarya Gang: Brought to authorities' attention in Sakarya on September 10. Three members were arrested.

Tem Gang: Swindling in Düzce- Kaynaşlı motorway tolls and diverting income to outlawed Dev Yol. 39 members were arrested.

Kidnapping İshak Manisa: Kidnapped İshak Manisa on October 13 and asked for ransom. 11 Syrians arrested.

Ahmet Tekin Baykal Gang: Discovered after an investigation in İzmir's Torbalı. Ruled by Baykal. 46 members apprehended, 33 later then escaped.

Mehmet Hadi Özcan Gang: Active in Kocaeli, Sakarya, Bursa, Rize, İstanbul, Antalya, Tekirdağ, Yalova and İzmir. 28 members arrested. Some security department officials were also members.

Yüksekova Gang: Necip Baskın was kidnapped from Hakkari's Yüksekova and held for ransom. Security forces participated in the incident.

*Turkish Daily News* WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 18, 1996

## Turkey launches tender for first nuclear plant

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkey on Tuesday took first tentative steps into the nuclear age, inviting bids for at least one major power plant near the Mediterranean coastal town of Akkuyu.

The Invitation to Bid, published in the Official Gazette called for offers for a single or multiple unit plants with outputs ranging from 1,200 to 2,800 megawatts. The tender called for credits covering full cost of the investment.

Industry sources earlier said a 1,400 megawatt plant costs about \$2.5 billion and takes six years to complete.

Announcing the tender at a press conference, Recai Kutan said the government was planning further nuclear plants in the coming years to address the country's aggravating energy shortages.

The tender crowns an inconclusive 30-year quest which was impeded by financial constraints and bureaucratic obstacles.

"Our government is determined to build several more nuclear plants after the one in Akkuyu to redress the country's worsening energy shortages" Kutan said, addressing himself to critics of the

nuclear program who see it as a grave environmental threat.

Kutan said conventional power plants and energy sources would not be capable of meeting the growing needs of the public in the coming decades. "We have to build nuclear plants every two or three years to save the country from darkness" the minister said, arguing that they would be less costly than hydroelectrical power plants.

The tender is open to any kind of reactor with minimum 600 megawatt output including pressurized-water reactors (PWR), boiling-water reactors (BWR) and heavy-water reactors (PHWR).

Although more costly to build, the heavy water reactors, using natural uranium are cheaper to run because of the less expensive fuel compared to enriched uranium used in light-water reactors.

General Director Afif Demirkiran of the state-run Turkish Electricity Generation and Transmission Corporation (TEAŞ) said they would look for bids offering latest technology and companies with no record of mishaps.

The official listed ABB-Atom of Sweden, General Electric and Westinghouse of the United States, Framatom of France, Mitsubishi of Japan, KWU-Siemens of Germany, AECL of Canada or joint ventures led by these as companies having right credentials for the job.

Demirkiran said the tender will expire on Jun. 30, 1997 and until then TEAŞ will hold talks with the bidders

twice.

Turkey's first effort for nuclear energy dates back to 1965 when the government invited bids for a heavy water reactor to be set up in the Akkuyu site.

Similar efforts followed in 1976 to construct a nuclear plant at the 8.5-square-kilometer site in Akkuyu.

These also proved fruitless as a Swedish firm, Asea-Atom/Stal-Laval which won the official tender later cancelled its guarantee in 1980.

Later Turkey sent letters of intention to KWU and AECL for the construction of two separate plants in Akkuyu, and to General Electric to construct nuclear plants at the Black Sea province of Sinop. In line with the Build-Operate-Transfer model, Turkey proposed these firms to operate the plants for 15 years then transfer them to the Turkish Electricity Board (TEK). AECL which accepted the proposal, signed a preliminary agreement with the TEK in 1985. This project was also suspended.

The construction of the Akkuyu Nuclear plant was on the agenda of the ministry of energy and natural resources last year.

The tender for consultancy at the plant was given to the South Korean Atomic Agency which prepared the technical specifications of the tender for the construction of the plant.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1996

# Turkey Waits for 'Big Push' From U.S. to Resolve Cyprus Problem

By Stephen Kinzer  
New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — With President Bill Clinton's new foreign-policy team now nominated, Turkish officials are wondering whether the expected U.S. "big push" to resolve the festering Cyprus conflict, and perhaps the larger Greek-Turkish confrontation, will materialize in 1997.

Last week, Mr. Clinton sent a letter to congressional leaders saying that tensions on Cyprus had risen to "their worst level in many years."

While not explicitly promising an initiative, he referred to "the urgency of the current situation" and said his administration was "committed to promoting a lasting peace on the island."

He said recent outbreaks of violence there "underscored the unsustainability of the status quo and the need for redoubled efforts toward a negotiated solution."

In another sign that the world community may be preparing a new effort to resolve the Cyprus dispute, Foreign Secretary Malcolm Rifkind of Britain arrived there on Sunday for a round of meetings. It was the first visit to Cyprus by a British foreign secretary in more than 30 years.

"I think there is a real scope for progress," Mr. Rifkind said Monday. "One must acknowledge that it is not going to happen overnight but that 1997 ought to be the year in which perhaps the important breakthrough is made."

The special United Nations envoy to Cyprus, Han Sun Joo, a former foreign minister of South Korea, announced recently that he was preparing for an extended stay on the island beginning in January. He will seek to organize "proximity talks" between Greek and Turkish Cypriot leaders.

Many European diplomats say they believe that 1997 will be an ideal time to confront the Cyprus dispute and related issues, largely because the Greek Cypriot government has applied for membership in the European Union. The Greek Cypriots, they reason, can be told that they will not be admitted unless they make peace with their Turkish Cypriot neighbors.

Turkish Cypriots, in turn, could be told that if they do not cooperate in a peace process, Greek Cyprus will be admitted to the European Union without them. If both sides can reach a broad agreement, the entire island could join as a single entity.

The Greek and Turkish governments on Cyprus are responsive, respectively, to Athens and Ankara. Any peace effort would have to include the patron governments, either formally or informally. That might hold out the possibility of agreement on larger issues that divide Greece and Turkey.

"Quite a bit of momentum has built up, and we are expecting the big push in the first half of next year," said Michael Lake, the European Union's envoy to Turkey.

"All signs have been that after the American presidential election and the appointment of the national security team, the United States would make a substantial effort," he said. "It would be aimed at bringing Cyprus into the EU as a binational, binational state."

"Membership in the EU would be a great prize for everyone on the island," Mr. Lake continued. "It would give the Greek Cypriots what they want, the political and economic benefits of full integration with the European Union."

"For the Turkish Cypriots, who are effectively stateless because of the international embargo on them, it would mean a secure prospect of recognition as part of the world community. They would also become the first identifiably Muslim community inside the EU, which could be very important for Turkey. All of this might also pave the way for a broader solution to problems in the Aegean between Greece and Turkey."

After Mr. Clinton announced his nomination of Madeleine Albright to be secretary of state, Turkey's Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, praised her as a "positive and constructive person."

The two met in Ankara in July, and Mr. Erbakan said he hoped that she would visit again soon. Mrs. Albright also visited Cyprus in July.

The state-run Anatolian News Agency quoted unidentified Turkish diplomats as saying Mrs. Albright's appointment was "something favorable from our point of view" because she had visited

Turkey and had "no known bias in favor of one of the sides in the Turkish-Greek and Cyprus disputes."

Turkish governments have traditionally been friendly toward the United States, but they instinctively mistrust U.S. efforts to mediate Greek-Turkish disputes, because they fear that potent Greek and Armenian lobbies in the United States will force U.S. diplomats to take anti-Turkish positions.

Tensions between Greeks and Turks on Cyprus have been almost continuous since 1960, when Britain granted the island independence.

In 1974, fearing that Greece's military dictatorship was planning to absorb the island and turn it into Greek territory, Turkish leaders sent troops there. About 35,000 remain, and the "green line" dividing the Turkish and Greek zones has become one of the world's tensest borders.

The Greek Cypriot government is internationally recognized, while the Turkish Cypriot state, declared in 1983, is recognized only by Turkey. There is almost no contact between the two and the bitterness that divides them is reflected in periodic outbreaks of violence along the border. Four persons have died in such incidents since August.

Both Greece and Turkey are members of NATO. Their continued hostility, as well as that of their allies on Cyprus, is a flashpoint that security planners in foreign capitals fear could one day flare into war.



International Herald Tribune, Thursday, decembre 19, 1996

# Ankara Loses Cypriot Case

Reuters

STRASBOURG — The European Court of Human Rights, in a landmark judgment, ruled Wednesday that Turkey had violated

the rights of a Greek Cypriot who lost her land in northern Cyprus when Turkey invaded in 1974.

The court dismissed Turkey's argument that the European human rights convention did not apply to its occupation of the north of the Mediterranean island, and it rejected Turkey's contention that the expropriation was legal under the constitution

of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, an entity recognized only by Ankara.

The court, voting 11 to 6, ruled that Turkey had violated Titina Loizidou's property rights by denying her access to plots of land she owned in Kyrenia. When she tried to return in March 1989, she was arrested and returned to the Greek sector.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1996

# European Court finds Turkey guilty in Aksoy case

By Orya Sultan Halisdemir

Turkish Daily News

LONDON- The European Court of Human Rights found Turkey guilty regarding the case of Zeki Aksoy in a decision made on Dec. 18, the Kurdish Human Rights Project's (KHRP) executive director, Kerim Yıldız, told the Turkish Daily News.

(The report was confirmed by a Reuters story from Strasbourg, France which said the court ruled that Turkish police tortured Aksoy arresting him as a suspected terrorist. Reuters also said the court ordered Ankara to pay damages and legal costs, but found no evidence to support a charge that Zeki Aksoy had been murdered by the state after complaining to the European Commission of Human Rights, which screens cases for the court.)

Aksoy had complained he was tortured while held incommunicado for at least two weeks at the Kiziltepe Security facility in southeast Turkey in late 1992. He was never charged. He was subjected to a form of torture known as "Palestinian hanging", in which he was stripped naked and hung by his arms, causing him to lose the use of his arms and hands, he said. He said he was also given electric shocks to his genitals, kicked, slapped and verbally abused.

Turkey said the allegations were completely unfounded. In its decision, the court ruled that Turkey had violated Article 3, Article 5/3, and Article 13 of the Convention. Article 3 bans any inhuman and degrading treatment and torture, Article 5/3 entitles everyone to a fair trial in their respective countries, and Article 13 calls for effective national judicial action.

Aksoy complained to European human rights authorities in May 1993 and was found murdered in April 1994. Two days before his death, he received a telephoned warning that he would be killed unless he withdrew his complaint, according to his lawyers. Turkey told the court a member of the separatist Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) had been charged with the murder. Following Aksoy's death, his father decided to carry on with the case.

The rights court said his treatment "was of such a serious and cruel nature that it could only be described as 'torture'". It also ruled that Aksoy had been detained too long without judicial recourse. Ankara had insisted this was justified by PKK terrorist activity in southeastern Turkey at the time. "The denial of access to a lawyer, doctor, relative or friend and the absence of any real-

istic possibility of being brought before a court meant that he was left completely at the mercy of those holding him," the court's statement said. But it said it was unable to find evidence for the allegation Aksoy was killed as a direct result of his complaint. The court awarded Aksoy's survivors compensation of 4.3 billion Turkish lira (\$41,000) along with legal fees of 20,710 pounds sterling (\$34,586). The rights court and the commission are part of the 40-nation Council of Europe, of which Turkey is a member. The council was set up after World War Two to promote democracy and human rights across Europe.

"After Aksoy was released from detention on Dec. 10, 1992, he applied to Turkish courts from which the decision that he was not a Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) member was issued. Thus, he was cleared. He then applied to us, the KHRP, for consultation and we took the case to the Commission on May 20, 1993," Yıldız told the TDN.

Yıldız claimed that the KHRP would monitor whether the court ruling is properly upheld by Turkey. "If not we will campaign in the international community to reconsider the suspension of Turkey's membership in the Council of Europe," he said.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 1996

# Işık Yurtçu: In jail with pride until the next century

By Ertuğrul Kürkçü

TDN Guest Writer

ISTANBUL- Journalist Işık Yurtçu, the jailed editor in chief of the banned pro-Kurdish daily Özgür Gündem, has won the Paris-based Reporters Sans Frontiers' Journalist Of The Year award.

This is the second international award for Yurtçu this year. In November, he was cited by the New York-based Committee for the Protection of Journalists, along with colleagues from Mexico, Palestine and India.

"I feel the death breaths of my assassinated colleagues, from Musa Anter to Uğur Mumcu and editor from Metin Göktepe to Hüseyin Deniz, as I receive this honorable prize," said Yurtçu.

The fifty-two year old has spent two years in Sakarya prison and is currently in his third year of prison. A Turk, he has edited Özgür Gündem from its inception in June 1991 to its permanent closure in 1994.

Being a "responsible managing editor," as it is called in Turkish, means being liable before the

authorities for every article and news item printed in the paper. His various convictions total 10 years' imprisonment and fines of \$10,000, which if he does not pay he faces a further three years in prison. Yurtçu will probably be freed in 2002, but will never be able to sit at another editor's desk, since Turkish law prohibits employment of "responsible editors" who have been convicted. Yurtçu sees himself as the victim of the judiciary's "double standard", by which he sees pro-Kurdish

Journalists discriminated against.

**A life spent in journalism**

Born in the southern city of Adana as the son of a veteran journalist, he began working for newspapers while a law student, and left school for his first full-time job at the Ankara-based daily *Yenigün* in 1969.

Before Özgür Gündem, Yurtçu worked for a number of newspapers including *Cumhuriyet*, *Yenigün*, *Ulus*, *Yeni Halkçı*, *Politika*, *Güneş* and *Demokrat*, all critical of the establishment. Yurtçu has collected many professional awards from Turkish journalist associations, and one of the most common remarks about Yurtçu from colleagues is "he is a proper journalist". Due in large part to the respect accorded him by his peers, the RSF launched a campaign in 1994 to free Yurtçu.

**The darkening page of Liberation**

The RSF took out a full page in the French daily *Liberation* last week, calling on *Liberation* readers to send letters to Suleyman Demirel, President of Turkey, reminding him that Turkey is signatory to

the International Human Rights Convention, including the Article 19, which secures infinite freedom of expression for all."

Behind the advertisement's text a gloomy Işık Yurtçu looks out at *Liberation* readers. Every day the page is darker and darker, turning black on the last day of the advertisement. The campaign bore fruit in the form of a Wednesday meeting last week between Turkey's media and a European Parliamentary delegation in Strasbourg headed by the Greens' Claudia Roth.

Influenced by the widespread campaign for Yurtçu in the European media, Turkish journalists are reportedly preparing to launch a similar campaign in the Turkish media.

RSF Turkey representative Nadire Mater says "Unfortunately, Turkish journalists are behind their Western counterparts in showing solidarity with Yurtçu. Nevertheless, even delayed, attention in the domestic media is increasing."

**RSF campaign works**

"Until Işık is free, we are determined to continue the campaign," said Robert Menard, the

RSF Secretary General, noting that the RSF has had a part in the freeing of over 100 jailed journalists worldwide.

An RSF campaigner, Marie-Guy Baron, a French journalist from *Le Figaro* said he was denied access to Yurtçu "but could send him a box of chocolate."

The RSF is also campaigning for the release of six other Turkish journalists — Naile Tuncer, Salih Bal, Emine Buyrukcan, Güray Ülkü, Alper Görmüş and Muteber Yıldırım.

Further RSF objectives include the repeal of Article 8 of the Anti-Terrorism Law and Article 312 of the Turkish Penal Code, under which over 3,000 Turkish journalists and authors have been tried.

Saying he was "extremely satisfied" to receive the RSF award along with the others, Yurtçu noted that "in a country where freedom of expression do not exist, no other freedom could be enjoyed," concludes Yurtçu.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY DECEMBER 20, 1996

# Iranian Leader Visits Turkey, Despite American Objections

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ANKARA — Brushing aside U.S. warnings against closer ties with Iran, Turkey's Islamic government on Thursday warmly welcomed the Iranian president, Hashemi Rafsanjani.

The visit marks a further step forward in strengthening ties between the two neighboring Muslim countries since Necmettin Erbakan became Turkey's first Islamist prime minister in June.

"I believe the subjects we will talk about here will benefit our countries and people," Mr. Rafsanjani said after being met by President Suleyman Demirel

and a salute of cannons at Ankara.

After joining the Iranian leader for a military inspection, Mr. Demirel said, "I believe that we will achieve important results during Mr. Rafsanjani's visit in terms of developing economic and trade relations."

The visit is likely to antagonize the United States, which is a NATO ally of Turkey and is trying to isolate Iran, which it accuses of sponsoring terrorism.

A senior Turkish official said details of a preliminary study on construction of a pipeline to carry Iranian oil to Western markets through Turkey's Mediterranean terminal of Ceyhan would be discussed during the visit.

Turkey signed a \$23 billion agreement for the supply of Iranian natural gas over 23 years during a visit by Mr. Erbakan to Iran in August on his first major trip abroad as prime minister.

The deal was struck days after President Bill Clinton signed a law imposing sanctions on any company investing more than \$40 million a year in the energy industries of Iran or Libya.

Ankara said the pipeline agreement would not be affected by U.S. sanctions because Turkey was constructing the stretch of pipeline on its own territory.

(AP, Reuters)

## Turkish Daily News

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1996

# Kurdish Parliament in northern Iraq

By Hakan Aslanelli

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- The Kurdish Parliament-in-Exile, founded overseas and including members of the former Turkish political party DEP, banned in Turkey due to its alleged closeness to the outlawed Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), has decided to locate in Northern Iraq.

The body, centered in Belgium, has selected a site where ZAP camp is located, according to Zübeyir

Aydar, the body's council chairman. "Nizamettin Toguç [a member of the parliament] and I have been in Northern Iraq for a while. We work to gather the Kurdish parliamentarians who are in exile in Northern Iraq.

"We do not know where to [ultimately] settle yet. We will work and keep on fighting here from now on. Our door is open to everybody. The only fear we have is assassination, until we settle. Other friends will be

here soon as well."

Currently there are six former DEP parliamentarians in exile abroad.

The other members of the parliament are Council Chairman Zübeyir Aydar, Nizamettin Toguç, Yaşar Kaya, Naif Günen, Remzi Kartal, and Ali Yiğit. Former Istanbul DEP Chairman Felemez Başboğa is living in exile with the other six parliamentarians.

DEP parliamentarians Leyla Zana,

Hatip Dicle, Orhan Doğan and Selim Sadak are still imprisoned in Ankara. Their colleagues Sirri Sarık, Ahmet Türk and Sedat Yurttaş were recently freed from prison, but are being detained on new charges. The former legislators went first to Germany then to Belgium, vowing to keep the struggle for Kurdish rights going after DEP's closure.

The move to Northern Iraq is said to be the result of pressure from the Belgian authorities.

Aydar discounts this claim, saying "It is not true that we leave Europe due to pressures. We will be closer to our people in Northern Iraq and

the solutions will not take much time securing the release of eight Turkish soldiers held hostage by the PKK there."

Aydar played a significant role in preparing a document signed by

Refah parliamentarian Fethullah through Northern Iraq under PKK Erbaş to gain the freedom of the protection, as they fear assassination. Aydar and Toguç travel freely tion.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1996

# A glance at relations between Iran and Turkey upon Rafsanjani's arrival in Ankara

## Iran's country profile

**Name of country:** the Islamic Republic of Iran

**Capital:** Tehran

**Population/area:** 60.1 million (1994)

1,648,195 square kilometers

**Geographical location:** Southwest Asian country in the Middle East

**Form of Government:** Islamic Republic

**Official Language:** Persian

**Religion:** Islam (99 percent are Muslims)

**Currency:** Rial

**Independence Day:** February 10, 1978

**Name of the president:** Ayatollah Hashemi Rafsanjani

**Trade potential:** Petrochemical industry, foodstuff, non-metal mining products, clothing and leather, machinery and equipment, raw materials, and copper, steel, aluminum...

...production are the main industries.

**Principal crops** are grain, cotton, rice, barley and fruits. Rich in natural resources: Ranks second in terms of world gas reserves. Major export-earning products are oil, petrochemicals, foodstuff, carpets, and non-metal mining products.

### Key Economic Indicators Of The Islamic Republic Of Iran (1994-1995)

<b>Population</b>	: 6.1 million
<b>Urban</b>	: 35.2 million
<b>Rural</b>	: 24.9 million
<b>Population Growth Rate</b>	: 1.7 Million
<b>Active Population</b>	: 16.7 million
<b>G,D,P,</b>	: (current prices) 130, 976 billion rials (1994)
<b>Imports</b>	: (FOB) \$6.204 billion (first half of 1995)
<b>Average Inflation Rate</b>	: 22.1 percent

Turkish Daily News / ANKARA

**I**ranian officials say that in 1995 and 1996 the political and economic relations between the Islamic Republic of Iran and the Republic of Turkey enjoyed a desirable upward trend. In 1996, they say, high-ranking officials from the two countries held "constructive meetings."

Officials stress that as a result of "fruitful visits" between the two countries very important agreements were signed. Iran and Turkey signed an ambitious \$20 billion gas pipeline project when Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan took office earlier this year.

The Iranians say this agreement will play a significant role in enhancing the relations between the two countries, specially to cover the energy requirements of Turkey.

According to the agreement the gas sales to Turkey will start as early as 1998. At first, Turkey will buy two billion c.b.m. This volume will be increased to 10 billion c.b.m. in the year 2004.

A joint economic commission meeting in Ankara discussed ways to enhance trade ties between the two countries. Officials say they want to boost trade volume to \$1 billion in 1997 and then build it up to \$3 billion. This will require a major effort and it also means Iran has to increase its imports from Turkey substantially.

In 1995 Iran imported goods worth \$250 million from Turkey and in return its exports to this country reached \$695 million, the bulk of which was oil. Now Turkish and Iranian officials are trying to find ways to boost trade in industrial goods. Turks want Iran to buy more in exchange for oil but the Iranians insist their supreme council prepare the list of items to be traded for oil and only two items — tires and paper — have fit the Iranian list for imports from Turkey. This means only \$50 million of exports to Iran while the goal is to export \$450 million more to reach the \$500 million annual target. Turkish officials say Iran has to expand the number of items on the list of goods it wants to trade for oil. They say this means a major policy decision by President Rafsanjani. On the other

hand, communications and transportation between the two countries are vital. Iranian officials say the visit of the Turkish transportation minister in late 1995 and the signing of a new deal to amend the 1980 agreement was an important development.

On the political side, the Iranians voice satisfaction that relations are improving at a fast pace. They say constructive talks between the officials of the two

countries at various levels, including the presidents, prime ministers and foreign ministers and their related undersecretaries, have played an important role in this connection.

The Iranians say bilateral meetings of the foreign ministers of Iran and Turkey on developments in northern Iraq, the exchange of visits and adoption of joint stances by the two countries concerning the slaughter of Muslims and the ethnic cleansing in Bosnia, and joint cooperation in Central Asia and the Caucasus are part of the political cooperation between the two countries.

The Iranians also report that security cooperation has improved substantially in recent months. They say they are now making every effort to prevent PKK terrorists from operating in the border areas and say the common borders should be borders of peace and friendship.

They stress that border security cooperation and constant contacts between the interior ministers as well as other security officials of the two countries have reached their highest level in recent years. They say this has helped minimize illicit penetration from common borders.

According to the security agreement reached between the two countries on Oct. 22, 1996, both Iran and Turkey will prohibit opposition groups of each country from launching any operations from the Turkish and Iranian territories.

Iranians say they have handed over to Turkey some "anti-Turkish elements." In return the Iranians say they have asked the Turkish government to arrest and hand over "Iranian elements who are engaged in anti-Iranian activities on Turkish soil."

Commenting on ways to establish peace in northern Iraq, the Iranians say they believe that the critical situation in Iraq will not be settled through military means. "No faction could wipe out its rival from the political scene. Opposing Iraqi factions should live with one another. Iran is always ready to mediate between the warring factions. Ankara has also declared that it is willing to mediate between the two groups," Iranian officials say.

Iranian officials also stress that the visit of President Rafsanjani opens a new chapter in bilateral relations.

## Objectives of Iran's second five-year development plan (1995-2000)

The implementation of the Second Five-Year Development Plan commenced on March 21, 1995. The Plan will maintain borrowing at zero level, increase tax income, curb the liquidity growth and reduce inflation by the end of 1999 to 12 percent.

- Public sector investment will be made mostly through publication of bonds so that banking resources are directed towards the private sector.

- Better organization of the labor market, commodity, capital and stock is included in the Plan.

- Financial discipline and economy in use of development projects, credits, increased efficiency and better utilization of resources are detailed in the Plan.

### Foreign Trade

#### Guidelines:

The country's currency system shall be administered on a floating rate basis and the following shall be taken into account: Unifying the currency rate, cancelling government bonds, making the Iranian currency exchangeable to foreign currencies on the basis of floating rates, minimizing administrative procedures and facilitating procedures concerning clearance of goods for export and import, changing customs law from the previous (Brussels) system to the new expansion of electronic information exchanges on the basis of the latest technological advancements in the world, entering into mem-

bership with the regional and international organizations and unions with the purpose of gaining further profit in trade with the outside world.

### Money, Credit & Capital

- Publication of government bonds shall be taken into account as one of the efficient methods in financial and monetary policies. To this end, necessary measures will be taken to employ the new monetary instruments such as participation papers, capital papers, short-term bonds etc. that are open to the public.

- Making interest rates logical so that by stabilizing the real rate of interest deposit and banking facilities, people will be encouraged to make more deposits and the ground is prepared for better allocation of rial credits.

- Attracting private cooperative sector contributions in rendering banking services.

### Capital market :

- Novel financial instruments such as deposit certificates, capital papers and bonds in the capital market will be employed to meet the requirements.

- The stock exchange market will be expanded and strengthened.

### Government:

- Increase the share of direct taxes in tax incomes.

- Gradually lift tax exemptions granted to different sectors.

- Continue tax discount policy to attract investment.

## Iran attaches great importance to ECO

The organization of Regional Cooperation Development (RCD), grouping Iran, Pakistan and Turkey was formed in July 1964. RCD aimed to meet the member countries' mutual needs for linking routes, technological advancements, cooperation in the fields of science and technology, commercial ties, implementation of basic industrial projects and use of regional facilities to prevent foreign currency shortages.

The need for regional cooperation was borne out of the eagerness of Iran, Pakistan and Turkey to industrialize. The geographical proximity, cultural links and historical commonalities shared by the three countries paved the ground for cooperation.

Iranians say due to its political stability and good foreign currency income, Iran assumed the leadership of this organization. In tandem with its foreign policy, which calls for promotion of economic ties with its regional neighbors, all Muslim countries and the Third World, the Islamic Republic of Iran decided to

renew cooperation within a new framework. As a result, Iran, Turkey and Pakistan formed the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1984. The Izmir Pact signed in 1990 pushed ECO into a new era. The recent independence of the Muslim-inhabited republics of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) and the Caucasus resulted in new accessions to ECO. The republics of Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Afghanistan all became members of ECO in 1992. Because of the importance of the states' consolidation and their mutual cooperation, the founding countries welcomed the accession of new members to ECO.

Essential amendments in the Izmir Pact were needed to facilitate the accession of the new members. The second amendment protocol of the Izmir Pact was signed by the foreign ministers of Iran, Turkey and Pakistan in 1992. Representatives of the acceding countries signed the document in Islamabad (Pakistan) during the same year. Nov. 28 was proclaimed "Day of ECO" to foster solidarity and cooperation among the member states.

ECO's objectives are depicted in three major documents: The Izmir Pact, the Quetta Plan of Action and the Istanbul Declaration. ECO's major objective, as stressed by the Izmir Pact, is cooperation to pave the ground for sustainable economies and for the social welfare of regional people. ECO stresses enhancement of commercial exchanges, consolidation of cultural relations and implementation of linking networks and infrastructural affairs in the ECO region.

After ECO's expansion, the new members realized the necessity of determining priorities for regional cooperation based on their own economic and social conditions. As a result, the Quetta Plan of Action was formulated and approved in 1992 to incorporate new members' priorities.

Enhancement of linking routes through roads, as well as establishment of railroads, airlines and shipping lines were among the major needs of the new members, especially those with landlocked states. The Quetta Plan of Action stressed the promotion and improvement of the telecommunication networks, trade, cooperation in energy and many other fields.

The Istanbul Declaration, or the Long-Term Prospect of ECO,

approved in 1993, plans implementation and completion of many joint projects by the year 2000.

The ECO Council of Ministers, comprised of foreign ministers of the member states, is the highest decision-making body of the organization. The ECO Council of Ministers officially meets at least once a year. It may hold emergency or non-official meetings to discuss international conferences such as the United Nations' General Assembly or Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). ECO, with 10 members, has become the largest global economic union after the European Union. The Regional Planning Council (RPC) is ECO's most important economic pillar. It meets at least once a year in Tehran to assess ECO's economic activities, make plans and coordinate future activities. ECO's activities are diverse and extensive. Following up and implementing joint projects are the duties of the 8 technical committees.

In the Council's policy document, Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani stressed the need to cooperate with Central Asia to foster economic development, strengthen political independence and bolster ECO. All these important factors will contribute to the members' self-reliance and to the region's peace and stability.

#### Major agreements reached between ECO member states are:

1. Agreement for the establishment of the ECO Trade and Development Bank
2. Agreement for commercial transit
3. The ECO Joint Shipping Lines
4. Revival of the ECO Cultural Institute
5. Establishment of the ECO Academic Foundation
6. Agreement to grand facilities for commercial visa issuance
7. The ECO Airlines (ECO-AIR)
8. Setting up the ECO Insurance Company

Iranian officials say cooperation between Iran and Turkey on the framework of ECO was based on mutual interests and contribution to Central Asian and Caucasian countries to achieve their independence. Therefore, this cooperation plays a pivotal role in establishing peace and stability in the region.



Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani, Turkmenistan President Saparmurad Turkmenbasi, and Turkish President Suleyman Demirel seen here with arms raised during the inauguration last May of the Mashad rail link between Iran and Central Asia. On the right of the picture sitting is Pakistan's then Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto.

# Pelletreau pleased with progress in northern Iraq

## Denies he ever met Saddam's son in Ankara

By Uğur Akıncı  
*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON — In his year-end review of Clinton Administration's Near East agenda, Assistant Secretary for Near East Affairs Robert Pelletreau said he was quite pleased with the progress in northern Iraq between the two Kurdish factions Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) and its arch-rival Patriotic Unity of Kurdistan (PUK) of Jalal Talabani.

Pelletreau mediated peace talks between the two in Ankara with the participation of Turkish and British governments.

"Are we making progress between the Kurdish parties?" Pelletreau asked himself and then answered his own question: "I think we have made quite a bit of progress because we not only have gotten their agreement to enter a cease fire but that cease fire has now continued into effect for quite some time. The two parties have agreed to a number of measures which strengthen that cease-fire. They have agreed to lessen their media attacks on each other, for example ... They have agreed to a neutral party demarcating the cease fire line. And that has now occurred. The line has been demarcated."

"And they've agreed to the organization of a peace monitoring force which would involve two neutral groups in northern Iraq — the Turkmen and Assyrians," Pelletreau said. "Training of that peace monitoring force is now occurring. We are providing to it some equipment as well. We have organized a what we call a "supervisory peace monitoring group" which the US sits on as well as the governments of Turkey and UK, and based in Ankara, and the two Kurdish factions sit on it. This not only supervises the actual peace monitoring force but it acts as a place where they can bring complaints, discuss complaints, and it will conduct investigations if necessary similar to the

Israel-Lebanon monitoring group in that regard. So we see considerable progress being made in strengthening cease fire. As that goes on and as confidence builds we are creating a better climate for a broader reconciliation

between the two. And will continue our efforts to stimulate that."

### Saddam's son?

"There was a report a couple of months ago that you met with Saddam Hussein's son in Ankara?" asked a journalist, which brought a firm denial from Pelletreau.

"Let me begin with an absolute complete flat denial that I have met with any Iraqi official or member of Saddam's family. That is absolutely not the case. The picture was a fabricated picture which I guess is pretty easy to do with modern computers. There was no truth in it at all," he said.

### Provide Comfort

Pelletreau, answering a question on the future of Operation Provide Comfort, stressed that the situation has changed quite a bit since summer in northern Iraq.

"We are discussing with the government of Turkey the question of how we can continue our cooperation in northern Iraq with the Operation Provide Comfort approval coming to an end at the end of this month. And the situation has changed in a number of ways from what it was back last summer. The most stark event being the Iraqi army's invasion of Irbil," he said. "But I think the most significant development is that Turkey and the US have been cooperating closely in bringing about the cease fire between the Kurdish factions and taking steps to restore some stability to northern Iraq and this has allowed Resolution 986 to start going into implementation. That's something very much in Turkey's interest. Turkey will benefit by it."

"We anticipate as we look forward into next year that we're going to be continuing overflights over northern Iraq by coalition aircraft and we're going to be continuing humanitarian assistance for the people of northern Iraq although that will be replaced to a certain extent by 986 humanitarian assistance when it starts to flow. So the conditions are a little different. And we've been discussing with Turkey how we go ahead together on that," he concluded.



# US: Some food-for-oil won't be free in Iraq

## Pelletreau: Renewal of food-for-oil permit is not automatic

*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON — A U.S. State Department senior official confirmed for TDN that not all the food, medicine and other humanitarian items sent to Iraq via U.N.-endorsed "food-for-oil" program will be distributed free of charge, as assumed by some. Some items would be sold on the market.

But then how would Washington guarantee that Baghdad regime does not get any share of the profits? U.N. monitors would see to it that Saddam Huessin does not receive a penny from such market sales, Washington said.

The U.S. Resolution 986, which started to be implemented, allows Iraq to export \$2 billion worth of crude mainly through Iraqi-Turkish oil pipeline in return for food, medicine and other humanitarian items badly need in the country. The proceeds of the sale will be placed in an escrow account to be used by the U.N.

### World Food Program

"The UN World Food Program appeal is the second this year which we are contributing," Said State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns on a related matter.

"We have a Food for Peace office in USAID which has already granted \$7.2 million dollars. It intends to contribute another \$7.3 million. So we have been responsive to the food appeal of program for Iraq. The World Food Program is basically the one who is carrying that out."

### Some grant, some sales

But would all the humanitarian items be distributed free of charge, TDN asked. "I think there is a combination of delivery systems, some grant and some market sales," Burns said.

"Is it fair to say that the United States trusts the U.N. will make sure none of the sale proceeds go to Saddam Huessin?" TDN asked.

"Yes, but we will not just trust but verify — as President Reagan used to say [concerning Soviet nuclear missiles]. We put out monitoring provisions to make sure that the money

does not go to Saddam Hussein," Burns replied.

"Even when the food items are sold in the market, in Iraq?" TDN asked.

"Right," Burns answered.

### Provide Comfort

Concerning the future of Operation Provide Comfort, which Turkish Prime Minister Erbakan declared "over," Burns sounded very sure that the no-flight zones over Iraq will be enforced no matter what happens to the "Operation Provide Comfort." Turkish Parliament will vote the extension of the operation within ten days.

"In the past five years we have been working with Turkey, France and Britain on the effort to contain Saddam Hussein," Burns said. "We have engaged in consultation with our coalition partners recently to determine how best to achieve these objectives, baring in mind that changing circumstances in northern Iraq.

We are currently engaged in a discussion with Turkey, Britain, and France. I don't know quite what the results of these discussions [will be] but I do know that the no-flight zones will continue."

### Pelletreau: It all depends

Assistant Secretary of State for Near East Affairs Robert Pelletreau said the renewal of the food-for-oil program was not automatic. That will depend on Saddam Hussein's cooperation in revealing his weapons of mass destruction program to U.N. monitors, he said.

The head of the U.N. monitoring team Rolf Ekeus, Pelletreau reminded, said that Iraqis will cooperate with "removing the engines of Scud missiles that have been previously reported as destroyed — removal of them for proper laboratory analysis..." That is very important, Pelletreau said, "because it raises the possibility that there may still be an operational missile capability in Iraqi hands which would be a direct violation of Resolution 687."

### No cheating

Thus the U.S. will insist on Iraq's compliance with "all the U.N. Security Council resolutions. The implementation of Resolution 986, which is now going forward, will be occurring in the first half of 1997.

Oil being sold, humanitarian goods being imported, and all this needs to be done with the implementation plan worked out with the

Security Council, worked out with the U.N. Secretariat, in a very clear and transparent way."

"If the Iraqis try to cheat, of course that would weigh heavily on any decision to renew or extend the oil-for-food formula of 986 beyond the initial six months. So that's a very high item on the agenda," Pelletreau said on Wednesday.

# US reminds again that it opposes any Turkish-Iranian deal

## Pelletreau: 'Iran is an aggressive neighbor'

*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON — As if to make sure that the message is heard loud and clear, the Clinton Administration repeated on Wednesday its warning to Ankara not to sign any deals with Iran in any field during the visit of Iranian President Rafsanjani. Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan has said on more than one public occasion within the last week that Turkey and Iran will discuss the possibility of a military industry cooperation agreement. Turkish General Staff's reaction, as reported in Turkish press, was swift, firm and negative.

Turkey and Iran have signed in August a 20-year \$23 billion deal to transport natural gas from Iran to Turkey. The construction of the first 300 miles of the pipeline inside Turkey has already started.

### US: Isolate Iran

When asked about PM Erbakan's repeated confirmation of Turkish-Iranian intention to strengthen ties in the military cooperation field, State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns told Turkish journalists that the Clinton Administration does not approve "of military cooperation by any of our allies with Iran. Iran ought to be isolated. There should be no military or economic cooperation as far as we are concerned. So we oppose [any Turkish-Iranian deals in that regard]."

### Turkey knows

"Did you officially tell the Turkish government your opposition?" TDN asked Burns.

"I'm sure we've done that," he answered. "We communicate with the Turkish government every day. I can't point to any specific conversation but it has been such a major issue in our relationship over many many month, I'm sure that the Turkish government is fully aware of our view on Iran."

Despite welcoming closer ties between Russia and China, Burns stressed that Iran should not be brought into such regional ties.

"Iran is a completely different case," Burns said. "We believe that Iran should be isolated by Russia, by China, by Western Europe, and we are isolating Iran ourselves."

### But Europeans don't

When reminded that neither China, nor Russia, or the Europeans — who defend a "critical dialogue" with Iran just like the policy the United States is carrying out with China — favor isolating Iran, Burns said: "We disagree with them on that issue. We have

been very open for many years about our disagreement with the Russian Government and the Chinese Government on Iran. But in terms of Russia-China ties, we ought to hope that they build those roads and railroads and communication link so that Russia and China can take part in what's happening in Europe and Asia that is so positive economically and socially."

### Pelletreau

U.S. Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern Affairs Robert Pelletreau also commented on America's Iran policy on Wednesday at Foreign Press Center.

"Iran's conduct in the region continues to be of great concern," Pelletreau said.

"Its support for terrorism, its quest for weapons of mass destruction and its acts of subversion or support for subversion against neighboring or friendly states, all these are aspects of a behavior not up to international standards and really needs to be revised and moderated."

### Kazakh-Iran pipeline

When asked if the U.S. would allow American companies use Iran-linked pipeline to market Kazakh oil, Pelletreau again replied negatively.

"I honestly do not support and the US government does not support action such as petroleum investments that would bring benefits to Iran. Iran can then turn to use the hard currency involved either in rearmament, acquisition of weapons of mass destruction, or in supporting its terrorist activities."

Sen. D'Amato's Iran Libya Sanctions Act bans third parties to invest over \$45 million in Iran's and Libya's oil industries. The parties that do will be barred from the U.S. market, if the U.S. President does not override it for national security concerns.

### Aggressive neighbor

Pelletreau portrayed Iran as an "aggressive neighbor" — an assessment not shared by Turkey's Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan.

"Iran has supported subversive movements, opposition movements in a number of countries," Pelletreau said. "Bahrain is one example. It has also up to this point not engaged in a peaceful way with the UAE to resolve outstanding territorial disputes. There are ways Iran is acting to make it an aggressive neighbor in the region rather than a good neighbor in the region... The refusal to sit down and resolve peacefully a border dispute is the act of an aggressive neighbor rather than a good neighbor it seems to me."

A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

### **Turquie-Iran : Ankara et Téhéran veulent renforcer leurs relations**

ANKARA, 19 déc (AFP) - Ankara et Téhéran ont manifesté jeudi leur intention de renforcer la coopération bilatérale à l'occasion d'une visite officielle du président iranien Ali Akbar Hachémi Rafsandjani en Turquie, en dépit de l'opposition des Etats-Unis qui accusent l'Iran de soutenir le terrorisme international.

"Le développement des relations entre la Turquie et l'Iran servira à la paix et à la stabilité internationales", a déclaré à la presse le président turc Suleyman Demirel, à l'issue des entretiens officiels.

"L'approfondissement des relations économiques et commerciales contribuera également à la prospérité régionale", a-t-il dit. "La Turquie et l'Iran sont deux pays conscients de leur responsabilité. Personne ne doit tirer des conclusions erronées de leur volonté d'oeuvrer ensemble", a ajouté M. Demirel, dans une tentative apparente de rassurer les Etats-Unis.

M. Rafsandjani a de son côté souligné une "convergence de vues" sur tous les sujets évoqués lors des entretiens. "Nous désirons la suppression des tarifs douaniers entre les deux pays pour le développement du commerce bilatéral", a-t-il ajouté.

"Nous voulons assurer la sécurité frontalière et supprimer le manque de confiance dans la région", a ajouté M. Rafsandjani, sans autre précision.

La Turquie a à maintes reprises demandé à l'Iran de ne pas tolérer la présence sur son sol de rebelles kurdes du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste) et leur infiltration en territoire turc par la frontière.

Les entretiens ont porté sur la coopération dans les domaines de l'énergie, notamment du pétrole et gaz naturel, et des transports routiers, maritimes et aériens entre les deux pays, selon le président iraniens.

La situation en Afghanistan, au Proche-Orient, à Chypre, en Bosnie, et en Irak sont également abordés, a-t-il indiqué.

La Turquie et l'Iran avaient signé en août, lors d'une visite du premier ministre turc Necmettin Erbakan à Téhéran, un important contrat d'achat de gaz iranien par la Turquie, d'un montant de 20 milliards de dollars sur 30 ans. Washington avait dénoncé l'accord et demandé à Ankara de l'annuler. Ankara justifie l'accord par ses besoins énergétiques pressants.

Le ministre iranien du Pétrole Gholamreza Agazadeh, interrogé à l'issue des entretiens, a confirmé le début de la construction en mars 1997, de part et d'autre de la frontière commune, de gazoducs destinés à l'acheminement du gaz iranien vers la Turquie.

M. Rafsandjani a également rencontré M. Erbakan et son ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller.

"Le volume d'échanges commerciaux entre la Turquie et l'Iran dépassera l'année prochaine la barre de deux milliards de dollars" contre près d'un milliard en 1995, a déclaré M. Erbakan à la presse au début de l'entretien.

"Le gaz naturel iranien viendra en Turquie en 1998 et cela est très important pour le développement des régions est et sud-est de la Turquie", a-t-il ajouté.

"Nous désirons une coopération entre la Turquie et l'Iran similaire à celle entre l'Allemagne et la France", a dit M. Erbakan.

Il avait annoncé cette semaine qu'il envisageait de lancer une coopération bilatérale dans l'industrie de défense. De sources turques et iraniennes, on affirme que cette coopération ne figurait pas à l'ordre du jour de cette visite.

CE/PHV

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Turquie-Iran-Syrie : Ankara rejette une médiation iranienne entre la Turquie et la Syrie

ANKARA, 20 déc (AFP) - Ankara a rejeté une proposition iranienne d'aider à l'amélioration des relations entre la Turquie et la Syrie, faite lors des entretiens officiels jeudi des présidents turc et iranien Suleyman Demirel et Ali Akbar Hachémi Rafsandjani, a-t-on appris vendredi de source diplomatique turque.

"Nous avons indiqué que nous sommes prêts à aider" à une amélioration des relations turco-syriennes, avait déclaré jeudi l'ambassadeur d'Iran à Ankara, Mohammad Reza Bagheri, interrogé à l'issue des entretiens turco-iraniens.

La diplomatie turque accuse Damas de soutenir le Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), en rébellion armée contre Ankara. Damas rejette ces accusations et reproche à Ankara de lui rationner l'eau en construisant des barrages sur l'Euphrate, qui arrose également la Syrie, dans le cadre d'un grand projet turc d'irrigation et de production énergétique.

Le président Rafsandjani a visité vendredi, au second jour de son voyage officiel, le barrage Ataturk en compagnie de son homologue turc dans la région de Sanliurfa (frontière avec la Syrie). Ce barrage sur l'Euphrate est la pièce maîtresse du grand projet turc d'irrigation et de production énergétique de l'Anatolie du Sud-Est (GAP), en cours depuis les années 1960.

Le GAP, un ensemble de projets d'un montant total de plus de 30 milliards de dollars, prévoit notamment 22 barrages et 19 centrales hydro-électriques sur l'Euphrate et le Tigre, qui arrosent également la Syrie et l'Irak.

Il vise à irriguer une zone de 1,8 million d'hectares (équivalent du Bénélux), et installer des techniques d'agriculture modernes dans le sud-est de la Turquie, région la plus déshéritée du pays peuplée majoritairement de Kurdes.

CE/hc/mmr

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*Turkish Daily News* SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1996

## Ayşe Zarakolu released

*Turkish Daily News*  
ISTANBUL- Belge Publishing stated in a press release on Friday December 20, that their editor, Ayşe Nur Zarakolu has been released after serving a five months prison sentence in Bayrampaşa Prison, but she is under threat of another three year punishment.

Zarakolu has served time for publishing Faysal Dağlı's book *Birakuji* (The Kurdish Civil War). She has also been sentenced to a fine of TL41 million. The fine has been converted into a prison sentence of three years because of a delay in the payment.

The editor has also been given a fine of TL84 Million for publishing Sadrettin Aydınlik's book, "Winter Group," and the fine has been converted into another three

year prison sentence. The fine of TL51 Million for Hasan Bildirici's "Bekaa" has also been approved. There are another 16 law suits outstanding against Ayşe Zarakolu.

Zarakolu was released after the fines totalling TL121 Million for the cases of "Winter Group" and "Birakuji" were paid. The editor of Yurt Publishing, Ünsal Öztürk, currently serving a prison sentence, also faces more years in jail for refusing to pay a TL1 billion fine.

The journalist and writer Haluk Gerger, former editor of the pro-Kurdish closed newspaper *Özgür Ülke* (Free Country), and the writer Alper Gümüş face similar prosecutions for books or articles they published.

Belge Publishing stated in the press

release that they are inviting the attention and reaction of the public as well as professional and press organizations to the prosecutions against the writers, editors and publishers who have been imprisoned for delivering the "ideas and opinions" of third parties. The journalist and writer Ertuğrul Kürkçü faces trial along with editor Ayşe Zarakolu for a statement by a senior U.S. Embassy official in Ankara quoted in the Human Rights Watch report: "Weapons Transfers and Violations of the Laws of War in Turkey," which he translated.

The prosecutor targets the quote in the report as constituting "defamation and belittling of state military and security forces" punishable by up to six years in prison under Article 159/1 of the Turkish

Penal Code.

The director of the Human Rights Watch Arms Project, Joost Hiltermann, declared that: "The U.S. Government should convey to the highest levels of the government in Turkey that these charges,

brought against individuals unrelated to Human Rights Watch or the U.S. government, for a statement by a U.S. official should be dropped unconditionally and immediately." Human Rights Watch has invited the U.S. "to use its close military

relationship with the Turkish General Staff" in the context of outgoing Defence Secretary William Perry's current meetings with NATO defense ministers in Brussels, and in the spirit of NATO principles, to uphold democracy and human rights.

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1996

## Better a coup than a semi-democracy

Once again there are talks circulating that there will be a military takeover in Turkey. We do not want to speculate on whether or not this is possible. The military is the only armed force in this country and, thus, can use its weapons to impose its will as it likes. The military establishment calls the shots in Turkey and has overall control of much of the way the country is run.

There is speculation that the military has presented an ultimatum to President Süleyman Demirel, asking him to tell the politicians to get their acts together and fight against widespread corruption and the current administrative mess in Turkey. Some say there is an ultimatum. Others say the letter only contained suggestions by the military and, thus, is not a warning, while others say there is no such letter. All these are rather elementary.

We feel this country has suffered too much because of the mediocre way it has been run over the past 16 years since the 1980 coup.

The military administration which took over in 1980 sowed the seeds of the current mess we are in today. Ever since Turkey returned to civilian rule we have been run by a semi-democratic system where a very conservative establishment and its supporters have been dominant. Thus, ours cannot be called a full democracy, according to global standards...

So what can be done? We have two options. In Spain, when the Franco era ended, the democrats

and leading personalities got together and discussed what kind of system should be established. Some wanted a semi-democracy like ours, and said full-fledged democracy should be achieved in phases. Others said Spain should be a true democracy overnight with no strings attached. The second formula was adopted and Spain became a full-fledged democracy...

So we too can say we will adopt the laws of any other parliamentary democracy, with no ifs, ands, or buts. We have suffered too much under this mediocre,

semi-democratic system and know well that it does not solve our problems but, on the contrary, further complicates them. The other alternative is totalitarian rule. Let us be run by certain rulers and let them be responsible for everything. They can decide how to allocate the funds and resources of the country. If they want to buy planes, they can. If they want to give away contracts, no one can question them. If they want to sell off everything, they can do so without any ifs, ands, or buts. The people have to really suffer in the hands of these rulers — then the meaning of true democracy will be understood and no one will applaud the semi-democracy that we are living in today.

Such a repressive and arbitrary regime will really lead to a healthy result because, sooner or later, the people will see the true face of totalitarianism and will depose it and replace it with a true democratic system.

Editorial



By İlınur Çevik

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1996

## Tough message from Turkey to the KDP

**Future:** As Ankara steps up pressure to close down Atrush refugee camp, the UNHCR, which has recently decided to disband the camp, announced it will set up two transit camps in northern Iraq

**By Ayşe Karabat/ Turkish Daily News**

ANKARA- Turkey has once again requested the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP), led by Massoud Barzani, to immediately close the Atrush refugee camp in northern Iraq believed to have become a sanctuary for the separatist Kurdish rebels.

Barzani last week sent two senior Politburo members, Hoshiyar Zabari and Karim Sinjari, to Ankara for secret talks, during which Turkey delivered its hardline message to the KDP.

After the Gulf War, approximately 13,000 Turkish citizens of Kurdish origin left Turkey for northern Iraq and resettled in the camp at Atrush, under the control of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Turkey has claimed that these people were forced out of

Turkey to northern Iraq by the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which has been fighting for self-rule in southeastern Anatolia since 1984. Turkey has also claimed that Atrush camp is controlled by the PKK.

"The KDP says that they are in control of this area. The UNCHR has admitted that this camp is under the control of the PKK. So we have asked the KDP to take such measures as are necessary for the closure of the camp. For us, the settlers in Atrush camp are not refugees. These people are our citizens," a senior official from the Foreign Ministry said. Commenting on the reaction of the KDP to the demand for closure, the source said that the KDP had agreed, but would need to exercise caution.

The KDP and its rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani, had already agreed on the closure of Atrush camp and the voluntary repatriation of the settlers during talks held in Ankara in September. The discussions between the KDP and the PUK, mediated by the United States, Turkey and Great Britain, were held in order to consolidate the cease-fire between the parties and resolve other issues such as the closure of the camp.

### UNHCR to set up two transit camps

As Ankara steps up pressure to close down Atrush refugee camp, the UNHCR, which has recently decided to disband the camp, announced it will set up two transit camps in northern Iraq in the near future to provide the region's refugees a sanctuary free from "coercive elements."

Metin Corabatir, a UNHCR official in Ankara, said that the organization, which has decided to evacuate the camp after realizing that a number

of "activists" were blockading their humanitarian efforts, is currently working on setting up two temporary refugee camps in Balkus and Muqibla in northern Iraq.

Earlier reports said the UNHCR has finally admitted to the existence of a PKK presence in Atrush. Reports have also claimed that the organization has lost control of the camp. However, the refugee organization prefers to call the militant activists within the camp "coercive elements."

Corabatir said these elements had earlier prevented U.N. workers from conveying a notice containing assurances from the Turkish government to provide safety for those who choose to return to Turkey. The U.N. official said the organization aimed to create a safe place for the refugees, who can then decide freely either to return to Turkey or to remain in northern Iraq.

"Voluntary repatriation of the refugees is the preferable solution," Corabatir said, stressing that the UNHCR, as a humanitarian organization, will not force anyone to return. "We will also assist those who would like to stay in northern Iraq," he added.

Corabatir confirmed that the UNHCR has guaranteed to facilitate the return of the refugees to Turkey if they accept repatriation on a voluntary basis. "Although they will lose the refugee status granted by the UNHCR, they will be considered as 'returnees.'" He added that the Turkish government has permitted the organization to monitor the situation of the refugees even after they return. The UNHCR also may assist the Turkish government to prepare an adaptation program for the returnees.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 1996

## Hak-İş sees Islam key to Southeast reconciliation

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Islam, as the common religion throughout the southeastern region of Turkey, is playing a cohesive role in solving the difficulties of this economically deprived region, according to a report by the Islamist Hak-İş union confederation, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Introduced by Hak-İş Chairman Salim Uslu at a press conference in Ankara on Friday, the report said the dilemma in the Southeast should be considered an overall problem of the whole nation.

The Hak-İş report said priority should be given to reorganizing the central administration, instead of the current practice of trying to deal with the region's problems first.

The report said the central authorities regard people living in southeastern and eastern Turkey as "potential criminals." It

added that merely removing the feudal structure, encouraging economic development in the region, and wiping out the "external powers" believed to inflame tensions in the region, would not help solve the overall problems. These problems have already been worsened by the conflict with the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK), which has been fighting for a separate homeland since 1984.

The report, in stressing the importance of Islam, said the concept of "nation-state" should be reviewed and reshaped to remedy the shortcomings of the Southeast.

"Religious unity, which is a key element of a nation-state, should be allowed to contribute in solving the problems of the region," it added.

The Hak-İş report also stressed the importance of strengthening commercial, social and cultural ties with neighboring Iran, Iraq and Syria in order to neutralize the influence of the PKK and other terrorist organizations in the region, such as Hizbullah.

The report criticized the state's policy of employing village guards to fight terrorism in the region, saying that this system is frequently abused.

It also suggested encouraging livestock breeding in order to energize the economy of the Southeast and prevent domestic migration.

# Crisis: Defense Ministry refuses to allow Iranians to tour TAI plant

While Iran announces plans to buy up to five Turkish-made CASA aircraft, the Turkish Defense Ministry acts out the country's negative attitude toward Iran's support of the PKK and Islamic fundamentalist activity in Turkey

By Metehan Demir

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Turkey's Defense Ministry rejected a request from the visiting Iranian military delegation, led by deputy Defense Minister General Vahid, to tour the F-16 and CASA aircraft-producer Turkish Aerospace Industry (TAI) premises, saying the facility was top secret.

Defense sources told the Turkish Daily News that the thumbs down from the Defense Ministry had led to tension between it and the Prime Ministry, the only government body hosting official negotiations with the Iranian group.

The Iranian proposal to inspect TAI was passed on by Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's advisory board. The facilities have been visited by foreign delegations many times in the past. The ministry's position is seen as a demonstration of the country's negative attitude toward Iran's alleged backing of the outlawed Kurdistan



Iran is considering buying Spanish-designed and TAI-produced CASA aircraft from Turkey but the Defense Ministry's snub has cooled enthusiasm on the plans.

Workers' Party (PKK) and Islamic fundamentalist activities in Turkey.

Before Rafsanjani's visit, Erbakan mentioned the possibility of defense cooperation with Iran but the Turkish General Staff and the Defense Ministry reacted strongly to this, saying they would not participate in defense-oriented meetings with Iran. The talks are being held between the visiting Iranians and Erbakan's defense advisory

board, which is headed by Sedat Celikdogan, chief advisor to the prime minister.

A senior Prime Ministry source said that, during the talks, the guests had voiced their desire to purchase up to five Spanish-designed, TAI-made CASA aircraft and wished to see the TAI facilities. The Iranians plan to complain to Erbakan about the rejection, the official said.

TAI is 49 percent-owned by the U.S. defense giant Lockheed. The United States has opposed any suggestion of deals between Turkey and Iran.

During the meetings, Erbakan's defense advisory board and the Iranian delegation also discussed two other projects — a joint project with Ukraine for production of a 60-seat passenger plane and a flight training aircraft.

La Croix - 11 décembre 1996

## Un journaliste turc lauréat du prix Reporters sans frontières

■ Isik Yurtçu, ancien directeur du quotidien d'extrême gauche pro-kurde *Ozgür Gündem*, est aujourd'hui détenu à la prison de Sakarya, à 150 km d'Istanbul. Arrêté en décembre 1994, il a été condamné à quatorze ans et dix mois de prison pour « propagande séparatiste » et « insulte au gouvernement ». Créé en 1992, son journal a dû cesser de paraître en 1994. Pour la Journée internationale des droits de l'homme de l'ONU, Reporters sans frontières lui remettait symboliquement, le 10 décembre, son prix annuel, qui récompense un journaliste témoignant de son attachement à la liberté de la presse.



Isik Yurtçu est emprisonné entre autres pour « propagande séparatiste ». (Photo RSF.)

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### Iran-Turquie : Prochaine médiation iranienne entre la Turquie et la Grèce

TEHERAN, 22 déc (AFP) - Le ministre iranien des Affaires étrangères Ali Akbar Velayati a affirmé dimanche que son pays allait engager une médiation entre la Turquie et la Grèce, en conflit notamment sur des îlots en mer Egée.

"Une délégation iranienne sera dépêchée prochainement à Athènes pour discuter du règlement des différends entre la Grèce et la Turquie", a déclaré à la presse M. Velayati.

Selon lui, cette initiative avait reçu l'aval d'Ankara où le président iranien Ali Abkar Hachémi-Rafsandjani a achevé dimanche une visite officielle de quatre jours.

Les relations entre Ankara et Athènes sont envenimées notamment par un conflit territorial au sujet d'Imia, un rocher de l'archipel du Dodécanèse, à l'est de l'Egée, qui a ressurgi en janvier dernier, et par leur lutte d'influence à Chypre, divisée depuis 1974 en secteurs turc et grec.

M. Velayati a en outre indiqué que la médiation iranienne entre la Turquie et la Syrie, acceptée par Ankara sur une proposition de M. Rafsandjani, sera évoquée lors d'une visite en janvier à Téhéran du vice-président syrien Abdelhalim Khaddam. A cette occasion, "M. Khaddam sera informé de la position de la Turquie", a-t-il ajouté sans plus de précision.

Vendredi, une source diplomatique turque avait indiqué qu'Ankara avait rejeté l'offre d'une médiation iranienne concernant les relations avec la Syrie. "Notre proposition a été accueillie avec satisfaction", avait répliqué ensuite le président Rafsandjani.

Le chef de la diplomatie iranienne a par ailleurs nié de nouveau toute implication de son pays dans l'attentat anti-américain du 25 juin à Dahran, dans l'est de l'Arabie saoudite, au cours duquel 19 Américains avaient été tués.

Prochaine médiation...

TEHERAN - L'Iran "rejette les accusations d'où qu'elles proviennent", a dit M. Velayati, interrogé sur les affirmations de médias américains selon lesquelles Téhéran était impliqué dans l'attentat.

Dimanche le Washington Post a affirmé que Washington avait commencé à envisager différents scénarios de riposte si leurs investigations prouvaient l'implication de l'Iran dans l'attentat.

"Des pays mal-intentionnés cherchent à porter des accusations contre l'Iran dans le but de



préservent leurs intérêts illégitimes" dans la région du Golfe Persique, a ajouté M. Velayati, en allusion aux Etats-Unis, qui accusent l'Iran de soutenir le terrorisme international. Il a ajouté que Téhéran "ne craint pas les menaces provenant de n'importe quel pays et quelle que soit la puissance de ce pays".

M. Velayati a en outre critiqué la présence militaire occidentale dans le Golfe Persique, et plaidé pour une coopération régionale pour "éliminer la tension et établir une coopération fraternelle entre les pays" de la région.

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## **Iran-Turquie : Retour de M. Rafsandjani en Iran**

TEHERAN, 22 déc (AFP) - L'avion du président iranien Ali Akbar Hachémi-Rafsandjani, empêché d'atterrir à Trébizonde en raison de mauvaises conditions météorologiques, s'est posé dimanche à Tabriz, chef-lieu de la province iranienne de l'Azerbaïdjan oriental, a annoncé Radio-Téhéran.

Plusieurs responsables turcs qui accompagnaient M. Rafsandjani pour une visite au port de Trébizonde, sur la rive turque de la mer Noire, se trouvaient dans l'avion présidentiel, a rapporté pour sa part l'agence officielle IRNA.

Le chef de l'Etat iranien devait regagner Téhéran dimanche en milieu d'après-midi, a ajouté IRNA.

M. Rafsandjani, accompagné de plusieurs ministres de son gouvernement et des membres de sa famille, a effectué une visite officielle de quatre jours en Turquie où il a eu des entretiens avec des dirigeants turcs.

Les médias iraniens ont réservé une large place à la visite du chef de l'Etat en Turquie, la troisième depuis son élection à la magistrature suprême en Iran en juillet 1989.

Le chef de la diplomatie iranienne Ali Akbar Vélayati qui avait accompagné M. Rafsandjani, a déclaré dimanche à son retour d'Ankara que l'Iran et la Turquie avaient décidé de "développer leurs relations dans tous les domaines".

"Nous allons coopérer plus activement que par le passé", a-t-il ajouté.

Le gouvernement américain avait exprimé jeudi de "très sérieuses réserves" sur un rapprochement entre la Turquie, membre de l'OTAN, et l'Iran, accusé par les Etats-Unis de soutenir le terrorisme international.

Les deux pays ont signé samedi trois accords et deux protocoles portant sur le commerce, l'encouragement et la protection mutuelle des investissements, le commerce maritime ainsi que sur la coopération pour la protection de l'environnement et la création d'une Chambre de commerce turco-iranienne.

L'accord sur le commerce remplace un autre document conclu en septembre 1964 et vise à élever à deux milliards de dollars le volume des échanges commerciaux turco-iraniens, contre près d'un milliard en 1995.

La Turquie et l'Iran avaient signé un contrat de plus de 20 milliards de dollars prévoyant l'achat par la Turquie de gaz naturel iranien, lors d'une visite en août à Téhéran du Premier ministre turc Necmettin Erbakan.

Washington avait alors demandé à Ankara d'annuler ce contrat, ce que la Turquie avait rejeté.

kd/sb

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1996

# Iran Sees Itself as a Gulf Guardian

## *U.S. Is the Real Threat to Regional Stability, Tehran Insists*

By John Lancaster  
*Washington Post Service*

TEHRAN — The United States sees Iran as a powerful, ideologically hostile country bent on dominating the strategically vital Gulf region— by subversion if possible, by force if necessary.

As it happens, Iran sees the United States in almost exactly the same way.

In interviews here, Iranian officials voiced alarm at the hefty U.S. military presence in the Gulf, an area that Iran has long considered vital to its national interests. They accused the United States of raising tensions by appropriating funds to destabilize Iran, conducting frequent military exercises and selling huge quantities of arms to nondemocratic, frequently hostile Arab powers, such as Saudi Arabia.

They said that instead of looking to the United States for protection, Arab countries in the Gulf should join their natural geographic partner — Iran — in

a regional security alliance. President Hashemi Rafsanjani recently went so far as to propose that Iran and the Gulf countries hold joint military exercises.

“We propose a collective security arrangement,” the deputy foreign minister, Abbas Maleki, said in an interview. “We can promise that calmness will continue in the Persian Gulf if the United States withdraws from this region.” He added: “We can promise the security of oil and gas flowing from this region without any foreign soldiers.”

Such offers might seem inconsistent with Iran’s long history of bad blood with its neighbors, its attacks on Kuwaiti tankers during the “tanker war” of the 1980s and its bitter dispute with the United Arab Emirates over three Iranian-occupied islands.

Only last month, Iran held its largest naval exercises since the 1979 revolution that toppled the pro-U.S. shah, including an amphibious landing on the Iranian island of Kish.

U.S. officials, meanwhile, advocate “dual containment” of Iran and Iraq through military deterrence and trade embargoes. They contend that Iran threatens American interests by pursuing the power to make nuclear weapons, its active opposition to the Middle East peace process and its support for terrorist groups. And Washington is evaluating Saudi claims that Iran played a role in the massive truck-bombing that killed 19 Americans and wounded hundreds more at a military housing complex in Saudi Arabia in June.

But the dual-containment strategy is opposed by Washington’s allies in Europe, who advocate “critical dialogue” aimed at strengthening moderates in the Iranian regime. Many analysts, moreover, suggest that American perceptions of the Iranian military threat are exaggerated and that Tehran’s naval buildup in the Gulf — which includes Russian submarines and shore-based missile batteries — is primarily defensive.

They point out that Iran spends far less on its military — about \$3 billion a year — than Saudi Arabia, whose 1994 defense expenditures topped \$17 billion, according to a public CIA estimate. Saudi Arabia is the largest country in the six-nation Gulf Cooperation Council, which was founded in part to counter Iran.

The Iranians do “want to be seen as a regional superpower,” said the ambassador of a government that shares Washington’s abhorrence of the Iranian theocracy. “They have been taking measures to build up their readiness. But I see it as defensive, not offensive. I don’t think the United States should be alarmed about Iranian conventional military development, because it’s small in comparison to their own.”

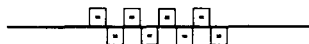
And the Iranians said that their fears of the United States are well founded, citing, among other things, a measure passed by Congress last year designating \$20 million for covert action against the regime in Tehran.

But their biggest cause of anxiety is the U.S. military presence in the Gulf, which has escalated sharply since the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990. About 20,000 American troops are stationed on ships and bases throughout the region.



Sayyad/Canadian Press

The Iranian foreign minister, Ali Akbar Velayati, right, greeting his Russian counterpart, Yevgeni Primakov, who arrived in Tehran on Sunday for talks on improving ties and on ending the civil war in Tajikistan.



INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1996

# Turkey and Iran Accords Prompt U.S. Reprimand

By Kelly Couturier  
Special to The Washington Post

ANKARA — Turkey has signed several accords with Iran designed to bolster trade between the neighboring countries, ignoring a U.S. call to isolate Tehran.

The agreements, which aim to double trade between Turkey and Iran to \$2 billion, were signed near the end of a four-day visit to Turkey by President Hashemi Rafsanjani of Iran that has caused concern in Washington.

The accords illustrated the warming of relations between Turkey and Iran that has been fostered by Turkey's Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan. Mr. Erbakan visited Iran shortly after taking office in June and concluded a \$23 billion natural gas deal. Turkish officials said construction of a pipeline to carry the Iranian gas to Turkey will begin next year.

According to diplomatic sources in Ankara, the United States has expressed "very serious reservations" about the rapprochement between its NATO ally and Iran, which it accuses of funding terrorism directed against the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Western targets.

"We strongly advise the Turkish government not to improve its relation-

ship with Iran," a State Department spokesman, Nicholas Burns, said Friday in Washington, adding that the United States "didn't think much of the visit" by Mr. Rafsanjani to Turkey.

Under the accords signed in Ankara, Turkey and Iran grant each other most-favored-nation trading status, call for the encouragement and promotion of mutual investment, outline new cooperation in maritime trade, including the use of shipping lanes, ports and territorial waters, and agree to establish a joint chamber of commerce.

Mr. Rafsanjani was asked at a news conference Saturday whether the accords put Turkish companies at risk of U.S. sanctions, called for by the Iran and Libya Sanctions Act, if they invest more than \$40 million in Iran's energy sector. The Iranian president replied, "We will not allow third parties to interfere with our relations."

"The United States might be angry with our agreements with Turkey, but this is their problem," Mr. Rafsanjani said. "America is against powerful countries in this region cooperating."

Remarking on the changes in Turkey under Mr. Erbakan, Mr. Rafsanjani commented that he had observed on his third trip here that "there is a real return to Islam" apparent in the country.



*Turkish Daily News* MONDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1996

## KDP: Kurdish 'parliament-in-exile' not in northern Iraq

*Turkish Daily News*

WASHINGTON- Taking issue with a TDN story published on Dec. 20, the Massoud Barzani-led Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) issued a press statement declaring the story "unfounded."

The story said the PKK-supported Kurdish "parliament-in-exile" was to establish itself in northern Iraq and had some of its senior members visit the region for that purpose.

The press statement written by an unnamed "KDP spokesman" in Ankara said, "The KDP and the Regional Administration has not granted or approved the establishment of such a parliament in the region."

### One Parliament is enough

"The region has its own elected Regional Parliament and does not need a new parliament formed by appointment," the statement read.

"Although members of such a parliament may have been visiting the region ... no access or authorization has been given by the local authority to establish the Kurdish 'parliament-in-exile' in N. Iraq," the press statement concluded.

**O**n Saturday night Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan told a select group of journalists that he is determined to get to the bottom of the Susurluk scandal and expose all those who had taken the law into their hands "even if they felt they were performing a patriotic duty."

Erbakan has said no one and no institution is above the law in a country which is ruled by laws. He is absolutely right. Erbakan says three major state organizations, the Prime Ministry Inspection Council, the Interior Ministry and at least five prosecutors are probing the Susurluk case and the claims that there are gangs within the state that have taken the law into their hands and have "eliminated" the "adversaries" of the state...

Erbakan says the preliminary reports of the investigators have been completed and show that further and deeper probes are necessary. He also says that 58 persons have been implicated in the probes and that all state organizations, including the National Intelligence Organization (MIT), are conducting thorough investigations to sort out the mess.

Erbakan is the only politician among the current leaders who has not run Turkey in the past when these gangs were set up and killed people "in the name of the state..." Thus he is in a position to be the honest judge to unearth all the wrongdoing... Some high-level people in the state apparatus have felt they can protect the state by using hardened criminals to do their dirty work. Drug smugglers and convicts were used to "deal" with a long list of people. Thus some state officials acted like a judge and a prosecutor and sent many people to their deaths... Today all this has to end. That means the government has to get to the bottom



## You can't protect the state through hardened criminals

of the matter and display those who were guilty and of course prosecute them.

Erbakan says this will be done. He said this to all those who attended the summit meeting of political leaders at the presidential palace on Sunday.

Now we all have to wait and see if the government manages to deliver. If it can't get to the bottom of this mess and those responsible for illegal executions in Turkey are not brought to justice then we really have to raise our voices and demand the president start his own probe. But this cannot be done as long as Erbakan displays goodwill and shows he is doing something. The summit did not produce anything but then it was only naive to expect it would. The leaders had already insulted each other in public so it was nothing special that they did this once again before the president.

No one should criticize the president claiming the summit produced nothing. It was never meant to produce anything. The president showed he would bring all the leaders to his office and make them face each other to openly display whatever they have in their hands. This has been done and the president has performed his duty. Now we have to allow the justice mechanism to deal with this issue. That means goodwill, sincerity and patience.

If the government stalls then we have to raise hell.

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Turquie-mafia : Nouvelles révélations dans le scandale Etat-mafia

Par Umit ENGINSOY

ANKARA, 23 déc (AFP) - Les services de renseignement turcs ont découvert de nouveaux liens entre trafiquants de drogue et policiers indéliçats, dans le cadre d'un scandale relatif à l'infiltration par la mafia de l'appareil de sécurité de l'Etat, annonce la presse lundi.

Une femme arrêtée au début du mois à l'aéroport d'Istanbul et qui convoyait de l'héroïne pour une valeur de 250.000 dollars, avait des liens avec le garde du corps du chef des opérations spéciales à la Direction de la police, selon un rapport des services de renseignement.

Le Premier ministre Necmettin Erbakan a présenté ce rapport lors

d'une réunion dimanche avec le président Suleyman Demirel et les chefs des principaux partis politiques consacrée à ce scandale, a indiqué le journal Milliyet.

M. Demirel avait convoqué cette réunion dans un effort pour parvenir à un consensus politique pour faire la lumière sur le scandale qui secoue la Turquie depuis près de deux mois.

L'affaire avait éclaté le 3 novembre lorsqu'un mafieux du nom d'Abdullah Catli, ancien militant ultra-nationaliste, et un policier de haut rang avaient été tués dans un accident de voiture.

Dans le même véhicule, se trouvait également Sedat Bucak, un député kurde du Parti de la juste Voie (DYP, droite), formation du ministre des Affaires étrangères Tansu Ciller, seul survivant de l'accident.

L'accident, qui avait révélé des liens entre la police, certains politiciens et le crime organisé, a provoqué un tollé en Turquie et la démission du ministre de l'Intérieur Mehmet Agar, accusé par la presse d'être impliqué personnellement.

"Ces gangs opérant au sein de l'Etat sont probablement en activité depuis le début des années 80", a déclaré Mesut Yilmaz, chef du principal parti d'opposition, la Mère Patrie (Anap, droite), dans une interview télévisée dimanche soir.

"La Turquie doit se débarrasser de cette situation gênante et tous ceux qui sont impliqués, quels qu'ils soient, doivent être punis", a dit M. Yilmaz, qui est un ancien premier ministre.

Selon des informations parues dans la presse, Catli avait été employé par l'Etat turc pour des opérations hors frontières, notamment contre les chefs de l'Armée secrète arménienne pour la libération de l'Arménie (Asala) dans les années 80.

L'Asala avait revendiqué les assassinats d'une quarantaine de diplomates et responsables turcs à l'étranger dans les années 70.

Catli et trois policiers, qui plus tard devaient devenir les gardes du corps de M. Bucak, ont également été accusés d'avoir pris part à l'assassinat d'un homme d'affaires kurde propriétaire d'une chaîne de casinos.

Les médias ont affirmé que plusieurs responsables gouvernementaux de haut rang sont susceptibles d'avoir été mêlés aux affaires de Catli.

Selon Milliyet, le rapport des services de renseignement cite les noms de 58 personnes qui pourraient être impliquées mais dont les identités n'ont pas été rendues publiques.

Il semble que ces bandes avaient été créées à l'origine pour mener à bien certains tâches pour le compte de l'Etat mais qu'à partir des années 90, elles ont commencé à poursuivre leurs propres intérêts", a dit M. Yilmaz.

"Dans tous les cas, leur existence est totalement inacceptable dans une société démocratique", a-t-il ajouté.

M. Yilmaz, Mme Ciller et les leaders de deux partis de centre-gauche ont également pris part à la réunion avec le président Demirel.

A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse-A.F.P.- Agence France Presse

Turquie-Kurdes : Le chef du PKK appelle Ankara au dialogue

ISTANBUL, 23 déc (AFP) - Le chef du Parti des Travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK, séparatiste), Abdullah Ocalan, a appelé Ankara au dialogue pour résoudre la question kurde, dans une interview publiée lundi par le quotidien turc Radikal (gauche-libéral).

"Nous allons faire en 1997 des appels difficiles à rejeter pour une paix qui préservera les frontières de la Turquie. Il est désormais l'heure d'une paix substantielle (...) et de discuter sur une fédération ou un Etat décentralisé", déclare M. Ocalan, dit "Apo", dans cette interview réalisée dans la Bekaa libanaise sous contrôle syrien.

"Je suis à moitié kurde et à moitié turc, comme je le dis toujours", déclare le chef du PKK, qui réside habituellement selon Ankara en Syrie ou dans la Bekaa.

Toutefois, il menace Ankara de commettre des attentats qui viseraient des "milliers de personnes dans les grandes villes" turques, si la Turquie ne cessait pas ses opérations contre son organisation.

Le PKK mène depuis 1984 une rébellion armée contre Ankara dans l'est et le sud-est anatoliens à majorité kurde, afin d'y créer un Etat indépendant. Cette rébellion a fait plus de 23.000 morts, rebelles, militaires et civils.

M. Ocalan fait allusion à la possibilité d'un attentat contre lui. "Personne ne peut savoir ce qui va lui arriver demain... Mon temps est précieux et je veux le consacrer à trouver une solution (à la question kurde) et à la paix", dit-il.

Il affirme qu'une voiture piégée a été utilisée récemment dans une tentative d'attentat contre lui, sans donner de date ni d'autres détails.

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## Foreign Ministry rules out defense cooperation with Iran for time being

*Turkish Daily News* TUESDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1996

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- The Foreign Ministry announced that cooperation with Iran in the defense industry field was out of the question for the time being.

Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel said the issue was not even discussed during President Hashemi Rafsanjani's visit to Turkey last week.

Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan had announced before Rafsanjani's visit that Turkey and Iran could cooperate in the defense industry field.



However, an Iranian military delegation was refused access to certain military installations during the Iranian president's visit.

The U.S. administration strongly frowns upon the cooperation scheme and is pressing Turkey not to come to any defense arrangements with a country it considers to be supporting terrorist activity aimed at NATO and the West.

Spokesman Akbel said Iran's offer to mediate in some of

Turkey's problems with Greece and Syria had been "noted" but he emphasized there was no change in the Turkish position.

Akbel pointed out that Syria should completely withdraw its support for the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) before tripartite security talks between Tehran, Damascus and Ankara could resume. The last of these meetings was held in Damascus in 1994.

# ÖDP night in Paris lauds Saturday mothers

Turkish Daily News

PARIS- A night of freedom and solidarity, arranged by Freedom and Solidarity Party (ÖDP) paid a tribute to the "Saturday mothers" who have been holding weekly sit-ins for their imprisoned or missing sons and relatives.

A Sunday soiree in the French capital, with the participation of ÖDP Chairman Ufuk Uras, called on Turks abroad to participate in politics and join the ÖDP for "a new definition of politics and administration in Turkey."

In the crowded Theater of Gymnase, located in the 10th district where many of Paris' Turks live, the ÖDP party program was distributed along with buttons which said Marx was not dead. A poster on the front door of the theater warned the attendees that "the building was under surveillance."

Ufuk Uras, the chairman of the party, sat in the front seat, in front of some Turkish youths who were "waiting for all the talks to finish so that they could listen to the songs that would be at the end of the program." Women with small children, oblivious to the politics of ÖDP, debated whether they should stay in the large saloon or seek refuge in one of the boxes of the rather kitsch theater.

Uras, addressing the public, called for "clean politics" and said his party enjoyed a wide spectrum of supporters. "There is a war in Turkey, we supporters of peace want it to end. But there is a group of warmongers in Turkey who have an interest in the continuation of war," said Uras.

The second guest of honor was Bernard Debord, a French TV-journalist who has made a film on the "Saturday mothers" for the Franco-German TV channel Arte.

The film, called "The Mad Women of Istanbul," talked about the plight of the women who sit in front of Galatasaray Lise each Saturday, carrying the pictures

# Turkey 'takes note' of Iran's mediation proposal

## Defense cooperation with Iran: 'We have no projects or contracts,' Turkey says

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkish Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel told reporters on Monday that the government had taken note of Iran's readiness to mediate between Syria and Turkey but they would not enter into a comprehensive dialogue with Syria as long as that country supports terrorism.

Iranian President Hashemi Rafsanjani, during his 4-day visit to Turkey, offered to be a mediator between Syria and Turkey and also between Turkey and Greece.

Abduallah Öcalan, the leader of the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) which has been fighting for self-rule in southeastern Turkey since 1984, is known to be residing in Syria. Ankara and Damascus are also at odds about the waters of the Euphrates River.

A senior Turkish diplomat said that they had noted the Iranian proposal but in diplomacy the word "no" didn't exist. "Actually we don't need any mediation. Syria is our neighbor so of course we want good relations with them but they are supporting terrorism," he said. When asked about the proposed three-party meetings between Syria, Iran and Turkey Akbel indicated that until Syria gave up supporting terrorism these meetings would not be held. Foreign ministers of the three countries had been regularly meeting to dis-

cuss regional problems, especially northern Iraq, but Turkey stopped attending. A senior Turkish official said that if there was mistrust between two of the countries it was not useful to hold such meetings.

Rafsanjani, speaking at his press conference on Saturday, said that they could discuss the PKK and the water problem at the three-party meetings. Rafsanjani also mentioned that Iran had good relations with Greece and had offered to mediate between Turkey and Greece. However, he said, they had reached no decision with Turkish officials.

Akbel was also questioned about cooperation in the defense field with Iran but indicated that Turkey had no definite plans for defense industry cooperation with that country. "We have no projects or contracts," Akbel said, adding that defense industry cooperation had not been discussed during Rafsanjani's visit.

The United States had urged Ankara not to enter into joint military efforts with Tehran after Turkey's Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, discussed possible defense industry projects with Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Alaeddin Boroujerdi on Dec. 10. Turkey and Iran signed several economic accords last week following top-level talks in defiance of U.S. bids to isolate Iran.

of their sons and relatives in prison, dead or missing.

"The story of those women reminds me of the women in Argentina who were demonstrating against their missing relatives. But even the dictatorship in Argentina did not attack these women, as the supposedly democratic Turkish government did," said Debord.

# DGM wants RP deputy's political immunity lifted

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Ankara State Security Court has repeated its call for the Justice Ministry to

lift the political immunity of Fethullah Erbaş who visited a Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) camp in northern Iraq in August to ask for the release of captive Turkish soldiers, the Anatolia news agency reported. The judges will first review the file on lifting Erbaş' political immu-

nity, then submit it to the Justice Minister Şevket Kazan. Kazan has the authority to return the file to the State Security Court (DGM)

or send it to the Prime Ministry to be submitted to Parliament. Minister Kazan told the Anatolia reporter that

he had not yet received the file.

Welfare Party deputy Fethullah Erbaş was accompanied by the President of the Human Rights Association (İHD) Akın Birdal and Mazlum-Der Vice Chairman İhsan Aslan on his visit to northern Iraq to secure the return of the

captive soldiers.

DGM is asking for Erbaş to be tried on charges of violating the article in the Anti-Terrorism Law relating to "helping an illegal gang." Akın Birdal and İhsan Aslan have been acquitted of the same charges.



Fettullah Erbaş

*Turkish Daily News* WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1996

## Yılmaz, Perinçek testify at Susurluk Commission

forced the government to launch an inquiry, but the party leaders failed to agree on an expedited investigation in a roundtable summit chaired by President Süleyman Demirel on Sunday.

Doğu Perinçek, the leftist leader who first sounded the trumpet about the objectionable links by publicizing a secret report allegedly compiled by the National Intelligence

Organization (MIT), leveled fresh accusations against Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller whom he claimed had been in the pay of the U.S. State Department.

The Workers Party (İP) leader said in the three-hour meeting with the Parliamentary investigators, he had "analyzed the situation" rather than providing new information and called for the ouster of Çiller from the government. "without which it will be impossible to uncover the dirty triangle," referring to alleged links between Police officials, politicians and drug barons. Perinçek has already accused Çiller, the leader of the government-partner True Path Party (DYP) of leading a special security service made up of rogue police chiefs and right-wing terrorists employed to eliminate supporters of Kurdish rebels fighting a separatist war in the southeast. The scandal has already caused the resignation of Mehmet Ağar as interior minister last month.

Talking to reporters after the

testimony, Perinçek said the failure to force Çiller out of the government and bring her to Supreme court will increase the possibility of a speculated military coup.

The leftist politician charged that Çiller has been working for the U.S. State Department since 1971 as a "call on expert", paid from slush funds, on security matters.

Documents he submitted to the commission showed that Çiller's task was defined as providing information about the economic aspects of (Turkey's) defense industry and she was officially shown as an employee of the secretariat in charge of the defense industries of the North African and Mideastern countries.

The radical leftist politician claimed that Çiller amassed part of her wealth in the United States through such services. But he said for the past four months, the U.S. state Department had stopped official contacts with Çiller and U.S. officials were taking care to remain distanced to the Turkish Foreign Minister.

Perinçek further claimed that the intelligence department of the Turkish Foreign Ministry knew of Çiller's U.S. links and kept file on them.

The leftist politician said Çiller — who has studied and



Left-wing leader Doğu Perinçek has leveled shocking accusations against Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller.

### Charge: Leftist leader calls for Çiller ouster, claims she was on State Department payroll

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- In what has come as the first concrete step in the investigation of the mafia connections scandal rocking Turkish establishment for nearly two months, a special parliament commission on Friday listened to key opposition politicians who made dramatic new claims.

The commission, one of the several official bodies simultaneously put on the task, is gathering the facts about a Nov. 3 road accident near the Western Turkish town of Susurluk in which a police chief and a notorious terrorist were killed and a government MP was injured in the same car. The media and the opposition parties, seeing the incident as proof of links between the state and the mafia bosses, have



taught economics at the United States before coming to a meteoric political career in Turkey — had close ties with an American diplomat in Turkey, whom he described as a leading theoretician of the Jewish lobby in the United States, in good command of Turkish and fluent in five or six languages.

Perinçek charged that the U.S. official "liaising with Çiller" was also connected with the

activities of Çiller's "private security outfit."

Quoting "information provided by the Turkish General Staff," Perinçek claimed that Late Gen. Eşref Bitlis, the gendarmerie commander killed in a plane crash while leading the fight against Kurdish separatists, was the victim of a CIA plot hatched at the İncirlik air base, home for the Western planes protecting Iraqi Kurds.

The radical leftist leader also claimed that Abdullah Çatli, the star terrorist killed in the Susurluk accident, also played a role in a CIA-directed "destabilization campaign" which preceded the 1980 military coup in Turkey along with his allies in MIT. The failure to bring the dark connections into light would be an invitation to a new coup, Perinçek claimed.

*Turkish Daily News* WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 25, 1996

## US voices concern over Iran-Turkey trade deals

"We remain concerned ... by all efforts to intensify cooperative relations with Iran until Tehran reforms its unacceptable international policies," State Department spokesman says

*Reuters*

WASHINGTON- The United States voiced concern on Monday at NATO ally Turkey's decision to sign economic agreements with Iran last week in defiance of U.S. calls to isolate Tehran.

"We remain concerned ... by all efforts to intensify cooperative rela-

tions with Iran until Tehran reforms its unacceptable international policies," State Department spokesman Glyn Davies said.

The United States accuses Iran of being the most active state sponsor of anti-Western terrorism.

It also faults Tehran for opposing

the Middle East process and allegedly seeking to acquire weapons of mass destruction.

"The Turkish government knows well our concerns, we communicate them to them frequently, and we will maintain an active dialogue with the government of Turkey," Davies told reporters at the department's daily briefing.

The agreements, designed to double trade between Turkey and Iran to \$2 billion, were signed near the end of a four-day visit to Turkey last week by Iranian President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani.

Turkish Daily News THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1996

# Çiller makes grave

■ *Yılmaz is carrying out PKK directives*

■ *Baykal never once said there was a gang when he was in government*

■ *Ecevit pinned his hopes on counter-guerrilla controversy at the end of his political career*

## accusations:

■ *The courageous commanders would not hide behind the informers and supply information in the name of 'a high ranking commander'*

■ *Journalists against Turkey at the EP, the defender of PKK and the Greek lobby*

■ *The aim is to plunge the country into chaos*

By Kemal Balcı & Ayla Ganioglu  
TDN Parliament Bureau

ANKARA- Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister Tansu Çiller, leader of the coalition's junior partner, the True Path Party (DYP), harshly criticized the opposition parties over their claims regarding the "state gangs formed in the police-mafia-politician triangle."

Çiller accused main opposition Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz of fulfilling the directives of the outlawed Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). She also said that during the time he was a coalition partner the Republican People's Party (CHP) leader Deniz Baykal had not mentioned the "gangs" even once, that during that time Baykal had been preoccupied not with terrorism but with the Istanbul Municipality Waterworks (ISKI) scandal.

As for Democratic Left Party (DSP) leader Bülent Ecevit, Çiller maintained that Ecevit, "who had not done anything at all to check the counter-guerrilla claims" during the time he served as prime minister, pinned his hopes on the counter-guerrilla controversy now that he has reached the end of his political career.

Çiller's harshest attacks were directed at the members of the Turkish press who recently made speeches at the European Parliament on the censorship issue. She said, "They have spoken against Turkey at the European Parliament, the defender of the PKK and the Greek lobby." Çiller said that these journalists talked about democracy but in fact acted as "coup-mongers," stabbing the state in the back.

Addressing the members of the DYP

group in Parliament on Wednesday, Çiller said that the circles which kept the state-mafia relations exposed by the Nov. 3 Susurluk incident on the country's agenda had an ulterior motive.

Their real aim is not to discover the criminals but to destabilize the country and plunge it into chaos. Çiller said she was alerting the deputies and the DYP members in general to the fact that these circles were trying to "weaken the state's defense reflex."

There is an attempt to "hit the DYP from within," she stressed. Stressing that there was a "planned attempt to create chaos in the country", Çiller said that first an attempt was made to incite the country to pour into the streets, ostensibly to express support for the principle of secularism.

And then with Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's visit to Libya another attempt was made to create a chaotic situation. The government prevented these attempts successfully, she said, adding, "On Nov. 3 a strange event occurred. And the suspicion that this may have been a planned incident, is on the agenda with other things."

Following the accident in Susurluk we were faced with an effort to implicate the whole state (mechanism). If there are those within the state who commit a crime, this is an individual act regardless of whether this is a single person or a mass of persons."

That would not involve the entire state. If there has been a crime we would go to the end (to bring those persons to justice). The one who commits a crime would suffer the punishment.

We have to have faith in justice. Let whoever has committed a crime suffer his punishment. But in this country there are certain circles who, for a variety of reasons, do not just want the criminals to be unveiled. It is a fact that they want more than that. What they want is destabilization, chaos."

Çiller then described the circles which want to trigger a chaotic situation, saying, "We see the old communists who had, in the 1960s and 1970s, directed guns, pistols, rifles against the state, turn their pens against the state today as if trying to avenge themselves — with the large amounts of money they receive from big capitalists."

It is regrettable that the main opposition leader accuses the state, which is fighting against the PKK, of being a gang. If we cast a shadow on the state, Turkey would not be able to find any policemen behind it.

This is what weakening the state's defense reflex is all about." Çiller warned that there was an attempt to "hit the DYP from within," and underlined the need to preserve party unity.

She said that there was a parallelism between the statements made by Motherland Party (ANAP) leader Mesut Yılmaz and the broadcasts of the pro-PKK MED TV.

She said that both Yılmaz and MED TV wanted to see the Turkish people pour into the streets and to plunge the country into chaos. Claiming that PKK leader Abdullah Öcalan was giving directives to Yılmaz, Çiller said that in one of his speeches Öcalan had instructed the PKK members to halt their activities to make things easier for Yılmaz.

Çiller said that journalists were "stabbing

the state, wielding their pens as knives." She said, "It was those journalists who informed on Turkey, speaking to those who act as PKK spokesmen in the European Parliament, to those defending the Greek lobby. There they demanded democracy but when they returned to Turkey they started acting as coup-mongers.

None of the courageous commanders of the armed forces would hide behind these informers and give them information in the name of "a high ranking commander." These persons have talked about democracy but they have done everything to destroy democracy.

I am issuing these warnings so that people will understand these. I want it to be

understood that what these persons want is chaos." Repeating that these circles wanted to cause the people to pour into the streets, Çiller said no one should fall into that trap. She also announced that by the end of January the DYP would stage a meeting to be called the "winter rally."

### **Yılmaz reacts strongly to Çiller's accusations**

ANAP leader Mesut Yılmaz reacted strongly to Çiller's accusations, saying, "No one should try to hide behind the PKK to conceal her own irregularities and unlawful acts. It is not possible to cover up these affairs by splashing mud at this or that person."

Yılmaz said that what would harm the state most would be using the state power for unlawful activities, using the fight against terrorism as an excuse. He stressed that they wanted to have these activities cleared up. This would be the biggest service done to the regime.

He said, "Çiller's groundless accusations indicate that she feels guilty and is upset. I do not think that these deserve to be taken seriously."

Referring to a statement issued by Tansu Çiller's husband Özer Çiller, a statement criticizing Yılmaz, the ANAP leader said, "I would not take him as an interlocutor. Let him go and make a statement (to the judicial authorities)."

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## **Turkey asks United States to investigate Kurdish Institute**

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- Foreign Ministry spokesman Ömer Akbel said on Wednesday that Turkey had asked the United States to investigate the Kurdish institute in Washington.

When questioned about Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan's declaration that

the Kurdish Institute in Washington belonged to the PKK, Akbel said that Öcalan's statement was very clear and unambiguous. "We are waiting for an assessment by U.S. officials. We have requested that everything about this institute be investigated, including the source of its funding," Akbel said.

*Turkish Daily News* THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1996

# Lice Under Siege

By Zafer F. Yörük

*Turkish Daily News*

ISTANBUL- The inhabitants of Diyarbakır's Lice district have been under intense pressure from authorities since last Friday, the Human Rights Association (IHD)'s Diyarbakır branch reported. According to reports, the incidents followed a visit to the district on December 11 by Diyarbakır state officials, led by the Diyarbakır Provincial Gendarmerie commander, to 67 village leaders.

Officials reportedly expressed their disappointment that they could not recruit anyone from the district for the village guards, and asked the village leaders to prepare a list of names to be recruited as village guards. The leaders refused, arguing that joining the guards is vol-

untary.

During a military raid in Lice on the evening of 20 December the entire male population between the ages of 15-60, around 2,500 men, was collected at the gendarmerie station yard.

Resisters were reportedly beaten with rifle butts, and even the sick were dragged from their beds. A top military officer informed the crowd that 100 of them would be assigned as village guards, and if they refused no one would leave the yard. The mayor of Lice also addressed the men, saying he would provide food aid during Ramadan to the families of those who become village guards.

The elderly and civil servants were released, and the rest remained until early Saturday morning, under pres-

sure to volunteer as a village guard. Seven more were reportedly beaten. The majority of the detainees were released Saturday morning and 110 kept in custody. On Sunday the detainees were beaten and forcibly subjected to military training. The newly-assigned village guards were released Tuesday with rifles, and seven injured men are receiving care at home.

The village guards are the paramilitary forces in the disturbed Southeast, armed civilians pitted against the separatist Kurdish Workers Party (PKK) guerrillas.

The exact number of village guards in the region is unknown, but one of the controversial names involved in the Susurluk accident, DYP Urfa Deputy Sedat Bucak, reportedly controlled 15,000 such armed men in the Siverek

district of Urfa alone. Reports from Southeast over the last decade abound of the predominantly Kurdish population of the region being forced to take up arms by the security forces. Lice is known to be a stronghold of the pro-Kurdish People's Democracy Party (HADEP), and has been subjected to similar pressure in the past. Large parts of the town were burned down by security forces in late October 1993, and the town partially evacuated.

The population has decreased from 1993's 10,000-plus to little over 2,500 today.

The district is sensitive from the continuous pressures from authorities, and the recent incidents can only serve to raise tensions even more for the remaining inhabitants.

# Protests raised by the NGO's

*Turkish Daily News*

ISTANBUL- The Human Rights Association (IHD) Diyarbakır and Istanbul Branches, Istanbul based Lice Culture and Solidarity Foundation, People's Democracy Party (HADEP) and Progressive Workers' Unions Confederation (DISK) have officially lodged protests against the recent government action in Lice. Lawyer Mahmut Sakar, the chairman of Diyarbakır IHD, said "Lice is turned into a concentration camp." Sakar said that the IHD tried to contact the Lice governor upon the incidents but they were replied that the governor was on leave and the Gendarmerie Commander was the acting governor of the district.

He said the administration, which is supposed to be civilian, has been caught red-handed, which proves that the Southeast is not governed by civilian authorities but by the military. HADEP Istanbul Branch condemned "the horror that is forced onto the

inhabitants of Lice" in a written statement. HADEP statement claimed that the state is threatening the right to life and habitat of the people of Lice.

The statement continued: "The Refah-Yol government, which is unable to overcome the Susurluk scandal, is seeking revenge on the people of Lice now. Instead of bringing the gangs to justice they are threatening the lives of Kurdish people with violence."

The HADEP statement argued that the village guard system is bankrupt: "It is impossible to realize peace and democracy through village guards, nationalist murderers, special teams and drug smugglers. The paramilitarization and persecution in the region should be halted immediately."

DISK chairman Kemal Daysal also protested the forceable paramilitarization attempts in Lice, stating:

"It has come to the light recently how the tribes in the region are using the state facili-

ties for their personal and illegal ends, how they commit every form of crimes. It is a great fallacy to insist on the village guard system at a moment when the falsity of this system is proven."

IHD Istanbul Branch pointed out that the civilian officials, including the mayor of Lice, are powerless before the military authorities. The branch's statement recalled that during the October 1993 disturbances in the region even the parliamentary deputies were not allowed in the district.

Chairman of the Lice Culture and Solidarity Foundation Tahsin Ekinci said at a press conference on Wednesday that they will bring the authorities to court for the recent Lice incidents.

Republican People's Party (CHP) Erzincan deputy Mustafa Yıldız said CHP is monitoring the events, and that a party delegation will be sent to the region to investigate the incident.

Turkish Daily News FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1996

# Operation Provide Comfort

**O**peration Provide Comfort (OPC), the Turkey-based Western air force designed to protect the Kurds of northern Iraq from the forces of Saddam Hussein, had its mandate terminated by the Turkish Parliament on Wednesday. It is to be replaced on Dec. 31 by a "reconnaissance force" whose rules are to be set by Turkey but which is extremely vague at the moment.

The OPC has been controversial ever since it was set up following the Gulf War, and has often been used as a political punching bag by Turkish politicians. It has been

argued that the OPC led to the establishment of a political vacuum in northern Iraq, a vacuum that has been exploited by the separatist Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK). On the other hand, the proponents of the OPC argued that it not only prevented another mass exodus of the Iraqi Kurds to Turkey, but at the same time sheltered Turkey's armed forays against PKK camps inside Iraq from Western criticism.

To help TDN readers get a better grasp on the issue, we have printed below an October, 1995 OPC fact sheet issued by the United States Information Service.

**A** series of operations conducted over the past 25 years against the Kurds by the Iraqi military came to a head with the 1988 "Anfal" (the eight Sura of the Holy Quran meaning "the spoils of war") campaign. The government of Iraq spared no resources in its brutal actions that resulted in the systematic murder of 325,000 Kurds, the destruction of over 4,000 villages and towns, and the forced relocation of tens of thousands, not to mention those that fled to Turkey, Iran, or other countries.

After the Gulf War, 1.4 million residents of northern Iraq fled to Iran, 450,000 fled to Turkey, and those that remained in northern Iraq simply clung to the side of the mountains. Of these, thousands died of hunger, exposure, and epidemics. Both French volunteer doctors and U.S. military medical personnel estimated that at the peak of the suffering in late March and early April, 1991, between 900 to 1000 Kurds died each day.

On April 5, 1991, President George Bush directed the start of Operation Provide Comfort (OPC). Within 36 hours, the first phase began — a mission of survival for the people of northern Iraq.

On the first day of operations, April 7, 1991, OPC forces flew six airdrop missions from the Incirlik Air Base, sending 32,000 pounds of food, water, clothing, tents, and blankets to the refugees. By the seventh day this figure grew to 1,727,200 pounds, the equivalent of 85 C-5 aircraft loads. OPC headquarters were established at Incirlik, and remained there throughout the operation. The air base, with a name that means "fig orchard" in Turkish, was built on what was once this very thing.

Personnel from the office of the Foreign Disaster Agency-Disaster Assistance Relief team (OFDA-DART) and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) set up an office in Zhako on April 14, 1991 to help the coalition members assess and coordinate the relief effort.

On April 22, 1991, OPC leaders established a Military Coordination Center (MCC) in Pirinolik, Turkey with an office in Zhako, Iraq. The MCC's mission consisted of conferring with local officials

to insure the Iraqi military complied with conditions set forth for noninterference with humanitarian operations, to lessen the chances of hostile military exchanges and conduct military-to-military talks with Government of Iraq (GOI) forces.

Today, the MCC exist solely in Zhako, where its coalition members coordinate operations with the people of northern Iraq, United Nations agencies, and OFDA-DART personnel, and conduct village visits in the security zone. They remain prepared to resume military-to-military contacts with the Iraqis, links which were broken off at the latter's request. The zone measures approximately 160 miles wide by 50 miles deep, about the same area as Yellowstone National Park.

Airdrops of relief supplies ceased on May 10, 1991. The main reasons which allowed us to stop the airdrops centered on the need for different types of food supplies, shifting population centers away from the mountains and into camps, and on an improved distribution system using trucks and helicopters. Of 699 airdrop sorties flown, 658 were judged as effective, for a 91.4 percent success rate.

On May 13, 1991, the United Nations assumed responsibility for Transit Camp 1 at Zhako. Refugees started flowing through this camp and numerous others, on their way back to their villages and towns from the mountains, from Turkey and from Iran. By early June, almost all Kurdish refugees had returned from Turkey.

At the operation's peak May 21, 1991, the United States had nearly 12,000 military personnel committed to relief efforts as part of an international coalition force of nearly 22,000 people.

Currently, an average of 1,600 coalition members serve in OPC. More than 40,000 coalition personnel have rotated through Turkey and the forward deployment areas in support of OPC since its inception.

During the first two months of operations, forces from 12 nations participated in OPC, including Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Luxembourg, Denmark, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

Additionally, Germany operated independently out of the Batman Air Base, Turkey, ferrying aid to

camps inside Turkey (German law prohibited them from operations outside NATO countries).

All countries, except Australia, were members of NATO, easing interoperability and the integration of forces and the obtaining an agreement with the Turkish government for the initial operations. Currently, forces from France, Turkey, the United Kingdom, and the United States make up the coalition. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees assumed responsibility for relief efforts in northern Iraq on June 7, 1991.

On July 1, 1991, OPC's mission switched from one of supplying immediate life-sustaining aid to one of deterring Iraqi aggression, monitoring compliance with U.N. Security Council, resolutions, enforcing the no-fly zone north of the 36th parallel, and managing funds for humanitarian aid.

OPC flew 138 emergency relief missions at the request of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and the International Red Cross during the winter of 1991-1992, delivering 238,000 pounds of food and water and 4,262 bundles of clothing to Iraqi refugees, many of whom were former Iraqi soldiers fleeing to the north at the end of the Gulf War. In February 1992, OPC members provided help to the Turkish government when avalanches struck at Gormac and Erzincan on Feb. 1 and 13, respectively. Help provided included searching for people, medical aid, transportation of relief workers, and transportation of the injured.

A tragic incident occurred on April 14, 1994 when two U.S. Air Force F-15C pilots shot down two U.S. Army Blackhawk helicopters which they misidentified as Iraqi Mi-24 Hind gunships. All people on board the Blackhawks, eight crew members and 18 passengers, in the unfortunate mishap.

One year later, on April 14, 1995, a memorial was dedicated in Zakho, Iraq at the MCC, honoring those who perished supporting OPC.

OPC is a success story. Now entering its fifth year, it reflects the coalition's commitments to UNSCR 688, which demands that Iraq cease repression of its own people and allow international humanitarian organizations unrestricted access to all needy people in Iraq.

Since its inception, Operation Provide Comfort has made positive contributions to the lives of 3.5 million people living in northern Iraq by assisting them in returning to a state of normalcy and placing them on the road to self-sufficiency, with the eventual aim of reintegrating the region back into Iraq. Hundreds of thousands of lives have been saved and 700,000 people resettled. In 1995 alone, 1.25 million people in northern Iraq have received aid as a result of OPC efforts.

The U.S. government has earmarked \$150.2 million between fiscal years (FY) 91 and 95 for OPC's humanitarian effort. The breakdown consists of \$25 million for 91-92, \$78 million for FY93 (which can be rolled over into new FYs), \$15.2 million for FY94 (lower because of the rollover authorization of FY93 funds), and \$32 million for FY95.

Nongovernment agencies contracted to OFDA-DART, part of OPC, have reconstructed over 2,800 villages.

A yearly average of 12,000 permanent shelter units have been constructed since 1991 through the combined efforts of international organizations, donors, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs).

Through the U.N. Humanitarian Program, UNICEF has invested more than \$40 million in water supply and sanitation systems in northern Iraq during the last three years. This is more than double the Air Force's military personnel budget for FY95. Nineteen nations have contributed food and supplies to the people of northern Iraq since the beginning of OPC. Approximately 10 to 20 million explosive mines are believed to still be active after having been left in northern Iraq following the Gulf War. That's about seven mines to every man, woman, and child in northern Iraq. At the current rate, it would take more than 50 years to clear them all.

OPC has two co-commanders, a U.S. and a Turkish Brigadier General. The British and French contingencies are led by coalition chiefs/commanders in the grade of colonel equivalent. Coalition members have also aided noncoalition personnel in earthquake relief, recovery of drowning victims, and rescue from the sea.

Bleak economic conditions in the Commonwealth of Independent States, coupled with the same harsh winter that plagued the Turks and people of northern Iraq, saw personnel from Operation Provide Comfort lend logistical support to crews involved in Operation Provide Hope in February, 1992. Of 57 OPH flights, 23 (17 C-141s and six C-5s) came from Incirlik Air Base. Four members assigned to OPC have been awarded the Cheney Award for the Most Outstanding Rescue of the Year. The first two received the award for a July, 1992 search-and-rescue mission into northern Iraq (looking for a downed Turkish pilot), while the second received the award for the evacuation of a wounded Australian aid worker from northern Iraq in January, 1993. Members of the coalition have also aided in other search-and-rescue and aircraft recovery/demolition missions of both coalition and non-coalition personnel and aircraft. A series of terrorist acts, directed against U.N. relief convoys in late November and early December, 1992 damaged or destroyed 20 civilian trucks. Several Iraqi time-bombs were also discovered and removed from other trucks before they detonated. U.N. and NGO personnel have also been the victims of lethal terrorist attacks.

The first reserve component organization associated with OPC, the 944th Fighter Group based at Luke Air Force Base, Arizona, and equipped with F-16s, started operations on Dec. 1, 1992. The unit was one of more than 80 different active duty and reserve components that have supported OPC since its inception. Iraqi leaders tested the U.S. during the transfer of power between Presidents Bush and Clinton and the establishment of the latter's Cabinet. First, on Jan. 17, 1993, a U.S. F-16 pilot downed an Iraqi MIG-23 which flew two nautical miles north of the 36th parallel.

During the same period, after the Iraqis tracked coalition aircraft with threat radar and subjected crews to anti-aircraft fire, a U.S. F-4G Wild Weasel/F-16 hunter/killer team tired a High Speed Anti-Radiation Missile and dropped cluster bombs on an Iraqi radar site, knocking it out of commission.

To further test President Clinton's resolve, Iraqi forces again employed anti-aircraft artillery, against four coalition aircraft on 9 April 1993. In response, two F-16s dropped cluster bombs on the site before returning safely to Incirlik Air Base. August 19,

1993 saw two F-16Cs and two F-15s drop cluster bombs on an Iraqi SA-3 site, after it launched two SAM's at the F-16s and two F-4Gs which were patrolling the no-fly zone. All aircraft returned safely to Incirlik Air Base.

On Dec. 21, 1993, near the town of Fiadah, Iraqi forces fired from outside the security zone on MCC

coalition personnel performing a road patrol. Local guards traveling with the party returned fire. No one was killed or injured during the exchange but the incident prompted a review of travel to the area. CTF forces continue to fly fighter and armed reconnaissance missions into Iraq above the 36th parallel to demonstrate coalition resolve, prevent Iraqi

encroachment into the security zone, and promote the security and stability of the people of northern Iraq.

More than 50,000 sorties have been flown in support of OPC through Oct., 1995.

In June and December of each year, the Turkish Parliament votes of whether to continue OPC.

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, SATURDAY-SUNDAY, DECEMBER 28-29, 1996

# France Quits Mission To Monitor North Iraq

## Pullout From Allied Air Watch Disappoints U.S.

By Craig R. Whitney  
New York Times Service

PARIS — France took another step away from the United States in the Middle East on Friday by announcing that it was ending its participation in five years of allied air reconnaissance operations over the internationally protected Kurdish area of northern Iraq.

Only Thursday, American officials were still hoping to persuade France to continue participating in the missions, in which American, British and French planes have flown over Kurdish territory since the end of the 1991 Gulf War with the goal of deterring President Saddam Hussein from attacking the Kurds.

But President Jacques Chirac's government said that since the operation would no longer be directly linked to providing aid to the Kurdish population after Jan. 1, it would end its participation then.

"We would have liked them to have stayed in," an American diplomat here said Friday. "We don't like to do things that could cause Saddam to miscalculate, but the French still consider themselves part of the allied coalition, and we will do what we think is the right thing."

In Washington, the United States expressed disappointment at the decision by France to end its participation in the patrols over northern Iraq. A spokesman for the State Department, John Dinger, said the French had been a "valued participant" in the flights.

"The United States would have preferred that France continue to fly over Northern Iraq, but it's obviously a French decision," he said.

Mr. Dinger added that the withdrawal of the French would not affect the patrols, but it was not clear whether or

not it would result in fewer overflights. "We're confident that the operations will continue to operate effectively," he said.

The French statement did not break with the allies' aim of compelling Mr. Saddam to abide by United Nations resolutions imposed since his invasion of Kuwait in 1990, and French planes will continue to fly over southern Iraq.

But Mr. Chirac, trying to put France back on the Middle East map as an independent player, has been gradually moving away from continuing American and British intransigence toward Mr. Saddam's regime, which was one of France's biggest weapons customers in the Middle East before the Gulf War. A French oil company, Elf Aquitaine SA, was one of the first to arrive in Baghdad this month after Iraq agreed to a UN agreement for Baghdad to sell \$2 billion in oil over six months to pay for food and medicine.

Increasing French fractiousness toward the United States is not limited to the Middle East, though a lot of it began there last spring when the French foreign minister, Herve de Charette, bird-dogged U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, to his intense annoyance, while he was trying to negotiate an agreement to prevent clashes between Israeli forces and Syrian-supported Hezbollah guerrillas on Lebanese territory.

Mr. Christopher's pique, shared by his closest aides, flared again early this month in Brussels during a NATO foreign ministers' meeting, his last as Secretary of State, when he thought Mr. de Charette had deliberately walked out during farewell remarks by NATO's secretary general, Javier Solana Madariaga.

NATO and French officials denied an

intentional snub, but the Americans were in a feisty mood because of French insistence on making an important NATO command in Naples, one always previously held by an American admiral, into a European-held post in a sweeping post-Cold War reorganization of the alliance. The United States, whose Sixth Fleet is based in Naples, has refused.

Mr. Chirac and President Bill Clinton, whose personal relations have been warm up to now despite the frictions around them, may end up having to try to settle that dispute themselves at a NATO summit meeting in Madrid next July.

France also tried unsuccessfully this month to keep the United States from forcing out Boutros Boutros Ghali as the UN secretary-general. The French announcement Friday said that there were other ways of providing aid to the Kurds in northern Iraq — through international organizations. Paris joined the air operation in 1991, when hundreds of thousands of separatist Kurds were fleeing north from attacking Iraqi forces and the allies were enforcing a UN ban on Iraqi warplanes over the region.

But when war broke out between the two main Kurdish factions at the end of the summer — and one of them called in Iraqi troops to help — French officials began wondering whether the allies had any business any more trying to keep them out.

When Mr. Clinton ordered U.S. cruise missile strikes against Iraqi air defense targets in retaliation for its troop move in September, Paris made clear that it did not approve, and did not go along with an extension of allied air patrols from the 32d to the 33d parallel in a separate zone banning Iraqi flights over southern Iraq.

# Pro-Islamist

Turkish Daily News

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1996

# peace campaigner

By Sevinç Karaca

Turkish Daily News

ISTANBUL- Pro-Islamist writer Mehmet Metiner was born in Kahta, a provincial town near Adıyaman in the southeast in 1960. This Kurdish writer graduated from Istanbul University - the Turkish Language and Literature Department. He has worked for various pro-Islamic political and cultural magazines as Chief Editor.

Girişim (Initiative) and Yeni Zemin (New Foundation) are among the magazines for which he has written. Metiner has been active in the Islamic movement for 21 years. He participated in the National Salvation Party (NSP) and the Welfare Party (RP). He writes about the Islamic Movement and its problems in Turkey. Metiner is working on a book about Turkey's democratic, social, identity and pluralism problems.

He is also working as an advisor for the Bağcılar Municipality Governor in Istanbul. Metiner is participating in the ongoing "One Million Signatures for Peace" campaign as the speaker of the Istanbul Initiative.

The writer answered TDN questions about peace, the Kurdish problem and political problems of Turkey. Metiner told TDN the story of his involvement in the peace campaign: "We have worked with the campaigners of peace before for various democracy and peace campaigns.

We know each other. They have invited me to participate in the first Initiative group for the One Million Signatures For Peace campaign, and I have happily accepted the invitation.

I am participating in the campaign as an active volunteer, as I believe that this is a useful initiative, and that Turkey needs a realistic peace, especially regarding the Kurdish issue. I believe the dirty war which caused great damage to our economy, to the lives of our citizens and most important of all, to our humanistic values and resources, should be ended.

Mehmet Metiner writes about the Islamic Movement and its problems in Turkey. He is working on a book about Turkey's democratic, social, identity and its 'pluralism' problems. Metiner is also participating in the ongoing 'One Million Signatures for Peace' campaign

I work for this campaign because it does not aim to serve an ideology. There are individuals of various ideologies, but it is very nice that people from different political orientations come together. It gives us the opportunity to know each other more closely and give up our preconceptions.

As I said in the first meeting of the campaign, this initiative should not be limited to the peace campaign. If we want a permanent peace we have to give up the totalitarian ideologies in our minds. If we want to be in power to carry out these ideologies, we cannot maintain peace.

It is not important to end a particular war; the war between the mentalities should be ended. There is one way for this purpose: We have to establish a democratic state that does not have an ideology. I am participating in the peace campaign both in contact with the central committee and as a speaker of the Istanbul platform with these ideas."

Metiner said, answering TDN's question about his relations with the Welfare Party, that he participates in the Welfare Party but he does not fit in its boundaries. He stated that, though he supports the party he criticizes them.

Metiner wants the RP to become a more democratic Muslim Turkish party that carries the differences and colours of this country, and adds that, "I am an intellectual. A party program is too limiting in its scope to visualize the dreams of an intellectual.

## Political solution for the Southeast

Metiner said he is Kurdish and a Muslim, and these two identities pose problems within the Turkish State.

Metiner does not believe that the political regime and state in Turkey are democratic. The State is defender of an undemocratic nationalism and a Jacobean secularism.

He states that his two identities cause problems in this ideology, immune State and adds, "There has been a transformation through a softer secularism, and we are able to talk about the Kurdish problem more openly, but we still face a negative attitude.

The Kurdish problem should be solved together with the religious problem. The State is not at peace with its own people: religious people. It is also not at peace with the people who don't have a Turkish ethnic identity, on which the State bases itself.

There is one way to solve the problem: the State should be saved from being a tool of a particular group or ideology; it should be an ideology free and democratic State for everybody. The solution is not to take over the power and make the State the tool of an ideology; I do not find that democratic.

Such a State limits the basic rights of individuals. I do not see a State belonging to Kemalists, socialists, Islamists, Turks or Kurds as a solution. The solution is to live together in peace. Everyone should be able to live as they believe. I believe in a democratic State in which every-

one will be comfortable."

## The Welfare Party and peace

Metiner answered our question about his participation in the campaign, saying that he has not received a negative reaction from the Welfare Party. He stated that the party has a positive attitude towards peace, and wants to solve the Kurdish problem.

"The party knows who is able to solve the problem," he said. "But they also know that they would not like the Welfare Party's solution.

This situation makes the party look like a state party, but it still cannot be put on the same scale with the other state parties. The problem will be solved by the society itself; democratic individuals and their individuals will solve the problem."

Metiner stated that separation is not a solution, as Turkey has suffered from the problems of being a nation-state. "The nation state is contrary with this society," he argued, adding that "it is a bad, made-up mechanism. Because there is not one nation in this country, there are many different ethnic group living together with one thing uniting them — Islam.

If the society is not homogeneous a roof should be established compatible to its heterogeneous structure. A democratic judicial state is the solution, not a federation. The state is free of ideology, religion or sect. Peace means a democratic state for me."

## State and Islam

Metiner states that Islam is not





preted as a recommendation of a democratic society. Metiner states that Islam orders justice in society, meaning Islam tries to avoid dictatorship, and adds "God leaves the people free to believe.

In other words Islam does not force people to choose heaven or hell on earth. Islam cannot be a state model where there is no single understanding of Islam, and a widespread population of Muslims. If there had been one understanding of Islam an Islamic State Model would be realized. But believers of Islam should live free with their institutions and jurisdiction without interference of the state."

### The future of the Kurdish problem

Metiner stated that a Kurdish state should be established in Northern Iraq, where history and geography are convenient for a state, at least to realize the "spell of a state". He added that he does not oppose establishment of a state, but warned that it is not the end of the problems as Kurds believe.

"A Kurdish nation state may solve the problems of Kurds as much as the Turkish nation state solved the problems of Turkish people," he said, continuing that "those who will establish it is a problem.

It is not clear that there could be a third solution out of the problems of Barzani and Talabani. I do not want a state where, not for my ethnic identity, but I have problems for my religious identity.

A socialist nation-state that does not have a democratic approach may be a new tragedy for Kurds. The new state should maintain internal peace. Kurds are still under the influence of clanship tradition.

But I believe separate federations of Arab and Kurdish nations in Iraq, and a democratic justice state is the solution for the Kurdish problem.

That may help other Kurdish groups spread out in the region." Talking about his understanding of peace Metiner said he wants to end this dirty war that has caused great damages in lives, economy and human values.

He stated that he is neutral about peace and he does not believe peace can have religion or ideology.

Metiner says that he does not want to do anything that he does not want to be done, and this is his understanding of peace.

He said he is ready to work together with anyone for peace, from pro-secularism Kemalists to socialists and artists, referring to the first signer of the campaign: actress Türkan Şoray, Jewish businessmen İshak Alaton and left-wing writers and activists. Metiner ended his remarks by saying that though such initiatives are only drops in the ocean, they will unite in a sea some day that will maintain peace and democracy.

Metiner said he is hopeful about the campaign and its establishment of a new culture, where individuals with different opinions sign under the same text.

These activities will lead the society to make the necessary changes in its rotten political culture and install the universal justice and democracy.

a state model, it does not have state ideology that is written in the holy book. The Islamic state ideologies, he explained, were formed by political Islamists as an alternative against the modern state in recent centuries. Metiner says that Islam recommends a society structure, but is not a model, though it has principles about an ideal state.

He quoted from the Qu'ran that God tells us to respect others' opinions on every step of life, and that this can be inter-

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1996

## France formally says it will not participate in Iraq flights

Turkish officials say French participation would have required a new parliamentary decision which would be hard to obtain

By Nazlan Ertan  
*Turkish Daily News*

PARIS/ANKARA- France, after three days of "studying" whether they would take part in the new force to replace Operation Provide Comfort (OPC), declared formally on Friday that it would not participate, saying the new operation lacked "a humanitarian aid dimension."

Meanwhile, in the Turkish capital

government officials said the French could not have participated in the new force at this stage because the setting up of this force with Turkish, U.S. and British forces had already been approved by Parliament and a new parliamentary decision would be needed to include the French in this operation.

A source in Ankara, who asked to

remain unidentified, told the Turkish Daily News that Turks did not want French participation and thus the announcement in Paris came as a relief. Turkish officials also said they were rather unhappy with the way the French had initially announced they would not participate in the new force. "They called us only an hour before the parliamentary debate began on this force and informed us about their last minute decision..."

A declaration made by the French Foreign Ministry said that OPC had been put in place in 1991 "as a temporary operation for facilitating international humanitarian aid and to prevent any action against the civilian population in northern Iraq." However, the operation's mandate comes to an end as of Dec. 31 and the United States and Turkey have decided to set up, with the United Kingdom, a new operation with a strictly aerial dimension, the statement said.

The humanitarian aspect initially envisaged was not a part of this new scheme, the French declaration said, adding that France would continue with unilateral aid to Iraq and would still participate in Southern Watch, another multinational force, which protects Shiites in the south of Iraq.

In a move apparently designed to quell earlier speculation that France had been angry with the United States and Turkey, the statement said that Paris congratulated the different forces on the cooperation displayed by the OPC.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1996

# Ministry: 'Force' can go anytime

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- Turkey on Friday indicated that it would play a more assertive role within the untitled new force being substituted for the ending Operation Provide Comfort (OPC) and that it would use it for moderation.

"Turkey has the right to determine the duration, scope and the need for the (new) operation," a foreign ministry statement stressed, adding that Turkish and U.S. governments would be able to terminate it at will with advance notification.

The position statement appeared as a response to those from U.S. administration and military spokesmen denying any substantial change to the OPC format implemented for the past five years. Turkish parliament on Wednesday authorized the government to set up a substitute force for the OPC — whose mandate ends on Dec 31 — with the participation of the United States and Britain.

The OPC, set up in 1991 to deter an Iraqi attack on the Western-protected safe haven for the autonomy seeking Kurds in the north, was made up of a U.S.-British-French air force, with about 48 combat jets based at Incirlik, southern Turkey.

"Turkish soil and airspace will not be used by the Coalition for offensive operations against Iraq in the framework of the new air operation," the foreign ministry statement underlined.

In a seeming bid to preempt objections from Iran and Syria, the communique assured that the coalition units to

be deployed on Turkish soil "would under no circumstances be used against third countries" and that like in the past, they would respect the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and national unity of Iraq.

As an added guarantee, the foreign ministry statement made clear that the coalition forces would be under the joint command of Turkish and U.S. officers of equal rank and status who would take decisions and issue orders jointly.

The communique looked addressed to the U.S. State Department whose acting spokesman John Dinger on Thursday said the new air operation will be the "substantially the same."

Turkish and U.S. military officials discussing the terms of operation for the new force in Ankara are to resume the negotiations early in January.

Turkey basically wants to limit the operation to reconnaissance flights, limit the number of daily flights and the use of weapons only to intercept Iraqi aircraft attempting to enter the air exclusion zone north of the 36th parallel.

Ankara is also against a special name for the new force to which it simply refers to as the reconnaissance force.

But Washington negotiators are reported to be seeking wider freedom of action for the force which is mainly made up American combat jets and support aircraft including early warning and electronic countermeasures planes. In the past, the U.S. pilots had frequently bombed Iraqi air defense batteries, reporting hostile "radar locking" — requiring prompt counter action or evasive movements. Iraq has persistently denied any provocative action that would justify armed attacks.

Turkey also wants to set more restrictive rules of engagement to prevent friendly fire incidents, similar to one in which U.S. pilots shot down two American Sikorsky helicopters, killing 16 occupants including Turkish military personnel.

U.S. officials, nevertheless, looked bent on making a last stand to preserve as much as the OPC scope as possible for the new operation.

A Pentagon spokesman, talking to the TDN in Washington on condition of anonymity, said "It's basically a similar sort of operation."

The spokesman for the U.S. European Command (CINCEUR) in Stuttgart, Germany, also told the TDN that there is "no significant change" that they knew of.

Turkish Daily News SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1996

## Former RP deputy tried for separatist propaganda

**Mezarci's alleged speech: 'We will establish the state of Islam even if Turkey's population decreases to 5 million. We will cooperate with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan and destroy the Republic of Turkey'**

Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The second court hearing for former Welfare Party (RP) Deputy Hasan Mezarci, on trial for charges of spreading separatist propaganda, was held at State Security Court today, the Anatolia news agency reported.

Mezarci, who has been living in Germany for 10 months, was sentenced to 18 months in prison during his absence and was arrested at the airport upon his return to Turkey. Mezarci was taken to the State Security Court (DGM) which then sent him to Metris prison.

The former RP deputy is being tried on charges of spreading separatist propaganda and insulting Atatürk during a 1992

speech in Bolu-Gölkaya in 1992. The indictment said Mezarci used statements such as, "We will establish the state of Islam even if Turkey's population decreases to 5 million. We will cooperate with the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) leader Abdullah Öcalan and destroy the Republic of Turkey."

While Mezarci did not attend the hearing today, his attorney Mehmet Ali Bulut said his client had nothing to say as yet. The prosecutor is requesting a sentence of one to three years in prison and a TL 100- to 300 million fine. The presiding judge, Turgut Okyay, postponed the hearing to a further date to gather more information.

Le Figaro - 28/29 décembre 1996

Nouveau motif de zizanie avec Washington

# Kurdistan irakien : Paris retire ses avions

*La France a décidé de ne plus participer à l'opération de surveillance aérienne au nord de l'Irak.*

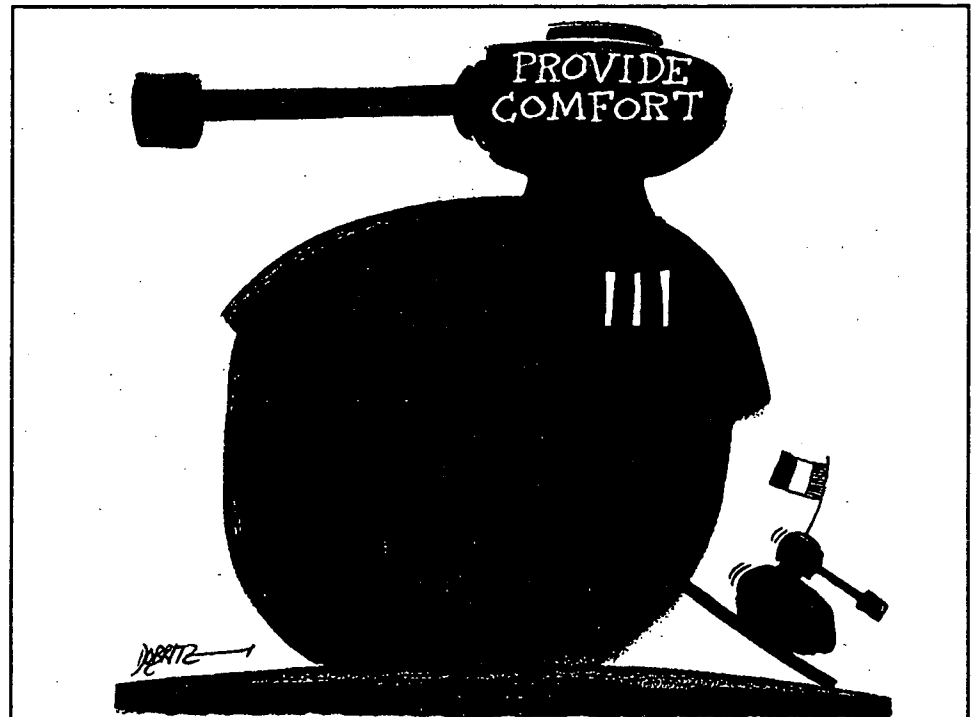
En annonçant hier qu'elle ne participerait pas à la nouvelle force de surveillance aérienne du pays kurde, au nord de l'Irak, la France vient d'ajouter un nouveau différend à la liste des désaccords franco-américains.

Ce geste ne peut que satisfaire l'Irak, qui ne souhaite évidemment pas voir des forces étrangères continuer à lui interdire une partie de son espace aérien. Bagdad a d'ailleurs dénoncé jeudi la nouvelle force, qui « *pue le complot contre l'Irak* ». Et le refus français intervient alors que la France est en train de reprendre pied à Bagdad.

La nouvelle force, composée désormais uniquement par la Turquie, les Etats-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne, est destinée à remplacer à partir du 1<sup>er</sup> janvier l'opération « *Provide Comfort* », lancée en 1991 pour venir en aide aux populations kurdes du nord de l'Irak. Raison invoquée par la France pour refuser sa participation : « *Le volet humanitaire ne figure pas dans ce nouveau dispositif* » dit le communiqué publié hier par les Affaires étrangères.

## La limite du 32<sup>e</sup> parallèle

La France retirera donc la demi-douzaine d'avions basés à Incirlik, en Turquie, qui participait à un dispositif comprenant une cinquantaine d'appareils. Elle continuera cependant à participer à sa façon à l'autre force d'exclusion aérienne au



sud de l'Irak, baptisée « *Southern Watch* », en se limitant au 32<sup>e</sup> parallèle, alors que les Saoudiens, les Américains et les Britanniques volent jusqu'au 33<sup>e</sup> parallèle depuis les combats interkurdes en septembre dernier.

« *Ces combats ont démontré l'inefficacité de la surveillance aérienne* », dit-on à Paris. Mais ces affrontements entre Kurdes pro et anti-Saddam avaient également permis à Bagdad de reprendre un certain contrôle de la région, et obligé les militaires protégeant

les ONG à quitter le pays, y compris les derniers Français.

Le « *volet humanitaire* » était donc en sommeil depuis septembre. Il sera désormais assumé par l'ONU, dans le cadre de la résolution 986 de l'ONU. Cette résolution autorise depuis ce mois-ci l'Irak à vendre, sous contrôle international, pour 2 milliards de dollars de pétrole chaque semestre pour financer des achats de vivres et de médicaments. 30 % des revenus de ces ventes doivent être affectés aux régions du Nord.

Paris avait beaucoup plaidé pour l'application de ce texte. La France entretenait avant la guerre du Golfe d'étroites relations politiques et commerciales avec l'Irak. Grâce à la « *986* », elles reprennent : Elf-Aquitaine a signé en décembre un contrat d'achat de pétrole brut d'une durée de trois mois, et une délégation d'une quarantaine d'entreprises agroalimentaires est attendue à Bagdad en janvier. Des visites qui ne peuvent faire plaisir aux Etats-Unis.

Pierre PRIER (avec AFP)

Le Figaro - 28/29 décembre 1996

# Le cactus français

*Après les empoignades à propos de l'Otan et de l'ONU, le dossier irakien risque d'empoisonner les relations franco-américaines.*

WASHINGTON : Jean-Jacques MÉVEL

Une déception sans doute, mais pas une surprise. Le département d'État a pris acte sans commentaire hier de la décision de la France de retirer ses avions de la surveillance aérienne alliée au nord de l'Irak. Le geste confirme le rôle joué par Paris : un cactus pour la diplomatie des États-Unis.

Après les péripéties protocolaires et les empoignades à propos de l'Otan et de l'ONU, le dossier irakien menace depuis longtemps d'empoisonner les relations entre les deux pays. La France soupçonne Bill Clinton de mener une croisade médiatique contre Saddam Hussein, au mépris du peuple irakien et de l'équilibre régional. Washington croit deviner, dans l'attitude de Jacques Chirac, un souci de ménager les intérêts financiers et pétroliers de la France à Bagdad.

*« Les États-Unis auraient préféré que les avions français continuent de participer à la surveillance alliée, disait hier John Dinger, porte-parole au département d'État. Mais la décision de la France est souveraine. Quant à l'opération alliée, elle se poursuivra sans encombre, malgré le retrait français. »*

## Symbolique

L'opération « Provide Comfort » avait déjà provoqué des dissonances en septembre, quand le « candidat » Clinton avait lancé une salve de 44 missiles de croisière sur le sud irakien. La France, dénonçant à demi-mots une opération électorale, avait alors suspendu les vols de la demi-douzaine de Mirage installés sur la base d'Incirlik, au sud de la Turquie.

Sur le plan militaire, le retrait français est symbolique : les avions français étaient une force d'appoint parmi la cin-

quantaine d'appareils américains et britanniques déployés en Turquie. Mais d'un point de vue diplomatique, il risque de compliquer un peu plus le jeu américain en Irak, au Moyen-Orient et dans le Golfe.

Après l'offensive irakienne à la fin de l'été, les « alliés » de 1991 n'ont plus de troupes au sol dans le nord du pays. La Turquie, membre de l'Otan, vient d'autoriser pour six mois de plus les États-Unis et la Grande-Bretagne à utiliser la base aérienne d'Incirlik pour contrôler le ciel irakien. Mais le Parlement d'Ankara, préoccupé par l'irréductibilité kurde, vient d'obtenir que l'opération soit révisée en baisse.

Washington doit aussi compter avec Moscou. Pour la Russie, qui s'affirme désormais en puissance régionale, « la présence militaire des États-Unis et de leurs alliés dans le Golfe est incompatible avec la paix et la stabilité ».

J.-J. M.

## La Lettre de l'UGAB

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### RÉVÉLATIONS

Les dessous du scandale qui ébranle la Turquie

## Le président turc Kenan Evren aurait-il personnellement élaboré le plan d'action anti-arménien ?

Le scandale de la collusion entre la mafia et le gouvernement turc a pris une telle ampleur que les autorités ne peuvent plus se contenter de faire la sourde oreille. Le président Demirel en personne a tenu une série de consultations sur le sujet, mardi 10 décembre, avec des personnalités politiques de premier plan : et notamment le leader de l'extrême-droite, M. Türkeş, qui avait déclaré la semaine précédente que l'« accident » de Susurluk aurait été en fait un attentat minutieusement préparé par le PKK, en réaction à la lutte menée par Ankara contre ses combattants.

M. Demirel a également rencontré le chef de l'opposition, M. Mesut Yılmaz, qui avait été la personnalité la plus critique à l'égard du pouvoir depuis le début de cette affaire, ce qui lui avait d'ailleurs valu d'être molesté, il y a quelques semaines en Hongrie, par un sympathisant de l'extrême-droite turque.

Lundi 9 décembre, le chef de l'Etat avait eu une entrevue avec le vice-premier ministre Mme Tansu Ciller, mise en cause dans cette affaire. Mme Ciller a démenti les informations faisant

état d'une collusion du gouvernement avec certaines organisations illégales, qui auraient perçu 8,3 millions de dollars pour intensifier la lutte contre les Kurdes.

De son côté, le quotidien arménien *Marmara* rapporte dans son édition du 10 décembre l'information publiée par le journal turc *Radical*, selon laquelle un ancien membre du MIT (Ndlr : les services secrets turcs), qui a préféré conserver l'anonymat, attribue la paternité des projets d'actions terroristes contre des organisations ou des centres arméniens au président turc de l'époque, le général Kenan Evren, et non au MIT, comme on le dit généralement depuis un mois et demi.

Ce témoin estime que l'initiative de confier ce genre de mission à un individu comme Abdullah Çatli n'était pas tout à fait dénuée de fondement. « A ce moment-là, Çatli n'avait encore commis aucun délit : il n'avait aucun lien avec les milieux de la drogue ou de la mafia. Çatli et ses amis étaient jeunes. A qui allait-on bien pouvoir confier une mission ? Il fallait bien choisir. » Mais l'« erreur » qui a été commise, selon cet ancien membre du MIT, « est de ne pas avoir pris congé de ces hommes sitôt leur travail achevé, et de leur avoir permis, en échange de leurs services, d'utiliser l'Etat à des fins personnelles ».

D'autres affirment au contraire que Çatli n'a rien fait pour démanteler les organisations armées arméniennes, tandis que M. Perinçek, le leader du Parti socialiste, prétend qu'il a juste lancé un cocktail molotov contre le monument commémoratif du génocide arménien, pour la coquette somme d'un million de dollars. ■

## Iraq welcomes French action

Reuters

BAGHDAD- Iraq on Saturday welcomed France's decision to withdraw from a U.S.-led air reconnaissance operation in its Kurdish north, the official Iraqi News Agency INA reported.

"Iraq welcomes the French decision and regards it as a positive and important step which

expresses France's understanding that the no-fly zone in northern Iraq imposed by the Americans and British is illegal," said an Iraqi Foreign Ministry statement, carried by INA.

The Iraqi Foreign Ministry statement urged France to withdraw

from the no-fly zone in southern Iraq.

"At the time that Iraq highly appreciates the French decision, it hopes that France would do the same thing regarding the no-fly zone in southern Iraq," the ministry said.

*Turkish Daily News*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1996

## US regrets French exit from Iraq air patrols

Reuters

WASHINGTON- The United States voiced regret at France's decision to withdraw from allied air patrols aimed at safeguarding Kurdish civilians in northern Iraq but said it saw no link to any other French-U.S. dispute.

"France has been a valued participant in Operation Provide

Comfort," the reconnaissance patrols north of Iraq's 36th parallel, State Department spokesman John Dinger said. "Certainly, we would have preferred that France continue to fly over northern Iraq but it is obviously a French decision." Dinger said the French pullout would not disrupt the operation, which begins anew next month under a new name. In Paris, the Foreign Ministry said France would no longer participate after the end of the year because changes in the mission had eliminated its humanitarian aspects. It said the move did not affect French participation in enforcing a similar no-fly zone over southern Iraq with U.S. and British aircraft. France has participated in the operation in northern Iraq since the 1991 Gulf War in cooperation with the United States, Turkey and Britain.

Asked whether the United States suspected any possible link between the French withdrawal and outstanding bilateral disputes, Dinger said it was hard for him "to imagine that France did this in any broader context of relations with the United States."

*Turkish Daily News*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1996

## Nine years on, mines from the Iraq-Iran war still killing

*Turkish Daily News*

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1996

By Jonathan Lyons

Reuter Staff Writer

DASHTETELE, Iraq- Ejected from their homes in the waning days of the Iran-Iraq war, Mohammed Hassan Kadir and his fellow villagers made their way back in 1991, three years after the last rounds were fired in anger.

But his fields were sown with antitank mines and his own house was booby-trapped. When Kadir tried to rebuild, a hidden charge tore his right leg off at the knee and killed five village children.

"There are still mines here, there. They are everywhere," Kadir said, his hand describing an arc across the lush fields and small homes that make up the village of Dashtetele. Nine years after one of the bloodiest land wars in modern history, Kurdish villagers are still taking daily casualties. Experts say as many as 20 million land mines — mostly antipersonnel devices

**Perilous:** Nine years after one of the bloodiest land wars in modern history, Kurdish villagers are still taking daily casualties. Experts say as many as 20 million land mines dot the hills along the border

designed to do maximum damage to human tissue — dot the forbidding hills along the border.

Many were won by Iranian forces as they moved through the hills in the early years of the war. Others were laid on top by counterattacking Iraqi troops.

Villages like Dashtetele, just over the Iranian border, changed hands several times throughout the war. The result is a hodgepodge of mines, with none of the "clean" lines of a classic battlefield.

"Some of the minefields that we are dealing with now are more than a decade old. Consequently they have been disrupted by weather, by people," said John Humphreys, Iraq program director for the British-based charity Mines Advisory Group. "Their exact dimensions and location are rarely known. There are no maps of these minefields. Many of them are located close to inhabited areas," Humphreys told Reuters.

#### Sprays white-hot fragments

The mines of Iraq come in all shapes and sizes, from the almost undetectable Chinese-made 72a to the Valmara 69 — an Italian killer that leaps in the air before spraying white-hot fragments in a lethal zone 30 meters in all directions. The Mines Advisory Group, widely known as MAG, is on the front lines of what has shaped up as the final battle of the 1980-1988 war between the two regional superpowers. Local teams, under the eyes of former British army experts, locate, clear and destroy the mines that infest the region. Others survey and mark minefields or educate the villagers, especially children, of the dangers that lurk all around. But their work, already daunting and potentially deadly, is now more difficult than ever.

More than a year ago neighboring Turkey, gateway to Iraq's largely Kurdish north, cut off the supply of new mine detectors and protective clothing. It fears the gear will fall into the hands of its own rebel Kurds, who maintain bases inside Iraq. Recently, Ankara has refused to allow foreign aid workers to cross back into Iraq to carry on their work, forcing the expatriate experts of MAG and other organizations to explore informal routes through Syria or even Iran.

Foreign donors, alarmed by the recent upturn in factional fighting among the Kurds, are increasingly sceptical of the aid effort, set in motion after a U.S.-led air force carved out a Kurdish "safe haven" from central Iraqi control in 1991.

#### Short of money

MAG's own funds run out at the end 1996, and it may have to furlough staff unless new money arrives soon.

With access restricted, funding uncertain and many of its aging Austrian-made detectors no longer 100 percent reliable, MAG has had to move away from mine clearance and toward simply marking out the deadly fields.

"We could triple our clearing capacity if Turkey just let through enough detectors," said one frustrated British expert as his teams coaxed the mines from the hills surrounding Mohammed Kadir's house.

Like his colleagues, he requested anonymity for fear of reprisal by agents of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein, who has declared such aid "illegal" in the rebel north.

MAG figures show more than 2,200 people have been killed in northern Iraq by leftover landmines since 1991 and 4,000 injured. Many others die unnoticed — and uncounted — in remote villages.

In a society tied to the land, almost everyone is at risk: farmers planting crops, shepherds tending their flocks and women gathering firewood or wild berries.

An hour's drive over the mountains from Dashtetele, in the hospital wards of Sulaimaniya, the carnage is on full display. "We get an average of one mine victim a day," said Ake Hyden, who helps run the Emergency Hospital for War Victims. "And now that it's the season for collecting wood for the winter we have a lot of women. Otherwise we see mostly men."

#### Horse detonates mine

Farmer Salih Abdullah said his horse stepped on a mine, sending fragments, dirt and rocks tearing through his face and upper body. The animal was killed on the spot, but doctors remain hopeful they can save Abdullah's eyesight.

Across the hall, a young man said he lost his foot while smuggling flour from Iran to feed his family. He faces months of waiting for an artificial limb.

To minimize the danger to their teams, MAG works to exacting military procedures. A spotter backs up each man in the field and the two rotate jobs every 30 minutes to stay alert. Since 1992, MAG has cleared more than 35,000 mines and destroyed hundreds of tons of unexploded ordnance.

But with millions of mine still in the ground, the men and women of MAG say they prefer not to think in such absolute terms.

"Every mine that you lift is potentially a life or a limb saved," said MAG director Humphreys.

"Every minefield you demarcate is countless numbers of people who are safe from injury and possibly death."

INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1996

## Iraqis in Syria Claim Hit on Saddam Son

The Associated Press

KUWAIT — Three Iraqi opposition operatives drove a car disguised as a security agent's close enough to Saddam Hussein's son to hurl a grenade and then rake him with machine-gun fire as he struggled to escape, the group claims.

Udai Hussein, considered the heir to the Iraqi leader,

was wounded in the Dec. 12 assassination attempt in Baghdad. He has appeared on Iraqi television several times saying he was recovering well, but has only been shown in his hospital bed partly covered with a sheet.

Iraqi opposition groups in exile say hundreds have been arrested after the attack, including senior members of the security forces.

three attackers had escaped.

"We were able to hit the shadow president," Mr. Malki told the newspaper in an interview from the Syrian

Jawad Malki, the representative of the Dawa Party in Syria and Lebanon, told the Kuwaiti newspaper Ar Ra'i al Aam that the attempt on Udai Saddam had been planned for five months that and the

capital, Damascus.

The Iraqi opposition and Western governments have looked for signs of revolt against Saddam Hussein, who has remained firmly in power despite UN trade embargoes and military retribution since the Gulf War dislodged Iraq from Kuwait in 1991.

Another organization opposed to Mr. Saddam, the

Mohammed Madhlum Dulaimi Group, named after an Iraqi air force general executed for plotting against

Mr. Saddam, also has claimed responsibility for the attack on the Iraqi leader's son. The Iraqi government has never given an official ac-

count of the attack. Some reports have discounted the use of a hand grenade.

Turkish Daily News MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1996

# Iraq, Kurds close to autonomy deal

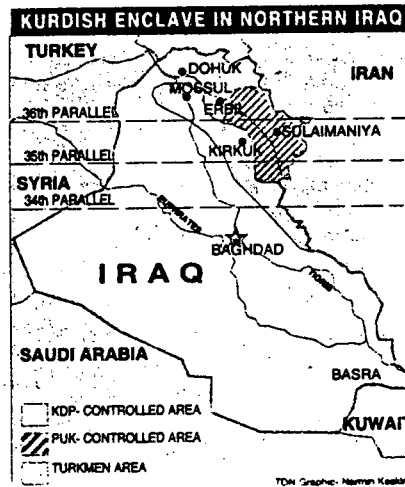
**Traffic:** Following trips to Baghdad by KDP leader Massoud Barzani, rival PUK envoys have also met with Iraqi officials

By Hayri Birlir  
Turkish Daily News

ANKARA- The Baghdad government and a top Iraqi Kurdish leader have reached an agreement for autonomy to the Kurds local sources said. The sides agreed that the deal would conform to the basic principles of an earlier autonomy deal signed in 1970, the sources added.

The agreement, yet to be publicized, followed a series of talks within the first week of December between Baghdad officials and Massoud Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) which is engaged in an often-violent rivalry for power with the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) led by Jalal Talabani. These talks were followed by a trip to Baghdad by Barzani Dec. 11-12 during which final touches were applied to the deal. Turkish Foreign Ministry sources and Turkmens in northern Iraq confirmed these contacts between Baghdad and Barzani. The KDP sources, however, said they could neither confirm nor deny the reports. Diplomatic sources attribute KDP's low profile to its anxiousness not to create ground for a new American intervention that could wreck the deal.

At the end of the peace talks held in Ankara late October between the then-warring KDP and PUK, Sami Abdurrahman, representing the Barzani faction had said that although KDP had not agreed to all the articles in the joint communique, it was forced to accept the conference decisions. A complete agreement had also avoided the second round of truce negotiations, also held in Ankara, with Safeen Dizayee, KDP's Ankara representative heading Barzani's negotiators disclosing openly that no firm accord had been reached.



But the Turkish officials have taken a different view of the developments. An official who has traveled to the Kurdish-held northern Iraq told the Turkish Daily News that a form of "partnership" has developed between Turkey, Iraq and the KDP.

"Like in the (inconclusive, U.S.-backed) Dublin and Drogheda meetings between the rival Kurdish parties, Turkey entered the scene to disrupt U.S. plans to undermine the presented opportunity for a regional solution. (KDP chief negotiator) Abdurrahman could declare that they had not agreed to some articles of the Ankara accord because he knew that he had the (discreet) backing of Ankara and Baghdad," the source elaborated.

The developing ties between Baghdad and KDP has also prompted Talabani to seek similar contacts with the Iraqi government. TDN sources said PUK representatives and Baghdad officials recently met at Kifri, a town which lies at the edge of the Kurdish enclave. Commenting on the unpublicized meeting, TDN sources said "Talabani — who has been portraying KDP's contacts with Baghdad as treason — was left with no other choice."

"It's a matter of time for the autonomy agreement to be announced. And

even supposing it never comes, Barzani practically controls the region. Whats more, Iraq has already started reinstating its authority in the region by sending back the public administration departments it had withdrawn five years ago. The population registration department is already back in the area. Military conscription centers are on their way. The customs authority is also coming. The way we see it, Saddam is dead set on signing the agreement with Barzani," the sources said. Assessing the new situation in the area, Şükri Elekdağ, Turkey's former ambassador to Washington said the atmosphere was far more suitable for an agreement between the Baghdad government and the two Kurdish warlords compared to 1991 — when talks in Baghdad, attended by both leaders were discontinued after Washington pressured the Kurd leaders to sever contacts.

The veteran diplomat noted that the military assistance Baghdad has rendered to the KDP to capture Erbil and Sulaymaniyah showed an advance accord between Saddam Hussein and Barzani, since it would be unthinkable for the Iraqi leader to send his troops to the north just to provoke Washington.

"Another factor which has led to the rapprochement between Barzani and the Baghdad government is KDP leader's loss of faith for the United States. The events now have taken a turn in Turkey's favor and the two Kurdish leaders sitting at the negotiation table with Baghdad once more for a final deal is a strong possibility," Elekdağ explained.

Meanwhile Chairman Sinan Çelebi and other leading officials of the Turkmen Front, which has undertaken truce monitoring functions at the Ankara talks, have met with Barzani and KDP politburo members in Salahuddin Dec. 21-22, the sources told the TDN, saying Ankara was informed of the meeting.

İsmet Koçak, the Ankara representative for the Turkmen Front, said the talks focused on the problems of the Turkmens, the latest developments in northern Iraq as well as how and in what proportion the Turkmens will be represented in the projected new provincial administration from northern Iraq.

In the "positive and useful" talks, the sides reportedly agreed to meet

regularly to exchange views on the problems of the region.

The Turkmen Front is also planning a similar meeting with PUK leader Jalal Talabani, and ultimately wants to turn these into regular meetings between the leaders of the Turkmen and both Kurdish communities, the

TDN sources said.

Another outstanding issue between the Turkmen Front and the KDP remains to be the material damage the Turkmen in KDP's Iraq-supported capture of Erbil at the end of August. The KDP is reported to have taken a

positive stance concerning the compensation for the damages. The many of the Turkmen-owned vehicles which got lost of the KDP capture of the city were said to have been found by Barzani forces and returned to their owners.

*Turkish Daily News* MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1996

# Ankara wraps up Turkmenistan, Iran natural-gas pipeline agreement

Energy Minister Kutan signs deal with Iran and Turkmenistan; next phase of the project is to sell gas to Europe

*Turkish Daily News*

ANKARA- The Islamist-led True Path-Welfare parties government has concluded the final agreement to purchase Iranian and Turkmenistani natural-gas. The next phase of the project will be to sell the gas to Europe via Turkey.

The energy ministers of Turkey, Turkmenistan and Iran got together in Tehran to sign a natural-gas cooperation agreement on Sunday. According to the terms of the deal Turkey will buy 18 billion cubic meters of gas every year from the two Muslim states.

The flow of gas may begin as early as March 1998 when the construction of the pipeline from the western Iranian town of Tebriz to the Turkish border is set to be finished. The Turkmenistan-Iran portion of the pipeline is set to be ready some time in 1998.

Energy Minister Recai Kutan announced in Tehran that the next phase of the project was to transport the Iranian and Turkmenistani gas to European markets. A tripartite commission will be formed to study the feasibility of selling gas to European markets via Turkey.

Turkey's natural-gas consumption is projected to reach 27 billion cubic meters by the year 2000 and the coalition government has made clear it wants Turkey to rely fully on Iran and Turkmenistan for its gas instead of its current supplier Russia.

## Ankara now sets its sights on Iraqi natural-gas

Now that the Turkmenistani-Iranian deal has been concluded, the Islamist-led government has set its sights on Iraqi natural gas. Energy Minister Kutan announced that they were also determined to build a pipeline to purchase gas from Baghdad. Last year a preliminary agreement had been signed with Baghdad to build a 1800-kilometer pipeline to transport three to four billion cubic meters of Iraqi natural gas per year.



Energy Minister Recai Kutan

The Anatolia news agency reported on Sunday that the government has decided to speed up the project.

The technical aspects of the deal will be hammered out in Iraq in the coming weeks. However, it is reported that construction of the pipeline cannot start as long as the United Nations embargo against Iraq remains in place.

Recai Kutan said he believed the U.N. sanctions would be lifted by the time construction was ready to get underway and the preliminary aspects of the project did not constitute a violation of the embargo. He announced they were also working on a project to link Qatari natural gas to the Turkish-Iranian gas pipeline.



Turkish Daily News MONDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1996

# Turkey sending envoy to US to clear up 'misunderstandings'

By Stephen Kinzer  
*New York Times*

ANKARA- Turkey's prime minister has announced that he will send a high-level envoy to Washington with a pledge of friendship and assurances that the United States has "no reason to be afraid of anything we are doing."

Senior officials in Washington have been alarmed at Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan's pan-Islamic political philosophy and his visits to Iran and Libya. They fear that he may be seeking to lead his country, which is a NATO ally, away from the Western fold.

"We need to explain ourselves better to our friend America," Mr. Erbakan said in an interview at his official residence on Wednesday night. "In the coming days our State Minister, Fehim Adak, will go to America as a guest. He will say that we want to increase our cooperation and will discuss other important matters. We were very happy to receive the invitation, and we are looking forward to this with great interest." Mr. Adak, whose ministerial job focuses on economic planning, is one of Mr. Erbakan's oldest and most trusted aides, as well as a leading figure in the ruling Islamic-based Welfare Party.

## The New York Times

The United States ambassador here, Marc Grossman, confirmed that Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin invited Mr. Adak to Washington after a round of Turkish-American economic talks that were held in Ankara in October. But Mr. Grossman said he had not yet been notified that the invitation had been accepted.

"We would welcome any such visit and look forward to it," he said.

In his interview, Prime Minister Erbakan, who took office six months ago, said he wanted to clear up misunderstandings with Washington "which may have been our fault." But he stated several views that directly challenged long-held American positions, criticizing Israel as the chief obstacle to Middle East peace and asserting that it was unfair for the United States to isolate Iran, Iraq and Libya.

"There should be no double standard's," Mr. Erbakan said. "Israel is an example of the double standard. For many years, Israel has been disturbing its neighbors. There have been

many, many United Nations resolutions, but they were not strongly enforced. But when Iraq violates a resolution, hundreds of tons of bombs are dropped on it. It is a clear example of a double standard. In Bosnia, in Chechnya, in Kashmir, this double standard is applied all over the world."

Views like these, and more radical ones from militant figures within the Welfare Party, have raised concerns in Washington. So have Mr. Erbakan's warm visits with the leaders of countries that the United States is trying to isolate.

The State Department has criticized Turkey with unusual frankness several times since Mr. Erbakan took office. On Tuesday, reacting to talks this week between Mr. Erbakan and President Hashemi Rafsanjani of Iran, Glyn Davies, a State Department spokesman, said the United States was concerned "by all efforts to intensify cooperative efforts with Iran until Tehran reforms its unacceptable international policies." Mr. Erbakan has proposed the formation of what he calls the D-8, an association of eight large developing countries that would seek to confront world problems together with the Group of Seven, whose members are the world's most powerful industrial democracies. The D-8 would consist of Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, Malaysia, Egypt and Nigeria.

